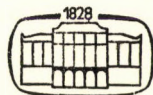


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Studia Ethnologica

Pro Memoria

Tiberii Bodrogi

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TIBOR BODROGI

1924 - 1986

Die grosse Kraft will für den Grössten sein
Rainer Maria Rilke

His friends and those holding him in high esteem would have liked to congratulate Tibor Bodrogi with this volume on his 60ieth birthday. He knew a part of the manuscripts but he did not live long enough to see the volume published. Speedy death intervned and the words of greeting were transformed into those of sad recollections.

His death resulted in our losing the most outstanding ethnologist in Hungary. As a researcher, an organizer of scientific activities and a teacher, he played equally unique roles in the advancement of our science, and although he met an unexpected death we may still state that he has left behind a complete life work.

He began his career as a member of the generation who suffered the atrocities of World War II as a participant and learnt to estimate highly the pleasure of peaceful work.

He spent all his life creating with a unique love and passion for work. Still as a university student, he began to work in the Oceania-collection of the Néprajzi Múzeum (Budapest) and the beginning proved to be a decisive factor in his choosing a career. Studying the cultures of Oceania (especially Melanesia and New Guinea) became one of his fields of research and his early study, "Colonization and Religious Movements in Melanesia" (Acta Ethnographica II /1951/: 259-292) gave him international renown. By elaborating systematically the collection of the museum, he created his theoretical studies on the anthropology of art, his monographies

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

encompassing the art of North-East New Guinea, then the whole of Oceania, later Africa and Indonesia, and finally the great synthesis, the two volumes of "Törzsi művészet" (Tribal Art, Budapest, 1981, Corvina) which he wrote with his collaborators but the notion of ethnic art was lent to the book by him.

Art, however, was only one field of his interest. Investigating the objects of New Guinea made him susceptible to the technological side and economic significance of human activities. These investigations led him to writing the "Mesterségek születése" (The Birth of Crafts, Budapest, 1961, Gondolat) which became the textbook of whole generations of Hungarian students of cultural and social anthropology following one another.

As is demonstrated by his study on cargo-cults referred to above, he was from the beginning of his career attracted to investigating the social role of institutions and cultural phenomena. In addition to his writings of theoretical character, laying the basis of Hungarian research and fostering its development, as well as those summarizing relevant international literature ("Társadalmak születése". The Birth of Societies, Budapest, 1962, Gondolat), he embarked on a demonstrating analysis of the Hungarian kinship system from a structural-functionalistic point of view, then, taking a step further, interpreted the Hungarian material by comparing it to the kinship systems of the people of related languages. He initiated and promoted the ethnographical research of Hungarian society of today too.

His attraction towards social relationships and artistic manifestations dominated his longest field work in Indonesia, whose results came to be reflected not only in describing the death rituals of the Sadang-Toradja but in the unique, comprehensive summary of the art of Indonesia too ("Indonézia művészete". Art of Indonesia, Budapest, 1971, Corvina).

He was a scholar respecting facts almost notoriously but he also possessed an extensive intellectual culture and a unique acumen with which he set down to investigating the theoretical-methodological questions of ethnography. His writings of that character may be traced from his first publications. The most significant summary of his views is to be found in his work on Lewis Henry Morgan, extending to 860 pages, so far unpublished, when discussing the standpoints surpassed by Morgan and to what extent his recommendations stood the tests of time.

In addition to his versatile research interests, he held responsible positions, serving and managing Hungarian ethnographical research. In the different periods of his live he was director of the Néprajzi Múzeum

(Ethnographical Museum) and the MTA Néprajzi Kutató Csoport (Ethnographical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), secretary general and then vice-president of the Magyar Néprajzi Társaság (Hungarian Ethnographical Society), and, parallel to his high positions, he was editor of *Acta Ethnographica* for decades.

He performed all those activities others might find cumbersome and extremely time-consuming with extraordinary ease and expressed serenity up to the most recent years.

Whereas he was involved in other fields too. He regularly taught general ethnology and social anthropology in the Folklore Department of the Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, holding the title of honorary professor. He had an excellent talent for teaching. He was blessed with the unusual ability of being simultaneously accurate and easy, free from airs and overwhelmingly knowledgeable. His works and lectures educated people to preserve objectivity, respect others and hold culture in high esteem, setting a good example for all that. However, it was not only the lecture halls of the university where he performed his highly valuable activities of teaching and training people.

He was the initiator of having significant anthropologists published in Hungarian, he himself engaged in translation work. Today we may read the works of Morgan, Fraser, Birket-Smith in the translation of Tibor Bodrogi, and it was his trustworthy hand that selected the works of Malinowski and Mead for the Hungarian publication.

He made all efforts to assist the Hungarian reading public in getting acquainted as authentically and completely as possible with the materials of faraway cultures. His selections of myths and tales from Africa, Oceania and Southeast-Asia, the publication of the works and folklore collections of Frobenius, the publication of the folk poetry of Oceania in collaboration with the poet Sándor Rákos ("*Táncol a hullámsapkás tenger*". The Wave-Capped Sea is Dancing, Budapest, 1976, Európa) were all aiming at fostering cultural understanding. In his different leading positions he did everything within his reach to help those working under his guidance in getting to know and spreading information about the peoples and their culture outside Europe, sharing his objectives, in receiving all the means available in order to be able to carry out their plans.

He was a versatile man possessing enormous experience and a huge stock of objective knowledge, known for his straightforward, friendly behaviour, his well-balanced, serene temperament. When he had problems - and he

frequently had many - it was only those standing closest to him who could feel it and even they learnt it not from his behaviour with he treated them. He was the "boss" for a whole generation, still everyone recalls Tibor as a friend who was a great scientist with a natural and unaffected ease which is the rare feature of character of exceptionally strong personalities only.

The Editor

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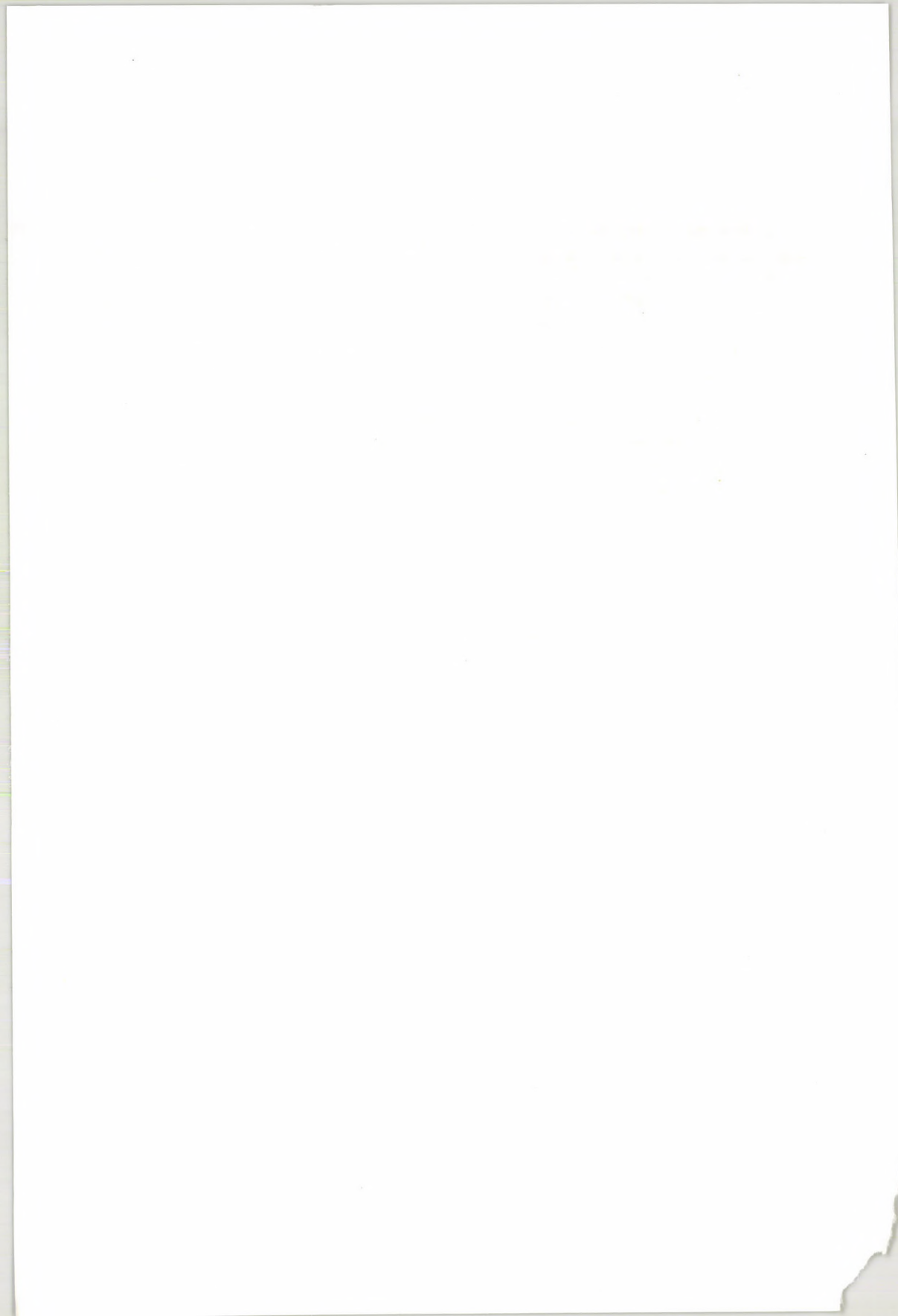
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Compiled by
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TEN NIVKH (GILYAK) EROTIC POEMS

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The ten specimens discussed and analyzed below are part of a larger corpus collected in Abashiri (Hokkaido, Japan) in 1957 and 1962. My informant, Choyoko Nakamura, born 1906, was a native of the East Coast of South Sakhalin (Karafuto in Japanese). She had resided in Hokkaido since 1947.

This genre is called šacant (š roughly between English j and ch and c as in English ch but aspirated), from the root za- (ša-) 'strike, beat' (see poem V). The šacant are performed primarily in connection with the bear festival, the most important ceremony in all Old-World Arctic and many sub-Arctic cultures. Preparations for this festival call, among other things, for the horizontal suspension of a decorated tree trunk. It represents the bear. Women then line up on each side of the trunk, chant the šacant rhythmically, and beat out rhythm with sticks. (Men only rarely perform šacant; if and when they do, it is improper and exceptional.)

Nivkh behaviour is dictated by traditional conventions. These specify a large number of tabus, some of which are in the area of sex. However, Nivkh culture is traditionally free from the sort of anxieties known in Western societies. Still, the allusions contained in the poems reported below are considerably daring and would, under normal circumstances, be censured. The stuff of which these allusions are made is borrowed from Nivkh everyday life. The Nivkh are traditionally coastal fishermen and hunters and live on the lower Amur (ca. 2500 persons) and on the island of Sakhalin (1500).

Most of the ten texts are given in three versions, (1) one purely phonetic, marked Recitation, (2) another, morphologically analyzed, for those readers who are curious about grammatical constructions, and (3) a third one in prose, which is a rendition of the poetic text in everyday language. (1) and (3) were elicited and recited or dictated by the informant; (2) is mine. In those cases in which (2) or (3) were thought to be redundant or unnecessary, they were omitted. The symbols used in the transcription and essentials about the phonology and the grammar of the language, as they apply to the ten texts presented here, will be found at the end of the paper.

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These text are not sung - because they have no melody - but only recited. The rhythm is strictly observed and supported by being beaten out the suspended tree trunk with a stick in each hand. One woman, the leader, recites the text and beats out each syllable. The other participants, all women, only beat out the first beat in each measure. Thus, in Poem I, the leader will beat out ♩ and the others will beat ♩ λ ♩ λ. The fourth column, then, provides the rhythm as beaten out by the leader.

The facant fulfill an important function in the society in that they provide a release for libidinous energy which is sanctioned by tradition. The performance is a group enterprise. The participants are therefore responsible as a group, so to speak, and not individually, a fact which to a certain extent allows them to remain immune from censure as individuals. There is little room for virtuosity in the performance of the facant. To a limited extent, the text can be varied by the reciting individual. Evidence for this can be found in the fact that the informant was aware of lines in addition to those provided in the texts below; some of these additional lines are mentioned in the discussion. Another area which provides an opportunity for limited individual virtuosity is the beating out of the rhythm. It is considered fashionable and in good taste not to strike a certain downbeat with both hands (sticks) at the same time, but to give these downbeats an arpeggiato colour, i.e. instead of beating ♩ with both sticks, to beat a grace note with one stick and a proper note with the other: ♩, somewhat resembling performances of Chopin, fifty years ago.

The text of each poem is provided with an explication of each word, line by line, in the three versions (Recitation, Morphological, and Prose). Lines are referred to by number (thus I:1 means line one of poem I). Where necessary, words within a line are also numbered: I:1:2 refers to the second word in line 1. For a full appreciation of the artistic component of these poems, the reader is urged to examine the difference between the recited and the prose versions, to note the use of expressive, shamanistic, or other socially marked words, to note the poetic devices (reduplication, lengthening, expletives) - in other words he is urged not only to read the translations but to analyze the text.

The imagery itself requires little comment. Some of the images are grossly lascivious while others are mildly suggestive. The bear festival, which provides the larger framework of the performance of the facant, is a time of considerable excitement and agitation. Since the bear festival contains a strong sexual component (the sex of the bear, in the first place,

tabus governing the eating of certain parts of the bear's meat and the disposal of other parts), the facant should be seen as adding an aphrodisiac overtone to the entire complex.

The following terms or linguistic categories are used in the explication of the poems. Expletives (III əj, IV aj) are meaningless syllables which are repeated in certain parts of the line and thus form a pattern within the poem in which they occur. Lengthening occurs exclusively in poetry. It can apply to vowels (VII ī, ō) and to consonants (VIII catti, lerilla) and depends on the playful caprice of the performer. Words and suffixes are called affective or expressive when, in addition to the message which they normally convey, they also evoke an emotional or another internal response. They are not necessarily only onomatopoeic. Tabu words are words which, in addition to what they mean, also convey a message about avoidance or restrictions imposed by society. Such words, as well as shamanistic words, which are considered sacred and restricted to the religious sphere, arouse a certain amount of alertness or anxiety.

POEM I

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose	Rhythm
1	maqərə voti	maqʳ boti	maqr ma voti	♩ ♪♩ ♪♩
2	tun tun tun	←	←	♩ ♪ ♪λ

1:1 maqr occurs only in compounds in the semantic area of dried fish. maqr ma is one of thirteen ways of preparing such dried fish; ma 'dried fish'. In this method, the skin is removed from almost the entire body of the fish and only a small area around the tail is left unskinned. A hole is then made in this area and a stick is inserted through a whole series of fish prepared in this way. (The skin is not removed. This prevents tearing from the weight of the fish.)

1:2 boti 'the hole in the ma (1:1)'. The stick, fully loaded with maqr ma, is hung high above the ground. Cf. bota-nt 'to dry fish'.

2 tun tun tun, linguistic equivalent of the sound of the sticks which are beating out the rhythm.

Translation: The hole (with a stick in it) in partially skinned fish.

POEM II

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose	Rhythm
1	hajmə mam	hajm-ŋ mam	hajm mam	♪♪ ♪λ
2	lampəlampnt	lamp&lamp-nt	←	♪♪ ♪λ
3	tun tun tun	←	←	♪♪ ♪λ

1:1 hajm-nt 'be old (humans, animals)'

1:2 mam 'old woman; woman; wife'

2 lamp&lamp-nt, expressive, 'grope, feel one's way around (in the dark; of blind persons)'; as used by women, also: 'lascivious men's handiwork'.

3 = I:2.

Translation: The old woman is groping her way about. Informant said that this text is from West coast of Karafuto. She was uncertain about the rhythm.

POEM III

	Recitation	Prose	Rhythm
1	ganəwəhə vupk əj	ganwəx bupk	♪♪♪ ♪♪
2	tun tun vupk əj	←	♪♪ ♪♪

1:1 ganwəx is the name of a variety of lichen more commonly called gawari. The name is probably connected with gana-nt 'white' and wəx which can mean both 'a certain (internal, soft?) layer of birchbark' and '(a certain) kind of baldness'. (The word is different from wəx 'moss'.)

1:2 bupk 'mound, clod, small tussock, as in ozŋ bupk 'ant-hill'. ganwəx bupk 'mound of lichen' is a common expression.

1:3 aj expletive; see IV:2:3.

Translation: The lichen-covered mound.

The last line can also be tun tun tun as in Poems I and II, or pum pum pum.

POEM IV

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose	Rhythm
1	ūχəŋ ŋāq	uχŋ ŋa&q	uχ ŋa	
2	ñi ŋaq aj	ñ--na&q	ñ--ŋa	
3	pārata pārata	para-t para-t	para¶-nt	
4	ñi ŋaq aj	= 2	= 2	

1:1 uχŋ, a large aquatic bird found near lakes. It evokes no folkloristic associations.

1:2 ŋa 'animal'. Birds are called buj ŋa 'fly(ing) animals' or os ŋa 'standing (= alighting) animals' but never merely na. uχ ŋa is therefore a strange compound. &q is poetic.

2:1 ñi 'I', ñ-- 'my'; ñ--ŋa&q affectionate: 'my dear little beast'.

2:3 aj expletive, as in III:1/2 which, to be sure, fills out the rhythm, but is also deployed parallelistically, as is the entire line.

3 para - here occurs reduplicated: para¶-nt 'stretch one's arms (or wings) out repeatedly, inclining body first to one and then to the other side'; expressive verb.

Translation: 1 The uχŋ bird (2,4 my dear little beast) 3 it flutters.

Note the triple meter ().

POEM V

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose	Rhythm
1	carəmpə zəvəŋqə	→	carmp zəvŋq	
2	joŋə zaŋ ʒaŋ	?j--ox ʒa-ŋ	j--oŋri za-ŋ&ʒa-ŋ	

1:1 carmp 'silk'.

zevŋq, generic name for all small birds; loosely: 'sparrow'. carmp zevŋq 'silk sparrow', otherwise completely unknown.

2:2 ox 'trough', j--ox '(someone)'s trough', ox probably stands for ohri 'slight protrusion in the back of the skull; occiput; the two words are in all likelihood etymologically related. (Or dose jox 'bride, bride-to-be' play a role here?)

za-nt 'strike, hit, deal a blow'; cf. zaca-nt, the name of this genre of folk-poetry, a strangely republicated form of the root ca-/za-. za-ŋ&ŋa-ŋ is also a strangely reduplicated form in that the entire complex, including the suffix -ŋ, is repeated. It is not clear whether this line means '(someone is) hitting its (the silk sparrow's) back-of-the-head' or 'its back-of-the-head is striking (something)'.

Translation: The silk sparrow / its occiput is being tapped. Or: The silk sparrow / is tapping the occiput (of something, someone).

POEM VI

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose	Rhythm
1	billan dōlə	bil-a-n dol	geŋqŋ	●● ●γ●
2	raffik aj	raffi&k aj	daffi	●● ●
3	ŋacəŋə minərən	ŋacx minr-n	ŋacy minr-n	●●● ●●●
4	daffik aj	daffi&k aj	daffi	●● ●λ

1:1 bil-, bil-a- 'big, large'.

1:2 dol 'the sea, the ocean', a slightly more ceremonial word than its common synonym, geŋqŋ 'id.'. bil-a-n dol is especially marked for respect and shamanistic usage.

2 daffi 'crab, crayfish'. &k is poetic; see poem IV.

3:1 ŋacx 'foot, leg'.

3:2 minŋ 'eight', minr-nt 'to have eight of something'. In a version elicited earlier, the informant gave minx-n (in place of minr-n), saying that this form is strongly shamanistic-folkloristic.

Etymologically, 'eight' is form *mi- 'two' and *ny- 'four'. The tension between minr- and miny- does therefore indeed provide opportunities for folkloristic play.

Translation: The ocean's crab / the eight-legged crab.

POEM VII

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose
1	hurru fīnə ñissik aj	huru fi-ŋ ñ--isi&k aj	huru fi ñ--ack
2	ŋōhə molo ñissik aj	ŋoh molo-ŋ ñ--isi&k aj	ŋar-la ñ--ack
3	doʔpənə pyjʒə ñissik aj	doʔpŋ pyjʒŋ ñ--isi&k aj	doʔpm pyjʒ ñ--ack

Rhythm

1,2 ♩ ♩ | ♩.♩ | ♩ | ♩ λ

3 ♩ ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ | ♩ λ

1:1 hurru, a small forest, far from the seashore (but not in the tundra) where generally only tall larches or tall fir-trees grow.

1:2 fi-nt 'be in a place'; here: fi- 'which is situated'.

1:3 ñ-- 'my'; isi 'mother's brother's wife', a ceremonial term equivalent to the common form ack.

1:4 aj expletive; see III, IV, VI.

2:1 ŋox 'solid, living human fat; solid, living or dead animal fat' as against tom 'rendered animal fat'. See 2:2.

2:2 molo-nt 'dull (of a knife), lacking a tip' and 'very obese'. Note the important allusion to mol-nt 'eat bear fat at the bear festival', a strongly ceremonial term. ŋoh molo(-n) 'which is obese with fat; extremely obese', with covert allusion to 'dull' and 'ceremonial eating'. ŋar-, ŋar-la-nt 'thick, fat'.

3 doʔpŋ 'forearm'. pyjʒ-nt 'hole in a joint where one bone is connected with another', cf. pyjʒ ɢəñʒf 'pelvis and the joints in it'. Here doʔpm pyjʒ- refers to the space between the two bones in the forearm (radius and ulna), commonly called meñ laʔŋŋ 'two-fork'.

Translation: 1 My aunt in the woods / 2 so round and fat / 3 has a parting between radius and ulna.

POEM VIII

	Recitation	Morphology	Prose	Rhythm
1	ir̥kun ɕiv̄ə	ir̥kun ɕif	←	♪♪ ♪♪
2	juʃfila	j--uʃ-ja	←	♪♪ ♪λ
3	bāh̄ərə cattix̄ə	bah̄ɕ cati-x	bah̄-la-ñ cati-ux	♪♪♪ ♪♪♪
4	lērilla	ler-ja	= 2	♪♪ ♪λ
5	boləvolə ɣusir̄ə	bol&vol ɣusi-ʃ	bolx gusi-ʃ	♪♪♪♪ ♪♪♪
6	lērilla	ler-ja	= 4	♪♪ ♪λ

- 1:1 ir̥kun, personal, male name, folkloristic; perhaps used by shamans and perhaps the names of a god.
- 1:2 ɕif 'road, way, route, trajectory; trace', here: 'road to the mountains, leading to the gods'.
- 2 j--uʃ-nt 'go by way (of a certain route)'. ɕiv uʃ-nt 'go by way of the road and not through the forest'. j--uʃ-ja 'follow it (the road)!'. The recited form has -la instead of the imperative -ja, which could suggest a question or doubt, or hesitation (and not a command).
- 3:1 bah̄-nt, bah̄-la-nt 'be red', folkloristically: bahr-nt.
- 3:2 cati 'well, source of water'; -x/-ux 'from; in'.
- 4 ler-nt 'play', with the same imperative and its deformation as in line 2.
- 5:1 bolx 'whirlpool, eddy (in running water)'. Its folkloristic pendant is bol&vol, reduplicated and without final, historically a nominalizing suffix.
- 5:2 ɣusi-nt (gusi-nt) 'put out, expose, take out, retrieve', from the root *guc- 'outside'. Informant is uncertain about the interpretation of the line.

Translation: 2 Go / 1 along Inkun's way, / 4 play / 3 in the red well, / 6 play / 5 revealing the whirlpool (?). Line 3 has a variant can sati 'white well', with the highly poetic word caŋ-nt 'white'; in prose tlewla - ŋ cati - ux 'in the white well'.

POEM IX

Recitation	Morphological	Prose	Rhythm
1 <u>ñeřřarə</u> jossuŋ	ñ--erř j--os-u-ŋ	ñ--atk j--aj-ŋ	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
2 qalənař daf	qalŋr daf	galmř daf	♩ ♩ ♩ λ
3 kuřalira gucyŋ	kuřli-r guc-ŋ	maj-ř guc-n	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
4 qalənař daf	= 2	= 2	♩ ♩ ♩ λ
5 attətə wessa	→	atk wes	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
6 řyřř řyřř řyřř	←	řyřř&řyřř-nt	♩ ♩ ♩ λ
7 řyřř řyřř řyřř	←	řyřř&řyřř-nt	♩ ♩ ♩ λ

1:1 erř 'mother's older or younger brother', a rare, ceremonial term with the common pendant atk. atk is also the tabu-appellation of the raven (normally wes, see 5:2), especially after dark.

1:2 os-nt 'rise', see IV:1:2; os-u-nt 'raise', dav os-u-nt 'build a house'; ñ--err j--os-u-n daf 'my uncle, he having constructed it, a house'. aj-nt 'make'.

2 qalŋř 'board, plank', a strictly folkloristic term, with the common analogue galmř. The first may be a purposeful distortion of the second or it may be an archaic word, in which case the second is connected with Orok (a Tungus language) kalumuri. daf 'house'.

3:1 kuřli-nt 'crumble, go to pieces, give way, slump', a folkloristic, expressive word with no common analogue; maj-nt 'fall down, tumble down'.

3:2 guc-nt 'fall from above', perhaps connected with *guc- in VIII:5:2.

5:1 atk 'uncle', see 1:1 and discussion below.

5:2 wes 'crow, raven'. Its tabu name is atk, see 5:1, 1:1.

6 ɛyɣr-nt 'hop up and down', expressive, generally said of birds; cf. ɛyɣɣ̃&cyɣr-jo-r, said of persons who parade or strut about proudly. -jo- is an expressive suffix.

This poem weaves an intricate tissue out of the terms erɣ̃, atk, and wes in such a way

<u>erɣ̃</u>	polite	'mother's brother'
<u>atk</u>	normal	'mother's brother'
	tabu	'raven'
<u>wes</u>	normal	'raven'

as to leave ambiguous whether the house was built by raven or (my) uncle. Etymologically, atk is related to at 'tiger' (only in this dialect, a tabu word) and to a set of kinship terms: yt, ytk, 'father', ycx 'old man, grandfather', ack 'mother's brother's wife' (VII:1).

Translation: 2 The plank house / 1 made by my uncle, / 4 the plank house / 3 which collapses and droops / 5 Old-Man Raven / 6, 7 hop hop hop.

According to the informant, another line, ylvɣ̃ txy-x 'on top of the roof' (ylvɣ̃ 'roof', txy 'area above', -x VIII:3), belongs somewhere in the text. The exact position of the line is unknown.

POEM X

	Recitation	Morphological	Prose	Rhythm
1	huɣka wewntə	————	huɣk wew-nt	♩ ♩ ♩
2	huɣka wewntə	————	huɣk wew-nt	♩ ♩ ♩
3	ɦamɣta ɦamɣta	ɦamɣ-t	ɣym-nt	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩
4	zefɦlta zefɦlta	zefɦl-t	ɦav-nt	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩

1:1 huɣk 'the area within the bend of a river: the land-portion within a turn in the river'.

1:2 wew-nt 'be deep'; homonym: wewnt, name of a festive dish considered a delicacy, containing plant and fish ingredients; folkloristic.

- 3 hamr-nt 'grasp something firmly, with fingers at first stretched out and apart', an expressive verb. ɣym-nt 'sweep a surface with the palm in a chopping position, then pick up small objects (such as grains of rice) with a closing movement'. The roots ɣym- and ham(r)- are probably related. The -a in hamɣta is an expletive; the word is counted as trisyllabic.
- 4 zehl-nt 'wring, wring out', synonymous with but rarer than hav-nt. zehlta is trisyllabic; its final -a is an expletive.
- Translation: 1, 2 The bend's tidbit / 3 grabbing it / 4 squeezing it.

Symbol and Apparatus. Stems are separated from suffixes and suffixes from each other by means of the hyphen (-): bil-a-n, VI:1. Pronominal elements are separated from the nouns or verbs which they precede by means of two hyphens (--): ñ--ack 'my uncle', IX; j--aj- 'made it', IX. The symbol & in &k and &q (daffhi&k, VI:4; ga&q IV:1) indicates that -k and -q are poetic, creative suffixes, with meanings ranging from diminutive and playful to affectionate. The same symbol between roots (bol&vol-, VIII:5) indicates reduplication. In the presentation of the texts ← and → refer the reader to the left or to the right; = ← means 'same as line on the left'.

Phonetics. The transcription in the column marked Recitation is an attempt to render the sounds of these poems more or less as they sound in nature. Elsewhere, the words are written phonologically. Approximate values: b d ɣ g as in French p t tch k. p t c k as in English p t ch k, that is, strongly aspirated. x as in Russian; q and ɣ are pronounced further back than k and x. ʃ as in Czech ʃ in Přihoda and r as in Czech ř in Dvůrák. ɣ and ñ are the voiced partners of x and ɣ. y as in Polish or as in Russian ы in был; the other vowels as in Italian.

Grammar. The marker of the main verb in a sentence is -nt, -r, -ʃ (V:2) and -t (IV:3) mark verbal stems which modify a following verb; -m/-n/-ñ/-n mark verbal stems which modify a following noun (VIII:3). The suffix of the imperative is -ja (VIII:2); in VIII it is distorted to -la (which resembles various particles expressing questions or doubt). Pronouns: ñi 'I', ñ-- 'my; me' j-- 'his/her; him/her/it (object)'. Root-initial consonants undergo alterations under certain conditions: bol&vol- (VIII:5), daffhi : raffhi (VI: 2/4).

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POETRY, MUSIC AND SOCIETY IN "TRADITIONAL AFRICA"*

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A growing volume of human values, and artistic treasures are being brought to light from the largely unexplored depths of African traditional culture which, together with other related research are leading to a reconsideration of various earlier assumptions that had been regarded as final. The example of Africa holds out the promise of particularly valuable lessons in this reconsideration since the cultural heritage of what are at present estimated to be around 1500-2000 ethnic groups is a "bottomless well", a whole with a wider variety of manifestations than can be found anywhere else in the world. Moreover, the professional art (especially literature) that has grown out of this many-sided whole illustrates even more pregnantly than the Latin American phenomenon that has come so much into the spotlight, the hitherto unsuspected relationships between traditional genres and contemporary art, traditional society and modern culture.

Songs are Part of the Fabric of Everyday Life

In connection with traditional African culture as such, the arts, the folklore of everyday and celebrations, practically all works of significance today - whether theoretical overviews, analyses or collections of particular genres or surveys linked to the results of field work begin by stressing that in traditional African communities that have not been disrupted by the European influence and can thus be regarded as "authentic", cultural phenomena are inseparable from the life of society. Songs are part of the fabric of everyday life. The profane or sacred celebrations and rites involving songs, dances and elements of mime, express the unique wholeness of social life and lead all members of the community to participate actively in them. Certain folklore phenomena that we regard as oral genres play an important and even central role in different areas of life. A good example

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of this is the importance attached to the proverb in many ethnic groups and elsewhere the central role it plays in legal customs.

To take only one example from the vast wealth of references in the literature Daniel Biebuyck writes on the Nyanga who number only around 30.000 and live in Western Zaire and who have handed down the "Mwindo" epic that occupies an outstanding place in African folklore:

"The small Nyanga tribe possesses a highly diversified oral literature, rich in content and style. There are innumerable situations and occurrences that occasion the recitation, singing, or narration of the traditional texts. The Nyanga live in an isolated and largely undisturbed environment where social relationships among individuals, families, and larger groups of kinsmen are intensive and intimate. Daily, after returning from work in the forest, small groups of men - agnates, affines, friends sit together in the mens's meeting place to eat, drink, smoke, discuss the day's events, assign the next day's tasks, analyze patterns of behaviour and action, scrutinize personal and familial problems, instruct the children in the social mores, criticize misconduct. These routine gatherings, which often extend long into the night, are a major occasion for narrating tales, quoting proverbs, solving riddles, not merely as a form of entertainment and fun, but also as a means of clarification of ideas, of interpretation of events, and of enhancement of existing values" (BIEBUYCK 1969: 5-6).

Rather than presenting endless quotations to illustrate the impressions repeated almost as a commonplace or more penetrating insights depending on the individual researcher - I would rather like to give a few examples from the literature that throw light from new angles on the unique internal coherence that can be found in the tribal societies between actions and cultural manifestations. Leopold Sédar Senghor, for example, one of the founders of the négritude movement who defined the notion of the emotional African as opposed to the rational European, made the following remark in his preface to the booklet accompanying the series of recordings entitled "Antology of African Life" edited by Herbert Pepper:

"He followed the black man 'from the first tears of the newborn to the funeral laments', passing through childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age. Nothing escaped his attention: neither the tears nor the laughter, neither the games nor the work. In Black Africa all social activity reaches its fullness and efficiency through art" (PEPPER 1959: 4).

A thought linked to the problem of the manifestation of social totality by individuals has become almost a platitude since the emergence of folklore as a science in the last century: in traditional peasant societies and especially in the tribal cultures outside Europe, all participants in the community are in possession of the common store of

knowledge, they are practically all capable of singing, dancing and relating everything to be found in their folklore treasure. The modern reformulation of this important recognition can be found in the excellent book by Harold Scheub that presents the tales of the Xhosa ethnic group, a member of the Nguni group of South African Bantu, a genre known as the "ntsoni" generally enlivened with songs. The work includes a large number of examples:

"All members of the society are the inheritors of the tradition, and most attempt to master it. People who make up the audiences are also performers; and artists, when they have completed their performances, return to that audience from which they have emerged. Out of the many creations and attempts at creation will come artists of stature, whose brilliance, wit and imagination will give freshness and vigour to the venerable images, and by drawing on equally venerable stylistic techniques the performer will breathe life into the old forms" (SCHEUB 1975: 16).

The study entitled "The Music of Africa", published a quarter of a century ago by Alan P. Merriam, the leading American ethnomusicologist and Bloomington professor who was killed in a plane crash a few years ago, is a source that is still frequently quoted. One of its thoughts throws light on the political role of the combination of music and poetry:

"Music, then, plays a part in all aspects of culture. In political organization, for example, the functions of music are apparent in songs sung in praise of chiefs but many other manifestations may also occur. Among the Tutsi the drum is the symbol of political power, and no individual other than the Mwami (the King - Sz.B.) and the Queen Mother may possess sets of drums" (MERRIAM 1959: 50-51).

The study then goes on to throw light on a phenomenon in connection with the role of music poetry that leads to an understanding of the often obscure internal relationships of the African tribal world. Quoting Hugh Tracey, Merriam writes:

"... in speaking of the Chopi, Tracey says: They are often highly critical of those in authority over them, white or black, and ... sly digs at the pompous, outspoken condemnation of those who neglect their duties, protests against the cruel and overbearing, outcries directed against social injustices as well as philosophy in the face of difficulties, are all to be found in their songs and shared through their music and dancing... One can well imagine the forcefulness of the reprimand conveyed to a wrongdoer when he finds his misdeeds sung about by thirty or forty strapping young men before all the people of the village, or the blow to the pride of an overweening petty official who has to grin and bear it while the young men jeer to music at his pretentiousness. What better sanction could be brought to bear upon those who outrage the ethics of the community than to know that poets will have you pilloried in their next composition" (MERRIAM 1959: 51).

The leading figure in German African folklore studies, Herrmann Jungraithmayr, on the basis of the latest findings sums up another role of the forms of folklore passed down by oral tradition that can be distinguished from the average communications of everyday life and which also corroborates the close relationship between cultural phenomena and the fundamental social roles:

"... the stories, tales, fables, myths, legends, sayings, riddles, maxims and songs play an extremely important role in traditional education. These stories and quotations reflect the entire cultural and historical experience of a people and their constant reproduction by word of mouth from generation to generation ensures the continuity of the inherited traditions and values of the group" (JUNGRAITHMAYR 1981:162).

I would now like to present a train of thought from each of two outstanding figures in research on African music. In her pioneering work Rose Brandel makes a characteristically ethnological examination of a special social manifestation that was collected among the European peoples only with fatal delay, the work song:

"The propulsive effect of certain types of music is taken advantage of by peoples of all civilizations in their daily attendance to details of livelihood. Physical labor, particularly, seems to benefit from the steady, insistent stimulus provided by certain kinds of musical accompaniment. Primitive groups do not deliberately project the "work music" upon the scene in the manner of modern factory psychologists. Rather, the music seems to be an expressive outgrowth of the labor itself. That the music also alleviates the burden of muscular monotony and spurs on to more energetic endeavours is an indirect concomitant, unconsciously sensed, by the participants. The paddler who flexes his arms and bends his body in a symmetrical, purposeful rhythm begins to identify himself with the sounds and feel of paddling. The paddle cuts the water; the water swishes; his hands grip the handle of the paddle sending it forward, around, and back in some time relationship to the cutting and swishing; his muscles stretch and his bones may creak; the boat has a myriad of motions and counter-motions: all in some interrelated complex of rhythm which causes him to hear and sing something that seems to flow the rhythm. The paddler's song comes into being" (BRANDEL 1961: 32-33).

Kwabena Nketia of Ghana in his book "The Music of Africa", which is the most up-to-date overview of the subject, approaches the special social role of music and thus naturally of poetry, from "within":

"In traditional African societies, music making is generally organized as a social event... The degree of social cohesion in such communities is usually very strong. Not only may the members know one another, but they may also be bound by a network of social relations: they may be kinsmen or members of social groups that cut across kinship.

Spontaneous response to group needs and involvement in collective activity are generally expected of the members of a community. Organized games and sports (such as wrestling), beer parties and feasts, festivals, and social and religious ceremonies or rites that bring the members of a community together provide an important means of encouraging involvement in collective behaviour, a means of strengthening the social bonds that bind them and the values that inspire their corporate life. The performance of music in such contexts, therefore, assumes a multiple role in relation to the community: it provides at once an opportunity for sharing in creative experience, and for using music as an avenue for the expression of group sentiments" (NKEITIA 1975: 21-22).

The well-known overviews that deal not only with the African material, but with the poetry and music of the tribal and primitive cultures of the world in general, such as the works of Maurice Bowra, John Greenway or Bruno Nettl, generally devote little attention to the particular social environment of the archaic arts and traditional culture, probably as a reaction to the generalities that are so endlessly repeated in the literature. In the chapter on Uses of Literature in his book, Greenway (1964: 244-245) essentially deals with the reverse question. That is, how the myth appearing in different literary forms becomes a means of hushing up "dirty historic cases" or how oral literature becomes a yardstick and sanction for the censoring of different levels and phenomena of social life. However Nettl (1956:10) writes that it is rather difficult to distinguish between the social manifestations of musical types in primitive and higher cultures since rich complexity can be found in both. Nevertheless, there is one significant striking difference: music linked to a particular function is far more common in primitive societies than in the form of separate performances. This is undoubtedly true if, for example all genres described in European folklore studies as ritual songs (from cradle songs to wedding songs, from work songs to wake songs) are regarded as linked to an occasion. It is another matter that in our opinion the decisive difference is to be found in the system of communication, but this question will not be discussed until the final section of the study.

It is surprising that Bowra, who otherwise selects his material to be examined on the basis of very precise social anthropological and social history criteria, also devotes relatively little attention to identifying the relationships between culture and society, poetry and forms of communal activity. Nevertheless, he makes a remark that is very illuminating for our subject, particularly since it is based on an analysis of poetical manifestations not only of the Eskimos and the Fuegian Indians, of certain foraging Asian groups (e.g. the Andaman Islanders or the Vedda of

Sri Lanka, but also of three African ethnic groups; the Pygmies who live in scattered groups in the equatorial forests, the Bushmen, nomads of the Kalahari and the Hill Damaras who live on the fringes of the Kalahari):

"In dealing with these songs we must make up our minds how primitive they really are. When we look at what they say, we find a marked spirit informing them, which arises from the fundamental needs of their singers in their exacting way of life. However attractive the subject or the details of a song may be, it bears the colour of its social setting and speaks for it, but behind this there is usually discernible an outlook which is enforced by primitive conditions and to that degree unchanging. (...) If we can establish the main features in a common outlook, we may be more confident that we are on the right way to understanding primitive man as he reveals himself in his songs, and displays through them a consciousness which belongs peculiarly to men who live in such conditions as his" (BOWRA 1962: 18).

We have left to the end of this short survey of the literature revealing the different aspects of the relationships between traditional arts and society, extracts pertinent to our theme from two works. Ruth Finnegan, who has earned a name for herself in African studies with a monumental overview (1970), in her more recent book (1977) in essence raises her voice against the present state of research which, because of the methodological basis used, glosses over the problem of the relationship between traditional poetry and society. As she writes:

"Researchers with a primarily literary interest have tended to concentrate on stylistic and textual matters and taken little interest in the social organisation of poetry or its wider effects, while sociologists and anthropologists have often gone for analysis of the overtly political and officially recognised groupings rather than the activities of poets: when poetry has been considered it has often been relegated to some neat pre-determined category. Even the accounts that are available tend to concentrate on certain aspect - not surprisingly, since oral poetry has an infinite range of ramifications, not all of which can be encapsulated in a single account" (FINNEGAN 1977: 245-246).

In her fundamental work entitled "Ethnopoetry" also published in 1977, Heda Jason includes a short chapter under the title: Biology of Ethnopoetry (JASON 1977). In this summary of only four pages she makes a number of important remarks. From a number of relationships between concrete genres and social spheres of action, she reaches the conclusion that: "The use of specific items in particular situations has an important function in oiling the wheels of the social action" (JASON 1977:250). But in the beginning of her series of remarks on The social application she notes: "The ethnopoetic work is used in various social situations, each of which can be conceptualized as a communicative event" (JASON 1977: 249).

Music, with which "Words are Eaten"

The world-famous Nigerian Writer Chinua Achebe claims that: "Among the Ibo the art of conversation is regarded very highly, and proverbs are the palm-oil with which words are eaten" (ACHEBE 1958: 6). Let us turn this thought to our own advantage. It would appear that music plays a fundamental role in the everyday or festive processes of realization of forms of artistic communication in traditional African society. At the same time it serves as a basic pillar in moulding the final forms of the texts.

Scholars have as yet devoted relatively little attention to the genres and types that arise on the basis of a "syncretism" of forms in poetry and music and to the operating mechanism of the human community behind them.

Thus, although the social role of oral literary forms is taken into account by such researchers dealing with textual folklore as the American Dan Ben-Amos (1975), the English researchers B.W. Andrzejewski and Gordon Innes (1975) and Ruth Finnegan (1970), the Nigerians Oyin Ogunba (1971/1972), Joel Adedeji (1976) or Isidore Okpewho (1979), and others, little or no attention has been paid to the direct or indirect communal role and form of functioning or the different genres or given texts and folklore creations. This, for example, in a volume presenting tales of the Limba of Sierra Leone, Ruth Finnegan notes: "Story, song and dance are of daily importance in Limba life" (FINNEGAN 1967: 25). But the train of thought stops here and the author goes on to consider a different question, the characteristic Limba forms of artistic expression. Ben-Amos who, in his much-quoted study deals mainly with the social status of the performer in connection with the social use of folklore genres, expresses an important thought, although it is not supported in more detail by examples and analyses:

"In the actual communicative situations the rules of folklore use, the set of behavioural prescriptions and expectations become the social features of verbal art forms. The cognitive system discussed earlier reflects the abstract principles which govern the use of folklore in society, but it is the actual manipulation of forms in personal interaction and the ability to modify rules pragmatically which demonstrate the dynamics of folklore in society, and the interplay between principles and necessities" (BEN-AMOS 1975: 186).

It is already clear from the earlier quotations (see Pepper, Merriam, Tracey, Brandel, Nketia, etc.) that researchers studying the "other side" of African oral traditions, that is, musical forms of expression, react far more strongly than this to the communal context of the oral forms.

A whole series of ethnomusicologists have come to see that certain musical forms (rites, dances, songs, etc.) symbolically reflect society itself, express the festive and everyday (that is, the practical) ideology of the community "embodied" in myths, and play a direct part in the regulation of social coexistence. Kwabena Nketia, the outstanding Ghanaian scholar already quoted, writes the following in his work that gives a general overview:

Implied in the internal organization of musical items and musical types is the exercise of some measure of social control. The music for a rite, a ceremony, or festival may not normally be performed in another context unless there is some special reason for doing so. On the same basis, the choice of musical resources - for example the use of musical instruments - may be regulated: special drums not used elsewhere may be set aside for the worship of the divinities, while musical instruments dedicated to kings may not be played for ordinary individuals. Where the same instruments are used, the repertoire may be different.

Furthermore, the type of performance allowed for different occasions or situations may be controlled. The full ensemble may be used on one occasion and a smaller one for another. The periods for musical performances may likewise be regulated. The incidence of particular forms of music making may be related to leisure time, the ritual calendar, crises in the life of the individual or the community, and the exigencies of the seasons, in terms of which communities order their lives. There are communities that vary their emphasis on recreational music making relative to their agricultural activities, making it somewhat sporadic during the sowing season, but frequent and intense during the harvest season or during the dry season. There are others that respond to changes of the moon and take advantage of moonlit nights for the enjoyment of music and dance as well as other recreational activities, such as story telling and games.

Sometimes the schedule of musical activities is related to the beliefs of a community - to the wishes of the gods they worship or to the reactions evoked from the spirits and forces that are believed to play a vital role in the drama of human existence. Among the Lele of Kasai, for example, rules about drums are enforced by religious sanctions. Drumming is a legitimate nighttime activity, and may occur in full daylight only on days of rest; during periods of mourning that may last up to three months, dance drums may not be beaten in this particular village. Similarly, in Ga society, drumming is banned for three weeks before the annual harvest festival begins.

The implications of all this is that we should not expect to hear music in an African community every hour of the day or every day of the week, nor should we expect to hear music on every social occasion or during every kind of collective activity. African societies are selective: some of the rites performed in a given society may be musical events, while others are performed quietly with little or no music. Likewise, the singing of work songs may be a feature of only some types of manual labor. In this regard, African societies differ in the kinds of activities for which they provide music. Some societies, for example, celebrate marriage with a great deal of music, while others do not; similarly, some use music in the rites performed for twins, while others do not make these a focus for music making." (NKETIA 1975: 26-27).

Ruth Stone in a recently published book (1982), records essentially the same experiences in connection with the Liberian Kpelle. Her remark on the critical function of oral traditions however underlines the observation of Tracey already presented and summed up by Merriam. What is new in Stone is the observations concerning the characteristic symbolic relations between the instruments and performers, and the sacral surrogate participants, and the social structure:

"Social structure is connected with musical performance, although the social structure of performance is different from that of everyday life. the personification of instruments and instrument parts, such as strings, reflects social structure, as does the manipulation of social relations within events. This manipulation not only involves the instruments, but the participants and their multiple identities. Certain social relations and interactions which are normally constrained are made permissible and even encouraged in music interaction. Solo singers can assume the role of a chief's critic when, in other situations, the chief's actions would not be questioned. Within the performance context, a musician interacts from a high social position, although it is only held within the finite space of performance. Performers also have the license to criticize people and institutions not legitimately questioned within the context of everyday interaction.

The music event interaction also incorporates the presence and influence of surrogate participants to a much greater degree than in everyday life. The more the performance incorporates ritual and religious aspects, the more it is likely to involve surrogate participants in the form of spirits and predecessors. These personages must be considered as an important aspect of the total social structure, and their incorporation into music events is of interest to the ethnomusicologist" (STONE 1982: 130-131).

In his numerous books and studies dealing with the the music of the Venda of South Africa John Blacking (1967, 1969, 1973) has revealed the internal relationships of traditional musical forms and the life and ideology of society and its appearance in recent times as an expression of political resistance (as a secondary process of signalization). Thus, he identifies a special relationship between the Venda children's songs and their national dance, the tshikona, in their tonal system and melodic structure. His analysis shows that part of the songs performed in the girls' initiation camp reflect, in their musical structure, the fundamental social prestige of the tshikona and its organizational function in recent times. This is not by chance, for this national dance accompanied by reed pipes and drum which is performed at the funeral or commemorative celebrations of important leaders, at the rock monuments to the predecessors of former chiefs, at the time of the sacred Ihevula rites or on the occasion of other

important social events, despite its simple form and style, is the greatest musical manifestation of the Venda (the Venda themselves consider this to be the most beautiful and the greatest of their musical manifestations), one of the most important means for "experiencing" the traditional society:

"... many formal changes in European music came about as a result of attempts by composers to make people more aware of social disharmony and inequality. Musical creativity was thus a function of composers' attitudes to the separation of people in societies which should have been fully cooperative. In much the same way, we may say that the thematic relationships of tshikona and the Venda children's songs express corresponding social relationships. Ishikona symbolized the largest society known to the Venda in the past; and because the oppression of apartheid restricts them in the larger society of which they are painfully aware, this traditional society still remains the largest in which they can move about with comparative freedom. Ishikona is universal both in content and in form: everyone attends it; it epitomizes the principle of individuality in community (like a Bach chorale, it is interesting for all performers, in contrast to the average hymn accompaniment which reduces altos and tenors to slaves of sopranos and basses); and its musical structure incorporates the most important features of Venda music. It is a shared experience, both socially and musically.

Venda children's songs are also universal, rather than parochial, in that every Venda child is expected to sing some of them and their performance is not limited to a cult group or social clique (BLACKING 1973: 101-102).

The manifestations of the special social force of oral traditions and more precisely of traditional music and - confirming Blacking's analyses above all of the dance can be followed in the latest work of the American researcher Charles Keil (1979). On a number of occasions Keil deals with the tsav ideology of the Iiv of Nigeria which is not merely the source of myths or a special case of belief in spirits, but at the same time a unique behaviour-regulating system, a mobilizing force acting in both negative and positive directions in social and individual existence. However, the tsav which dwells in all individuals and which grows in strength with age, appears and is expressed directly in oral traditions and in what is perhaps the most important festive "life space" of the Iiv, the dance. Thus, in the following passages, Keil raises valuable thoughts on the special link between the "life ideology" of the Iiv and their traditional artistic expressions:

"Under normal circumstances the tsav ideology gives Iiv a great inner confidence. On good terms with the patriline, every Iiv, in theory at least, stands to live in good health forever. Everyday life is full of chatter and bustle; Iiv are cheerful, active, exceptionally candid, conveying the strong

impression that they have nothing to hide and little to fear. Some Tiv are quiet, more circumspect about treading on the toes of others, much less likely to shout out or elbow in; but in general, activities are characterized by a more or less genial struggle for the center of the concentric circles. Five people begin to offer testimony in court at once, but only one will continue to speak. Before the first story is quite finished, three tale-tellers jump to the center, but two will quickly give up or be shouted down.

The force of personality is culturally prized up to a point; Tiv delight in spotting hubris in a child: 'look, he has tsav already!' When Tiv speak in the idiom of personality - a ta urum 'he shoots brightness'; a wa ime, 'he puts us in the dark'; a wanger yum, 'she certainly glows' one can sense pride in and resentment of the person so described and the space they are able to appropriate. But Tiv space can become finite, inner and outer space identical, under adverse circumstances. Between confident core and outer cheerfulness lies a thin paranoid layer that can expand infinitely as an individual contracts, lies down, refuses to eat, waits for the death of the bewitched.

It is the underlying argument of the chapters which follow that song, tale telling, and especially the dance represent the most positive, life-affirming forces and values in Iivland, a powerful collective antidote to the negative or individualistic aspect of tsav. Tiv composers and their helpers offer a constant corrective for whatever is going wrong and praises for those who do right. The tales, as told and enacted, not only return the Tiv to laughter but create a parallel world in which the powerful, the 'big men', are always undone and 'the people' are made wiser in the undoing. The circles of men's and women's dances, in which virtually all young people take part, are the best organized and most enjoyable events in Tiv life. The unifying pulse of the drummers at the center and the encircling audience define a middle ground in which individual actions compliment each other perfectly. Here at last individual angle can find its proper place within the circle. The dance perfectly summarizes the Tiv pattern, the best grounds for being in Iivland. Yet the intense focus on song, tales, and dance is a reciprocal function of the worst forces in Tiv life, a middle ground that can suspend, only temporarily, the middle layer of paranoia that always threatens to fill Tiv space.

When the songs and tales and dances are over - and the Tiv too wish that they would never end - the struggles for the center and the expansions at the circumference continue" (KEIL 1979: 20-21).

To sum up, it can be said that in traditional African societies music appears not in a separate form, but as an integral part of communication of an artistic type, as its fundamental operating element. At the same time, it acts not merely as the "formal regulating function" of texts that generally appear to be informal and improvised, but in given cases also acquires an independent social function, partly as a "symbolic form of expression" (see Blacking) and partly as the emotional and moral "organizing force" linking the individual to society (see Keil). Of course, this does not exclude the possibility of music being taken into account as an aesthetic value within the traditional tribal communities too: it is sufficient here to refer in Keil's description to the efforts for the best possible performance and to

the deep appreciation of the performance. It is another question that the forms of manifestation and operation of aesthetic values in oral societies showing marks of pre-statehood are still largely unclarified, due mainly to the lack of field research in this direction.

"Allied Arts"

There is undoubtedly a special phenomenon in the history of science to be found behind the fact that syncretism, the key word in connection with the art of the non-European peoples in 19th century studies does not appear at all, either in the last two theoretical studies mentioned, or in general in the more recent literature dealing with traditional cultures (with the exception of religious history and research on beliefs where the expression is used with a different meaning).

Moreover, there has not been any attempt to fill it with new content, or - in view of the fact that the need for investigations related to the phenomenon of syncretism has greatly increased in more recent research - to replace this category now felt to be outdated, with a new one. Nevertheless, one of the most apt thoughts in connection with traditional tribal or ethnological culture embodying the first great age of social development was undoubtedly expressed in the word syncretism which, apart from any academic interpretation of the word, was primarily intended to contrast the world of European societies of the past centuries that has been fragmented into a thousand parts, phenomena, spheres of action, units, levels, life spaces, forms of activity, etc., with the archaic societies that structurally form a coherent whole and with their late after-images that can still be found right up to the present,¹ the tribal formations representing numerous phases in the great period preceding the foundation of the state. It has perhaps never been raised in the literature that this thought is essentially very close to what we find in Lukács's theory of the novel in that he contrasts the totality and whole world found in the classical Greek epic to the particularity, partial world and partial individuality found in the 18th-19th century bourgeois novel. Undoubtedly, the living reality of this question and the similarity of the problem that exists between the Lukács thesis and the cultural and social syncretism existing in tribal societies (the coexistence in modern society of differing elements and organs forming different parts) justifies Wagner's desperate attempt, on the basis of Nietzsche's theory, to recreate the "whole art" (Gesamtkunstwerk) of the

archaic world in his operas. More precise information on the history of the concept of syncretism created to characterize the special art of archaic societies can be found in "A folklór esztétikájához" by Vilmos Voigt:

"The concept of syncretism was defined by the evolutionist social science and aesthetic schools of the last century. They used it to refer to the phenomenon found in primitive artistic creations where the different artistic forms are not separated from each other and where art and everyday practice can scarcely be distinguished from each other either. At first this category was quoted merely as proof of the common origin, simultaneous emergence and simultaneous creation of the different arts (the original Greek expression itself has the meaning of 'creation together'), in such striking examples as the festive customs of the so-called primitive peoples in which the text, music and dance are completely intertwined, there is no distinction between the creator and performer, the works are the product of the occasion and magical, practical and aesthetic motivations are all mingled together in their interpretation. Brilliant theories were created finding the cause of syncretism in the poetic ability of the ancient peoples in general, in the poetic nature of the dawn of mankind and in the expansive and uncontrolled emotions of the early peoples. Those who held such views often sought such romantic origins for language too and held it to be the product of this syncretic idyll. No less a scholar than Darwin himself, for example, subscribed to this concept.

However, since then we have succeeded in learning more about the nature and causes of syncretism and about the characteristics of the art of classless societies in general. The most important of these is that in this stage of the different human communities there is only a single art, the communal art. There is no professional art and no professional artists. All this makes the creation of works of art very frequent, simple and commonplace, while at the same time these creations are extremely incidental and primitive for there are no specialists in them and they have no differentiated occasions or genres" (VOIGT 1972/b: 26-27).

This summary by Vilmos Voigt clearly shows the problems which explain why those already quoted and many other past and present folklore researchers do not wish to use the term syncretism and thus in the final analysis do not deal with the phenomenon itself either. However, in this respect the research of recent years reminds us of the metaphor of the pot full of boiling water that requires only a single drop that will eventually build up the pressure to lift the lid.

For we find that works dealing with the oral forms, whether they be summaries of field work, the publication of collections or theoretical works increasingly emphasize the dramatic nature in a whole series of genres. Heda Jason also mentions that: "The presentation of the ethnopoetic work includes its dramatic patterns... the narrator and his activity and the composition and activity of his audience, the narrating community" (JASON 1977: 250-251).

This question is raised much more sharply in the dozens of studies

and volumes that deal with the performance of the tale, legend or song of praise and, more rarely with the way in which the rites are performed. In his study "Performance of Oral Narrative", Harold Scheub notes in connection with a tale collected a hundred years ago by Bishop Henry Callaway: "In this version, a theme of transition from childhood to adulthood is made explicit... the performance dramatizing the Zulu rite of passage" (SCHEUB 1977: 63).

When publishing the Bulu "Moneblum epic", Eno Belinga (1977: 12) constantly stresses that his informer, Daniel Osomo dances and sings the mvét epic (the mvét is a harp-like instrument with resonators made of big gourd shells and the performer is called mbomo mvét "the beater of the mvét"). And when reading the descriptions of numerous tales or epics we find that they are more than a simple narration: the performer or his assistants supplement the performance with dancing, mime or descriptive gestures. However, in the case of some tales, it is not only the song inserts that are performed in the form of solo-chorus responses but also the story in prose during which a form of dialogue takes shape before the observers.

The fact of dramatization that I have earlier attempted to point out (BIERNACZKY 1976), is expressed in the various types and different levels of narrative. It can be clearly seen from a musical transcript I made of the Fang Akoma Mba epic (BIERNACZKY 1977: 16-19) that the performance fluctuates between rhythmic speech, recitativo and song. A similar phenomenon was observed in the West African Mandingo "Sunjata epic" by Gordon Innes who tried to reflect the differing tones (speech, recitativo, song) by publishing the texts with different types of paragraphs (INNES 1974, 1976, 1978). Peter Seitel (1980) chose a far more illustrative method when publishing his transcripts of Tanzanian folk tales: he attempted to reproduce not only the tones but also the volume and pitch by alternating small and capital letters, Roman, bold-face type and italics. Like Seitel, P.A. Noss (1979) in his research on Gbaya tales and Donald Cosentino (1982) in his work on Mende tales both stressed the dramatic features of the performance of the tale. It is of special note that Cosentino even speaks of theatricality, stressing not only the role of music and dance, but also that of the site, the costume and the lighting (COSENTINO 1982: 88-116).

At the same time, one of Cosentino's chapter headings "Allied arts" once again reminds us of the lid rising on the pot of boiling water (COSENTINO 1982: 100); under this heading he surveys the main criteria of the different manifestations of song and dance related to the performance of

tales.

Rite or "Traditional Drama"

In the following section we would like to draw attention to another genre group, one that again raises the question of dramatic presentation. Even more, since we would like to give an idea of the dramatic nature of the rituals - and thus of their syncretic nature - it should also be noted that literary historians dealing with the African theatre unanimously declare that the professional theatre schools and centres on the continent arose directly from the world of the local rituals. The path covered can be seen with special clarity in Nigeria in particular; this path can be traced from the rituals still experienced in their original form, their festive secularization, through the folk opera (an improvised theatrical adaptation of materials drawn from the rituals and supplemented with music and dances), to the theatre in local languages and finally to the English-language world theatre created from it, such as Wole Soyinka's "world theatre" imbued with numerous elements of rituals.

Our next series of examples illustrating the intertwining of the arts, the coexistence of culture of the social spheres begins not with a ritual in the strict sense of the term but rather with a group of festive customs imbued with ritual elements. Although the date of our source is very early - Father A. Felix Dufays published his lengthy description of "Song and singing in marriage proposals and marriage ceremonies in Mulera-Rwanda" in the 1909 issue of *Anthropos* - we feel with satisfaction when reading this report that it must be based on thorough collecting work. We also have the impression that in the case of the Bantu agricultural ethnic groups the events of the period from the marriage proposal to the wedding feast are characterized by a chain or cluster nature, like the wedding customs of the European peoples.

The study presents a detailed description of many different kinds of "events" having the nature of a custom and often presented in a dramatic way in the course of the preparation and holding of the wedding and in the following weeks. For reasons of space, it is impossible to give even extracts from these here. However, it is worth mentioning that musical notation is given for the texts of four songs (DUFAYS 1909: 860, 867, 870, 875). These indicate the approximately pentatonic character of the Rwanda songs, although it is likely that the transcriptions are not altogether

precise as regards rhythm and melody and, naturally, four transcriptions are not sufficient to give a picture of the music of the so-called "interlacustrine" Bantu people who have long historical traditions.² However, we shall quote a song that is sung two days after the wedding when parents and friends visit the young wife. The text of the song states that whatever happens between husband and wife, the women friends wish to remain loyal to the young wife. The transcription of the doh tetratonic tune would probably be more precise without the bar lines added by Dufays (or a colleague?). One further remark should be made in connection with the text: in Rwanda - as among other African pastoral peoples - cattle are regarded as the supreme embodiment of beauty (cf. the use of the names of small animals used as terms of endearment for babies used in familiar language among European peoples today!). The alternation of first and second person in the text produces a special form of "dialogue" in the song that is performed by a single soloist (and the chorus):

Solo



Ai we ndara - ye; ai we hora, ye hora nyene,

Chorus



Ai we ndara - ye.

Wabonye Kalire? ai we kabaye nk' inyana.
Alenda utwubake, ai we yabaye mwemezi.
Ai we hora ye, ai we hora ye, hora nyene.



Mu - leke nterere



Nyabuna nako bukerer - ye, naho brigiye.



Nyabuna si - nali nalya - no.

Ulenda kashumi,
 Nyabuna kanywanye nigufa?
 Ulenda utukoma?
 Ai, we hora, ye, hora nyene.
 Mwampa utukoma.
 Nyabuna kahaye gatima!
 Umwana arakuha.
 Ai, we hora, ye, hora nyene.
 (DUFAYS 1909: 875-876.)

The chorus refrains are given in the English translation. Our intention has been to restore the song to its original full form:

Solo: Oh, I have spent the night! Oh, be silent now, yes, be silent!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Do you see Kalire? She is like a heifer.

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: She wants a new home, oh, let her have one!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Oh, be silent now, oh, be silent now, be silent!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Let me go up to the hill!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Oh, since yesterday morning, since yesterday evening.

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Oh, I have not eaten yet!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Do you want a girdle?

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Oh, friendship binds me to your bones!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Do you want sorghum mash!

Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

Solo: Oh, be silent now, a be silent now!
 Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!
 Solo: Give me sorghum mash!
 Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!
 Solo: Oh, it strengthens my heart!
 Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!
 Solo: Let the child give it to you!
 Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!
 Solo: Oh, be silent now, yes, be silent now!
 Chorus: Oh, I have spent the night!

The study by Louis-Marie Ongoum entitled "Songs of War" (1972) can be regarded as a counterpoint to the idyllic scenes presented in the previous study. Although it is well known from the literature that the traditional launching of tribal war is accompanied by a whole series of ritual features, the description given by Ongoum on the basis of information gathered from various local informants is nevertheless highly surprising. From his analytical introduction we learn of the traditional war customs of the Cameroon tribes, including the types of war and their causes: the form of hostile incursion, for example, is unknown, but the causes may include rivalry for groups of palm trees or a neighbouring raffia area, dispute over violation of the lands of the village or inherited land - for example, the building of a hut or forbidden storeroom or carrying off women. Ongoum also deals with the organizational forms of the army, arming the warriors, the types of weapons, the supply of food for the army and the art of warfare (battle with spears, battle with guns, trench warfare, the ndam or surprise attack using sticks, stones and pieces of banana wood). Finally, the author sums up what is known about the outcome of warfare. We have selected as an example not the traditional forms of cease-fire or defeat, but the ceremony associated with victory, particularly since this clearly reflects the earlier theoretical conclusions concerning the dramatic or, in other words, syncretic nature of the customary celebration, the intertwining of action, song and dance:

"The victors, in a joyous band, return to their village, the braves brandishing the decapitated heads, their trophies of war. They are presented to the chief, who strikes the ceremonial drum and returns them to their owners with a handsome reward (life, insignia, honorary title). To deserve a reward, the head must have the hair braided (Nkwa): a head without braids is regarded as a woman and the warrior who brings one receives no reward.

Then all the heads are collected and entrusted to the "keeper of trophies (heads)": "ntii -nthu". He removes the lower jaw, then empties them without removing the skin or shaving them, places a desiccative inside the skull then, after anointing them with palm oil, places them on a large tray above the hearth to dry.

On the occasion of the Mǎnjwè warriors' dance or the Ngu victory dance, the warriors gather at the Tǎamǎnjwé'. They sacrifice a goat which is eaten only by those who already have at least one decapitated head to their credit. Then they polish the skulls with oil before displaying them on the site of the dance.

The Ngu' is performed only by warriors. Two circles are formed: one is made up of the warriors who have brought back heads and the other of warriors who returned empty-handed" (ONGOUM 1972: 24).

The Ngu' song following the article serves rather to give an idea of how much is still lacking for a clear picture in all its complexity of the meaning of the victory rite of the Cameroon tribes:

Nsi ngu nco

1. V : Nǒx thu nkwa' waa ndáh thu óo!
R : O hoyáa!
Oo, sǎ njii ni loo
O hoyáa!
2. V : Káamǎncò gèntǎ ǎ fhu óo
3. Muumba'ntèn gèn tǎǎ fhu óo
4. Ndúǎ'lǎ' yoh mbèe nnák ngu' óo
5. Mbúǎ'pòncò gèn tǎ ǎ fhu óo
6. Nzǎhǎ'ncò waa ndáh ngaa óo
7. Nzǎsǎ'sam sǎ' ntúu tom óo
8. Nzǎkhúǎncò khúǎ ngwǎ' ngaa óo
9. Nthu'mbiincò mbèe nnú' mbii óo
10. Nǒ'ndúǎ-mǎ-tèn-mba' mbèe nnú' mbii óo
11. Nzǎndǎǎkǎmbèe ndǎǎ nkam óo
12. Nsǎ'ngwǎsom mbèe njóo ngu' óo
13. Nǒǎncò yǎh mbèe nzen ngu' óo
14. Tǎamǎnjwé' mbèe nca'si.

(ONGOUM 1972: 36-37.)

In the English translation we would like to give the full song form again:

Song - Victory dance

- Chorus: Oh hoyá! Oh come and see him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The head cutter has returned from his victory with heads!
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The fearsome hunter has been able to return!
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The brave fighter has been able to return!
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: Our protector is dancing the Ngu'.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: He who disarms the enemy has been able to return.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The great commander won and seized the guns.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!

Solo: The great jumper of trenches jumped and defeated
the country of the enemy.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The famous coward fled, throwing away his gun.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The disabled fighter is now looking to the military supplies,
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The coward is now looking to the military supplies.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The great singer of the brave is praising the brave.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The leader of the young men is singing the Ngu'.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: Our great captain is dancing the Ngu'.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!
Solo: The leader of the army is rejoicing.
Chorus: Oh hoyá! Come and admire him! Oh hoyá!

Our next example is actually taken from the notes accompanying a gramophone recording. Gilbert Rouget, the internationally renowned French ethnomusicologist, carried out extensive field work immediately after the Second World War in the former Dahomey (now Benin) among the Nago speaking the Yoruba dialect and originally from Nigeria. The title of the record is: The first ignam sacrificial offering to Shango, the god of lightning (1965/1955). The first side of the record gives a precise cross-section of the ceremonial start of the festival that lasts essentially from the evening to the morning of the following day. Although the summarized description also gives a good idea of the exceptional complexity of the African rituals and festivities, it is also quite clear from the description why there is still no activity in research in either folklore or social and cultural anthropology directed at revealing the complex formal and artistic phenomena of the rituals (text, music, dance, mimicry, chronological or festive structure, as well as questions of content, background problems, interrelations, social context), and as a consequence, why we are only able to deal in generalities with the syncretism of rituals, ceremonies and festive customs. The orishas who are represented during the rituals by participants in masks, are the locally honoured "minor deities" of the Yoruba. Their cult and the place they occupy in the Yoruba pantheon is somewhat reminiscent of the custom known and still practised throughout Europe in association with the locally revered saints and the annual festivities held in their honour:

0'00". The guardian of the shrine, iya Shango, begins to sing.
0'42". After singing a long strophe (i), the only one of its kind here, iya Shango begins the first sentence of a different type of strophe (ii). From

this point on, song takes the responsory form - alternating solo and chorus - and consists of a suite of airs, each repeated a varying number of times. 2'22". Several beats of the bata drum can be heard, but are soon interrupted. The drumming begins again shortly after, and this time does not stop.

3'23". Entry of the shere rattle.

4'34". Since Iya Shango has become completely hoarse - she is a woman past her prime - her son Orobadade, also devoted to Shango, takes over and sings the solo part. So it is now he who chooses the succession of airs.

4'59". Orobadade intones a second air. The name of Yemoja, the divinity of fresh and salt waters and mother of Shango, can be made out.

He sings: "Yemoja does not know battle... Yemoja, come and support my voice, the entertainment, the joy..."

5'17". He intones a third air. Exhorting Shango to come, he sings: "Do not sleep in the house, Oh! husband of Oya!"

5'56". A trumpet that has so far remained silent suddenly bursts forth. The people are crowded close together. It is extremely hot. The singing is often confused. The throbbing of the bata drums joins with the urgent notes of the trumpeter to create a tense atmosphere. They sing:

"Shango, carry me on your back so that we can leave together

Oh! man strong as an oshe (double axe)

Let me go with the father

He goes out with us and returns with us to the house

Let me go out with Woru (name of Shango)

6'57". Mingled with the singing, greetings declaimed by part of those present can be heard. An orisha has made its presence known.

8'02". Greetings can be heard again, this time drowning out the singing. There has been a second possession. An orisha has alighted on the head of one of these present. It is Oya. She is acclaimed at length. The trumpet seems to have a triumphant tone to greet her arrival.

8'28". Like the prayer, the greetings end with the words oko wo, obo wo, ato to wo ya (literally: "penis, look! vulva, look! foreskin, look!", for "men, women, children, look!")

8'45". Iya Shango makes a speech addressed to Oya who replies with a cry. More greetings for Oya.

9'14". Orobadade begins to sing and once again intones an air for Yemoja:

"Yemoja! come and dance in the compound

come and dance in joy."

The gathering is very excited, speaking and moving around. Some of them are engaged in calming the gods who are coming to take possession of their "horses". These possessed ones are shaken by convulsions, roaring and thrashing about.

9'30". Slowly, the people leave the shrine. The drums fall silent and are taken outside, near the door, under a roof of branches that was erected the previous day to shelter them from the heat of the sun.

9'40". Great cry of fright.

10'02". Outside, iya Shango, who has recovered her voice, resumes her role and leads the singing again.

10'30". The trumpet sounds a last time. The enthusiasm dies down. The songs are increasingly incoherent.

10'50". Iya Shango speaks to the orishas, then intones a new tune. "ashe un" (thank you) reply the orishas, who utter cries from time to time and can sometimes be heard to swoon. The singing has stopped, although the drumming continues. The shere rattle can be heard for a moment in the foreground. The

participants, engaged in conversations, gradually take up their places outdoors.

12'40". Iya Shango begins singing again, intoning three tunes. Cries of orishas and greetings to Oya.

14'00". Iya Shango interrupts the singing and addressing Oya and Shango, she says

oko Oya gbona / obo re gbona / iya omo a ba onile pa ile mo / opalemo barabara / ara, ara-o-e ...

"the husband of Oya is hot /in love/ / the wife /lit. the vulva/ is hot /in love/ mother of children, she helps the master of the house to clean the ground / she cleans the ground quickly / marvel, marvel ..."

Cry of one of the two orishas. More greetings for Oya.

14'10". In a broken voice, Shango sings the tune always used to greet Eshu. The gathering replies with an air that has already been sung before. This point marks the real beginning of the suite of dances that will last until dawn" (ROUGET 1965: 70-73).

The study by the South African author H.I.E. Dhlomo on "The nature and varieties of tribal drama" (1939) is of particular relevance to our topic. The author regards the different customary scenes as tribal ritual dramas and approaching them from the inside, that is, as a member of the Zulu ethnic group who is thoroughly familiar with the customs, undertakes to make fine adjustments. His intention is to give an understanding of scenes from rituals that, because of the very considerable shortcomings of the written descriptions (compared to the full presentation) are incomprehensible for the outside observer and reader. He deals in some detail, for example, with the performance of the izibongo, the Zulu song of praise as a special case of tribal ritual drama. Here we quote a few fragments of the text of the Ingoma dance, together with Dhlomo's very apt dramaturgical remarks:

The Ingoma dances were a form of tribal art most akin to pure drama, for they combined poetry and action, song and makeup. Let us consider another example quoted by Vilakazi.³ We shall reconstruct it into the form in which it should originally have appeared.

INGOMA

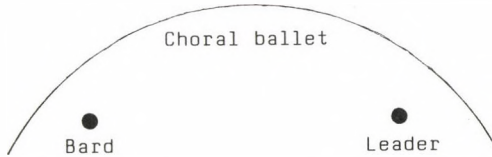
(A Tribal Lyrical Dramatic Fragment)

Characters

- A: An Induna (represented by a leading warrior who talks and dances in front of the choral ballet)
- B: The Chief (represented by the bard who, together with A, struts about before the choral ballet)

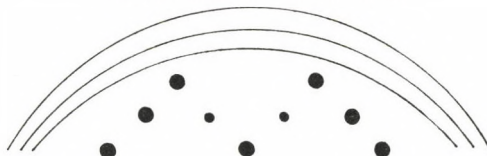
C: A scout (inhlooli)

D: The choral ballet, consisting of warriors



Sometimes the warriors are two or three deep; and when the Ingoma is at its height, and the performers are intoxicated by feeling, inspired individuals leave the ranks of the dance-singers, burst into the front, and themselves let loose a flood of poetic frenzy. Therefore at its peak moments the full Ingoma can be shown thus:

Choral ballet three deep



- A: As I crossed the river I saw a Zulu smith carrying a bundle of sticks.
- B: Then Ndaba will arm and attack us.
- A: You shouldn't have done it - this your quarrel with him.
Behold thou hast rolled a boulder; people will die.
(enter scout perspiring)
- C: Here come the scythemen, the Zulu warriors, to mow us down.
- B: Ah! Exile is our lot. To new lands we must fly. Would I had power to fight these prowling Zulu lions.
Alas! I am not what I used to be.
(a pause)
Wo, heyiya hhe!
- D: (i.e. the Chorus, taking up the theme, harmonising and dancing to it)
A bundle of spears.
Then Ndaba will be armed and will attack.
People will die; here come the scythemen.
Exile has been our lot,
I am not what I used to be.
Wo, heyiya hee! (DHLOMO 1939: 38-41)

Naturally, the reconstruction of the dramatic structure of the traditional Zulu Ingoma dance gives little idea of the real quality of the performance and does not give a picture of its structure in time either. Traditional dance performances of this nature on the one hand always have the effect of improvisation and on the other hand are built up of countless repetitions. Thus the above text may be sufficient for dramatic play lasting a full hour. It is also worth noting that the Ingoma presented above is more secular than the previous examples or, more precisely, is based on a more historic theme: in close relationship with the Zulu songs of praise, it recalls an aspect of the tribal past full of battles.

It would appear that the examples given above definitely confirm our claim that the concept of syncretism will have to be re-evaluated sooner or later. It is another matter that there are naturally problems with the term itself. For if we compare this term - and this is not a play on words - to the terms synchrony/synchronism and synthetism, we discover essential qualitative differences that must also be taken into account if we wish to use this concept to rethink this essential question of tribal society and culture. For a problem that must not be neglected either is that the different levels of traditional or tribal culture and the life of society must also be taken into account when examining the syncretism (synchronism, synthetism?) or, in other words, the simultaneous existence of different qualities of the parts and their intertwining. For the system of relations of cultural elements that can generally be found in communal life requires an entirely different approach from the connection between work and music.

The Basic Forms of Traditional Communication

At the same time, the questions arising in connection with the problem of syncretism make it clear that the traditional manifestation of the combination of poetry, music and society can certainly not be examined adequately without taking into account the lessons of communications theory. In two studies I tried to show in connection with the tale with song (BIERNACZKY 1976, 1979) that the code type (method of information transfer!) of traditional societies differs from the code type of contemporary societies in that while the former used a multiple code (linguistic: verbal, poetic and prose, narrative and dialogue; non-linguistic: music, mimicry, dance), the latter generally uses only a double code (linguistic: written; non-linguistic: music, etc.).

I would like to supplement here my earlier view with the notion that the traditional and modern coding differ in another respect too. While in the traditional form a single or at the most a two-step form of communication can be found (1. all members of the community are present in the course of the communication; 2. only a specific group receives the communication -see, for example, the council of elders, secret societies, age groups, sexes, etc. - and in such cases the members of the restricted circle later transmit the communication to the whole community), in the ancient or European-type societies there is an extremely complex multi-stage system, for example for communications of importance for all citizens (it is sufficient to consider how information on a state decision reaches all villages and all age strata of a particular society, see in the Hungarian literature: HOPPÁL 1970:1977).

Another important theoretical consideration for communications theory research can be found in a study by Vilmos Voigt (1972/a) who distinguishes three fundamental levels in the peasant or tribal world: the everyday, the folk poetry (or folklore) and the professional forms of communication of oral tradition. It is not possible here to enter into a more detailed explanation of this question illustrated with examples. It should be noted however that this multi-level system provides a very important consideration merely in the case of textual analysis too. It is sufficient to think in the text of an African major epic (this genre undoubtedly belongs in the repertoire of what the literature describes as the semi-professional tribal singer/performer/narrator) of the meaning of the simultaneous and intertwined presence of a style, tone of speech and form corresponding to the three levels of communication.

Some authors conclude that if the melody is removed from them, tales with songs or the song texts of major epics appear to be simple prose statements. Thus the musical tune presumably play an important role in making the texts of the song inserts appear to be not everyday but folklore (tale with song) or professional (heroic epic texts) modes of communication. In analyzing the "Mwindo" epic of the Nyanga of Zaire, Daniel Biebuyck makes a detailed examination of the different folklore genres (saying, proverb, song, tale subject, legend, etc.) incorporated in the text of the epic which is known by all the members of the community and thus, according to the system mentioned can be classified in the folklore mode of communication (BIEBUYCK 1969, 1978). At the same time it is clear that the full text of

the "Mwindo" or other epics contain a series of different formal traits that correspond to the level of the professional mode of communication. It is sufficient to think of the complex system of internal repetition (the repetition of words, epic epithets, lines, passages that undoubtedly also contributes to the creation of the structural unity), or of the large forms created in the episodic structure.

At the same time, the variety of modes of communication and the links arising between the different genres and the coexistence of genres are again an indication in another aspect of the presence of the phenomenon that can best be described by the term syncretism that has been felt in recent decades to be outmoded. We would like to emphasize that the possibility of communications theory analysis holding out the promise of important new results is a further indication of the need to reconsider the question of the special tribal links between the constituent elements of culture and society, if needs be, also along the concept of syncretism.

The Basic Features of Traditional African Poetry and Music:
Genres or "Dramatized Life Scenes"

Everything that we regard as traditional verbal or musical art in the old African cultures is essentially based on a range of tools of communication, regulation, teaching/moralizing/model-giving and at the same time aesthetic in everyday and festive life. In a lecture (BIERNACZKY 1980) I tried to show how the "permanent work connections", set forms of speech and linguistic clichés representing the folklore mode of communication - mainly found in the form of sayings and proverbs - appear in the everyday life and the general context of the everyday mode of communication in the daily life of traditional societies.

To give an idea of this phenomenon, we quote W.F.P. Burton (1943) who describes the categories in the traditional mode of speech among the Luba of Zaire. As the author notes, certain "geographical name descriptions", can be observed, for example, at this people. If for example, the Mwanza mountain is mentioned it is immediately expressed in the form of a permanent word connection:

"Mwanza lulu tele biya. Kuboko kwakata Kilenge. Kulu kwakela Kanshimba.
Mwanza Hill, well extended. The arm reaches to Kilenge. The foot goes as far as Kanshimba." There is a similar form of "linguistic representation" for other geographical places (villages, hills, stone outcrops, patches of

forest and streams). The Luba describe people, animals and trees in the same way. For example: "Umbanga mukomo. Utyumuna tusolwa. Umbanga /tree/ the strong. It breaks axes." Or: "Ntambo Kibwende kadiladila. Adile udaya. The lion Kibwende does not roar for nothing. When he roars he devours" (BURTON 1943: 94-95).

The literature constantly returns to the example of the Ashanti society as a special case of the use of the proverb. The tiny Akan states located in the south-west of today's Ghana that look back on a past of almost a thousand years - which were united around 1700 by Osei Tutu who founded Kumasi, the capital of the people of the Golden Stool - show a special social stratification (see, among others: RATTRAY 1923, MEYEROVITZ 1951, 1952, 1958, 1960, ANTUBAM 1963, ASSIMENG 1980). This stratification indicating traditional organization of the state is accompanied by the emergence of the elite stratum. What has all this to do with the body of sayings? The sign of "education" among the elite in the Akan states was precisely the number of proverbs they were able to use in their speech (RATTRAY 1923). The proverbs also took shape in a variety of miniature statuettes made of gold. According to some researchers the number of variations of these small sculptural symbols is as many as 300,000. It is also worth noting that in the last third of the 19th century J.G. Christaller published some 3600 proverbs in the Tshi language (1879), of which R.S. Rattray published 830 again in 1916 with translations and explanations (1916). J.B. Christensen in his study (1958) defines the social role of the folklore genre: he analyses its appearance in legal customs, in connection with the life of the clan, the relationship between the chief and the state, with the old, with the education of children, entertainment and forms of behaviour.

On the subject of the use of sayings in customary law, it is worth noting that we can form a certain picture of the acoustic manifestation of this characteristic African "life situation" from a gramophone record. On the reverse side of the Folkways Ethnic record entitled Music of the Western Congo (VERWILGHEN 1952) we find an example that records the customary law practice of the Bambala (Mbala) that was also well known by Emil Torday. It clearly shows what a close unity is formed by: /a/ the individual elements of social practice (in order to decide who is right in a dispute, the whole village gathers under the guidance of the chief; an "official" person represents each of the parties in the dispute; after hearing the arguments, the judgment is pronounced in the name of the elders

of the clan), and /b/ the manifestations of a cultural-artistic nature (the chief directs the court proceedings with a small talking drum; the procedure is accompanied by dramatic elements of a customary nature; the accused paints a situation picture determined by customs explaining why he had to appear before the village; the arguments are presented in places in prose and in places in the form of song; the arguments are partly song texts containing symbolical elements and partly proverbs that often have special domains of meaning that are exploited by the "traditional defenders").

It would be very difficult to decide whether traditional justice belonged in the sphere of everyday or festive life. However, it is clear that the use in everyday life and common speech of the simpler folklore forms (proverbs, sayings, songs) brings us close to the phenomenon constantly found in African life which we have been able to observe in a whole series of manifestations in the examples given so far, namely that in the course of the traditional African way of life, different everyday "slices of life", cycles and periods receive a play-like or otherwise dramatized nature through the formalization of participation and behaviour forms. In any African novel depicting the traditional world we can discover details in which the occasions of shared communal life and the processes of conversation are realized not in an "everyday" way, but in an elevated style, rhetorically, on the basis of a special choreography. So it is not by chance that in one of his works Chinua Achebe, the world-famous Nigerian writer notes the important role played in Ibo society by the elevated (or rhetorical, oratorical) art of speech (ACHEBE 1960: 18). Ruth Finnegan devotes a whole chapter in her book to oratory and formal speaking as a subtype of prose folklore (FINNEGAN 1970: 444-480). In addition to the Akan, Ibo and Mbala examples already mentioned, she draws attention to the Rundi, Tusi and Limba forms of speech. On the basis of her own Limba (Sierra Leone) research, she points out that the formalized forms of public speech (on communal occasions) are used on numerous occasions - such as visits, greeting returning travellers, instructing the young, marriage "negotiations" (see e.g. Dufays' cited article), in the intervals during dances, in the course of initiation and other ceremonies and in expressions of thanks for a gift or intercession.

We can of course already find perceptive observations concerning the dramatic nature of the "folklore" of primitive peoples at F.Boas. In his renowned work, "Primitive Art", he concludes the chapter on Literature, Music and Dance with the following sentence: "The further development of

movement accompanying songs leads to true mime and finally to dramatic performance" (BOAS 1955: 348). M.J. Herskovits also discovers the significance in the dramatic mode of expression in the spiritual life on the "primitives". In one of his early studies (HERSKOVITS 1944: 686-687), this outstanding figure of American cultural anthropology and African studies deals mainly with the dramatic character of rituals. In addition he also points out that just as religion is a force acting directly in the life of the tribal societies, in the same way the dramatic mode of expression is an important part of life. And this special life practice and demand for self-expression is embedded in the life on the community with great force and remarkable psychic permanence.

The rituals, as the highest expression of primitive drama, are not merely myths told in the choreography of dance accompanied by the rhythm of the drums, song or presented as action. They are also answers to a question: they ensure the rain, good harvests and the smooth life of society.

Although no overall work has yet been written on the dramatic nature of oral traditions in tribal societies, the idea also arises in Soviet folklore studies. Meletinsky, tracing the past of oral art makes the following remark:

"...In the age before literature, poetry was inseparable from music. Ritual and lyric poetry existed only in a song-like form and was frequently supplemented with dramatic-stage elements...The musical element dominates in the songs; they are determined by the rhythm which is already close to the metre of poetry. Rhythm is achieved by the addition of new syllables or by drawing out existing ones and through the short words of stress, exclamations, etc" (MELETINSKY 1982: 155).

It is also interesting to note that this study by the Soviet scholar - drawing to a considerable extent on the ideas of A. Veselovsky in his highly important work "Historic poetry" - examines a whole series of "archaic poetic" features that strongly encourage us to investigate the dramatic nature of the oral traditions of peoples living in an early stage of social developments, particularly concerning the influence of the "performance" on the internal world and stylistic features of the texts.

Moreover, the demand for a dramatized approach in African poetic/musical forms is also discovered in attempts by authors not only to record and comment on the collected texts, but also to present the special means and solutions of the form of performance⁴. Observations related to epics and tales are especially rich in the more recent publications (see,

among others: INNES 1974, 1976, 1978, OKPEWHO 1979, SCHEUB 1975, 1977, NOSS 1979, SEITEL 1980, COSENTINO 1982). Remarks concerning the play features of the performance can also be found in the publication of songs (KILSON 1971, AJUWON 1982).

Taking issue with Veselovsky, Meletinsky (1982: 151-153) claims that, in contrast with the song, the epic did not grow out of the syncretism of ritual (coexistence of genres and kinds of art), but developed in a form quite independent from it. The debate is very instructive although highly theoretical in nature since at the most it is only possible to make deductions concerning the early artistic development of thousands of years ago. The presence in the African folklore genres of the dramatic and play-like character which is synonymous with ritualism - among other things also as the lesson of the examples given above - appears to confirm that the everyday need for "representation", the theatre without a stage, and the urge in this direction that is found everywhere imbues the song forms (lyric texts) in the same way, whether they be part of the ceremony or an independent genre type, the verse or prose narrative genres and the heroic epics.

We now know a great deal about the way in which tales were performed. The so-called tale with songs (chantefable) genre is particularly rich in the African material.⁵ This is the type in which prose (rhythmic prose?) texts are interrupted from time to time by songs, generally in responsory form (based on the responses of solo and chorus). The performer of the tale or his assistants frequently illustrate the story with mime-like, expressive movements. In rare cases we also find tale texts in which a real dialogue also arises in the prose passages too. The audience forms a chorus not only for the song inserts, but in the prose sections also "comments" each sentence of the performer with a simple sentence of a repeated or supplementary type declaimed in chorus. The beginning of tales often with ritual solo-chorus singing and appeals to the audience, as well as the opening and closing formulas also addressed to the audience in theatrical formulas are also of importance as regards dramatization.⁶

A series of dramatic elements are also found in the performance of many customary songs associated with the events of individual lives: cradle song, "songs of accusation" used in customary law situations, boat songs, wedding songs, children's songs simulating adult situations, laments, etc (relevant remarks can be found in: BIERNACZKY 1986/a, 1986/b). All this applies even more in the case of ceremonies associated with the beliefs and historic awareness of the community (the creation of the world, respect of

ancestors, cults of clans, etc.) and their relationship to nature, and of the rites imbued with magical actions ensuring the success of fishing, hunting, agriculture, animal husbandry, etc.

In a considerable part of the rituals the dance naturally plays a role as another element in the syncretic coexistence of genres. However, entertainment dances of a secular nature also have their place in the life of Africans.⁷ Both groups of dances also contain dramatic elements within the genres in that dances of often complex choreography and even series of dances go with the song texts. It is a special feature of the dances associated with rituals that they are often performed in various places (e.g. in the course of a ceremony lasting several days), and also that they are parts of specific "actions", e.g. masked performers represent different roles in the creation myth or the ancestors, using the means of dance and mime to recall the "stories" of the past that are regarded as a pattern, or, e.g. they give weight to the judgment brought in the course of traditional administration of justice.⁸

To sum up, it can be said that the syncretism of genres can be observed most fully in the festive customs related to turning points in individual lives and in the annually repeated rituals ensuring the survival of the community (associated with special days). In these we find not only text, music, dance, mime and decorative art (costumes, masks, instruments, etc.), but also a varied range of oral forms: different types of songs, songs of an epic character (e.g. songs of praise), prose stories and texts (e.g. mythical histories, explanations, oratory, etc.). The range of dramaturgical instruments is not so full in the case of the separate performance of the other genres handed down orally. However, the coexistence of text and music, the style of performance used by the singer with expressive gestures and means of representation (e.g. the mother not only sings but also performs the cradle song for her child and the child falls asleep under the influence of the ever fainter song), and the active participation of the audience recalling the atmosphere of a theatre continues to dominate in the course of the "represented life play".

It should be added that we also find such characteristic transitional genre types in the African material as the "Ozidi Saga" published by J.P.Clark (1977). The creation myth of this small Nigerian people is actually a vast heroic epic which is brought to life by the local communities in the course of a great festival lasting seven evenings and seven nights.

These recently discovered forms, as well as the great wealth of

different African oral genres that has been brought to light provide the possibility for highly important comparative investigations.⁹ As a result of these studies to be made in the near future it is very probable that we will have to alter both our views on universal folklore, our theories on the nature and system of African genres and our assumptions on primitive art and the origin of art.

Notes

- 1 Increasing emphasis is being placed in the literature on the two-way approach that the tribal societies existing today undoubtedly represent an "archaic" state from the viewpoint of the history of mankind. Nevertheless, these societies are not entirely identical with the "archaic societies" of many thousands of years ago since important transformations also took place in these ethnic communities at the time of the emergence of the modern societies. It is an important task for researchers to identify the "archaic" features that have been preserved in their traditions and to trace the transformations that have taken place.
- 2 Recent research has been carried out mainly under the direction of or with the support of the Central Africa Museum of Tervuren. See, among others: Günther 1964; Gansemans 1982 (3 records).
- 3 Dhlomo used the communication of B.W. Vilakazi (1938) as the source for his analytical-creative work.
- 4 I deal with this question in a separate study Biernaczky 1986/b.
- 5 No work summing up this genre phenomenon has yet appeared. See my attempts: Biernaczky 1976, 1979, 1986/c, 1988.
- 6 See, in addition to Seitel 1980, also Scheub 1975. The latter deals in detail with stylistic and compositional questions that are also of interest from the viewpoint of dramatization.
- 7 On the subject of African dances, see above all the overview by Lynne Hanna (1980).
- 8 A great wealth of material is available on this subject: see the relevant entries in the annual bibliographies of the Modern Language Association.
- 9 Syncretism can be examined not only as a characteristic system and communication and for the dramatic aspects of everyday and festive life, but also as a specific feature of traditional, including African, culture of oral society. I have dealt with this question in other studies: Biernaczky 1985/a, 1986/a,b.

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**THE INDIAN AND THE BIRDS:
AMAZONIAN FEATHER-ART**

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The history of fine arts is closely related to the history of artistic materials and techniques. The art of tribal societies is illustrative of the phenomenon how certain materials can influence the development of artistic forms and even styles. When we speak about African art, first of all we think of wood carvings and wooden masks, while in the ceramics of Ancient Peru modelled pottery was dominant. Precolumbian Mexico is famous first of all for its works made of stone.

Another type of basic material, particular of American Indian art is feather. The central image that emerged from romantic novels and films based on them, was that the Indian appears wearing a huge feather headdress, riding horses at full gallop, brandishing a tomahawk, scalping people, etc. But in fact, feather as a part of battle equipments plays only a secondary role, and its typical "habitat" is the Amazonian territory with its extraordinarily colourful avifauna, rather than North America. (I use the expression "feather art" for lack of a more appropriate word because - as we shall see it - in Indian cultures, beside its aesthetic role, the feather has also got many of other functions. The chief aim of the present study is to examine these functions.)

Certain attempts have already been made at classifying these varied feather works (feather "adornments" or "jewels") on the basis of their technique or possible grouping. The most recent survey (Arte 1980) classified these works both by tribal and aesthetic principles, and it also contains many references to the different functions of feather adornments. Though we are far from having full knowledge in this field, I think it will be useful to summarize what we have already learnt about the role of this peculiar material in the Indian cultures - with especial regard to its communicative function.

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1.

In classifying the feather adornments of Brazilian Indians, Berta Ribeiro (1957) distinguished 36 different types: an Amazonian Indian can wear - from top to toe, or rather from headdress to adornment-36 different feather ornaments. The head alone can be adorned by 22, the other parts of the body by 14 different pieces. Ribeiro's descriptions are very accurate pointing out several technical details, nevertheless, not a single word answers the question whether these feather works were really "jewels" or were also used for other purposes. Ribeiro does not even lay a special emphasis on the afore-mentioned proportion of 22 to 14, though it must be of great importance.

The various ethnological studies of feather works usually regard them as "feather adornments" and only a few authors examine them in more detail by labelling the feathers "symbols" or "signs" which may refer to tribal status, war activity, sex, age or rank. The appropriate summary of these functions has yet to be made and is hindered by the superficiality or inconsistency of information.

Feathers always played and still play an important role in the life of Amazonian cultures. During my research work in Brazil I saw thousands of feather works and I photographed hundreds of them in order to make further analyses. I think this large amount itself must be enough to try to show if there is any kind of system in "feather art".

In the course of the present attempt at classification, I will take into consideration neither Ribeiro's afore-mentioned grouping nor Schoepf's technical classification (SCHOEPPF 1971). I also try to go beyond the limits of the aesthetic criterion because - as Lévi-Strauss has said (1964: 330) - "...the Indian does not regard the feather an aesthetic object. He apprehends each type of feather in its integrity...".

In classifying feather works - with a special regard to their communicative function - I could distinguish two different "strata":

a/ the system of signs referring to social position, sex, age, rank of tribe. (These functions cannot always be distinguished as they quite often overlap.)

b/ the system of ideological signs, which are closely related to myth and magic. (As we have got quite a few information in connection with this category, I would like to insist on only one question: what is the connection between avifauna and shamanism?)

My central examples are all taken from the Brazilian Kayapo Indians about whom once a researcher established that they almost live in an "ecstasy of feathers". Nearly every important event of their life is connected with a particular feather piece, having its own colour and form. The preparation of these pieces is also connected with different rites which are related to life cycles, e.g. to the initiation of the young ones, to marriage or to the cult of the dead. In this way, these festive occasions are opposed to everyday practice when they simply paint their bodies.

There are rites that demand only a few feather adornments while others require dozens of such pieces. The dancers wearing their multi-coloured, multifarious dresses sometimes look like fantastic birds. The limitations of wearing the feather adornments, settled by ritual conventions, make it easier to reveal their meanings. It is certain that a piece with a given form and colours refers to the wearer's sex, age and social position.

Our task will be much easier if we draw up a chart on the set of feather adornments of one single tribe, the Kayapo Indians.¹

From the chart, we can draw the following conclusions: as for the connection between colours and sexes, red and yellow are equally predominant in the feather adornments of both men and women. Black occurs in men's feather adornments alone. It is remarkable that only men have ear adornments and there are also six headdresses that are worn only by men. As a compensation, the biggest headdress, the diadem called krokkrokoti is worn by women, and within this type the diadem oko-oré shows the greatest variety. The forms of these pieces are fixed, but their colour scheme may be altered according to their concrete functions.

The so-called krokkrokoti for example conveys complex information:

1. It is worn by childless women; they walk dancing across the main square of the village while men pace in front of them shooting burning arrows to the sky. In this case, the diadem symbolizes the rays of the Sun and the beams of the Moon.

2. In the course of another rite (when both men and women may wear the krokkrokoti), the diadem tells us important information about the village: the blue ara feathers stand for the main square of the village, which is dominated by men and the rites. The red ara feathers refer to women's everyday life, while the waving white downs attached to the end of the feathers, framing the whole diadem, represent the forest that surrounds the village.

The oko-oré, can show the sex and the age group of its wearer as well

as the ritual function of the whole diadem. And practically, these all can be expressed simply, by turning away certain pieces of the set of feathers. The krokkrokti has a double function: on the one hand it symbolizes the planets, on the other, it refers to the static structure of the village, showing the position of men and women within its fundamental order.

The ritual exchange of sexual roles is one of the reasons why men and women do not stick rigidly to certain feather adornments. So, as far as sexes are considered these systems are quite flexible.

Let us now speak about feathers as rank insignia. Here we can mention some North American examples, too. We know that a Plain Indian's eagle feathers, worn on his head, can inform us about different things depending on their positions and forms. According to Mc Gee (1898: 156-157), the Ponca Indians' feathers indicated not only their rank but also their supernatural power. Nevertheless, he adds that the real meaning of the symbols could be discovered very rarely. Howard's opinion is quite similar: the symbolic meaning of feathers examined and described by him does not correspond with former descriptions, which, in themselves, are also rather contradictory. According to him, there must exist a kind of symbolism but it is very loose and has got an individual character. In small tribes like the Ponca or the Omaha Indians heroic deeds are easy to remember without any honorific ornaments (HOWARD 1965: 137).

Feathers, together with other ritual requisites, indicate rank in the Yaulapiti tribe of the Xingu area: a collection of different feather "jewels" shows that its owner is e.g. a distinguished wrestler who has gained extraordinary victories in ritual wrestling. The adorned Indian impersonates a spirit who is the mythic owner of the ritual requisites.²

In the case of the Brazilian Urubu-Kaapor Indians, feather adornments contribute to the prestige of their owners. They prepare feather mosaics with surprisingly meticulous care, and the obtaining of the required feathers constantly motivates men's hunting activity (RIBEIRO 1955). These pieces are made of the feathers of 17 different birds - among them the blue-coloured cotinga cayana which is today dying out and the trapping of these animals is a tiring and often dangerous task for men. The peculiarity of these strange feather adornment - imaginary birds, put together from different feathers like a mosaic - is that rank is indicated not by a single bird but a whole, montagelike composition.

Its quality is not determined by a specific bird but by a meticulous work. (Here I should mention that among the Urubu-Kaapor tribe all the other

forms of visual art are missing).

Things are quite different with the tribes of the Xingu area: here the Indian communities try to identify their societies with the world of birds, at least they make an attempt to its approximation. The birds of the leaders, i.e. the chiefs or the religious specialists are bigger and stronger than the birds of those who have no rank (RIBEIRO 1979: 50-51).³ To understand this tendency let us examine those examples that suggest links with ideology: it may become much clearer what kind of roles the bird and its feathers have in the Indian's conception of the universe.

2.

According to the Indians of the Xingu area the most important bird is the harpy-eagle: the chief of the tribe keeps the bird in a cage in the main square of the village, and he himself makes sure that it always has enough food. When the chief dies, the bird must also perish: it is killed or starved to death.⁴ The most important piece work during the local rites is a big and elaborated headdress, which contains, among others, harpy-eagle feathers. The harpy-eagle is the alterego of the chief, but others may also get some of its feathers if they - returning from hunting - give a share of their quarry to the bird. In return for that, the hunters may get some feathers when it is the time of seasonal plucking of feathers. That is how the relation of man and harpy-eagle, going far back into mythical times, remains in a state of equilibrium - flesh and feather are ritually equal in value.

The assumption of a mythical relation between man and animals can be found all over the world, in the beliefs of several peoples. (See, e.g. the large amount of different publications that deal with totemism.) It is not accidental that the bird (or its feathers) identified or connected with man "takes a part" in different rites of birth, name giving, marriage or burial.⁵

As we have already seen, the bird may become the "chief's own" but it can also be connected with certain shamanistic notions. Related to the latter, different ideas appear in mythology and in magical practices: a/ the shaman is identical with the bird, b/ the bird is the helping spirit of the shaman, c/ the feathers belong to the shaman's "instruments".

Some tribes regard the Bemtevi, the Yacobemba, the Yapury and the Beija-Flor (humming-birds) as shamans and that is why these birds must not

be killed. Nevertheless, these Shaman-birds may also "strut in borrowed plumes": the Sun must be ornamented with the red feathers of ara that it can give light. The shaman may also use his feather adornments for magic purposes: if the rainy season continues too long, the Waiwai shaman sings to the Sun, putting the "spirit" of the feather adornments on a cassave, in order to make it possible, in this way, for Sun to shine again in the sky. On occasions like that the Indians say: "Sun has put on the feather diadem of the Jascom (Shaman)" (ZERRIES 1977: 279).

The Guarani shaman's helping spirit is a messenger humming-bird: it's with its help that the shaman exchanges messages with the Sun-god (BARTOLOMÉ 1979: 109). The shaman of the Ecuadorian Jivaro tribe makes use of the magic wings of the swallow spirit during his "heavenly travels". When he returns, he takes off the borrowed feathers (WILBERT 1979: 22).

The magic wings, however, are used not only in myth but also in practice: the Yanoama when visiting another village wear wrist adornments made of the feathers of three different birds and they stick downs into their hair: they believe that the magic strength of the feathers keeps off the evil spirits.

The religious leader of the South Venezuelan Piaroa Indians indicates his rank by a feather headdress, the meaning of which also contains certain mythical-magical elements; this work has to be made of yellow and red toucan feathers and it must be composed by the wearer himself as there is a mythical relationship between the religious leader and the bird: it is the bird that gives feathers for the headdress, the exclusive requisite of the religious specialists. It is neither an ornament nor a symbol of its wearer's political power. The puthewa: is the object of recollection, it refers to the relationship which connects its wearer with the mythical creators... It is said that in mythical ancient times the toucan was peacefully flying over the jungle when suddenly someone shot at him. But the bird, though wounded, was flying on. His blood dropped down here and there, and from each drop poisonous plants were growing. The curare, the arrow poison is made of those plants. With the help of the brew made out of the plants which were created by that bird other birds can be killed (BOGLÁR 1978: 53-54). The preparation of poison is a very complicated task and only the religious specialists know how to do it. Consequently, the headdress also shows that its wearer is an expert in the preparation of poison. (As if it were a kind of propaganda, since the curare of the Piaroa Indians is the strongest of all - at least among the tribes of the Orinoco basin.)

Nowadays, women can also make headdresses, for sale, of course, but they use only black and white (curassaw, heron or parrot) feathers. This example also shows that a headdress in itself has not got much value; only those ones bear magic meanings that are made of the feathers of mythical birds. The colour of the feather is of minor importance; what really counts is that it should be the feather of a particular bird - in this case, a toucan.

It is not always a complete or alive bird that has magic strength, that can carry a message or can become a man. The "dress" of the bird or just a single feather may be fairly enough. The word-stock of several tribes shows that certain colours or shades are connected with certain birds. For example, in the language of the Wayana Indians the name of a certain shade of yellow is: kouliman watkeman, which means the quill of the japu bird i.e. "it is as yellow as the quill of the bird" (SCHOEPPF 1971: 24). Other tribes, for example belonging to the Tupi language family, are able to change artificially the original colour of the feather and, what is more, not by subsequent painting but on the body of the living bird. This technique called tapirage was applied chiefly to ara parrots: they pulled out the feathers, then they rubbed different mixtures in the open wounds, in consequence of which the green feathers became blue and the yellow ones became red.⁶ This is an exceptional example of intervention into nature and it also proves that colour alone is not always characteristic of a bird: the bird, similarly to man, may change its "dress". Connected with the above-mentioned phenomenon, I refer to a myth of the Arekuna Indians, which also gave an opportunity to Lévi-Strauss (1964: 308-309) to analyze chromatism, or rather, the origins of birds and their colours. The myth⁷ - summarized - goes as follows:

The snake, the symbol of the rainbow, was chopped up, and the birds divided its pieces among each other. Everyone got a piece of its flesh and skin. The heron flew up and began to sing: 'A-a', the same way as he sings today. Then came the common heron and his voice was very unpleasant when he sang: 'A-o, a-o'. Then the Soko-heron took his turn: he put some pieces of snake-skin on his head and wings, and they became colourful feathers which he wears even today. He flew up and sang: 'Koro-koro-koro' ... He was followed by the kingfisher. He put the skin on his head and neck and the red feathers he got in this way are there even today. He sang: 'Se-che-che-che' ... Now came the toucan. On his neck and belly he put the skin: the white and red feathers which he bears even now. He sang: 'Kio-he-he, kio-he-

he'... The curassow put the skin on his throat. He climbed up a high tree and sang: 'Hm-hm-hm-hm' ... The oayabaca also took a piece of skin and a flute. He sang beautifully: 'Oayabaca-oayabaca-ku-lulululu'. That is how birds got their coloured feathers and flute.

It is worth mentioning that in the myth there is a definite connection between feather (its colour) and the voice of the bird. Here I must refer to Seeger (1980: 44-45), who - examining the life of the Suyá Indians - tried find a relationship between adornments on the one hand and speech and hearing on the other. Different ear and lip adornments may refer to the symbolic importance of speech and hearing in a given community. Is it not possible that the Arekuna Indians' story is a kind of mythic manifestation of a similar relationship: the connection between colours and voices?

Finally, we must mention that the advanced examinations of Lévi-Strauss and Seeger together with a range of other facts show that we need much more detailed descriptions of the tribal cultures if we want to reveal their systems of symbols. I know by experience how often misunderstanding may cause problems and how much experience is needed to be able to obtain the proper information about a tribal culture which in itself has a "layered structure of knowledge". Even within a simple social unit, as the family or a given age-group, etc., the level of knowledge as well as the inclination to communicate may be very different: the data collected in a given tribal community may be divergent according to sex, age or rank.

Nevertheless, those few examinations that dealt with feather art all show that this peripheral branch of art can also contain certain information and is able to serve various communicative functions within the tribal society. It is also true that the analysis of feather art in itself is not enough to reveal the entire system of symbols: we must have a full knowledge of the whole tribal culture to be able to understand how a simple feather may become a bearer of a special meaning. So we have to reveal the links between myth, rite and - in this case - dress. The different signs that appear on the works - pottery, textile, baskets, wood carvings, etc. - of tribal art can be interpreted only together, within a given tribal culture. There is not any piece of feather art that has a general meaning: the Kayapo Indian can "read" only the feathers of the Kayapo tribe. And he himself is only able to do so if he knows the network of "Gesamtkunstwerk", which in this case means the rite that alloys tribal myth, music, dance and other arts. If he does not know them, any outstanding masterpiece of feather art will be for him just a meaningless ornament.

Notes

- 1 Analyzing the Kayapo feather art, beside the works of Schoepf (1971), Lukesch (1976) and Vidal (1977), I also relied on some verbal, unwritten information. Here I would like to express my thanks to E. Camargo, the Brazilian ornithologist, for his help.
- 2 The collective name of the adornment is inakatai. Not only feather adornments belong to this group but also the oil used for anointing the body, the flute and the cotton belts used during death rites. It is worth noticing that different ritual "sets" can also be found among the ornaments. Vidal (1977: 239) mentions that though the Kayapo Indians call the different adornments by different names, the expression nekrei means "adornments, possessions that are inheritable". This also shows what a great extent ritual requisites are standardized and how important their relation, their dialectic unity is.
- 3 It is during the rites that the chiefs speak the "true" language that common people (camara) do not understand. It is worth mentioning that camara is also the name for little birds. In connection with this, Münzel's description (1971: 204) is very informative: the winged creatures' social organization is the opposite of the earthly one. On the earth, the chief gives food to the camaras while in the sky it is the camaras (the little birds) who take care of their chief (the harpy).
- 4 Another mythological reference is that according to the Kalapalo Indians, Riti, the Sun-god rides a harpy-eagle when he goes to the sky (ZERRIES 1962: 896-897).
- 5 It refers to the relation between birds and the cult of the dead that the ara-parrots and the water-birds are the ones that carry the souls of the dead: the Boróro Indians, during the rite of burial, wear a particular feather diadem to which a special flute also belongs.
- 6 The decision of which feathers are used is determined by the bird. While a European language can distinguish about 11 different shades, the Wayana Indians - according to Schoepf (1971: 25) - discriminate only 3-5 values. They distinguish the shades by comparison: e.g. "the colour of the inambu egg".
- 7 Published in Hungarian too (BOGLÁR 1957: 23-35).

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Chart 1

The feather works of the Kayapo Indians

Groups of ornaments	Sex of wearer	Colour	Birds
headdress			
1. big diadem (ok-kó)	M	R,B,BW	2,7,8
2. diadem (nióire)	M	R,B	2,3
3. diadem (oko-pari)	M	R,Y	2,3
4. big diadem (kroua-pou)	M	R,Y, ,R-y	1,2,3,4
5. crown (mod-pré)	M	R,BW	2,4
6. crown (krai-mrou)	M	R,greY	1 or 2
7. diadem (oko-oré)	M,F,CH	R-Y,R-W,R-P	1,3,5,9
8. big diadem (krokkrokkti)	F /M/	R,B,W	1,2,9
ear adornment			
9. (ngob-nieto)	CH,M,F	G,R-Y-G,R,Y	1,3,5
10. ear enlarger (krékako-iabou)	CH	Y	3
lip adornment			
11. (ngoron-kren)	M	P	1,2
12. (akokako-iabou)	M	R	1,2
breast adornment			
13. (arap-iabou)	F	Y,R	1,3
14. (ngokra-iabou)	M,F	R-Y-G,Y-G-B	1
15. (onkrédjé-amou)	M	R-Y,G-B	1,10
back adornment			
16. (onkrédjé-pou)	M,F	R,Y	1,2,3
17. (modniamou-kaorou)	M,F	R,Y,BW	2,3,6
arm adornment			
18. (ni-i)	F	Y,R	1,3
19. (pradjé-iabou)	F	R-Y,Y-G-B	1
20. (pradjé-iabou)	CH/male/	R-Y-G	1
21. (pradjé-iabou)	M	Y-G-B	1

Abbreviations

Numbers: M = male, F = female, CH = child, B = blue, R = red, Y = yellow, G = green, B = black, W = white, BW = black and white, P = polychrome (multicoloured ara or parrot feathers).

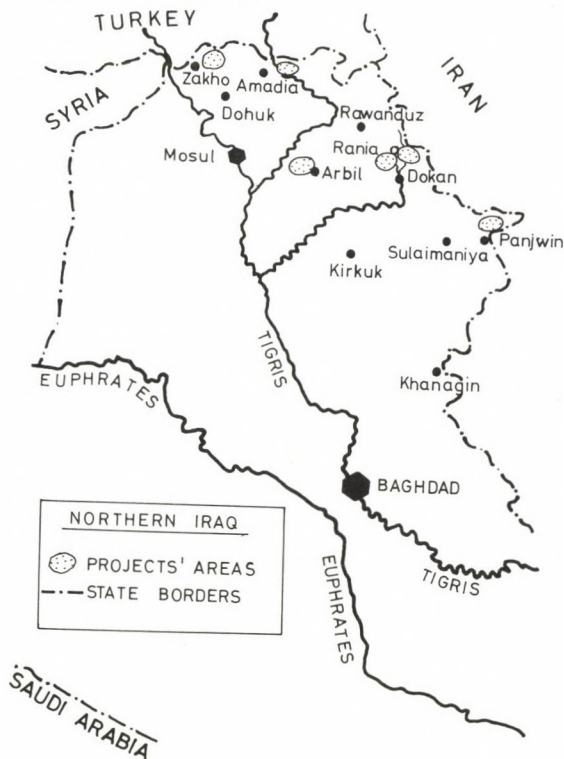
Birds: 1. Ara macao, 2. Ara chloroptera, 3. Psarocolius decumanus, 4. Crax sp., 5. Amazona aestiva, 6. Harpya harpya, 7. Ararauna, 8. Heredia regretta, 9. Mycteria m., 10. Amazona mercenaria.

IRAQI KURDISH TRADITIONAL COSTUME IN ITS PROCESS OF EUROPEANIZATION

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The Kurds of Northern Iraq form but part of big Kurdish nation living also in northwestern Iran, eastern Turkey and the most eastern tip of Syrian Jazirah.¹ Iraqi Kurds, however, are under stronger impact of the governmental development policy than the rest of their fellow-countrymen of the Middle East. After the suppression of the Barzani's fighters the Iraqi government decided to open three northeastern provinces and to carry out an intensive investment policy there to win hearts of Kurdish population by the improvement of its standard of life. The Kurdish share in the all Iraqi



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petrol prosperity has been increased rapidly. Thanks to it and to several other sociocultural factors such as compulsory general education policy, the apparent growth of nationalism and national, supra-tribal integration and last but not least their crucial position in the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, the Kurds of Iraq became the most advanced group of 17 million Kurdish population living in the Middle East.

In 1977, 1978 and 1980 I had the rare opportunity as social anthropologist to carry out field research in the rural areas of the Iraqi Kurdistan, a territory now rather inaccessible for foreign scholars interested in the contemporary village life (DZIĘGIEL 1978: 78-87 and DZIĘGIEL 1981). The data collected there form the core of my study.² The present and the future of the Iraqi Kurdish patterns of life would be a kind of model of sociocultural development of the communities of those Middle Eastern countries which are affected by the oil-boom economic and social phenomena.

The national Kurdish costume is very definitely connected with old, cultural traditions of the people of Iranian Plateau (see Services 1973/II: 139-142, III: 110-104). An ethnographer from the Sulaimaniya University, Majid H. Arif writes that his countrymen differ in dress from their neighbours, the Turks, Persians and Arabs (ARIF 1975: 146). One can accept his statements with reservation as concerns the Turks and Persians. However, the differences between Arab and Kurdish dress are clear. The Kurds themselves used to call the Arabs "people who do not wear pants". This difference in dress results from the fact that the ancestors of the Arabs wandered to this part of Asia from another climate. The Kurds have lived in their homeland for thousands of years (ARFA 1966: 3). Therefore, it is not surprising that the dress of these people is excellent for the needed functions of protection against the cold and scorching heat, as well as tradition resulting from the Muslim religious principles.

Both male and female Kurds have always liked to dress up, even in former times when it was not easy to obtain coloured material for these primarily poor nomads.³ The manner of dress especially characterized the influential tribal elders at that time. For the poor colour compensated for metal decorative items. With time, however, the Kurds have slowly increased in wealth. Colourful factory-made material was no longer a luxury item. In the middle of the 1970's the influence of money coming from non-agricultural sources (i.e. salaries from the seasonal governmental public works) made it easier for the Iraqi Kurd to purchase expensive material at

the bazaar and sew traditional clothes, together with modern dress, depending of the type of material. But another matter is that the practicality of the dress suffered. Former silk, brocated satin or velvet for women's clothing was replaced with semi-transparent synthetic material with fantastic plant and geometric ornamentation with gold or silver thread. This latter material, however, did not allow any air to pass through the cloth. Wool, cotton and natural silk are undoubtedly better suited to the particularly difficult climate of the Middle East.

In comparison to the Arab womenfolk of central and northern Iraqi villages the dress of the Kurds is to-day very colourful. Young Kurdish girls and women are particularly fond of scarlet, tinged with turquoise or peacock-blue. Older women usually wear darker colours. They appreciate strong, rich colours.

Men, however, keep to quieter colours, brown, beige, black and above all, gray. One can find elegantly dressed men in cream coloured clothes with delicate, vertical stripes. The most popular colour is khaki. In contrast to the women who sew their clothes with various, factory-made material the men dress in home- and factory-made wool and linen.

The basic traditional dress for both sexes has been described by Hansen⁴ two decades ago (HANSEN 1961: 65-98). Basically there have been few changes in the last 20 years. The details of the Kurdish dress, however, is changing more and more dramatically.

Men's Dress

In reviewing the traditional men's dress we begin with the white, cotton shirt ("kras") with long sleeves reaching to the hips and without a collar. Cuffs in the form of very elongated triangles ("fakiyana") are sewn to the sleeves. When cuffs are loose they reach below the knees. However, they are never worn loose. The long "fakiyana" are wrapped around the wrist and tied in the middle of the forearm, to the sleeve of the blouse. That shirt style in 1977 and 1978 in Iraqi Kurdistan was worn only by older men who were dressed both elegantly and traditionally. The "fakiyana" cuff was bought separately at the bazaar in Sulaimaniya and other smaller towns.

Arif writes that at the end of the 19th century shirts in the summer were worn as outside clothing. At the time the Kurd wore a white, sleeveless undershirt ("zherkras"), that reached only to the waist and had a round opening for the head. The undershirt of this type worn to-day in the

Sulaimaniya area is called "faneela".

In spite of the sweltering weather in the summer the Kurd always wear long, cotton underwear ("derpe") that are loose in shape and identical to the traditional pants. "Derpe" are tightened at the belt with a light string. Neither they nor the pants have flies. In the dress around Arbil, Sulaimaniya and Panjwin the pant narrows between the knee and the ankle. In other areas the pants are loose all the way to the ankle. Sometimes, the Kurd will wear the underwear without pants, for example when at home or when going to the nearest tea-house ("chaykhanah").

Men's outside clothing includes a blouse and very wide pants. These two items are always made of the same kind of material. The names of the blouse and pants as well as the sash worn in the national costume differ, depending on the dialect which the inhabitants of a given area speak. The blouse reaches to the hips and is always tucked inside the pants. The pants



Fig.1. Young Kurdish farmer from the village of Shela Dizi, east of Amadia (1978). Photo by L.Dzięgiel.

are tied with a string as "derpe". At the waist they can be as much as 2 meters in width. It is therefore not surprising that when they are pulled in there are many even carefully made folds around the waist. In Iraqi Kurdistan there are two kinds of men's pants. One has a narrow pant leg between the knee and the ankle, where it has a width of 40 cm. These are worn around Sulaimaniya, Arbil and Panjwin. In Afghanistan there is a definite analogue in the cut and there is a certain similarity to the Balkan costumes in Europe. The second version of men's pants in Kurdistan have loose pant legs that are 80 cm in width at the bottom. These are characteristic for the Zakho, Amadia and Rawanduz areas.

In this way, we have a type of men's suit which, depending on the specific cut and ornamentation, as well as the type of material, has a variety of names. In the Zakho area the entire suit is called "shelushepek" (blouse - "shel" and pants - "shepek"). For field work the villager near Zakho slips into work clothes with no ornamentation and they are called "shelowal". Near Sulaimaniya in local dialect there are at least three names for the different types of Kurdish suits. "Ranig-o-choga" is home-made from soft wool. In the summer the Sulaimaniya Kurd prefers to wear "ranig-o-choga" (pants - "ranig" and blouse - "choga") sewn with a thin, open-work material. They are made from goat's hair by weavers in the towns of Biara and Tawella. The "ranig-o-choga" consists of loose pants and a low-cut blouse, free of buttons, lapels, pockets and collar. A second kind of dress is the "sharwal-e-satarkhaneh" i.e. a shash "sharwal" and a blouse "satarkhaneh" is made with thick wool with a collar and lapels that button. The third kind is, the "sharwal-e-marathaneh" i.e. pants, a blouse with buttons, a small collar, lapels and two pockets on the breast. Lately, they have also had epaulettes which is a definite imitation of the uniform of the Barzani Revolution. We have therefore - *mutatis mutandis* - the phenomenon of a clear influence of the uniform on folk dress. This phenomenon can often be seen, even in Polish mountain people of the Tatra Highlands, once imitating some details of Hungarian rangers' uniforms.

There is a certain individualness in the men's dress near Rawanduz, Dohuk and Zakho. Here, the material for the trousers and blouse are decorated with vertical folds. When sewn with this type of material the clothes have a specific facture and a first glance it looks like vertical quilting. The material, made in workshops in small towns, is slightly wetted and folded like a harmonica. Then it is placed together with a covering strip of cloth in a depression in the yard between two smooth, vertically

placed stones. The craftsman presses these stones closer and closer together with an outside wedge. The cloth remains pressed in this way, for some time. When removed there are permanent folds 3-4 cm wide. Near Sulaimaniya and Arbil this type of decorative faature is rather not used.

The Kurds wrapped a flowered sash which would be even four meters in lenght around their waists. Arif writes that the richer the person, the wider the sash. Nikitin cites former authors who recalled sashes with metal decorations as well as wide, leather belts worn by warriors in which they placed amunition. To-day this type of sash can not be found in Iraqi Kurdistan. They could have a function similar to the wide sashes that Polish mountain people wear. It is both decorative as well as protective during the battle. Sashes, however, are popular in the traditions of mountain folk from Balkans, Asia Minor and Caucasus. Cloth sashes at one time penetrated from the Near East to Polish and Hungarian nobility. In Iraqi Kurdistan they were sold at the bazaar ("suq") and by peddlars. Around Zakho they were referred to as "sheetiq" and near Sulaimaniya as "peshten" or "peeshteen".

The Kurds wear socks ("gure", "gorai" or "goranee") made by the women from thick sheep's wool. In the winter they wear thicker sock-leggings that reach to the knee, known near Zakho as "saq" and in the Sulaimaniya area as "puzawanah".

The most popular footwear among the Iraqi Kurds for most of the year is "klash", slippers made from thick, white felt with low heels and flat soles. It is easy to take off these slippers at the entrance to the home and the mosque. Formerly, soles of these slippers were made from thick woolen cloth folded many times. Today such shoes are factory-made in Iraq with synthetic material for the soles. Another boot, "kiyavsh" was worn in the winter. Arif describes these as having slightly raised heels with up-turned toes. They were made exclusively from leather. In 1977 and 1978 I didn't see these shoes at all. In Nikitin's study we read that the Kurds from the north, probably from Anatolia, when horseback riding wore leather boots with soft shoe tops that were, sometimes, very attractively sewn. In contrast, Kurds from the south, probably from what is today Northern Iraq, wore light flat shoes that were suitable for wandering on foot since horses in this part were a rarity. Arif also mentions that near Sulaimaniya a kind of moccasin was used cut from one piece of leather and with a leatherband that was tied half-way up the calf of the leg. It is called a "kalao peetav" and in winter a thick-soled version of it was worn. Arif states that these were worn during snowy winters when it was necessary to

wear wooden snow-shoes.

Both Jabłonowski and Nikitin⁵ persistently repeat references to Kurdish head coverings in the shape of a thick felt, sometimes relatively high, cone-shaped cap encircled with a turban. However, in all likelihood they are referring to the northern Kurds from Anatolia and living in the uplands of Armenia and thus coming from what was formed in the 19th century by the Turkish government as a light Kurdish cavalry division, Hamidiah. A white-gray version of this cone-shaped felt hat occurs in the Balkans, however, I never saw it in Iraqi Kurdistan. On a cool day one would be more apt to see a kind of low, round, brown sheepskin hat that fit close to the head. Basic to the traditional Kurdish dress in Northern Iraq is a cloth scull-cap, known around Zakho as a "kulaf" and near Sulaimaniya as a "klaw" or "krlaw". These caps are sold in the cities with various cuts and ornaments. Sometimes, they are round, fitting tightly to the head and with

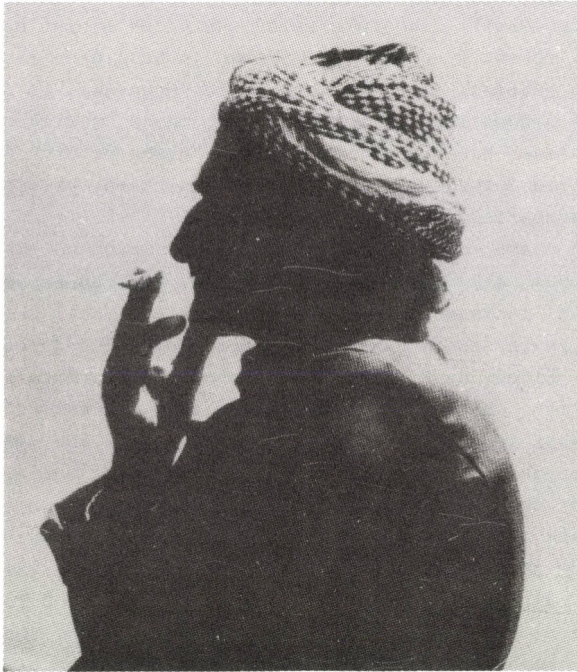


Fig.2. "Djamana" - traditional Kurdish turban (Pomjwin 1978). Photo by L.Dzięgiel.

gold thread delicately sewn on a white background. Other times they are slightly cone-shaped with black and white and white circular ornamentation and with tri-coloured pompons (quite popular around Shaqlawa and Rawanduz). The popularity of these skull-caps is far reaching and goes far beyond the Kurdistan area.

These caps can be worn without being wrapped, however, usually they are completed with a turban. Near Zakho turbans are called "shashiq", while in the remaining parts of Iraqi Kurdistan they are known as "djamana" or "djamadane". They were once made with silk, but to-day the turban in Kurdistan is usually a cotton cloth 100 x 100 cm in diameter.

They have machine-made tiny black dog's tooth check on a white background. This cloth is sold in bales at the bazaar and cut by the meter. Sometimes, they have fringes sewn along the edge. These are then more expensive. To-day the Muslim Kurd is obliged rather to wear a black-white plaid turban. A red-white design suggests that the wearer is a Yezidi, a member of a non-Muslim, separate religious group living between Mosul and Sindjar. Until recently red-white fringed turbans were also worn by proud members of the Barzani clan. In the Zagros Mountains it happens that the older men wrap around their temples a warm, thick, woolen turban with gray checks on a black background, known as a "myshkee" or "rashkee". Mullahs normally wear white turbans and the venerable old men, having visited Mecca, yellow silk interspersed with gold threads.

Head wear, and especially the method of wrapping the turban are not uniform throughout all of Iraqi Kurdistan. One can suppose that changes already occurred in former times according to the local fashion. In photos made 15 to 20 years ago (AFRA 1966) there are Iraqi and Iranian Kurds with great turbans. Cited by Nikitin, one traveller described a turban that an old respected man wore that "seemed to crush his entire body". I think, however, that Arif is only partly right when he says that the deeper in the mountains the larger and more voluminous the turbans, while in the lowlands the turbans are small and light. The people that I met in the rocky valley near Amadia and in the Zagros Mountains near Panjwin wore small turbans, tightly wrapped around the temples. Their countrymen, villagers from the Zakho valley, belonging to the foothills region rather wore as many as two turbans independent of a cap! The lower cloth fell on the shoulders and back of the neck, or, among the young blusterers formed a kind of long braid down the back. The upper cloth was wrapped around the temples. On the Dokan Reservoir and in the Arbil and Sulaimaniya area they had turbans with

fringed corner covering the back of the neck while other fringes fell of the temples and upper part of the cheeks. There are various ways of tying cloth depending on the occasion and whether one is working, as well as the weather. In the winter rains the Kurd wraps almost his entire head and leaves an opening only for his eyes. In a similar way Kurdish warriors covered their faces while searching for enemies in the mountains. Young people near Zakho seeming to dance traditional wedding "dawat" pile the cloth on their head, folding it like a harmonica. A town merchant will wrap his turban slightly different than the villager.

This then is the basic traditional Kurdish men's dress. It naturally possesses a wide range of elements completing it. I have mentioned moccasins worn in winter. When it is cooler the most important is a long coat, known in Zakho as a "kapet" and in Sulaimaniya as a "palto" or "kava". This coat is particularly worn by older people. It does not have buttons, rather a belt. Apparently, a jacket "salta" was sometimes worn over this coat. It hardly reached the belt and did not have a collar or buttons. Before the winter it is popular to slip over the blouse a thick, brown, felt vest, called "yelaq", "pesteh" or "peeshteq". Shepherds wear thick felt, home-made jackets, called "faranjee". They are sleeveless and the shoulders stick up like horns. They reach to the hip or even to the knees. In the Zagros Mountains on a comparatively cool day I saw in 1978 a brown sleeveless jacket made from lambskin being worn, called a "fern" which was often used by tractor drivers. They were sold for relatively high prices by furriers in Panjwin. In winter the Kurd wraps up in a scarf known as a "melpeeyech". It is also popular to wear a tight cap, "kleta" which had long, as it were driving reins, bands sewn on both sides. In warmer weather they were thrown behind the back or imaginatively piled on top. The "kleta" cut is somewhat similar in cut to the winter caps that former English travellers wore, known by them as "Balaclava-cap".

The men's dress is completed with: a thin, twisted cane "gupal" or "gochan", tucked behind the sash a knife "handjar", a leather tobacco pouch, Muslim prayer beads "tyzbeh" and finally a pocket watch with a chain.

Canes are used by elderly men although young, healthy people use them while pasturing sheep or while wandering in mountainous areas.

The traditional double-edged dagger, with a blade of 40 cm, a silver-plated sheath and a handle covered with silver ornamentation, to-day in Iraqi Kurdistan belongs to the past. Now carrying these daggers is illegal. Formerly, the sheath was covered in the folds of sash with the

handle sticking out and frequently wrapped in prayer-beads.

The prayer-beads "tyzbeh" which is a kind of Muslim rosary, consists of 99 beads. Every group of 33 beads should be marked with a separate ornamentation. At the end of the prayer-beads is a small tassel. Wealthy individuals at one time carried expensive "tyzbeh" made from sandal wood and inlaid with silver. At present the average Kurd fingers a plastic set of prayer-beads. "Tyzbeh" are carried only by men and turning the beads in the hand does not necessarily indicate a religious practice. To-day it is rather an action symbolizing a person who at given moment has free time or that he belongs to a social group that does not have to work physically. I never saw a Kurdish woman with prayer-beads in her hands.

A tobacco pouch is carried by traditional villagers who roll their own cigarettes. Young people, however, smoke more and more ready-made cigarettes. They keep them in coat or sometimes even hide them in the folds of their turbans. I did not see among the Kurds any pipe smoking. Only Jabłonowski writes that Kurdistan was famous for its decorated pipes although this does not necessarily mean that they were used by the Kurds (PARADOWSKA 1973: 137). They could be used in general by townsfolk and wealthy tribal aristocracy of the 19th century's Kurdistan.

Women's Dress

Women's dress, as mentioned, is more complicated than that of the men. It consist of wide puffy pants and a shirt-like blouse with a longer outer garment.

The pants, known as "derpe" near Sulaimaniya and "hevol kras" near Zakho are about 100 cm long, have a wide top about 230 cm in with and are tied at the waist with a string and at the ankles with ribbon. The upper part is usually sewn with cotton. The lower part of the legs are made with separate material, coloured taffeta or brocade. The upper part is always covered with the shirt-like blouse which is worn outside.

The shirt-blouse, known as "zherkras" or "kros", is sewn from silk. It is sleeveless and has a round low-cut neck. It is about 90 cm long and about 190 cm wide at the bottom. It narrows at the top.

On the "zherkras" the Kurdish woman puts a "kras" which is a kind of delicate dress that reaches at least to the knees and sometimes (in the Zakho area) reaches to the ground. Like men's shirts the women's "kras" have extended sleeves, called "fakiyana" or "lawandee" (near Zakho). During

everyday activities the women tie the ends of the sleeves in the back in a loose bow knot. It does not hinder their movement at all. During prayer time the woman should let out her cuffs and let them hang loose.

A kind of single coloured corset, trimmed with ribbon and free of buttons or clasps is called a "sokhme".

On the corset is worn a costume jacket "salta" which is longer than the "sokhme" and has narrow sleeves. It is made from coloured brocaded material and trimmed along the edge with cotton.

The outside coat "kawa" is 135-145 cm in length. It is flared at the bottom and narrow at the waist. Very often it is slit. Jablonowski compares it to a housecoat. Girls in the Zakho area pull this coat in at the waist a sash "kamar". In other areas it is not a regular practice.

The description of women's head gear by Jablonowski is surprising in that although over one hundred years have passed it is still applicable (PARADOWSKA 1973: 132). Near Zakho young girls wear white kerchiefs "dersuq" tied under the chin. One of the ends is thrown over the shoulder. Older women tie up their heads tightly, including the forehead and cheeks as well as tying the kerchief tightly around the neck. Therefore only the eyes, nose and mouth are visible. It looks like the dress of old-styled Christian Orthodox nuns. The wearing of turbans "yazmah" under the kerchief comes as Arab influence from Mosul area into this region and it is not popular. The situation is different in the Sulaimaniya, Arbil, Dokan or Panjwin areas. There, only unmarried girls do not wear a cap under the kerchief. Married women wear a black, felt skull-cap ("fest" or "krlaw") trimmed with silver coins combination chains or at least imitation jewels and glass beads. The town of Halabsha is famous for making skull-caps. Around the cap the married women wind a dark turban with fringes, called a "sarbast". From the top of the cap hanging on the back of the neck is a small veil "dasmal". Its ends are tied around the neck. On all of this married women wear a loose "sarposh" i.e. a white or coloured kerchief made from transparent material, 200 cm in length and 84 cm in width. Unmarried girls wear the kerchief directly on their hair, as in the Zakho area. Women in mourning should have a black kerchief.

Completing the women's dress is the "charoke", a large, rectangular, dark kerchief with tassels, worn on the back with the two upper ends tied under the chin. The Kurdish woman from Panjwin area does not part with her "charoke" even when working in the field or cleaning out the manure from the barn.

When it is warm the village women go barefooted. When they go to town they put on wooden sandals "kabkab" or plastic sandals "terlek" in the Zakho area, Arif writes about women's shoes "paneebeg" that were well known around Sulaimaniya and were made by the Khajij tribe.

As we can see the complicated and abundant dress of the Kurdish woman can not be inexpensive. Hansen reports that at the end of the 1950's it costs 10 Iraqi dinars to dress a married woman. At that time this was about 10 English pounds.

In women's dress, more so than in men's dress there are significant regional differences, and between the village and the city. It is understandable that the poor villager has simple and less expensive clothes than representatives of the former village feudal aristocracy or a woman from a merchant's family in the city. The same was true for the ornaments sewn onto the clothes and the jewelry.

The Kurdish woman, like all women from a Muslim tradition in general, loves jewelry. This is related to the Islamic tradition that in the case of divorce the woman "leaves with what she has on". Her possessions were bracelets, ear-rings, valuable coins sewn onto her cap, etc. The Kurdish woman therefore wears gold necklaces, bracelets ("bazyn"), rings ("musteelah") with expensive stones, usually turquoise. Hansen recalls gold chains hanging on the headgear called "kermek" or "lula" small decorated boxes for amulets worn around the neck. I often saw women in Afghanistan with these boxes but did not see them in Iraqi Kurdistan. However, I sometimes saw villagers with small keys around their necks. These were the keys of their dowry chests hidden in the remote rooms of their farmsteads. Quite often Kurdish village women wore small, gold earrings decorated with turquoise, known as "hazem" or "lutwanah". These were pierced through the right nostril on a screw. This tradition, popular in Asia as far as India and Afghanistan, was referred to as "Arab" by the Kurds. In the same way they described the wearing of gold bracelets above the ankle, known as "helnaw" or as "hedjul". From Jabłonowski's description we know that one hundred years ago jewelry in the shape of bells was woven into the hair. Today one does not see this in Kurdistan. In general, however, expensive jewelry is still popular which can be seen by the number of jewelry shops that exist even in very small towns. They offer a wide range of necklaces and pendants for the Muslim world such as miniature boxes, in the shape of a book (the Koran), with small jugs (an obligation of charity), miniature palms (so-called Fatima's hands, a sign averting evil) or finally, enameled

plaques with bright religious sentences. Furthermore in this same jewelry display window are also golden chains with crosses and medallions with the Virgin Mary. Christian Chaldeans, Assyrians and Armenians buy them for their wives and for themselves.

The traditional woman from a Kurdish city will complete her dress with a loose, black cloak that reaches to the ankles, an "aba". It has small, black, semi-translucent veil, called a "helee" or a "pacha". The village never wore such cloaks. In the city, where the woman's place was only in the home the "aba" was established to allow a Muslim woman to enter the street alone and at the same time protect herself from troublesome looks. Traditionally, the city woman covered her face with veil. To-day in Iraqi Kurdistan it is rare to see a woman on the street with covered face. Quite a few intellectuals (teachers and office workers) in the country where women walking in the street alone still cause somewhat of an uproar, wear an "aba" without covering the face. According to Hansen, still 20 years ago the cloak with a covered face was a statement of emancipation in Sulaimaniya that encouraged women to leave the home. After the influence of two decades the "aba" is the main dress of Kurdish city dwellers that continue to be traditional. Its previous role is still kept perhaps in some remote provincial towns.

Children's Clothes

The traditional dress of children more or less after 6 years of age in Kurdistan was and still is a miniature copy of what adults wear. Earlier both the girls and the boys are dressed in some thing that reminds us our night gowns. There is a type of kaftan worn on it. In exceptional cases the parents will dress a 3 to 5 year old boy in wide pants. The boys wear a tight fitting silk cap. Hansen recalls dressing a young boy as a girl in order to protect the child from evil spirits and from people looking at him jealously. Several times I saw 6-7 year old sons of farmers wearing miniature Kurdish suits with jackets. They never wore turbans, or at the most they wore caps "krlaw". Near Zakho one can see girls of the same age wearing coloured "kros" tied in the back with colourful bow-knot "lawandee" the same as their older sisters were wearing. In general, however, their heads were uncovered. It is necessary to remember that in Kurdish Muslim society 6-7 years was the age dividing a child from a young member of the community and when they took part in religious education with the mullah in

the mosque.

Both Kurdish men and women usually worked in the same clothes that they wore on holidays. Perhaps while doing field work they would wear older, more worn clothes. Men do not wear sashes. I mentioned the men's work clothes "shelwal". I also saw village women near Panjwin working in gray, typical wide pants with the blouse and dress tucked into them. Kurds do not take off their clothes when they go to sleep. Men and women sleep in what they wear all day. Kurdish women only remove the rectangular kerchief "cheroke", with the cap and turban. However, they wind a cloth around their head at night. The Kurd takes off his blouse, sash and trousers. He is then often left with his shirt and puffy "derpe". No one wears shoes around the house. They are left at the door-way.

It is necessary to stress at the conclusion of this overall view of traditional dress that Christian minorities in Kurdistan, Assyrians and Chaldeans dress in a very similar way. One could almost say that their dress is identical. However, some specific differences do exist. For example, older Chaldean women from the village of Ain Kwawa near Arbil wear large turbans "magrumah" made with golden black material which can not be found among the neighbouring Kurds. From some obscure hints made by some of the people I talked with, the method of wrapping the turban differed between the Christians and the Muslims. This, and in general the traditional culture of these separate ethno-religious groups would have to be studied.

Speaking in general terms the minority of Christians more readily abandon the traditional dress than the Muslims.

Changes and the Europeanization in Dress

Even to-day when we speak of the strong influence of the West on the urban dress of the Kurds we can not expect that these people dress exactly, as we do. Most important is the role played by the different climate. Furthermore, one must take into consideration the local preferences and understanding of the new elegance which is entirely foreign to former traditions.

Already when Hansen was in Iraq certain European elements were appearing in the dress of women in the intellectual sphere of Sulaimaniya. The most important was the purchase of imported material at the bazaar. They also started ordering new European clothes at the bazaar's tailors. Dressmaking was done, however, at home. The traditional women's dress in the

city slowly started to disappear. First of all, they stopped covering their heads, even with kerchiefs. They started wearing dresses with belts. Blouses and skirts patterned after European fashions appeared as well as stockings held up with rubber bands or ribbon. Hansen observed at the end of 1950's that this new European dress was not taken off for sleeping. Its cut was naturally less comfortable for sleeping or for squatting while working.⁶ The situation with men's dress was the same among the more affluent and ambitious Kurds of Sulaimaniya. Since 1943 pyjamas appeared there, worn however not for sleeping but for both around the house and for public. Older people complained that the pyjamas were less comfortable than the old, puffy "derpe". At the same time European gowns with puffy sleeves became popular among the women. Sulaimaniya women wore them also during the day. Already in Hansen's time of research modern European linen became popular in the city as well as the tradition of undressing for the bed.

At the same period of late '50's among the men living in Sulaimaniya leather European shoes with laces became popular. Fashionable Kurdish men had some difficulties with them entering to the mosque. Here and there, the European suit-coat was worn with the traditional wide pants. Collars began to appear on the shirts and the blouses had lapels and breast pockets. Pockets also were sewn into the traditional pants. European shirts, ties and socks were worn along with the "derpe" which were still worn on the street. The urban Kurds stopped wearing any kind of head covering. At that time they did not wear any Western caps or hats. Hansen writes that, women in particular, members of the same families wore the same shoes. Men, however, always had their own shoes.

Kurdish village dress in 1977, 1978 and 1980 was above all able to be modified, which the traditional dress in Sulaimaniya had done twenty years before. The economic affluency and the increasing mobility of the Kurdish villagers meant that they have started to buy either material or ready-made clothes in the city. The sewing-machines appeared in the better-off homes of the villages near Arbil at the beginning of the '70's. Of course tailors in towns sew the traditional dress in addition to the more and more numerous European and North American dress (jeans, jean jackets, etc.) patterned after the fashions among the Western young people.

Among village men a new element is factory-made shoes, produced in Iraq but patterned after certain European fashions. Very popular among the young villagers are heavy shoes on thick, synthetic soles and high-heels. Under the traditional blouse Kurdish farmers frequently wear ready-made

vests and unbuttoned blazers made from synthetic material.

Previously I mentioned the popular tradition among the village women of sewing with colourful, synthetic material and wearing plastic sandals. To-day, the elegant villager, going to the city with her husband, will sometimes go in European type slippers on thick, heavy wedge-shaped heels. Both sexes in the villages have willingly adopted pyjamas from the city as a new type of dress for around the home. The most intensive Europeanization in the village occurs among the children. Both, girls and boys wear coloured pyjamas interspersed with gold threads for wear both around the house and in public. Village children use frequently sport clothes, coloured sweaters and synthetic wind jackets. Used to this foreign-styled clothes in their childhood they would abandon lightheartedly their traditional costumes as adults.

Contrary to the governmental rules imposed on the Kurdish population in Turkey⁷ the Iraqi Kurds are by no means pressed to abandon their traditional, national costumes. The Kurdish and Arab folklore is popularized by the Iraqi Radio and TV-programmes as the national integration factor. All the same the impact of new, foreign fashions on the Kurdish city-dweller and villager is rather tremendous.

People, who give the village an example of European dress are above all men and women teachers and officials, usually representatives of agricultural services. Young civil servants regularly work in suits and ties. In general, the "sport style" worn by Europeans is not popular among the office workers in Iraq. The adult villagers still wear the traditional dress with only some modifications mentioned above. Here one can see young farmers discarding the former dress while they may do seasonal work outside the family, for example in construction done by a foreign firm, or in a large city like Mosul or Baghdad.

In the cities, however, twenty years after the research made by Hansen I could see that the process of Europeanization in clothes had significantly progressed forward. In the center of Sulaimaniya or Arbil hardly 50 % of the men or women wore the traditional dress. The situation naturally changed in the suburbs. In smaller towns like Zakho about 60-70 % of the people wore the traditional dress, and in the small border town of Panjwin only a handful of men and a few young women were dressed as Europeans. Even in Sulaimaniya I met a common phenomenon that the same people wore two types of dress: European at work and Kurdish at home. Even university intellectuals and their sisters or wives sometimes in the afternoon put on the traditional



Fig.3. Kurdish farmers of Rania area at work (sunflower's threshing 1980).
Photo by L.Dzięgiel.

garments in which they definitely feel more comfortable. When leaving the city for the Friday picnic "seyran" also women from the city wore the traditional Kurdish clothes. Let us remember, that the Kurdish city dweller in spite of the same basic elements as the peasants had a wide range of different details in cut, decoration and kind of material. In describing changes in dress it is necessary to stress that I never observed among the Kurds (nor among Iraqi Arabs) anyone ashamed of the traditional costume.

Beside an elegantly European dressed person in a tea-room in Sulaimaniya, Mosul or even in Baghdad will be an elegant man dressed in the traditional, Oriental clothes whose cut dates back to ancient Persian bas-reliefs.

All in all the national costume is apparently receding. In Sulaimaniya the university lecturers and students influenced that city particularly. Lecturers, both Iraqi and Indian wear European clothes, "English" in style, even in the summer in spite of the unbearable heat. Young students dress basically alike. The men have dark pants and white shirts, with or without ties. They may wear a dark or azure blue suit coat. Women wear pants or European shaped skirts. Modern fashioned pants are very popular among the girls. Students of both sexes do not wear anything on their heads during the summer. Of course this style of university dress has a whole gamut of modifications according to personal preferences. Young office workers and saleswomen in large state-owned stores dress very similarly to the students. The modern uniform for female clerks popular in some Muslim countries consisting of long coat and kerchief is to be seen there very rarely.

The traditional and well-known attempt by the Kurds to impress others with their dress is shown in every Kurdish city by the many shops with ready-made clothes and shoes as well as tailors. European clothes are by no means cheap although Iraqi Kurds are presently able to buy even expensive clothes and other items of luxury.

The university, office or state industrial trade, as well as foreign films are therefore the seeds of Europeanizing the clothes of the modern Kurdish city. Also the rulers of Iraq are a significant example suggesting new styles. Political leaders always appear in public either in an army uniform, with an English-American cut, or in an impeccably cut suit. The official propagation of photos of president wearing traditional Arab turban or dressed in less formal costume during his visits of the rural areas is only the matter of last years. Apart from that typical populist gesture made towards the peasantry I never saw any other Iraqi state administration representative of lower ranks, in the traditional Arab or Kurdish dress. Neat blouses or army styled windbreakers that do not hinder any type of movements suggest a readiness to field work, or, if necessary, to battle. This deals with both Arab and Kurdish activists.

The process of Europeanization of Kurdish national costume, slow in the country and rapid in the towns is on move. It has been triggered in Iraq by several political, economic and social factors, very similar to other

Arab countries experiencing their oil prosperity. I had an opportunity to observe similar trends, if not more advanced in Libya during my visit there in April 1981. The affluent young generation living not only in the Tripolitanian coastal belt or in Cyrenaica's cities like Benghazi and El Marj, but also the people in Djoufra and Fezzan oases are keen to imitate the same Western style of life.

The former Kurdish dress was established in their own homeland thousands of years ago. It is adapted to the traditional style of everyday life, both during work and recreation. However, the European dress which is popular in to-day's way of dressing in Kurdistan was created somewhere else and served people with different cultural needs and traditions. The modern Kurds adapt the European dress more quickly than the entire pattern of everyday European life. Therefore, often our dress is not adapted to the everyday Oriental needs. There are several other items invented and used in Europe and America, which does not seem too valuable for the Near Eastern people and their own, ancient cultural traditions. One can wonder if in general terms of material functionalness, abandoning the traditional dress is necessary for the Kurdish men and women. The phenomena of exchanging functionalness and betterness, the ancient for the new, less suitable and comfortable is to-day a fact in Kurdistan, as well as in the whole Iraq. Though it does not appear rational at the first glance however, it is only one element in fulfilling the ambitions of the once poor society of an oil rich Near Eastern country.

Notes

- 1 Statistics issued by Middle Eastern countries do not publish the numbers of their citizens of Kurdish nationality. It seems, however, that the Kurds would comprise 16,7 % of Iraqi total population of 12 million. The Kurdish nationalists claim that to-day Kurds constitute 25 % of Turkey population, 10 % in Syria and 7,5 % in Iran. Over 80,000 Kurds live in Soviet Union, mostly in Armenia (BAKAYEV 1975: 283). The exact number of Kurds living in the world is still a matter of rather violent disputes.
- 2 As the member of the Polish Agro-economic Team of Experts the author carried out field research in 78 villages and small towns of the three northeastern Iraqi provinces ("muhafadhas"): Dohuk, Arbil and Sulaimaniya. They comprise the Kurdish Autonomous Region. The survey covered six areas chosen for the agricultural irrigation projects.
- 3 During the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century most of Kurdish nomads abandoned their old pattern of life and were settled in the villages, mostly situated on the slopes of the mountain valleys. They are involved in farming of two types: dry farming of the food-crops and irrigated farming of the commercial vegetable, sunflower and tobacco production.

- 4 Henry Harald Hansen carried out her field research in two villages in the Lesser Zab Valley (now flooded by the waters of the Dokan Reservoir) and in Sulaimaniya at the end of 1950's, just before the overthrow of Iraqi monarchy and long before the Iraqi government recovered its control over the rich oilfields. Let us add also, that most of Hansen's observations in the villages concerned the local aristocracy, i.e. the family of the local shaikh. The standard of life of the village landlord's family should hardly be considered as typical for the Kurdish peasantry.
- 5 Polish physician and traveller, Wladyslaw Jabłonowski visited Anatolia and the territories of Iraqi Kurdistan in 1860-1885 (PARADOWSKA 1973). Vasilii Nikitin, former Russian consul in Urmia at the end of World War One, and the author of the comprehensive study "Les Kurdes" discussed the Kurdish socio-cultural phenomena observed in Iranian Kurdistan and in Transcaucasus (NIKITIN 1964).
- 6 The Kurds up to the recent years even in the cities preferred sitting or squatting on the floor covered with rugs to the use of chairs, tables, beds etc. The European furniture entered to the Kurdish interiors for purely prestige ambitions, and this introduction is the matter of last two decades. The Kurdish villager does not use the chair. In squatting position he may work per hours, rest or even sleep.
- 7 According to the Kemal's doctrine modern Turkey has no ethnic minorities. The Kurds of Anatolia are not allowed to wear their national costumes. They are even officially called as "Mountain Turks" to wipe out the spirit of their nationalism.

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TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN MODERN AFRICA

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It is almost impossible for us to obtain a coherent view of the traditional culture and its role in the present societies of Africa south of the Sahara, as they are so different in respect of the stage of social and economic development. The time when a culture seemingly independent of the external world could emerge was followed by the quick development and transformation of a relatively short historical period of colonization, wars and movements of independence and liberation. As the most important changes took place only in the recent decades, our practical knowledge as well as the necessary distance in time are still not enough to arrive at right conclusions. Today's "scientific" interpretations, even those by African scholars, are usually based on the examination of the present situation, and with this we actually deceive ourselves; the substitution of missing conditions with different theories cannot be sufficient even though such theories have emerged in large numbers since the 1940s. Thus, the aim of the present essay cannot be more than to point out - chiefly from the view of ethnology - some of the recent changes in the cultures of African peoples, which perhaps will play an important role in the future development of the central - i.e. Sub-Saharan and not South-African - part of the continent.

"Traditional" culture is usually interpreted by ethnography as "tribal" culture in the 19th and 20th centuries still "free" from European influence, which can be examined with the methods of anthropology. According to this approach, this "tribal" culture is more or less permanent or is at least long-lasting. Of course, this interpretation can be accepted only with certain limitations, partly because we have only very little knowledge of the internal changes which took place in the cultures of different ethnic groups during the previous centuries and partly because we can neglect neither the thousand-year-long cultural influence of the Arabic-Muslim world, nor a later influence of Europe from the 16th-century. In spite of all these facts, for ethnology - and, as far as this paper is concerned, for us as well - "traditional" culture means "tribal" culture as it occurred directly before the era of conquest.

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This approach is accepted by the majority of African intellectuals as well, who usually assess "European values" with great caution. The total refusal of these values would hinder the process of adapting to the "Europeanized" 20th-century world, while, on the other hand, their acceptance is also difficult as these values have nothing to do with African reality. According to certain opinions (e.g. A. Cabral, P. Houtonji, A. Neto etc.) for those intellectuals who, facing the challenge of our times, try to find refuge in the idea of "Africanism" Europe, with its quick development "rushing headlong into disaster", together with "Super-European" America and the "First World" in general, is not an example to be followed. Instead, a dangerous overestimation of "African values", a "collective narcissism raised by colonization" are the sources of the effort of more and more African ethnographers and investigators of traditions to develop a philosophy (ethnophilosophy) out of mythology, mysticism, racial character and even backwardness as opposed to the European culture which, as a consequence of its economic and political expansionism, is felt to be over-aggressive.

The "cultural colonization" of Africa almost always took place on coastal territories and in a few big and important towns so in the 1960s even the majority of city dwellers could remain free from the cultural influence of colonial powers. In the period of movements of independence, and even more during the fights which have formed states with artificial borders, insistence on traditional culture became a kind of "national" resistance regardless of ethnic status. To maintain their titles, privileges and prestige, the old, traditional élite, who could survive as the participants of the indirect colonial regime, also became the protectors of traditions. It was only the petty bourgeoisie, this very limited social group often overestimated by foreign historians of the theme, who felt themselves more or less rootless; as a consequence, there appeared a "cultural renaissance" spiced with neofolklorism and romantic-sentimental nostalgia. The most important representatives of this trend left Africa after the attaining of independence and their works appeared in Europe and America while they remained unknown in Africa. We may add to this that none of the intellectual movements (e.g. Pan Africanism, Négritude or the recent discovery of "roots") which oppose a fictitious picture of African societies and cultures to the culture of European origin were born in Africa and even their influence is rather limited there as the majority of population living in the country do not even know about their existence. It is repeatedly stated by researchers that Africa's traditional culture - this usually

means: the arts - has been destroyed by colonization. It is a fact that tribal and courtly arts (plastic art) fell victim to colonization partly because the colonial powers deprived - often violently - the societies of the forms and means of traditional state and tribal rites and partly because the missionaries' activity began to transform tribal religions. (Quite often they used really drastic means; for instance, in the area of the two Congos. Christian priests burnt great piles of ritual masks and statues in public and as they remained obviously unpunished by supernatural powers, they succeeded to undermine tribal ideology.) A third influence of colonization was the disintegration of formerly closed tribes by connecting them with world-wide mass communication. But it was exactly modernization, the outcome of the above features which - mainly after attaining independence - transformed traditional ritual arts into mass production. After a hiatus of two generations in traditional arts, African governments and intellectuals accuse the museums and collectors of the world of the cultural looting of Africa, this way calling into being the well-known and still insolvable dilemma of "giving back or keeping it" (i.e. the treasures of art).

Nevertheless, "traditional culture" means much more than fine arts, as the dying out of traditional rites is more than the destruction of African music and dance by Christian religious music, Muslim light music and modern dance music. Traditional culture also means more than surviving oral tradition though this, as well as fine arts, is part of it. In fact, traditional culture contains several other elements: different objects of everyday use as well as the mode of production, different feasts connected to a given age or season as well as the modes of communication, or forms of association and the different manifestations of beliefs in supernatural powers. These elements within a group of people and among traditional (tribal) circumstances form a special, coherent system. We must mention here that we have only little knowledge of the survival or the transformation of traditional culture, and even the few data we have, which never relate to one single country, make possible to consider only some main - but rather partial - characteristics.

Traditional African culture suffered its main losses chiefly in connection with old techniques of handicraft and in the producing of objects both of everyday use and those denoting prestige. As they are not always produced for sale and being the parts of the "culture of objects" as ethnology calls it, we can speak about their artistic creation rather than production. By now, traditional handicraft has been forced back to distant

areas far from the chief centres of the state, or to some commercial collecting reserves maintained by the government or some world organization, whose productions are worse and worse in quality. For the majority of population traditional handicraft has actually died out and in the last century and chiefly during the colonial era such articles were replaced by the mass production of the well-developed world. This, of course, also means decreasing experience in traditional handicraft technology, and today's trials to revive old techniques artificially cannot be successful as even the old tricks of the trade have been buried in oblivion. To give a seemingly trivial example, the West African coppersmith, whose customers are chiefly tourists, looks upon his predecessors having lived only a few decades earlier as incomparable masters, and the figural gold-weighting bronze weight or the metal plate for cola nut (not to mention the lost lifesize statues of wrought iron of the Kuba in Zaïre or the Nigerian Nupe glass works) as inimitable, ancient pieces of art. The majority of articles are much more easy to buy in exchange for surplus agricultural produce from the tradesmen whose goods are of foreign origin: instead of African pottery they offer enamelled washbasin from Germany, instead of woven clothes cotton from France, instead of ritual sculptures porcelaine figurines, instead of "talking" drum a portable radio. Still there are some people who remember what a certain objects looked like and what its name was; some of the old people can even remember some of the mythic or communal role of the object; but how and why it was made - already nobody knows. Here I do not want to mention those few exceptions whose existence in future will depend on determined customs in eating, dressing and behaviour. In the developed world - and later in the developing one as well - the Marxist analysis of Capitalism and its deformed, shortened interpretations led to the fetishism of the notions and categories of money, finances, surplus production and the principles of market. A part of these phenomena was well-known in Africa well before colonization though the actual functions were rather different (that is why the modern sense of these notions are often misunderstood by Africans). Market used to mean a meeting place of relatives and strangers, lovers and those who were seeking for their own truth, people worrying about their land's preparedness and prestige-seekers as well. So market meant a communicational centre and a means of gaining authority. Money economy meant the means of obtaining the goods of the neighbouring community or of a distant part of the world. The effectiveness of market principles is influenced by family, tribal, ethnic and state relations even today. Growing

independence - though Africa is still very far from being economically independent of the developed world - also meant the appearance of different - mainly agricultural - undertakings inspired by world organizations, the UNO and international monopolies whose aims cannot be always characterized as pure altruism. Now we do not want to deal with the problems of African exportation of raw-materials, an existing connection with the Capitalist and a possibility desired by the Socialist world. Nor do we analyse here Africa's miserable role in world trade, or its intra-trade which hardly reaches an average 5% of total commerce per year. These facts in themselves are enough to explain Africa's withdrawal as far as self-respect and cultural identity are concerned.

The above-mentioned undertakings brought into being several plantations, systems of canalization on huge territories, live-stock farms even where there is a danger of trypanosomiasis, and they also inspire the export of certain countries' mineral and agricultural material. For villages this means profit, money and a kind of marketing activity. As far as food supply is concerned, villages - at least in theory and until some elemental disaster or political power intervenes - still have subsistence economy. By producing for sale, the means for buying imported goods are found. With this, local professions die out, while the knowledge of the outer world brings about new claims which can be satisfied only if people sell even those articles which were produced to ensure their own livelihood. Where agriculture has a very primitive, migrant form (the burnt and deforested lands are cultivated with hoe and digging sticks without fertilizing the soil) the above phenomena become really problematic especially if we see that this mode of production will surely remain dominant in Africa's agriculture for a long time, partly because of the lack of necessary means of production and partly because of the fact that even beside a 3% annual increase of population, lands which can be cultivated this way are still easily available. This situation may lead to pauperism more serious than that among traditional tribal circumstances where people and agriculture were also exposed continuously to different natural catastrophes. We can add to this the violent repatriation of millions of guest workers, the long-lasting fall in prices of raw and basic materials which caused heavy losses in public finances, the "quiet" migration of agricultural population from one country to another or the well-known awkwardness in assignation of goods. And, as a final result, economic impoverishment leads directly to cultural pauperism.

The degeneration of the culture of objects and traditional ideology was followed by a new third-rate "culture" of mainly Euro-American origin. At the same time several African churches appeared which developed from different other religions, African animism and - trying to resist the challenges of the present age - even from witchcraft. These churches have taken over the role of traditional secret and secular societies too. Their effect can be felt in the highest government offices, and universities and even those intellectuals who look upon themselves as the representatives of "western" or Marxist ideology together with high-ranking officials cannot withdraw themselves from their influence. After attaining independence, the governing bodies still continued the practice of "indirect rule" for a while, which meant that they did not do away with the institution of "chiefs" and tribes at once. Of course, their sphere of authority was strongly limited and today there are attempts at their total elimination in almost all the countries and not only in those of socialist orientation. This, together with growing inner migration caused by new possibilities of employment in industry and modernization in big cities brought about the collapse of traditional tribal organizations. On the other hand, these changes could cease neither the original village community nor those institutions based on kinship: the migrating seasonal worker brings home his wages, and those who moved into slums start at once to develop their new (but actually traditional) communities, organizations and associations even in such communities where population is very heterogeneous. In a few years, the organizations of such communities or the behaviour in them hardly differ from their original village communities though several cultural phenomena characteristic of their traditional agricultural way of life are replaced by new ones offered by the city. Nevertheless, relationship modulated by inner and mutual stratification is broken neither among the "real" citizens nor among the inhabitants of slums. The increasing importance of kinship manifests itself in the system of matrimony, economic and legal unity ("clanship") and, just like in other cases of untouched traditional relations, this paralyses the creativeness of the individual or a little social group.

Anthropologists have already analyzed hundreds of examples to show the vitality and adaptability of a traditional community and their culture. Let us see now, just very briefly, an example from Sudan of how a tribal society and culture can find a "tribal" answer to a phenomenon which is very different from their traditional way of life. Even at the beginning of this

century, the Maiak tribe of the South Sudanese Burun living in the savannah dealt almost only with agriculture using digging sticks and growing durra. Poultry, pig and goat raising were much less important. The division of labour between men (agriculture) and women (house keeping, gardening) was strictly defined. The districts (lineages) of exogam villages lived in autonomy ruled by a leader. Before marriage, the groom had to work for seven years in the land of his future father-in-law, he had to keep to strict moral constraints and act according to several ritual rules towards the fiancée's parents and her "relatives" in a broader sense of the word, meaning the whole village. In 1901, the British colonial authorities introduced a new system of taxation in money on the basis of the number of the animals in one's possession (cattle, sheep, goat). In order to be able to pay the tax, quick and important changes had to take place in the lives of the Maiak people, which were also slightly influenced by Muslim missionaries. The Maiak people, in order to be able to buy cattle and goat as bases of assessment, began to wash placer gold on which they had set no value before. With this, they actually brought into motion the circulation of animal breeding, selling and taxation. By the 1970s, every village had obtained a livestock of several hundred animals and the traditional offerings of rites (rain making or burial), millet and wild animals were replaced by domestic animals. Instead of the former division of labour, animal keeping has become the job of young boys and men, and at the same time, in the community's boys' house a very strict order based on age-groups has developed. Women began to take a bigger part in agriculture. As the consequence of the previously unknown money economy and trade - still without surplus production - led to the appearance of imported goods (mainly linen). The most important changes have taken place in connection with marriage and its rites. The role of the suitor's work mentioned above was replaced by a kind of bridewealth for the bride, which can be corn, livestock, iron instruments and weapons, salt or rolls of tobacco whose value can be measured in terms of money. Actual work had been reduced to a symbolic, one-year-long service by the 1970s, and the connected rites and beliefs have also been replaced by new rites of bridewealth collecting and its transfer. While formerly a cross-cousin was preferred as a partner in marriage, now this role has been taken over by the younger sister of the "best friend" from the neighbouring village. And as the best friend is the best help in material problems, he and the "relatives" - i.e. the whole village of course -, makes a contribution to the bridewealth as well; and

when he returns the choice, practically a process of extra-relational exchange of presents begins with obligatory reciprocity. In effect, this process can strengthen the formerly loose connections within a tribe. The above example shows us that an external intervention whose means - a change in the economic form and the introduction of money economy - have seemingly destroyed old values actually gave rise to typical "tribal" reactions; new traditions are born and with this, cohesion is growing within the community. As a final result, traditional tribe is stabilized. It is true that the above example is mainly characteristic of the behaviour of those communities which live far from "modern" cities, though, on the other hand, we must see that it is them who form the majority of total population. We must also see that - with appropriate transposition - similar phenomena can be found even among the inhabitants of African capitals kept alive by continuous migrations to such big cities.

We may add to this that the gradual disappearance of former "national" movements of independence which, before reaching their aim, tried to help the formation of cultural unionism, as well as recent natural catastrophes and the threat of world economy during the past few years in several African countries led to a revival of ethnic and tribal consciousness and to the looseness of other, political and economic factors whose real values were questionable even before. The real danger lies in the fact that the former tribal cultures even in their ruins may become consolidated and in this way they may delay the advance toward the more or less levelled culture of other parts of the world, and may also hinder both unification and development. While the colonizers could choose among three possibilities (genocide, partial genocide with aggressive assimilation, or the introduction of reserves), the governments of Africa south of the Sahara had only one chance: it is aggressive assimilation, an inner, "ethnic and cultural colonization". As a consequence of strong ethnic division, the government in power, which is usually based only on a given ethnic group or tribe, tries to keep its authority by forming the population of the country in its own lingual-cultural image, which, of course, leads to resistance. This opposition - which means parties of opposition or armed resistance - is also based on a given ethnic group and exists as long as the next government is established supported perhaps by another ethnic group.

At last, I would like to stress that Africa has a special position even within the so-called "developing world". Not only the world's poorest countries belong here, but this part of the world as a whole is also

underdeveloped compared to other continents. The cultural basis of thousand-year-old archaic Asian or European civilizations, which can be detected in most cases of Asian or Latin American societies as well, is missing here and another difference is that, again opposed to the above societies, in Subsaharan Africa almost all the countries are under their own (i.e. native African) state guidance. In less than a century, very important changes took place here and caused the dispersion of traditional tribal cultures. On the other hand, not a sign of developing cultural homogeneity can be found in any of Subsaharan Africa's countries, which could be connected especially to one, given country both by the inhabitants and the foreign observer. Instead, today we speak about "African" culture, and this can be specified only with the help of the ethnologist who is able to discover some features of traditional tribal culture again characteristic of an ethnic group rather than a whole country. It will take a long time, until the peoples of Africa, who have to fight, even today, for mere existence, are able to turn money and energy to deliberate and planned care of traditions, which would mean more than today's few schools, the low-level network of museums and national and Pan African folklore festivals of growing commercial character. What we certainly know is that the direction of cultural development in these countries will be an approach towards the cultures of other parts of the world, mainly of the most developed ones. This will be the consequence of both of their own economic development, a gradually growing role in worldwide economic integration and of their backwardness as well. Of course, the above-mentioned cultural development will have its own geographical, historical and ethnic characteristics, and perhaps some features will also appear which connect a given culture to a given country of Subsaharan Africa.

**THE WORD OF THE FATHERS:
PROVERBS IN MADAGASCAR***

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Proverbs have always proved easy to collect in Madagascar, and tempting to interpret for what they might be saying about primitive Malagasy philosophy or national character. Examining the published collections of Malagasy folklore, one could think proverbs the most important genre of all, so many have been collected and so high the estimate of their importance at home, around the hearth, in the market-place, and in public speeches. With changing standards for folklore collecting, however, criticisms inevitably arise against the purposes and methods of collectors and the utility of their collections. Easy as proverbs have been to collect, they have never been collected as they ought to be. Their published literature exemplifies acutely the challenge of those masses of unanalyzed collectanea bequeathed to contemporary folklorists by their fathers in folklore. With the Malagasy proverb, we confront the problem of how to profit from the zeal and patience of past folklorists whose work we would have carried out differently. When folklore collections - here, thousands of carefully recorded instances of artistically heightened speech - lack performance or contextual information, are they useless? Can nothing be done with them?

Collectors

In the years after they were allowed back into the country (1869), the British missionaries turned up proverbs in large numbers. "In the year 1871," wrote James Sibree some time later, the Rev. W. E. Cousins and Mr. J. Parrett published a small volume of 76 pp., containing 1477 Malagasy Proverbs, a branch of native traditional wisdom in which the language is very rich. A second and much enlarged edition of this work was published in 1885, containing 3790 proverbs arranged in alphabetical order, so as to be easily found" (SIBREE 1889: 29). This number, attained so soon after they began collecting, dwarfs the four or seven hundred accepted as "considerable" in continent-wide surveys of Africa (FINNEGAN 1970: 389-393, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

BASCOM 1964). By a century later, one collection could number over six thousand fitenenana.

The importance of proverbs to the London Missionary Society folklorists lay in their usefulness for teaching Malagasy to new missionaries, for conversing with their parishioners, and most of all for impressing worshipers by including them in their sermons. Cousins genuinely believed in the efficacy of proverbs for the Christian orator almost as strongly as the Merina believed in their efficacy for the orator at a traditional marriage or funeral. Notions he and others saw to be common to Malagasy religion and Christianity - divine creation of man and the world, the existence of a life after death, the punishment of forbidden acts, human relationship to supernatural forces - motivated him. The issue of whether Malagasy possessed an "instinct" for monotheism would continue to be debated, with the aid of proverbs, throughout the colonial period.¹ In particular, Cousins sought out proverbs demonstrating skepticism about the native belief system.

A favourable declaration of the sikidy (divination) is not an occasion for dancing, nor an unfavourable declaration an occasion for weeping. An offering is not a death preventive but something to prevent regret. Like a Tanala tribesman who lost his talisman (sampy), getting a new one is quickly done. Like the₂ diviner asking too much, that a sick man should dance. (COUSINS 1875: 6).²

To Cousins, vestiges of a purer, primitive faith appeared in the thousands of proverbs he collected; this would now be illumined by the introduction of Christianity. To that end, he provides, by means of his book and such articles as the one just cited, for the inclusion of proverbs in sermons that would persuade new Christians of the continuity between the religions. "In all public speaking the natives use their proverbs very freely, and many Europeans find them of great use in enforcing truths that would otherwise find small acceptance with their hearers," wrote one of his colleagues (CLEMES 1877: 431).

"And in the year 1882," Sibree goes on in his history of folklore collecting to 1889, "the Rev. J. A. Houlder completed a work upon Malagasy proverbs, arranging them according to their subjects under a number of heads, giving also racy English translations and numerous illustrative notes" (SIBREE 1889: 29). After waiting twelve years for publication, Houlder's collection, about twice as numerous as Cousins and Parrett's, was serialized by Sibree in six numbers of the Antananarivo Annual, the

missionary periodical; by the time it was finally published in book form, fifteen years later, a French translation had to be added (HOULDER 1957). In contrast to Cousins, Houlder saw proverbs as both expressions of universal wisdom and manifestations of the original oriental character of the Malagasy (really only the Merina of the central highlands, where the L. M. S. missionaries concentrated their efforts). To him, proverbs showed the people's innermost thoughts and feelings. Both men present the curious combination of linguistic precision, zeal in fieldwork, and a certitude that the culture they were so faithfully recording was being fundamentally transformed. Cousins rejoiced in the ending of slavery by the French conquerors on 27 September 1896, citing from the slave era a proverb expressing the rights of Merina slaveholders to the children and property of slaves, "Our banana-tree bears fruit, and we enjoy it to the full" (COUSINS 1896: 448). Houlder remarked on the marvelous changes in Imerina since the readmission of the missionaries; idolatry had been rejected, religion was exerting its enlivening and purifying influence on all classes, civilization was making great progress, and native literature was flourishing (HOULDER 1957).

Nor was Cousins the only Protestant to see in Malagasy proverbs evidence of an earlier faith in God. In an account of his people's beliefs, pastor Andrianaivoravelona included eighteen proverbs with the word Andriamanitra (the "perfumed god," often translated "Creator" in this period). "In all these, and many more like them," he wrote, it was not the idols that were alluded to, but "the one God, Who exists eternally and is the author of all blessings, even He only was thought of in these proverbs" (CLARK 1885: 78-82).

In his definitive folklore collection of 1877, the Norwegian missionary Lars Dahle included 302 proverbs under a title translated as "Shorter Clever Speeches Like Proverbs." "Clever speeches" was Sibree's translation for hain-teny (more literally "word power" or "word play"), the Merina dialogic poems constituting Dahle's first chapter; perhaps by saying the shorter items resembled proverbs, he was keeping clear of Cousins's area. But the genres have common features, both being metaphoric, used in transferred contexts, and balanced and antithetical in structure (DAHLE 1877).

Equally interested in efficient communication with the Malagasy, the French ethnographers and linguists built on the British missionaries' collecting efforts and pursued their interest in old Malagasy religion.

Alfred Grandidier, the leading malgachisant of the nineteenth century, conceded, tacitly following Cousins, that not everyone had absolute faith in the efficacy of sacrifices, and cited a proverb, "If an offering doesn't prevent you from dying, at least it does you no harm." After describing to Grandidier the sacrificial rites of the berano cow, which he had carried out many a time, an old, and authoritative diviner (ombiasy) from the first half of the century said, "There are times when the rain falls right after this sacrifice, and other times it doesn't come at all." Though Grandidier presents the first of these remarks as a proverb and the second as a bit of native common sense, both are aphoristic two-part generalizations using literal language. He noticed that the Malagasy frequently incorporated proverbs into conversation: "at every instant they quote proverbs which express very well, in lapidary style, their feelings and thoughts; they also enjoy making ingenious comparisons." For him such use of proverbs is on the same level as the quaint habit of improvising puppets to dramatize personal narrative. "When they have some event to narrate or description to make, they often take little pebbles or bits of straw they find at their doorway and arrange them so as to make their story clearer or their demonstration more obvious" (GRANDIDIER 1885: 119). Looking at Malagasy culture generally rather than at proverbs in particular, Grandidier agreed with the seventeenth-century colonist Flacourt that the Malagasy were basically monotheistic, but he had little interest in verbal art.

From the Menabe district of Sakalava country, another Frenchman published forty proverbs. In his fifteen years, he had evidently observed frequent use of proverbs by Sakalava in court proceedings, where a person accused of rumour-mongering would assert his innocence, or at least his good faith, by bringing before the judges the person he had heard the rumour from, with the proverb, "I'm blind - if you give me an eel, I eat it, if you give me a snake, I eat it." In court trials, to remind witnesses to tell the whole truth, judges would say, "Don't halfcook the meat, the food will curse me."³

Around the same time, Jean Paulhan, later to become the doyen of French literary figures, was finding it easy to collect Malagasy proverbs. As a young man of twenty-four, living in Imerina, Paulhan listened to proverbs and hain-teny for a year or more before beginning a little collection of his own, which he sent by letter to a Paris Friend. Unlike his predecessors, it was not till then that he looked at the printed collections by Cousins and Dahle. Writing about this Madagascar sojourn twelve years

later (after he had been acclaimed for Le Guerrier appliqué and had introduced Paul Eluard to André Breton, thus bringing about literary Surrealism), Paulhan managed a disarming irony at the expense of his youthful attraction to Merina proverbs: he admitted to preferring those with a touch of the paradoxical or malicious. Ignoring the ones that seemed simply obvious, he says, if he could find as few as 30% to match his expectations or tastes, he could convince himself that these were the real Malagasy proverbs; the rest could be neglected. When he embarked on interpreting them to himself, he joined the general project of distinguished malgachisants of his time: "I managed to put together an image of the 'Malagasy soul' - moralistic, subtle, and critical."⁴ To facilitate incorporating proverbs into his conversation, he began to connect and compare them with French ones. As we shall see later, he also discovered something of the ethnography of speaking proverbs.

The Norwegian missionary Emile Birkeli went to the opposite extreme from Paulhan, vouchsafing almost no interpretive information on Merina equivalents for the 324 Sakalava proverbs in his classic compendium of 1922; he confined himself to the original texts, a French translation, and a brief commentary (BIRKELI 1922/23). In the highlands, working from materials supplied him by a Malagasy teacher at the Norwegian mission school, another pastor published eighty-one proverbs as part of his history of the Zafindiamanana. Gathered together, these convey the same impression many lists of proverbs do: images of domestic and animal life, a tone of dry irony, and a fragmentary quality which the reader's imagination strives to complete by wondering what context situations the sentences might be used for (OLSEN 1929).

Farther south, among the Betsileo, Henri Dubois found proverbs to manifest the "distinctive traits of Betsileo mentality, common sense, everyday wisdom..." Their condensation of style he found to be a burden to the translator: "each word or phrase contains a whole world of allusions to facts, traditions, customs, beliefs, and situations, in which initiates get along without difficulty but where the foreigner is lost, unless someone provides him with commentaries to clarify the meaning." Noticing the symmetrical structure of many Betsileo proverbs, Dubois saw that parallelism alone was enough to connect two phrases.

ny voanjo boto tsa tamean-tsira
 the nut whole not enters salt
 ny zaza ho gege tsa tamean'anatra

the child will be stubborn, advice not enters
 As salt doesn't go into an uncracked nut, good counsels don't enter
 the head of a stubborn child.

(Translated from DUBOIS 1938: 1261, 1262)

Dubois's attention to style paved the way for examining the extensive use of parallelism in many Malagasy proverbs.

In the same period, Hubert Deschamps, later to write the standard French history of the island, included forty-one translated Antaisaka proverbs along with the rest of his folklore collection (DESCHAMPS 1939). From peoples farther north and west, Dr. Fontoynt, the long-time president of the Académie Malgache, was aided by Raomandahy, also a doctor, to make two collections from the Merina of the Vakinankaratra region and the Antaifasy. Their procedure somewhat advances in rigour beyond that of their predecessors; they give the text of each proverb, a translation, and a sentence (sometimes less) of explanation, along with northern Merina ("Hova") and French analogues for some of the Merina ones. As the justification for an interest in Malagasy proverbs, Fontoynt and Raomandahy approvingly quote G. H. Julien, who had cited 1,124 examples from Cousins and Parrett in a book of 1923. He had gathered them, he says, to show "dans le patrimoine littéraire des malgaches des arguments decisifs pour les laver de l'accusation de barbarie lancée et propagée contre eux en meme temps qu'une justification nouvelle de la confiance maternelle que la France leur accorda aux heures les plus tragiques de son histoire et leur conservera certainement dans l'avenir" (JULIEN 1923). Since the authors add nothing on their own to this statement, we may assume they too hoped to portray the Malagasy as more civilized as a people and trustworthy as a nation than some Frenchmen believed (though Julien doubtless was referring to nothing more elevated than the right of Malagasy to be conscripted and killed in the war). For their whole Antaifasy collection they relied upon one informant in Betroka, a descendant of Antaifasy kings. On their Merina collection they based their most farsighted remark: all the examples were different from those published by Cousins and Houlder, and the Antaifasy ones were different from all the rest (FONTOYNONT and RAOMANDAHY 1938, 1939).

Introducing twelve proverbs into his ethnography of the Bara, Louis Michel emphasized their infrequent use of proverbs in ordinary conversation. His examples seem to have been selected for missionary ears: "If you are not afraid of me, I have no reason to be afraid of you"; "We propose but God

disposes"; "the soul is the principal person" (MICHEL 1957: 175).

Throughout the history of Malagasy folkloristics, linguists and ethnographers have kept proverbs in print. Introducing his Grammaire malgache (1876), Aristide Marre claimed the honour of producing the first teaching manual for the language to have been produced in Europe. As exhibits for the use for the language, he included 101 proverbs from Cousins and Parrett. (MARRE-DE MARIN 1876). Indeed that slim volume has been often cited. In their Malagasy-French dictionary a few years later, Abinal and Malzac (1876) often cited proverbs illustrating the use of particular words. After independence, it was still being mined, without clear acknowledgment, for the longest list of all, 6,813 Malagasy proverbs collected by a French Jesuit who does not tell us where or from whom his items came. A colleague introduced the collection for publication with all the clichés. Universal in thought, Malagasy proverbs are very ancient; the similarity of some to Biblical proverbs is not due to Christian influence. Their value is to preserve archaic linguistic forms, since nowadays few Malagasy know them; formerly they took the place of written literature. The wisdom they advocate is practical and everyday; what they approve and disapprove is based rather on custom and convention than on ideals. When they are cruel at the expense of the sick, the unfortunate, or the old, their mockery is the thoughtless cruelty of the child - the editor's conception of the "Malagasy soul" in 1967. Interpretation of this huge collection came a decade later from an author who analyzed where proverb images came from. Rice, beef, cattle, chickens, dogs, sheep, tubers, bananas had all been drawn from the stable, sedentary village life of the last five centuries. The most numerous proverbial animals also appeared in folktales: Birds, locusts, crocodiles, rats, eels, boars, wildcats. By this time in the studies, decay in performance was such an accepted fact that no fieldwork was even thought of (VEYRIÉRES 1967, NAVONE 1977).

The climactic literary handling of proverb texts, dwarfing all the rest, came in the definitive re-edition of the foregoing collections, Ohabolan'ny Ntaolo, by the pre-eminent Malagasy folklorist of the mid-twentieth century, Bakoly Domenichini-Ramiaramanana. This work, a study in textual scholarship and a defense of the value of ohabolana as both historical evidence and poetry, compiles 3,679 items and solves the most difficult problem of a proverb collection by a system of classification which ingeniously extends ideas Houlder had put forth long before. Its introduction gives a detailed history of the Cousins and Parrett collection

and its successive expansions against the background of political developments, not omitting to suggest the role a title like "Proverbs of the Ancients" (1885) might have had in identifying certain cultural expressions as of the past, while evangelization and westernization were of the present. The editor-author sees the majority of ohabolana as monologic and as representing observation of the outer and inner worlds; each has a single meaning of its own, however varied its context. With its indexes to key words and its scrupulous handling of items, the re-edition is the last word on and from the printed collections of Merina proverbs (DOMENICHINI-RAMIARAMANANA 1970).

Interpreters

From the beginning of the colonial era, the attention to proverbs could be justified by their revelation of Malagasy national character. Earlier writers had striven to prove a general foundation of monotheism in Malagasy belief; disagreeing with this effort, whether from Protestants (i. e. British) or Catholics (French), one writer asserted, "the Malagasy is not a religious animal, he is a poetic animal. His superstition is the flowering of an intense poetry (LEBLOND 1946: 233, translated). Such a statement reveals an underlying agreement among disputants that proverbs are a window into national character. Also, by shifting the "Malagasy instinct" away from religion to poetry, the author launched, or at least joined, the movement to trivialize Malagasy culture. As the advent of French civilization would surely efface beliefs, sayings, and manners, the culture of local tribes could now be regarded as a curiosity. Part of the trivialization was a new recognition of some divergence and even autonomy amongst local dialect groups (BOUILLON 1981: 143).

Within a generation after the conquest, Malagasy folklorists were beginning to make their response. One of the most distinguished of these, Rev. Maurice Rasamuel - animated by motives which at first appear antiquarian but are probably reactionary - claimed for proverbs and other Merina verbal art a greater importance than material culture. Rasamuel took up the old idea that European and Malagasy cultures were simply to be contrasted and generalized it, even more than Alfred Grandidier had done, in a two-sided comparison which characterized "occidental" expression as relying for enhancement on adjectives and adverbs, while the "oriental" (really the Malagasy, probably only the Merina) will use comparisons and

turns of phrase drawn from nature, animals, plants, meteors, and so on to flatter the ear. He cited several proverbs, of which the first raises a question of classification.

Ny tendrombohitra fandrian'ny zavona;
The mountain is the resting-place of the fog

ny lohasaha fandrian'ny moka;
the valley is the resting-place of the mosquito

ny helo-drano fandrian'ny mamba;
the creek is the resting-place of the crocodile

ary ny mpitondra fandrian'ny adidy.
and the chief is the resting-place of responsibility.⁵

Is this sequence of metaphors, seemingly in order of climax, a proverb? A lengthier variant of its series had been printed by Dahle in 1877, who included it among his hainteny ("word plays") rather than as a proverb; that was soon translated by Sibree in prose under the title "Every Thing Has Its Place."

The whitebird (a species of egret, Ardea bubulcus, which feeds on the flies and parasites of cattle) does not leave the oxen, the sandpiper does not forsake the ford, the hawk does not depart from the tree, the valley is the dwelling of the mosquito, the mountain is the home of the mist, the water holes are the lair of the crocodile. And the sovereign is the depository (lit. "resting place") of the law, and the people are the depository of good sense (DAHLE 1877: 38, No.115. Translated in SIBREE 1889: 38).

Was this text a pithy metaphorical utterance that sums up and passes judgment on a situation, or an oratorical flourish or ornament of speech (which was what Sibree called hain-teny)? What was a proverb in Madagascar? The classification problem was never really dealt with by Rasamuel, Sibree, or any other proverb collector. The variant forms of this and other texts they printed show that "strategies for dealing with situations" in words, among the Merina if not other Malagasy, could be considerably more elaborate than the condensed pithy sentences familiar to European ears as proverbs (BURKE 1957, ABRAHAMS 1968).

Rasamuel quoted other proverbs too, all somber, about the responsibility and blameability of chiefs, as well as futility, retribution (six proverbs to the effect that we are victims of our own actions), and betrayal by a friend (four examples); only at the end did he include one proverb stating that a difficulty can always be overcome. The Merina

world-view we see in Rasamuel's selection harmonized with interpretations presented by Europeans, for such a people could never dare much nor achieve much.

Taking a more cheerful tone, other authors pointed to the strength and brevity of these often humorous proverbs. Some had a dramatic quality: "The members of a family are like fighting bulls: one must neither applaud the victors nor jeer the vanquished." Through humor, the proverb reacted against the sadnesses of human life and tried to orient man to norms of humanity and good sense; thus they were the people's image. It was not a charitable humor, but not a harmful one either, that was being directed at the "stupid man who has only one franc and imagines everything he sees is worth one franc." While many proverbs were inspired by charity or benevolence, more were sly or hard-hearted; hundreds expressed mockery against polygamous men, slaves, wives, old people, ugly or domineering women. These authors echoed Julien and foreshadowed Meritens in pointing to the variety and richness of the symbolic images as manifestation of the high cultural development of Madagascar; interpreting them too literally would be dangerous. The apparent hardness of heart they traced to a belief in the magic power of the word; since it would be dangerous, for instance, to launch a curse against an evil spirit, one would ridicule its effect in a proverb. To launder the "Malagasy character" a bit, the authors asserted that in the many proverbs about leprosy (see PEARSE 1898: 191, for thirteen examples), what was being ridiculed was not the leper's person but the evil he suffered from; old people were not ridiculed, only the death that threatened them. They Christianized the Malagasy by calling proverbs "an act of social defense" which shows a great "attachment to the normal form of life, an existence exempt from all evils." But after all, the Malagasy were as fatalistic as their brothers the Orientals (CHAPUS and RAZANAJOHARY 1949/50).

Also eager to reveal national character through interpreting published proverbs was J. B. Razafintsalama, who became better known under his Buddhist name of Dama-Ntsoha after he converted from Christianity, and whose innovative look at Malagasy morphology has commanded respect (DEZ 1978: 339). According to Dama-Ntsoha, whose thought constantly pushes Madagascar away from Europe, proverbs proved that from early times the Malagasy were oriental thinkers, having been unified by religious teachings of Buddhist and Shakti adepts. Before settling in Madagascar, the early Malagasy must have lived together in some one place for a time, probably near the end of the tenth century A. D. Subsequently they absorbed the Buddhism that was

expanding into Java and Sumatra and moved to Madagascar at the beginning of the twelfth century. When, at the beginning of the historical period, Andrianampoinimerina re-established the community or district organization (fokon'olona), and set up the Merina state, the manifestation of God in the person of leaders represented a triumph for Shaktism in its secular form. Philosophically, the fundamental conception of the early Malagasy was spiritual perfection, which was "common to all the tribes without exception." What demonstrated the harmonizing of Buddhist doctrine with Tantric monotheism was the proverbs, where lucidity of mind and practical seriousness transpired through the irony and humor. Dama-Ntsoha found the proverbs to be making use of the principle of analogy, in endless refinement. To marshal evidence for his tendentious interpretation, he rearranged the 1918 edition of Cousins and Parrett into sections corresponding to Buddhist thought. Recalling the Noble Truth that states "the cause of suffering is rooted in desire," Dama-Ntsoha made desire the subject of his first section, demanding of the proverbs a demonstration that "desire is never satisfied." Man is driven by thirst for pleasure; at other times he drowns himself in pleasure; the miser is the type of the man overpowered by desire; and so on. Other sections were headed "Death," "Pessimism," "Destiny" (where he reconciled the Merina belief in retribution, tody, with the Hindu notion of karma), "Order" (both internal and external), "Universal Charity," and "Personal Responsibility." The conclusion was that Malagasy proverbs were revelations simultaneously of ancient Hindu and Buddhist doctrine and of Malagasy national character. Although he rejected psychoanalytic interpretations, Dama-Ntsoha agreed with many others in this period that the goal of study, for the person interested in Madagascar, ought to be national character; it was just this that was expressed in proverbs. When Dama-Ntsoha said that a taste for sententious utterances had been inculcated by the ancestors and had not been diminished by the passage of time, he was explicating the generic Merina name for proverbs, poetry, and oratory, "words of the ancestors" (tenin-drazana). Indeed the proverbs, for him, were the treasure of the past, which popular memory had safeguarded (DAMA-NTSOHA 1928, 1938, 1953, 1960).

As the foregoing example makes clear, commentators on proverbs in the colonial period often seem so eager to defend Malagasy culture against intellectual espionage and depredation that they mystify even the mere uttering of sentences in conversation. One such document attempts to convince readers that the "Malagasy soul" simply cannot be understood or

grasped. For instance, the culture is one in which pure humor is unknown and the rare joke is regarded as in bad taste. The only understanding of it comes from within the "Malagasy soul" itself, which ensures that the only statements about it will be indefinite ones, and that the knowledge will be inexpressible. As to verbal art like hain-teny, it is vain to try to capture it into a precise definition. In this oral literature, creativity moves the utterance away from the real. Phonetic echoes with their onomatopoeia, "more sonorous, better molded to an idea, at the same time blunt its contour and confuse its outline, sometimes making the meaning indistinct and dreamlike..." With this attitude, unsurprisingly, the authors made no effort to collect new proverbs or other folklore; they imply that further collecting by anyone outside the culture would be useless and uncomprehending. But they do admit that Malagasy have recourse to proverbs to express states of mind or secret thoughts, and they give seventeen examples. More promising still, they point to a stylistic trait well attested in existing collections, a fondness they attribute to Malagasy of assemblage of the fragments of inherited ideas or expression into mosaics (GARRÉRES and RANAIVO 1949, proverbs on pp. 82-85, see also BOUILLON 1981: 192-194).

By this time, after World War II, writers on Malagasy proverbs allowed themselves to use the word literature for the more poetic forms, continuing to quote proverbs, poetry, and oratory in support of their accounts of the Malagasy mind and its characteristic modes of expression, while eschewing fieldwork. For one pair of writers, all Malagasy literature relied upon metaphor and a constant use of the concrete image, which was charged with significance. An aversion to abstraction, for these authors, linked Malagasy expression to other oriental cultures. Persuasion, or argumentation, would remain ineffective unless crowned with a proverb or hain-teny. The special honour due to proverbs could be seen in their citation in argument, in the way a European mathematician would cite theorems. Though they denied the proverb the title of an independent literary genre, they saw it as a fundamental element of reasoning and speech-making (ANDRIANTSILANIARIVO and ABRAHAM 1946, see also MICHEL 1956, which concentrates on marriage and funeral practices).

A well-known interpreter of Malagasy thinking and expression is Richard Andriamanjato, a prominent pastor and politician, whose 1957 book Le Tsinny et le tody dans la pensée malgache explored the philosophical ramifications of two concepts he presented as central to Malagasy (again,

really Merina) thought. Tsiny is the blame or censure attaching to a person who forgets a rule of action or thought; in explicating it, Andriamanjato discusses its psychosocial bases and its connections to God and the ancestors, citing traditional oratorical formulas in support. Discussing in his final chapter the Merina notion of retribution (tody), Andriamanjato relies upon proverbs more than exposition: "Spitting while lying on your back is spitting on yourself," "If the grebe in diving has eyes swollen by the water, it is because he likes it that way." Whereas the Christian God is a personal figure, tody is absolutely impersonal: "Acts are like the loincloth - good or bad, it encircles your body," "God does not like evil, but it is man who is responsible for his errors," "The good one does is a treasure one has laid up, the bad one commits is a misfortune that threatens him."⁶ While Andriamanjato follows Merina oratorical tradition in citing proverbs to convince his audience, he follows European critical tradition in stressing the content of proverbs as revelatory of the "Malagasy mentality." A curious feature of his argument is that the author sees no alternative to a radical choice by Malagasy between traditional ways of thinking and Christianity.

Still in the mid-twentieth century, interpreters of proverbs were generalizing about Malagasy culture on the basis of their content. The Malagasy notion of the true (ny marina) as equilibrium is derived by one from such a proverb as "The balanced (just) man is like the sacrificial stone, for wherever he is placed, everything is balanced (level)." Following up Andriamanjato's interpretation of proverbs and marriage, he analyzes the Malagasy capacity for worry, the force of tradition upon society, and the syncretism of Malagasy thought (RAJADONA 1963). One author suggested that the old Malagasy fondness for proverbs could be used to persuade people to act in new ways for change and development. "Our ancestors' idea of development was centered on man. Economists today, though differing in the past, have a conception completely in line with that: teny zato, kabary arivo, fa iray ihany ny marina" - a hundred words, a thousand speeches, but truth is one (RALINORO 1966). In his compendious study of the Merina world-view, the most recent authority cites proverbs he himself collected for their images, seeking to show for instance the influence of environment on folklore. Is it plausible to conclude that the few occurrences of flowers in Merina proverbs results from their rarity on the plateau? All we know about Merina proverbs suggests that it is a mistake to take them as literally as this author does, because they are never spoken literally. When one has to pay the diviner,

"A calf is sick and you have to pay a cow for the cure." Can this be anything but a metaphor? In Imerina as everywhere, the relation between folklore and culture is selective; proverbs are a metalanguage about society. The patterns of proverb use escape the content analysis that is still being carried on (MOLET 1979: 162-163).

This rapid, incomplete sketch of proverb collecting in Madagascar yields a consensus. (1) A great repertoire of proverbs existed in Madagascar, which (2) frequently appeared in speech, and (3) this high incidence of fixed-phrase folklore was a distinctive feature of Malagasy culture. The Merina in particular larded their discourse with proverbs more frequently than "less developed" groups like the Bara: "even if they belong to better-off or more educated classes, they never fail to express themselves by studding their point with proverbs. One can even try the experiment of beginning a proverb and deliberately leaving it unfinished; one's interlocutor will invariably complete it" (Translated from MICHEL 1957: 174). But proverbs in Madagascar have never been collected as folklorists now think they should be. The collectors do supply many texts extracted from Malagasy codes of social control, but almost nothing about how the codes were used. They give abundant information about the message-forms they heard, but none about the identity of senders or receivers. They tell the non-Malagasy reader about the effects on themselves of gathering together dozens or hundreds of condensed, pithy utterances, but nothing about the effects of the utterances on any individual Malagasy. They report innumerable items, but hardly ever the recurrence of these items in different contexts. They seek to know proverbs as fixed sentences but show no interest in the fixing process. Like students everywhere, they reduce the knowledge of their topic to digested and portable form, an enterprise to which the collecting of this genre lends itself with strange facility. Although folklore collectors in Madagascar have amassed an impressive catalogue of texts of heightened speech acts, they have still left it to us to consider what theory would connect these acts to one another or explain the choices among them which speakers might make.

Comparative data might have helped. Most malgachisants have lacked the kind of comparative information which alone can shed light on Malagasy people do. William Ellis, it is true, had a command of Marquesan and Hawaiian, but these Polynesian languages apparently did not help him much in his Malagasy sermons, in which his command of the language was so imperfect that people could hardly follow what he was saying (GUNSON 1978: 264, GOW

1979: 85). But the sixty-year-old Ellis was no folklorist; most collectors in the great island have been expert linguists (Cousins, Callet, Dahle, Ferrand, Faublée). But they could not have absorbed comparative information about the folkloric communication even of neighbouring or cognate groups. Thus even a simple analogue comes as a surprise: a relatively short distance away, on the mainland, the Chaga living on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro were quite articulate about the advantages conferred upon their communicative economy by the impersonality of a proverb; where a child's feelings were involved, it was better to be able to quote than to speak in one's own person (RAUM 1940, cited by HYMES 1974: 115). Across the Indian Ocean, Polynesian folklore plays up and plays around with ambiguities of moral and cultural reference which seem astoundingly close to those in Madagascar (OTTINO 1966, for another analogy REISMAN 1970). Ambiguity and variability were distasteful to the London Missionary society men and the French proverb collectors, who therefore ignored the multiple meanings their proverbs were capable of, and indeed had already been subjected to.

What got in the way of their comprehending Malagasy verbal stylization was their tacit acceptance of their informants' genre designation that proverbs constituted the "words of the ancestors" (tenin-drazana). If that was true, they would find out the essence of the Malagasy mentality, already distilled into memorable sentences, through disconnecting these from their communicative context and exhibiting them separately (a process Marcel Duchamp was to hold up for examination in his "Fountain" of 1917, the year after Houlder's book appeared). The content of these sentences could stand for the content of what the ancestors thought; informants repeatedly asserted their moral dependence on these and their verbatim maintenance in folk memory. Collectors' expectations had already been shaped by their confidence that every group must have sacred texts that it believes in, their hope that the early Malagasy were basically monotheistic, and the general wisdom about half-civilized peoples.⁷ Finally, where the collectors of proverbs in Madagascar most definitely illustrated their theory and method was in seeking to know proverbs after they had been inserted into particular performance situations, but apart from that insertion. They located the single meaning of the sentence in the sentence as an artifact.⁸ Here, by a curious historical quirk, they were anticipating the central assumption of Chomskyan linguistics, which has been justly attacked by sociolinguists: "Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech

community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance" (CHOMSKY 1965: 3). In fact what seems like paraphrase of Chomsky articulates the textual procedure of the comprehensive re-edition of Cousins and Houlder. "Il importait à notre avis de les rendre à leur liberté première. Et c'est ce que nous avons fait chaque fois que le sens, les "règles" de la versification propre au genre et la confrontation des leçons des divers recueils consultés nous ont permis de restaurer la leçon 'primitive', qui est le véritable ohabolana avant son emploi dans les conversations, les discours, les contes, les poèmes, etc" (DOMENICHINI-RAMIARAMANANA 1970: XXI). The proverb thus described enjoyed, at one stage of its life, a freedom of which it was deprived every time it was uttered. In fact, however, the contrary of this proposition is true: proverbs are not knowable or describable, nor are they known to us historically, apart from their utterance in conversation, speech, tale, poem, or collector's interview. If all speaking of proverbs in Madagascar stopped today, the collections of Cousins, Houlder and Mme Domenichini-Ramiaramanana would not be merely recording past usage; they would be functioning as contexts in which the proverbs are being performed through print, for an audience consisting of every reader who allows one to penetrate his or her consciousness. Even in the L. M. S. days, proverb collections supplied some of the Malagasy language reading matter demanded now that more and more literate people were graduating from the schools and colleges the missionaries had founded. While most of this demand was for Bible dictionaries, scientific writing, and practical works (GOW 1979: 137-138) folklore books had their uses (for instance in language examinations).

Against this background, Paulhan's "experience of the proverb" needs re-examination. While his view of Merina society has been questioned for its bias towards seeing Madagascar as an inversion of Europe, which many before him certainly did (AUGÉ 1976), a reading of Paulhan's account of his attempt to master the rules for speaking proverbs in his Merina family suggests that he evaluated proverbs as a cultural universal he had simply not had access to. Since the alternative code was part of peasant culture, he thought a French peasant would have done better in mastering it. By forswearing ethnography, Paulhan became one of Imerina's best ethnographers; by avoiding the listing of proverbs in favour of speaking them, he had to discover the

rules for community acceptance. And by endeavouring to share his Merina family's labours, cares, and thoughts, he uncovered a Malagasy insistence on the importance of proverb context, developed an understanding of the objectification of proverbs in relation to other acts of speech, and initiated a generative-structural theory for the creation of new ones.

The importance of context, as well as the intimate connection between proverbs and narrative, was revealed as soon as Paulhan asked a Merina friend to explain a proverb he quoted to him. "But where did you hear it?" his friend would say. "What was going on?" And when Paulhan would or could not narrate the circumstances, his friend could only give an explanation by inventing a narrative to surround the quoted sentence. Stubbornly the European, Paulhan said, "Why didn't you tell me that straight away?" In fact, as many Malagasy as African proverbs allude to narratives and invoke them as tacit contexts. A noble who refused his share of the gifts being distributed by the first Europeans to arrive at Farafangana said, according to the legend, "I prefer to wait for what they'll send on the next boat." The entire context comes along with his name when one person tags another as "Waiting for what's on the next boat, like Baraka."⁹ Thus the close connection of condensed, pithy sentences with narratives allows free reference to one genre by means of the other. Literary allusion, of course, is practiced by all cultures, but the inwardness of Malagasy seems to delight in the large effects in the hearer's consciousness that can be produced with a minimum of explicit reference (DEZ 1969). The humorous variation on the proverb-narrative connection yields the "Wellerism": "'It's only its voice,' said the blind man feeling the cannon." "Like the blind man handed an eel, it's, 'O God, they say this is an eel!'"¹⁰

It took Paulhan more than a year to reach a satisfactory understanding of the real status of proverbs in his Merina speech community. As he learned to include proverbs in his conversation, his language lost the monotony and lack of conviction he had earlier been ashamed of. Indeed he began to believe in the truth of the fixed sentences he heard himself saying. "Ainsi je m'efface volontiers devant le succès de mes paroles, je me retire, je demande presque que l'on m'excuse si je suis à tel point dans le vrai, je laisserais volontiers entendre que ce n'est par ma faute, que ce sont les choses qui sont comme ça." Trying to apply proverbs, he would change, complete, or adapt them to particular speaking situations, but his variants and adaptations were not accepted or even understood. Finally, near the end of his stay, he became convinced that the Merina proverb was not a sentence

at all, so successfully had he absorbed Merina ways of thinking. It was an event independent of words; it was a fact. "Parlant en général d'un proverbe l'on ait en vue toute autre chose qu'une phrase donnée, formée de certains mots, propre à rendre certains faits; il est exactement le contraire d'une phrase: un événement indépendant de tous mots, un fait qu'il s'agit d'exprimer" (PAULHAN 1925: 73). Once he had reclassified proverbs as not words to be adapted to the needs of a particular speaking situation but things standing outside ordinary talk which had to be accepted as distanced from himself, he resolved his own problems as a speaker of formal discourse (mpikabary). To his reader today, however, the Malagasy proverb has not moved outside language. Rather it belongs to a class of utterance fully understood and explicated by M. M. Bakhtin under the title "authoritative discourse." "The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already acknowledged in the past. It is a prior discourse" (BAKHTIN 1981: 342). With astonishing prescience Bakhtin independently invents the Malagasy term for proverbs and traditional oratory, "words of the ancestors" (tenin-drazana). He also makes the very distinction Paulhan found his way to in Imerina. "It is not a free appropriation and assimilation of the word itself that authoritative discourse seeks to elicit from us; rather, it demands our unconditional allegiance. Therefore authoritative discourse permits no play with the context framing it, no play with its borders, no gradual and flexible transitions, no spontaneously creative stylizing variants on it. It enters our verbal consciousness as a compact and indivisible mass; one must either totally affirm it, or totally reject it" (BAKHTIN 1981: 343). By shifting his understanding of Merina proverbs so as to call them special things which must necessarily be said as exactly as possible, Paulhan had gradually come to a total affirmation of the status of the proverb as a fixed folkloric artifact. Thus he independently validated from folklore what Bakhtin wrote about novelistic discourse in written literature (by no means the only proof from folklore that Bakhtin made discoveries of the greatest importance about literary language). Nor did this insight merely apply to the Merina or the Malagasy; as Bakhtin saw, authoritative discourse is world-wide. Proverb fieldwork could well address itself to eliciting metafolkloric statements that would reveal the linguistic theory of other peoples.

Beyond that lies another principal question about the proverb: how is

it made? If observation furnishes the materials, as malgachisants have said, whence comes the structure that facilitates new creation? Paulhan's sketch for a theory of proverb creation came, as we might expect, from that earlier period when he was introducing slight alterations into phrasing, or recalling proverbial images in other words. Discovering that he could derive new utterances from old ones, he looked beneath the surface. "Il arrivait par la suite que le cadre abstrait, l'armature commune à toute une famille de proverbes se présentât d'abord à mon esprit; ce cadre ensuite se garnissait de mots" (PAULHAN 1925: 50). After he illustrates this decoration process with some folk-metaphors, his clearest example is the sentence, "Comme se gare l'aveugle: c'est quand il a été touché qu'il se penche de côté." This had been collected by Houlder; "Like that blind man avoiding a stone, he is hit before he dodges." (Soro-baton' ilay jamba, ka voa vao mihilana.) This form, Paulhan saw, could be used for another simile: "Comme la souris esquive les coups: c'est quand elle a été touchée qu'elle saute de côté." In Houlder's version, "Don't avoid danger like the mouse: it is hit before it jumps." (Aza manao fisoro-tofozy: voa vao mitsipika (HOULDER 1957: nos 1141, 1138.)) The formulaic opening "Aza manao," "Don't act like ...," introduces many proverbs and aphorisms; as this example shows, it is a structural variable.

What Paulhan had done, then, was to derive inductively from the instances he heard a relation between two strata of verbal art, proverb speaking and proverb structure. This perception he arrived at by breaking the rules. What was not accepted from this Frenchman was his insistence on "infiltrating reported speech [the words of the ancestors] with authorial retort and commentary"; he had to give over the individualizing of reported speech (VOLOSINOV 1973: 120). The power awarded to proverbs in the Merina community could only have been acknowledged, and the relation between surface and armature could only have been sensed, by a collector so intent on becoming a participant, as well as an observer, in that community. Since he did not care to pursue the matter by analyzing proverb collections, he did not uncover additional structures. But of all Malagasy proverb collectors, Paulhan most clearly perceived the multiplication of codes of discourse in speech, and the "specific gravity of rhetorical speech... in the linguistic consciousness" of the Merina twenty-five years after the conquest (VOLOŠINOV 1973: 123).

More still remained to be discovered about specialized and heightened speech in Madagascar: occasions on which proverbs are spoken, identity of

speakers, identity of receivers, and how hearers understand the sentences. The spirit of empiricism has helped. Researching kinship and belief among the Merina of the 1960's, one anthropologist found proverbs to be a frequent vehicle for ideology in response to his questions. The verbal formalization of behaviour sanctioned by the ancestors "went so far that my enquiries in this field could often be answered by proverbs, 'words of the ancestors' (tenin-drazana), which often were given the added authority of being believed to have been spoken by a Merina king, usually Andrianampoinimerina" (BLOCH 1971: 38). Such attributions show that the Wellerism is not always humorous. By citing proverbs to him, informants attested to the existence of an ideal order never achieved in their actual living. Though a proverb said, "You should look for the witch among your own clan," most accusations of witchcraft occurred among unrelated persons. Though another proverb advocated burial in the father's family tomb ("The mother is the moon but the father is the sun"), an informant used a different proverb to do the opposite ("Milk comes from the mother, not the father"). Most illuminating were the frequent departures in actuality from the proverb, "Those who live in one house should be buried in one tomb," often quoted but seldom enacted because of people's movements away from their old villages. These observations, enriched by the author's analysis of the selective and unpredictable relation between proverbs and Merina practice, suggest the inherent variability at the heart of Malagasy culture.

When we survey Malagasy proverb collections, perhaps their most puzzling aspect is their lack of duplication. As we have seen, collectors and interpreters often preferred to rely on the fieldwork of previous investigators rather than attempt to re-elicite texts or discover more about occasions or speakers. A definite separation can be observed, in the history of Malagasy collecting, between a period when Malagasy culture was being treated as exotic but so derivative that it was not worth serious examination, and a later period when investigators began to seek the same item, such as a folktale, in different contexts. But in this later period, it is curious how few proverbs seem to be variants or versions of already collected proverbs. If we eliminate the effects of the reprinting process, which tells us nothing about the popularity of items among speakers and hearers, only among collectors and outsiders, no significant number of the texts represent independently collected versions or variants of the "same" item. For instance, when Fontoynt and Raomandahy print a proverb from Vakinankaratra, often instead of a Merina variant they give a French

analogue to approximate one possible meaning of their text. Of course this procedure diminishes the integrity of the proverb by making it an exotic transformation of something more familiar. But few Vakinankaratra proverbs actually had equivalents elsewhere in Imerina. What happens then to multiple existence as the criterion for "real" folklore? In folklore studies today, the criterion of multiple existence stands as the last usable fragment of the nineteenth-century assumption that "tradition" must have been "handed down from generation to generation." To map the movements of culture traits, diffusionist anthropology too required a notion of the recognizability if not the stability of the item. What if Malagasy proverbs do not, in fact, recur in different contexts? If four-fifths of collected Malagasy proverbs were unique single examples, how can we be sure they were ever recurrent? And if they do not recur, are they "real" proverbs?¹¹

Frequently folklorists have formulated this problem incorrectly. It is correctly posed by Ruth Finnegan, who points to the consequences of adhering too closely to multiple existence as a criterion. "The question of 'popular acceptance' is... a more difficult one [than the terseness, fixity of phrase, and poetic quality of the African proverb]. If one of the marks of a true proverb is its general acceptance as the popular expression of some truth, we are seldom given the data to decide how far this is indeed a characteristic of the sayings included in collections of 'proverbs'... [w]e have in fact no way of telling whether some of the 'proverbs' included are not just the sententious utterances of a single individual on a single occasion which happened to appeal to the investigator" (FINNEGAN 1970: 394). Informants who found proverbs the most appropriate way of answering questions about approved behaviour may have simply found fixed phrases the most appropriate, because the most formal, code for dealing with an investigator. They may not even have liked or believed what they were saying to the collector.¹²

The evaluation of kinds of speech performance, rather than individual items, would be a more fruitful direction for Malagasy studies. If we transfer attention away from the item to the speaker, we can see him or her switching into a marked code, with its special lexicon Paulhan found so irrelevant and strange, to signal the hearer to adopt a different attitude. One speaker would spread his arms and lean forward to mark his proverbs; another would shift her tone as if to announce some bit of sad news like an accident or a death; a third would go so far as to stand up every time he uttered a proverb. Receivers too would play their part: no one would

interrupt the proverb speaker. On the contrary, indeed, everyone focused upon these rather theatrical performances so as to encourage them (PAULHAN 1925: 29). The readiness and fluency of public orators and the responsiveness of crowds point to a continuity between the smaller and larger kinds of formalized communicative events (SIBREE 1880: 190-193). Despite the high value explicitly placed upon exact verbal repetition, probably thousands of the single sentences in Malagasy proverb collections represent not recurrent phrasings but the "sententious utterances" of speakers who had absorbed the rules for formal speech performance and who were performing for the investigator. If these paralinguistic markers - posture, intonation - suffice to let audiences know "this is a proverb," then proverb words as written are not intrinsically fixed, nor is there anything in the words that intrinsically sums up and passes judgment on a situation or that intrinsically exerts attempted control over an addressee. Proverb words may be linguistically indistinguishable from any other words and still be authoritative discourse from the point of view of those who hear them. What makes an utterance a proverb is the way it is heard, not with the sensual ear, but with that complex and variable attention of which every participant in the scene is capable. Rather than the repetition of fixed words, then, proverb performance would better be described as shifting into an alternative code. The scene remains the same, but the speaker makes use of a different channel, such as gesture or intonation, a different message-form, or both. A father says to his son, "You must decide to take a wife; you are of an age to get married." To reply to this directive style, the son switches into a metaphorical code: "Oh, father, I don't want people to say, 'In a hurry to marry, then in haste to divorce.'" By this he means not the unfortunate consequences of a hasty marriage but the undesirability of all haste.¹³ Probably wanting to close the subject, he quotes a word of the ancestors. But many a new utterance must have been experienced as a proverb merely by juxtaposition of alternative codes in the same context, merely by the speaker's using a different tone of voice, or standing up, or alluding to the kind of bird or character found in quoted proverbs, or imitating the message-form of existing sayings. Eloquence consists of the capacity for finding alternatives among the multiple codes, just as strategy in the Merina board game fanorona consists of finding alternative ways of blocking the opponent. Multiplicity of voices, codes, channels does not mean indeterminacy; I do not mean that this phenomenon cannot be investigated. In fact the complexity of the set of features marking what

will be experienced as a proverb leads to a picture of performance that is less fragmentary than it seems; available choices can be identified (though not in an exhaustive list). But it would be a mistake to regard Malagasy eloquence as operating in a closed system or depending wholly on repetition. The phenomenon of proverb performance, I contend, is more heterogeneous and larger than the utterance of single fixed-phase sentences. Although the occasions of performance may indeed display closure, the discourse is heterogeneous and ongoing. That is not to say that it is without order or unknowable.

The question of what to do with existing proverb collections, however, has yet to be answered. Perhaps, like oral formulaic verse, the collections contain repeated phrases functioning as structural units. Perhaps these phrases exhibit measure and stress; Paulhan and Mme Domenichini-Ramiaramanana, the two greatest proverb critics, agree that something of this kind is going on. Certainly Paulhan believed proverbs to be closely connected to hainteny, which assuredly do exhibit measure and stress (DOMENICHINI-RAMIARAMANANA 1968: I-Ivi). Do certain syntactic units recur with more frequency in proverbs than in ordinary talk? Do these carry extra semantic weight, so that meaning and form are varying with each other? Perhaps the recurrent structures have some generative potency; this question too was opened by Paulhan, who isolated three models for himself to use and to vary so that he could feel himself to be participating in the creative process. Perhaps the momentary orator, switching into the marked code and signalling it by rising to his feet or spreading his arms, has in mind not only the rules for forming sentences but also, as a further constraint, a scaffolding or skeleton of phrasing which he fills in, like the maqam of folk singers (SZABOLCSI 1965). If many performances are of remembered utterances, others may be improvised within such constraints.

Given what is known about the marking of performance, it is not surprising to find some proverbs to be just ordinary sentences.¹⁴

- (1) Ny hazo takana tsy mba ala.
The tree alone does not make a forest.
- (2) Tondro tokana tsy mahazo hao.
Finger alone doesn't catch lice.
- (3) Ny teny malemy mahamora harena.
The words soft bring wealth.

- (4) Ny alika aza tsy azo fitahina
(Even) dogs can't be deceived,

ka mainka fa ny olona.
and much less people.
- (5) Tsy mety raha voro-damba latsaka no
It is not right, by picking up fallen rags,

antenain-ko harena
to expect to grow rich.

(Refers to a custom of carrying money wrapped in a bit of cloth sewn to clothes.)
- (6) Even when the serpent and eel are succulent, the husband doesn't use
his wife and children for bait.

These examples are metaphorical nonoppositional proverbs which would necessarily have to be used in transferred contexts - in fact, I doubt whether the term "transferred context" has any meaning when such language forces the speaker to a metaphorical use and when application to a specific context situation necessitates metaphor. Equally unremarkable in merely linguistic features are literal nonoppositional proverbs, or aphorisms, with their specifically moral content.

- (7) Ny maty no tsy alevina Alakamisy sy Alahady
The dead are not buried on Thursday or Sunday,

ny velona no tandrovana
(it's) the living who are cared for
- (8) Asa manao soa tapany
Don't do good by halves
- (9) Aza manao botraika
Don't act self-willed (obstinate)

Negative imperatives form a third classification, still with specifically moral content, but with obvious linguistic differences. like

- (10) Aza kely fisian-kavana loatra,
Don't have too few friends

- and of this category Houlder printed thirty-one in a row (nos 510-540). Since these resemble the negative injunctions of belief or "superstition," it is hard to see a dividing line between a literal statement of what action to avoid and a negative aphorism. With such utterances it is also difficult to distinguish literal from metaphorical regarding only the text.

- (11) Ny vava tsy ambina no ahitan-doza
The mouth unguarded brings misfortune

Shall we decide that vava (mouth) is an instance of metonymy, hence figurative, and thereupon declare that the sentence is not an aphorism?

Related to the foregoing examples, but distinct, are nonoppositional proverbs which suggest a causal relation.

- (12) Manantena lambo hiakatra, ka tsy
You expect the wild boar to come, so you don't

midina any an-ala
go down into the woods

- (13) Tsy mahafory kirobo hamidy gadra,
Unwilling to spend a shilling for a chain,

ka very telo-polo
so you lose thirty (the value of an escaped slave).

Already here, the contrastive elements, the two clauses joined by the conjunction ka, begin to move us towards the oppositional structure that will generate many other examples:

- (14) Ny anaovana aro-riaka main'andro
(The reason) people make dikes in fine weather

matahotra ny ho lena raha fahavaratra.
(is that) they fear getting wet when the rains come.

As soon as we embark on the actual classification of proverb texts into structural types, the fallacy of literalness becomes obvious.

- (15) Hetana hifoka ny rano
Ditches are made to take up water.

What does it mean to say such a sentence has a "right meaning" (sens propre)? However literal the words, their application would inevitably be metaphorical: literally applied, indeed, they would be ironic because their metaphorical application would be so familiar.

- (16) Fa aretina anona moa ity no hoe hohaniko
What sickness did granddad die of, that I may eat

ny sisan'ikaky?
what he left behind?

Moving on to the more frequently found patterns, we can discover several generative structures in the printed collections (aside from the kind of paralinguistic code-switching already noticed), and these can be seen to begin in a use of contrast linking the Malagasy proverb to other forms of folklore. Though proverbs are spoken by a single speaker, sometimes not all the way through, "sketched rather than said, yet with unusual dignity and seriousness" (PAULHAN 1925: 29.), they borrow symmetry and antithesis from dialogic forms like riddle and hain-teny. The second half sounds like an answer to the first.

- (17) Fahadalam-pietrena; fahendram-pisondrotana.
Foolishness abases (you), wisdom raises (you) up.
- (18) Fohy lamba, toa tsy mba no enina;
Short garment, as if it won't be enough;

lava lamba, toa handroaka.
long garment, as if you will be collecting things
(in it; or as if you'd stolen it?).
- (19) Boka Ikoto, tsy leon'Ikala,
If Ikoto is a leper, Ikala can't stand him,

boka Ikala, tsy leon'Ikoto
if Ikala is a leper, Ikoto can't stand her.
- (20) Manao zanaky ny mpisikidy ka tsy mba ho faty,
To play diviner's child, so you won't die,

na zanaky ny mpanefy ka tsy ho may.
or smith's child, so you won't get burnt.
- (21) Anisanisana ny ratsy hihavian'ny soa.
Bad is told that good may appear.
- (22) Nahoana no ho tia vao ka manary kolokolo?
Why say you love the new, yet throw away the
aftergrowth of rice (the old)?
- (23) Tia ihany ka be malo
You love, yet (you are) too shy.
- (24) Mody tsy tia, koa lefaka
You pretend to dislike, but (still) talk sweet.
- (25) Ny lehibe no manaiky, ny henatra;
The great give way to shame,

ny kely no manaiky, no tahotra.
the little give way to fear.

- (26) Malahelo mivoaka maraina, ataon'ny olona hangalatra;
 Poor man goes out in the morning, people say he's
 going to steal;
 mikoaka hariiva, ataon'ny olona hisakana.
 goes out in the evening, people say he's going to rob.
- (27) Te-hilaza ka tsy mahay; te-hiteny ka bada lela.
 Want to say, but not be able to; want to speak,
 but tongue is tied.
- (28) Remby tsy azo mandry an'ala;
 Game not caught sleeps in the forest
 mpiremby tsy nahaza mody an'tanana
 hunter not having caught returns to his village.
- (29) Laha hianao manoto mahasaky,
 If you are not afraid of me
 iaho mamaly tsy magnahatse
 I have no reason to be afraid of you

A very large number of the proverbs in printed collections have been generated on this symmetrical dialogic model, which reached its greatest elaboration in Merina hain-teny. Different metrically but not syntactically from the foregoing examples are symmetries with conjunctions (cf. nos 23 and 24 above).

- (30) Ketsa vaventy, ka sarotra atao lahirodona.
 (When) young rice-plants are fat, it is hard
 to double them up (in the same hole).
- (31) Arim-batana, fa tsy arin-karena.
 Big in body, but not big in wealth.
- (32) Ambohimanambola no matavy omby,
 When there are fat cattle at Ambohimanambola,
 ka Antanamalaza no lafo kitay.
 then Antanamalaza sells lots of firewood.
- (33) Manan-tsira ka mahay mahandro
 Having salt then (you) can make food
- (34) Ny mitohy fangoka adala, fa ny mandova toa hendry.
 Those who collect string are stupid, but those
 who inherit seem smart.

So pervasive is the dialogic habit that it easily fosters another pattern in which the parallel units are doubled.

- (35) Izay mahavangivangy tian-kavana,
Those who often visit are loved by their kinsmen,

malemy fanahy tratra am-parany.
the gentle-hearted are long-lived.
- (36) Tsy mety raha an-dafin-drano, ka tsy holakanina,
Don't refuse to row me over when on the other side
of the water,

na an-dafin-tsaha, ka tsy hotoharina.
or to meet me when on the other side of the field.
- (37) Raha tataka omby tondro, dia tataka omby loha;
When a hole is big enough for your finger, then
it's big enough for your head;

ary raha tataka omby loha, dia tataka omby tena.
and when a hole is big enough for your head,
it's big enough for your body.
- (38) Manasa ny be kibo, ka ny vary no lany;
Invite the big stomach, then your rice is eaten up;

mananatra ny adala, ka ny vava no vizana.
advise the foolish, and your mouth is tired out.
- (39) He whose wife is ugly and whose rice has been
ravaged by the boar is somber in the field and
not joyful in the village.

Another category, found also in those hain-teny which correspond to the European priamel, poses two or sometimes more symmetrical units as the question and resolves them in a third phrase. The structure in its simplest form is a series of clauses.

- (40) Ny anankiray natao hoe "andevo namidy":
One man was called a "sold slave";

ny anankiray natao hoe "nifindra fihinanana";
one man was called "changed his dinnertable";

ary ny anankiray natao hoe "andevo tsy fiompy";
and another man was called "slave not kept";

ary ny anankiray natao hoe "andevon-drazana."
and the other man was called a "slave from
the ancestors."

This series is arranged in order of climax; the last slave, Houlder says, was almost part of the family. As the earlier example ("The mountain is the bed of the fog") showed, these priamel formulas can be inserted into

orations with varied meaning according to context and additional material. The European three-part form is one possibility.

- (41) Raha revom-potaka, rano no malala;
When you are covered with mud, you remove it with water;

raha revon-teny, vava no manala;
When you argue, you remove with your mouth;

raha revon'alahelo, ny havana no ifarainana.
when covered in sorrow, it's your kinsmen you turn to.
- (42) Mandidy sofin-toho, mizara sofin' amalona
Cutting the fins of a little fish, sharing the
ears of an eel,

ka sady kaly no an-kanifisana.
they are small and there aren't many of them.
- (43) Mizara be mahahendry;
Passing out much (goods), you are made much of;

mizara kely mahadala;
passing out little, you are belittled;

mandidy taolana mahadombo antsy.
cutting bones dulls the knife.

In others, the riddle pattern is felt to divide the whole sentence into two halves of which the first is symmetrical.

- (44) Tsy an-tany tsy an-trano akoka viavy molan-drafy.
Not in the field, not in the house, like a wife
soured by her rival.
- (45) Tsy an-tany tsy an trano akoka mpitsompombavana.
Not in the field, not in the house, like one
gathering chips (for fuel).
- (46) Lambo an'ala vahatra an'ala ka tsy mifanolatomboka.
A boar in the forest, a shrub in the forest,
they aren't caught by their feet.
- (47) Tsinain-tsingy, tsinain-beririnina:
Entrails of the tsingy (bird), entrails of the
beririnina (bird):

tsy azo veraherahina (or voraborahina).
you mustn't open them (a disgusting sight).

All four of these proverb structures - the symmetry with and without a conjunction, the symmetry doubled, and the symmetry concluded in a phrase growing out of the dialogic habit, lie close enough to the experienced

surface of folklore performance to have been internalized by practiced speakers. It is at least plausible that they could be learned; field work can test this hypothesis.

Printed collections also show that the favourite proverbs structure in Malagasy introduces two symmetrical units like those already seen with a folk metaphor, which in conversational context must represent a discernible switch of codes like what the son said to his father. There are scores of examples.

- (48) Tsingala sy dinta: raha miray trano loza
Water-beetle and leech: if together in house, trouble,

ary raha mifanaikitra, antambo.
but if they bite each other, calamity.
- (49) The arums of Ambohipeno: they had rather let them
rot than give one to a neighbour.
- (50) Adin'ombalahy ny mpianakavy:
Fighting bulls are family members:

ny mahery tsy hobiana,
the strong you mustn't applaud,

ny resy tsy akoraina
the weak you mustn't jeer.
- (51) Varangaran-tsihy: mahay atsy mahay aroa.
A door made of matting: it goes out, it goes in.
- (52) Miambitra amboa mahia: matahotra azy handoto
Carrying a sick dog: afraid he will foul,

matahotra ny vavany hanekitra.
afraid his mouth will bite.
- (53) Fihinan'-koboty: ambava naloa an-tsotrika very.
An infant eating: he vomits chewed food and
loses spoonfuls.
- (54) Fandrik'ampatana: raha tsy mahavao ny endriny
mahavao ny zanany.
Poison (hidden) in the hearth: if it doesn't
kill the mother it kills the child.
- (55) Zaza donga enti-rava, apetra-tsy foy, babe-tsy zaka.
A plump baby you carry fleeing, it's cruel to leave
him, it's heavy to carry him.

- (56) Mandedandeha: be raha hita;
Travel, you see many things;

midoboky: be raha lany.
stay at home, you spend a lot.
- (57) Naka omby am-pondreniny:
To take a calf from the mother's teat:

entina mandry, dia mandry,
lay him down, he lies down,

enita mifoha, dia mifoha.
wake him up, he wakes up.

The popularity of this pattern may be explained by reference to other genres of Malagasy verbal art (on a principle, essential to folklore studies, that the first explanation of folklore is other folklore). The other major genres of Malagasy, especially Merina, folklore are dialogic. Riddles involve question and answer, hain-teny portray two (sometimes more) speakers addressing each other, the fanorona board game and cockfighting pit two adversaries against each other, and oratory engages two speakers in discourse. The riddle creates its tension in the hiatus between question and reply; the proverb, performed monologically, aims at altering the hearer's attitude towards the context situation. The tension needed to effect that alteration is created by a caesura in the proverb, which thus takes a question-and-answer pattern. When the speaker switches codes into the metaphoric, the hearer experiences a kind of tension already familiar from the riddle hiatus. Examples overflow the printed collections.

- (58) Akoholahy manakodokoho vavy:
A cock calling a hen:

tsy hanin-kahavoky,
he hasn't enough to fill her up,

fa volan-kifanajana.
but it is polite to speak.
- (59) Androngo milanja lolo: be am-pitondrana
A lizard carrying a butterfly: it's big to carry

fa kely am-pihinanana.
but small to eat.
- (60) Mason-tana: be hamonirana
Chameleon's eyes: they stick out a lot,

fa kely am-pahiratana.
but they're small to see with.

- (61) Ambiaty niakaram-bitsika: hondrahondrany foana
A shrub the ants got into: still shaking

ny raviny, fa ny tetany be efa haroka.
the leaves, but the trunk is already hollowed out.
- (62) Vorombe matim-bitsika: lehibe matin'ny kely,
A goose killed by ants: the big is killed by the small,

ka ny rano no hafanaina.
so the water is to be heated (to cook it).
- (63) Valalanamboa, ka lehibe mitsipika,
Fleas on a dog, the big ones jump,

kely mitsipika.
the little ones jump.
- (64) Volom-bodin' akoholahy, malaza tsara ihany
Feathers in the cock's tail: (they are) said to be
beautiful

fa aorian' ny namany.
but they come after the others.
- (65) Amboa nivahiny: tonga tsy mahafaly,
A dog stranger: his coming doesn't make (you)
happy,

lasa tsy mampalahelo.
his going doesn't make you sad.
- (66) Nahandrom-bomangan' Ambohimijery:
Eating sweet potatoes at Ambohimijery:

ny nandray iray efa nihinana,
he who has taken one already has eaten it,

ny nandray roa dia anjarany izay.
he who has taken two has had his share.
- (67) Andriambavy Vonizongo: mitafy jabo ka manao
A Vonizongo princess: she wears poor clothes, but puts

fehin-tongotra.
silver on her feet.
- (68) Vilany borin' Amboatany: ariana tsy foy,
A "round pot" from Amboatany: throwing it away is a shame,

avela manebaka ny trano.
keeping it dishonors the house.

The use of this structure as a model for generating a proverb is attested by a colonial administrator as having occurred in 1950. One of the European missionaries in his district had brought a pure-bred cat to

Madagascar with him, which he fed so well that it caught neither mice nor rats. The cat became proverbial, for however short a time and in however limited a community: "Chat d'Iparitra (Malagasy translation of the missionary's name): beau mais non chasseur de rats (BRUNIQUEL n.d.). Obviously this could not have been the only time such creation occurred.

Variant forms of this structure introduce the initial metaphor with toy ("like") or aza manao ("don't act like"), formulas which effect a transition from ordinary talk to alternative code of the proverb. Using the toy formula, a speaker allows the hearer to adopt his or her own attitude to the situation being symbolized, profiting from the impersonality of the proverb.

- (69) Toy ny amboa: anana-mahavoafady,
Like dogs: if you have them, you get blamed,

tsy anana-mahavoafady.
if you don't have them, you get blamed.
- (70) Toy ny vorombazaha: ary elatra,
Like the duck, it has wings,

fa tsy arim-panidinana.
but it can't fly.
- (71) Toy ny hanina omena andevo: tian-kano tsy tian-kano.
Like the food given to slaves: they like it, they
eat it, they don't like it, they eat it.

The aza manao formula frames a more direct reproof.

- (72) Aza manao tsitsik' ombin' Ibetsileo:
Don't act like the Betsileo with cattle:

ny ombin' Ikoto an' Ikoto ihany,
Ikoto's cattle belong to Ikoto,

any ny ombin' olona an' Ikoto koa.
and other people's cattle belong to Ikoto too.

The same formula can introduce a more sophisticated doubling of symmetrical units, seen above.

- (73) Aza manao ombilahin' Ibosy: ampiadin-tsy miady;
Don't act like Ibosy's bull: make him fight, he
doesn't want to;

ampihosen-tsy mihosy;
make him tread the fields, he refuses;

hanin-kena, mafy hena;
 (try) to eat him, his flesh is tough;

avela ihany, manoto ny madinika.
 leave him alone, he sticks the little ones with
 his horn.

These examples, which could be many times multiplied from the existing collections, suggest that the quasi-dialogic structure is not a fixed form but undergoes variation in the hands of speakers who have mastered it. For instance, one of the most quoted Merina proverbs, it is often reported, is a haunting one that says, "There is no [such thing as divinely appointed] retribution, but what is done returns" (Ny tody tsy misy, fa ny atao no miverina). This saying exploits the dialogue form as what has been called a "self-consuming artifact." Since the second half, "what you do comes back on you," states the definition of the concept of tody which was annihilated in the first half, the hearer is given a sham equilibrium - no closure, no place to stand (FISH 1972). A variant frames it with an admonition.

- (74) Aza homehy lavo, fa ny tody tsy misy,
 Don't make fun of the fallen, for there is no tody ,

 fa ny atao no miverina,
 but what is done does return.

Another possibility combines the introductory phrase and two balanced units with the conclusion we saw above.

- (75) Parasin' Ambohimanoa; ny vavysbe loha,
 Lice of Ambohimanoa: the females have big heads,

 ary ny lahy no kibotaina,
 and the males have big stomachs,

 ka samy mahalala ny anjarany.
 so they both know their faults.

The proverb speaker, I suggest, learns these formulas and the rules for combining them, perhaps after he has committed many individual items to memory. Since some of the speakers with whom he comes into contact prefer aphorisms, others antithetical structures, and so on, while some perform orations or other kinds of verbal art, and all vary in their command of individual utterances and new creation; and since the rules for the use of items and structures are not known to him, he adopts those proverbs that accord with whatever approximations of the rules he can arrive at. Some of

these approximations are bound to be vague or inaccurate, but they have the potential for forming part of the repertoire and style of the next generation of proverb speakers.¹⁵ Hence the large number of unrepeated proverbs in Malagasy collections.

Moreover, the tension created by the irruption into talk of the folk metaphor, in the last set of examples, corresponds to the "Lack" or disequilibrium of the initial situation in hundreds of Malagasy folktales. The two-part answer returns the hearer to equilibrium as the events of the tale liquidate the lack. A widespread Malagasy creation story, for example, often takes the very shape of these proverbs. One creator makes man's body, but lacks the knowledge of how to animate the figure. A second creator (a) gives man life, but (b) will reclaim him when he dies (HARING 1982: nos 1.1. 11-39). The same structure can be found in the popular swallowing monster story, which Madagascar shares with Africa. A monstrous snake eats whole villages (Lack); a hero (a) destroys the monster and (b) releases its victims. It is the availability of printed collections (whatever their field methods) that makes possible such cross-genre comparisons, which uncover the aesthetic preferences of collectivities. The emergence of the proverb and tale structure I have been discussing invites explanation from other parts of Malagasy culture.

This and the other proverb structures outlined above do not exhaust the possible patterns for Malagasy fixed-phrase utterance; rather I mean to suggest that generative structures are easily accessible through printed collections and that they share features of style and performance with other genres in the repertoire. In common with those other genres, the "Malagasy proverb," if it has a separate existence, has not yet been completely defined, because the culture has invented a multiplicity of structures, message-forms, codes, channels, and not all of these have been inventoried. Probably the patterns to be found in printed collections exceed those already noted (ordinary sentence order, inverted sentence order, the various forms of symmetry, and the question-and-answer). Additional proverb structures remain to be discovered from the literature and invented in social interaction. Although the collector of the past thought of proverbs as fixed and unalterable, following the declarations of informants, only some of the thousands of recorded sentences represent such fixed Gestalten. Malagasy verbal culture is less stable than that; an inherent variability pervades its expressions.

The review and evaluation of Malagasy proverb collections and the

discovery of several characteristic proverb patterns raise issues with broad implications for folklore as a discipline - uniformity vs. diversity, product vs. process, and content vs. performance. The European idea of a proverb emerged from a consciousness in which authoritative speech took many forms besides the condensed, pithy utterance; so it did in Madagascar too, but by the time they arrived there, collectors expected the "natives" there, as in many other field situations, to share their fixed notion of the proverb. Their results show a wide diversity of message-form, sense, attitude, tone, and occasion, which they did not expect or comprehend. Having generally omitted to seek the same item in different contexts, they assembled collections of great diversity. To systematize a process of folklore variation which appears systemless requires allowing complex, multiple, ambiguous attributes to this and other cultures, which have been insistently oversimplified in folklore and anthropological literature. The notion of the proverb as a product, which reached its extreme when Paulhan called it "un événement indépendant de tous mots," now requires supplementation or replacement by a recognition of its existence as part of the dynamic process of interactions in a communicative event. Having scrutinized thousands of printed proverb texts, one can easily begin to see them as pieces of furniture, heirlooms which each generation augments or discards, displaying some prominently, putting others away into the attic (DOMENICHINI-RAMIARAMANANA 1970: preface). But then one remembers the Malagasy custom of burning a house or a whole village after an unexplained death, moving away, and building a new one; one remembers the extensive internal migrations, because of the same violation of fady or economic or political factors. Much proverb creation, I believe has taken place on this model, as a speaker assembles a new structure from fragments or formulas of the old.

Finally, the utility of the history of folklore needs reassertion, not only in Madagascar, of course, but everywhere. No one will decry the crucial role of fieldwork in anthropology and folklore, but the effort to carry it out and to publish the results has led to a prejudice in favour of studies based largely or wholly on the investigator's contacts. In a period when the intellectual world turns more and more to questioning the legitimacy of its heritage, folklorists need to discover more about what the past of the discipline can tell them about problems, theories, and methods. The continuity of folklore depends upon such discovery. As one conclusion, the real subject of Malagasy proverb collections turns out to be the

interactions of collectors, mostly European, with Malagasy informants, which has been seen as the only subject worth pursuing in Madagascar studies (MANNONI 1948). The trivialization of dominated cultures, which in France is called "folklorisation," still affects the folklorist. As another conclusion, the usable past of folklore can be made available through an enterprise that may be called "folkloric restatement" (on the model of Hymes's "sociolinguistic restatement"). This enterprise aims at eliciting folkloristic statements from past data by reframing them. Statements from ethnographies, novels, short stories, and memoirs which imply something about folkloric communication among specific people in the past need to be made explicit (HYMES 1965 and SHERZER 1967). Although the inherent variability of Malagasy verbal art cannot be conclusively proved from the study of proverb literature, the concept does solve significant problems presented by that literature.

- (76) Hevitro: ka raha mety dia atao,
My opinion: if it's proper, take it,

fa raha tsy mety dia avela;
but if it's not proper, leave it;

refa aza ny tenako no ariana,
only don't reject my person,

fa ny teniko no ario.
just reject my words.

Notes

* Research in Malagasy folklore was initiated in 1975-76, when I was Fulbright Senior Lecturer in the University of Madagascar, and continued with support from the National Endowment for the Humanities (U. S. A.). The Research Foundation of the City University of New York made it possible for me to study the history of collecting. This essay touches on matters studied at greater depth by Bakoly Domenichini-Ramiaramanana in her unpublished doctoral thesis, "Du Ohabolana au Hain-teny, étude de poétique comparée" (Université de Paris-III, 1978), written independently. Also, see Françoise Raison, "Le travail missionnaire sur les formes de la culture orales dites 'folkloriques' à Madagascar, 1820-1880," communication to the September 1977 congress of the Académie Malgache.

- 1 James T. Hardyman, personal communication. Alfred Grandidier promulgated the supposed Malagasy monotheism in, for example Grandidier 1888. Other sources include Flacourt (1661), Berthier (1933).
- 2 Cousins's first proverb is given by Houlder (1957) in variant form, "Sikidy soa tsy andihizana, sikidy ratsy tsy taniana" (no. 38). His last is given as "Aza mila voa tsy ary, toy ny mpsikidy mampandihy ny marary." I have revised English translations throughout the paper.

- 3 "Lahizamba-nomenahy amalo, haniko, nomenahy biby, haniko. Tsy hanav
 4 tampan'efalo hany mifono voriky aho" (REY 1913/.
 Translated from Paulhan 1925. As this being written, a revealing
 collection of letters, unpublished essays and memoirs of Paulhan's stay
 in Madagascar appears: Jean Paulhan et Madagascar, 1908-1910; Cahiers
 5 Jean Paulhan, 2 (Paris, Gallimard, 1982).
 Text from Rasamuel (1928: 4). My English translation; Americans say,
 6 "The buck stops here."
 7 Translated from Andriamanjato (1957). He translates from Rasamuel (1950)
 E. Cailliet (1926), for example, applied Levy-Bruhl's concepts to the
 Malagasy.
 8 I use wording of Stanley E. Fish (1980: 150). The landmark folklore
 9 studies are Arewa and Dundes 1964 and Seitel 1977.
 "Mandiny ny an-tsambo ahoa i Baraka" (FONTOYNONT and RAOMANDAHY 1939:
 10 31).
 "Feony ihany, ' hoy ilay jamba mitsapa tafondro. Toa an' ilay jamba
 nomena amalona: koa 'Amalona, hono, ity, Andriamanitra!" (HOULDER 1957:
 11 nos 2067, 2068).
 I paraphrase the complaint of Daniel J. Crowley in "Folklore Research in
 12 Africa" cited in the introduction to Haring 1982, section III.
 Glassie 1982: 145-147. For the alternative codes available to Merina
 13 speakers, see Keenau (1974).
 The exchange was witnessed by Paulhan (1925: 31-33). The proverb,
 "Maimay hivady ka dodona hisaraka," in Houlder's version, no. 1813
 14 (HOULDER 1957: 156).
 15 A list of the sources of the proverbs quoted appears as an appendix.
 I adapt ideas and phrasing of Derek Bickerton (1973).

Sources of proverbs cited

- 1, 2, 3, 4, are nos 237, 238, 375, and 477 in HOULDER 1957.
 5: CLEMES 1877: 430.
 6: OLSEN 1929: 57.
 7: no. 69 in HOULDER 1957.
 8-11: nos 105, 420, 211, 557 in HOULDER 1957.
 12-13: CLEMES 1877: 429.
 14: CLEMES 1877: 430.
 15-16: FONTOYNONT and RAOMANDAHY 1938: 202, nos 3, 5.
 17: no. 1626 in HOULDER 1957.
 18: DAHLE 1877: 44, no. 79.
 19: PEARSE 1898: 191.
 20-27: nos 39, 95, 189, 190, 191, 1286, 1454, 1658 in HOULDER 1957.
 28: FONTOYNANT and RAOMANDAHY 1939: no. 61.
 29: MICHEL 1957: 175.
 30-34: nos 1377, 1466, 1496, 1600, 1622 in HOULDER 1957.
 35: CLEMES 1877: 428.
 36-38: nos 452, 1364, 1595 in HOULDER 1957.
 39: OLSEN 1929: no. 4.
 40-43: nos 1577, 184, 1336, 1621 in HOULDER 1957.
 44-47: FONTOYNONT and RAOMANDAHY 1939: nos 61, 62, 71, 86.
 48: no. 319 in HOULDER 1957.
 49: SIBREE 1889: 38. Sibree's translation.

50: CHAPUS and RAZANAJOHARY 1949/50: 7-13. Cited from Cousins and Parrett.
 51-57: nos 34, 16, 17, 21, 26, 31, 39 in FONTOYNONT and RAOMANDAHY 1939.
 58-76: nos 1337, 1348, 1372, 1373, 1381, 1384, 1475, 1483, 1495, 1510,
 1511, 1487, 1465, 1564, 1501, 1732, 1718, 1523, 564 in HOULDER 1957.

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**DISTRIBUTION AND EQUALITY:
THE HIDDEN CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION WITHIN A COMMUNITY**

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"Master Márton was a poor man. He had neither an estate nor livestock. Only a few chickens were scratching about on the yard, among them the mighty prince of the feathered army, the cock. This cock often slipped through the fence to the neighbouring farm of Master Lőrinc and this usually led to quarrels. The gentle Rózsi, the wife of Lőrinc was brilliant at making a hell of a row. So one day Master Márton, in order to end the continuous squabble, put on his best clothes, took the cock and brought it to the lord of the manor presenting the animal to him.

The lord accepted the present and invited Master Márton to dinner. There were seven of them at the table: the lord, his wife, his two daughters, his two sons of school age and the peace-loving Master Márton. The meat was a cock roasted in one piece. When it was served, the lord pushed the meat dish before Master Márton and, being in high spirits, he said that if he could skilfully divide the cock among the seven of them he would give him ten acre of land lifelong. Márton took the knife, cut the head of the cock and put it on the plate of the lord:

"You are the head of the family so let the cock's head be yours. As the neck comes next to the head," continued the witty Márton, "and, otherwise, it turns the head, it must be given to your wife. The two young ladies will get the two legs of the cock so that they will be good dancers. I will give its two wings to the two young gentlemen so that they can write well."

The division of the cock in this way caused general laughter, and the most witty thing was that the whole body of the cock was left for Master Márton.

The lord kept his promise and in return for the skilful division he surveyed 10 acre of land to Márton.

The story went about in the village, and Master Lőrinc had been urged by his wife till he took all their five cocks along to the lord in the hope of an even more generous present. The lord accepted these cocks too, and Master Lőrinc was also invited to dinner. All the five cocks were put before Lőrinc: if he is able to divide them skilfully he will be also rewarded. But Master Lőrinc did not know what to do. He was just squirming on his seat, kept blushing, but he could not divide the cocks.

Then the lord sent for Master Márton and asked him to divide the five cocks. Márton took the fork and began:

"There is no number which is more perfect than three; so I will divide the cocks with the help of this number. You are one and your wife is one and these are together two, plus one cock are three, "and with this he put a cock before them". The two young ladies are two, plus a cock are three, so I'll give them a cock, too. The two young gentlemen are two, plus a cock are three - so they also get a cock. Here, in the plate, two cocks have remained - plus me are three," and with this he put the dish with the two cocks before himself.

So there was not even a little gravy left for poor Master Lőrinc but why was he so envious of his neighbour? The envy man richly deserves humiliation."¹

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The anecdote quoted above - similarly to several other stories of this kind - describes a situation in which the characters' actions are suitable for drawing a moral lesson.² In this case, however, it is not the allegory but rather the social aspect of the story which we are interested in. It is easy to see that the story divides into two parts. The first one tells us that the seemingly unsolvable task must be solved in a way which is suitable to reflect man's place on the social ladder, while the other one shows us how - in a similarly witty way - a kind of equality can be reached within the existing social hierarchy.

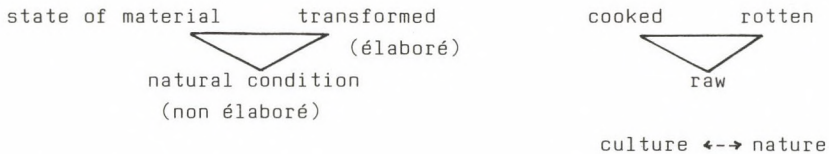
So this anecdote - using the allegory of dividing food - actually speaks about social equality/unequality. The present paper is going to deal with same topic, to be more exact, we are going to examine that hidden dimension of social communication which - with the help of food and its division - is fit for expressing something important to our fellow-men or the members of a community. The analysis of such hidden message can be very instructive, for it often calls the attention to very important and typical characteristics of a given culture.

The Semiotics of Eating

At the beginning of the 60s, in the first really important studies of the structuralist and semiotic investigations, when the analysis of everyday events became an expressed task, the interpretation of food ways and eating habits as systems of symbols came into the centre of scholarly interests. Roland Barthes, for instance, easily found the Saussurean categories of langue and parole within this systems of signs. According to him, the language of eating contains: "1. excluding rules (taboos of eating); 2. the meaningful oppositions of the units to be determined (e.g. salty/sweet type); 3. the rules of composition which can be either simultaneous (within level of one course) or successive (on the level of a menu); 4. the etiquette of eating habits which work as the rhetorics of eating. The very rich 'parole' of eating habits contains all the individual or familiar varieties of preparing and composing of foods (the way cooking within a family which is determined by certain family customs and which can be regarded as the ideolect of a family). A menu can, e.g., very well show the functioning of langue and parole: each menu is closely related to a (national or regional and social) structure, but can be differently realized depending on the given occasion or users".³

It is worth extending the French scholar's statement adding that one of the main characteristics of food (and eating) is that it can be interpreted as a sign which operates in the sphere of social usage. The most famous ethno-culinar theory is not progressing along this path after all. This trend deals with the contrasting elements of another - namely the intellectual - sphere of culture expressing them with the terms of fundamental material oppositions. These basic categories are: raw, cooked and rotten, (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1977: 221-228).

Claude Lévi-Strauss published his "culinary triangle" (see below) first in 1965, and its further versions show that the food-code contains other meanings too.⁴



He found these meanings in the course of the analysis of some myths by connecting the raw-cooked - and, in the second volume of "Mythologiques" (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1973:20/ the honey-tobacco, or rather honey-ashes opposites with culture-nature opposition.

In social anthropology it was mainly the members of the "London school of symbolic antropology" (NEWALL 1976) who, during the last two decade, dealt with the examination of the symbolic meaning of food. Raymond Firth deals with the language of eating in his work titled "Symbols: Public and Private" and in one of its chapters he summarizes his experience gained in Tikopia (Polynesia). He said: "The Tikopia use food as a symbolic instrument to express ideas of social cooperation and social status" (FIRTH 1973: 253). In the social sphere of culture, cooperation is brought about by the equality of the participants while hierarchy originates from social inequality and these relations can also be expressed in the language of objects. In other words, in the language of materials or food we can speak about social phenomena.

In the book of Mary Douglas' "Implicit Meanings" a whole chapter deals with the analysis of the hidden but actually very well articulated meanings of eating habits (DOUGLAS 1975: 249-279).

Decoding the meanings of eating, her starting point should be the fact

that food and eating are partly biological, partly social phenomena. In other words it means that eating, beside performing biological functions, also fulfills certain social needs. Douglas enumerates the elements of the system as well as the possible paradigms. It is worth mentioning some of her interesting statements; according to her opinion, a meal usually incorporates a number of contrasts, such as hot and cold, bland and spiced, liquid and solid, and of course, cooked and raw elements arranged in varied forms.

She calls our attention to the importance of drinks before, during and after meals which can well express the degree of intimacy (see also FRAKE 1979). Broadly speaking, the choice of different foods dished up can show whether it is served on an everyday, a festive or a family occasion, and in the latter case - whether we welcome a close friend or a respectable guest whose social rank is higher than ours.

The menu of a festive meal has its strict, "official" order as it was particularly true in the past. The menu as a carefully arranged order of dishes has a symbolic meaning, "the system of repeated analogies"⁵ carries a message for a given community.

Lévi-Strauss, writing an introduction to Marcell Mauss' study "The Gift" rightly stated that if we want to understand a social fact - and a meal can be regarded as one - we have to consider it as an integral part of a larger unit.⁶ The case is quite similar if we examine dressing and its system of symbols - with a special regard to national costume - where a single piece of clothes can have a special symbolic meaning while another meaning is carried by the whole dress. This latter one gains its real meaning in the context of feasts, and is continuously reinforced by the recurrent series of significant occasions, exactly by the perpetual recurrence.

The above-mentioned tried to find out the symbolic meanings of material qualities which come into being during the preparation of meals and they also tried to connect them with the different types of cultural and of social facts. Now, instead of the examination of the individual dishes, we are trying to find out the meaning of that opposition which can be found between the first and the last courses.

Wedding Feast and its Courses

Let us see now some examples and some descriptions. Now we are going

to deal with wedding feast which is one of the main events of human life. It can be easily noticed that such festive occasions have preserved a lot of customs (their elements, or some fragments of old rites) which, in everyday practice, quickly conformed to new situations.

Several studies have already dealt with the symbolic meaning of certain elements of wedding - e.g. the ostentation of plenty and wealth, the motifs of magical fertility rites the 'language' of different wedding insignia and even with the sexual symbolics of certain foods (e.g. cockscomb, shell-shaped noodles, pigtail, egg, apple, etc.) We could mention many further examples to show that such a social event, exactly because of its importance within a little community, is full of symbolic elements. We can notice the condensation of meanings in each 'code' that takes part in the wedding, which is a typical pluricodally performed social event (HOPPÁL 1979).

Our first example is a description of a wedding in Felsőtárkány, in the 1950s, which we quoted from the collection of Ferenc Bakó:

"Each meal the best man announced and greeted with a poem, and the dish arriving first he always put before the young couple. The women in attendance on the bride, who stood behind her, always put a dish where "there was a lack of it" i.e. where the table was "empty". The first course was always meat soup with shell-noodles called "ribbed noodle soup" and it was followed by stuffed cabbage. The third course was either roast beef or fried chicken with rice or noodles. The fourth dish, which was roast pork, was served only in well-to-do families. ... At the end of dinner, after different confectionery were served, the bride herself offered a round cake to the guests."⁷
(Italics are mine, M.H.)

István Tari described the customs of old weddings in an other Hungarian village Heréd:

"For dinner they serve roast meat and sausage, and finish it with cakes and gâteau repeating the greeting words of midday-dinner ... When the cakes are served the best man recites the following little verse:

Here is a lovely cake baked from flour, clean and white
Mix it with some sugar: it won't be hard to bite,
Even virgin-honey could not be much sweeter,
If you just look at it you'll be heavy-eater.
It is loved very much by all kinds of women,
Even girls, pretty girls could not stop eating,
And as men also like such delicious sweeties,
So just please, help yourself, start at once and eat it!"
(TARI 1978: 11,20).

The courses of the wedding feast in Galgamácsa were described by Juli Dudás, a peasant woman and naive painter, in her autobiography:

"They were merrily eating the meals of all kinds that had just been made in the kitchen. There were several courses: boiled meat with horse radish, paprika hen with small dumplings, stuffed chicken with delicious cucumber, Székely stuffed cabbage with rib-roast, strudel filled with curd or poppy and different cakes" (VANKÓNÉ DUDÁS 1976: 201).

The wedding dinner in Kőtegyán, in Békés county, we can show by another peasant autobiography:

"After the ceremony they go home and have dinner: chicken-soup, shell-noodles, roast meat with paprika, gateau or cakes."⁸

In the first decades of the century, the dishes of a wedding feast in Diósgyőr were the followings:

"During dinner the best man greeted each coursssand wine in rhymes. The courses usually served up were:

1. chicken-broth with shell-noodles
2. boiled meat with red beet
3. meat with sauce and macaroni
4. stuffed meat with cucumber or compote
5. stuffed cabbage
6. gruel. They put clarified butter, honey or cinnamon on it.

That is the time of the so-called gruel-money collecting: a funny lad, with his arm tied up, walks to the guests saying: "I've burnt it, I've burnt it"

7. cakes
8. The present of the women in attendance on the bride and the bridesmaids: a Hungarian speciality called "fonott kalács" which is a kind of brioche, and pretzel.
9. At last they put a bucket of sweet wine on the table. It is served by a woman after she has mulled it with sugar and cinnamon. Everyone drinks from it then they continue it with ordinary wine." (MADAI 1966: 329).

From the above-mentioned data we can point out the main opposite pairs of the courses, i.e. that the feast begins with meat course and ends with cakes. This opposition involves the contrast of further elements:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| the beginning of meals | - the end of it |
| meat (of animal origin) | - pastry (of vegetable origin) |
| boiled paste (which has only a secondary role) | - baked pastry (which is a main dish) |
| salty | - sweet |
| different pieces of meat | - each piece is of the same quality |
| having different quality | |

the pieces are not equal in - each piece is the same size
size

it is hard to divide - it is easy to divide

inequality - equality

A certain change of meaning can be noticed in the structure of the meals:⁹ instead of the unequally divided, unequal qualities the participants are finally offered the feeling of equality by food of equal quality and distribution. If we accept these data on the level of a wedding-dinner then the data which refer to the end of the whole social event, i.e. the end of the wedding feast should be even more convincing.

In 1972, we shot an ethnographic documentary film in Boldog, a village in Heves county. One of the most important motifs of the wedding feast there which, for this very reason, became the last scene of our film - is in connection with a big, sweet, bread-like raised cake, a speciality which in Hungary is called "kalács". This cake, the "kalács", which is decorated with honey-cakes and is brought by the bride's guests, is taken apart and together with other sweets and gateaux is divided among those who are present.¹⁰

In Visonta, another village of the same region, "the bride's dance did not begin until the present from the bride's home arrived which contained gateaux, cakes and roast meat. From these, after dance, everybody got a piece" (HOPPÁL-KÜLLŐS-MANGA 1974: 292).

The last phase of a wedding in Heréd is:

"Music goes on as long as the bride's godmother and godfather of the confirmee arrive accompanied by 10-15 persons bringing along the bridal "kalács" decorated in a special way with paper roses. (It is always the bride's godmother of the confirmee who bakes the "kalács" or has it baked by someone else.)

When they arrive the music stops and the bride's sponsors at confirmation take off the ornaments from the "kalács". They cut it up and serve it round offering it both to the bride's and the bridegroom's guests. It is served in a special way: the bride's godmother of the confirmee cuts down a slice and gives it to a guest while the bride's godfather of the confirmee fills his glass with sweet and strong drink.

When they cut into the "kalács" the best man recites the following verse:

Itt a fehér lisztből készült jóféle sütemény
Cukorral vegyítve nem is olyan kemény,
Olyan édes az, mint a csurgatott méz,
Mindjárt megkívánja az ember, ha ránéz.

Felvagdossák végre a szép nagy kalácsot,
 Asszonyok dicséretére vált adottságot.
 Mazsolával szeretik az itteni szüzek,
 Annál is inkább öregek és őszek.
 Bátran lehet enni, gyomornak nem nehéz,
 Fogjon meg minden darabot kilencvenkilenc kéz.

Here is a lovely cake baked from flour, clean and white
 Mix it with some sugar: it won't be hard to bite,
 Even virgin-honey could not be much sweeter,
 If you just look at it you'll be heavy-eater.
 The big "kalács" is at last cut up into pieces,
 The big loaf, milky loaf sings the women's praises.
 Virgins of the village like it with sweet raisins,
 And the old and the bald also enjoy tasting.
 It's not stodge for stomach, you just don't be frightened,
 So let then every piece held by ninety-nine hand."
 (TARI 1978: 25).

The last line of the best man's verse is particularly nice, as the "ninety-nine hand" actually means that everyone should be given a piece of "kalács", of this sweet-bread.

The wedding pretzel of the final ceremony in Csíkszentdomokos (Sindominic, Rumania) has an even more expressive symbolic meaning, so we should refer to it in more details:

"The custom described below has slowly died out and has been missing from today's wedding customs for years, but it still lives on in the memory of old and middle-aged generations of Csíkszentdomokos. So it still can be described with the help of concordant statements and recollections which can also complete each other.

The pretzel is the best man's generous and symbolic present, which he prepares in honour of the bridegroom or rather the new couple... The most important part of the pretzel is a carefully selected, one and a half meter long white pine whose foot is stabbed through a holed, round "kalács" of a bread size. Then, it is fixed in a bore which is in the middle of a handcart-like thing called "raba". The big, round "kalács" is surrounded by smaller round ones. They also put here roast hen and roast pig. The hen is ornamented with garland, and the decoration of the pig requires even more care: they put a big carrot in his mouth and fasten a red apple to both of its ears. They do so to "pester the bride: what she'll get is of that kind, that is what she has to expect." Another hint of sexual life which can be found here is the figures of a naked boy and a girl kneaded from pastry. Their sexual organs are enlarged, stressed, and they are set against each other in order to show that the lad is "teasing the girl".

The branches of the pine were decorated similarly to a Christmas tree. They strung on a thread fritter-like pastry or other things that they kneaded in the shape of a heart, ring, etc. These strings they hung up on the branches. Sometimes strings of dried plums were also put on the pretzel... While singing, the boys put the pretzel on the main table before the bridegroom and the bride. They may not have touched it.

The pretzel could be eaten just later when only parents and close relatives were present. It was the best man who told when to start eating: the bride and the bridegroom gave a piece to each and it was compulsory to eat it."¹¹

Here we are not going to deal with the sexual symbolics of the wedding cake "kalács" which had a magic role of fertility. We would like to emphasize only that the round "kalács" was divided among the two families and the relatives, and it also indicated the end of the ceremony. It can be quite important that the above description speaks about a "big, round cake 'kalács'". A round cake or gateau - as a consequence of its form - can be easily divided into similar pieces. I think this feature has an important role at the end of the wedding feast for then - by the division of tasty, sweet cakes into pieces of the same size - the inequality among people (the disruptive forces within a community) is tried to be hidden behind an illusory, short-lived equality.

In this way, the community - in the language of objects and food - eliminates social inequalities and re-establishes equality among those who are present. At this important turning point of life it gives (or rather lends) the participant the feeling of contentment (and not subjugation). We find this hidden communication as a social mechanism of great importance not only because it is able to connect - with amazing ingenuity - the biological, social and cultural spheres of life, but also because it is able to stir up the feeling of equality and, with this, to help to maintain the general condition and stability of a community.

Historical Background

Now let us see whether the different historical data support the above analyses. It is always very useful if we have the opportunity to examine recent collections of ethnographers from a historical perspective. However, ethnosemiotic analysis has a diachronic, historical aspect on the one hand, and a synchronic aspect on the other hand, which deals with recent data. This latter one arranges data only on one level and within which it tries, for instance, to find out the meanings of different phenomena. Synchronic analysis established different facts but doesn't deal with the course of their development. It is true that these two approaches have different aims and they require different methods.

To enumerate historical data, we can mention Péter Apór's work titled

"Metamorphosis Transylvaniae" which reports on the customs of the early 18th-century Transylvanian aristocracy. In his writing, Apor speaks about the wedding customs of his epoch. The aristocratic feasts were finished by serving sweets which were usually made of imported cane sugar. He writes: "And when it was its time, the chief master brought wine either in big silver cups or in red pots and as a wedding feast sometimes had four or five courses, they drank one cup after the other. And when all the guests had had enough and the fruit had been cleared away (which was served in silver but mostly in gold bowles) you could see on the table various kinds of jam and confectionery made of Turkish and Venetian cane sugar" (APOR 1978: 103, 105).

According to historical data "in 16th-17th-century Hungary aristocratic households often used cane sugar. It was imported and its high prize hindered its increase. The first Hungarian sugar-factory worked in Fiume from the middle of the 18th century and it made cane sugar. It was Sámuel Tessedik who, at the end of 18th century, made the first attempt at sugar beet growing. Beet sugar production became considerable by the end of the 19th century. So it is obvious that before this time peasant households used sugar just very rarely if ever. They sweetened gruel, noodles and pastry with honey but sweet baked cakes actually didn't exist" (KISBÁN 1970: 309).

After all, sweet pastry was always contrasted with salty bread and that it has its roots in historical past is shown by the fact that: "the seigniorial requisitions prescribed as early as the mid-1700s that a serf had to hand in white bread - panes albus - or "kalács" which was called at that time "torta" i.e. cake. Sometimes, in the 16th-17th century, landlords demanded white flour which was suitable for baking rolls".¹² According to Eszter Kisbán: "in Europe it was rather characteristic that the differentiation of bread and "kalács" began with the custom according to which on festive occasions people ate a special pastry which was actually bread of a quality better than usual. Its form and the way of fermentation was quite similar to bread but its material had a better quality... Apart from the round and later stuffed kinds, at the turn of the 19th century, in the southern part of Transdanubia, "kalács" actually meant bread which had the shape of a round loaf, was not twisted and was made of white dough. This was a very old form in the history of "kalács". It must have a great past as it is made both on everyday and festive occasions as well as for ritual purposes. In many parts of Hungary, the rite of wedding led to the

development of such customs that connected certain forms of "kalács" exclusively with this event or, in other cases, new forms appeared to serve this function. In southern Transdanubia there are not such special forms. On the other hand, at the turn of the century, in the whole northern area a special wedding "kalács" was made, round, twisted and latticed."¹³ According to recently collected data, "kalács", as opposed to bread is always definitely connected with festive occasions,¹⁴ or in terms of material qualities: sweet flour of good quality is opposed to salty flour of a rather poor quality. It is obvious that the former one refers to the "sacred" world of feasts so, presumably, the act of dividing a "kalács" at the end of the wedding is a magical, extraordinary element of the ceremony.

At the beginning of the 20th century, "kalács" and its different types were changed for gateaux and other kinds of cakes,¹⁵ and this change could happen because both kinds had the same characteristics of a baked, sweet pastry. Ferenc Bakó, examining the wedding customs of Felsőtárkány, gave a lively description of this change: "The change can be felt not in the main dishes of dinner but rather in connection with "kalács" and other baked cakes. Before 1945, the traditional cake called "morvánkalács" appeared more often on the tables of the houses in which wedding was celebrated than in 1954. In old times people presented the young couple with "morván" rather than with e.g. post. The different cakes replaced some old types of "kalács". Such was for instance the so-called "horn" which was presumably similar to the Transylvanian "pastry horn". It was baked on open fireplace and was dusted with walnut. The so-called "kudluk" (ring cake or gugelhupf) was holed in the middle and its side was ribbed. They baked it in earthenware pan. The so-called "fentő" with poppy, walnut or jam was also in fashion. It was similar to the pastry popular today called "wasp pastry". Another favourite meal was "mónárkalács" (miller's pastry) which exists even today but slowly disappeared from wedding dinners."¹⁶

Culture always operates in paradigms and it has rules which must be kept strictly. Nevertheless, in most cases, it offers more solutions in order to provide the opportunity of selection that a customary action can adjust to a given situation.

So, for instance, in some poor areas of the country or in a poor family, on festive occasion "kalács" was replaced by curd-cake.¹⁷ In certain areas, this circular tasty pie-like food is often served on festive occasion. Here it has become one of the elements of our paradigmatic line on the basis of its round shape and its divisibility.

At the turn of the century, in Tiszahát, in the Bereg county, on the occasion of engagement people ate sweet semolina boiled in milk and it was also served as the last course of the wedding dinner:

"The bride's folks were warmly greeted. The bride's mother and father soon took their seats at the main table. Before dinner, the best man recited his little verse with which strong drinks were offered to the guests to provide good appetie. Then the women-cooks brought in soup-plates. The best man recited funny rhymes before each dish. Until the end of the last century, the young couple ate pigeon-soup. It was said that eating from this soup they would be faithful to each other and would die at the same time. After soup they ate boiled meat then stewed meat with paprika or roast meat finishing it with stuffed cabbage. Until the 20s, the very last course was semolina boiled in milk. When wine culture began to spread in Beregdaróc semolina dissapeared because it did not match with wine. From this time on, it was changed for different cakes, gateaux and wine." (PAP 1975: 268-269).

Gruel also belongs to meals which are easily divisible and are quite uniform in quality. As Éva Pócs has stated it on the basis of German and Slavic data compared, this meal flavoured with honey (or sometimes with poppy) was connected with different beliefs which "often had certain sacrificial character. (PÓCS 1965: 187). She also rightly stated that" this rich material of beliefs presumably has its root in the fact that corn, the basic material of bread and "kalács", is a fundamental food of man so it is equally suitable either for a sacrificial gift or on magic purposed to help fertility. In this way, it is closely related to some other kinds of bread crops and gruels" (PÓCS 1965; 189). These data also explain the festive, sacrificial, magical character of the whole line of paradigms. (It is - going backwards - : semolina boiled in milk - curd-cake - gateau - "kalács"). But it is only one way to explain the origin of meaning. The analysis of food-code still offers other possibilities as well.

Instead of a Summary: a few words about analogue coding

The social construction of reality is made by the help of culturally accepted patterns (i.e. we speak about colour term or kinship terminology).

Their acquirement is carried out in the course of social events. Such "occasions" are e.g. conversation parties, dinners, receptions, feasts, etc. Ethnographical research has paid relatively little attention to the examination of such social events and gatherings (HOPPÁL 1977). To a community such happenings or gatherings are really important because a range of different facts, ideas and beliefs could become imperative norms in the

course of such events. Legitimatization supports the "universe of symbols" by which we attach (BERGER-LUCKMAN 1967: 110-111) meaning to a social fact. As Raymond Firth rightly said that one of the functions of creating symbols is the promotion of social contact and cooperation (FIRTH 1973: 90).

Culture usually creates signs and symbols in each case when the meaning of a certain feature is not entirely clear or cannot be exactly evaluated i.e. when an often recurring phenomenon must be explained and identified on a very general level.¹⁸ Such are, for instance, the power relations or man's place within the social hierarchy of a community - these are regulated by etiquette, with its refined system of symbols. At the same time social behaviour controlled by the rules of etiquette shows us the existing relations within a given community and with this, it also helps to explore the structure of the collectivity. What practically happens is that those elements of the language of facts in which the differences of age, sex and social status play an important role are translated into the language of etiquette. So, from a pragmatic point of view, the function of etiquette-communication is to establish the place of the individual within the structure of society (CIVJAN 1975: 373). A feast, a simple drinking-bout¹⁹ or even a thoroughly organized diplomatic meeting can reflect and does reflect the social position of the participants. It was especially true in the Middle Ages when different types of feast and warm hospitality were important means to maintain social relations.²⁰ Of course, the diplomatic receptions and dinner-parties of today are also good examples of it. A peasant wedding and still more, its courses expressed especially well financial and social situation. As we have already mentioned it, from the food served we can easily understand social differences.²¹

The precedence at table sitting position in a wedding gives even more expressive examples as it clearly shows one's position and importance within a given group. First we are going to quote the recollection of a peasant in Gyöngyösvisonta:

"...we asked the wedding guests to take their seats: it was the task of the best men. The most distinguished persons used to sit at the head of the table. So the best men, the bride and the bridegroom took the best seats at the table." (HOPPÁL-KÜLLÖS-MANGA 1974: 291).

Let us hear now the recollections of the Transylvanian István Horváth who lived in Magyarózd (Ozd, Romania):

"The best men made tables and seats for dinner from boards put on three-legged trestles. The best man who directed the whole ceremony used to give the orders: men had to sit on the right side of the house while women sat on the left. If the dinner took place at the house of the bride, she - together with her girl-friends and those young women who helped in dressing-sat at the head of the table-, beside the best man. If the wedding feast was held in the house of the bridegroom this place was taken by the bridegroom, the best men, the woman in attendance on the bride and the bridesmaids. Bottles of strong drinks and bread was put on the table and everyone got a spoon. The dish, which was either a kind of sour soup boiled with smoked meat or meat soup with poultry was brought in by the best men in big earthenware dishes. "Four persons from one plate," he said, and with this, four of the guests bent over one big plate starting to eat usually with wooden spoons." (HORVÁTH 1971: 128).

The customs were quite similar in the early 1700s. That is how Péter Apor describes a wedding feast:

"...the hosts made the guests sit down separating the guests of the bridegroom from those who had been invited by the bride's father. The bridegroom sat at the head of the table. The bride on his side could not even swallow a bite, just cried and tried to brush away her tears. The best man sat next to the bridegroom, then came the bridesman followed by the others in an order of importance. On the other side, next to the bride sat the woman in attendance on the bride, then the bridesmaid followed by the other women. The guests of the father of the bride, both men and women sat according to an order of importance: the host sat at the centre. When they all had taken their seats different dishes were brought in accompanied with merry music. After everything had been put on the table, they all stood up, the priest blessed the table and then the host started to offer food to the guests." (APOR 1978: 102).

So the priority at table could express social hierarchy or at least one's temporary situation in the language of "spatial arrangement" or of proxemic code. In other words, we can express different social relationships in term of proximity or use of space:

less	-	bigger
the guest	-	the chief character of the event
a distant relative	-	a close relative
poor	-	rich
the end of the table	-	the head of the table
far	-	near

All of these oppositions are suitable for expressing the social relations of peoples.

And here we have to say a few words about the two possible kinds of communication. One of them is the so-called "digital" communication. Its name is originated from the phenomenon that each information is the

combination of two element: 1 and 0. The other kind of communication is analogical. This is the manipulation of quantitatively and qualitatively different signs.

Human communication can be operated in these two totally different ways. One kind of it is when we express something with the help of analogy, for instance with drawing. On the other hand we can express something by naming it. So, for example, the sentence " the cat has caught the mouse " can be expressed with pictures as well. It is quite an unusual way of communication and we rather use words and names (either in speech or in writing). These two kinds of communication are, as a matter of fact, similar to digital and analogical modalities - picture is analogical, word is digital. The naming of things - whatever word we use - is obviously arbitrary; there is no connection between the form of the word and its meaning. Words are arbitrary signs.

On the other hand, in analogical communication, a sign has an organic connection with meaning. Here the sign or symbol used makes it easier to understand the expressed phenomenon (WATZLAWICK-BEAVIN-JACKSON 1973: 192).

According to certain scholars, analogical communication must have developed in a very early period of human evolution, and that is why it is of universal validity to a larger extent than verbal communication which is based on binary (yes-no) logic. A good example of it is that with the help of the language of gestures or with drawings we can make ourselves understood even if we "speak" with someone whose language we do not know. American researchers examining the questions of non-verbal communication demonstrated that there are a lot of phenomena that are based entirely on analogical communication, and which changed just very little in the course of evolution. This kind communication already existed between our mammal ancestors, and with this people could always determine their relations to each other (WATZLAWICK-BEAVIN-JACKSON 1973: 194).

It is a well-known fact that our ability of tasting, smelling as well as our different feelings are coded not in a digital but in an analogical way (SEBEEK 1972: 10, 21). The motions, the expressive gestures and pictures are coded in the memory in continuous terms. It is obvious that two kinds of sensation, the perception of space and taste can easily complete each other. Those hidden analogies that we can find from time to time between certain elements explain each other and reinforce their revealed meanings. So, for instance, the priority at table with its ceremonial structure inform us about invisible social structure as the unequal division of meat also

makes us conscious of an existing inequality. - On the other hand, the dishes and the equal division of sweets at the end of the wedding dinner try to express equality among those who are present. This invisible mechanism translates the tensions of social existence into the language of the tangible physical reality - here it means the language of food - and with this it also tries to reduce those tensions. In my opinion, this continuous code-switching is a very important mechanism in the functioning of culture, and - at the same time -, through the reproduction of social harmony, it also guarantees the transmission and survival of traditions.

Notes

- 1 György 1938: 198-200. Here I would like to express my thanks to Vilmos Voigt who called my attention to this anecdote. Lajos György has found this anecdote in the 1912 calendar of St Stephen Society. In his additional notes he said: "the two kinds of division are Hungarian variations that correspond to international structure. It is doubtless that they came to Europe from the East."
- 2 One of the main characteristics of the anecdote is that it must be a "funny story" - cf. the entry of "anekdóta" (MNL I: 101-102) written by Ágnes Kovács - but we find the moral, the parabolic and the model-character of the story even more important.
- 3 Barthes 1976: 26. It is very characteristic that this work was published in 1964. It is worth continuing the quotation: "...similarly to it, a linguistic "form" contains free variations and combinations which one needs to express his own thoughts. The relation of language and speech of eating is quite similar to that connection which we find in spoken languages. The language of eating is based on usage i.e. the different strata of speech: the individual innovations (new recipes made-up) can always gain established values. Contrary to the system of dressing, here the activity of a decisive group is lacking: the language of eating can come into being only by wide and collective usage or by individual 'speech;'"
- 4 Its detailed analysis and criticism see in Leach 1974:30.
- 5 Douglas 1975: 260.: "...the meaning of a meal is found in a system of repeated analogies. Each meal carries something of the meaning of the other meals; each meal is a structured social event which structures others in its own image. The upper limit of its meaning is set by the range incorporated in the most important member of its series."
- 6 Lévi-Strauss (in MAUSS 1960: XXVIII): "To understand a social fact correctly must understand it completely that is to say from 'without' as a thing, but as a thing of which is an integral part..."
- 7 Bakó 1955: 391. In connection with the preparations he tells is that among the first events of wedding the taking over of the guests' and relatives' present is very important. From the point of view of some further questions it is important that he also mentions some data about how much and what kind of cakes the invited families brought to the young couple. For instance, it was quite usual that they brought three big round wedding cakes called "morván kalács" together with two, three

or four so-called "with hand" cakes that meant two, three or four plates full of different sweet biscuits (BAKÓ 1955).

Hoppál-Küllös-Manga 1974: 67. From the autobiography of Mihály Bujdosó. From another peasant autobiography we can describe the dishes of the best men who were called together: "In the appointed evening the best men came together. First they had dinner; it was stewed meat with paprika, strudel and cakes." Selection from the writing of János Balla, a peasant from Visonta (HOPPÁL-KÜLLŐS-MANGA 1974: 287).

The dishes of other important feasts seem to be quite similar. "Pig-killing was immediately followed by dinner. This event shows that level in cooking that Őrség can produce in quantity and quality as well. The weddings, christening feasts and other festive occasions all represent this level, but while these occasions are rather incidental, dinner after pig-killing is an organic part of peasant life and nourishment. Let us see, for instance, what is a pig-killing feast like in a medium-sized peasant farm in Senyeháza. It is quite exclusive in number, but now we will deal neither with the number of those present nor with the quantity of meals. Here we are going to describe its main characteristics only. Drinking before eating is quite usual as well as after each course and during eating as many times as people are inclined to do so.

1st course: meat soup from pork with vermicelli (noodles)

2nd course: boiled meat from pork with horse radish with cream, bread

3rd course: boiled pork meat made with sauerkraut, bread

4th course: roast meat, roast liver, bread. With the meat they eat table beet and red cabbage.

5th course: tart, apple.

6th course: black coffee with "kalács"

After meals carousing goes on. The dishes above more or less represent all kinds of meals (soup, meat, vegetables, garnishment, cakes, drinks, fruit, etc.) The order and gradualness of serving have a middle-class character. It partly contains the elements of old peasant order, partly shows some new achievements. The best materials are used and are prepared in all possible ways (boiling, roasting, braising, etc). As a matter of fact, these festive dishes - completed or narrowed down; made in an ordinary or in a new way are quite similar on the whole territory of Őrség" (KARDOS 1943: 87).

The title of the film is "Wedding in Boldog" (1973) - Directed by József Kis.

Balázs 1976; 142. A similar round-shaped wedding "kalács" was described by Ádám Sebestyén, a chronicler of the Székely people who migrated from Bukovina (Andrásfalva) to Hungary "The so-called "násznagykalács" (the "kalács" of the best man) was not usual in Andrásfalva, and it was made only in well-to-do families where the role of the best man was taken by a rich godfather, sponsor at confirmation or uncle. It was made as follows: Into a round plate-like board 60-70 cm in diameter and smoothed with a plane, six candle-shaped stich were fixed. At the bottom, they winded the sticks round with a pretzel or rather a "kalács", and on each stick they put pastry horns as many as they could up to a height of 50-60 cm. The empty spaces between the sticks were filled with bottles of honeyed strong drinks, and decorated with fruit (apple, plum, pear, etc), honey-cakes and garlands. This "kalács" weighed about 50-60 kilograms. It must have been a very strong man who could, on the top of his head, take it from the house of the best man to the house where the

- wedding was held...After dancing for a while, he started off at the head of the procession and walking along the street he danced "with the 'kalács'" to the nice music. Illés Mátyás (Matyi) tells us that once it was him who brought "násznagykalács" on his head, but it was so heavy that a hunk appeared on his neck which has never disappeared. Usually one man was not able to bring it along alone and had to be relieved by somebody else..."Násznagykalács" was cut up at midnight. Everyone got a piece of it so they could taste it. They ate it with pleasure because it tasted very good... That is how it is told by old people" (SEBESTYÉN 1972: 182-183).
- 12 Zolnay 1977: 304. According to Eszter Kisbán "kalács" appeared a hundred years earlier. "From the middle of the 14th century on, - first just sporadically, later on more and more gradually - "kalács" become a kind of corvéé. The appearance of this festive, leavened pastry which differed from bread in the sort of cereals and the quality of flour used or had a different form, refers to a fairly high level of the
- 13 experience of leavening"(KISBÁN 1966: 358).
Kisbán 1970: 312. On the round wedding and festive "kalács" and other cakes in Russian folklore see: Szmuszín 1979. According to him, the round bottom of the "kalács" comes from the form of a snake twisted up which is the symbol of fertility.
- 14 "Kalács" is made on the occasion of important feast, family feasts, weddings, christenings, pig-killings" (KISS 1958: 57). "My mother made "kalács" at least twice a year: at Christmas and at Easter. Sometimes she put raisin in it. She raised it not in a basket - as in the case of bread - but in a pan and she baked it in it too. She has to make a lot of "kalács" because the guests, during the two or three days of the holiday, were offered with it, and those who came chanting were also given a few slice of "kalács". The shepherds greeting the Easter holiday and the children who visited each house in the village were also offered with it. If it was not a holiday, baking or eating "kalács" would have been sacrilege. I don't think it ever happened at home. "Kalács" had to be tasty, light and new. We ate it for breakfast with milk, coffee or tea, while at Easter it was usually served with boiled egg and ham. "Kalács" was not simply food; it was a symbol: "he let the "kalács" out of his mouth" (VÉGH 1978: 114).
- 15 In the 20s and 30s, instead of "kalács" the making of gateaux was increasing. The best man served it as the last course : "Here are the tasty cakes served along a line / The first among them is that of the
- 16 bride. " Date from Zobor-alja. (P.MADAR 1979; 177).
Bakó also tells us some interesting things about the change of wedding customs in Felsőtárkány.: "By 1948, customs had become more and more simple. This simplification went on during the era of people's democracy as well. Then it stopped and - it is also very instructive - customs began to increase with new elements, but now on another field, in connection with wedding cakes and "kalács". This feature had its root partly in money expansion which was due to the development of industrial output, partly in a better exploitation of working hours" (BAKÓ 1955: 392).
- 17 Eszter Kisbán called my attention to it.
- 18 The essential meaning of symbol was very well defined by Wheelwright (1962: 92): "A symbol is relatively stable and repetable element of perceptual experience, standing for some larger meaning or set of meanings which cannot be given, or not fully given in perceptual

- 19 experience itself."
Frake dealing with the customs of drinking writes that "such meetings aim at rousing a sympathetic feeling by the end of the event in those who are present... The carousal in Subanun provides a good opportunity to increase, define and manipulate the individual's social relations with the help of speech" (FRAKE 1979: 273).
- 20 "Feasts among those who lived in primitive societies became a kind of "competition" to show who can offer the most liberal table. The host wanted to out rival the others. Of course, the guest later on had to return the invitation and he also had to return the hospitality with and even more plentiful feast. The opposition of glory and opulence is very characteristic of primitive societies. In the light of this contrasts, wealth is regarded a value only if it helps to reach glory and social estimation. As we have already seen it, instead of hoarding money, it practically meant wasting and dispensing money, spending it on feasts, etc. In other words: having money became a kind of virtue. Charity and feasts are keywords which form the unity of wealth and culture in barbaric societies" (GUREVICS 1974: 198, 209).
- 21 "...and categories of cooking are always peculiarly appropriate for use as symbols of social differentiation" (LEACH 1974: 34).

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**KODAVA KIN TERMINOLOGY AND MARRIAGE SYSTEM:
PRESCRIPTIVE OR PREFERENTIAL?¹**

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The writings on South Indian Kinship and marriage right from the days of Morgan (1871) and Rivers (1924) occupy an unique place in the anthropological literature. So much so that many anthropologists regard 'Dravidian Kinship' as a morphological type characterised by particular ideal-typical configuration of kinship and marriage distinguishing it from other types in the typological classification of the World's kinship systems. In fact "... the notion of the Dravidian has no necessary connection to South India and Sri Lanka but can embrace distant localized systems that are formally (e.g. Iroquois, Kariera of Australia) in a single class" (TRAUTMANN 1981: 3). It is significant to note particularly that the data on Dravidian kinship system has provided suitable grist to the mill of Lévi-Straussians like Dumont (1935, 1957) and Needham (1962b) to substantiate the so-called 'alliance theory' as against to the 'descent theory' developed by Radcliffe-Brown, Fortes, Goody and others (SCHNEIDER 1968: 25).

However, the prime focus of the 'alliance' school of thought right from the path breaking work of Lévi-Strauss' "Structures élémentaires de la parenté" (1949) has been on the formal and ideal aspects of the marriage rules and kin terminological framework to the comparative exclusion of the concrete and behavioral aspects of the kinship and marriage system. It is this approach which made Needham to propose two categories of marriage systems, which he called 'prescriptive' and 'preferential' systems of marriage (NEEDHAM 1962b: 9) "which has become almost a classic in contemporary British social anthropology" (LÉVI-STRAUSS 1965: 17). Mayburry Lewis who took cudgels in asserting Needham's proposition, advocates that "... there must be a distinction maintained between prescriptive and preferential marriage systems" (1965: 225).

Following Needham's typology, the Kodava marriage system as depicted in its kin terminological framework should be classified as a prescriptive system. Precisely because in the whole of its kin terminological framework, there is only one marriageable kin category which includes the bilateral

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cross-cousins for a male or female ego. In a prescriptive system "... the emphasis is on the very lack of choice; the category or type of person to be married is precisely determined and this marriage is obligatory" (NEEDHAM 1962b: 9). Nevertheless, one cannot lose sight of the fact of formal patrilineal preference being allowed by the Kodavas within the ambit of bilateral prescription. This consideration in a way stirs the same hornets' nest of questioning the very validity of classifying the marriage systems into either prescriptive or preferential type. Schneider has cogently argued at length over the perfunctoriness or the typology and has questioned in no uncertain terms. "Can we say that a prescriptive system is one in which ego is obliged to marry a woman whom he is prohibited to marry and preferential system one in which ego is permitted to marry a woman who is prohibited" (SCHNEIDER 1968: 66). Lévi-Strauss upholds Schneider's views and finds himself at a loss to accept Needham as he "... has failed to grasp its significance and fear that it may give rise to many a theoretical difficulty" (1965: 17). To put the whole argument in proper perspective, the Kodava example provides an appropriate case to critically examine the typology propounded by Needham.

In this paper, the kin terminological system and marriage rule of Kodavas have been examined to show the presence of both preference and prescription at the formal ideological level in the same system without a trace of contradiction or inconsistency, which amply demonstrates the unwarranted distinction suggested by Needham. Although, Emeneau (1938) and Srinivas (1965) have dealt the Kodava² marriage and kinship system, however treat marriage as a mere incident in the history of families and lineage groups and the choice of spouse has been defined more in terms of prohibition. The whole approach was such that it rarely took into account the structural implications of kin terminology or preferential marriage rules.

The Ethnographic Context

The Kodavas are the original inhabitants of Coorg district in Karnataka. Field work was carried out in 1974-75, in Ponnampet in the southern part of Coorg. Kodavas constitute the dominant community in the whole of Coorg district numerically, economically, as well as culturally. They comprise the majority - 713 out of 3047 members - in Ponnampet. Kodavas are a distinctive people whose customs, festivals, dress and language are

quite different from the co-habiting Hindus. They claim themselves to be the descendants of a Kshathriya king known as Chandraverma. Since they assert Kshathriya ancestry, they occupy the highest rung of the social hierarchy after Brahmins. It is difficult to consider Kodavas as a caste in the strict Hindu sense of the word for they hardly include sanskritic rituals nor need the ministrations of a Brahmin priest on any of their life cycle rituals. Nonetheless, they worship the Gods and Goddesses of Hindu pantheon and hence are regarded as Hindus. The river Cauvery forms the principal Goddess of Kodavas. Basically they are ancestor worshippers. Each Kodava lineage 'okka' has its ancestral house 'ainmane' and the ancestral shrine called 'kaimada' in the precincts of the ancestral house.

They were originally the warrior owners of the land of Coorg and are known to be a martial race throughout the history. Two former Generals of the Indian army - Gen. K.M. Cariappa and Gen.K.S. Thimmaiah - came from the community of Kodavas. At present their principal occupation is agriculture and many of them are well off with coffee plantation. Rice is the staple food of Coorg. Orange and cardamom are also grown in some pockets.

Kodava society is organised on patrilineal principles. They form an endogamous group. The kinship organisation takes the form essentially of patrilineages. The patrilineal, patrilocal and exogamous unit is called okka. It has been dealt in more detail elsewhere (KHAN 1977). Each okka is marked as such by its name which is borne by each member as his or her first name. In the case of a female, she acquires the okka name of her husband after marriage. All male members of the okka are considered as grandfathers, fathers, sons, grandsons and are broadly categorised as manekkara or okkakarta. It may be further segmented into smaller patrilineages called Kuththis which will have a depth ranging from two to four generations. Whereas the genealogical depth of okka ranges from five to eight or more generations. The Kodava households³ are woven around the Kuththis. If an elementary family household is hinged on a Kuththi of two generations, an extended family household will be built around a Kuththi of more than two generation depth.

In the extra-okka context, an individual is related to other okkas through the female members of his okka who have been married out, as well as those who have come into his okka's fold by marriage. Such affinal okkas and their members are broadly categorised as benduka. Any okka which is related through marriage is said to be benduka okka as against to one's own okka whose members are distinguished as manekkara. There is marked change in the

attitude as soon as a Kodava meets one of his benduka as against to one of manekkara. With his benduka, he feels free, relaxed and all fun and jokes immediately appear. Whereas contrarily, he shows lot of reserve, respect towards elders, authority and strictness towards youngsters when he is with his manekkara.

Structure of Kinship Terminology

The structure of the Kodava kinship terminology conforms to the 'Dravidian' ideal type as enunciated by Dumont in his classic exposition (1953a). The kin terms listed in table 1 were collected from both male and female Kodavas ranging in age from about six years to over seventy. Each kin term listed delineates a certain category of relatives some of the specifications of which are the genealogical referents listed beside it.

The basic form of the whole terminological network is a two section system of parallel, and cross relatives,⁴ (which Dumont /1953a/ has called as 'consanguines' and 'affines' respectively) based on the principles of generation, relative age and sex of the relative vis-a-vis ego. These two sections are categorised as manekkara and benduka as they stand in the relationship of 'in-law' to each other.

In the first ascending generation, the ego has two classes of male relatives who are related to each other as brothers-in-law. The one set of relatives come under appa the term applied to father. Father's brothers are compared with father by prefixing balle or dodda and cheri or boja depending on their elder or younger status respectively. These terms are extended to father's parallel male relatives of the same generation. The second class of males are designated by the term mava generally translated as mother's brother. However, mother's real (primary) brother is distinguished as thammava by a proper possessive adjective as tham denoting sibblingship between the mother and her brother. Father's sister's husband is also called mava. All the males who are related as cross-cousins to father also come under this category. These set of relatives stand in the relationship of brothers-in-law to the former class of males which includes father.

The males in the same generation of ego are either brothers or brothers-in-law. Anna (elder) and thamma (younger) are brothers to ego. All the male parallel cousins are included in these categories. Those who come under the categories of bhava (elder to ego) or machchina (younger to ego)

Table 1. The Kinship Terminology of the Kodavas

Terms of Kin Category	Genealogical referents of Relatives classified under the category
1 Muttajja	FFF, MFF, FMF, MMF
2 Muththai	FFM, MFM, FMM, MMM
3 Ajja	FF, MF, FFB, MFB, FMB, MMB
4 Thai	FM, MM, FFZ, MFZ, FMZ, MMZ
5 Appa or Ayya	F
a. Balleappa (Doddappa)	FeB, MeZH
b. Cheriappa (Bojappa)	FyB, MyZH
6 Avva	M
a. Balleavva (Doddavva)	MeZ, FeBW
b. Cheriava (Bojavva)	MyZ, FyBW
7 Mava	MB, FZH, WF, HF
a. Thammava	MB (mother's primary brother)
8 Mavi	FZ, MBW, WM, HM
a. Thammavi	FZ (father's primary sister)
9 Anna	eB, FBS(e), MZS(e), WZH(e), HZH(e), SWF(e), or DHF(e)-W.sp. eZ, FBD(e), MZD(e), WBW(e), HBW(e), SWM(e) or DHM(e)-M.sp.
10 Akka	yB, FBS(y), MZS(y), WZH(y), HZH(y)SWF(y) or DHF(y)-W.sp. yZ, FBD(y), MZD(y), WBW(y), HBW(y), SWM(y) or DHM(y)-M.sp.
11 Thamma	MBS(e), FZS(e), eZH, WeB, HeB
12 Thange	MBD(e), FZD(e), eBW, WeZ, HeZ
13 Bhava	MBS(y), FZS(y), yZH, WyB, HyB
14 Mamma	MBD(y), FZD(y), yBW, WyZ, HyZ
15 Machchina	S, BS(M.sp), ZS(W.sp), HBS, WZS
16 Machchinichi	D, BD(M.sp), ZD(W.sp), HBD, WZD
17 Movan	ZS(M.sp), BS(W.sp), DH, WBS, HZS
18 Mova	ZD(M.sp), BD(W.sp), SW, WBD, HZD
19 Maimman	SS, DS, BSS, ZSS, BDS, ZDS
20 Maimma	SD, DD, BSD, ZSD, BDD, ZDD
21 Kirmovan	SSS, DSS
22 Kirmova	SSD, DSD
23 Kirmovanda Movan	SDS, DDS
24 Kirmovanda Mova	SDD, DDD
25 Kirmovada Movan	
26 Kirmovada Mova	

In the specifications above 'F' refers to father; 'M' refers to mother. 'B' refers to brother; 'Z' refers to sister; 's' refers to son; 'D' refers to daughter; 'H' refers to husband, and 'W' refers to wife.

'e' denotes elder and 'y' denotes younger vis-à-vis ego.

W.sp = Woman speaker; M.sp. = Man speaker

are brothers-in-law to the former group of relatives. All the male cross-cousins fall in the latter set.

In the first descending generation, brothers' sons of male ego and sisters' sons of female ego are equated with one's own son as movan. Wife's sisters sons and husband's brothers' sons are also movan to ego. All the male parallel cousins of movan are included in the same category. The sons of sisters and wife's brothers of male ego as well as the sons of brothers and husband's sisters are clubbed together and are termed as maiman. All the male parallel cousins of maiman are maiman to ego. These two classes of males movan and maiman in the first descending generation of ego stand in the position of brothers-in-law to one another.

Males in the second ascending and second descending generations are called as ajja and kirmovan respectively, irrespective of their connection through a male or female relative of the first ascending or first descending generation.

As regards the females, the kinship terms are attributed in the same fashion as we saw in males. In the first ascending generation, the mother avva and her sisters doddavva or balleavva (elder to mother), cheriavva or bojavva (younger to mother) and all their female parallel cousins, stand as sisters-in-law to the mavi class of females which includes father's sisters and mother's brothers' wives as well as all the parallel female cousins of these relatives. Amongst this latter class father's real (primary) sister is singled out to be termed as thammavi as it was seen in the case of mother's primary brother.

The females in the same generation of ego are either sisters or sisters-in-law. Akka (elder) thange (younger) and all their female parallel cousins are sisters to ego. Those who come under the categories of mamma (elder), machchinichi (younger) and their female parallel cousins are deemed sisters-in-law to the ego and the former class of the relatives.

First descending generation similarly consists of females who are classed as mova and maimma who are sisters-in-law to one another. The category mova consists of those who are related to ego as daughter. In it are also included brothers' and wife's sisters' daughters of male ego, and sisters' and husband's brothers' daughters of female ego, as well as the female parallel cousins of mova. The category maimma is formed by those females who are related as sisters' and wife's brothers' daughters to male ego, and brothers' and husband's sisters' daughters to female ego, along with all the female parallel cousins of maimma.

In the second ascending and second descending generations as in the case of males, the mother's mother and father's mother are designated by a single term thai and for son's daughter and daughter's daughter a single term kirmova is used.

The third ascending and third descending generations present non-unitary kin terms which are actually derived from the categories of preceding generations—second ascending and second descending generations respectively. In the third ascending generation, the males are called as muthajja and females as muththai. The qualifying prefix muth carries the meaning 'great' or 'old' to denote the remoteness by one generation than the relationship of the term qualified. The males and females of the third descending generation are clearly descriptive wherein the second descending generation males and females are taken as points of reference. For instance, kirmovanda Movan is either son's son's son or daughter's son's son and kirmovada Movan refers to either son's daughter's son or daughter's daughter's son. Similarly are the terms Kirmovanda Mova and Kirmovada Mova used.

It can clearly be discerned from above that in the whole kin terminological structure, the kin positions stand out in each generations as in-law to one another, thus forming a clear-cut distinction between parallel- and cross-relatives, running all along the length of three generations of ego's first ascending, ego's own and ego's first descending generations. Of course this distinction gets merged beyond the first ascending and first descending generations.⁵ Precisely because, the in-laws and the affinal relationships beyond these generations carry little significance, in which case the parallel -and cross-relatives of ego are determined by referring to his first ascending and first descending generation relatives. This phenomenon is also indicative of the nature of affinal alliance relationships. The alliance relationship expressed in terms of interpersonal obligations and exchange of prestations carry little significance beyond the above-mentioned generation levels.

As a matter of fact, the terminologically prescribed marriageable category is machchinichi for a male and bhava for a female ego. They stand in the relationship of cross-cousins to one another. However, it is interesting to note here that the prescribed categories ordain that a male has to marry a female cross-cousin (or any female coming under this category: machchinich) who is junior to him in age, whereas the female should marry a male cross-cousin (or any male coming under this category: bhava) who is senior to her. This brings out a significant point that an ego (male or female)

cannot marry any cross-cousin (or any cross-relative coming under the prescribed category) - as was conventionally assumed - unless the requirement of compatibility in age is met.

The whole scheme of kin terms can be summed up in a model as shown in Figure 1. The whole framework depicts consistent marriage between two sets of brothers and sisters in all the three generations. Evidently the marriage is of the bilateral cross-cousin type. It is this consistent repetition of marriage implied in the Dravidian terminological model which prompted Dumont to contrapose diachronic affinal relationship as 'alliance' against 'descent' in south Indian kinship.

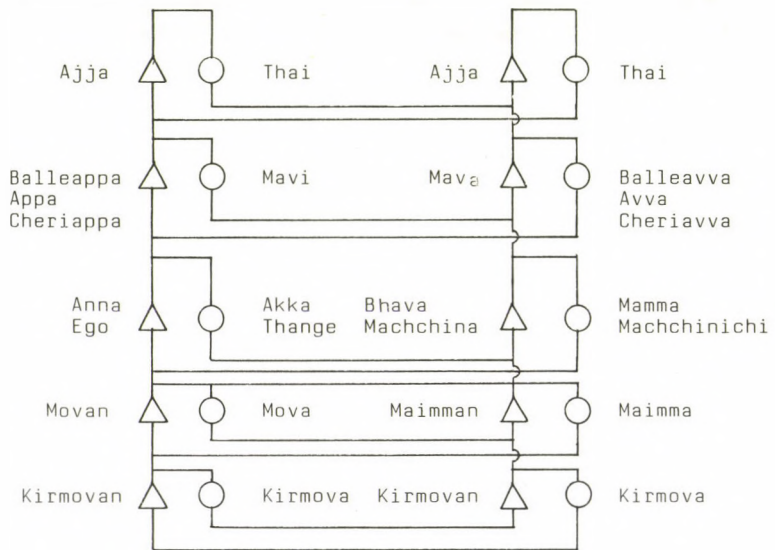


Figure 1. The structure of the Kodava kin terminology depicting the diachronic alliance relationship between the brother-sister sets (For purposes of exposition the kin categories have been given with reference to a male ego; the format for a female is exactly parallel)

"... the very existence of the marriage regulation implies that affinity is transmitted from one generation to the next just as consanguinity ties are" (DUMONT 1957: 24).

The kin terms however, are not confined to primary relationships. They are nevertheless, extended to include a wide network of relatives. The rules of extension are found in two ways. One is clearly based on the principle of descent, and concomitantly the lineage affiliation becomes more prominent. Invariably all the members of one's own lineage (okka) are subsumed under the parallel categories of kin term taking care of the generational and sex differences. The second rule of extension arises as though, as an implication of the presence of the rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. This can more appropriately be put as 'parallel-relative's parallel-relative is in parallel-relationship to ego and cross-relative of cross-relative is also in parallel-relationship to ego, which Dumont formulated as "affine's affine as consanguine" for Dravidian kinship. The prohibition of marriage between matrilineal parallel cousins notwithstanding the okka exogamy, is explained better in the light of the above extension rule. According to the second rule of extension, mother's sister's husband (is a cross-relative of cross-relative of father) becomes a parallel relative, i.e. brother to father. Consequently, his children stand in the unmarriageable relationship of parallel cousins to ego who are actually to be treated as brothers and sisters. This implication further points out that an ego's marriageable and non-marriageable relatives are defined in the terminological framework with reference to his ascendant's marriage i.e. ego's father's marriage, since Kodavas are patrilineal in descent.

The same line of argument can be extended to explain the prohibition of patrilineal parallel cousins in the matrilineal societies like Nayars of Kerala, Kondaiyankottai Maravar of Tamil Nadu and Bunts of Karnataka in South India. In the matrilineal context, mother becomes the obvious point of reference as ascendant. As per the second rule of the extension of kin categories in the 'Dravidian' system, father's brother's wife is a cross relative of cross relative of mother and hence becomes parallel to the latter. Since they are of the same generation she can only be a sister to mother. Consequently, her children stand in the parallel relationship of brothers and sisters to ego and hence are unmarriageable.

One cannot but agree with Dumont, who in his rejoinder to Radcliffe-Brown (1953b: 224), made it clear that mother's brother is an affine in the patrilineal context and father is an affine in the matrilineal context.

Although Dumont was right, he hardly pushed the argument further to note that affinity in the 'Dravidian' system is decided with reference to descent.

However, the consistency in the terminological framework and its concomitant rule of bilateral cross-cousin marriage proves insufficient in depicting that aspect of preferential rule wherein patrilateral cross-cousin is preferred to the matrilateral cross-cousin by the Kodavas. More about it below.

Marriage Rules and Selection of Spouse

Kodavas exclusively constitute a strict endogamous group. Any marriage outside the group deprives the couple of their rights and obligations between their relatives and themselves. As he or she after such an union is treated as non-kodava which depletes him or her from his or her kin and communal network. Okka is exogamous and all the okka members are considered to be of one blood as they have descended from a single ancestor and hence any marital or sex relations within the okka is deemed incestuous. This amounts to a prohibition between patrilateral parallel cousins. A second prohibition is between the matrilateral parallel cousins which has already been examined in the light of the kin terminological framework. This rule overrides the rule of okka exogamy. Two men, although of different okkas, who marry two sisters stand in the relationship of brothers to each other. This renders the children of two sisters ineligible to enter into a matrimonial relationship even when they belong to two different okkas. In the Kodava consciousness, the matrilateral parallel cousin prohibition is due to their belief that sisters are of the same blood and hence their children become brothers and sisters to one another. The same belief rationalises the prohibition between the patrilateral parallel cousins as brothers are of the same blood. However the same logic does not apply to the relationship between brother and sister. They say that the blood of brother and sister is different and therefore there is no bar as far as the marriage between their children is concerned. Hence the cross-cousin marriage of both type - matrilateral as well as patrilateral - are permitted among the Kodavas.

Further, the rules of prohibition are also applied to such individuals in other okkas who stand in the relationship of brother and sister by virtue of the extension rules of kinship categories. However, empirically speaking,

the rules become ineffective beyond the third ascending generation and third degree collateral affinal relation of ego. Kodavas acknowledge that beyond a kuththi (patriline) of three generations or beyond the level of affines' affines' affines, the niceties of marriageable and unmarried relationship with the members of other okkas are cumbersome to trace and hence such relations are not taken seriously. Such of those marriages beyond the afore-said levels are considered distant kin or non-kin marriages. When questioned about the rationale in allowing a marriage beyond these levels when actual genealogical reckoning according to the extension rules connote prohibitive relationship, a stock proverb is quoted: "Kodavangu Chache ille: Nandeku Mande ille", which means Kodava lacks distinct relationship beyond a certain level as the crab is of its head. They further elaborate that all Kodavas are related to one another in some way or another. If one goes in to the minutiae of interconnections, one may have to object to many marriages as prohibitive.

The relationships which are created afresh supersede those existing before. When non-kins or distant kins marry, each new marriage is treated as if it has occurred between cross-cousins and accordingly the kinship categories fall in place which lead to a rearrangement and redefining of the relationship existed before. All other kin ties are reoriented and traced from the present relationships. However this arrangement under any circumstances does not affect the agnatic relationships with in one's own okka. It remains in tact irrespective of the new marriages of the okka members. The alterations and adjustments are made only in the context of extra-okka relationship. Since the range of effectiveness of the appropriate use of the kinship terms is earmarked among Kodavas, the redefinition and rearrangement of the newly established relationships and kin term usage initiated by a new marriage does not become that much of a problem as noted by Keil in the case of Buin (1980). Any attempt at redefinition of a spouse in an 'improper' marriage among the Buin, necessarily involves the redefinition of ego's own relatives (KEIL 1980: 511).

As regards to the practical considerations in marriage arrangements, Kodavas say that marriage is not properly the concern of the unmarried girl or boy. They are conceptually children and are considered to have little knowledge and competence in these matters. Compared to the boy, a Kodava Girl has little say in the negotiation or suitability of the boy whom she is going to marry. Arranged marriages remain the pattern among the Kodavas. The authority to dispose of a girl or to bring a bride to the boy rests

exclusively with the head of the household who is usually a father or an elder brother if father is not alive. Though female members are consulted and they too sometimes can influence upon the selections, the final say in these matters is held by the head of the household. Wealth, education, and physical wellbeing of the boy and his parents are of important concern for the guardian of a girl. The ancestry is less cared for in the case of a boy compared to a girl in whose case it is meticulously checked. The okka to which she belongs has also to add to the good chances of taking her as a bride by a rich father of the boy. For a boy the okka matters less as far as he is in a good lucrative job or when he is the son of a rich estate owner. More than education and employment, it is landed property in his share which is given the prime importance by a girl's guardian. There is a greater stress on economic prosperity with a corresponding decline in the value set on family and its okka being well-known for its warriors, scholars, or distinguished ancestors. Precisely because there is no correlation between the well-known okkas with the economic position of its constituent households as it was so in the past. Contrarily the status goes with the economic prosperity of the independent households inside the okka rather than the whole okka. There is general agreement that too much disparity between the girl giving and girl receiving households is not desirable. Physical defects are liabilities and hence become a hindrance in finding spouse for a man or a woman.

As far as the territorial aspects of the marriage are concerned, it is said that marital alliances are spread throughout the length and breadth of Coorg district. Suitable mates are sought in various families of previously unrelated and distantly placed okkas, unlike in the past when the lack of easy transport and communication system confined the alliances to particular nads (a group of villages). Kodavas believe that for a family to have benduka (affines) in its own village or town is unwelcomed for several reasons. This does not mean that marriages do not at all occur in the same village or town in Coorg.

Asymmetric Patrilateral Preference

Amongst the relatives, one can marry only those who come under the kin category of bhava (for a female ego) or machchinichi (for a male ego) which includes the bilateral cross-cousins. However, there is a clearly stated preference from the point of view of a male, for the patrilateral cross-

cousin. Although this preference of father's sister's daughter marriage is not possible to be realised in each case because of demographic constraints, we find the formal preference towards the patrilateral cross-cousin manifested in various rituals and ceremonies.

This fact of preference for a particular unilateral cross-cousin-either matrilateral or patrilateral-in south India and Sri Lanka has been noted by many anthropologists (BECK 1972: 243, DUMONT 1957: 18, YALMAN 1963: 127, GOOD 1980: 486). Although the formal asymmetric preference among Kodavas was previously hinted at by Srinivas (1965), he did not go further to explore the implications of this preference.

The usual reference of frequent alliance between the two okkas and its constituent households is made as kodupoedupo (give and take) relationship. It is believed that a married out female should fill the gap which she has created by her departure which means that she ought to give one daughter at least to the household from which she has come. It is in this sense that people use their adage "tan banda battenda marapa kaga" - one ought not to forget the route from which one has arrived. Kodava folk songs attests to this fact and reflect the importance which a mother's brother's son attaches to his father's sister's daughter as "thammavi movada melu modira; neela kaibira rasa modira" which means 'father's sister's daughter's body is as sweet as that of a blue sugar cane juice'.

The two potential spouses thus interrelated are said to have a claim over each other. A Kodava MBS holds the right to stop his FZD near the threshold when she is married out to somebody else and is going out to her husband's house. A fine in the form of one of two gold coins pombana has to be paid to him by the man (bridegroom) who is taking her as his wife. Not only MBS but his father who is no other than the girl's MB holds the right to be consulted before she is married out. He takes an active part in the marriage negotiations of his sister's daughter. No agreement can be clinched without his participation. It becomes ritually essential to have his attestation when the two parties (bride's and groom's) concur before an astrologer to fix a date for the marriage of his sister's daughter.

Thus far with the formal preferential aspect of the marriage rule. When the actual selection of the spouse is concerned, they acknowledge that there can hardly be any perduring alliances with the specific lineages or households. Precisely because in addition to being related as MBS and FZD, the factors like relative age - that a boy must be older than the girl, status and wealth - that the households should be on equal footing in their

economic well-being and that the boy should be able to maintain a family, may not always converge to facilitate the contract between the two parties. Moreover the families rarely attempt to substitute the actual FZD with a more distant but equivalent classificatory relative from their okka, since independent households have formed themselves into discrete units as against to the okka in the past - as far as the decisions in the matters of marriage are concerned.

Nonetheless, the FZD preference throws some light on the social consequences of the transference of the principal marriage prestation called potti. The potti constitutes mainly gold ornaments, precious clothes, household utensils, beddings, and other things of daily use right from needle and thread. It is obligatory on the part of bride's parents to send this trousseau along with the bride when she goes to her bake mane (husband's house) after marriage. This involves lot of wealth. While giving the potti to a daughter, parents are expected to give commensurate with their economic standing. This becomes one of the factors for consideration and marriages are contracted on the basis of the strength of the bride's party as to how much they can afford to give in the form of potti to their daughter. Concomitant to this is the belief that since a daughter does not inherit any paternal property, she has to be given a trousseau which should almost be equivalent to a share of property received by her brother.

Jurally speaking, potti is the personal property of the married woman and the husband has no exclusive rights over it. In case she dies without begetting, it has to be returned to the parents of the woman. However, the children born to the woman have legal claims over the potti which she has brought from her parental home: tha mane. Usually and mainly it is daughters who get her ornaments and other possessions of domestic use in the form of potti when they go out in marriage.

As per the patrilateral cross-cousin preference rule, an ego marries a girl from the family to which his FZ has been given. In other words, the marriage trousseau potti which was carried with the FZ would come back with the FZD when the ego marries according to the preference. In the following generation, the potti would have to be transferred with the ego's daughter to his father's sister's son's son. Thus this preferential marriage entails a reversal of the direction of the movement of female as well as the main marriage prestation in alternate generations effecting what Lévi-Strauss has called as "delayed restricted exchange". Girls along with potti from group 'A' are given to group 'B' in one generation and then a girl along with her

potti is reciprocated to group 'A' in the next generation as shown in Figure 2.

However the marriageable kin category which gives scope for the bilateral cross-cousin marriage, according to strict logical operations effects a direct exchange (without delay) of marriage prestation as well as the women. In other words the reciprocation here is direct and is effected in the same generation.

In both the categorical and preferential aspects of the marriage rules, the reciprocal relationships between the two groups which exchange

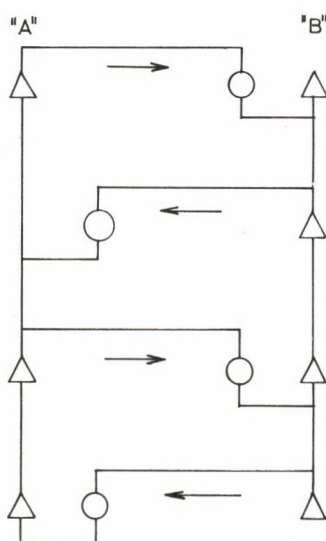


Figure 2. Implications of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage

women and marriage prestations is clearly implied. Of course the reciprocity although effected, takes two generations to realise in the case of the preferential FZD marriage, whereas the same is realised in one generation in a bilateral cross-cousin marriage as was noted in the kin terminological framework. In fine, the spirit and the overall objective of the reciprocity between the two groups is maintained and realised in both the domains with

hardly any contradiction between the two. But this would not have been the case if there existed asymmetric matrilineal preference of MBD within the symmetric bilateral cross-cousin marriage set by the kin terminological framework. Because asymmetric matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is a prototype of generalised exchange. Such a preference within a symmetric bilateral prescription would result in a contradiction and thwarts the realisation of symmetric exchange to a certain extent. This point has been missed, although the combination of matrilineal asymmetric preference with the bilateral prescription has been noted in many cases in south India. Even Needham, who pointed out this phenomenon in the case of Wikmunkan, rejected the import of the presence of asymmetric preference within the category of symmetric prescription as inconsequential (1962a: 247).

In fact at one place, Needham has made it clear about the inconsistency between the terminology and affinal alliance as "(1) symmetric prescriptive terminology can govern asymmetric affinal alliances; (2) asymmetric affinal alliances can be accompanied by a non-prescriptive terminology" (1967: 43). When there is no one-to-one correlation between the terminology and affinal alliance, it is pre-emptive on the part of Needham as he does, to characterise an alliance system exclusively on the basis of terminology alone as either 'prescriptive' or 'preferential'. A major source of confusion between 'prescription' and 'preference' has been his predominant focus on terminology to the comparative exclusion of other aspects of the system.

At this juncture, it is pertinent to take cognizance of Needham's distinction of three levels of social reality, namely behaviour, rules and categories (1973: 171), where he attempts to solve the confusion between 'prescription' and 'preference' by pointing out that 'prescription' is found at the level of categories whereas 'preference' at the level of rules. If this distinction between the three levels and concomitant ascription of 'prescription' exclusively to the categorical level is accepted, one may have to rule out the relevance of categorical level in the 'preferential' (non-prescriptive) systems, just because in the context of marriage "... the category or type of person to be married is not precisely determined" (NEEDHAM 1962b: 9). This ultimately makes his suggested clarification totally inapplicable to the non-prescriptive systems. However, with regards to its applicability to the 'prescriptive' systems such as that of Kodavas, it apparently provides an explanation. It is in this sense that the Kodava

kinship terminology can be said to reflect the prescriptive aspect of affinal alliance whereas its FZD preference gets expressed at the level of marriage rules.

The typology of Needham seems to be based on the assumption that marriage rules possess only preferential character but do not exhibit any prescriptive property and hence the ascription of 'preference' to the level of rules and 'prescription' to the level of categories. It is this assumption which makes Needham to not to see the relevance of prescription at the level of rules. However, I have tried here to show that marriage rules possess both prescriptive and preferential dimensions, and the prescriptive aspect of the rules gets expressed at the categorical level in such systems as what Needham has termed as 'prescriptive' but not in the 'preferential' systems. This should not mean that the prescriptive aspect of the marriage rules and the categorical level are not found in the 'preferential' systems. Rather it would be better if such a distinction as 'prescriptive' and 'preferential' on the basis of terminological categories alone is abandoned. Precisely because to accomplish a complete understanding as well as to characterise a marriage system, it is imperative to take into account the relationship between all the levels and aspects of the system.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the first place, the kinship terminology of Kodavas is a symmetric one, which is reflected quite consistently in all generations. As a result, the terminological framework is perfectly congruent with repeated bilateral cross-cousin marriage which involves a series of exchange of brother-sister pair in each generation. Besides, such a system is perfectly acceptable from the stand-point of okka exogamy, because the exogamous character is never contradicted by reciprocal exchange implied in the bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Ideally speaking, it brings about a continuum of reinforced affinal relationship between the exogamous okkas; in other words, alliance relationship becomes perpetual as was pointed out by Dumont for Dravidian Kinship (1957).

All Kodava marriages are in concordance with the terminological framework. Even those which have not followed the dictates of the kin terminological model arrange and rearrange the relationships in such a fashion that it looks 'as if' they have married as depicted in the model.

But the preferential aspect of Kodava marriage is not depicted in its

terminological system since the terminology does not make a categorical distinction between the MBD and FZD. The necessity of this distinction has not arisen because the preference of FZD does not yield different or inconsistent expectation with regards the marriageable kin category. In fact the preference is for a genealogically defined member viz., FZD of the marriageable category which of course includes many other genealogical positions. The preferential rule does not upset the distinction made in the system of terminology but just makes a distinction to operate with in the framework of prescribed marriageable category. After all the preference does not say that a person like FBD or MZD - who are classed under unmarriageable kin categories - is marriageable. Should that be the case, contradiction would have resulted between the preferential and prescriptive aspects of the whole system. Thus preference which further restricts marriage with in the framework of prescription is possible and also acceptable without contradiction. In other words, preference operates with in the limits set by prescription. It is also evident in the case of Kodavas unlike other south Indian cases, the preferential and prescriptive aspects give rise to the same structural expectation of restricted exchange.

It is clear from above that the limits of prescription of the prescribed marriageable category connote the negative as well as the positive notions of prohibited and permitted degrees respectively set by the marriage rules. If prescription dictates whom an ego has to marry, it also implies who is not to be married. Thus the rule of prescription by implication carves out the boundaries of an exclusive group within which marriage is permissible. However, the same implication is not carried by the rule of preference, as it merely connotes in a comparative sense, as to who is more desirable - for whatever reason, amongst those who are marriageable, i.e. within the exclusive group set by the prescription. The application and usage of the term 'preference' therefore is valid only when we are dealing with the inclusive aspects of the marriage rule after determining the exclusive bounds set by 'prescription' as is evidenced in the Kodava marriage rule of preference within the limits set by prescription depicted in its kin terminological framework. It is clear now that the usage of the term 'preference' should be meant for a different aspect of the phenomenon from which the term 'prescription' is applicable. It is at the level of exclusive aspects of the marriage rules which dictates who are marriageable and who are not, that the application of the term 'prescription' becomes pertinent. In the case of Kodavas this is mirrored in the kin terminological

framework as regards to the circle of marriageable relatives are concerned. Whereas the term 'preference' is more appropriately relevant at the inclusive level of the marriage rules where amongst the marriageables, some are preferred to others in a comparative sense. The FZD preference of Kodavas is such an instance.

In fact at the level of the totality of any society,⁶ rule of endogamy comes under the purview of 'prescription' where it is clearly demarcated to form two mutually exclusive groups. According to the rule, an ego is prescribed to marry within his group and proscribed to marry outside it. That way an endogamous group constitutes an inclusive group within which an ego has to search for his mate.

Within the endogamous group, an ego finds his relational network. Rules of exogamy and incest prohibitions carve out the boundary which clearly demarcates two exclusive groups amongst his relatives. One of which is completely prohibited from marital relations and the other is the one in which marriage is prescribed. The latter forms an inclusive group as far as marriage is concerned. This marriageable group of kin consists of one or more terminologically categorised relatives. It is here that Needham has attempted to classify two types of marriage systems on the basis of the number of kin categories. He calls it a 'prescriptive marriage system' if the marriageable relatives are defined by only one kin category and 'preferential marriage system' if more than one terminologically defined marriageable relatives are recognised. However, it is quite evident that the characteristic of prescription is very much found at the level of the exclusive group of marriageable relatives irrespective of the number of terminologically recognised kin categories.

When we come to understand the characteristic meaning of 'preference' it might give us no meaning if we are dealing with the exclusive rules of marriage such as endogamy, exogamy, and incest prohibitions. Precisely because, 'preference' does not exhibit 'exclusive' characteristics to be applied to the prescriptive and proscriptive aspects of marriage. The application of the term 'preference' becomes relevant only when we are dealing with the inclusive aspects of the marriage rules after determining the exclusive groups. If it is certain that an ego cannot marry 'A' but can marry 'B', there is no meaning in saying that 'B' is preferred to 'A' when 'A' and 'B' are members of two exclusive groups and hence they become uncomparable. It is in the comparative sense that the application of the term 'preference' becomes meaningful and hence the entities to be compared

should exhibit inclusive features. After determining the exclusive groups which possess inclusive character in each by themselves, we can proceed towards the preferential aspects of that inclusive group constituted by marriageable persons.

In the first stage, an endogamous group forms an exclusive group possessing the inclusive characteristic of marriageability. Amongst them an ego has to find a mate in the process of which some sort of selection is involved. Here comes the role of preference in giving primary and secondary considerations in choosing a mate. To cite an instance, it can generally be said that in South India kins are preferred to nonkins among the marriageable people. This should not mean that one who is not preferred is prohibited from marrying. Similarly, in the next stage, within the exclusive group of the marriageable kin, preference is not ruled out. If such kins are recognised by more than one kin category, the preference may be found for one category over the other. Whereas, in case the marriageable kin are represented by a single kin term as in Kodavas, the preference may take such a form where one genealogical position is picked over and above others, although all the genealogical positions coming under the category are marriageable to ego. Thus the characteristics of 'prescription' and 'preference' are bound to be present in all the marriage systems irrespective of the fact whether marriageable relatives are represented by one or more than one kin category.

Although Needham is right in saying that 'prescription' is found at the level of 'categories', he fails to recognise that 'prescription' cannot form an exclusive possession of the categorical level. 'Prescription' or the exclusive aspect of the marriage rules unlike the inclusive aspects spills over into the categorical level to manifest itself in such kinterminological systems like that of Dravidian - represented here by Kodavas - which Needham calls as 'prescriptive'. However the same may not be expressed in the categorical level of such systems which are called as 'preferential' (non-prescriptive). This should not mean that prescriptive characteristics do not at all exist in the so-called preferential systems precisely because 'prescription' forms a fundamental aspect of the marriage rules.

It is possible to go further and say that the characteristics of prescription and preference as far as marriage alliances are concerned are not mutually exclusive but they are two fundamental aspects of the same phenomenon.

Therefore, the contention of Needham that societies with prescriptive

rules belong to a different 'type' than the societies with preferential rules seems untenable and 'it is doubtful whether such a distinction can be or needs to be made' (SCHEFFLER 1970: 259).

Notes

- 1 Field research among the Kodavas of Ponnampet in South Coorg of Karnataka State was carried out in 1974-75. The ethnographic present refers to the field-work period. The research was supported by the Indian Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. I acknowledge my appreciation for their financial assistance. I am grateful to Prof. Gopala Sarana, under whose supervision the work was done. However, the view points presented in the paper are my own.
- 2 Instead of the anglicised term 'Coorgs' as used by Emeneau and Srinivas, I feel it more befitting to refer to them by the ethnic term 'Kodavas' by which they are popularly known in the region.
- 3 'Household' here is meant a domestic and economic unit where all the members share a cooking hearth and for all economic purposes they pool their income and share the expenditure. This might be constituted by elementary family or when it grows, it is constituted by a vertically or horizontally extended joint family.
- 4 I concur with Anthony Good (1980: 481 and 483) and prefer to use the terms 'parallel' and 'cross' which carry neutral connotations instead of 'consanguines' and 'affines' used by Dumont. Precisely because, the 'parallel' relatives include not only genealogical consanguines but also non-genealogical relatives related indirectly through affines.
- 5 While Good's attempt (1980: 479) to transcend Dumont's analysis to provide a plausible explanation for this phenomenon is appreciable, he unfortunately falls short of it. However, his suggestion to rearrange the position of 'mothers' and 'father's sisters' following Allen (1975) is well taken. In fact I have arranged in the same manner in Fig.1.
- 6 More particularly in the Indian context, caste is characterised by the obligation to marry within the group by endogamy. By prescribing endogamy caste perpetuates its production.

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**DIE ZUNAHME DER RELIGIÖSEN GLEICHGÜLTIGKEIT
ZUR MITTE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS IN UNGARN**

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Bei einer Untersuchung des Verbürgerlichungsprozesses der Volkskultur erhebt sich die Frage nach den darin verborgenen Wandlungen der Weltanschauung. Mit unseren jetzigen Kenntnissen lässt sich darauf nur schwer antworten. Im Bereich der Erforschung der Glaubenswelt hat die von Anfang an auf das "Alte" orientierte heimische Ethnographie bis in die jüngsten Zeiten hinein ihre Aufmerksamkeit in erster Linie auf den Volksglauben gerichtet und sich unverhältnismässig wenig mit den positiven Religionen befasst, obgleich gerade nicht die häufig zwar in sehr ferne Vergangenheit zurückreichenden, meist aber bruchstückhaften Elemente des Volksglaubens, sondern Jahrhunderte hindurch die historischen Kirchen die religiöse Weltanschauung des Volkes in Ungarn bestimmt haben. Schwierigkeiten bereitet weiter, dass nicht nur die Ethnographie Versäumnisse begangen, sondern sich auch die Kirchengeschichtsschreibung relativ wenig und nur nebenbei mit der Gestaltung der Religiosität der Volksmassen beschäftigt hat. Auf jeden Fall geben aber die Kirchengeschichtskompendien, wenn auch nicht als Begleiterscheinung der Verbürgerlichung, so doch darüber Auskunft, dass in der Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, besonders seit den fünfziger bis in die siebziger Jahre, sich die Massen auffällig von Kirche und Glauben entfernten. So haben diese Aufzeichnungen und Feststellungen einige wichtige Gesichtspunkte als Anstoss zu einer näheren Erforschung dieser Frage geliefert.¹

Das Nachlassen der Religiosität in der Jahrhundertmitte war keine neue und fremde Erscheinung für das damalige Ungarn. Die Abkehr von der mittelalterlichen Religiosität und den historischen Kirchen müssen wir als langen historischen Prozess betrachten, in dem es massvolle Abschnitte gab, ja, sogar Perioden, in denen sich die Anziehungskraft des Glaubens verstärkte, und Intensive, wie die hier untersuchten Jahrzehnte.

Vor einer Betrachtung der Erscheinung selbst soll ein Blick auf die religiöse Landkarte Ungarns geworfen werden! Das damalige Ungarn war in religiöser Hinsicht das am meisten geteilte und bunte Land Europas.

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Neben einer zahlreichen römisch-katholischen Einwohnerschaft lebte in Mittel- und Osteuropa nur hier, wenn auch in der Minderheit, eine erwähnenswerte protestantische Bevölkerung. Noch farbiger wurde das Bild durch die volkreichen orthodoxen Kirchen. Károly Keleti gab den Anteil der Gläubigen der grösseren Kirchen nach der Statistik von 1870 folgendermassen an (KELETI 1871: 343):

Römisch-Katholische	7	558	558	48,66 %
Griechisch-Katholische	1	599	628	10,30 %
Griechisch-Orthodoxe	2	589	319	16,73 %
Lutheraner	1	113	508	7,20 %
Reformierte	2	031	243	13,15 %
Unitarier		54	822	0,36 %
Jüdische Kultgemeinde		552	133	3,60 %

Zu beachten ist, dass sich die Gläubigen keiner Glaubensrichtung in der absoluten Mehrheit befinden. Dabei weisen die historischen Landesteile erhebliche Verhältnisunterschiede auf. Beispielsweise sind die Römisch-katholischen in Ungarn ohne Siebenbürgen und Kroatien mit 52,93 % in der absoluten Mehrheit, machen aber in Siebenbürgen selbst nur 12,53 % aus, was unter dem Anteil der dortigen Reformierten (14,15 %) liegt und nicht sehr viel über den der Lutheraner (9,98%) hinausgeht. Der Anteil der drei protestantischen Konfessionen beträgt selbst ohne das nicht protestantische Kroatien noch nicht einmal die Hälfte der Römisch-Katholischen (23,88%).

Leider teilt Keleti keine den Zusammenhang von Nationalität und Religion charakterisierenden Angaben mit. So lässt sich nur schätzungsweise angeben, dass bei den Römisch-Katholischen das ungarische Element dominiert, neben dem aber auch das kroatische, deutsche und slowakische beachtlich sind. Die Griechisch-Orthodoxen sind Rumänen und Serben, die Griechisch-Katholischen Rumänen und Ruthenen und zu einem kleinem Teil Ungarn. Mit Ausnahme einiger Tausend sind die Reformierten vollständig Ungarn und ebenso alle Unitarier.

Die folgende Untersuchung der Säkularisation beschäftigt sich mit den Römisch-Katholischen und den Protestanten, wobei unter letzteren vor allem die Lutheraner und Reformierten verstanden werden. Wenn die Unitarier im kulturellen Leben Siebenbürgens zu jener Zeit auch eine erhebliche Rolle gespielt haben und ihr Anteil dort höher war als im Landesdurchschnitt (2,53 %), können sie aufgrund fehlender Angaben nicht gesondert aufgeführt werden. Aus dem gleichen Grunde konnten hier die zum grössten Teil aus nichtungarischen ethnischen Gruppen bestehenden orthodoxen Kirchen nicht

untersucht werden. Offen bleibt die Frage, und sie signalisiert die Wichtigkeit weiterer Forschungen, ob jene kulturellen und geistigen Strömungen, die unter den Gliedern der übrigen Kirchen die Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber der Religion verstärkten oder hervorriefen, in jener Zeit die orthodoxen Kirchen überhaupt erreichten. Ganz anders geartet ist die Situation der eine halbe Million betragenden Juden. Ein grosser Teil von ihnen sind Neueinwanderer, und gemessen an ihrem früheren Wohnort bietet ihnen die hiesige schwach entwickelte Verbürgerlichung noch grosse Möglichkeiten, die sie so nutzten, dass sie nach kurzer Zeit zu einem der Faktoren dieses Verbürgerlichungsprozesses wurden. Ihre charakteristische Situation verlangt freilich gesonderte Aufmerksamkeit, die den Rahmen dieser Studie übersteigen würde. Letztlich umfasst der Untersuchungsbereich cca. 70% (69,37 %) der Bevölkerung des damaligen Landes und damit fast vollständig die Bürger ungarischer Nationalität.

Die Distanzierung von Kirche und Religion selbst brachte in erster Linie die Pfarrerschaft zum Ausdruck, doch lässt sie sich auch in den Äusserungen der Kirche nahestehender Intellektueller spüren. Das ist ganz natürlich, war doch die Säkularisierung für die Massen meist kein bewusster Prozess. Anlässlich der wichtigen Ereignisse des Lebens (Geburt, Heirat, Tod) beanspruchten sie nach wie vor die Teilnahme der Kirche. Es würde hier zu weit führen, weshalb nur darauf verwiesen werden soll, dass wenn in der öffentlichen Meinung auch charakteristische kirchenfeindliche politische Emotionen entstanden, wie z.B. die der Befürworter der nationalen Einheit Italiens gegen den Kirchenstaat, diese dennoch nicht den endgültigen Bruch mit Religion und Kirche bedeuteten. Der Atheismus war damals (in den fünfziger und sechziger Jahren) noch keine gesellschaftliche Erscheinung, sondern höchstens die Überzeugung einiger vereinzelter Intellektueller. Wer sich von Kirche und Religion entfernte, fasste den Prozess des Gleichgültigwerdens, wenn er überhaupt bewusst wurde, nicht als Programm auf, sondern als der eigenen Person angemessenen Zustand.

Nach früheren Anstössen, die in den Kriegsjahren 1848-49 eher abgebrochen wurden, entstand und erstarkte in der zweiten Hälfte der fünfziger Jahre eine regelmässig erscheinende kirchliche Presse in Ungarn. Sofort tauchte in ihr mit aller Offenheit und als eine der zentralen Fragen, als Streitthema der Problembereich der Säkularisation auf. Über den Proze selbst liefert uns diese Quelle die meisten Angaben. Auf Schritt und Tritt finden sich in ihr Artikel, die sich mit den Gründen der Entkirchlichung und ihren Lösungsmöglichkeiten beschäftigen. Sie berufen sich auf die Krise

der Kirche und auf die Erlahmung der religiösen Gefühle fast wie auf Gemeinplätze. In der Zeitung *Protestáns Egyházi s Iskolai Lap* (Protestantisches Kirchen- und Schulzeitung) finden sich 1860 folgende Zeilen: "Zwar lässt sich nicht verleugnen, dass sich auch unter den Kirchenmitgliedern die Gleichgültigkeit gegenüber der Religion, mangelnder Kirchenbesuch und Sittenverfall finden, deren Gründe ich nicht aufzählen will, da sie ja doch allen bekannt sind" (PEIL 1860: 743-744). Im gleichen Jahr notiert der reformierte Pfarrer des Dorfes Tiszacsege (Gr.Ung.Tiefebene), dass der Bau der neuen Kirche ein besonderes Ereignis sei, "(...) nachdem zur Zeit die Religiosität ziemlich unter dem Gefrierpunkt angelangt ist".²

Lajos Tolnai, ein Schriftsteller, aber zu jener Zeit Pfarrer, schreibt in seinem Roman "Az urak" (Die Herren) gewiss aufgrund eigener Erfahrungen (die Situation spielt in einer transdanubischen reformierten Gemeinde während des Neoabsolutismus): "Hier konnte der alte Seelsorger es nicht lassen, aus ganzem Herzen auch die alten Zeiten zu preisen, als die Menschen bereit waren, ihr Blut für die Ekklesia zu geben (...); "Heutzutage - setzte er seine leisen Klagen fort - gibt es Gott zwar, auch Jesu heiliger Name lebt, aber auch auf dem Dorf gibt es eine andere Welt. Nur noch für wenige ist die Kirche der heilige und wunderbare Ort." (TOLNAI 1872: 81-82). Der reformierte Pfarrer in Tolnais Buch zeigt den Ankömmlingen aus dem benachbarten Marktflecken seine Kirche. Der Kernpunkt seiner Rede ist, dass nicht mehr nur in der Stadt, sondern auch auf dem Dorf die Kirchen leer werden. Dieses Moment ist deshalb beachtenswert, weil in den damaligen Quellen relativ wenig Angaben darauf deuten, wen - welche gesellschaftlichen Schichten und Klassen - die Welle der nachlassenden Religiosität in erster Linie erreichte.

József Irinyi (Journalist und Politiker) geisselte die "Herrenklasse" hart, mit prophetischen Worten wegen ihrer Kirchenscheu: "O, mein Volk, und namentlich du, Herrenklasse, komm also zu dir selbst, denn wahrlich, wahrlich, deine Kirche und Nation werden vergehen, wenn du auch weiter müssig bei deiner an der Erde haftenden Weisheit verbleibst und nicht weiter und höher schaust" (PEIL 1858: 1132). In protestantischen Kreisen war die Ansicht allgemein, dass die Kirchenscheu zur Mode, "zum Zeichen der Bildung und Vornehmheit wurde" (SF 1858: 109; SF 1859: 79; SF 1863: 702). Ebenso als alltägliche Erscheinung wurde notiert, dass "in herausfordernder Manier von achtbaren Lippen" geäußert wird, warum der Betreffende in die Kirche gehen solle, wo er überhaupt nichts lernen könne, da er ja mehr weiss

als der Pfarrer (PEIL 1869: 200). "Sucht einen Menschen, der sich selbst stolz als Mitglied der Kirche bezeichnet und, was die Hauptsache ist, mit ehrlichem Gesicht von sich zu sagen wagt, da er dort auch seine Pflicht getan hat. Dass die, welche zur sog. gebildeten Klasse gehören, die Kirche nicht brauchen, ist bekannt." Kein Wunder - setzt der Verfasser des Artikels fort -, dass bei einem solchen Beispiel sich auch das "Volk" von der Kirche entfernt" (PEIL 1870: 310-311). Fast völlig übereinstimmend klingt die damalige katholische Feststellung: "Wieviel Tausend liessen sich nicht unter den heutigen Katholiken finden, die sich seit Jahren weder mit Gottes Wort, noch mit dem Brot der Engel nähren" (RE 1850/I: 137-138).

Der bekannte Historiker und reformierte Pfarrer Sámuel Szeremlei widmete zu Beginn seiner Laufbahn eine Studie in Buchstärke den religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen. Seine Arbeit beleuchtet weitere Bereiche der nachlassenden Religiosität. Er schreibt, die Religiosität des einfachen katholischen Volkes sei formal und erschöpfe sich in der praktischen Kenntnis der Liturgie, der Teilnahme an Messen und Wallfahrten. "Am stärksten ist die Beharrung bei den religiösen Begriffen und Bräuchen der Kirche in manchen Gebirgsgegenden, an den gleichen Orten, wo die Zahl der Schreib- und lesekundigen Menschen am niedrigsten ist und die Masse von mit sittlicher Wildheit einhergehendem Fanatismus durchdrungen ist" (SZEREMLEI 1874: 32). Der liberale Szeremlei machte diese Feststellungen, welche die fromme Religiosität mit der Schreibunkundigkeit und der Abgeschlossenheit der Siedlungen in Verbindung bringen, nicht als voreingenommener Protestant. Er fordert einen höheren Grad der Allgemeinbildung und damit verbunden eine entwickelte Moral statt der Formalitäten und des blinden Glaubens, was völlig der auch von ihm vertretenen theologischen Richtung entspricht. Bei ihm und der überwiegenden Zahl der schon zitierten damaligen Autoren bedeuten "Volk", "einfaches Volk" und "niedere Klasse" in erster Linie das Bauerntum und darüber hinaus die Handwerker der Dörfer, Marktflecken und Städte gegenüber dem bei ihm zwar nicht durch scharfe Grenzen geschiedenen, doch im Kern ganz anderen "gebildeteren Stand", der "Mittelklasse", unter der er den früheren Adel, die städtische Bürgerschaft und die sog. Honoratioren (die besitzlose Intelligenz) versteht. Ausser der Aristokratie sieht er zwei Grundklassen der Gesellschaft in dieser in erster Linie bildungsmässigen Aufteilung. Nach Szeremlei gehen die gebildeteren Katholiken selten in die Kirche. Wenn sie es tun, dann nicht aus Frömmigkeit, sondern sie suchen ein ästhetisches Erlebnis, befriedigen ihre Neugier oder erfüllen eine

Formpflicht. Wenn sie die Bande der Kirche auch nicht abwerfen, sind sie doch seelisch unbeteiligt, (SZEREMLEI 1874: 33-34). Aus Szeremlei spricht auch hier nicht der ungeduldige Reformierte, was einerseits dadurch belegt wird, dass er in dem zitierten Buch die Protestanten und besonders den früheren Adel scharf angreift und seine gesellschaftliche Tatenlosigkeit, die sich auch in seiner Beziehung zur Kirche zeige, in dunklen Farben malt (SZEREMLEI 1874: 9-10, 16-17); andererseits stimmt seine Meinung auch mit den damaligen katholischen Ausserungen überein: "In jedem Dorf gibt es Vertreter des Unglaubens in seiner kältesten Form, und in den Städten tritt er mit vollem Anspruch und Macht auf." Der gleiche Autor bemerkt auch, dass sich die religiösesten Menschen in den abgelegenen Orten finden (RE 1861/I: 185-186).

Zur Frage der geographischen und gesellschaftlichen Aufteilung des Desinteresses gehören jene Angaben, welche die damaligen ungarischen Zustände mit denen Deutschlands vergleichen und Gegenbeispiele bringen. (Diese Autoren gehören meist nicht zu den tonangebenden liberalen Theologen, sondern zur konfessionellen orthodoxen Theologie.) Die Gegenbeispiele berufen sich auf die Beharrlichkeit der Religiosität des Volkes und auf den Traditionalismus, denn "(...) wenn auch die Landsleute im Dorf manchmal auch träge sind, so gehen sie doch in die Kirche, ja, auch in der Stadt". Sie bleiben am ehesten dort weg, wo es aus irgendeinem Grund Meinungsverschiedenheiten zwischen Seelsorger und Gemeinde gibt. In Deutschland dagegen nehmen manche jahrelang nicht am Abendmahl teil, und es kommt vor, dass überhaupt kein Mensch zum Gottesdienst kommt, so dass keiner gehalten werden kann (PEIL 1862: 399-400, PEIL 1863: 1099, PEIL 1864: 6).

Nach der allgemeinen Darstellung der Erscheinung sollen einige wichtige Bereiche näher betrachtet werden, in denen die Abwendung von der Religion konzentriert und auffällig in Erscheinung trat.

Religiöse Erziehung in der Familie

Ein Karmelitermönch beschrieb als allgemeines Charakteristikum die familiäre religiöse Erziehung seiner Kindheit (in den Jahren zwischen 1860 und 1880), genauer gesagt, deren Mangel. In der von Oberungarn nach Budapest umgezogenen Intellektuellen- (Juristen-) familie hörte er von seinem Grossvater regelmässig abfällige Worte und Bemerkungen über die Priester. Seine Grossmutter sah er zwar ab und zu beten, doch wie sich

später herausstellte, aus einem protestantischen Gebetbuch. Sein Vater hatte ein katholisches Gymnasium besucht, sprach aber nie ihm von Gott, "(...) Voltaire und ihm ähnliche Freigeister waren seine Lektüre (...)", Über seinem Schreibtisch hing ein Bild von Garibaldi, was eindeutig seinen Gegensatz zum Papsttum symbolisierte. Ein Onkel in der Familie war Priester, doch hörte er über ihn nur Schlechtes. Weder die Familienmitglieder noch die Bekannten riefen einen Priester bei Krankheits- und Sterbefällen. Niemand lehrte ihn beten, nicht einmal seine Mutter. In der ersten Gymnasialklasse sah er zum ersten Mal eine Kirche von innen, da in dem katholischen Gymnasium, in das er geschickt wurde, der Kirchenbesuch Pflicht war (SZEGHY 1944: 12-15).

Doch nicht nur er -rückblickend- sah die Lage so. Ein zeitgenössischer katholischer Publizist erblickte einen Hauptgrund für das Nachlassen der Religiosität, "(...) dass aus den Familien die kath. Religiosität zum grossen Teil vertrieben ist". Die Menschen wagen es nicht, ihren Glauben zu bezeugen - setzt er fort. Die Väter geben ihren Kindern kein Beispiel der Religiosität. Die Mütter üben den Glauben mit leeren Formalitäten, seelenlos. Die allgemeine "moralische Verkommenheit" zeigt sich darin, dass sich Katholiken in Gesellschaften, beim Abendbrottisch mit Glauben und Priester verspottenden, antikirchlichen Reden gegenseitig unterhalten (RE 1850/I. 137-139).

"Die Hauptquelle für den Verfall des einfachen Volkes sehe ich im Umsturz der chr. Haushaltung. Die gute alte und göttliche Hausordnung bei den chr. Familien ist gänzlich verfallen. Früher standen in der rechten häuslichen Ordnung Gott und die Pflichterfüllung gegen Gott an erster Stelle." Jetzt sind sie zweitrangig: "Der Glauben an die ewigen Dinge ist schwach geworden, die Liebe zu den vergänglichen Dingen ist erstarkt" schreibt ein katholischer Priester. In wenigen Häusern gibt es das gemeinsame Gebet. Vielerorts wissen die Leute monatelang nicht, was in der Kirche passiert. Früher war die häusliche Andacht viel üblicher, und zu Hause wurde das "in der Kirche Gehörte" wiederholt (KN 1858: 301-302). Die obigen Worte richteten sich an das katholische einfache Volk, die schlichten Gläubigen, mit der Absicht der Besserung. Im übrigen machte die kirchliche Presse selten Unterschiede, wenn sie über die familiäre Religiosität der höheren und niedrigeren gesellschaftlichen Schichten schrieb. Soweit man den zur Verfügung stehenden Angaben entnehmen kann, bedauerte man eher die Entkirchlichung der "Mittelklasse". In Verbindung mit den obigen Feststellungen ist es offensichtlich, dass sich jene

Bemerkung, wonach auch in den nur ein klein wenig vornehmeren Kreisen schon viel darum gegeben wird, dass das Kind Sprachen lernt, tanzen, fechten usw. kann, aber kaum Wert auf den Glauben gelegt wird (KN 1867: 85), auf das Bürgertum und den früheren Adel bezieht. In den Jahren der grössten Empfänglichkeit wird die familiäre Glaubensunterweisung mit der Berufung darauf vernachlässigt, dass das Kind sie noch nicht verstehe, dann damit, dass noch keine Verantwortung vorliege, wegen der religiöse Mahnungen nötig wären (RE 1868/II: 253).

Auf die Erlahmung der Religiosität verweist - und steht damit in Einklang mit den eben erwähnten katholischen Ansichten -, dass 1847 der Bischof anlässlich seiner Visitation der lutherischen Gemeinde des Dorfes Bük (Kom. Vas, Westungarn) diese darum bittet, den Pfarrer nachts nicht zur Krankenfürsorge zu rufen, weil dieser selten "erbaulich zu sein" pflege (ZONGOR 1885: 14). Die die Zeichen und Gründe der religiösen Erkalteung berücksichtigenden Protestanten bezeichneten ebenso wie die Katholiken die mangelhafte familiäre Erziehung als Zentralfrage. "Nicht nur der Eifer für den Gottesdienst in der Kirche ist kühler geworden, sondern auch in den Wohnungen des Volkes sind Gesang, Gebet, Tischgebet und Krankenfürbitte alle seltener geworden. Meist verabschieden sich die Sterbenden ohne jede religiöse Vorbereitung und seelische Tröstung, unter angstvollen Zweifeln oder mit ungläubiger Entsagung von dem Leben" - klagt ein Pfarrer, als gäbe er das Echo der vorher zitierten Meinungen (SF 1858: 109,113). Die Eltern beschäftigen sich mit dem Erwerb irdischer Güter und erziehen auch ihre Kinder dazu, lautet die wiederkehrende Meinung (SF 1858: 188; PEIL 1859: 709-710).

Religiöse Erziehung in der Schule

József Eötvös (Schriftsteller, zu jener Zeit Unterrichts- und Kultusminister) schreibt in seinem in Sachen der katholischen Autonomie an den Fürstprimas Erzbischof János Simor gerichteten offenen Brief: "(...) es ist eine Tatsache, dass hauptsächlich was die Erziehung des Volkes betrifft, wir Katholiken, obwohl unsere für diesen Zweck zu verwendenden Fonds viel grösser sind als die der Lutheraner, weiter zurück sind." (Lies: der Protestanten! L.K.); "(...) unsere im Bereich der Erziehung des Volkes festzustellende Zurückgebliebenheit müssen wir, so sehr das auch schmerzt, eingestehen, was um so bedauerlicher ist, als diese Zurückgebliebenheit allein den Kirchenmännern als Schuld anzulasten ist, welche den

Volksunterricht ausschliesslich unter ihrem Einfluss halten" (RE 1867/II: 178-179). Die Sätze von Eötvös reden von den sich der Religion entfremdenden Katholiken und klagen die kirchlichen Schulen wegen ihrer ungenügenden Erziehung an. Da der Gedankengang des Briefes sich mit dem Problembereich der Entkirchlichung befasst, bezieht er sich eindeutig auch auf die religiöse Erziehung in den Schulen. Erzbischof Simor hat auf diese These ausweichend geantwortet. Offensichtlich war auch er selbst unzufrieden mit dem Niveau der katholischen Schulen, doch fügte er hinzu, sie stünden nicht hinter denen anderer Konfessionen zurück (RE 1867/II:193-194). Es ist vorstellbar, dass die Aussage von Eötvös des Nachdruckes halber schärfer formuliert war, doch sprechen auch die damaligen protestantischen Äusserungen vom ungenügenden Niveau der Schulen. Besonders viele Klagen gibt es über den Unterstufenunterricht (PEIL 1864: 2; SZEREMLEI 1874: 41-42, 54). Die Beaufsichtigung ist nicht geregelt. Häufig wechseln die Lehrer (SF 1857: 776-777). Die Lage in der Ober- und Hochschulstufe ist nicht viel besser. An der Universität zu Pest (später Budapest) beschwert man sich über das ungenügende Wissen derer, die von protestantischen Schulen kommen (SZEREMLEI 1874: 54). Für Eötvös' Ansicht spricht wiederum, dass der Schulbildungsanteil bei den Protestanten höher war als bei den Katholiken. Im ungarischen Königtum ohne Siebenbürgen kam bei den Lutheranern ein Gymnasiast auf 435 Seelen, bei den Reformierten auf 667, bei den Katholiken auf 803 und bei den Griechisch-Katholischen auf 1104. Sieben Jahre später, 1859, hatte sich das Verhältnis bei den Lutheranern bereits auf 397 verringert, bei den Reformierten auf 517, bei den Katholiken betrug es noch immer 667, während es bei den Griechisch-Katholischen auf 1187 anstieg. Zur gleichen Zeit kam in der Monarchie ein Gymnasiast auf 759 Seelen und in Preussen auf 481 (SZEREMLEI 1874: 40.) In Übereinstimmung mit Eötvös verdient es eine Bemerkung, dass die materiellen Verhältnisse der Protestanten, von vielen verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Faktoren beeinflusst, tatsächlich weniger reichlich waren. Darüber lagen sie in ständigem Streit mit der absolutistischen Regierung. Eine staatliche Unterstützung wiesen sie anfänglich zurück, da sie um ihre Autonomie fürchteten, waren dann aber später, wenn auch nicht als Körperschaft, so doch vielfach gezwungen, diese anzunehmen, bei gleichzeitiger Duldung der Einflussnahme.³

Diese Fragen jedoch, die Diskussionen um den "Entwurf" (Erziehungsprojekt für die gesamte österreichische Monarchie von Graf Thun, 1850) oder um das ungarische Volksschulgesetz von 1868, gehören nicht

mehr zum Gegenstand dieser Studie. Obwohl die Unterstellung der Schulen unter staatliche Aufsicht ein Teil des Säkularisationsprozesses ist, weckt diese Frage doch auch an und für sich grosse Aufmerksamkeit. Hier interessiert uns an dem vielfach verzweigten Schulsystem in erster Linie jener Aspekt, wieweit die Schulen der Bindung an Religion und Kirche dienen. Die war jedoch - wie es auch Eötvös spürte - von den allgemeinen Unterrichtsproblemen nicht unabhängig.

An den katholischen Schulen haben auch Lehrer mit antikirchlichen und antireligiösen Ansichten unterrichtet. Aus unseren Quellen geht jedoch nicht hervor, welche Ansichten von der damaligen kirchlichen Kritik auf dem Katheder noch geduldet wurden (RE 1850/I: 145; RE 1868/II. 254). Manchenorts war es keine Pflicht, Predigten anzuhören (RE 1858/I; 314). Die Protestanten sehen den Fehler im ungenügenden Religionsunterricht. Er ist langweilig und unzeitgemäss. Neben all dem lassen die Lehrer an manchen Orten in einer dem Gegenstand unangemessenen Weise, Pfeife rauchend und den Hut auf dem Kopf, die Kinder singen und beten (PEIL 1870: 520, 523). Die protestantischen Pfarrer überlassen gegenüber der früheren Praxis immer mehr den laizistischen Unterstufen- und Oberstufenlehrern den Religionsunterricht. Ja, mehr noch, sie versuchen auch seinen Inhalt im rationalistischen Geist umzugestalten.

So liessen z.B. vielerorts die Reformierten die lange Zeit gelehrte, jetzt aber auf einmal als unzeitgerecht und für die Kinder als unverständlich kompliziert empfundene grundlegende Bekenntnisschrift, den Heidelberger Katechismus, im Unterricht fort. Es kam vor, dass jemand die Auffassungsfähigkeit der Kinder sogar als zu gering selbst für das schulische Erlernen des Vaterunsers hielt. Langsam wurden solche jahrhundertealten Bräuche aufgegeben wie die Unterweisung und Abfragung (Katechismusunterricht) der Kinder und Jugendlichen Sonntag nachmittags in der Kirche. Die religiöse Unterweisung veränderte sich zum religionsgeschichtlichen Unterricht (BIRÓ-SZILÁGYI 1949; 367-368).

Kirchenzucht und Erhaltung der Kirche

In den keine staatliche Unterstützung geniessenden protestantischen Kirchen hatte sich im 17.-18. Jahrhundert die strenge Einhaltung der Kirchenzucht als eine ausserordentliche Bindekraft erwiesen. Bei einem grossen Teil der sittlichen Fragen (Ehebruch, Scheidung, Streitigkeiten, Trunkenheit, Fluchen, mangelndem Kirchenbesuch usw.) lenkte die Kirchenführung das

Privatleben ihrer Gläubigen mittels verbindlicher Anwendung von Zucht und Strafe. In dieser Beziehung brachte jedoch die Periode zwischen 1770 und 1848 eine erhebliche Änderung und Lockerung. Einerseits beschränkten die Verordnungen Kaiser Josephs II. die kirchliche Jurisdiktion, andererseits sah auch die Kirchenführung nach und nach ein, dass die früheren Zuchtmittel unzeitgemäss geworden waren, dass statt Sanktionen die Beeinflussung der Gewissen anzuwenden sei. (ILLYÉS 1941; 141-164). Wenn auch die Kraft der Gemeinschaft und Tradition sehr gross war, wurden die im übrigen nur noch freiwillig zu leistenden Abbiten vor dem Presbyterium (Kirchenrat) immer seltener, die beschämenden Bestrafungen wurden von Rüge und Vermahnung abgelöst (JÁVOR 1971: 83-93; KÓSA 1979: 118-119). "Liebe sei die Grundlage kirchlicher Züchtigung" - schrieb man 1843, gerade gegen die örtlich noch geübte öffentliche Busse gerichtet. (PEIL 1843: 62). Nach 1850 hörte in Ungarn die frühere traditionelle Art der protestantischen Kirchenzucht auf (ILLYÉS 1941: 143). Obwohl der Mangel der nötigen Zucht als eine der zentralen Fragen des kirchlichen Lebens erkannt wird, hält man jede andere Art als die religiöse Unterweisung für verwerflich (PEIL 1864: 225-226, 260).

Mit der Lockerung der Kirchenzucht hängt die Vernachlässigung der Verpflichtungen zur Erhaltung der Kirche zusammen. Die protestantischen Adligen patronierten die von ihren Vorfahren unter Obhut genommenen Kirchen immer weniger. Aber nicht nur davon ist die Rede. Während der Revolution beginnen auch die Beiträge des einfachen Volkes zu stocken. Im Frühling 1848 schreibt ein lutherischer Pfarrer, dass er das Rundschreiben, in dem der Oberinspektor Freiherr Károly Zay über die revolutionären Veränderungen informiert, am Sonntag in der Kirche verlesen habe. Sofort habe anderntags eine zum ersten Kirchenbesuch nach der Entbindung (Reinigungszeremonie) eingetroffene Frau bei ihm angeklopft, sie hätte gehört, bei solcher Gelegenheit brauche man nun nichts mehr zu zahlen. (PEIL 1848: 716-717). Im Sitzungsprotokoll des lutherischen Schulvereins von Gömör (Oberungarn, heute teilweise in der Slowakei) vom 14. Juni 1848 steht folgendes: "Wir wissen aus Erfahrung, wie gründlich das einfache Volk der Bezahlung der kirchlichen Beamten überdrüssig ist, besonders dort, wo einst religiöser Eifer diese liebe Pflicht gern erfüllte, fühlt es sie heute als Last, unter der seine Schultern ermatten" (PEIL 1848: 911-912). Es ist charakteristisch, dass als 1851 in Gyula (Marktflecken, Gr. Ung. Tiefebene) zum ersten Mal nach dem Verbot eine Kirchenversammlung gehalten wurde, der dorthin gesandte königliche Inspektor beanstandete, dass zur

Empörung anderer Konfessionen die reformierte Kirche seit Jahren das Abendmahlbrot auf dem Markt kauft, wo es doch alter Brauch sei, es zu stiften, und die Kirche auch eine Mühle besitze.⁴

Die ausbleibende und stockende Bezahlung der unterschiedlichen Kirchengebühren, Beitrag zum Pfarrergehalt, Kirchensteuer für Eheleute und Mandel, war eine landesweite Erscheinung (PEIL 1848: 1159,1170; SZEREMLEI 1874: 38). Besonders belastete dies die ohnehin mit materiellen Sorgen kämpfenden, kaum über Landbesitz verfügenden protestantischen Kirchengemeinden, die dann auf die im Gesetz Nr. XX vom Jahre 1848 versprochene staatliche Hilfe vertrauten. Auch in der römisch-katholischen Kirche gab es arme Pfarren, doch blieb ihr auch nach Verlust des Zehnten ein gewaltiges Vermögen. Gleichzeitig konnten die protestantischen Gläubigen verständlicherweise annehmen, dass zusammen mit den gesamten feudalen Dienstleistungen auch die Pflicht zur Erhaltung ihrer eigenen Kirche aus Spenden aufgehört habe.

Das konfessionelle Zugehörigkeitsbewusstsein

Es gibt Erscheinungen, die dem Interesse der Kirche zu dienen scheinen, ja sogar nach religiösem Eifer aussehen, letztlich jedoch im religiösen Desinteresse wurzeln, wie z.B. die damaligen Bemühungen zur Vereinigung der Konfessionen.

Eine Vereinigung der Römisch-Katholischen mit den Protestanten trat nur auf der Ebene von Einzelinitiativen in Erscheinung. Auf katholischer Seite sprach man ausgesprochen von der "Heimkehr" der Protestanten, was sich keinesfalls als Säkularisierungssymptom charakterisieren lässt. Die Protestanten dagegen stellten sich dieses Ereignis in der Form beiderseitigen Nachgebens vor. Ihre Annäherung an die Katholiken wurde von mehreren Faktoren beeinflusst, z.B. von der Schaffung einer "einheitlichen Nationalreligion", von ästhetischen oder Gefühlsmotiven, die aber alle auf ein verblässendes konfessionelles Bewusstsein deuteten (BIRÓ-SZILÁGYI 1949: 320-323; HERMANN 1973: 416-417). Diese Bestrebungen erreichten ihren Höhepunkt weit vor der hier behandelten Periode, in den Jahren nach 1810. Viel charakteristischer aus der Sicht unseres Gegenstandes ist der Plan einer protestantischen Union, welcher seit Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zumindest eine Annäherung erwägend - die lutherische und die reformierte Kirche beschäftigte und dann in den vierziger Jahren zu einem heftigen Pressestreit führte und sogar zum Gegenstand offizieller Beratungen wurde.

Jene sich entfaltende liberale theologische Richtung hatte ihn zu ihrem Panier erhoben, welche auch im übrigen die die Konfessionsunterschiede ausdrückenden Dogmatik, Symbole und Bekenntnisse für zweitrangig hielt. Das Vorbild war die 1817 durch königliche Verordnung entstandene lutherisch-reformierte Union in Preussen. Dagegen gelangte man in Ungarn nur bis zur Schaffung einiger gemeinsamer Institutionen (Presse, Hochschule). Für das Erlahmen des konfessionellen Bewusstseins ist ebenso bezeichnend, dass die Union nicht in erster Linie durch Aufwerfen von Bekenntnisfragen, sondern durch den Widerstand der national gesinnten slowakischen lutherischen Pfarrerschaft vereitelt wurde, die sich vor der Magyarisierung fürchtete (MÁRKUS 1939: 28-30; BIRÓ-SZILÁGYI 1949: 323-325; OTTLYK 1965: 157-159).

Die Fragen einer Annäherung der Konfessionen gelangten nicht über den Kreis der geistlichen und laizistischen Kirchenführer hinaus. Die Massen der Gläubigen erreichten sie nicht. Dagegen konnten auch die einfachen Kirchenglieder dem anderen Pol der Säkularisierung begegnen, den in Ausbreitung begriffenen Sekten.

Die sich zu verwandten Ansichten bekennenden Nazarener und Baptisten begannen gleichzeitig in der zweiten Hälfte der vierziger Jahre mit ihrer Mission in Ungarn. Es scheint, als habe der ungarische Freiheitskrieg gegen Österreich ihre Verbreitung für einige Zeit verhindert, doch bekamen die Nazarener seit Mitte der fünfziger Jahre und die Baptisten nach 1873 neue Kräfte (SZEBERÉNYI 1888: 46, 54-57; KISS 1942: 11-12; CSOHÁNY 1974: 38). Eigenartigerweise gehörten die ungarischen Anhänger dieser Sekten, die in Westeuropa und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika zum grossen Teil in der Stadtbevölkerung Wurzeln schlugen, mit Ausnahme einiger Handwerker zur armen Bauernschaft. Die grossen historischen Kirchen wurden auf ihre Tätigkeit sehr bald aufmerksam - nicht nur die Protestanten, aus deren Reihen die Sektenglieder in erster Linie stammten, sondern auch die Katholiken (PEIL 1858: 1219-1222; RE 1863/II: 76-77, 92-93, 99-100).

Die erste protestantische Reaktion spiegelt typisch die herrschende liberale Richtung der Zeit: Den Sektenanhängern fehle das verstandesmässige Erfassen der Religion, seinen Platz nehme das Gefühl ein, was zugleich auch die Verteidigung gegen die Religionslosigkeit bedeute. (PEIL 1858: 1220). Der Pfarrer und Historiker Sámuel Szeremlei hat in einem Artikel, in dem er als erster in anspruchsvoller Form die Erscheinung der Sektenbildung analysierte, diesen Gedanken weitergeführt und entfaltet: "In unseren Gemeinden weht schon lange nicht mehr jene frische Briesse der Religiosität und Kirchlichkeit, die allein fähig wäre, eine feste Gesellschaft

heranzubilden:" Es ist also kein Wunder, dass sich nach innigem Glaubenseifer sehrende Menschen dorthin gehen, wo sie - bei den Sekten - das finden, was sie in der historischen Kirche vergeblich suchen. Szeremlei formuliert auch die mit der Säkularisierung zusammenhängende Seite der Frage. Die Kraftlosigkeit der religiösen Zugehörigkeit löste in diesem Fall keine Gleichgültigkeit, sondern die Sehnsucht nach einer stärkeren Bindung aus. "Unter solchen Umständen war es den apostolisch-eifrigen Propheten der Frommen nicht schwer, viele von uns zu sich abzuwenden, die ohnehin nur äusserliche schwache Bände an uns knüpften und in ihrer Seele vielleicht nie für unsere Kirche gewonnen waren." Er nimmt sogar den sozialen Hintergrund wahr, vertreten durch die Nazarener, die Umgehung der Bürger- und Kirchensteuer sowie des Militärdienstes, womit sie "(...) in den Herzen Tausender und Abertausender ein Echo gefunden haben". Während er vielfältige Änderungen in der pastoralen Tätigkeit als Gegenmittel empfiehlt, stellt er fest, man müsse "(...) die seelsorgerliche Tätigkeit soweit als möglich auch auf die Beobachtung und Heilung der gesellschaftlichen Übel ausdehnen". Szeremlei malt die Zukunft seiner Kirche in bemerkenswert düsteren Farben, für den Fall, dass sie dem Nazarenismus keinen Widerstand bieten kann. Gleichzeitig verleugnet er auch darin nicht die theologische Richtung, zu der er gehört, dass er in der historischen Einleitung an die zu allen Zeiten aufgetretenen Sekten (Ketzerbewegungen) erinnert. Die jetzige erneute Welle ist also keine ungewöhnliche Erscheinung und lässt sich bei richtigem Auftreten auch wieder zurückdrängen. Ebenso wie die im allgemeinen liberale und deshalb gegen andere Weltanschauungen (Konfessionen) geduldige, die Gewissens- und Religionsfreiheit vertretende damalige protestantische Kirchenpolitik hält auch er gewaltsame und administrative Massnahmen nicht für sinnvoll. (PEIL 1874: 873-880, 905-915).

Die Lockerung der Religionszugehörigkeit und das Verblässen des religiös verflochtenen Gemeinschaftsbewusstseins hatten unter den siebenbürgischen Reformierter den Zerfall kleinerer Kirchengemeinden zur Folge. Besonders aus Süd- und Mittelsiebenbürgen, wo die kleine Zahl von Ungarn überwiegend reformiert war, kamen Signale solcher Art. "Verschlammte Kirche und Dach, eine herabfallende Kirchendecke, bis zur Verrussung rauchige Schulwände sind keine Zeichen grosszügigster Unterstützung" - heisst es über die Einsetzung eines Pfarrers in Óraljaboldogfalva (Kom.Hunyad, rum. Sintamaria Orlea) (PEIL 1843: 413). Meist werden die Grundherren beschuldigt, die besonders nach 1848 zum grossen Teil aufgehört

hatten, die Kirchgemeinden mit kleiner Seelenzahl in der ohnehin armseligen Weise zu subventionieren. Aber auch die Kirchenführung kümmerte sich nicht genügend um die Diaspora. Die Gläubigen zerstreuten sich (PEIL 1863: 201; PEIL 1863: 327). In den zwanzig Jahren nach 1848-49 verschwanden teils infolge der Verwüstungen des Bürgerkrieges 1848-49 im siebenbürgischen reformierten Kirchenbezirk 18 kirchliche Muttergemeinden völlig. Dagegen stieg die Zahl der Filialen von 300 auf 415 (BIRÓ-SZILÁGYI 1949: 351). Zur Vollständigkeit des Bildes gehört, dass man trotz der Vernachlässigung der inneren Diaspora bemüht war, sich um die ins Ausland ausgewanderten Reformierten zu kümmern. So kam, in erster Linie mit ungarischer Unterstützung, die ungarisch-reformierte Mission in den rumänischen Fürstentümern zustande und wirkte unter grossen Schwierigkeiten; ausser ihrem zweifellos national verwurzelten Antrieb dienten ihr auch die damaligen von Westeuropa ausgehenden protestantischen Überseemissionen als Beispiel.⁵

Die Person des Pfarrers

Symptome einer Verbreitung der Gleichgültigkeit gegen die Religion liessen sich auch im innersten kirchlichen Bereich, in den Reihen der Geistlichkeit feststellen. Die nach Gründen suchenden kritischen Stellungnahmen prüften einerseits den Ernst und Gehalt der Religiosität der Pfarrerschaft, andererseits und mit grösserer Aufmerksamkeit suchten sie nach Modalitäten, die seelsorgerliche Tätigkeit wirksamer zu gestalten. Wenn sie auch - wie wir sehen werden - von einem abnehmenden Ansehen der Pfarrer sprachen, ist es allgemein bekannt, dass die Pfarrer auch nach der hier besprochenen Periode noch lange Zeit in den Gemeinden der Dörfer und Marktflecken führende und in vieler Hinsicht richtungweisende Persönlichkeiten darstellen. Ihr Einfluss auf die Gestaltung der Volkskultur konnte sich auf mehreren Gebieten auch in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts auswirken, womit sie zum Interessengebiet der ethnographischen Forschung gehören.

Die Katholiken hielten die Verbesserung der Priesterausbildung für das Wichtigste. Die Zahl derer, die sich für die Seminare anmeldeten, nahm ab, dessen Grund vor allem - worin sich die Berücksichtigung der mangelhaften familiären Erziehung fortsetzte und ihr Echo darstellte - im Erlahmen der familiären Frömmigkeit erblickt wurde. Dabei spielte mit, dass sich für die, welche lernen und vorankommen wollten, ständig mehr bürgerliche Laufbahnen öffneten. Andererseits verhinderte die Armut des

"einfachen Volkes und der Unterklassen", die Kinder lernen zu lassen. Weiterhin findet sich unter den Gründen der "Zeitgeist" der nach Ansicht des zitierten Artikelschreibers nicht nur mit seiner Religions- und Kirchenfeindschaft, sondern auch mit vseiner Verfechtung des "Eigeninteresses" und Materialismus die Jugendlichen davon zurückhält, sich in den Priesterseminaren zu melden. Dann aber fügt er hinzu, eindeutig hinsichtlich der Erziehungswirkung der Geistlichkeit auf die Massen: "Wird es aber dann dem Thron treue Untertanen geben, wenn wir keine gewissenhaften Pfarramtskandidaten ausbilden?" Ebenso verurteilt er die kirchlichen Oberschulen, die nicht für die Laufbahn des Pfarrers begeistern, und selbst nicht einmal richtig für das Lernen (RE 1858/I: 313-315).

In der Religio (katholisches Wochenblatt) fand um 1850 eine längere Diskussion über die katholischen Priesterseminare statt. Die Teilnehmer stimmten darin überein, dass es notwendig sei, das Unterrichts- und wissenschaftliche Niveau zu erhöhen und den Glaubenseifer zu vertiefen. Der Beitrag, der die Diskussion eröffnete, vergleicht die Pfarrerschaft und die brennende Notwendigkeit, den Geist der Pfarrerausbildung zu verbessern, direkt mit der Zeit des Tridentinums. Die Pfarramtskandidaten nähmen unkirchliche Prinzipien in den Priesterseminaren in sich auf, deren Geist auch sonst weltlich und feindlich sei. Wenn auch zehn kirchlich eingestellte Dozenten unterrichteten, so sei doch ein einziger "freidenkender Reformier" in der Lage, das Ergebnis ihrer Arbeit zu verderben:⁶ Die Seminaristen lernen nicht richtig zu beten. Sie erfüllen und praktizieren nicht regelmässig die religiösen Vorschriften (Beichte, Kommunion, Lesen des Breviers)(RE 1850/I: 207-209; RE 1850/I: 307-308; RE 1850/II: 49-53; SZEGHY 1944: 93, 105; SALACZ 1947: 272-273). Eigentlich hätten doch die Seminarien auch das noch zu ersetzen, was die religiöse Erziehung in der Familie vernachlässigt und nicht gegeben hat (RE 1850/I: 305).

Es lassen sich sogar ganz harte Kritiken finden: "In den jüngsten Zeiten hat ein wütender Zeitgeist eine wahrhaft fürchterliche Verwüstung in den heiligsten Tiefen des kirchlichen Lebens angerichtet (...) Er hat uns gelehrt, dass es Verkünder der Evangelien ohne Herz gibt; er hat gelehrt, dass es Vikare des Heiligen Geistes ohne Glauben gibt; er hat gelehrt, dass es unter den Nachfolgern des grossen Völkerapostels einzelne gibt ohne das Stigma Jesu Christi, schliesslich hat er gelehrt, dass es unter den Wächtern Zions im Felsgestein der Kirche viele gibt ohne Charakter" (RE

1850/I: 305). Der Klerus stand folglich nicht auf der Höhe seiner Berufung. Hier ist nicht von der bekannten Tatsache die Rede, dass es seit Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Ungarn katholische Priester gab, die sich häufig gegenüber der offiziellen Kirchenführung als Anhänger der Aufklärung bekannten. Auch später kam es vor, dass manche sich Reformideen als Anhänger anschlossen. In der hier behandelten Periode ist nicht mehr von einigen vorzüglichen Pfarrern die Rede, ausgezeichnet in der Literatur, den Wissenschaften oder vielleicht der Politik, sondern von einem hohen Prozentsatz der niederen Geistlichkeit, und mehr als einem Mitglied des hohen Klerus, dessen Glaubenseifer im Nachlassen war oder dessen weltliches Interesse ins Auge fiel. Deshalb ist es zu beobachten, dass die damaligen Äusserungen von kirchlicher Seite die Erhöhung des Berufungsbewusstseins des gesamten Klerus betreiben.⁷ Die innere Geschlossenheit erwartet man von der Stärkung des kirchlichen Geistes, der Erneuerung der Exerzitien und von der Herausbildung harmonischer Beziehungen zwischen niederem und hohem Klerus (RE 1861/I: 194).

Auch auf protestantischer Seite spürt man die sich verdichtenden Schwierigkeiten der geistlichen Laufbahn, man sah sie aber nicht so sehr im abnehmenden Glaubenseifer, sondern vor allem im Verfall des Ansehens der Pfarrer. Vor 1848 liess sich die staatsrechtliche Stellung des protestantischen Pfarrers, aus bekannten Gründen, kaum mit der des katholischen vergleichen. Daneben war er an vielen Orten in grossem Masse von seinen herrschaftlichen Patronen abhängig. András Fáy (Politiker, Ökonom und Schriftsteller) berichtet ein erschreckendes Beispiel aus seiner Kinderzeit (letztes Jahrzehnt des 18. Jh.), in welcher Weise seine Verwandten als Gastgeber bei Tisch ihren alten dörflichen und herrschaftlichen Pfarrer demütigten (FÁY 1842: 139-140). Die patronale Abhängigkeit starb aber, wenn sie sich auch abschwächte, in anderen Varianten nach 1848 nicht aus, da die protestantischen Kirchengemeinden sich auch weiterhin aus den Spenden ihrer Gläubigen erhielten. Der schon zitierte Schriftsteller Lajos Tolnai notierte die für die damalige Zeit typische Szene:

" - Wohin, wohin Pater? - fragt der Herr Kastner herablassend, sich nur halb zu dem armen Pfarrer herumdrehend, dessen Patron er mit ein paar Scheffel Weizen ist.

Der alte Mann hält seinen Wagen an und erklärt mit gebührender Hochachtung Grund und Zweck seines Kommens" (TOLNAI 1872: 46).

András Fáy zählt in seinem eine Programmhaltung des

protestantischen kirchlichen Liberalismus bildenden, 1842 erschienenen Werk "Óra-mutató" (Uhrzeiger) vier Gründe für den Verfall des geistlichen Ansehens auf.

Vor allem sei es die Erlahmung der Religiosität, die sich auch auf den Pfarrer auswirkt: Inhalt und Stil der Zeremonien, der Predigt und des Gebets seien nicht zeitgemäss, sie sprechen die Gläubigen nicht an. Als zweiten Grund gibt er an, dass die Pfarrer selbst auch nicht mit dem allgemeinen Fortschritt mitgehen. Schon während ihrer Studien kapseln sie sich bis zu einem gewissen Grad von der Welt ab, was sich später in der Einsamkeit der Parochie noch steigere. Ihre geistliche Kleidung, "ihre verstaubten Bräuche", das Fehlen eines gesellschaftlichen Lebens seien ihre Charakteristika. Dabei seien, "dem Himmel sei Dank" - so seufzt er -, die Zeiten vergangen, in denen die protestantische Welt "erzwungene Frömmerei und Abgesondertheit von ihren Pfarrern verlangte". Der dritte Grund sei die Armut der Kirchgemeinden. Die Kirchen- und die Schulsituation sei von der Mildtätigkeit der Laien abhängig. Die reformierten Pfarrer übernehmen, sich an die alten kanonischen Verbote haltend, keine Tätigkeit zusätzlichen Gelderwerbs. (Fáy beruft sich als Gegenbeispiel auf die Lutheraner, unter denen es zu jener Zeit schon landesweit bekannte Gärtner und Bienenzüchter gab.) Den Schluss bildet die abhängige Stellung der Pfarrer. Dazu gehört ausser der oben erwähnten demütigenden "grundherrlichen Gnade" auch die Abhängigkeit von der Gemeindeleitung. (FÁY 1842: 122-141).

In der Diskussion über Fáys Buch wurde dann mehrfach die Ansicht vertreten, dass das Niveau der Bildung, der Moral und der materiellen Güter der Pfarrer gleicherweise erhöht werden müsse (PEIL 1842: 235-238; PEIL 1843: 354-356). Noch häufiger erscheinen diese Gedanken in der protestantischen kirchlichen Presse der sechziger Jahre. Die Äusserungen spiegeln, dass die aufgeworfenen Fragen in kirchlichen Kreisen tägliche Diskussionsobjekte darstellten.

"Wohl über keine einzige Laufbahn hören wir in der heutigen, gegen die Religion eine besonders skandalöse Gleichgültigkeit beweisenden Zeit so viele Äusserungen einer vorgefasst argwöhnischen, einer so unangemessenen, ja, verächtlichen Meinung, wie eben über die Laufbahn des Pfarrers" - schreibt ein Pfarrer, wobei er den idealen Seelsorger in dem guten Redner, dem angesehenen Leiter der Gemeinde und dem Menschen mit beispielhaftem Gebaren sieht (PEIL 1869: 1511-1515, 1548-1552). Mehrfach wurde das fehlende gesellschaftliche Ansehen bemängelt, was sich auch so äussert, dass nach alter Tradition der Pfarrernachwuchs überwiegend aus den

Pfarrerfamilien, von den Bauern und dem bäuerlich lebenden einstigen niederen Adel sowie den Honoratioren stammt. Die Wohlhabenderen bestimmen ihre Söhne nicht mehr "(...) für diese der Unbeständigkeit ausgesetzten Laufbahn des Pfarrers (...)" (PEIL 1842: 431; SF 1857: 951-952; PEIL 1863: 33-42; SF 1864: 637; PEIL 1868: 660-661; PEIL 1874: 357).

Die Suche nach den Gründen der Abwendung von der Religion und ihren Heilmitteln

Auch bisher war schon festzustellen, dass die Erkenntnis der Erscheinung einer Abkehr von Religion und Kirche für die den Pfarrern und der Kirche nahestehenden Laien zugleich auch die Suche den Ursachen und einer Lösung bedeutete. Es lohnt sich, ihre Bestrebungen detaillierter ins Auge zu fassen, bedeuten sie doch für diese Untersuchung eigentlich, dass Programme erarbeitet wurden zur Herausformung der Weltanschauung der Gesellschaft, in erster Linie der Volksmassen. Während Katholiken wie Protestanten darin übereinstimmten, dass diese Erscheinung ihnen gefährlich werden könnte, gaben die Kirchen auf die Frage nach den auslösenden Ursachen und besonders nach den Gegenmitteln schon unterschiedliche Antworten, ja, im protestantischen Bereich bildeten sich abweichende Ansichten.

In seinem schon zitierten offenen Brief erwähnt Unterrichts- und Kultusminister József Eötvös, mitfühlend mit der katholischen Kirche und in Sorge um die Beseitigung ihrer Probleme, dass es, im Gegensatz zu anderen Konfessionen, keinen "katholischen Gemeinsinn" gebe. Den Grund dafür sah er in der Gleichgültigkeit der katholischen Gläubigen, die entstehen konnte, weil die katholische Kirche die Laien von der Erledigung ihrer Angelegenheiten ausgeschlossen habe. Nach Eötvös' Plan sollte gerade deshalb auch der Laienführung bei der zu schaffenden katholischen Autonomie ein Platz eingeräumt werden. (RE 1867/II: 193-194).

Demgegenüber bezeichnete der katholische Klerus eindeutig den "Zeitgeist" als das Hauptübel. Symptomatisch sind die Worte von Fürstprimas Erzbischof Simor, welche im Herbst 1867 anlässlich der Versammlung der Szent László Társulat (Röm.-kath. kirchlicher Verein) in Esztergom verlauteten: "Täglich vermessener werden jene gottlosen Lehren verkündet, welche sich auf die Unterjochung der katholischen Kirche, auf die Verspottung der christlichen Denominationen und die Vernichtung aller Frömmigkeitsprinzipien und -gefühle richten (...)" (RE 1867/II: 218).

Der als Zeitgeist bezeichnete Rahmen ist in der damaligen Auffassung

jedoch ziemlich weit. Es finden sich darin das Recht, die Wissenschaft, die Freiheit sowie die - nach Ansicht der Interpreten - im Umkreis der Begriffe der "Volksherrschaft" herrschende Verwirrung bzw. Verwirrungsbestrebung. Die Behandlung dieses Fragenkreises ist in dem der Unterrichtetheit und Unterrichtung des katholischen Klerus dienenden Wochenblatt Religio bis 1864, zur redaktionellen Übernahme durch den kämpferischen Pál Palásthy (Redakteur, später Weihbischof) rückläufig und defensiv, aber auch später taucht diese Verhaltensweise auf. Es kommt vor, dass jemand die Lage mit der Zeit der heidnischen römischen Kaiser vergleicht, als ähnlich "(...) schrecklich und allgemein die Ungläubigkeit war (...)". Nach Ansicht eines anderen Autoren war selbst die Reformation noch günstiger als die Gegenwart, weil damals wenigstens über Glaube und Religion gestritten wurde (RE 1861/I: 185). Im übrigen kehrt das aus der Aufklärungszeit bekannte und auch weiterhin gebrauchte Schema wieder, welches den Grund jedes antikirchlichen Übels in der Reformation als leiblicher Mutter der Aufklärung selbst und dann der gesellschaftlichen Revolutionen und des Liberalismus erblickt (RE 1849: 2; RE 1849: 59; RE 1850/I: 364; RE 1861/I: 353-355; RE 1861/II: 57; RE 1862/II: 17). Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus wird die Wirkung der Religionsfreiheit und - gleichheit verurteilt, da sie angeblich - zur Zurückdrängung der gesellschaftlichen Kraft der Religion und gleichzeitig zum Verfall der gesellschaftlichen Moral führte (RE 1858/I: 324). Das Ergebnis des beanstandeten Zeitgeistes ist die Verbreitung schädlicher Moden, wodurch in Dorf und Stadt die Putzsucht in der Kleidung, der Kult des Essens und Trinkens sowie die Masslosigkeit der Feste (Fasching, Hochzeitsfeiern) zunahm. (KN 1858: 5-6; KN 1858: 113). Eine allgemeine, immer wiederkehrende Klage betrifft die Gewinnsucht, die Verbreitung des "Lust- und Gewinntriebs", die überhandnehmende Anstachelung zu Genüssen (RE 1862/II: 121).

Die Verbreitung der Gewinnsucht betonen auch die Protestanten. (PEIL 1858: 876-877; PEIL 1859: 709-711). Schon bei der Frage der Erhaltung der Kirche wurde darauf verwiesen, wie sehr diese die Armut der Kirchengemeinden und Pfarrer belastete. Die seit Jahrhunderten bestehende traditionelle Opferfreudigkeit der Gläubigen schien nicht gewachsen zu sein, sondern sich verringert zu haben (SZEREMLEI 1874: 54-58).

Die Katholiken begannen höchst energisch, gegen den entkirchlichten Zeitgeist Verteidigungslinien auszubauen. Der grösste Teil der Massnahmen diente der Anpassung der Kirche an die neue kapitalistische Gesellschaftsordnung und bemühte sich, die von der Verbürgerlichung

gebotenen Möglichkeiten und Mittel zu nutzen. Damals war diese Anpassung noch ausschliesslich organisatorisch. Von einer Gestaltung der Glaubensprinzipien war keine Rede, ja, mit aller Kraft verteidigte man die vorhandenen früheren, wie sich dies unter anderem in zwei bedeutenden kirchengeschichtlichen Ereignissen zeigt: dem Erlass des Syllabus, der Liste verbotener Ansichten (1864), und der Annahme des Dogmas der Unfehlbarkeit des Papstes (1870). Zeichen der organisatorischen Erstarbung der römisch-katholischen Kirche Ungarns waren der Abschluss des Konkordats zwischen Österreich und dem Kirchenstaat (1855), die Wiederzulassung der Jesuiten und Eröffnung ihrer Kollegien (seit 1853), die Erneuerung der von Kaiser Joseph II. verbotenen Kongregationen (seit 1855), die Gründung des ersten katholischen Burschenvereins (1856) und Altarvereins (1859), die laufende Reform der Seminarien, die rege Tätigkeit der Szent István Társulat (röm.-kath.kirchlicher Verein), die Beseitigung der Wirkung des Josefinismus und zahlreiche andere ähnliche Geschehnisse. (HERMANN 1973: 436-437).

Besondere Beachtung verdient die Presse, die sich in der Hand der Kirche als ein wirkungsvolles Mittel erwies. Schon vor 1848 wurde eine politische Zeitung, die *Nemzeti Újság*, unterstützt, deren ausgesprochene Aufgabe es war, in der heimischen Presse gegenüber der liberalen oppositionellen öffentlichen Meinung den Geist der katholischen Kirche und die katholischen Interessen zu vertreten (DEZSÉNYI 1941: 41-46). Nach 1849 dann, als für eine längere Zeit nur schwer eine Zeitungsgenehmigung zu bekommen war, trat die katholisch eingestellte Presse sehr bald mit einer breiten und variantenreichen Skala in Erscheinung, die sich von der theologischen Fachzeitschrift bis zur für die ethnographische Forschung nicht uninteressanten Volkszeitung (*Katolikus Néplap*) erstreckte (DEZSÉNYI 1943: 212-214; HERMANN 1973: 440).

Die Protestanten waren ebenso bemüht, durch Ausnutzung der von der bürgerlichen Gesellschaftsordnung gebotenen Möglichkeiten sich selbst zu stärken. Seit 1858, nach zehn Jahren des Schweigens, erschien von neuem das Sprachrohr der kirchlichen liberalen Richtung, das *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap* (Wochenzeitung), doch war ihre Presse um vieles ärmer als die der Katholiken. Nach deutschem Beispiel wurde noch 1871 der *Protestáns Egyelet* (Protestantischer Verein) geschaffen, ebenfalls ein Bannerträger der kirchlichen Liberalen. Man bemühte sich, auch die materielle Situation mittels eines allgemeinen Kirchenfonds (lat.: *domestica*) zu verbessern. Mittels Fachversammlungen, Wettbewerben und theologischen Diskussionen

ermunterte man zur Anregung des kirchlichen Lebens (MÁRKUS 1939: 91-97, 101-110).

Die protestantische Theologie in Ungarn wurde seit den vierziger Jahren von drei Hauptrichtungen vertreten: von den sich auf die traditionelle Frömmigkeit stützenden, das religiöse und konfessionelle Bewusstsein pflegenden, aber in den Hintergrund verdrängten "Orthodoxen", von den dynamisch vorandrängenden und tonangebenden "Liberalen" und schliesslich von den zahlenmässig vielleicht stärksten, doch im Hintergrund stehenden "Vermittlern", welche von beiden Richtungen Glaubenselemente übernahmen (MÁRKUS 1939: 26-39; OTTLYK 1965: 165-168). Diese Einteilung setzte von vornherein voraus, dass die Stellungnahme gegen die Säkularisation nicht einheitlich sein wird.

Die Mehrheit der Protestanten verurteilte den von den Katholiken beschuldigten "Zeitgeist" nicht. Das geschah schon aus dem einen Grund nicht, weil dieser die weltliche Funktion des Papsttums und die Monopolsituation der katholischen Kirche angriff und die Gleichheit der Religion verkündete, was mittelbar oder direkt mit den eigenen Interessen übereinstimmte. So nahm man ihm gegenüber auch keine Verteidigungshaltung ein, sondern versuchte, ihn für die eigenen Angelegenheiten auszunutzen.

Liberalen und Orthodoxen stimmten darin überein, dass die Erkaltung gegenüber Religion und Kirche zum grossen Teil dem theologischen Rationalismus zuzuschreiben sei (SF 1857: 242-243; SZEREMLEI 1874: 9, 36). Die orthodoxe Richtung kritisierte aber den Rationalismus von der Frömmigkeit her, auf der sie stand, und zwar so, dass sie normalerweise auch die liberalen Theologen als Rationalisten bezeichnete. Sie regte eine Stärkung des konfessionellen Bewusstseins in jeder Beziehung an. Nur ein Beispiel sei genannt, das von seiner Natur her einen Einfluss auf die Gestaltung der religiösen Welt der Massen gehabt haben kann - das Problem der Predigt.

"Die vielen Predigtbücher 'ohne Selbstbewusstsein' - an denen unsere Literatur sehr reich ist - bezeugen, dass die Prediger ihren Hörern eine höchst schmale Kost vorsetzen und erst die in neuerer Zeit herausgegebenen 'Kathechismen'! Mit Ausnahme eines oder zweier ähneln sie ausgepressten Zitronen" - formuliert ein lutherischer Pfarrer, der sich mit der Abnahme des religiösen Bewusstseins beschäftigte (PEIL 1865: 170). In den Sárospataki Füzetek (Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie) wurde Károly Szász (Dichter, Schriftsteller, später Superintendent) für eine seiner Predigten getadelt, die 22 dichtgedruckte Seiten ausmachte. Doch war

sie nicht nur lang, sondern voll von komplizierten Zitaten und philosophischen Ausdrücken, unverständlich für die Zuhörer, z.B. "das Heureka des Archimedes"; "Kant hätte seinen kategorischen Imperativ nicht für ein Imperium hingegeben" (SF 1858: 188).

Ein anderer Autor lobt in der gleichen Zeitschrift die Rhetorik neuerer kirchlicher Ansprachen, verschweigt aber auch nicht seine Zweifel. Es gebe darin heidnische Mythologie, Zitate klassischer Autoren, historische, geographische und naturkundliche Verweise. "Aber es fehlt die Wärme eines religiös fühlenden Herzens, ein biblisch straker Glauben und erhabene Erlauchung, welche mit unwiderstehlicher Kraft wirkt, erhebt und ergreift. In ihnen spricht ein kalter, klug sein wollender Verstand zum Verstand, was einen grossen Teil der Hörer, da sie nicht gebildet sind, kalt lässt und langweilt. In vielen ist die Morallehre die Tugendlehre der natürlichen Vernunft, ohne die Würze des christlichen Glaubens. Es lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass unsere kirchlichen Reden eine Art kalter Rationalismus durchzieht, so dass diese ebenso gut auch in nicht christlichen Kirchen gehalten werden können." Im weiteren führt er auch aus, der Rationalismus könne denen keinen Seelentrost gewähren, die ihn verlangen, weshalb sich die Kirchen entvölkern. Schliesslich stellt er fest, all dies sei von den deutschen Universitäten nach Ungarn gelangt; von dort kehrten die im Ausland weilenden jungen Leute nach Hause zurück, die die Arbeiten der damaligen deutschen Philosophie gelesen haben (SF 1858: 110).

Aus diesen nicht scharf kritischen, sondern eher Tatsachen aufdeckenden Zitat geht beispielhaft hervor, wie die herrschende liberale Theologie den traditionellen religiösen Ansprüchen der Gläubigen mittels wissenschaftlicher Erklärungen nachkommen wollte. Eigentlich folgte sie der Praxis des theologischen Rationalismus, mit dem Unterschied, dass sie den durch ihr verursachten Mangel unter anderem gerade durch die Faktoren des Auslösers, durch die Einbeziehung der Wissenschaft, beseitigen wollte. Sie wollte durch weitere moralische Erörterungen, durch die sog. "Moraltheologie", die Religion ergänzen bzw. neubeleben. Im Namen der Modernität wurde die Religion zur Religionswissenschaft umgestaltet (MÁRKUS 1939: 40-54; BIRÓ-SZILÁGYI 1949: 370-374).

Da hier nicht die Darstellung und Analyse der liberalen protestantischen Theologie bezweckt ist, wird nur ein einziges Beispiel gebracht, das die Vorstellung der liberalen theologischen Richtung verdichtet enthält.

In seinem weiter oben mehrfach zitierten Werk bemühte sich Sámuel Szeremlei auch, zu seiner Zeit mit dem höchsten Anspruch auf die Fragen der Säkularisation zu antworten. Seine Analyse beruhte auf einer kritischen Untersuchung der heimischen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse. Er ging von der Hauptthese aus, dass die Bildungs- und aus ihnen folgend die moralischen (und Frömmigkeits-) Verhältnisse der "unteren Volksklasse", des "einfachen Volkes", auf niedriger Stufe stehen. Es wurde schon darauf verwiesen, dass er von der historischen Mittelklasse ein noch dunkleres Bild zeichnete (SZEREMLEI 1874: 11-29). Der Verfall der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse wurde durch die Revolutionsereignisse, das Unterdrückungssystem des Neoabsolutismus, durch die kirchenpolitischen Kämpfe, die allgemeine Verarmung und die wirtschaftliche Schwäche des Landes gleicherweise gesteigert - schreibt SZEREMLEI (1874: 30-58). Die Lösung versprach er sich in erster Linie von der Erhöhung der Bildung. Deshalb sind seine Schlüsselbegriffe der Unterricht und die Kenntnis, worunter er eine breite schulische und ausserschulische Volksbildung verstand. Ein höherer Bildungsgrad bringt seiner Meinung nach eine Klärung der sittlichen Verhältnisse mit sich. Bei allem ist die vom Staat der Kirche gewährte materielle Hilfe ebenso unverzichtbar wie die inhaltliche Füllung der seelsorgerlichen Arbeit und die Verbesserung des Schulniveaus. (SZEREMLEI 1874: 77-113).

Szeremlei glaubte, ebenso wie seine liberalen Amtsbrüder, an eine langsame rationale Evolution (MÁRKUS 1939: 52-54). Ihm war bewusst, dass man einen Prozess nicht aufhalten und umkehren könne. Es gab eine einzige vernünftige Lösung: Neues zu suchen und an die Stelle der überlebten alten Religiosität zu setzen. Letztlich wird der Rationalismus seiner Auffassung irrational, da er die Religion für ein immerwährendes menschliches Bedürfnis hält und für durchaus einsichtig. Er erkennt die Entwicklung an, bemerkt aber nicht, dass der durch den theologischen Rationalismus eingeleitete Prozess die Theologie gerade ihrer eigenen Identität beraubt (SZEREMLEI 1874: 1-4, 74).

All das tut dem aber keinen Abbruch, dass Szeremleis Vorstellungen keine aus der Luft gegriffene Konstruktion waren, sondern sich in ein organisches System einpassten. Ein grosser Teil seiner Amtskollegen sah - in unterschiedlichem Grad - die Ausübung des eigenen Berufes ähnlich. So entstand im letzten Drittel des vergangenen Jahrhunderts die Form, der Idealtypus des protestantischen Pfarrers, der kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Vereinigungen organisiert, wirtschaftet, politisiert und

damit sowohl den Bildungsstand als auch die Weltanschauung seiner Gläubigen beeinflusst.

Zusammenfassung und Ausblick

Obwohl Beispiele für eine Abwendung von Kirche und Religion in Ungarn aus schon viel früherer Zeit, aus der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, allgemein bekannt sind, wissen wir nichts davon, dass sie unter den Massen weit verbreitet gewesen wäre. Zu Beginn der 1850er Jahre trat der hier vorgestellte und behandelte Prozess vielmehr mit unvorhergesehener Kraft auf.

Die Forschung ist noch schuldig geblieben aufzudecken, welche Reaktion die gesellschaftlichen und politischen Veränderungen von 1848-49 in den Jahren des Neoabsolutismus in der Mentalität, im Verhalten und in der bildungsmässigen Orientierung der Volksmassen hervorgerufen haben. Zur Veranschaulichung des Gewichtes dieser Frage sei hier eine kürzlich zum Vorschein gekommene damalige Äusserung wiedergegeben. Der ausgezeichnete Professor Imre Garzó aus Hódmezővásárhely (Marktflecken, Gr. Ung. Tiefebene) notierte seinen überraschenden Eindruck, als er, ein früherer Landwehr Offizier, als gemeiner Soldat eingezogen, vier Jahre in Italien Zwangsdienst getan hatte, folgendermassen: "Ich hätte mir die Änderung gar nicht vorstellen können, die ich nach vier Jahren, nach den vier Jahren von 1848 bis 1851, in den Äusserungen des Denkens, der Lebensauffassung, Haltung, des ganzen Wesens des gleichen Volkes vorfand. Das war mit dem Abwerfen der Leibeigenschaft verbunden, welche die unvernünftige österreichische Unterdrückung verstärkt hatte" (GARZÓ 1978: 147). In dieses Bild passt unserer Ansicht nach, dass die religiöse Gleichgültigkeit so plötzlich an die Oberfläche trat und massenhafte Ausmasse annahm. Einstweilen gibt es noch wenig Anhaltspunkte dafür, doch müssen vermutlich auch gewisse Änderungen in der Lebensweise beim plötzlichen Leerwerden der Kirchen eine Rolle gespielt haben. Vielleicht verstärkte sich der häufig zum Vorwurf gemachte Geist der Gewinnsucht dadurch, dass vor den befreiten Leibeigenen und allgemein vor der aus den feudalen Bindungen entlassenen Bevölkerung die Hoffnung aufleuchtete, reich zu werden, und sie ihre gesamte Zeit darauf zu verwenden bemüht war; oder gerade das Verschwinden des alten Lebensrahmens erfüllte das Denken der Menschen mit einem gewissen Gefühl der Lebensunsicherheit. Mangels weiterer Angaben ist dies bloss eine Hypothese. Im Gebiet Háromszék (Siebenbürgen, Szeklerland, heute Rumänien)

beklagt sich ein Pfarrer, wenn er zum Gottesdienst auffordere, antworteten ihm die Bauerns, ihre Lebensbedingungen seien schwerer geworden, und damit hätte sich auch ihre Arbeit vervielfacht, weswegen sie nicht gingen (PEIL 1869: 170-171). Eine andere Quelle spricht davon, dass es schwierig sei, mit dem Volk, das an "den Heiduckenstock" (feudales Züchtigungswerkzeug) gewöhnt war, ohne die fehlende Kirchengzucht auszukommen (PEIL 1862:402). Zweifellos kann bei der augenfällig in Erscheinung tretenden Areligiosität mitgespielt haben, dass ein beachtlicher Teil der Gesellschaft den Neoabsolutismus stets als Übergangszustand aufgefasst hatte, in dem die Institutionen der alten Ordnung grösstenteils nicht mehr, die einer neuen jedoch noch nicht in Funktion waren. Sie langsam herauskristallisierende Orientierungspunkte verursachten gewiss Verwirrung und Ratlosigkeit im einfachen Volk. (PEIL 1865: 225; SZEREMLEI 1864: 74-76).

Die Säkularisierung in weit voneinander entfernten Bereichen verweist aber darauf, wie tief verwurzelt diese Erscheinung war. Auch ausserhalb des hier erfassten Sektors ist sie zu beobachten. Hier wurden in erster Linie jene Bereiche behandelt, in denen die Weitergabe der Traditionen vor sich gegangen sein kann oder welche die Schauplätze der familiären und gesellschaftlichen Erziehung waren.

Neben der grundlegenden Gleichheit, dass die Säkularisation alle Kirchen belastete, zeigen sich Unterschiede zwischen den Katholiken und den Protestanten. Die Katholiken empfinden in erster Linie die Ermattung der Kirchlichkeit, die Protestanten die der Religiosität. Schon diese Tatsache deutet an, dass die Entfernung der Protestanten von der traditionellen Weltanschauung grösseren Masses ist. Die Annäherungsversuche der Konfessionen und besonders die Verbreitung der Sekten sind ein weiterer Beweis für die Schwächung der protestantischen konfessionellen Identifizierung. Aber wenn es auch nicht so wäre, könnten sie denen, die sich Sekten angeschlossen hatten, nicht jenes innige Glaubensleben bieten, das die katholische Kirche ihren Gläubigen ermöglicht. Die Fragen der Kirchengzucht und Erhaltung der Kirche sind spezifische Fragen einer Umwertung der Weltanschauung. Die katholische Kirche baute in ihre täglichen religiösen Vorschriften und deren praktische Ausübung die Zucht ein, während die materiellen Fragen, wie darauf hingewiesen wurde, abhängig von der Vermögenslage waren. Es ist beachtenswert, dass jede Kirche die Frage der ebenfalls mit der Umwertung der Weltanschauung eng verbundenen familiären, schulischen und kirchlichen (in der Person des Pfarrers) Erziehung für verbesserungswürdig hielt und in vieler Hinsicht ähnlich

ansah. Mit ihrem Niveau stand und fiel die Zukunft, die Kontinuität.

Die Lösungsversuche der Kirchen sind eigentlich - auch im Falle der Suche nach neuen Formen - als Versuche der Bewahrung, der Konservierung der Religiosität des Volkes auf einem gewissen Grad und dadurch als Beiträge zur Gestaltung der Volkskultur aufzufassen. Die Einflussnahme auf die familiären Bräuche ist auf diesem Gebiet von erstrangiger Wichtigkeit, da der damalige Mensch von dort die stärkste Anregung erhielt. In den kleinen Gemeinschaften, besonders im Dorf, war der Pfarrer, wenn auch nicht ungebrochen, eine traditionelle Führerpersönlichkeit. Aufgrund seines Ansehens ist auch weiterhin damit zu rechnen, dass er direkt oder mittelbar eine Wirkung auf das Leben seiner Gläubigen ausüben wird. Mit seiner Persönlichkeit muss er folglich selbstbewusst und initiativ die Kirche und die Religion vertreten. Besonders bei den Katholiken legt man gleiches Gewicht auf den Inhalt und die Form der Priesterausbildung. Auf diese Weise wird die indirekte Wirkung durch die Priester bevorzugt, was zwar eine konservativere Methode darstellt, aber falls die familiären Bräuche dabei im Blickpunkt sind, die gesamte Kultur auch direkt formen kann. Die Protestanten widmeten grössere Aufmerksamkeit der Unterweisung des einfachen Volkes und wollten sein Niveau dadurch anheben. In den Schulen rückte neben den früher praktizierten religiösen Andachten ein der liberalen Richtung entsprechender Religionsunterricht, die Unterweisung der Religion als Wissensstoff, als höhergradige wissenschaftliche Kenntnis in den Vordergrund.

Was und wie in der Schule unterrichtet wird, war nicht mehr nur eine Frage für den einfachen Menschen und für die Leute, die meistens den Beruf ihrer Eltern beibehielten, sondern bis zu einem gewissen Masse die der Intelligenz, wie sich in kirchlichen Kreisen auch die Sorge des Pfarrernachwuchses meldete. Dass in den Mittelpunkt der Bildung die betonter oder massvoller geführten Diskussionen um die Erlahmung der Gefühle für Religion und Kirche gerieten, bedeutete, dass die Kirchen in ihren Programmen eine aus dem Ideenbereich der Aufklärung ererbte These, den Gedenken der Erziehbarkeit und Verfeinerung der Massen, anzuwenden bemüht waren.

Auf der anderen Seite ist wohl auch die Erscheinung der Abwendung von Religion und Kirche letztlich ein Merkmal des von der Aufklärung ausgehenden Prozesses. Es handelt sich darum, dass eine grosse geistige Strömung mit erheblicher Verspätung ihre Wirkung im Verhalten, in der kulturellen und weltanschaulichen Orientiertheit der Massen der

Gesellschaft spüren lässt. Es ist also nicht von einem aufgefücherten System die Rede, sondern von Änderungen des Lebensgefühls und Verhaltens, die sich in der persönlichen, engen Welt der einfachsten Menschen äussern.

Am Anfang der Arbeit wurde darauf hingewiesen, dass sich das Thema bei der Erforschung des weltanschaulichen Hintergrundes der Verbürgerlichung ergeben hatte.

Die Abwendung von Kirche und Religion fällt in der Mehrzahl der hier untersuchten Bereiche ganz konkret mit der Distanzierung vom Feudalismus zusammen. Die Änderung der familiären, die Abnutzung der alten Bräuche, der Verfall des traditionellen Rahmens im religiösen Leben der Familie gehört ebenso dazu wie die Vernachlässigung der als feudaler Zwang empfundenen Beitragszahlungen zur Aufrechterhaltung der Kirche. Die Fragen der Kirchenerhaltung und der Kirchenzucht zeigten den Gläubigen das ausgesprochen feudale Antlitz der Religiosität. Auf der gleichen Linie befindet sich die Vernachlässigung der Verpflichtung zum regelmässigen und häufigen Kirchenbesuch. Die abnehmende Anziehungskraft der Pfarrerlaufbahn und später der Niedergang des seelsorgerlichen Ansehens passen ebenfalls genau in dieses Bild.

Unter den Gläubigen der protestantischen Kirchen traten alle diese Prozesse tiefer und mit grösserer mitreissender Kraft auf. Der Boden dafür war seit Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Jahrzehnten des theologischen Rationalismus vorbereitet worden (FIZÉLY 1918; RÉVÉSZ 1925: 55-56; BÍRÓ-SZILÁGYI 1949: 318-320). Und die liberale Richtung - wie gesehen - nährte dies eher noch, als dass sie es hinderte. Auch die katholische Kirche blieb von der Wirkung der Aufklärung nicht verschont und auch nicht von Liberalismus, doch ihre starken internationalen Bande, der Ultramontanismus jener Zeit und die den protestantischen gegenüber tieferen religiösen Traditionen bremsen in dieser Zeit überwiegend die Säkularisierung und Gleichgültigkeit.

Wiederholt muss daran erinnert werden, dass in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Gesellschaft trotz der Entkirchlichung im Grunde religiös blieb. Die Kirche fand aber neue, gemessen an der früheren Praxis moderne Tätigkeitsformen. Später, gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts, verbreiteten sich mit dem Niedergang des politischen Liberalismus in der katholischen wie in den protestantischen Kirchen neue und andere, ohne Vorbehalt bürgerliche Richtungen. Ihren Spuren zu folgen, wiche jedoch völlig vom Gegenstand dieser Arbeit ab.

Andererseits ist sicher, dass der hier aufgezeigte Prozess nicht

spurenlos endete. Die sog. Dorfforschung Ungarns in den Jahren zwischen 1930 und 1940 und die parallel damit begonnenen, mit Unterbrechungen bis heute dauernden Untersuchungen des heimischen religiösen Volkslebens zeichneten ein buntes Bild von der religiösen Weltanschauung der Bauernschaft Ungarns.

Die Katholiken charakterisiert eine sehr reich mit Folklore durchdrungene, farbige und archaische Volksreligiosität. Als Beispiel sei erwähnt, dass in den Büchern Sándor BÁLINT (1973; 1977) von der Vielschichtigkeit und tiefen kulturellen Verwurzeltheit der Feste gesprochen wird. Die Formen der Volksfrömmigkeit stellt die ebenfalls von Sándor Bálint betruete Autobiographie von István Orosz, "Szentember" (ein heiligmässiger Mensch), dar (OROSZ 1942) und ebenso János BÁRTH Studie (1979) über den Wallfahrtsort Hajós (Gr. Ung. Tiefebene). Die ausgedehnten Sammlungen von Zsuzsanna Erdélyi beweisen, dass die mit einer innigen Religiosität verbundenen Volksgebete fast ausschliesslich bei den Römisch-Katholischen in Gebrauch blieben. (ERDÉLYI 1974).

Demgegenüber ist die Religiosität der Protestanten verbürgerlichter, gemessen an den Katholiken einfach, puritanisch. Die Folklore fehlt in ihr fast völlig. Edit FÉL und Tamás HOFER (1969: 302-306) beschreiben eine patriarchalisch und zurückhaltend fromme reformierte Dorfgemeinde (Atány, Gr. Ung. Tiefebene) und László KARDOS (1969) ein stark sektiererisches lutherisches Dorf, in dem die historische Kirche den Glaubenseifernden kaum noch den entsprechenden Rahmen bietet (Bakonycsérnye, Transdanubien). István TÁLASI (1977: 280-284) skizziert eine rauhe und rationale reformierte Glaubensauffassung (Mittelungarn). Ein ähnliches Bild gibt István BALOGH (1947: 69-75) von den Reformierten in Debrecen (Stadt, Gr.Und.Tiefebene). Die von Mihály MÁRKUS (1943: 237-264) untersuchte Religiosität der slowakischen Lutheraner enthält ein beachtliches rationales Element, aber es gibt in ihr auch eine pietistische Tradition (Nyíregyháza, Nordostungarn).

Diese wenige Beispiele lassen die Annahme zu, dass die differenzierten Äusserungen der Volksreligion aufgrund einer unterschiedlichen historischen Entwicklung entstanden sind. Die momentanen Forschungsergebnisse reichen noch nicht aus, den Zustand des vergangenen Jahrhunderts mit der ethnographischen Untersuchung des 20. Jahrhunderts unmittelbar zu verknüpfen. Doch kann man die Hypothese wagen, dass die Ergebnisse der jüngsten religionssoziologischen Untersuchungen, wonach die Religionszugehörigkeit heute relativ häufiger von Katholiken angegeben wird

als unter Protestanten, in grossem Masse in die hier vorgestellte Periode zurückreichen. (TOMKA 1977a: 534; 1977b). Ebenso lässt sich vermuten, dass bei den Bestimmungen über die Distanzierung von Religion und Kirche im letzten Jahrhundert die in der ungarischen Ethnographie hinweisartig erwähnten, aber nicht näher untersuchten Unterschiede der katholischen und protestantischen Kultur und Mentalität auch eine Rolle spielen.

Anmerkungen

- 1 Révész (1925: 66), Vécsey (1930: 130), Salacz (1947: 272-273),
- 2 Biró-Szilágyi (1949: 368-370), Hermann (1973: 388, 397, 401, 444).
- 3 Zitiert von József Papp in Honismeret 1978, Heft 3, 48.
- 4 Die damalige Stimmung beschreibt zusammenfassend als persönliches Erlebnis: Sámuel Szeremlei (1874: 39-54).
- 5 Protokollbuch des Presbyteriums der ref. Kirche von Gyula, Bd. II, 299-300. Archiv der Reformierten Kirche in Gyula.
- 6 Eine zusammenfassende Aufarbeitung dieser Frage: Lajos Szabó (1940). RE 1850/I: 68-69. Im ersten Teil des Jahrgangs 1850 der Religio befasste sich eine ausführliche Artikelserie in den Nummern 38-42 und 44 mit den Seminarien.
- 7 RE 1862/I: 41 (Mihály Sántha: Egyház, iskola, élet (Kirche, Schule, Leben); im zweiten Teil des Jahrgangs 1867 der Religio findet sich in den Nummern 17, 18 und 20 eine Artikelserie mit dem Titel: "A papi hivatás fölismeréséről" (Über die Erkenntnis der Berufung zum Priester).

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- (Die ungarische katholische Presse. Entwicklungsgeschliche Skizze).
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- KN= Katolikus Néplap (Katholisches Volksblatt).
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- PEIL= Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap (Protestantische Kirchen- und Schulzeitung)
- RE= Religio
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- SF= Sárospataki Füzetek (Sárospataker Hefte)
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THE SIGN SYSTEM OF INDIAN CULTURE IN INDIGENIST LITERATURE

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The precondition of the formation of signs and sign systems in narrative texts is the crystallization of the meaning based on convention. It is necessary for the objects, phenomena, actions, etc. to first make their own meanings known and accepted and only then may the opportunity to interpret them as signs present itself. All that may come into being as a consequence of an exchange of information in which a multi-channel streaming of information takes place among the writer, the information universe put into words by the writer and the readers. The empty model in the people's consciousness¹ is ready to construct for itself the model of reality of the yet unknown phenomena, actions and people living in the world with the help of language. In literature this may be created by the multitude of signs, symbols formulated in the language universe.

The ideas worded above contain the theoretical summary of the development process which may be demonstrated while investigating the indigenist² literature of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador. In the following the literature on the Indian culture of the Andes as an information universe will be the object of our analysis. The literary works to be examined were born in the course of some seventy years. The analysis of these works may enable us to reveal the formation of the sign system of Indian culture in literature. During this period pro- and anti-Indian works were created in which the signs possessing the same content may acquire new denotations and connotations when appearing in a new context, therefore Indian culture itself will be examined embedded in texts.

Indigenist works may be classified into four different contentual spheres:

1. The interpretation of the world of Indians in itself and the sign system of their culture.
2. The comparative interpretation of Indians in their confrontations with white people.
3. White people as subjects or anti-subjects (GREIMAS 1976), the interpretation of the world of white people in itself.
4. The solution of the basic conflict or the suggestions to solve the

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conflict related to the circumstances of the actors included in the previous three points and their relationship to each other.

The latter three points offer the opportunity to interpret Indian culture in texts. Behind the acting of Indians as subjects or antisubjects there are programmes which are dependent on the writer's ideology and political attachment. Before getting down to investigating the indigenist literature of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, mention must be made of the ideological background standing behind the conflict between the information universes of these works as well as the potentials to solve these conflicts.

The Ideological Background of Indigenist Literature

The attention of romanticism prevailing in Latin-American literature on the one hand, and liberalism prevalent in politics in the 19th century on the other, was turned towards the Indians. However, that attention was directed not at the real Indian problem but mostly the conflicts of the onetime Indian high cultures and the Spanish conquerors and it considered the reality of its own age to be of secondary importance only. However, literature, philosophy and the social sciences reflecting reality in a distorted manner went through a process of purification at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. In literature romanticism was replaced by realism and naturalism, while in the field of ideology positivism was gaining ground. Positivism philosophy wished to highlight the real situation of the Indians. In the period following World War I, the economic and political reasons of the horrible situation of the Indians were recognized and efforts were made to reveal all that in its mobility (SANCEZ 1960). The new approach of the social sciences and the ideological trends to national reality established the movement which is generally referred to under the heading of indigenism. "Indigenism may essentially be looked upon as a social theory wishing to induce politics to carry out actions positively affecting Indians" (BELTRAN 1956).

Indigenism is the result of two movements of conflicting aims, possessing different roots. One of them considers the real situation of the Indians as its starting point. It has two branches, the first approaching the problems from the viewpoint of the Indians, the second proclaiming as its aim to condemn and unveil the subordinated and oppressive relationship exercised by white people and mestizoes. The former idealizes Indian culture and wishes to preserve it in its own state. Its ideological background is

constituted partly by historical idealism, partly by cultural idealism. Cultural idealism glorifies the one-time high cultures, attributes the present state of the Indians to the sins of the conquerors, wishes to restore the state of the "Rousseauian" and "Las Casasian" "happy savage". This approach to Indian culture is usually referred to as "the pro-Indian behaviour of the museum". It relies on the anthropological schools of cultural idealism, cultural relativism; the latter wishing to maintain the right of every people to develop according to its own internal laws, preserving its own traditional culture.

The other branch of indigenism is characterized by turning towards the western world. It has a very strong political motivation, therefore its leftist and rightist trends are sharply separated from each other. The supporters of the leftist trend wish to improve the situation of the Indians in a manner similar to the economic liberation of the proletarian masses. This view is represented by the Marxist, communist writers, for example, Mariátegui (1959). The rightist trend is rooted in overestimating European and North-American culture. They desire the rapid transformation of the Indian communities following in the western footsteps, disregarding their specific features.

Though in a modest degree, anarchism is also allocated some ground in the system of thinking of indigenism.

The basis of indigenism is constituted by so many controversial ideological, philosophical, social science considerations therefore a diversity of its features may be stressed depending on time, place and the given (economic, historical, political) situation. However, indigenist literature could only be brought to life by the "pro-Indians", the leftist trend of the western approach and partly the anarchists.

The Place of Indigenist Literature in Latin-American Literature, the Beginnings of Indigenist Literature

In Latin-American literature an especially significant place is occupied by works of political, social motivations, wishing to exert a direct influence on the society of their age. Indigenist literature also belongs to these trends of political-social character. The literary historian of renown, Alberto Zum Felde describes the historical-cultural objectives of the writers of the developing countries as follows:

"a/. to have access to the national intellectual riches in the field of

culture,

b/. to influence the dynamism of social structures,

c/. to provoke certain social transformations by seeking the national character" (ZUM FELDE 1959/II: 38).

All the three efforts may be equally observed in indigenist literature whose roots go back to romanticism (CONCHA 1934, GORTARI 1971, FLORES (1945). The work referred to as the first indigenist novel is the book of the Peruvian writer Clorinda Matto de Turner (1889), entitled "Aves sin nido" which, turning its back on the Indian figure fulfilling the role of spokesman in Indianist literature flourishing up till that time, made sellable by the producers of literature, represented spuriously, wished to depict the problems of the "contemporary Indian" living in the Andes.

We on our part consider as the first indigenist work, including the four contentual layers described above in their germs, the short story of the Ecuadorian Juan Leon de Mera, the author of romantic Indianist novels (MERA 1959). Mera writes the story in first person singular, similar to a travel report. He is walking with a friend in the hills where they go into a little hut; there they meet an Indian begger, Pedro who asked for admittance on account of the rain. By way of the story told by Pedro about his lot, though merely at a sintagmatic level, the system of schemes comes into being in which the Indian culture we are most interested in is worded and it is placed in the threefold context indicated above. Pedro's life is distributed into three parts: well-being, slow impoverishment caused by different harmful factors, poverty. The individual phases are structured not according to the system of introduction, treatment, conclusion but they are parts of the same process (treatment) in a dialectic relationship with each other, the cause of which, Mera believes, is the determined fate of the Indians. The world of the Indians appears here as the superstitious world of a mass suffering under the oppression of external forces, living in ingorance. The introduction of Pedro's life is clad in a literary form, all that, however, is embedded by Mera in a travel report and a political indictment. Thus the text divided in three parts is in harmony with the abilities to decode information of those not yet familiar with the Indian world. Mera's message could not have been worded in a work fully considered to be of literary character thus this writing is dominated by the non-literary, so the non-organic parts.

Mera makes statements about the four fields of Indian culture. They are the following:

- 1./ The economic basis of the existence of the Indians.
- 2./ The everyday life of the Indians.
- 3./ The extraordinary events of the life of the Indians.
- 4./ The Indians' mechanism defending their culture.

Mera outlines these three spheres of existence with one feature each which he considers the most characteristic. In the short story the Indian is not placed in the world surrounding him and no suggestions are made trying to solve his problems but the politician's tone characteristic of the indigenist novels is manifested here too. This is how Mera completes his writing: "And, finally, these troubles will be cured but too late, in the meantime poor Pedro will keep robbing and drinking and, clad in rags, lead his tired donkey which is the symbol of the Indian race overworked and exhausted to the extreme by the evil deeds and tortures of their lords" (MERA 1959: 138).

The first novel looked upon as really indigenist is "Aves sin nido" mentioned above. In his introduction to the novel, Matto de Turner presents a programme draft worded accurately in which he wishes to call the attention of the readers to the unfortunate situation of the Indians in order that they should make efforts to improve their lot, at the same time he wants to create a "national literature". He, just like Mera, is fighting against the same artistic problems and is making admitted experiments. In the novel the confrontation of an extremist pair of conflicts, consisting of three layers, romantic in all the three cases, is presented. He characterizes Indian culture as follows: The Indians lack almost all kinds of economic bases to satisfy the requirements of life. Their days are spent in superstitions, inhuman work and constant fear from the prophecies' being fulfilled. They have almost no extraordinary occasions when they rise above the greyness of everyday existence. Single-handed they are unable to protect themselves or put up any resistance.

Indian culture, unable to lead an independent life, is connected to the society of white people or mestizoes in two ways. On the one hand, the urban, good, educated white man, impersonated by a married couple of Lima, stands up for the Indians. They are opposed by the so-called "holy trinity", the priest, the judge and the governor. Behind this opposition, not only that among the races but cultural confrontation comes into being as well: the educated town (which has a positive relationship with the "beloved race") and the uneducated backward village. A third conflict, at a personal level, whose story must be briefly outlined here, is embedded into this

double system of conflicts. An engineer couple, arriving at a village in the Andes from Lima, stands up for the Indians against the local potentates. They protect especially one family. The local potentates want to have them lynched but they are saved by the Indians hurrying to help them; however, several Indians die in the fight and the children of the family most supported by the couple are left orphans. The couple from Lima decide to return to the capital and take with them the Indian orphan girls. The governor's son escapes to follow the girls because he is in love with one of them; but before they could be united in a happy marriage, they learn that they are siblings, both being the children of the priest. Thus the basic conflict is broken down to conflicts of fates. This mode of constructing the novel, incorporating the conflicts into each other, remains characteristic of indigenist literature with smaller or greater differences.

The technique of incorporating pairs of conflicts into each other enable Matto de Turner to make the problems raised into organic ones. The couple of Lima represent the town, progress, they come in conflict with the backwardness of the village. The solution is the interference of the inhabitants of the country in the conditions becoming unbearable. Matto de Turner managed to arouse the attention of the public and manipulate the consciousness of the recipients in this direction by utilizing the paraphernalia of the romantic novel.

The Indian as the Anti-Subject

The Indian may also fulfil the role of the anti-subject when, being transposed to the other side of the scale, he becomes a figure possessing negative properties. In this case, although his culture may have the same properties as in the works where the Indian functions as a subject, these properties, appearing in a new context, may acquire a new meaning on the basis of their place occupied along the syntagmatic axis.

The ideological background of these works was Hispanism, justifying the conquest, considering the pre-Columbian past and the present state of Indian culture worthless and inferior. The artistic form for all that was "borrowed" from modernism enabling American literature to disrupt itself from Spain. To demonstrate this trend, we shall briefly examine a work of Ventura (1924) from among the many writings available.

This work investigates merely Indian culture in itself "from inside", from among the four contentual layers of indigenist literature listed above.

The title of the short story in question is "Ushanan Jampi" (in VENTURA 1924) which, in a nutshell, has the following plot: the jajas (council of the elderly) mete out the sentence of jitarishum on an Indian accused of several thefts which means that the thief may not return to his village any more. However, the convict is unable to force himself to leave his mother and land. He returns and is punished hideously, he is tortured to death, only bits and pieces remain of his body.

While the indigenist novels in which the Indian figures as a subject assume an internal peace in the Indians, this short story reveals a conflict situation among the Indians which suggests that, on account of their original inferiority, the Indians are doomed to destroy themselves. The four features characterizing Indian culture: adherence to the land, the superstitious world of beliefs, feast and revenge, appear as some sinful and evil destruction of the self. Although in this work there is no one "on the other side of the scale", it is unequivocal that white people's rule over the barbarian and mendacious Indians is justified. Before taking a step further, mention must be made of the so-called nativist trend which, in opposition to the Hispanist approach, extolled the Indians to the extreme, at the same time the depth of its character drawing failed to exceed that of the artistic representation of the Indians appearing on postcards.³

The First Significant Attempt at Modeling Indian Culture. The Novel by Alcides Arguedas, Entitled "Raza de Bronce"

The novel by Alcides Arguedas (1959/I) which, in some literary historians' view, is a work significantly contributing to creating indigenist literature, constructed a number of contentual and formal stereotypes which were to appear constantly, though in different contexts, in the indigenist works to be born later.

This work emphasizes the same elements characteristic of Indian culture worded by Mera and Matto de Turner, the adherence to the land, the superstitious world view, the importance of feasts and revenge. Before providing a brief analysis of this work, it must be pointed out that Alcides Arguedas belonged not to the progressive branch of indigenism. His work entitled "Pueblo enfermo" (in ARGUEDAS 1959/I), for example, clearly reflects the views of the racism based on biologism.

In spite of that, obviously on account of the realistic character of his work, the Indian main heroes of "Raza de bronce" fulfil the function of

subjects and in the Indian-white man conflict characteristic of the indigenist works, Arguedas, whether intentionally or unintentionally, that is a question unimportant in this respect, unequivocally supports the Indians, moreover draws an Indian figure to whom he attributes outstandingly positive properties, thereby elevating him to an almost mythical figure.

His work is divided into two units fairly clearly separated from each other, connected by a love story of romantic flavour. The first part which describes a longish and dangerous journey, during which two of the Indians going to the valley for corn lose their lives, offers a good opportunity to demonstrate a few specificities of Indian culture. The Indians are in permanent contact with forces of nature whose natural scientific origin is not familiar to them - they interpret them as fantastic, superstitious phenomena - thus their fear from wild forces keeps them in constant threat. But their fear is caused not only by the physical world but the landowner and his army of mestizoes considering them slaves as well. Since they are not aware of the natural and social relationships surrounding them, their everyday actions are propelled by false consciousness, superstition. The most characteristic elements of the superstitious world view is prophecy and its fulfilment in the course of the story. That is what the novel begins with and it may be felt at the depth of almost every event.

Another important element of Indian culture, adherence to the land, is given an a significant role in the first part of the work. For example, in spite of the fact that, on account of his extraordinary physical strength, Agiali, one of the protagonists, would perhaps have a better life in the town, he returns to his village to marry his love, Wata Wara who is expecting a child from someone else. The farm-bailiff raped the girl performing her compulsory work as a servant, and in spite of that Agiali is willing to marry her although he is planning to kill the child to be born. (The Indians are said to have children not their own eaten up by pigs.) Arguedas considers feasts one of the important elements of Indian culture which is described by several examples in the work. He describes almost with ethnographic accuracy the burial of an Indian called Quilco, ruining a whole family.

Just like Mera's short story and Matto de Turner's novel discussed above, this work is also built upon the basic conflict between the Indians and white men. That is emphasized at several points in the events taking place at diverse levels, then it is temporarily pushed into the background in order to gain prominence again. For example, it has already been referred

to above that Wata Wara was raped by the farm-bailiff. This conflict between power and subordination may still be dissolved. The child is killed. The evil deeds of the young landowner Pantoja, killing animals without reason and flogging Indians, are still bearable, the community does not consider them big enough insults to revolt. The murder of Wata Wara, however, though it is not intentional, forces the Indians to revolt and revenge being their only possibility to protect themselves, they burn their lords in accordance with the "old Indian law". Arguedas considers their decision justified.

The Interpretation of the World of Indians in Itself and the Sign System of Their Culture

If we examine the Indian cultural models in which the Indian figures as a subject, it becomes clear that only a few snatched out elements of the Indian information universe receive consistently decisive tasks. They are called elements fulfilling the function of signs, or simply signs. This denomination may perhaps seem to be arbitrary in our case but allow us to refer to the following definition: "every sign has a meaning and that is the only conclusion about signs which is undebatable" (MARTINOV 1966: 41).

The nominators of the signs examined by us are descriptions, scenes, situations, systems of relationships of characters, and at the grammatical level excerpts from texts, sentences, or words. The four signs which have already been discussed at some length so far too are adherence to the land, prophecy and its fulfilment, feasts and revenge. According to our terminology, they together constitute the sign system of Indian culture.

In the following we shall examine the occurrence and ways of appearance in the different works of the elements functioning as signs, encountered several times in the three indigenist works analyzed already.

1. Adherence to the Land / Land of Birth

Adherence or attachment to the land may be the central theme of a literary work of art [e.g. Alegria (1941), Icasa (1953)], or a part possessing marginal significance [e.g. Arguedas, A.: "Raza de Bronce" (in ARGUEDAS 1959)].

Naturally, attachment to the land is not the basic characteristic feature of Indian culture only, it is an essential cohesive force everywhere where the main means of production is land, securing a living. In the

indigenist novels, however, adherence to the land means not only that since society considers Indians inferior both from the racial and the economic points of view, thus attachment to land at the same time expresses the desire to remain in their own medium, i.e. in their homeland which presents relative protection against the hostile world surrounding them. How does all that assume a literary form in the individual works?

In one of his short stories, the Bolivian P.D. Machicao, (1966/68) wishes to describe in detail attachment to land and only that, since it has no plot whatsoever. His hero Quilco, who is a general figure just like Mera's Pedro, sets out from his village because his desire is to live in a city, love an elegant white woman, and be rich. On the way he muses about the realization of his desires being almost completely impossible since no member of his race has ever been a usurper or could ever really love a white woman. Finally, Quilco decides to return to his village. "And then the donkey showed its fatigue and the grass revealed the secret of the shepherd girl" (MACHICAO 1966/68: 78). Machicao manages this critical choice so that it lends special emphasis to the following conclusion: the Indian is unable to tear himself out of the environment he is accustomed to, he cannot join the life of the country on account of the internal laws of his culture. Therefore the piece of land he lives on is identical with his culture.

In his novel entitled "Huasipungo, J. Icasa (1953) describes the revolt of the Indians, accepting all calamities, carrying their lords on their backs, characterized by blind belief, as soon as efforts are made to chase them away from their small piece of land.

In Cuadra's short story entitled "Una oveja perdida" (in CUADRA 1931) fear from being chased away from the land of birth appears in an indirect form. An indian shepherd loses one of his lambs. If the master (a white man) learns about it, he may chase him away from his land. The Indian is in for a dilemma: he either tries to find the lamb and leaves his baby unguarded or stays with his child and waits for his master to punish him. He chooses the former solution and when he returns with the lost lamb he only finds the body of his baby torn to pieces. The ravenous dogs ate up most of it. This naturalistic story is also an example of attachment to land.

The basic conflict of C. Alegria's work entitled "El mundo es ancho y ajeno" (1941) is struck between the Indian sticking to his land and the landlord coveting that land. The fight for the land here too means not only insistence on a concrete piece of land but attachment to the only potential of the maintenance of the culture and economic life of the Indians, their

food secured by farming in the traditional manner, i.e. the token of their existence. With the passing of time, increasingly more land is confiscated from the comunidad.⁴ All those who are forced to leave their homes on account of losing their land, meet a tragic fate. The story ends with the complete defeat of the comunidad resisting the landowner. And the Indians staying alive have nowhere to go.

Fear from the alien plays an important role in Casar Vallejo's novel entitled "Tungsteno" too (1931). In the second part of the work the gendarmes drag two boys enlisted in the army to the mining village. The two boys are aware of not seeing their land of birth any more, they know - they have learnt in the course of tortures - that their resistance would be all in vain. Their only hope to stay alive is to accept their fate. Vallejo justifies attachment to land not by saying that the Indians as a "race" are unable to live anywhere else in any other way since the communist protagonist of the novel is an Indian who has seen the world but with the following argument: if someone is dragged away by force it is identical with death. His relatives die for him since no one has ever returned from the army.

The contextual meaning of attachment to the land (land of birth) is the following: the Indians are able to live in a way acceptable to them only in their own cultural circle, the world surrounding them is alien and hostile to them, therefore the precondition of the maintenance of their culture is to live their lives on their own motherland.

2. Prophecy and its Fulfilment

When analyzing the novels of Matto de Turner and Alcides Arguedas, we have already referred to the importance of prophecy and its fulfilment in the course of the work. Let us see a few examples support that statement.

The lengthy novel of C. Alegria mentioned above begins with a prophecy too: the lizard disappearing among the plants indicates the starting point of a series of tragedies. The animal predicting the tragedy brings about a double calamity: Pascuela, the wife of one of the protagonists, Rosendo Maqui dies and the Indian community is chased away from Rumi, its ancient place of living.

In Icasa J.'s short story entitled "Barranca grande" (n.d.) the priest's sermon becomes a prophecy and fear from the fulfilment itself leads to its fulfilment. In his novel entitled "Huasipungo" mentioned above, too,

the priest's curse -which he pours onto the Indians because the so-called "rich" Indian, appointed for the religious feast, was unable to cover the expenses though he sold all his belongings- is fulfilled. The elemental disaster is the fulfilment of the priest's prophecy.

Prophecy and its fulfilment constitute the community element of the belief system of Indian culture and should it become individual, it loses its real function.

The protagonist of one of Arguedas short stories, entitled "Venganza aymara" (1959) describes the love revenge of an Indian who happens to live in a town. This Aymara Indian who earns his daily bread as a worker, believes in prophecies just like the Indian farmers. For him a dream about a bull means that blood will flow, the yellow butterfly flying out of the shop in the morning means death. Both the protagonist of the short story and all the Indians living in the town are familiar with the meaning of these prophecies. So the sign of prophecy is a generally known cultural element which plays an essential role even in this changed urban environment.

Not only prophecy and its fulfilment receive an important role in indigenist literature but - fitted into the same system - prophecy and its nonfulfilment as well. Thus, for example, in C. Alegria's novel entitled "El mundo es ancho y ajeno" the fortune-teller of Rumi predicts from the juice of coca that the village is in danger. Her prophecy is fulfilled. As the situation of the comunidad is becoming increasingly more hopeless, she too wants to do something to protect the village from the danger. She steals the picture of Don Abenamar y Roldán and tries to bring about his death by analogical magic, resorting to indirect active prophecying. Thereby she predicts Abenamar's death as it were. However, no harm is done to the landowner, no superstitious dealings represent any real force against power. The witch loses her credit. When the community, deprived of its land, moves to a worse place, it refuses to build up her house whereas it would be their ancient duty to do so.

The examples quoted demonstrate that prophecy and its fulfilment represent significant elements of the Indians' belief system, being the signs of their world of beliefs since they were chosen by the authors of these works from among several properties (constituting a coherent unity by the way) which might have reflected Indian consciousness in the same manner. Thus, for example, they might have emphasized fear from *condenado*,⁵ bewitching, the evil eye, cursing, blessing, belief in different supernatural beings... But, instead, the consciousness of Indian culture is

unequivocally represented by prophecy and its fulfilment most truthfully therefore they have become the signs of this sphere of Indian culture.

3. Feasts

When first observing an alien culture, attention is attracted by the specific, the spectacular, i.e. primarily by feasts, customs. That holds true to an enhanced extent for the Indians looked upon as serfs, deprived of all their rights who are able to behave in a way worthy of themselves on such extraordinary occasions only. The Indians' feasts, connected to the great events of life, the protecting saints of the village, preceding work performed together by the community, representing dignity, will power, a one-time great culture, though distorted in the indigenist novels, still bear the signs of sublime features in traces.

The feasts take place in a similar manner in the Indian communities living on the territories of the Andes in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador. The differences, though this is true to a limited extent only, are dependent on the place occupied by the Indians in society. Thus there may be lesser differences between the feasts of the "serfs", the free peasants and the Indians of the comunidad. A characteristic feature of the Indians' feasts is the result of the community character of their own culture: the wealthiest Indians are to cover the expenses of the feasts, those better off are expected to organize wedding feasts and funeral ceremonies on a more lavish scale. All that has economic relevances as well, enabling the author to discuss the financial relationships of the Indians too. Thus this sign possesses a double semantic meaning; on the one hand, it emphasizes the positive personality traits of the Indians (which may switch over to its opposite too), on the other, it serves for indicating the economic relationships within the Indian community.

Let us demonstrate all that with one or two examples.

Following the basic pattern of the indigenist works, the conflict in the short story of Blym H. entitled "La rebelión" (in ARMANDO 1969) emerges between the Indians and the white men exploiting them. The farm-bailiff sets out to supervise the work of the Indians who, instead of working, are celebrating the feast of the patron saint of landed property, called Mamita Purisima. The farm-bailiff shouts at the Indian advancing him: "Listen, you idiot! Where are the other animals who are beasts just like you?" (ARMANDO 1969: 198). The Indian suffers with resignation to be called an animal. In

his indignation, the farm-bailiff wants to prohibit the feast lasting for eight days and has the hilacata, the leader of the Indians captured. It is then that the patience of the Indians suffering to be referred to as animals, idiots and beasts comes to the saturation point and the conflict is dissolved not by their usual retrieval but by engaging in a riot: aware of their resistance having grave consequences as is the case now too. However, the holiness of the feast is more important for them than even their lives.

In one of the short stories of the Bolivian modernist poet R.J. Freyre, whose central theme is the sole protective mechanism of the Indians: riot and revenge, violating feasts figures as one of the conflicts giving rise to revenge. The Indian, deprived of all his properties, protests when the landowner wants to confiscate his horse too. "I have sold my llamas to be able to buy this horse for the feast of San Juani." (ARMANDO 1969: 258). In Freyre's brief short story of a closed structure this sentence too has its own compressed message: since the Indian is not returned his horse, his revenge indirectly serves the protection of the feasts.

It is looked upon as the most humane scenes of J. Icaza's novel entitled "Huasipungo" when the protagonist Andrés keeps vigil by the dead body of his wife Cushi. "It is a pain which makes the almost beastly figures of the short story human for a second" (VERA's preface to ICAZA 1953: XII-XIII). Icaza describes in detail the funeral customs and ceremonies not only to shed light on the dignity of the Indians for a second but also to emphasize their social and economic side. In order to be able to buy the most expensive tomb for his wife, since that way, in the priest's view, she will find herself in the presence of the Lord sooner, Andrés is forced to steal. As a punishment for his theft, he is flogged before his son's eyes. In the same novel, Icaza describes minga, the feast preceding work performed together by the community, partly of religious character, partly reminiscent of market entertainments. On such occasions-the tradition goes back to the time of the Inca empire-the costs are paid by the superior person, in this case the landowner. The stingy "aristocrat" is aware of his having to pay these expenses otherwise the "idiot Indians" would not build the road for the American firm.

Feasts represent the central topic in the novel of J.M. Arguedas (1941), an outstanding figure of indigenist literature, entitled "Yawar Fiesta" too. Courage and strength flaunted at the bullfights adopted from the Spanish are of such great importance for the Indians that the Indians of

Lima, fighting against barbarity, respecting Viracocha Mariátegui,⁶ fight but in vain against the feast claiming so much blood sacrifice.

In indigenist literature, feasts have become the sign of the Indians' dignity, courage and desire for freedom.

4. Revenge

As we have seen from the example of Arguedas, in indigenist literature revenge serves for solving conflicts which cannot be eliminated in any other way. Revenge is a property of secondary formation of the culture of Indians living in a permanent accultural process which enables the Indians to protest against, and resist the ruling classes (WATHEL 1974: 126-127). Revenge is a response to the evil deeds committed against the Indians, therefore it is neither murder nor sin. It represents the sign of the protective mechanism of the Indians. Naturally, this and the other signs reflecting the Indian information universe in a linguistic form, have been created not as the result of a homogeneous system. Broken down to the individual works, all of them may be understood in their contexts but at the same time they may be looked upon as signs carrying common features valid for the whole of indigenist literature.

Let us first examine Freyre's short story mentioned above from this point of view. In the short story of limited dimension the conflict is manifested in a poem-like manner, it is worded in pictures, dialogues overadorned with adjectives, with a balladlike conciseness. The conflict between the exploited Indian and the white man exploiting him is solved in the only way possible, by revenge, the annihilation of the enemy. Just like Arguedas A., Freyre looks upon this murder as justified.

Contrary to most of the modernist artists, Freyre wished to depict in this brief short story not the "exotic Indian" but the real situation in which he lived. He wanted to achieve his objective by keeping the literary techniques of modernism (MENTON n.d.: 219-220). The Indians gather on the hill and throw the stones on the two "white" travellers while following the rhythm of music, and to the same rhythm they surround the white men and perform the hideous ceremony of killing.

In J. Icaza's novel, entitled "Huasipungo", the landowner don Alfonso is afraid of the riot of the Indians after he has distributed less produce among them than in the previous years, wishing to gain more profit. In his memory he conjures up some hideous revenges. Don Victor was killed by his

Indians rioting against him as follows: they skinned his hands and feet and made him walk like that. And Don Jorge was pushed into a cauldron full of hot honey and was cooked alive. After recalling these atrocities, Don Alfonso shouts out: "How wild they are!" Icaza presents the landowner as a negative figure therefore Don Alfonso's adjective despising the Indians is turned against himself. Icaza admits that the Indians are really wild but that may be attributed to the murdered landlords for having treated these human beings like animals.

In Peruvian literature, too, we encounter examples of Indian revenge or, if you please, "revolts". Thus, for example, in the novel of C. Alegria, constructed more consciously than that of Icaza, revenge does not assume a decisive significance for the community Indians. Finally, revenge as a possibility is discarded not by the community itself, but by its outstanding leader, Rosendo Maqui who, just like Chocahuanca in A. Arguedas' novel, is aware of the fact that a reprisal for the revenge would mean a much greater drawback to the community than the advantage gained from it: the death of one or two rascals. Therefore in this novel revenge appears not as the execution of the community verdict but as a deed carried out individually. Stones are thrown at Iniguez, Abenamer's representative during the lawsuit. But that is an individual revenge too. They want to kill Bismarc Ruiz cheating on them; they ruthlessly murder El Magico who betrayed them infamously. In spite of carrying out their revenge individually, these Indians do not act on their own personal interests.

The Bolivian writer Lara (1958, 1974) looks upon revenge as a justified verdict too. In his socialist-realist novels the possibility of revenge always emerges as a means to temporarily solve conflicts and if it is realized (1958) it is carried out in the form of community verdict.

Personal revenge whose aim is individual, is murder in the eyes of the indigenist writers. Thus, for example, A. Arguedas' Aymara Indian (1959) living in the town kills in order to protect his own honour. In connection with this murder Arguedas explains that the Indian, whose community feelings cease to be functional when appearing in a new environment, makes use of this strength protecting the community but that is essentially no more a justified verdict but a deed morally condemnable. Juanillo is as deformed inside as he is outside.

Naturally, we would receive a false picture of the model of Indian culture related to indigenist literature if we were to consider it merely the realization of these four signs. In addition, several other features of

culture are allotted outstanding roles in the individual novels, short stories. For example, the Indians' love of nature is emphasized in the novels of Alegria (1963) and in the works of J.M. Arguedas (1935, 1941, 1958, 1974), etc. The beauty of the folklore of the Indians also receives a prominent role in the works of several indigenist writers (ALEGRIA 1963, ARGUEDAS 1935, 1941, 1958, 1974).

So far we have examined the interpretation of the world of the Indians in itself and the sign system of their culture from among the contentual layers of the indigenist novels.

As to the second and third contentual spheres, we may briefly say the following.

The Relationship Between the Indians and White Men in the Indigenist Novels - the World of "White Men"

The information universe to be depicted has two poles. The author may occupy either this or that pole, otherwise the novel may not come into existence. Therefore in these works one pole is occupied by the Indian as subject and the opposite side is taken by the white man as antisubject. The theme of the work emerges as a result of the confrontation of these worlds; it may vary in depth and is realized in a conflict of one or two layers. The Indian is always evaluated by way of his relationship with the white man, while the white man becomes a novel hero by way of his attitude towards the Indian.

The white man or the mestizo holding a higher status represent power. Examples are the priest, the farm-bailiff, the governor, the landowner on the way to becoming a capitalist, etc. These figures carry out a diversity of evil actions against the Indians on account of their power. It is not their human greatness or knowledge that raise them above the Indians for all of them are uneducated, primitive people; only their power, "the knowledge of things" enable them to rule the Indians.

In addition to conflicting the ruling and subordinated relationships of the two "races", these works construct the oppositions of power and lack of all rights, wealth and poverty at the depth of the novel. By way of the incorporation of individual tragedies, this system of conflicts will be transformed into a novel or a short story.

As these novels belong to naturalism, realism, socialist realism and, to a lesser extent, the modernist trend, they strive at eliminating the

conflicts or at least try to close them in a positive or negative manner. That is the fourth contentual layer whose brief examination is presented in the following.

Eliminating the Conflicts Between White Men and the Indians

The conflicts outlined above may be eliminated in a diversity of ways. They may be classified into the following types:

1. As a result of their revolt, revenge the Indians temporarily annihilate or fight back the enemy.
2. Instead of solving the conflict, the Indians give up the fight or fail.
3. Enlightened (Marxist) Indians, rising above their community, wish to change the lot of the Indians.

The solutions may be combined with each other. However, the opposition gains no final solution in even one case, which follows from the real relationship of the two information universes.

However, all the works make the readers feel the objective they insinuate: the attention of the leaders and intellectuals of the individual countries is called to the problems of the Indian population and the inhabitants living in the Andes.

In the present study an attempt has been made to examine the contents of the novels and short stories of a few indigenist writers of Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador.

Our primary concern has been to reveal the functions of the signs of Indian culture in the indigenist works. All of the works examined embedded their plot structures, the events and the systems of the characters into the potentials included in a given framework. All that could partly take this form because as long as the Indian information universe is not known well enough, the necessary references cannot be made. This literature did not enable the writers to represent the Indians in a deeper reality than the opposition of white man - Indian, and its limitations originating from its lack of traditions did not allow the authors to pay attention to form and the diversity of representation.

Perhaps that is why José Maria Arguedas, looked upon as the most significant writer of indigenist literature, protests against the classification of literary historians. "They speak about the indigenist novel, they qualified my works entitled "Agua" and "Yawar Fiesta" as indigenist. But that is not true. They are novels in which all the elements

of the territory of the Andes in Peru appear in their uneasy and disturbed human reality, and the Indian is but one of the many and diverse types of people" (ARGUEDAS 1968:13).

Notes

- 1 This expression is used by Janusz Banczerowski (1979: 11).
- 2 The term indigenist literature used by literary historians means the literature investigating the problems of Indians, created mostly in the Latin-American countries inhabited by Indians.
- 3 Mario Vargas Llosa (1969) writes condemningly about this literature.
- 4 Comunidad or ayllu is the name of the Indian village community which also means a property community.
- 5 The Conendado a quechua is the characteristic monster figure of the world of tales and myths, showing common features with the European ghosts and haunting dead people.
- 6 Viracocha was the name of one of the main Gods of the Incas, the Quechua Indians, perhaps in memoriam Viracocha, address people commanding respect as virakocha.

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CHANGES IN TRADITIONAL LAND-OWNING IN PRECOLONIAL MADAGASCAR

(Collective Property in Land and the Forms of Private Possessions at the
Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries)

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The social, economical and political relations in the Imerina kingdom of the Andrianampoinimerina age (1783-1809), which meant the culmination of Madagascar's precolonial social development, were basically characterized by that peculiar contradiction which arose from the state construction on the principles of natural relationships that connected primary Malgasy communities called fokonolonas. This reconstruction (whose detailed analysis we must pass over now,) resulted in a basic duality. These were the objective formation of domination-subjection relations, i.e. of exploitation and the subjective understanding of the same relations by the members of different social groups as connections of correlation and equality. Relying on the usage of economic anthropology, we can say that social relations on state level were characterized both by the real, negative form of reciprocity and by its illusory-ideologic, generalized form. As a consequence, the fact of exploitation remained hidden while the development of social separation into class-like groups had an organic, "unobserved" form: power and subjection existed within seeming consensus.

If we examine those changes in traditional landowning that took place in precolonial Malgasy (Merina) development, first we have to stress the fact that land-owning relations, as the basic relations of traditional statehood, also took the consequences of the above dichotomy. The actual content of their changes differed from their social understanding.

The views concerning land and land-owning actually formed an organic part of the traditional ideology that strongly influenced Merina society as a whole as well as the everyday life of little communities and their members. This ideology expressed itself through a range of complex value categories, within a system of basic notions that were suitable for directing the activities of social groups and individuals. By examining the changes of traditional land-owning, we can learn the contents of these authentic notions, i.e. we must understand the basic features of

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traditional Merina world and social views.

A particular synthesis of these value categories was expressed in the social notion of kingdom and state, i.e. of fanjakana (DELIVRÉ 1974: 159-163). These values - rather arbitrarily, but with the aim of better understanding - can be divided into two groups: the values of general world view in respect to space and time, and social values (though, we must stress it again, they could not be separated in actual thinking). Having the fine analyses of A. Delivré (1974: 139-159) and L. Molet (1979: 1-11), we shall give only a brief account of the first group. As far as the other group is concerned, in the present paper we concentrate only on the aspect which illustrates the central role of the ruler by briefly examining the special relationship between the king and his people.

First there is hasina among the values concerning space and time which can be defined as the Madagascan variation of the mana-image well-known in the history of religion. As such, it means effectiveness, potency, ability, an impersonal intellectual substance in general, etc. or and this is of greater importance as far as statehood is concerned - the always present spirit of the ancestors (razana), chiefly that of the royal ancestors. Hasina, which exists in things and actions, has a functional framework, vintana (constellation, fate, destiny), which-with the astrological position at time of birth - is given to everyone once and for all. Nevertheless, on a social level, it also means dynamic definiteness: agreements and oppositions on different levels form a range of effects whose elements can strengthen or weaken each other and main tendencies can be altered in a proper way. This is the aim of different propitiatory-mediator (sorona) and exorcizing (faditra) rites which all have their specialists (their common name is olomasina meaning "holy people", or, if they side with evil, mpamosavy i.e. "witches"). The aim of the central feasts of the Merina kingdom - as in the annual ceremony, the Fandroana, i.e. the "royal bathing" - was to gain, hasina, by carefully performing a series of actions determined by custom. Hasina was of vital importance both for the ruler and for the fanjakana. At the time of Fandroana all the free Merina subjects (ambaniandro) had to present money (a complete piastre)* to the king. This gift was also called, hasina. This was not only a symbolic manifestation of loyalty; with this - according to the beliefs of the time - real strength and power concentrated in the person of the king.¹

The Fandroana, which A. Delivré describes as "the real cosmic liturgy

of death and life" ("véritable liturgie cosmique de la mort et de la vie"), and as "a collective ritual of passing from death to life" ("rite collectif du passage de la mort à la vie") (DELIVRÉ 1974: 154), created following M.Mauss' interpretation - a total social fact (fait social total) which clearly expressed and enforced the ideal-ideological notion of fanjakana. According to this, the existence and the survival of the kingdom depended on a dual consensus: it could not exist without the continuous, benevolent support of the ancestors - which the king and his people could deserve by keeping the traditions - nor without the solidarity (fiavanana) between the ruler and his subjects.

On the state level, the essential element of "citizens'" relationship with each other was fiavanana which meant ideological reciprocity. It derived from the agrarian Merina communities' original internal cohesion that was later raised to state level. Among the numerous definitions of fiavanana one that referred to the above-mentioned connection between the king and his people was of especially great importance. According to the kabarys,² the king's speeches, which reflected the traditional ideology, the ruler and his people had an intimate connection that was equal to the closest blood-relationship. The idea that the king was "the father and the mother" (ray aman-dreny) of his people was also true the other way round: the kabarys often mention the inhabitants of the country as "the father and the mother" of the ruler.³

In the social notion of fanjakana the king appeared as the absolute focus:⁴ he was not only the contact point of the four cardinal points, the past and the present (which made him the "pledge of future") but he also guaranteed a connection between the ancestors and the living: he was the "visible god" (Andriamanitra hita maso) who connected the heavenly world with ours.

As a consequence of his role in the state, the king was the sole owner of all the cultivated and uncultivated areas, rivers, lakes, forests, rocks. Better to say, the existing society could obtain its collective heritage, i.e. the lands of the kingdom whose real owners tompon-tany were the first settling ancestors (razana), only through the central figure of the king. The word tanindrazana "the land of the ancestors", which today means "home", clearly preserves this original meaning.

Originally there were two basic relations in the collective ownership of land, which were embodied in the king, as high proprietor. These were the collective ownership of the ancestors and the ownership of the present

society, which originated from the first relation and which later manifested itself in different forms of land-owning. Before we start to examine these latter land-owning categories, we must describe people's connections with their ancestors.

This relationship in Imerina, like in the other important kingdoms (Sakalava, Betsileo, Bara, etc.) was burdened with certain conflicts. The ruling Andriana dynasties - from about the first half of the 15th century - founded their kingdoms by conquest. In this way, they could obtain the attributes of the first settlers only by interpreting history (tantara) in accordance with their political purposes and by forming special connections with the real first settlers. That is why their connections with prequest communities whose common name was Wazimba, always played an important part in the life of Malgasy kingdoms.⁵

Superior strength - first of all the use of "modern" weapons, (e.g. of the iron-tipped spear) which the Merina tradition first mentions in connection with the fights of Andriamanelo (CALLET 1953:126) was in itself not enough to guarantee dominating by the Andriana groups who came from the east coast of the island and who transformed their original Moslem identity into a kind of political consciousness and a feeling of vocation. For they could kill or expel only those Wazimba- who were alive but with the dead they had to come to terms ... Such "agreements" had different forms. Though the aborigines were aggressively expelled (there are several examples of it both in the Merina and the Sakalava histories) the Wazimba tombs, just like those strange rocks, trees, marshy lakes or any other places which may have served as the dwelling-places of wazimba spirits, were all highly respected. As these psychological motifs were the opposite of those that characterized devotion paid to their own ancestors, the respect due to the Wazimba spirits contained rather "negative" elements, i.e. different taboos (fady) and invocations addressed to these spirits. For instance, it was forbidden to let swine go near places where Wazimba spirits resided or to bring onions there (these were common fadys, which concerned every Wazimba). Near Tananarive lived Andriambodilova the Wazimba "prince" and his strange wife Ranoro,⁶ the nymph who created several taboos in connection with salt (sira, even its name was forbidden to say), swine, goat, onion, sail, tobacco. Moreover, it was forbidden to put up a parasol or to leave the headwear on near the tomb of Andriambodilova, to approach his grave carrying a malign charm or bearing malice towards somebody, etc. The most important fady of another Wazimba ancestor called

Andriantsitiavitsika was in connection with ants (RENEL 1923: 40-56, CALLET 1953: 7-8, 13, 16-17, 28-29, 445-446, 573).

The Wazimba spirit punished those who violated the fady-s: such persons become ill, lost their sight or were partially paralyzed. The only way of recovering was to perform certain propitiatory rites.

On the other hand, Wazimba spirits sometimes helped people: it was useful to appeal to them for a child, for the success of an undertaking or for a fortunate return from a long journey (RENEL 1923: 42).

Another form of compromise with the first settlers was the division of lands in question in silent agreement. In practice it meant that after a conflict had taken place, the Wazimba community regarded itself the tompon-tany of a smaller area. Such a simple solution was made possible by the relative profusion of lands on the Highland, therefore it was the only territory where the ancestors were buried which the Wazimba community considered definitely its unassailable property.

A more intensive relationship developed between the newcomers and the aborigines as well. Obtaining the esoteric attributes of the first settlers' power had two basic means which followed or completed each other: one was marriage between the newcomers and certain Wazimba clans that usually had a dominant role in the given area; the other means was to integrate these Wazimba communities into the gradually developing political-ideological system, into the ritual choreography of the farjakana.

As far as we know, Merina tradition contained in the texts of the "Tantara", do not refer to such marriages between the Andriana-s arriving in the Highland and the tompon-tany groups. Its presumed reason is that their integrations (which took place at the expense of the Wazimba majority, who were eliminated and expelled) in Imerina was more complete than in the western coastal centres of Sakalava, in Menabe or in Boina. In the Highland the Andriana-Hova-Wazimba connections appear in dynastic traditions as forms of continuity. In the "Tantara" we find three variations of the historic beginnings of royalty. A common element is in all of them, that King Andriamanelo - who, in A.Delivré's chronology (1974: 233-234), ruled at about the end of the 15th century had - on his mother'side (through Queen Rafohy, who both resided in Imerimanjaka) Wazimba ancestors (CALLET, 1908: 8-12). On the basis of this, Ch. Renel says we cannot really distinguish between the Wazimba and the Merina; according to this idea, the former are the ancestors of the latter ones,

who first settled on the territory (RENEL 1923: 41). The professional preserver of the genealogical traditions (mpitantara) obviously believes this concept as it serves the interests of Andriana supremacy. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the Wazimba-Andriana conflict in historic oral tradition as a kind of continuity in order to support the Andriana political ideology could not cease its actual relativity.

Presumably, the acceptance of this seeming continuity was the starting-point of that interpretation which traced the 16th-19th-century Malgasy authority and the development of the Merina kingdom to a differentiation that supposedly had taken place within the Wazimba community (BOITEAU 1958: 52-55, BOITEAU 1974: 149-152). According to this concept it was a change in natural conditions of the plateau (forests were cleared and burnt in order to cultivate the lands and better techniques brought and spread by the newcomers) that led to a "fairly advanced stage of class-structure" in Wazimba society. This explanation does not exclude external effects, e.g. the influence of the "Arabized" newcomers; nevertheless it stresses the process of a basically internal differentiation. The leading families of the Wazimba communities, P.Boiteau, says, who were in the closest connection with the community's eponym ancestor, gradually made the hova function inheritable. In this interpretation the word 'hova' originally meant a leader, a selected chief. Through endogamy they distinguished themselves as Andriana from other lineages of the society. Then the Andriana extended their power usually at the expense of other Andrianas or by subjugating Wazimba communities who still had selected hovas. The hova cast (free common people) developed from the leading stratum of the Wazimba groups, while the majority of the subjugated Wazimba became slaves (andevo) (BOITEAU 1974: 151-152).

In our opinion the central idea of the above concept is the most questionable and makes the coherent range of conclusions rather problematic. The Wazimba communities actually had a rudimentary life, practising hunting, fishing and cultivation of rice on slashed and burnt forest lands or on marshlands. They formed small societies that contained lineages led by the founder family. And according to ethnological evidences such societies where dominant instancy is based on relationship do not have internal social forces that could, in themselves, start a process of intensive stratification and create an economy of higher quality (SAHLINS 1976: 82-145).

Tradition has clearly preserved the memory of the marriage between the arriving Andriana groups and the tompon-tanys, which helped the formation of the Sakalava royal dynasties. The development of the Andriambolamena dynasty (whose later segmentation led to the appearance of different authorities in the west and south) was based on the marriage with the aboriginal Andrambe clan; the first historic figure of the Sakalava traditions, Rabaratavokoko, was born from this relationship (LOMBARD 1973: 10-11, RUSSILLON 1922-1923: 169-185). Rabedo - his posthumous name was Andriamandazoala - the first king of the Maroserana dynasty (a lineage-segment [tariky] of the abovementioned dynasty), and the founder of the Sakalava Menabe kingdom, had the same policy with the tompon-tany Hirijy clan. Two generations later, Andriandahifotsy, one of the most famous Sakalava rulers, violently expelled the tompon-tany Antanandro clan and established privileged matrimonial connections with the aboriginal Sakoambe clan during his expansion to the north of River Mangoky (LOMBARD 1973: 19). In the history of the other great Sakalava kingdom, Boina, which was founded later, we cannot find similar examples. Presumably, such connections could not develop here because the expanding Zafimbolamena dynasty had to face a relatively strong clan which resulted from the influential presence of the Muslim Antaloatra.⁷ In this way, the basis of the Boina kings' power (mpanjaka-be) was rather unstable; the acknowledgement of their sovereignty over other mpanjakas was guaranteed only by their superior strength.

Marriage with the first settlers in itself was not enough for the conquerors to acquire the esoteric rights of power and possession. The tompon-tanys had to adapt to the social and religious-political system of the fanjanaka as well. Its first component was the rearrangement of the marriage-system together with its consequences; the development of strict social hierarchy based on castes (firazanana), i.e. groups determined by birth.

In the case of the Sakalava, it was exactly the above-mentioned Andriandahifotsy who, beside the stabilization of other important institutions of kingdom, took this decisive step. After the stabilization of the ruling dynasty, the privileged exogamy with the tompon-tany was replaced by strict endogamy. In Imerina the same steps were taken by King Ralambo who was considered by the "Tantara" to be the first organizer of the country. With his own incestuous marriage⁸ he made a maxim of Andriana endogamy. This way, the era of Andriana-Wazimba exogamy came to an end.

In reality, the general rule of endogamy within the firazanas became rather relative; beside marriage within a caste the unilateral system of exchange of wives among different firazanas was also in practice. Usually it was only the first wife (vadibe) who had to be chosen from one's own caste; subsequent wives (vadikely) may have belonged to from groups of lower rank as well. But the wife was never allowed to be chosen from a higher caste: misalliance for women was strictly forbidden. The old sources referring to the customs of marriage often mention the chief principle Ny vehivavy mpisandratra ("women have to rise") (COUSINS 1961: 24-29).

This unilateral system made its effects extremely felt in the case of the Sakalava. Here the majority of the first settling groups and mainly those tompon-tany-s that practised agriculture or hunting, were reduced to the status of mere means for biological reproduction of superior firazanas (dominating pastoral clans, nobles, and the royal dynasty) (LOMBARD 1973: 78-79). The tompon-tanys who played a chief role in the formation of royal dynasties by supplying wives to the newcomers (they all had herds already at the time of "meeting") differed from the first settling groups of the "mass" (vohitse) in that while they served the noble castes and the dynasty as the "source of wives", they could obtain women from the vohitse without any reciprocation.

With the scheme of the new order of marriage, royal history was "thought over again" in conformity with dynastic interest which actually led to the merging of history and myth in the above-mentioned fanjakana conception, i.e. in the ideological structure of power and policy. That is why the Madagascan royal genealogies do not end with the Andriana-Wazimba conflict, which was the real, historical starting-point of royalties' development. They all go back to Andriamanitra, "the creator god" through the unilinear male line.

Characteristically, the "Tantara" presents both of the possible variations of "genesis": according to the second version of the Merina royal genealogy, the first king, Andrianerinerina, was himself the son of Andriamanitra; in the third variation the "heavenly origin" is embodied by Andriambavirano, "the daughter of god", who married the "first" Andriana (CALLED 1953: 13-17). The latter variation is the more characteristic one: it has all the features of the political myth-cycle well known on the whole island, which was, presumably, a typically "Indian-Oceanic" (Indian, Indonesian, Shiite Muslim) "portion" of the "Arabized" east coastal Raminia

dynasty and which gained its organic Malgasy character during its spreading (OTTINO 1976b). The stories of this cycle all speak about an exogamy of higher rank that had preceded the real exogamy of the ruling Andriana dynasty put into the mythical time of genesis when the earth separated from heaven. This, on the one hand, afforded a "high" origin and distinguished relatives to the Andrianas who, in this way, were almost regarded as "demigods". On the other hand, it remarkably reduced the religious-political importance of actual exogamy between Wazimba and Andriana people. This process must have contained certain contradictions: if Andriana endogamy and actually the whole firazanana hierarchy - was explained by "distinguished" heavenly origin, which was the reason why hypogamy was forbidden for women, then the first Andriana's marriage with the "daughter of heaven" broke this very rule: the divine princess had a misalliance... Obviously this is the reason why, in the different variants of the myth, the Andriana had to overcome especially hard trials that actually could not be performed by mere human power in order to gain the consent of the angry father-in-law, Andriamanitra. The kind complicity of the "heavenly princess" helped him to succeed. (RENEL 1910, DAHLE 1971, OTTINO 1976 and VOGEL 1976).

The relatively quick development of the Sakalava royalties and their fairly wide extension were obviously helped by the fact that the dynastic cults, which represented the fanjakana unity, could appear as the continuation of those rituals that were practised by the first settling Wazimba communities. It seems that the Andriana who arrived with the concept of a higher political organization were Malgasized enough to make it possible that their religious-ritual views and practices could be reconciled with the ancient cult of the tompon-tanys without any particular conflicts¹⁰. Moreover, the conquerors, used the religious practice of local communities as a means of satisfying their aspiration for power. In the Sakalava royalties the main elements of the original social and ritual practices of different social branches could survive but - as J.-A. Lombard writes - the references to the earliest ancestors were strongly limited by the "new area", the history of the developing kingdom; previous events belonged solely to the history of the founder dynasty (LOMBARD 1973: 99). In practice it manifested itself in the custom according to which the fanjakana communities of different ranks - so the first settlers as well - first paid homage to the relics of the royal ancestors and only later to those of their own forefathers. With this, the king (mpanito or mpanjaka-be)

was recognized as the exclusive tompon-tany, land-owner of the conquered and organized territory.

Certain groups of the first settlers often had special, distinguished roles in the rituals that symbolized the king's sovereignty. Such examples chiefly originate from Imerina where the connection between the Wazimba and the newcomers was more integrated, mutual and not so unilateral as it was in the case of the west coastal Wolamena or Wolafotsy kingdoms.

The descendants of those Wazimba ancestors who lived in Alasora, which was considered the birthplace of royalty, had special privileges in Merina state ceremonies such as Fandroana. The masters of ceremonies (velondraiamandreny) - their name expressed the requirement, that their parents should have been living - who symbolized both past and present and took part in the live-stock offerings of Fandroana, in circumcisions, in exhumations, etc. were all chosen from among them (CALLET 1908: 73-74, 163-164, AUJAS 1927: 13-14). That is what the "Tantara" writes about the role of Alasora:

"Ceux qui sacrifient les boeufs volavita et présentent les offrandes royales, ce sont les gens d'Alasora: ce sont les aînés de toutes les tribus. C'est d'Alasora que sont venus les ancêtres de tous les rois, car c'est de là que sont venus les Andriana qui se sont ensuite séparés pour aller à Ambohidrabiby, à Ambohimanga, à Tananarive et à Ambohidratrimo. Ils ont ensuite formé des groupes distincts, cependant le village d'Alasora reste la sour aînée de ces localités. C'est aux souverains d'autrefois que les gens d'Alasora sont redevables de cette prérogative. Lorsque le souverain goût les prémices des récoltes, lorsqu'il s'agit de déposer dans un cercueil la dépouille du roi décédé, ou lorsqu'on offre des sacrifices, c'est aux gens d'Alasora qu'on a recours. Ils ne pouvaient pas être condamnés à mort pour des fautes commises. Voilà quelles étaient autrefois les ordonnances à leur sujet" (CALLET 1953: 311-312).

The Wazimbas who had formerly lived on the "blue mountain" of Tananarive and in the neighbouring marshes, and who got the name Antehiroka from the Merina kings and who were expelled from their territories and settled on the area north of the capital by Andrianjaka in the second half of the 16th century played a chief role in connection with another important element of tradition: they presented hasina, the money-gift (CALLET 1953: 569-570). The mainity enin-drenys ("the blacks of six mothers") had special status in the firazanana -hierarchy being half-slaves (royal slaves). They were also of Wazimba origin (at least their majority) and by occupying different positions of trust (as life-guards, messengers,

spies or servants of the place) they became the privileged moreover - to a certain extent - the sharers of the royal power (CALLET 1958: 357-359).

Proceeding now to the question of different property-categories, first we have to speak about the menabe - menakely division of lands.

The king's primary authority over all the lands as the high tompon-tany manifested itself both directly and indirectly, through his closest relatives. The word menabe ("the great red") which, according to Malgasy symbolics even in itself could implicate the person of the ruler, denoted those territories (whole provinces, royal territories, residences, market areas, etc.) that were under royal administration. The mpanjaka was in command of these territories not only as the "high proprietor" but also as an active land-owner: taxes were collected directly for him, the inhabitants did socage-service (fanompoana) only to him. Here, the remains of fokonolona autonomy were still effective.¹¹ On the other hand, the menakely ("little red") lands were owned by members of the royal family. The menakelys or vodivonas were royal fees (or "false fees" - "faux-fiefs" - as P.Boiteau called them after J.Chesneaux).

With establishing fiefs the Merina kings had a twofold aim. Through the menakelys or rather through their owners, the tompon-menakelys the central power fixed its position among the fokonolonas, which constituted the country and which - as their original character - had autonomy. On the other hand, with the bestowal of menakelys, the king could keep in check by obligation or reduction in rank his rivals, his closest relatives. In the province where the land lay the tompon-menakely represented the royal power (mena) but - at the same time - he also depended on the king who could withdraw the commission whenever he wanted to (kely, who depends on the be i.e. the ruler).

The institution of menakely clearly manifests that inherent contradiction which arose from the reconstruction of relation principles on the level of royalty and centralized state. While, appropriate origin was a basic condition of the mpanjaka power of the accession to the throne - that is what the afore-mentioned endogamy of castes, the importance of origin on the mother's side and the prohibition of women's hypogamy served - the chief danger for fanjakana stability was exactly the presence of close relatives cousins, brothers or even the parents. The insistence on the ray aman-dreny connection between the king and his people partly tried to compensate real relationship (the kabarys often stress that the king has "neither a father nor a mother").¹² Such a "compensation" was the first

wife (vadibe) as well; we have already mentioned that in the myths that speak about the genesis of royal power the Andriana carries out the tasks that Andriamanitra has devolved on him with the help of his fiancée, the "heavenly princess", while his own parents jeopardize the accomplishment of his plans. Rival relatives could be neutralized in two ways: either by murdering those who were the most dangerous, (Merina history, both in its aerly and late periods contained several examples of it); or by keeping them in accordance with their ranks but, at the same time, within the fixed framework of allegiance. This latter alternative manifested itself in the foundation of menakelys.

From the above fact it follows that menakelys were given only to those noble families (COUSIN 1961: 24-26, CALLET 1958: 356) who - as relatives of the king - were potential rivals, i.e. in theory, they could have ascended the throne. At the turn of the 18th and the 19th centuries, under the rule of Andrianampoinimerina, only the highest Andriana caategories (Zanakandriana, Zazamarolahy, Andriamasinavalona) were endowed with menakelys.

The menakely property and grant contained both the demarcated part of the province and the fokonolonas living on the given territory. Linear and collateral inheritance were both possible, though for the latter one royal permission was needed. The privileges that were incidental to the menakelys actually meant - in accordance with the spirit of the institution - the partial conveyance of regalia and of royal income. In the case of income it usually amounted to half of the royal taxes. So the tompo-menakely was allowed to keep half of the hetra-tax (isam-pangady, "all the spades") as well as half of the three vata of rice,¹³ and he also shared the meat-tax (vodi-hena, the hind quarters of the slaughtered zebu that had to be delivered). The menakely-owner also possessed half of the so-called maty momba, i.e. those possessions which - lacking both direct-line or adopted inheritors and a testament - fell to the state. The foffeee had similar share in the confiscated properties of those who were sentenced to death for malefic sorcery or for other kinds of capital crimes. Like the king, the tompo-menakely had the right to make use of the unpaid work (fanompoana) of the free peasants (hova); he made them cultivate his own parcels (tanin-dapa), build his house or grave, etc. When the owner of the menakely died, the peasants, had to contribute money to the funeral expenses, just as they did when the king died. If the proprietor wanted to build a house, a grave or a stock-yard for own purposes on the menakely,

the hova (i.e. the fokonolona) that had a farm there had to yield the land in question. The only exceptions were building sites and, chiefly, the rice-parcels. If there were other cultivated plants on that territory, the tompon-menakely paid damages. The owner of the menakely had several responsibilities as the representative of power. He had to enforce the king's provisions, portion among the fokonolonas of the menakely the compulsory labour service (fanompoana) ordered by the court, enlist recruits and was responsible for collecting royal taxes. In juridicature he represented the superior authority over the fokonolonas. Moreover, he often had the rights of original jurisdiction.

Naturally, the tompon-menakelys - in theory - had to hold sway over their people strictly according to their spheres of authority regulated by the king. Nevertheless, passages containing the speeches of King Andrianampoinimerina about the corrupt practices of the fеоffees show that conditions for the peasants in these village-communities were much worse than of those who lived on menabe territories. That is what G. Gondominas writes in connection with this:

"Mais si les hova peuvent être considérés comme des hommes libres lorsqu'ils sont établis sur le domaine royal (malgré les lourdes redevances auxquelles ils sont soumis) les obligations auxquelles leurs congénères installés sur un menakely sont tenus envers le seigneur du fief, font d'eux de véritables serfs de ce dernier... Il semble que certains andriana peu scrupuleux n'aient pas hésité à confondre leurs menakely avec leurs andevo jusqu'à les vendre comme de simples esclaves (CONDOMINAS 1960: 37-38).

One of the kabarys of Andrianampoinimerina also refers to it (JULIEN 1908/I: 255). Misuses of menakely authority belonged to the twelve deadly sins; in certain passages of the Tantara such Andrianas are called mpamosavy i.e. "witches".

The position of the common Merina who lived on the menakelys was more disadvantageous than of those who worked in the menabe fokonolonas in another respect as well. The autonomy of the latter communities could be preserved even if they had lost certain spheres of authority, and, in this way, they could remain active fokonolonas up to the end of the precolonial era. The autonomy of those communities who lived on the menakelys was strongly restricted:

"...à l'intérieur d'un menakely ces ray aman-dreny (the eminent persons of the communities. Gy.L.) ne deviennent plus pour les questions importantes que les conseillers du tompo-menakely dont par ailleurs ils reçoivent les ordres à titre d'intermédiaires, comme représentants responsables de la communauté (CONDOMINAS 1960: 39).

On the oldest menakelys, which were perhaps founded by King Ralambo,¹⁴ a process started which was already in an advanced state by the early 19th century. Its main point was that the fokolonas of the fiefs in view of their political and religious-ritual status, had "dissolved" into the menakelys. Relational reciprocity, the fihavanana, was effective mainly among the Andriana who lived on the menakelys; for them the tompo-menakely became a real "patriarch", a ray aman-dreny. As far as the commoners were concerned, the grave of their own fokolonona's founder-ancestor as a primary point of orientation had lost its importance; the "mystic pole" that created cohesion (CONDOMINAS 1960: 24) gradually become the family grave (kibory) of the menakely-owning Andriana. With this the prestige of the first settler was also gained by the feoffee while the political importance of the hova fokolonona together with its internal coherence was lost.

The economical basis of the kingdom reorganized by Andrianampoinimerina was obviously the increase of rice production by irrigation. Its chief basis was the developing hetra-system. In accordance with Andrianampoinimerina's reforms the most valuable lands of the six provinces (toko) were divided into equal parcels and given to the fokolononas of the provinces. These were mainly rice fields, connected by a system of canals and embankments. According to certain sources, at the time of division there were 73 000 hetra-parcels which was equal to the number of men who were fit for military service (i.e. the common hovas and those who belonged to certain mainty firanzananas). Division took place by provinces: Avaradrano, the most developed and the most populous toko that had the greatest political importance as well had 19 000 hetras. Vakinikisaony had 10 000, Marovatana had 8000, Ambodirano also had 8000, Vonisongo had 10 000 and Vakinankaratra had 18 000 hetras (Julien 1908/II: 230).¹⁵

The hetra-parcel, which was possessed - in theory, and at least at the time of division - by every hova-family and by all those mainty families that belonged to the Manisotra and the Manendy groups, guaranteed enough means of living for the hetra-owners (mitondra-hetra) According to G. Julien, the amount of rice produced on one hetra, using the old Malgasy unit of measurement, was between 20 and 100 varys, i.e. it was about 20-60 quintals (JULIEN 1908/I: 194-196).¹⁶ Compared with this, the uniform royal tax the isam-pangady, of half a vary (tapa-bary), i.e. about 30 kilogram of rice per hetra, did not cause financial difficulties for the

hova households, even if we know that taxation had several other forms as well (hasina, vidin-aina - i.e. poll-tax -, vodi-hena, premissial taxes, socage, etc.). G.Julien (1908/I: 421-422) also writes that - according to the accepted opinion of the age - a couple with one child consumed one fatam-bary (about 83 decagram) of rice a day. The king was even said to have given personal instructions to make vessels for one, two, three or more persons in accordance with the accepted ration of rice per person.

The fokonolona was responsible for the hetra-land. It had to guarantee the continuous cultivation of the hetra-parcels (it was obviously essential as the system of canals and weirs needed constant repair), and it had to designate the new mitondra-hetra if a parcel remained unowned. In order to meet the requirements, the community gave the hetra only to those whom it could be responsible for and whom - if it was needed - it could apply sanctions against, i.e. it gave the hetras exclusively to its own members. The hova-owner could leave his parcel to his descendants following the standard order of succession but he could also make a will in anybody else's favour; moreover, he was allowed to sell the utilization right either temporarily or forever.¹⁷ These rights, however, were valid only within the fokonolona. A stranger could obtain a hetra or any other fokonolona-land if the community agreed to his settlement on the given territory (fokon-tany). In this case, he was not considered alien any more. If the mitondra-hetra died without an inheritor or if he left his community forever, his parcel reverted to the fokonolona, which was bound to give it to somebody else without delay in order to guarantee continuous cultivation.

The division of hetras was usually long-lasting; nevertheless, the village-communities had the right to order a redistribution if the inhabitants of the fokon-tanys increased in number. This redistribution took place within the original borders of the fokonolona's territory, so, the original hetra-system considering the proportions either between the provinces or between the fokonolonas remained untouched. As the inhabitants quickly grew in number, the consequence of the organized agriculture of the hetras, the rice-field owned by one hova-family gradually became smaller and smaller. After half a century, at the time of Rainilaiarivony, in certain areas the hetras were hardly enough to sustain the mitondra-hetra and his family.

In this way, the inflexible hetra system was a main reason for that relatively quick polarization that took place within the hova caste. For

the hetras of the impoverished hovas were usually taken over by firazanana-members (they often had these lands cultivated in paid work by the former owner and for their own profit) who, through their political roles, trading activities, etc. had already acquired considerable possessions, moreover they could obtain voanjo- or lohomy- lands as well.¹⁸

Those less valuable territories of the fokonolonas which were not suitable for rice producing - and which could be owned by any member of the community who was willing to cultivate them - functioned as the "valve" of the inflexible hetra-system. These territories were usually forests which, according to a kabary text, were freely used by everybody in order that the orphans, the widowed and all the poor people could pick up some living (CALLET 1958: 381). Further territories of this kind were the lands called "long grass" (lava volo) which could also be cultivated by the members of the communités. Among these areas the most extensive one was Anativolo which was conquered by Andrianampoinimerina from the Sakalava and which was not incorporated in the hetra-system.

"L'Anativolo sera comme l'étang où les oiseaux ne résistent pas à l'envie de venir s'ébattre; il y viendra des gens de tous les districts de l'Imerina...Cependant contrairement à ce qui est la règle dans les autres contrées, ne posséderont de terres dans l'Anativolo que ceux qui les achèteront, ceux-là fussent-ils de simples gardiens de troupeaux (JULIEN 1908/I: 202).

P.Boiteau (1974: 158), who also quotes the above passage, rightly notes that the latter ones, the "simple herdsmen" were far from being helped out by their right to buy lands that lay far from their own fokonolonas. This possibility was again advantageous only for the rich hovas who had capital to invest. As far as the state power is concerned, its aim with the above-mentioned "valve" must have been to grow the interest of the rich families who, with their newly bought lands, often became the neighbours of the enemy's (Sakalava, Sihanaka, etc.) tribes in declaring solidarity with the fanjakana.

Among the traditional Malgasy (Merina) categories of landed property the so-called ko-drazana (meaning "for the ancestors") had a special role. The reason of its development and its chief motif was a natural and clear manifestation of respect for the ancestors. It must have grown up from that role that the ancient common grave (kibory) previously had played in the life of the Malgasy family and community. (Actually, such graves and roles can be found in several places even today, see the monography of D.Coulaud on the zafimaniry-s) (COULAUD 1973). A.Cahuzac, who examined the

establishment of ko-drazana in detail, writes about the role of kibory in this way:

"On considèrerait comme d'une absolue nécessité tant pour le repos et le bonheur du défunt que pour celui des survivants, d'y reposer. Aussi, voyons-nous le Hova prendre les plus minutieuses précautions pour qu'il puisse dormir son dernier sommeil au milieu de ses pères. Est-il obligé de quitter l'Imerina soit pour ses affaires, soit pour son service public, il fait les recommandations les plus expresses pour qu'en cas de mort, son corps soit rapporté au tombeau familial; souvent même, il faisait accompagner d'un esclave de confiance chargé de ce soin" (CAHUZAC 1900: 38).

Exclusion from the kibory was considered more severe than any other kind of punishment including even death-sentence. This sanction was applied by the king only in extreme cases, when the offence directly jeopardized the fanjakana (revolt against the ruler, malign sorcery, etc.).¹⁹ In accordance with this the building of the family grave, its state and fate were central questions not only in the ritual sphere but also in the profane world.

"En vue de son édification, il (the Malgasy man, Gy.L.) fait des miracles d'économie, et lui, si intéressé d'ordinaire, il dépense sans compter jusqu'à son dernier sou. Pour le Malgache, en effet, l'argent employé à sa construction n'est jamais perdu. Haren kita fasana, dit le vieil adage, c'est la richesse visible, parce que c'est la maison où l'on habitera éternellement, où habiteront les descendants, où ils accompliront tous les devoirs funéraires."

The development of ko-drazana came directly from this idea:

"Souvent même, le Hova constitue par testament certains biens inaliénables pour que le revenu soit consacré, dans la suite des temps, à l'entretien du tombeau et à l'accomplissement des rites et cérémonies prescrites par l'antique coutume. Ces biens portent le nom de Kodrazana" (CAHUZAC 1900: 38-39).

According to P.Boiteau (1974: 150), ko-drazana in the Wazimba era, was originally the inalienable common property of one or two slaves who took care of the common grave. So ko-drazana as land property, developed later. During the Merina kingdom's golden age this institution meant a special possessory right of considerable land properties, especially among the lower classes. This fact was in relation with the order of succession in force in Imerina. While families belonging to the Andriana caste, known and noted for their relative endogamy, could, apart from the linear inheritance and if it was necessary, realize inheritance collaterally (that is, they

had the benefit of the tsy maty momba privilege which meant that they could not remain without an inheritor), families of the hova and mainty groups, where genealogical records were limited to a few generations, lacking linear inheritors had to leave their properties to the king (or, if living in menakelys, half of it to the king and half to the tompon menakely). It is understandable that in order to avoid this, the families of lower status firazananas preferred to have recourse to - besides adoption²⁰ - establishing ko-drazana "better seen" by the ancestors.

The foundation properties usually were inherited by the oldest member of the founder's family (whether man or woman); to be more exact, this inheritor took over its administration. Thus, at the death of the family member entrusted with the ko-drazana's management, and the proper use of its yields, it was not his direct descendant who took over the tompon- ko-drazana office but his eldest sister or brother. This went on until every person belonging to the same generation died and only after that was it the turn of the oldest member from the next generation. Besides this order of succession it was possible to realize other forms, too. The founder could order that an estate belonging to a village be indivisibly inherited by those who lived there; other wills stipulated that the relative property be inherited from generation to generation by the direct descendants of the founder's eldest daughter (CAHUZAC 1900: 308-309). This form, which is often called by tradition the zazalava ("always the child") leads us quite far from the original ko-drazana pattern of which only an important element remains, that is indivisibility.

Ko-drazana could be established for various reasons. The usual motive, in accordance with the original nature of the institution, was to secure the maintenance of the family grave and to cover the costs of its periodical ceremonies. The ko-drazana could be a source of income for the lambamena (red cambric) exchange in the Fandroana times, that is for the purchase of those shrouds which the ancestor's bones were wrapped in and which were periodically changed. The other common motive was to have funds for the support of relatives in need; this is not far from the original principle since the natural condition of the veneration of ancestors was the descendants' safe existence. In other cases the ko-drazana could serve merely to increase a family's prestige and also its wealth which could not be confiscated by the state, or to prevent incidents such as a family member's enslavement because of a large financial penalty.

The name ko-drazana was usually not used by the founder; its

classification as such took place later, according to the deceased's explicit or attributed wish. This is why there was no precisely set form of establishing a ko-drazana. The foundation could be made by actual testamentary disposition (declaration made in front of the family or the fokonolona) but often family members only "deducted" this will, for example they opposed the alienation of an estate or slaves especially dear to the deceased in his life. The theoretical inalienation of the ko-drazana was by no means absolute. Its sole could never be done in the private interest of one or part of those e.g. its actual administrator entitled to its income. Nevertheless, alienation could be made with the consent of all those concerned, at least in case of emergency.

Finally it should be mentioned that such foundation-like properties could be found outside Imerina, in other parts of the island: among the Betsileo it was called anakandriana-property, in the North, fohitry (RARIJAONA 1967: 41).

The voanjo-land institutio (tanim-boanjo) in Imerina was, apart from the hetra system, the most important result and means of Andrianampoinimerina's administrative and property policy.

"On appelait tanim-boanjo (terre de voanjo) des terres où étaient placés, par ordre du souverain, dans un but politique, social ou économique, un certain nombre d'habitans qui étaient astreints désormais d'y résider. Le détenteur d'une terre de cette catégorie portait le nom de Voanjo (pistache). C'était une sorte de colonisation forcée" (CAHUZAC 1900: 393).

The establishment of voanjo-lands was based on three basically similar motives. Probably the most important was the peopling of strategically important centres, first of all Tananarive and its region, with families totally loyal to the ruler. That was why the cultivation started on the Betsimitatra marshy plains near the capital and the region's hetras and voanjo-lands gradually developed to be the best yielding rice-fields of the kingdom. The voanjos who settled there had the prestigious name voromahery (meaning raptorial bird, a characteristic motif on royal graves), (CALLET 1958: 388-391; RARIJAONA 1967: 145-146). The other motive was the repopulation of frontier regions decimated by frequent wars (e.g., the SW and W Sakalava border threatened by continuous incursions) and the organization of these regions' defence. Finally, the third kind of voanjo-

lands were allocated to state officers, theoretically only during their appointments. This kind of *tanin-boanjo* was often referred to as palace-lands (*tanin-dapa*), which emphasized the constancy in the owning of these lots, i.e. that these lands belonged henceforward to the king or to the competent *fokonolonas*. The settlers came mainly from the Avaradrono province; the majority belonged to the middle class and mainly to the leading clans of the hova caste (*Tsimahafotsy*, *Tsimiamboholahy*, *Mandiavato*). To a lesser extent, they came from the lower categories of the *Andriana firazanana*, the *Andrianteloray* group.²¹ The clans involved chose families that had to move to the central or border regions. Their *voanjo*-lands became their original community's properties. This meant that the settlers remained in close relationship with their *fokonolonas* and with their ancestral lands; after their deaths they were also buried in the common family grave. According to the "Tantara", *Andrianampoinimerina* declared in connection with this:

"Je fais en sorte que les hommes qui m'ont rendu des services... ne perdent jamais la terre de leurs ancêtres, ils conservent celle de leur pays d'origine, et celle qu'ils ont à Tananarive qui leur permet de me servir" (CALLET 1958: 388).

Thus, the *voanjo*-lands, by general principle, fell under the same category as the *hetra*-lots and other lands under the *fokonolona*'s supervision. In reality, however, community control was much looser on these settlers than upon their relatives who did not move away. This was especially true in the case of the *voanjos* at the borders, who had to face outer incursions, but who essentially freely disposed of the lands allocated to them. It is not by chance that later, with the increase of individualisation, these *voanjo*-lands were the first ones that become real *lohombin-tanys* private properties. It is also important that those *voanjos* who got lands in the fertile *Betsimitatra*, beside the fact that they lived near the political and administrative centre of the kingdom benefited from their new possessions, became rich: they leased parts of their lots, employed paid workers, etc.

The *voanjo*-policy contributed directly to the development, and later to the deepening of social inequality, more precisely, to the hova upper classes' enrichment and other groups' impoverishment.

The *lohombin-tany* (oxhead-land) institution was, within Merina land owning system, from traditional communal proprietorship; i.e., it was

only the king's supreme proprietary jurisdiction that differentiated this from "clear" private property not restricted by public attributes. It should be emphasized that this restriction proved to be insurmountable until the end of the precolonial period. A. Cahuzac (1900: 391) gives the following definition to the lohomy-land:

"On appelle Lohombin-tany un terrain concédé ou par le souverain ou par un Andiana, chef de Vodivona à une personne en récompense de services rendus; Le propre du Lohombin-tany, une des plus anciennes formes de la propriété, est d'être une propriété individuelle, définitive, complète. Le propriétaire peut en disposer au gré de son caprice, l'aliéner à titre gratuit ou onéreux sans aucune restriction. La tribu et le Fokon'olona n'exercent aucune autorité sur le Lohombin-tany. Il peut faire l'objet de toutes transactions même entre membres de tribus différentes."²²

According to A. Cahuzac's definition the lohombin-tany appears unequivocally as private property. This passage is the most frequent reference when the mode of production in precolonial Malgasy society is interpreted as feudalism (BOITEAU 1958, ORLOVA 1960). In reality, a lohomy-land can be regarded as "clear" private land only isolatedly, separately from all other estate forms and from the social environment (and, within that, from the traditional concept of the fanjakana). The importance of a lohombin-tany resided in its being the only property form that lacked direct communal control, i.e. that of the fokonolona in respect of the hetras, lava- volo lands and voanjo-parcels, the family group in connection with the ko-drazana, and the royal court itself in relation to the menakely. The decisive circumstance in connection with the lohombin-tany institution was the circle from where those receiving such a donation came. Our sources affirm that this form of donation rewarded services of persons and families belonging to firazananas excluded by customary law from the menakely kind of landowning. This way the lohomy properties brought the already mentioned influential hova caste families to this important means of financial progress; those families which played a leading role in the Merina economical and political life under and after Andrianampoinimerina's reign. Lohombin-tany were donated also to those members of the Andriana category who were excluded from acquiring menakelys (Talasora, Antehiroka), but who were closely related to the fanjakana through their other roles.

In so far as A. Cahuzac's assertion that the lohomy-land was an ancient Malgasy (Merina) institution proves right (maintaining of course

that it could develop only after the rise of the kingdom, as this sort of property had no sense during the primary social organization of the Wazimba society) in the initial period the beneficiaries were possibly not the hovas but the lower standing Andriana. The royal power found suitable means in the lohombin-tany to oblige those Andriana lineages which were only distantly related to the ruler's family and on whose loyalty the king could count only to a lesser extent.

The lohombin-tany was insignificant compared to the menakely even under Andrianampoinimerina. This was the only reason why the king could give with them the above-mentioned privileges (right for alienation, independence of the fokonolona control, exemption from taxes). The ordering principle, the highest owner rights were legally due to the king in this case as well; this can be seen in the practice that in lack of legal inheritor, the lohombin-tany reverted to the state.²³ Until the time when the lohomy-lands played a minor role in Merina's land-owning i.e. the hovas, their beneficiaries, occupied their "right" place within the firazanana hierarchy pointed out by the ideology of the fanjakana, their irregular, exceptional character did not query the state's traditional proprietorship. From the rule of Radama I (after 1809) though, the lohombin-tany began to represent the means for social mobility, the hova ascent and the disintegration of traditional structures.

"Mais sous les derniers souverains il a été créé des Lohombin-tany d'un genre particulier. Les souverains voulant récompenser des personnages appartenant à des castes roturières, qui leur avaient rendu de grands services, et ne pouvant leur concéder des Vodivona qui étaient réservés aux trois premières castes de la noblesse, instituèrent en leur faveur des Lohombin-tany sui generis qui par l'étendue et les privilèges accordés étaient de véritables Vodivona (CAHUZAC 1900: 391).

This process was in close relation with Merina territorial expansion, accelerating since Radama I, realized mainly by hova (Tsimahafotsy, Tsimiamboholahy) military leaders. At the height of the hova emancipation, the embodiment of which was Rainilaiarivony, the prime minister, who married three queens consecutively (DESCHAMPS 1972: 175-187), the lohomy-land became more important than all other forms of estate, especially the menakely. Rainilaiarivony, among other changes, made lohombin-tany from those voanjo-lands of the west and southwest border regions of Imerina, which were earlier populated by the hova settlers of his own clan. A. Cahuzac has reasonable ground for remarking that while the

1881 code deals with the withdrawal of the vodivonas in detail, the lohombin-lands are not mentioned in this respect, not even the largest, province-sized ones. This reticence, notes P. Boiteau, reflects the fact that by this time the lohombin-tany became the land-owning form of the real ruling classes (BOITEAU 1974: 165).

P. Boiteau adds that if the colonialist conquest had not taken place - the landowning relations in Madagascar, as the outcome of the fermentation caused precisely by the lohombin-tany, would surely have developed in the direction of a clear-cut private land property system. In the second half of the nineteenth century the hova dominated ruling class undoubtedly turned to tradition in order to drive back European incursion attempts; naturally, it was a "schizophrenic" solution, since its very ascent contradicted the traditional state concept and structure, while it was inseparable from European ties and the acculturation which it started itself. The same social powers that found a financial means to their own rise in the lohombin-tany were obliged to prevent its development into unrestricted private property. The same hovas who deprived the Andrianas (who regarded themselves of divine origin) from their aura, thus giving a final blow to the fanjakana system, wanted to prevent aggressive European land acquisition by persistently preserving the Merina queens' highest owner rights. But colonial conquest put a drastic end to their hopeless struggle.

Notes

* In Madagascar a complete piastre was rarely used. They were usually cut into pieces, which were circulated.

1 In connection with the Fondroana see relating chapter of the "Tantara" (CALLET 1908: 158-173, and CALLET 1953: 301-329,) with important explanatory notes by R.P. Callet and the selection's translators; moreover DERIVRE 1974: 153-157, MOLET 1956, AUJAS 1927: 62-64.

2 The kabary in its original form realised, on the fokonolona level, a Malgasy equivalent of the communal decision-making authority called palaver which was wide-spread all over Africa. Cf: UNESCO 1979. On the process of kabary on fokonolona level see, among other works, PERRIN 1969: 138-148. On royal kabary see CALLET 1908: 288-291.

3 The ray aman-drenys of the fokonolonas were old people of high reputation who were the leaders of the community. Their opinions strongly influenced the decisions of the kabarys. On the appearance of ray amandreny relations on fanjakana-level (see, CALLET 1908: 288-289).

4 The focus, the centre had a specific role in Malgasy symbolics. It was, for instance, represented by the wooden pillars which, in the middle of the Merina houses, formed the static centres of gravity; in

- astrology, the medial days (vonto) of renivintana, the "great" periods of lunar months divided into twelve sections (vintana) were all "beneficent" phases, they had the values of equilibrium and stability; in the myths of developing power, the Andriana who marry the "daughter of heaven" are the sons of Andriambahoaka ampovoan'ny tany, "the ruler of the centre of earth". The Merina name of the great King Andrianampoinimerina means "the Andriana of the heart (the center) of Imerina". There are, of course, several further examples as well. It is also obvious that the chief ambition of the Merina kings, the political uniting of the island, was also supported by the conception that set high value on "centre"; it is enough to glance at the map: Imerina lies in the middle of the island.
- 5 From among the rich material that - during the past century - dealt with the question of Wazimba, now we refer only to two recent studies which fairly represent the opposing views: Ravoajanahary 1980, Verin 1980.
- 6 These strange, green nymphs of the plateau mythology P. Ottino relates with Shiite Islam (with Fatima, and through her person, with Ali); it was transmitted, of course, by the 12th-13th-century Arabic "wave of newcomers", i.e. the Raminia dynasty (OTTINO 1976: 21-31).
- 7 On the Northwest Madagascan appearance of the classical Swahili culture complex see Verin 1972, Verin 1979.
- 8 Ralambo married Ratsitohina, the grand-daughter of Andriamanitany, his uncle who was murdered by his father Andriamanelo (CALLET 1953: 126, DELIVRÉ 1974: 242-245).
- 9 "Le système est tel - continue l'auteur - que les filles du roi ne peuvent se marier, ne trouvant jamais de partenaires d'un statut équivalent du leur et certains princes Zafimbolamena irent, à vouloir respecter la règle de mariage avec une femme Volamena, jusqu'à se marier avec une sœur classificatoire (LOMBARD 1973: 82).
- 10 According to the authentic description of the Portuguese Luis Mariano from the early 17th century, e.g. the respect of relics (dady, jiny), which was an important element of westcoast royal ceremonies, was the heritage of the tompon-tanys (C.O.A.M. 1903-1920/II: 232).
- 11 During and after the rule of Andrianampoinimerina, the fokonolonas became, in the first place, the state's units of production and taxation, whose internal life the fanjakana permanently interfered with, e.g. through the checking of rice-parcels' compulsory cultivation or through its right to apply sanctions against those who committed misdemeanour, etc.
- 12 "Voici mon enfant, ô mes sujets, car il n'a pas de pere et de mère chez qui le mettre" (CALLET 1953: 541).
- 13 See below the passage on the hetra-system; 3 vatas = 1/2 vary, i.e. it is about 30 kilogram.
- 14 The first half of the 16th century; at that time it was still the Andrianteloray firazanana-group which was given menakelys as they constituted the first three noble castes.
- 15 On the division of the hetra-parcels that is what we can read in the "Tantara": "Voici ce que je vous dirai, ô Merina: 'Le pays et le royaume sont à moi; je vous partagerai la terre, parce que je n'ai pas beaucoup d'argent à vous donner et que je n'ai pas de nombreux bœufs à vous distribuer; mais je vous donnerai la terre pour vous permettre de vivre, car le pays et le royaume m'appartiennent. Je vais donc partager la terre; je donnerai une rizière à chaque homme; je

veillerai à ce que tous les Ambaniandro aient le même ventre, car ils sont tous mes sujets, les petits comme les grands; je diviserai la terre en rizières pour vous permettre de me servir... Je ne puis pas vous donner le riz par petites mesures; je ne peux pas vous voir tous un à un; aussi vais-je partager mon royaume que voici en rizières, vous installer aux sources et dans les terrains marécageux, car je suis, moi, le maître du pays et je vous donnerai les moyens de me servir et de subsister'. Tels furent les propos tenus par Andrianampoinimerina" (CALLET 1958: 376).

16 This information was also found in the "Tantara": "Une rizière /hetra/ peut donner vingt, quarante, ou cent mesures de riz, proportionnellement aux capacités et au labeur de l'exploitant" (CALLET 1958: 378).

17 Customary law made it possible to sell the right of leasehold for a fixed time or forever. This was valid in the case of all kinds of possessions except the ko-drazana. "Une personne est-elle dans la nécessité de se procurer une certaine somme, elle vend ou donne en garantie une propriété foncière, en se réservant le droit de la reprendre dans un certain délai, moyennant le remboursement de la somme avancée... Elles peuvent convenir que le remboursement aura lieu dans un an, dans dix ans; la coutume n'édicte aucune restriction." This form of pledge or lease was called fehi-vava, "agreement brought about by mouth". At the end of the fixed term the parties had the right to prolonge the fehi-vava (which usually was a silent agreement), but more often the right of utilization was transformed forever. Practically it meant either that the person who had lent the money took over the right of usufruct or that the debtor sold it to a third person and from the money he got he could pay the creditor. In both cases the right of utilization was passed to someone else forever, the fehi-vava became varo-maty (CAHUZAC 1900: 376, also see BOITEAU 1974: 154).

18 I.e. the three Avaradrano hova-clans: Tsimahafotsy, Tsimiamboholahy and Mandiavato.

19 In the Andrianoro myth that is how the prince who wants to marry the daughter of heaven punishes his parents (with this appears the aforementioned motif: "the king has no father and mother") who poisoned his fiancée while he was away (DAHLE 1971: 79-84, OTTINO 1976a).

20 Customary law offered wide opportunities for adoption: it was even possible to adopt someone who was older than the adopter himself.

21 And even within this group, mainly from among the members of the Andriantomponkoindrindra-firazanana (CALLET 1958: 390-391).

22 That is what the "Tantara" writes about the lohombin-tanys: "Les terres Lohombin-tany (données par le Roi pour un service rendu) jouissent d'une exemption de redevance et ne paient pas l'impôt par bêche: elles ne sauraient faire l'objet d'aucune contestation: parce que c'est une terre donnée par le souverain, par affection, et non en vue d'obtenir une contribution (fitia tsy hetra), un héritage dont on disposera à tout jamais; s'il n'y a pas d'héritier, la terre retourne à moi qui suit son maître, avait déclaré Andrianampoinimerina." (CALLET 1958: 383, italics of the original text).

23 See the "Tantara" passage quoted in Note 22 and JULIEN 1908/II: 229.

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HOMMAGE À TIBOR BODROGI
A GRAPHIC SERIES BY FERENC HORVÁTH

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Very rarely in the history of art was an artist inspired by the work of a scholar. Yet this is exactly what happened in the case of Ferenc Horváth when he prepared a series of graphics for the sixtieth birthday of Tibor Bodrogi. Due to Bodrogi's sudden death, the congratulatory series unfortunately became one of remembrance. Ferenc Horváth was a good friend of Tibor Bodrogi, which is why he was chosen to deliver the funerary farewell speech in behalf of all his friends. This series however, wasn't directed towards the friend: it was meant as a show of respect to the ethnologist Bodrogi, and through him the art which he as a scholar of art-ethnology dealt with. This art made a deep impression on Ferenc Horváth the painter and graphic artist, that of an experience of a lifetime.

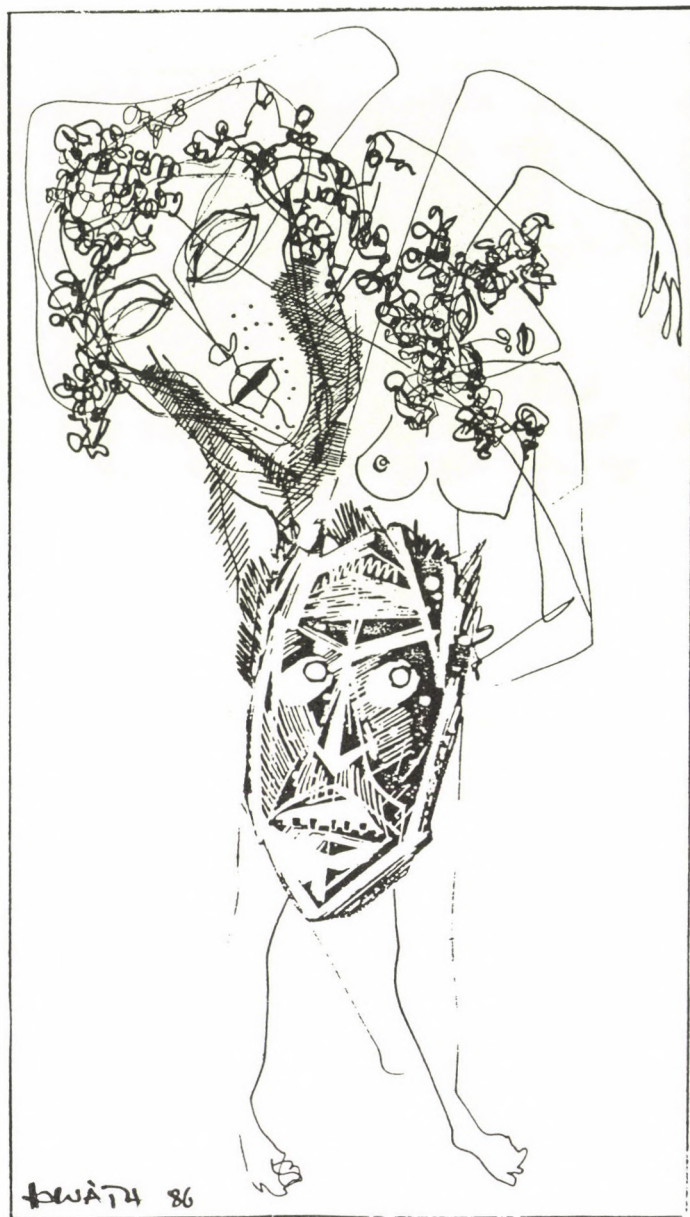
There have been many tries at giving this art a name, while many don't consider art of masks, totems, and fetish art, art at all. It is true that their function, meaning and role within expressive cultures greatly differ from the definition which has been given to art in modern Europe. Tibor Bodrogi defined this art as "tribal art", accepting responsibility for its terminological inaccuracy in order to avoid the pejorative connotation of the term "primitive", and the old fashioned term "Naturvölker". In his writings he defined the term "tribal art" with much care, taking into account its nuances and specific characteristics. He described its relation with all phenomena later defined as art. It was also clear to him that it is not only our subjective point of view which sees these masks and sculptures as objects of aesthetic value, or arbitrarily classifies objects of sacred or magical function as products of art. He realized that they do potentially carry artistic meaning, whether the person who made them was driven by artistic purpose or not. We know that art born without intention is still art, that self-reflection is not an absolute requirement. This is why Tibor Bodrogi made such complex studies on this particular material world, revealing the varied functions of these objects, and this is why he used methods particular to art history - stylistic analysis, comparative style criticism, typological analysis - as well.

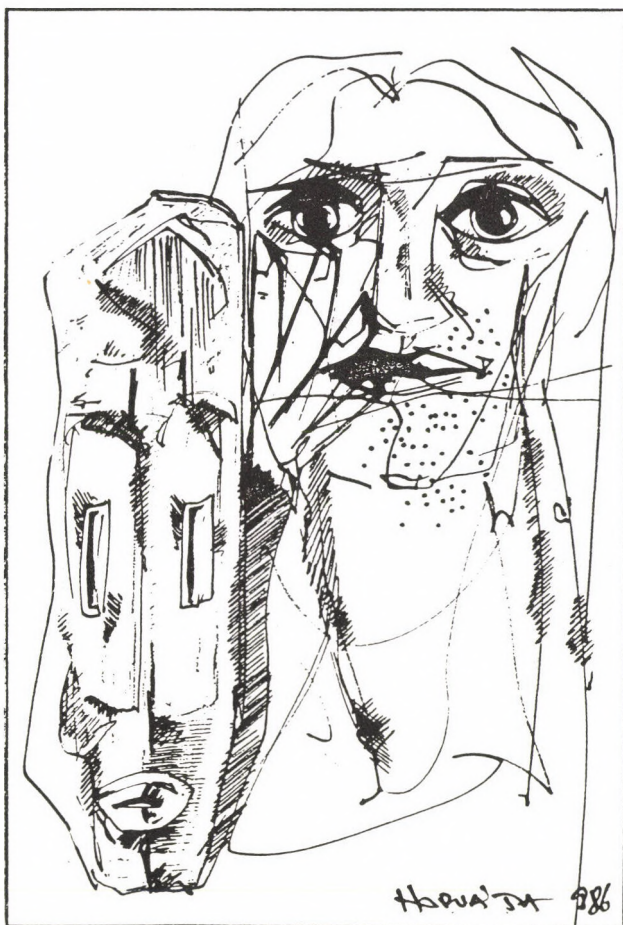
Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Ferenc Horváth was introduced into the world of African masks and sculptures mainly through Tibor Bodrogi and his work. This experience proved to be of decisive strength and importance concerning Horváth's art, who is originally an artist of expressive inclination. This inclination led him to discover the magical powers lying within the world of masks and fetishes.

It is a known fact that modern European art of the beginning of this century viewed African and Oceanic plastic art from two different perspectives. Cubism discovered a three-dimensional language in them, one that greatly differed from the accepted European ideal form. It realized the importance of the geometric determinant and saw a specific and autochthonous shaping of form, a model for a very characteristic style, in so-called primitive art. Expressionists, on the other hand, intuitively recalled the magical functions of these objects, correctly presuming that they are essential and integral props of the stage of tribal life. Whatever different attitudes these two sorts of approach required, he was able to assume both. His masks, ancestral figures and clearly sculptured formations always function as signs, carrying secret meaning, and lie in contrast with his modernistic figures which are many times inspired by classical ideas: the figure of a woman, the crisp outline of a man's face. The dark masses of masks and statues contrast with light and ethereal lines, consciously arousing erotic images by clashing motifs of opposite charges, indicating processes taking place and flashing forth from the deepest levels of the psyche. Therefore there is no trace of archaizing or folklorizing in his illustrations. These are the works of an artist who has learned the lessons of surrealism and expressionism, and in these works accessories and pattern fragments of ancient art are parts of the universal human sphere. That is why this graphic series was able to become a worthy homage to the memory of Tibor Bodrogi.









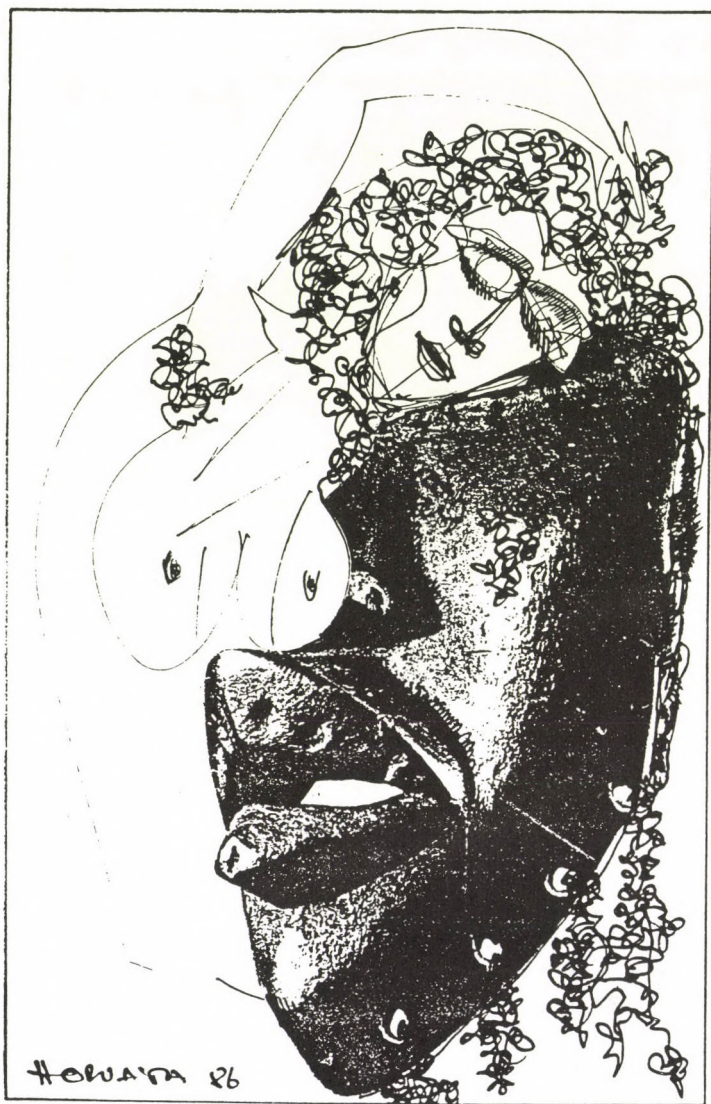




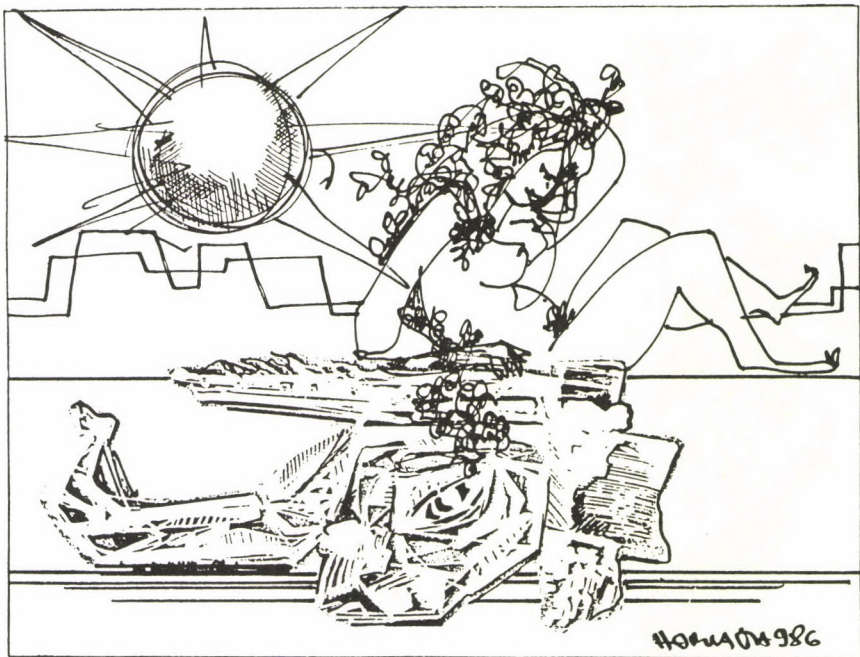


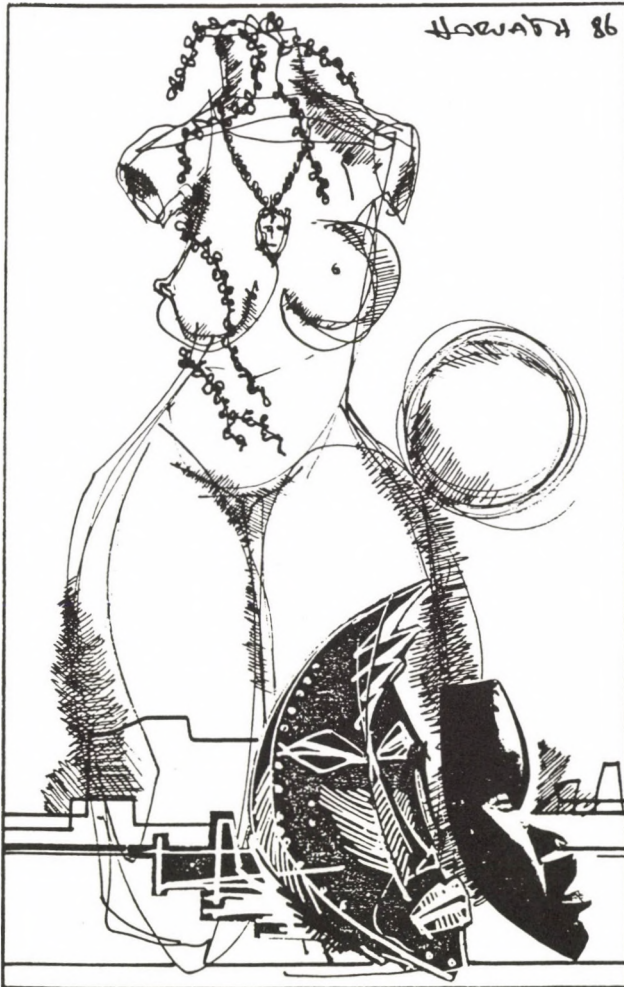




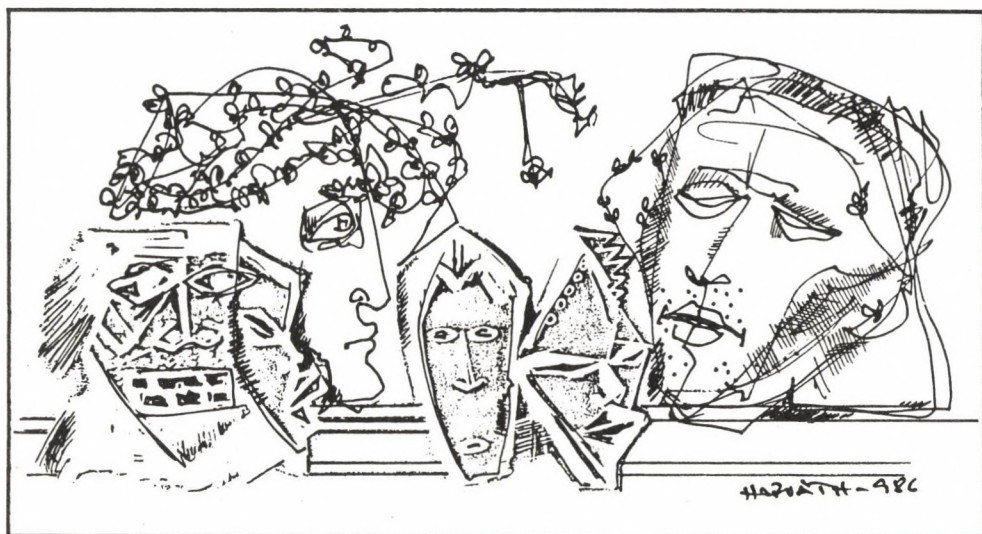


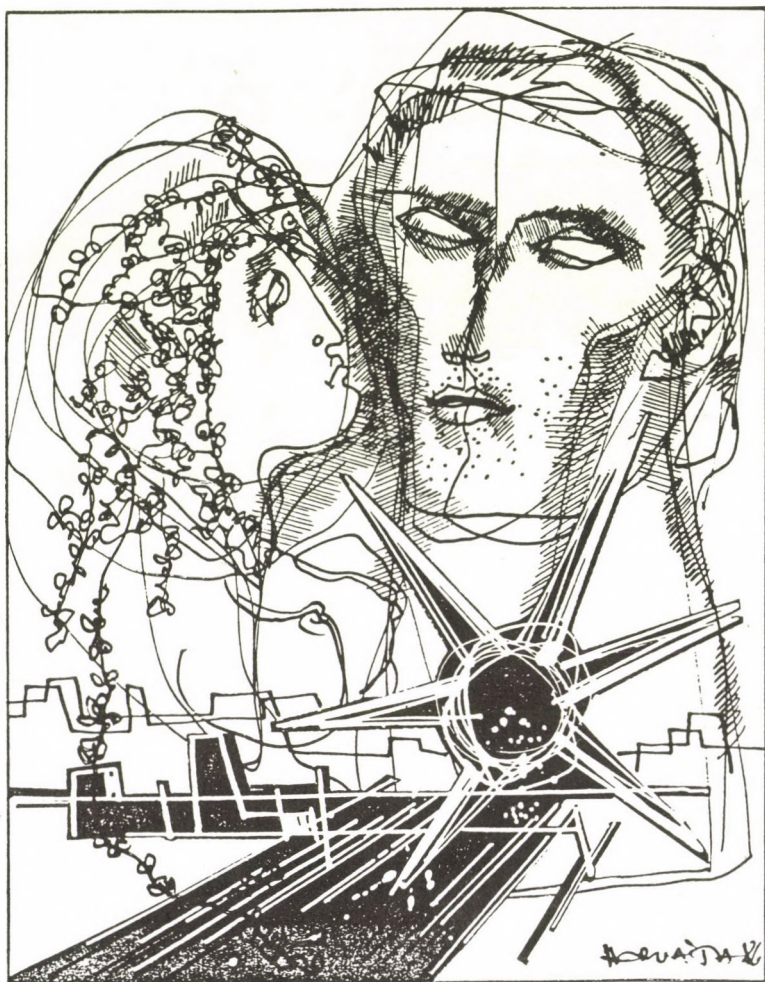






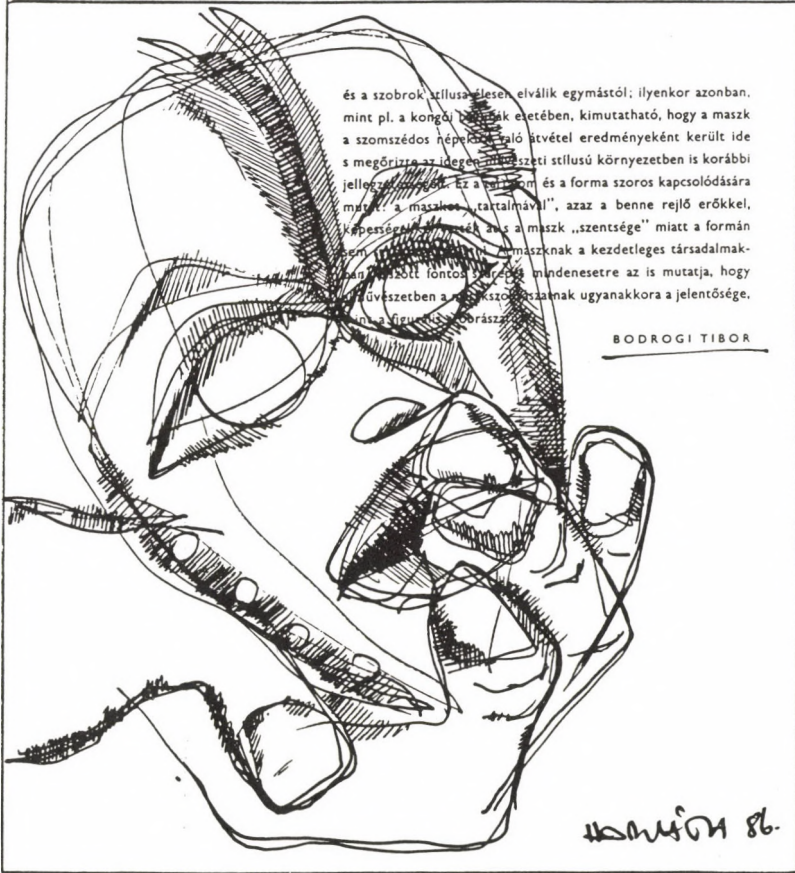






és a szobrok stílusa élesen elválnak egymástól; ilyenkor azonban, mint pl. a kongói maszkok esetében, kimutatható, hogy a maszk a szomszédos népek szobrászati stílusát eredményeként került ide és megőrizte az idegen művészeti stílusú környezetben is korábbi jellegzetességeit. Ez a stílus és a forma szoros kapcsolódására mutat: a maszkok „tartalmával”, azaz a benne rejlő erővel, képességgel, azaz a maszk „szentsége” miatt a formán nem lehetett változtatás. A maszknak a kezdetleges társadalmakban használt fontos szerepe mindenesetre az is mutatja, hogy művészetben a maszk szobrászatának ugyanakkora a jelentősége.

BODROGI TIBOR



PATRILINEAL BAND AND THE LOGIC OF CULTURAL ECOLOGY

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The interest of anthropology in habitat as a factor having an influence upon culture is as old as the discipline itself. The Société Ethnologique, founded in 1839 in Paris, called attention to the study of the relationship between social life and climate already in its research instructions (MÜHLMANN 1938: 60.) and the interest in environmental factors did not cease in later times either. The reasons for this are rather complex. From ancient times, great thinkers, among them Montesquieu, whose influence was really far-reaching, saw a connection between different geographical conditions and the behaviour of various peoples. "Though they are not the result of thorough inquiry, but more or less witty statements" (RATZEL 1889: 49), yet they offered a seemingly plausible explanation of cultural differences, which at the same time were also in accordance with everyday experiences. Moreover, in many countries ethnographical research came into being under the auspices of geography, and the two disciplines were institutionally intertwined e.g. in Russia, as well as in other European countries, including Hungary too (KOZLOV-POKSISEVSZKIJ 1971: 400, GUNDA 1971: 410). The special field of anthropological study also played an important role because among the peoples having a simple technology the environmental "...challenge seems so powerful, and the influence of the natural setting so pervasive, as to make the conclusion appear inescapable that habitat exercises a decisive influence in shaping ways of life" (HERSKOVITS 1960: 95).

In the course of time, different opinions emerged on evaluating the relationship between culture and natural-social milieu. These range from environmental determinism through possibilism to a negation of environmental factors in cultural explanation and a great number of investigations were carried out to prove the different points of view. In the past couple of decades one can witness the breakthrough of the ecological approach. The first textbook of ecological anthropology has appeared to offer "unifying threads" to the students of anthropology and to help their orientation in the discipline (HARDESTY 1977: vii) although the researches conducted under the name ecology have become more and more diverse (ELLEN 1979: 1).

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The present short paper cannot aspire to evaluate all the ecological trends. I will only concentrate upon one of them, namely, on cultural ecology as understood by J.H. Steward. Several considerations motivate such a limitation. Firstly research even in cultural ecology has become so colourful that it can not be covered with a single definition (NETTING 1977: 6). Secondly, the significance of Steward's contribution to the ecological revival is undoubtable, and his inspiration is still to be felt in the choice of the nature of themes studied. Thirdly, as opposed to his followers, Steward made use of his ideas in large scale comparisons and in the description of the cultural development of a whole continent, which lent weight to his theoretical stance. Fourthly, and this is probably the most important motive, "The theory of cultural ecology has less to say about the environment than about culture..." as Murphy has put it (1977: 22), i.e. it is closely connected with the central issues of our science. This is why Marvin Harris could regard Steward's research strategy - with a rather deceptive phraseology - a case of cultural materialism (HARRIS 1968: 658).

Steward first formulated the aims and methods of cultural ecology fully in his "Theory of Culture Change" which bears the subtitle "The Methodology of Multilinear Evolution" published in 1955. That is to say, for him cultural ecology is only one of the possible ways in that general methodology which is aimed at "...determining regularities in the functional interrelationships of cultural patterns and in the processes of culture change" i.e. it is "...an heuristic device for understanding the effect of environment upon culture." His arguments differ from human or social ecology in that he does not state principles expressed in general or biological terms; this he cannot seek after, as culture is a phenomenon on a different level which cannot be analysed as if it were an organism, so he rather aspires "to explain the origin of particular cultural features and patterns which characterize different areas" in such a way that he takes the local environment into consideration as a factor which lies outside culture. This sets him apart from the culture-historical approach, which explains each individual culture from itself. How important is adaptation to environment from the point view of culture, in what fields can differing modes of behaviour be chosen? He presents these questions as problems instead of providing a ready made answer. In other words, his starting point is not that of environmental determinism, in which the answer to these questions is a foregone conclusion.

In order to continue the clarification of the problem Steward examines

the concept of culture. He rejects the holistic approach, according to which there is a functional interdependence among all aspects of culture, because "The degree and kind of interdependency ... are not the same with all features." There is a cultural core to which belong the phenomena that are most closely related to subsistence activities and economic conditions, including social, political and religious elements as well if their close relationship with the former can be proved empirically. There are, however, such cultural features which are less closely related to the core and are determined by cultural-historical factors - random innovation and diffusion - and "...they give the appearance and outward distinctiveness to cultures with similar cores." As a cultural ecologist he mostly studies those phenomena which are tied to the use of environment according to culturally prescribed ways, and conversely, he is not interested in the entire environment, but only in those peculiarities to which the local culture attaches significance.

Although in the course of cultural development the role of environmental factors might change - as Steward puts it according to "...the complexity and the level of the culture" -, three basic procedures have to be accomplished in all cultural ecological analyses:

- a/ "... the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment must be analyzed."
- b/ "... the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of a particular technology must be analyzed." (Judging from his references Steward is definitely thinking of work organization.)
- c/ one has to "... ascertain the extent to which the behaviour patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture." (The forms of land tenure and land use are among the examples he cites as "other aspects".)

Unravelling the above-mentioned interrelationships should be done culture by culture, this, however, does not mean that every case is particular; in fact, one can discover "...cross-cultural regularities which arise from similar adaptive processes in similar environments." This is where cultural ecology is connected with the elaboration of culture types and through them with the program of multilineal evolution. Steward defines culture types by the nature of ecological adaptation and the level of socio-cultural integration (which features are concentrated in the culture core) and in case there is a suitable cultural taxonomy he thinks possible to discover cross-cultural regularities, even laws which would not be

universal but limited. Underlying all this is the belief that "... culture ... is found among all mankind, but no cultural phenomena are universal" furthermore, "What is lost in universality will be gained in concreteness and specificity" (STEWART 1955: Preface, 3-8, 19, 30-42).

Doubtless, this research program contains mistaken premisses because cultural universals definitely do exist, it is enough to refer to incest prohibitions some form of which can be found among all peoples (WHITE 1959: 86); Malinowski compiled a whole series of "certain general types of organization" which "are found in every culture" (1944: 62-65). Therefore, one can rightly say that Stewart negates the historical unity of humanity when, for the sake of discovering the different lines of development, he gives up the scrutiny of that level of abstraction where generalizations on the whole of human cultural development can be formulated (BROMLEJ 1976: 241, PETROVA-AVERKIEVA 1980: 45-46). This implies more than the simple question whether one prefers investigations on this or that level of abstraction. As Lukács warns us: "Whatever the epoch or special topic of study, the question of unified approach of the process of history is inescapable. It is here that the crucial importance of the dialectical view of totality reveals itself" (LUKÁCS 1923: 12). Considering the unified process of history it is a false alternative to contrast the unilinear and the multilinear character of evolution which does not express the entire process. It is more fruitful to outline the typical way of development through which no people have actually passed, but which can be traced out from the progress of mankind, and to describe the general way of evolution which has been realized in the history of many peoples and to accept cases of stagnation and decline which could hardly be called evolution (TÓKEI 1965: 86-95). This approach would lead further than the distinction made by Sahlins between specific and general cultural evolution, which does not account for the difference between the typical and the general, therefore the actual historical process is lost and as a consequence, Sahlins fails to allocate feudalism its proper place in the course of evolution (SAHLINS 1960: 236).

Furthermore, the contrasting of culture core and other phenomena, which is slightly reminiscent of the Marxist base-superstructure relationship is also contradictory. This is an oversimplified, mechanical view of the totality of culture, in fact, it is a technical determinist standpoint, which is at the same time far too "loose", because what is included in the core, and which features of the core are decisive, can

change from culture to culture. To make the confusion even greater elsewhere Steward had said that "... the diagnostic features of any given era - the culture core - will depend in part upon particular research interest, upon what is considered important..." (STEWARD 1955: 93). I agree with Harris in that Steward's idea is a "quandary" (HARRIS 1968: 660-661), as opposed to the holistic approach, however, it is clearly to his advantage that he calls attention to the relative independence of cultural factors and thus, implicitly, to the possibility of their uneven development.

It is an unquestionable virtue of Steward's program that he directed attention to the material basis of social existence and, as Markarjan states it, it is not only not objectionable but rather it is a timely task to delineate the parallels to be found in the evolution of cultural systems which had come into being under similar environmental conditions (MARKARJAN 1969: 117).

It is, however, a question how one can interpret Steward's attitude towards the material basis as a starting point, that is to say, how he examined the relationship of nature and society.

This question is all the more valid because of the controversy surrounding Steward's approach. One can register on the one hand the opinions of Vayda and Rappaport who - appreciating Steward's role in inspiring generalizations from the study of local groups and their environment - regard the cultural ecological way of reasoning to be a kind of technical determinism. They are supported by Murphy, according to whom "Steward's main concern is with the sociology of work - its tools, its organization, and its cycles - and in primitive societies, work cannot be understood without reference to the natural resources upon which human effort is exerted ... Cultural ecological analysis follows the same methods as all sociological (i.e. structural-functional) analysis, except that it takes work within a specific environment as a starting point" (MURPHY 1971: 34). On the other hand, Sahlins thinks that Steward has "naturalized" the process of production i.e. he ignored all historically accumulated cultural factors and this "... plays directly into an 'ecological' explanation of the total culture." (SAHLINS 1976: 100). Furthermore, Petrova-Averkieva considers the principles of cultural ecological analysis biologicistic (1980: 47).

As the suitability of a theory can be practically tested let us see the paper of Steward in which he attempted to answer the question why patrilineal bands developed in hunting-gathering societies. This choice is

motivated by the high esteem attributed to it by Harris who calls it a "landmark", even though he considers it a pity that the author has not chosen statistical methods for proving the notion, which would have enabled him to formulate his findings as tendencies and not as cause and effect relationships (HARRIS 1968: 666-669). Moreover, although the paper has got much criticism, this criticism did not extend to the way of reasoning apparent in it, which had an important role in shaping Steward's notions.

Steward thought that he had solved this problem in 1936 and republished his study in 1955 with minor alterations.

He was thinking on the basis of the literature on the Bushmen, the Pygmies of Central Africa, the Semang, the Negritos of the Philippines, the Australian Aborigines, the Tasmanians, the Ona of Tierra del Fuego, the Tehuelche of Patagonia and the Indians of Southern California - that is to say, he was considering hunter-gatherer societies living among very different environmental conditions. First he defined the patrilineal band as a cultural type. Its characteristics are patrilineality, band exogamy, land ownership and lineage composition. These features constitute the culture core of the type to which different technologies, religious phenomena etc. can be added. The type defined in this way can be found where game was scattered but constantly available in the same territory, where population density is very low (1 person/ square mile or less), where transportation is restricted to human carriers, and local exogamy comes into being. These bands are usually rather small, on average they consist of 50-60 people, at the most of 100-150. Their patrilineality can be explained by their patrilocality that has several reasons. Primate studies indicate that males naturally receive the ruling position, and their role is increased by their greater economic significance in hunting societies. (This tenet cannot be proved, it would be more convincing to say that hunting and warfare requires a greater degree of cooperation than gathering and this explains the staying together of men who grew up together - writes SERVICE [1973: 48]). This type of band is based on a certain way of using up the environment, i.e. on the hunting of scattered game with simple techniques which together with the limitations of transportation lead to small groups. As a result of moving within a well-defined territory, the notion of property emerges in the group, furthermore local (group) exogamy, and the order of descent becomes patrilineal because of patrilocality. Cause and effect relationships lead this way. On the other hand, however, the individual features of the patrilineal band reinforce each other. For example, patrilocality and

local exogamy both serve to make the band into an actual patrilineage. This, however, is the ideal model against which various factors are constantly at work, but which had been preserved as a consequence of the appropriateness of the technology employed in the given environment. Patrilineal bands will only cease with the change of environment or technology. This happened, for example, in the case of Athabaskan and Algonkian Indians, where the hunting of game living in herds led to larger social units in which not only patrilineally but also matrilineally related families could have a place, that is the band became composite (STEWART 1955: 122-150).

Steward's idea, although it is attractive enough to have been publicized in a widely accepted textbook (BOCK 1969: 280-281), is untenable. At the symposium "Man, the Hunter" he himself had to face the fact that from among the societies analysed by him the Australians and the Bushmen cannot be equivocally regarded as ones belonging to the patrilineal band type, and the Hadzapi, who otherwise have all the relevant features which Steward considered the prerequisite of the patrilineal band, definitely have a matrilinear system of descent (LEE-DEVORE 1968, the papers of LEE, HYATT and WASHBURN). Vayda and Rappaport can rightly accuse him of not having worked with an adequate cross-cultural sample (1968: 485) to which it can be added that he did not even analyse properly the material at his disposal as, for example, excellent description was available from Northeast Arnhemland which did not support the patrilineal composition of Australian bands equivocally (WARNER 1937, THOMSON 1949). Facing the facts Steward did not give up entirely, he only modified his theory. Patrilineal bands can be found where large and very mobile game which does not migrate for too great distances can be found and - this is essential - "... where hunting exceed collecting in effort and sometimes in quantity...", where population is scarce and transportation is restricted to human carriers, furthermore "It may have other preconditions and causes" (STEWART 1968: 333). As in most of the analysed societies the preponderance of collected vegetable foods can be shown, and a higher proportion of animal proteins is (or at least had been) characteristic of the matrilinear Hadzapi, therefore it is difficult to fathom what societies Steward could have been thinking of (SERVICE 1973: 18. TOMITA 1966). If the available data are subjected to the same kind of scrutiny as employed by M.E. Spiro in relation to theories on cross-cousin marriage (1965: 106-107) it can be definitely stated that the hunting of large, scattered game is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition of the patrilineality of bands in general (SÁRKÁNY 1979: 567).

Furthermore, VAYDA and RAPPAPORT raise the objection that even if the correlation of ecological adaptation and of certain cultural traits proves to be significant it still remains a question, which one should be regarded as cause and which one as effect, moreover, even if the direction of relationship is correctly stated, it is doubtful how reliable the choice of cultural traits is, i.e. they question whether Steward's approach is comprehensive enough (VAYDA and RAPPAPORT 1968: 486).

These questions are quite justified in connection with the theory discussed here, but they also deserve attention in general, especially if we take into consideration the fact that there is hardly any anthropological theory which would prove to be right when examined on wider ethnographical evidence (MURDOCK 1971: 20).

As for the first question, its phrasing already indicates that the critics refer to such an interpretation of causality which considers cause and effect to be consecutive i.e. it looks for the connection between two moments within the same process. Obviously, Steward, who does not explain what exactly he means by causality, is thinking along the same lines when he constructs a causal chain equivocally from the point of view of environmental factors, although he does imply that certain traits of the cultural type reinforce each other. Indeed, that is not his aim, he would like to set out from an element in which the relationship of environment and society is realized, that is to say, from hunting, but he becomes a captive of his own assumption of causality. This is how the double interpretation of Steward's cultural ecological standpoint becomes intelligible and this is why, in my view, the above-mentioned second interpretation can be called to be objective.

As for the second question, it is obviously connected with Steward's greatly oversimplified interpretation of culture. Taking into consideration the factors he paid so little attention to (relations of ownership, a closer scrutiny of gathering activities, seasonal variations, etc), it becomes possible to abandon his theory putting the emphasis on the flexibility of bands concerning their subsistence activities, size, as well as their kinship relationships (HARRIS 1979: 79-85). This idea was actually raised by Marcell Mauss when discussing the seasonal variations of Eskimo social life, and its general relevance was proved by anthropological research in the last decades (MAUSS 1905).

The abandonment of Steward's theory also meant the abandonment of the question why the band was patrilineal. He did refer to the possibility that

it was so because of the male predominance in the primeval horde. Such an entirely unfounded adoption of observations carried out among primates naturally did not satisfy him either because in that case he would have wished to explain the formation of matrilineal bands instead of patrilineal ones, this latter being self-evident. The factors explaining flexible bands, such as Stoffwechsel with changing nature on the hunting-gathering level of technology, do not explain in themselves why the patrilineal or the matrilineal tendency happens to be stronger in a given society. In other words, it is once again proved that the functional explanation does not provide a genetic explanation at the same time (BEATTIE 1959: 119-120), which means another logical error committed by Steward.

In spite of all its shortcomings, it has to be stated that Steward's ideas on the patrilineal band were steps forward in the history of science as they proved to be provoking enough to inspire the criticism and revision of these very views. It must have filled him with satisfaction as this is what he wrote about Karl WITTFOGEL: "A scholar's contributions to science should be judged more by the stimulus he gives to research - by the nature of problems he raises and the interests he creates - than by the enduring qualities of his provisional hypotheses." (STEWART 1977: 87).

It seems that there hasn't been anybody else who could have exerted such a forcefully stimulating influence on students of ecological anthropology. The number of detailed and complex descriptions - the majority of which are made with a functional-holistic conception of culture in mind, which hardly shackles the imagination and which, on the level of generalizations, appear as self-regulating system - are on the increase. "Malinowski reformed by Bateson" - as Fabian puts it with justification (1982: 205). It is not accidental then that we are getting to know more and more about the economy of tribal societies and that we are getting acquainted with certain social aspects and connections of economy and subsistence activities through the work of ecological anthropologists. Thus we have well-documented examples on the alternative mode of utilizing a natural environment with extreme features on similar levels of agricultural technology but depending on the differences of social organization (BUTT 1970: 33-49). At the same time, these realizations are greatly limited both in time and space and from the point of view of the interaction of environment and culture. Such a turn of research traditions has certain consequences. Anderson addresses reproaches to cultural anthropologists that they are unable to make the present ecological crisis of the world an object

of research, though if anyone, they ought to know it in all its dimensions, because they live in two worlds: in starving, impoverished villages, where their fieldwork is carried out and in Euro-American metropolises poisoned by overconsumption. He even suggests a guideline to the investigation of this global problematic: it is necessary to start with the analysis of world economy, this being the only way in which we can understand why nature is depleted by the most developed and underdeveloped societies alike (ANDERSON 1974). Indeed, if anything can be contrasted, it is this global worry and the narrow research interest limited to some questions of the connection between subsistence activities and certain aspects of social life in tribal societies.

There are, however, promising signs as well. There is an increasing demand for studying cultural and social systems comprehensively instead of investigating subsistence activities as forms of ecological adaptations or ecosystems as systems of adaptation (ELLEN 1978: 300). Even the Marxist approach has been suggested in the discussions, according to which a successful analysis of the nature-culture relationship can be carried out only by taking the reproduction of social systems as a starting point, because the individual gets in touch with nature in the entire system of his social relationships, and these studies must pay attention also to the contradictions inherent in the social systems (GODELIER 1974). If these points of view will guide future research with an increasing awareness of logical requirements of theory building, it is certain that ecological approaches to culture could contribute to theories explaining social processes and types.

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EIN PHARAONISCHES SURVIVAL IM REZENTEN ÄGYPTISCHEN SCHMUCK

**BEMERKUNGEN ZU EINER OBJEKTGRUPPE IN
EINER KAIROER PRIVATSAMMLUNG**

Peter W.Schienerl
Wien

Das traditionelle Schmuck- und Amulettwesen des islamischen Raumes ist seinem Formenbestand nach weitestgehend von dem der griechisch-römischen Welt abhängig. Die allerdings nicht selten vorgebrachte Ansicht, wonach gerade im rezenten ägyptischen Schmuck und bei den in Ägypten gebräuchlichen magischen Schutzmitteln starke pharaonische Einflüsse festzustellen seien (z.B. KRISS 1962: 2), hat sich freilich bei einer eingehenderen Beschäftigung mit den hierfür als Beweis angeführten Objektgruppen widerlegen lassen.

So konnte zum Beispiel das in Ägypten so weit verbreitete Lochscheibenamulett, das bisher entweder als stilisiertes altägyptisches Udjat-Amulett (PETRIE 1914: 38, Tafel XXV, Nr. 139; KRISS 1962: Tafel 13, Nr. 1-4) oder als eine gleichfalls dem pharaonischen Amulettwesen verbundene Handdarstellung (BACHATLY 1931: 50-54) angesehen worden ist, nunmehr auf Planetenamulette zurückgeführt werden, wie sie besonders im römischen Ägypten verwendet wurden (SCHIENERL 1979a: 358 ff.), aber auch aus dem frühbyzantinischen Ägypten zu belegen sind (SCHIENERL 1981b). Die Herleitung rezenter handgestaltiger Amulette aus dem pharaonischen Ägypten (KRISS 1962: 3 ff.) erscheint zumindest fraglich (SCHIENERL 1979b: 43), und das Hazaqqa-Amulett (KRISS 1962: 45 f.), das gleichfalls mit altägyptischem Amulettbrauch in Zusammenhang gebracht worden ist (BLACKMAN 1927: 79. fig 37; ARKELL 1937: 152), scheint wohl doch eher in altmesopotamischen Traditionen verwurzelt zu sein (SCHIENERL 1980c: 494-495), die in der griechisch-römischen Welt wirksam geblieben sind und schliesslich so bis in die Gegenwart weiterleben.

In einer noch ungedruckten umfangreicheren Arbeit (SCHIENERL 1980a) wurde ferner anhand von drei charakteristischen Objektgruppen deutlich gezeigt, dass nicht das altägyptische Schmuckwesen für die Ausbildung des volkstümlichen rezenten Schmucks der Bewohner des Nillandes ausschlaggebend gewesen ist, sondern dass der moderne ägyptische Schmuck in der Hauptsache

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von griechisch-römischen Vorbildern abhängig ist.

Angesichts der solchermassen nachweisbaren Dominanz griechisch-römischer und frühbyzantinischer Elemente im rezenten ägyptischen Schmuck- und Amulettwesen muss ein Schmuckstück von grösstem Interesse sein, das seinem Wesen und seiner Form nach mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit dem altägyptischen Amulettbrauchtum verbunden ist. Aufgabe dieser Studie ist es, ein - allerdings vereinzelt - Zeugnis für das Weiterleben pharaonischen Formengutes im traditionellen Schmuck Ägyptens zu veröffentlichen und in seiner Bedeutung für die Schmuckforschung zu würdigen.

Im Verlaufe meiner Arbeiten zur wissenschaftlichen Dokumentation des ägyptischen Schmuck- und Amulettwesens, die nunmehr im Auftrage der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und in engster Zusammenarbeit mit dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Wien durchgeführt werden, bot sich mir auch die Möglichkeit, eine kleine Privatsammlung ägyptischen Schmucks kennenzulernen. Bei dieser Gelegenheit stiess ich auf drei Schmuckstücke aus goldfarbigem unedlem Metall, die nach Angabe des Besitzers im Jahre 1980 als Objektgruppe im Khan el Khalili, dem Touristenbazar Kairos, für wenige Piaster bei einem Silberhändler gekauft worden sind.

Über die Herkunft der Objekte scheinen keinerlei verlässliche Angaben gemacht worden zu sein, doch spricht die Gleichartigkeit des Materials, aus dem die drei Stücke gefertigt worden sind, für deren Zusammengehörigkeit. Diese Zusammengehörigkeit kann auch aus der Tatsache abgeleitet werden, dass die drei Objekte in einem Laden aufgefunden wurden, in dem üblicherweise Silberobjekte angeboten werden; denn es kann mit einiger Sicherheit angenommen werden, dass die drei aus unedlem Metall gearbeiteten Schmuckstücke zusammen mit einer umfangreicheren Lieferung älteren Silberschmucks dem Händler verkauft worden sind und nur deshalb überhaupt in dem Geschäft zum Kauf angeboten worden sind.

Das für unsere Abhandlung wichtigste Stück (Abb. 1.) ist ein hohler Anhänger, dessen zylindrischer Hauptteil am oberen Ende einen kalottenförmigen Abschluss aufweist. Er ist samt der relativ grossen Aufhängeröse 3,5 cm lang und hat an der Unterseite einen planen Abschluss. Der Durchmesser des zylindrischen Teiles des Anhängers beträgt 1,3 cm, und am kalottenartigen oberen Abschluss, der keinerlei Verzierung aufweist, ist am Scheitelpunkt die Aufhängeröse angesetzt. Der röhrenförmige Teil des Schmuckstückes ist durch sechs aufgesetzte Blechstreifen gegliedert, die rundum mit Einkerbungen versehen sind. Diese schrägen Einschnitte sind solchermassen auf den Metallstreifen angebracht, dass sie zusammen mit den

entsprechenden Kerben der übrigen Blechstreifen eine gerade Linie bilden, die aber leicht von der Senkrechten abweicht. Der zylindrische Teil des Anhängers wird also mit Hilfe von zueinander parallelen schrägen Kerblinien zusätzlich gegliedert. An der Aufhängeröse waren die Reste einer Drahtschlinge aus silberfarbigem Metall zu sehen, die in der Zeichnung nicht wiedergegeben sind.



Abb. 1. Amulettanhänger aus unedlem Metall. Zeichnung: Wolfgang Hölbling, Kairo.

Das zweite Schmuckstück (Abb. 2.) kann als tatzenförmig bezeichnet werden, ist gleichfalls hohl und weist eine Länge von ca. 3,7 cm auf. Die obere und untere Fläche dieses Anhängers ist jeweils durch gravierte Linien,

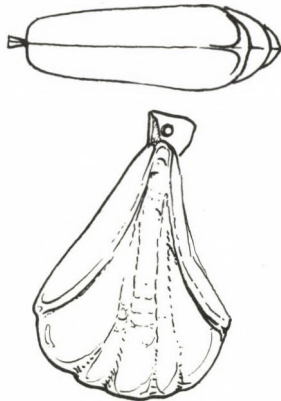


Abb. 2. Ohrschmuck. Zeichnung: Wolfgang Hölbling, Kairo.

die in gewisser Weise die Umrissformen des Schmuckstückes berücksichtigen, ornamentiert, und weitere mit dem Punzeisen angebrachte Einschnitte, die senkrecht zu den eben erwähnten Hauptlinien angebracht sind, gliedern zusätzlich die beiden Hauptflächen. Die zwei seitlichen, nach innen gewölbten Flächen hingegen sind unornamentiert geblieben.

Die Aufhängung des Schmuckstückes, dessen grösste Breite 3 cm beträgt, erfolgte ursprünglich mit Hilfe eines breiten gefalteten Blechstreifens, der zwischen die beiden Teile, aus denen der Hohlkörper zusammengesetzt ist, eingeklemmt wurde, doch hat man die daraus entstandene breite Metallschleife nachträglich flachgepresst und mit einer Durchbohrung versehen.

Schliesslich gehört zu der Schmuckgruppe noch eine Metallperle (Abb. 3.), die gleichfalls aus zwei Teilen zusammengesetzt ist und eine Länge von 3,7 cm aufweist. Sie ist völlig unverziert und zeigt die Form einer Doppelpyramide, deren Seitenkanten allerdings von unterschiedlicher Länge sind. Der breitere Teil der Perle, also ihre vermutliche Schauseite, misst 1,3 cm, während die kürzeren Kanten nur eine Länge von 0,9 cm aufweisen.



Abb. 3. Metallperle aus einer Kairoer Privatsammlung.

Zeichnung: Wolfgang Hölbling, Kairo.

Im Gegensatz zu dem erstgenannten Anhänger, zu dem mir im gesamten Verlauf meiner nunmehr fast ein Jahrzehnt andauernden Dokumentationstätigkeit noch kein Parallelstück bekannt geworden ist, und um dessentwillen diese an sich anspruchslose Schmuckgruppe eigens veröffentlicht wird, ist das an zweiter Stelle beschriebene Schmuckstück des öfteren belegbar. Es handelt sich dabei um das Hauptstück eines Ohrschmucks. Ein komplettes Paar derartiger Ohrgehänge (Abb. 4.) wird im Ethnographischen Museum der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Kairo aufbewahrt und ist möglicherweise aus dem gleichen goldfarbigen Material gefertigt (THOMAS 1924: 12, Nr. 381) wie das zuvor besprochene Exemplar.



Abb. 4. Ohrschmuck aus Oberägypten. Ethnographisches Museum, Kairo.
Nach THOMAS 1924: Nr. 381, fig. 247.

Mehrere Beispiele dieses Schmucktyps sind auch in der wertvollen ethnographischen Sammlung zu sehen, die in der ehemaligen Karawanserei des Sultan Ghuri, in der Nähe der Azhar-Moschee, untergebracht ist. Sie sind gleichfalls hohl, bestehen aber aus Silberblech und wurden in der Oase Dakhla gesammelt.

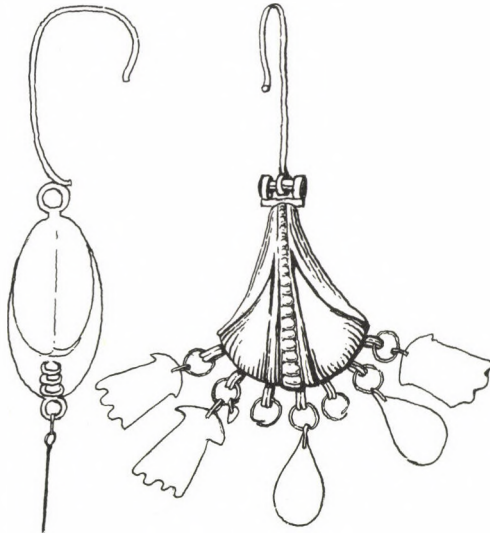


Abb. 5. Silberner Ohrschmuck aus Dakhla. Zeichnung: Christel Steffens, Oldenburg.

Ebenfalls aus Silber sind Ohrgehänge ähnlichen Grundtyps, die sich in einer deutschen Privatsammlung befinden (Abb. 5.). Im Gegensatz zu den aus unedlem Metall verfertigten Exemplaren sind diese Ohrgehänge zusätzlich mit Anhängseln versehen, die den Amulettcharakter dieser Schmuckstücke noch unterstreichen. Dieser beruht einerseits auf der Gestalt des Anhängers selbst, die von Thomas (1924: 122) als tropfenförmig bezeichnet wird, aber wohl mit jenen handgestaltigen Schmuckstücken in typologischem Zusammenhang stehen dürfte, deren Amulettcharakter im nordafrikanischen Raum hinlänglich bekannt ist (CHAMPAULT und VERBRUGGE 1965), andererseits ist hier die Fünfzahl der Anhängsel zu erwähnen (statt ursprünglich sieben), die gleichfalls als magisches Schutzmittel empfunden wird (KRISS 1962: 8f.). Schliesslich ist noch auf die handgestaltigen Zierelemente hinzuweisen, die aus dünnem Silberblech ausgeschnitten worden sind.

Eine Gruppe von Schmuckstücken aus der Oase Dakhla ist bereits an anderer Stelle veröffentlicht worden, und es sei auf die Tatsache hingewiesen, dass Ohrschmuck völlig anderen Grundtyps die gleiche Art von Anhängseln aufweist wie die eben besprochenen handgestaltigen Ohrgehänge (SCHIENERL 1980d: 81, fig. 2.).

Die Form der Metallperle schliesslich ist im oberägyptischen Raum sehr weit verbreitet, und es erübrigt sich daher, Beispiele für diesen Perlentyp, der sich in den verschiedensten Materialien nachweisen lässt, hier anzuführen.

Die eingangs beschriebene Gruppe von Metallobjekten kann daher mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit in den oberägyptischen Raum lokalisiert werden, und die eben erwähnten Parallelen zu dem Ohrgehänge lassen den Schluss zu, dass die drei Schmuckstücke in der Oase Dakhla getragen worden sind. Für eine derartige Annahme könnte weiters der Umstand sprechen, dass die Objekte aus Metall von geringem Materialwert verfertigt sind, doch darf diesem Argument keine allzu grosse Bedeutung beigemessen werden. Die Existenz aber eines im übrigen Ägypten völlig unbekanntem Schmucktyps, der - wie noch im einzelnen ausgeführt werden wird - auf altägyptische Vorbilder zurückzuführen ist, darf wohl als gewichtiger Hinweis darauf aufgefasst werden, dass alle drei Objekte aus einer Gegend stammen, die vom Niltal abgelegen genug ist, um sich eine gewisse Eigenständigkeit in ihrer materiellen Kultur zu bewahren.

Es sind somit einige Anhaltspunkte gewonnen worden, die es gestatten, den zuerst erwähnten zylindrischen Anhänger mit kalottenartigem Abschluss in die Oase Dakhla zu lokalisieren. Da er m.W. im rezenten Schmuck- und

Amulettwesen Ägyptens keine Parallele hat, stellt er ein in seiner Bedeutung nicht zu unterschätzendes Beweismittel für das - üblicherweise nur sehr selten feststellbare - Weiterleben altägyptischen Formengutes im traditionellen Schmuck Ägyptens dar. Denn typologisch gesehen ist dieser Anhänger mit den altägyptischen Schriftamuletten in Zusammenhang zu bringen.

Amulettbehältnisse von zylindrischer Grundform müssen im pharaonischen Ägypten entstanden sein, denn nur die Niltalkultur verfügte über einen Schreibstoff, den Papyrus, der flexibel genug war, um ohne Gefahr für das Schreibmaterial zusammengerollt zu werden. Mit magischen Schutztexten versehene Papyri konnten entweder als von Lederschnüren zusammengehaltene Rollen oder in kleine zylindrische Hülsen gesteckt, als persönliche Amulette am Körper getragen werden und so den Träger vor den Folgen des "Bösen



Abb. 6. Bildfragment aus Theben (British Museum, Inv. Nr. 37978) mit Darstellung eines Behältnisses für Papyrusdokumente.
Photo: Hassan el Zeneiny, Kairo, nach HUSSEIN 1970.

Blicks" oder vor den Angriffen böswilliger Dämonen schützen.

Wie erst kürzlich nachgewiesen werden konnte, sind die im pharaonischen Ägypten gebräuchlich gewesenen Amulettbehältnisse aus jenen - natürlich wesentlich grösseren - zylindrischen Behältern entstanden, in denen die Schreiber bereits seit dem Alten Reich ihre Dokumente zu verwahren und zu transportieren pflegen (SCHIENERL 1980a: 25-29). Derartige "Aktentaschen" sind mehrfach in der Grabkammer des Prinzen Kaninisut im Wiener Kunsthistorischen Museum abgebildet (JUNKER 1931: Tafel 11; SCHIENERL 1981b: 10, fig. 1.), und ein Behältnis für grosse Schriftrollen ist auch auf einem farbigen Relieffragment (British Museum, Inv. Nr. 37978) aus Theben (HUSAIN 1970: 23, 30) zu sehen (Abb. 6.).

Die einfachste Methode, einen handgeschriebenen magischen Schutzbrief mit sich zu führen, bestand wohl darin, den Papyrus fest mit Lederbändern zu umschnüren und an einem Lederriemen hängend zu tragen. Ein derartiges Schriftamulett befindet sich in der Ägyptologischen Sammlung in Leyden (LEXA 1925: III, Tafel 47, fig. 82.). Eigenartigerweise zeigt dieses Amulett an Stelle der für Papyrusrollen zu erwartenden planen oberen und unteren Abschlüsse ein kalottenförmiges Ende (Abb. 7.).

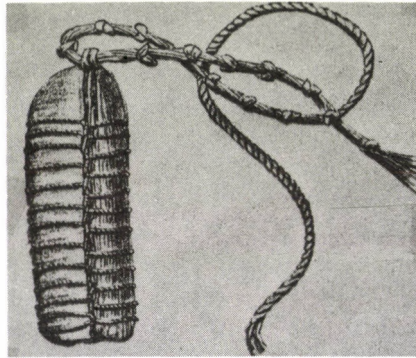


Abb. 7. Altägyptisches Papyrusamulett aus Leyden. Nach LEXA 1925: Tafel 47, fig. 82.

Wiewohl mir kein einziges echtes Amulettbehältnis zylindrischer Grundform aus pharaonischer Zeit bekannt ist, das einen kalottenförmigen oberen Abschluss aufweist, so ist die Existenz solcher Amulethüllen aus

festeren Materialien, wie etwa aus Holz, Leder oder Metall mit einiger Sicherheit anzunehmen:

Zunächst legt das tatsächliche Vorhandensein derartig gestalteter grossformatiger Papyrusbehälter (JUNKER 1931: Tafel 11; s.o. Abb. 6.) es nahe, dass die entsprechend kleineren Hülsen für persönliche magische Schutzbriefe nach diesen Vorbildern gestaltet worden sind.

Weiters beweist die Gestaltung des eben erwähnten Schriftamulettes aus Leyden (Abb. 7.) dass diese Form als für derartige Schutzmittel übliche Gestalt angesehen worden sein muss; denn der kalottenförmige Abschluss des mit Hilfe von Lederschnüren zusammengehaltenen Papyrusamulettes ist nicht durch das Schriftstück bedingt, sondern die einfachere Rollenform mit beidseitig planen Abschlüssen wäre die wesentlich naheliegendere Lösung. Ein in Leder gehülltes und mit Schnüren umwickeltes Amulett mit planen Abschlüssen bildet übrigens auch Petrie (1914: Tafel XIX, Nr. 133 f) ab (Abb. 8.).

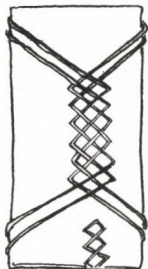


Abb. 8. Altägyptisches Papyrusamulett im University College London.
Zeichnung: Wolfgang Hölbling, Kairo, nach PETRIE 1914:
Tafel XIX, Nr. 133 f.

Drittens ist in diesem Zusammenhang auf einen hohlen Anhänger aus Goldblech hinzuweisen, der in einem kuschitischen Friedhof gefunden wurde (DUNHAM 1963: 44) und seiner Form nach sicherlich auf in Ägypten gebräuchliche Amulethhülsen zurückzuführen ist (Abb. 9.). Ein Abschluss des Schmuckstückes, das wohl als Mittelstück an einer Kette getragen worden ist, ist kalottenförmig, das andere Ende ist plan. In der waagrechten Tragweise

unterscheidet sich allerdings diese Amulethhülle sehr wesentlich von den stets senkrecht hängend getragenen pharaonischen Zylinderamuletten.

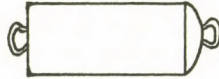


Abb. 9. Kuschitischer Goldanhänger. Nach DUNHAM 1963: 44.

Schliesslich beweisen karthagische Amulettbehältnisse (Abb. 10.) mit kalottenförmigem oberem Abschluss und planer Grundfläche (QUILLARD 1973: pl. I, fig. 5-7.; PISANO 1974: fig. 8. Nrn. 174, 176), dass dieser Amuletttyp auch in Ägypten heimisch gewesen sein muss, denn gerade auf dem Gebiete des Amulettwesens ist Karthago sehr weitgehend durch altägyptische Vorbilder geprägt worden.



Abb. 10. Karthagisches Amulettbehältnis. Nach QUILLARD 1973: Tafel I.

Angeichts der eben vorgebrachten Argumente ist mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit anzunehmen, dass im pharaonischen Ägypten Amulettbehältnisse mit einem kalottenförmigen oberem Abschluss keine Seltenheit gewesen sind. Die in mehreren Beispielen gleichfalls nachweisbaren zylindrischen Amulettzylinder mit zwei planen Abschlüssen (RAY

1972: 251-253) oder mit aufgesetzten plastischen Darstellungen ägyptischer Gottheiten (EDWARDS 1960: XIX) sind wohl als Varianten dieses Grundtyps anzusehen.

Mit Ausnahme des zuvor erwähnten kuschitischen Goldanhängers, der insofern eine Sonderstellung einnimmt, als er zwei Befestigungsösen aufweist und daher sicherlich waagrecht hängend getragen worden ist, wurden alle altägyptischen Schriftamulettgehülsen und die von diesen abgeleiteten karthagischen Amulettbehältnisse stets vertikal hängend getragen. Erst in griechisch-römischer Zeit sind im Mittelmeerraum Amulettbehältnisse zylindrischen Grundtyps nachweisbar, die waagrecht zu tragen waren. Auf Abbildung 11. sind die in den verschiedenen Kulturen üblichen Methoden, Amulettbehältnisse zu tragen, schematisch dargestellt.

Der Wechsel von der vertikalen zur horizontalen Tragweise ist jedoch von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung für die weitere Entwicklung dieses Amuletttyps. Es kann im Augenblick noch nicht mit Sicherheit entschieden werden, ob die Griechen die Idee, magische Schutzbriefe in zylindrischen Hülsen

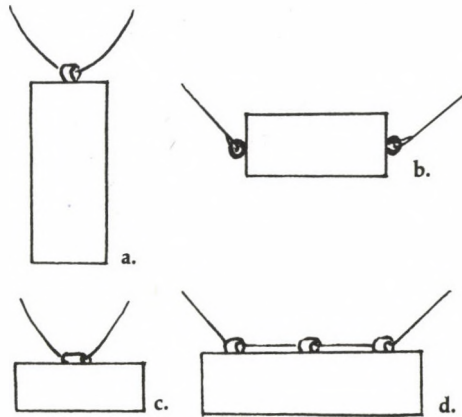


Abb. 11. Schematische Darstellung der verschiedenen Tragweisen zylindrischer Amulettbehältnisse : a. altägyptisch, b. kuschitisch, c. und d. Griechisch-Römisch. Zeichnung: Wolfgang Hölbling, Kairo.

aufzubewahren, in vorhellenistischer Zeit direkt von den Ägyptern übernommen haben, ob die Rezeption dieses Amuletttyps über Vermittlung einer der vorderasiatischen Kulturen (Phönikien?) erfolgte, oder - was wohl am unwahrscheinlichsten ist - ob die Griechen selbständig und ohne einen Anstoss von aussen derartige Behältnisse entwickelt haben (SCHIENERL 1980b: 12-13). Es ist weiters nicht auszuschliessen, dass erst in hellenistischer Zeit durch die Begegnung der Griechen mit dem Buddhismus, wo waagrecht zu tragende Amulettbehältnisse vielfach bezeugt sind (SCHIENERL 1980a: 195), zylindrische Amulettgehäusen in der griechischen Welt heimisch geworden sind (Oppi Untracht: briefliche Mitteilung).

Sicher ist jedoch, dass das gegenwärtig früheste datierbare (4/3. Jhdt. v. Chr.) Amulettbehältnis, das aus dem südrussischen Raum stammt (GREIFENHAGEN 1975: 38), bereits waagrecht hängend zu tragen gewesen ist (Abb. 12.). Obwohl sich im Verlaufe der über fast ein Jahrtausend zu verfolgenden Geschichte griechisch-römischer Amulettgehäusen zahlreiche Sonderformen dieses Grundtyps herausgebildet haben (SCHIENERL 1980a: 61-107), die sodann im islamischen Raum bis in die Gegenwart hinein das Amulettwesen bestimmend beeinflussen, wurde die waagrechte Tragweise von zylindrischen Amulettbehältnissen nicht mehr aufgegeben.

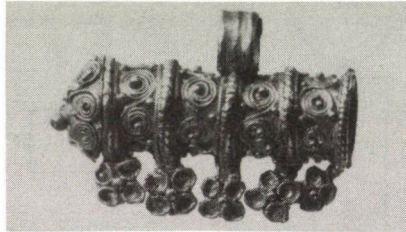


Abb. 12. Griechisches Goldamulett aus Südrussland. Antiken-Museum Berlin, Inv. Nr. GI 431. Photo: Isolde Luckert, Berlin.

Wie sehr selbst in Ägypten, dem Ursprungsland zylindrischer Amulettgehäusen, die horizontale Tragweise in römischer Zeit heimisch geworden ist, beweisen die zahlreichen auf uns gekommenen antiken Nachbildungen echter Amulettbehältnisse (PETRIE 1914: 29, Tafel XIX, figg. 133 h, k, l, m; Tafel XLIII, fig. 133j.) und einige bildliche Wiedergaben derartiger Metallgehäusen auf Mumienporträts (PARLASCA 1966: Tafel 17,1 ; 55, 1-2). Während meiner Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte islamisch-ägyptischer Amulettrollen ist mir kein einziges Beispiel für eine zylindrische

Amulethhülle aus nachpharaonischer Zeit bekannt geworden, die vertikal hängend zu tragen gewesen wäre (SCHIENERL 1980a: 103 f.).

Es kann mit absoluter Sicherheit angenommen werden, dass am Vorabend der grossen arabischen Eroberungen im damaligen byzantinischen Reich jene waagrecht zu tragenden Typen zylindrischer und prismatischer Amulettbehältnisse im Gebrauch standen, die in der griechisch-römischen Epoche der Mittelmeerwelt entwickelt worden waren (SCHIENERL 1980b: 14). Diese Annahme erweist sich auch in völligem Einklang mit jenen Erkenntnissen, die aus der Dokumentation des volkstümlichen rezenten islamischen Schmucks gewonnen werden konnten. Denn es war nachzuweisen, dass gerade jene Schmuck- und Amulettformen, die die Araber in den von ihnen eroberten Provinzen des Byzantinischen Reiches vorgefunden haben, für die weitere Entwicklung des traditionellen Schmucks aller heute islamischen Länder von grundlegender Bedeutung waren.

Da ja die ansässigen Verarbeiter von Edelmetallen ihr Metier zunächst in der gleichen Weise fortführten, wie sie es unter byzantinischer Herrschaft gewohnt gewesen waren und da unter den arabischen Eroberern sicherlich keine genügend grosse Anzahl gleichwertiger Spezialisten zur Verfügung stand, ist die Übernahme griechisch-römischer Schmuckformen, die sich bis in die frühbyzantinische Zeit erhalten hatten, nahezu zwangsläufig erfolgt (SCHIENERL 1981a).

Nur auf diese Weise ist es zu erklären, dass der überwiegende Teil aller heute im islamischen Raum feststellbaren traditionellen Schmuck- und Amulettformen trotz beträchtlicher regionaler Unterschiede letztlich auf Vorbilder zurückzuführen ist, die in frühbyzantinischer Zeit in Mode waren und zumeist in griechisch-römischen Traditionen verwurzelt waren.

In ganz besonderem Masse gilt dies auch für die zylindrischen und die daraus entwickelten prismatischen Metallhülsen, die heute in Afghanistan (JANATA 1981: Tafel 3) und Indien (HÖPFNER und HAASE 1978: Tafeln 71, 103) ebenso verbreitet sind wie in Nordafrika (CHAMPAULT und VERBRUGGE 1965: 99) und zu den beliebtesten Typen amulettwertigen Schmucks überhaupt zu zählen sind. Der bereits in römischer Zeit entwickelte Typenreichtum dieser Amulettform (SCHIENERL 1980a: 61-107) hat sich im Laufe der Zeit, besonders durch die Anwendung verschiedenster Dekorformen und Ornamentierungstechniken vervielfacht, und es besteht die Absicht, in absehbarer Zeit das diesbezügliche Material in einer Monographie geordnet vorzulegen. Für unsere Thematik ist jedoch wichtig, abermals zu betonen, dass zylindrische Amulettbehältnisse nicht nur in Ägypten (Abb. 13.), sondern auch in allen

übrigen Teilen der islamischen Welt stets waagrecht hängend getragen werden.

Lediglich ein in der Antike verwendeter Amuletttyp, der bis in die frühbyzantinische Zeit nachweislich in Verwendung gestanden hat (ROSS 1965: II, 28, Nr. 27), hat m.W. keine Entsprechung im rezenten islamischen Schmuck: Es ist dies die älteste Form antiker Amulettgehäusen, die durch nur eine einzige Aufhängerschleife charakterisiert ist (Abb. 11c-d, 12.), und sie ist allem Anschein nach entweder unmittelbar vor den arabischen Eroberungen oder kurz danach in Vergessenheit geraten.

Es mag hier nur in Parenthese auf das Verschwinden zylindrischer und prismatischer Amulettbehältnisse in Byzanz selbst hingewiesen werden, das sicherlich mit dem in der Spätantike erfolgten Übergang von der Papyrusrolle zum Codex als Buchform im Zusammenhang steht. An die Stelle rollenförmiger Metallgehäusen treten in Byzanz nunmehr solche, die die Form rechteckiger oder quadratischer Kästchen aufweisen. Diese oftmals als Reliquienbehältnisse bezeichneten Metallkästchen (ROSS 1965: II, 30f, Nr. 31, Pl. 27) könnten aber in gleicher Weise zur Verwahrung handgeschriebener magischer Schutzbriefe gedient haben.

Die Existenz zylindrischer und prismatischer Amulettbehältnisse im traditionellen Schmuck der Balkanvölker (KRISS 1962: Tafel 56, Nr. 2; BLAGOEVA 1977: 51) scheint der Ansicht zu widersprechen, dass Amulettgehäusen dieser Grundform in Byzanz aufgegeben worden sind, doch glaube ich, dass derartige Amulettgehäusen erst wieder im Zeitalter der Turkokratie und zunächst als islamische Amulettform auf der Balkanhalbinsel Verbreitung gefunden haben. Sie können somit nicht als Beweis für eine in dieser Region seit der Antike ununterbrochene Tradition angesehen werden. Angesichts der aufgezeigten Umstände ist es überflüssig, besonders hervorzuheben, dass auch die Amulettgehäusen des rezenten Balkanschmucks stets waagrecht hängend getragen wurden.

Es sei in diesem Zusammenhang nur noch auf die Tatsache hingewiesen, dass auch die in frühbyzantinischer Zeit entstandenen rechteckigen Metallbehältnisse Eingang in das traditionelle Schmuckwesen der islamischen Völker gefunden haben. Dies ist aus den zahlreichen Beispielen kästchenförmiger Amulettbehältnisse abzuleiten, die in allen Teilen der islamischen Welt nachzuweisen sind (KRISS 1962: Tafeln 55-57; KALTER 1976: 109-111; SCHIENERL 1978a: 31-35; 1978b; CREYAUFMÜLLER 1979: Abb. 80, 82, 85, 86; JANATA 1981: Tafel 4). Die hier nur angedeutete Vielfalt der Beziehungen, die sich zwischen dem byzantinischen Schmuck und Amulettwesen und dem des islamischen Raumes feststellen lassen, ist das Thema eines

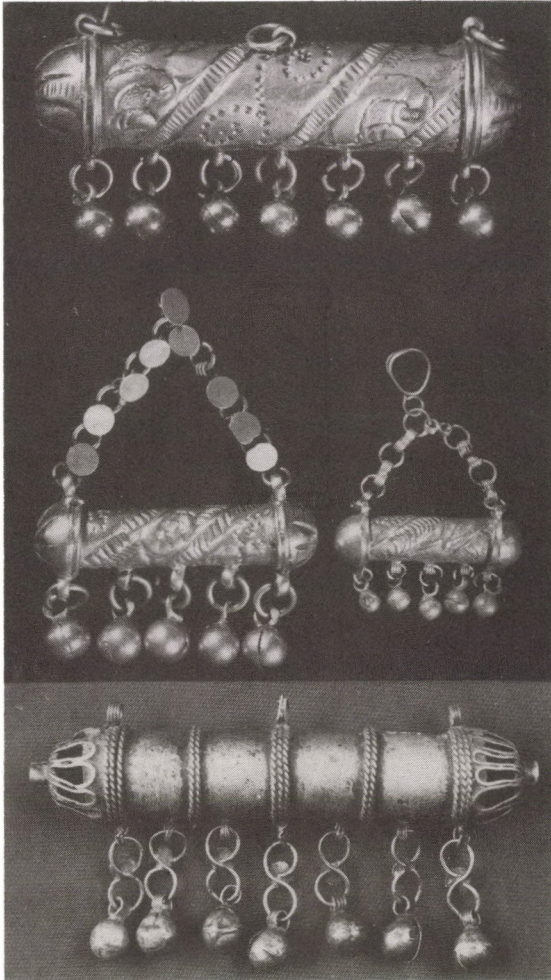


Abb. 13. Einige zylindrische Amulettbehältnisse aus dem modernen Ägypten.
Photos: Fritz Mandl, Wien.

Vortrages, der im Rahmen des 16. internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses in Wien gehalten wurde (SCHIENERL 1981a).

Wie bereits erwähnt worden ist, liess sich sowohl in der griechisch-römischen Welt als auch im islamischen Bereich kein einziges Beispiel für vertikal zu tragende zylindrisch prismatische Behältnisse von Schriftamuletten nachweisen, und gerade dieser Umstand ist es, der dem unscheinbaren Metallanhänger (Abb. 1.), der eingangs beschrieben worden ist, seine grosse Bedeutung verleiht.

Denn die Form dieses rezenten Schmuckstückes verrät ebenso wie die Art, in der es getragen worden sein muss, eine typologische Verwandtschaft mit jenen Schriftamuletten, die in pharaonischer Zeit gebräuchlich waren (Abb. 7.). Der Dekor des zylindrischen Teiles des Anhängers, bestehend aus mehreren horizontalen parallelen Streifen, die durch nicht genau senkrecht dazu angebrachte Reihen von Kerben zusätzlich gegliedert sind, scheint sogar die bei altägyptischen Schriftamuletten übliche Umwicklung des Papyrus mit Lederriemen wiederzugeben. Aus diesem Grunde erscheint es sogar naheliegender anzunehmen, dass der Metallanhänger - typologisch betrachtet nicht so sehr mit den echten Amulettbehältnissen pharaonischen Typs in Verbindung zu bringen ist, sondern dass hier eine in Metall ausgeführte Nachbildung eines mit Lederschnüren zusammengehaltenen Papyrusamulettes vorliegt, ähnlich dem, das Lexa (1925: III, Tafel 47, fig. 82.) veröffentlicht hat (Abb. 7.).

Da spätestens seit griechisch-römischer Zeit Metallhülsen zur Verwahrung von magischen Schutzbriefen waagrecht hängend getragen worden sind, ist es völlig auszuschliessen, dass Einflüsse von ausserhalb Ägyptens bei der Entstehung dieses einzigartigen Amuletttyps zur Auswirkung gekommen sind. Als einzig mögliche Erklärung bleibt die Annahme eines echten Survivals aus pharaonischer Zeit, das naturgemäss auf Ägypten beschränkt geblieben ist und selbst dort von sehr beschränkter regionaler Bedeutung gewesen sein kann.

Der im ersten Teil dieser Arbeit unternommene Versuch, Anhaltspunkte für die Lokalisierung der drei Metallobjekte aus der Kairoer Privatsammlung zu gewinnen, hat ergeben, dass der zylindrische Amulettanhänger möglicherweise aus der oberägyptischen Oase Dakhla stammt. Falls sich diese Annahme als richtig erweisen sollte, wäre somit in dieser vom Niltal weit abgelegenen Oase ein Amuletttyp über mehrere Jahrtausende erhalten geblieben, der im übrigen Ägypten seit langem in Vergessenheit geraten ist!

Abschliessend sei noch darauf hingewiesen, dass ich im Verlaufe meiner

Dokumentationstätigkeit noch einige andere Anzeichen dafür gefunden habe, dass sich gerade in den Oasen altertümliche Schmuck- und Amulettformen erhalten haben, die in weniger abgeschiedenen Gebieten des Landes heute nicht mehr nachzuweisen sind. Die Bearbeitung dieses Materials, das allerdings typologisch nicht mit dem pharaonischen Schmuck in Zusammenhang steht, soll zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt erfolgen.

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**ON SOME INTERESTING SCULPTURES FROM THE MASSIM-AREA IN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC
MUSEUM, BUDAPEST**

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In this paper I will deal with some interesting sculptures from the collection of the Ethnographic Museum, Budapest. My question is: how is it possible that from an area so poor in carvings as the Massim area, we have as many as nine sculptures in our relatively small collection in Budapest. Since the sculptures differ from each other in style, one has to find an explanation to their origin and function. I shall try to show that five of them belong together and represent five main heroes of a single myth. Since their style differs greatly from any other known style and seems to be a totally new invention without any traditional background, I think they were made for, and at the request of, the collector, G.Róheim. The style of the other four sculptures is in accordance with what is generally known as Massim style, and they have names relating to the local mythology. Though their function is unknown, it is at least probable that they are traditional carvings.

The sculptures were collected by Géza Róheim in 1930, from Normanby Island (Duau), the southernmost member of the d'Entrecasteux Islands. Róheim spent nine months on this island after his fieldwork in Australia, and his collection, consisting of 211 pieces, got into the possession of the museum in September 1932. Originally the objects were accompanied by notes. These, however, were lost in the course of the 2nd World War (or later), and are still not to be found. Luckily, the register gives the place of collection and the local name for all objects. Thus, we have exact, even if not too detailed, data at our disposal. In the case of a few objects more than that is known because of surviving old handwritten catalogue cards¹ (most of these cards are also lost), which contain data most probably directly from Róheim. Two of the objects discussed later have such cards (Nos. 131559 and 131553). In other cases the local names of the objects help because they give the name of the character represented. These data, together with some remarks in the literature on the subject have provided the basis for interpreting the specimens.

It is generally accepted in the literature that sculptures of any

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function (be they "ritual", "magical" etc.) are unknown in the area, or at least not typical and do not represent any special aesthetic value (NEWTON 1975: 6). In all the works known to me one can find hardly any representation or description referring to the existence, let alone function, use etc., of these sculptures.² On the basis of the few and scattered data, however, it is clear that sculptures for magical purposes do exist in this area as well. It is true that they do not reach the aesthetic standards of the sculptures of other areas, but it is also quite obvious that from a scientific point of view such pieces are also interesting and important. The sculptures discussed here are of this kind.

Before discussing the sculptures in detail it is important to touch upon one more question. A comment on an earlier draft of my paper suggested that it is not at all sure that the sculptures were really made in the Massim area. Given the lively exchange system of the area, the place of origin, or manufacturing, of an object and the place of collection or usage are not necessarily the same. But there are some reasons which, in my opinion, make it indisputable that these items were in fact made in the Massim area; moreover, on Normanby Island. First of all this is where they were collected by Róheim, and on the above-mentioned two old catalogue cards, though very important other data are given, there is nothing that would indicate their foreign origin (Róheim was, however, a professional anthropologist who must have been aware of the importance of such data). Secondly, the style of some of the sculptures is in accordance with the Massim style. In the case of the other ones, however, where it is their style which is the most important objection against their local origin, it is possible to propose that they belong together and that they represent five main heroes of one very important local myth. Later on I shall enumerate the arguments for this position. There is only one more point which has to be mentioned here: the question of the names. It was suggested to me that names can be given, or "stuck to", sculptures later on as well, and that therefore one can not exclude the possibility that the sculptures were not made locally, but exchanged and renamed afterwards, so as to fit into the local mythology. The style of the sculptures, however, is not in accordance with the style of any other area, close to, or far from the Massim area. It would be easy if their style indicated their place of origin clearly. This is not the case, however. The style of some of the sculptures is apparently Massim while the style of the five related sculptures (two males, one female, one dog and one eagle) is without any analogy. Moreover,

they are obviously of new manufacture. This fact, in my opinion, is in favour of my explanation and against the idea of exchange. In any case it is unlikely that five related sculptures, portraying heroes of one myth, would be exchanged, unless the mythological background behind them is the same; and that then, by giving them new names, the borrowers would try to incorporate them into the local mythology. In the case of one sculpture it is possible, but in the case of several related sculptures it is only possible if the same myth is known by the borrowers. This is why I think that the sculptures were made in the Massim area, on Normanby Island.



Fig. 1.a.



Fig. 1.b.

One of the most interesting among the sculptures is a "double sculpture" (Fig. 1. No. 131559; H: 43 cm W: 28 cm) from the district of Loboda. The specimen was greatly damaged in World War II and consequently has undergone heavy restoration.

The painting has almost completely disappeared; traces of blue can be seen in some places, but the red could only be discovered by chemical analysis. The special significance of this sculpture is that the old catalogue card is available on it, and this means that the information on the specimen is most probably from Róheim himself. The following text can be read on the card:

"Kasabwaibwailleta and his wife. Made by Tainawa, the famous carver. The ornaments on the upper part denote the betel-nut called bokuno pita from the Kasabwaibwailleta myth. Under it is puapua (= air), the same ornament as on boats. The ornament on the back of the sculpture is the snake dadabwua, in whose tail a fire is burning, according to the folk-tale. The figures represent Kasabwaibwailleta and his wife as Talhau carved them, according to the tale. Kasabwaibwailleta became jealous because of this carving, for he thought that Talhau made the sculpture of his wife because he had made love to her. On the female figure the mons pubis (bura), the clitoris (sili) and under it the vagina (gine) can be seen, the joints are represented by blue and red colours. The blue colour drips out of the shell called suaits, the red paint is called menakara and is obtained from earth".

Though this card contains very precious information, it is not clear in all details when reading it for the first time. Therefore some explanation is not out of place. It refers to two carvers: Tainawa "the famous carver" and to Talhau who carved the figure of Kasabwaibwailleta and his wife "in the tale". The first person is, without doubt, the real, local carver in Normanby who must have manufactured the sculpture in question. The second one, however, is a mythological carver who, according to an unpublished and/or unknown myth referred to by Róheim on the card, carved the figure of Kasabwaibwailleta. Thus, it seems, Róheim must have collected a mythological story which was about this carved Talhau and Kasabwaibwailleta. All the other references (betel nut, fire tailed snake, jealousy between Kasabwaibwailleta and Talhau because of the supposed coitus etc.) relate to this story called sometimes myth, sometimes tale by Róheim. So, the real sculpture of Kasabwaibwailleta and his wife made by the "famous" local carver Tainawa is a faithful imitation of the mythological portrayal of Kasabwaibwailleta and his wife made by the mythological carver Talhau.

This connection between real sculpture and local mythology hints to some unclear function. However, I was unable to find any data throwing light upon it. This is why I have turned to Professor E. Schlesier, Göttingen, who did fieldwork on Normanby Island in 1961-62 and 1974-75, close to the area where Róheim had worked. I quote from his answer: "I have never seen such a wooden sculpture as the one in your possession. I think it unlikely that it would have anything to do with canoes... the flat carvings fastened to their ends have definitely no connection with this double figure. Apart from the prow carvings I have only managed to see one ritual carving and one sculpture... this is a representation of a baby (gwama meyameyana = baby)

from Kwana'ula district on the east coast of Normanby. This is connected with the myth of the culture hero Mwanikapwataiataia, who killed a giant as a child. I only know other wooden sculptures as ornamentation of the handles of hammers used in engravings (drum making!)."

Although the sculpture is thus entirely without parallel and, as we have seen, its function is also unknown, without doubt it comes from the area. Apart from its style which more or less corresponds to Massim stylistic features, and from our knowledge of the place of collection, this view is also supported by the reference to the local carver: "made by Tainawa, the famous carver". This would be meaningless if the sculpture would have been traded and not made locally. The trace leading us further is the name of Kasabwaibwaileta and Talhau. As for the first, he is one of the best known mythic figures of the Massim area, the mythic participant of the kula, around whom a whole cycle of myths has come into being. Almost all scholars mention him. Nevertheless, very few original texts are known about him, and among these the theme mentioned by Róheim (betel-nut, fire-tailed snake, coitus, jealousy etc.) is not known.

The name of the mythological carver, Talhau supplies us with more information. According to Fortune (1963: 230), "Tauwau is mythological person of recent extraction, being the maker of all the white man's artifacts is one capacity, the being responsible for leaving a pair of subordinate beings to spread white man's diseases in another, and originally a native of Tewara who made the kula, but had a feud with Kasabwaibwaileta and left Tewara for the white man's country in a third capacity." (My emphasis, G.V.) His name otherwise appears in the third spell told in the course of the ceremonial bathing in the kula instead of the name of Kasabwaibwaileta. In the literature known to me this is the only reference which seems to correspond to the myth quoted by Róheim. The only thing to be added is that according to Malinowski (1950: 324, 393), the name of tauva'u represents evil spirits who are anthropomorph beings originating from Duau and Sewatupa (where Dobuan magic comes from). Kasabwaibwaileta himself after coming down to earth and later under earth becomes a tauva'u. According to S.Campbell Tua = man, vau = new, and it is the etymological breakdown of wind.³ Finally we know it from a booklet containing myths and tales from the Milne Bay area that Tauhau is a mythological hero there with whom local stories are connected. Amongst them, however, I could not find the variant taken down by Róheim (KANIKU, n.d.). All this proves that this is a sculpture of local origin, with a mythological background, but apart

from this rather too general definition there is nothing else to rely on in the identification of the sculpture.

Not even this much information is available on the other sculptures. Often their styles differ from the general features characteristic of the Massim area and only the place of collection (and in some cases the names of the sculptures) indicates that they come from the area.



Fig. 2.a.



Fig. 2.b.

On the basis of their style specimens No. 131550 (Duau, Mayawa district, H: 42 cm W: 12,9 cm; Fig. 2.) and No. 131558 (Duau, Loboda district, H: 35 cm W: 10 cm at the shoulders; Fig. 3.) constitute a pair.

According to the register, the former represents Matakapotaiataia and the latter, according to the old catalogue card, is a representation of Matakapotaiataia's mother. The male figure raises his right arm, the object in his hand has broken off; he presses his left (in which there is a shield) to his thigh. The face and the body are naturalistic, the feet end on

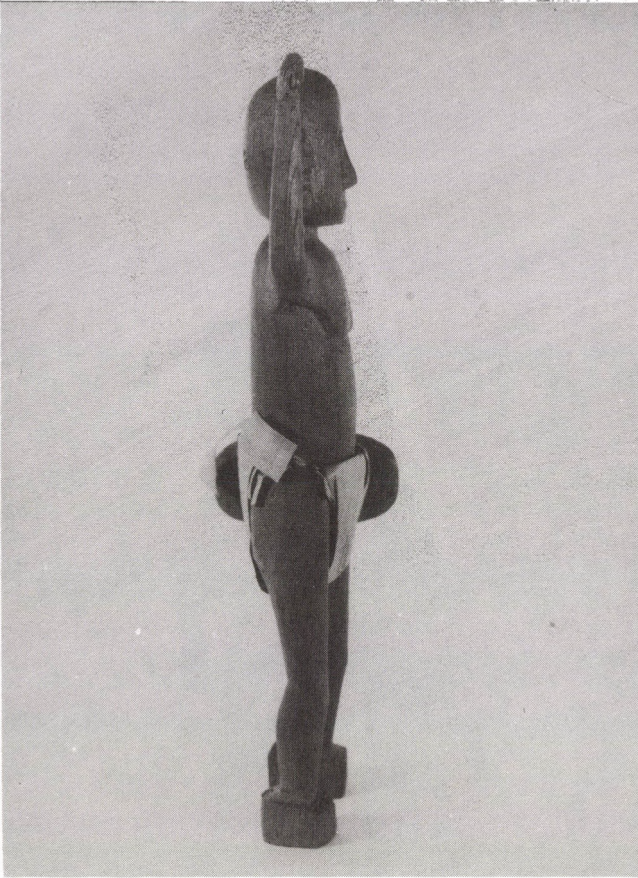


Fig. 2.c.

rectangular slabs, and it is of interest that there are further two eyes carved on the back of the head. There is a loin-cloth of pandanus around his waist, under which the genitals are carefully indicated. It is to be noted that, even though the shield is covered by spirals typical of the Massim style, its form is unfamiliar to the area.



Fig. 3.a.

The female figure crosses her arms on her belly; she holds a spool-shaped object in her left. Her breasts are sagging, her feet and ears are extraordinarily large. There is a skirt on her waist made of purple and yellowish strips of pandanus (?), under it the genitals are carefully carved out.



Fig. 3.b.

Although the style of the two sculptures is completely unlike the conventional human representations of the area, the name Matakapotaiataia suggests local origin. As is well known, Matakapotaiataia is one of the most familiar mythic heroes of the Massim area; he is the main figure of the "giant-killer" type of myth. Róheim only provides the version collected by him on one occasion, and even then in an abridged, summarised form:

"Matakapotaiataia's village was Kopoa-kaposi (Bubbling water) and his mother was called Kakasiro (Breadfruit). The people of this village were being killed by Tokedukeketai (Cannibal) and Bawegaragara (Grunting Pig), so that they were afraid and all ran away except one woman who was pregnant; she had intercourse with many men. She hid in a hole and gave birth to Matakapotaiataia (Eyes springing out), so named because he had four eyes, two in front and two behind. He grew up and said to his mother: "where are all the people?" She told him they had run away and he asked her where was their enemy. "Down below Mount Tojaj" - she said. Matakapotaiataia cut many spears and hardened them in smoke. He went to Mount Tojaj and found Tokedukeketai in his garden, but his grandchildren were in the village. The youth hid in the bush behind the village and painted himself black. When he came out, lightening, thunder and rain heralded his approach (all supernatural beings - nigo-nigogo - and even distinguished mortals are announced by similar signs - aniana). The children in the village cried out: "What manner of man is this? He has two eyes in his face and two at the back!" He asked the children to tell their grandfather that he would come back in three days. Meanwhile he hid the spears at different places, one at a time. One he hid at Gujadara, others at Soisoija, Majaru, Quanaura, Tausipwa, and Datuna; but he took one with him. Then he met Tokedukeketai and threw the spear at him, but it broke off on his body. Matakapotaiataia ran away past all the places where he had hidden spears, and at each he stopped to throw one. At last he came to Gujadara where the last spear was hidden, and with this he finally succeeded in killing Tokedukeketai. Then came the two brothers of Matakapotaiataia, the eagle scratched out the eyes of the giant, and the dog bit off his testicles. Matakapotaiataia ordered the dog to drag the body back into their village. They did this and cut off the giant's long hair: but they ate his body."⁴

As these specimens are unique I have turned again to Professor Schlesier. I quote from his answer: "I have never seen such sculptures... I am not familiar with the coastal area from Sipupu to Loboda, however, many people from Sipupu, Loboda, Siaussi, Sigasiga, Kwanaula etc. came to me when they heard that I was getting together a collection. Therefore I think it very likely that they would have been offered to me had they still existed or if people would still have remembered how to recarve them."⁵

Since even after the study of several Massim collections in German, Australian, New Zealand, and Papua New Guinea museums I do not know any analogy to them, I do not think it very likely that there are analogies to them at all. Thus, we have to come to the conclusion that according to our present-day knowledge these sculptures are without any parallel, that they differ from the usual Massim style, and that they seem to be completely untraditional. There are, however, a number of indications that they had at least been made by people who knew the mythological traditions well. First of all this view is supported by the name: Matakapotaiataia and his mother. Matakapotaiataia, one of the best known mythic heroes of the area, often appears on carvings. On the canoe ornamentations so important to the art of

the area he takes the central place in the composition (SELIGMAN and DICKSON 1946). It is also clear from Professor Schlesier's above quoted letter that the only sculpture he has seen represents Matakapotaiataia. Thus it is not surprising that his figure appears free-standing. Another important factor, apart from the name, is the additional pair of eyes on the back of the head of the male figure. This enables us to accept the name in the register. The name Matakapotaiataia - as we know it from Róheim - means "eyes springing out", "and so named because he had four eyes, two in front and two behind" (my emphasis G.V. see Note 4).

Most probably the following two sculptures, No. 131552 (Duau, Mayawa; L: 53 cm H: 14 cm W: 11,1 cm; Fig. 4.) and No 131556 (Duau, Loboda; L. 42 cm H: 22,5 cm W:11,6 cm; Fig. 5.) also belong to the previous two.

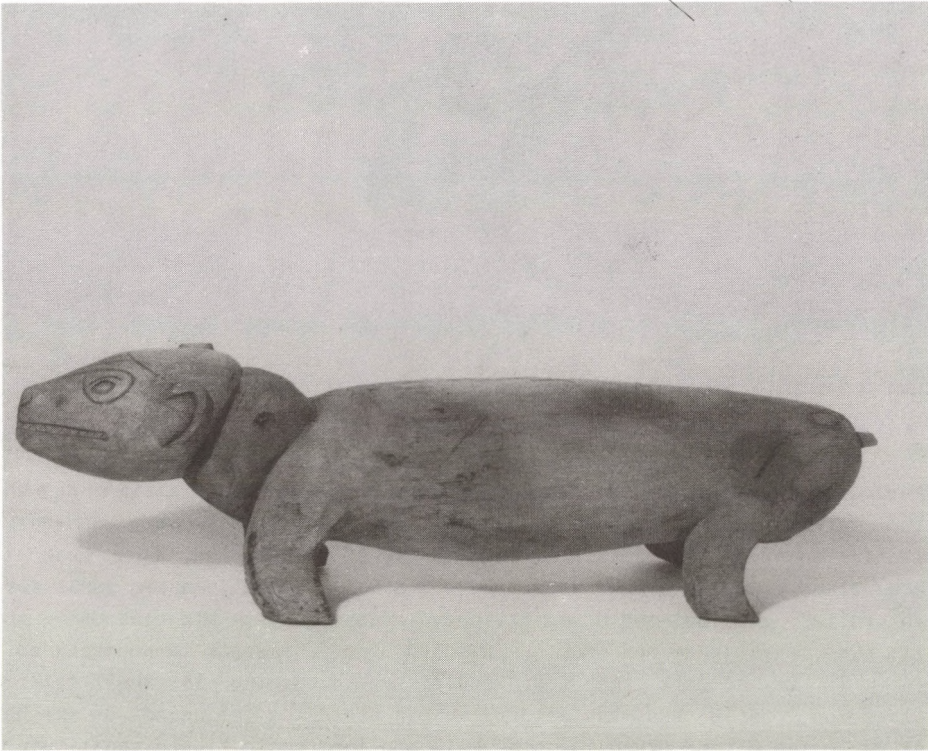


Fig. 4.

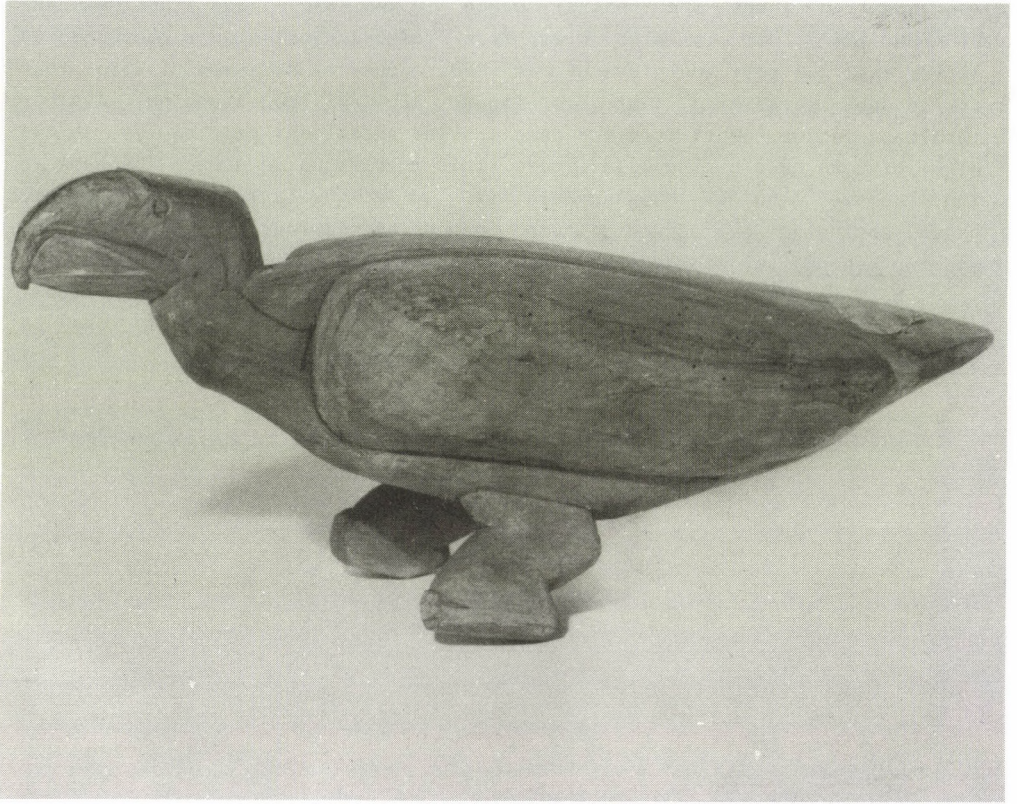


Fig. 5.

According to the register the former is called Matakapotaiataia's dog while the latter is a "bird figure". Both of them are relatively big, and naturalistic in style. Their smaller details (eyes, mouth, nose, anus, beak etc.) are marked with incisions. Under the dog's belly there is a big penis carved in relief and painted blue. Its body is covered with big blue dots while its eyes, ears, nose and neck are painted blue. The eagle is undecorated.

If we compare the four sculptures according to their material, dimension, style and manufacture, we can state the following. On the bases of the material and dimension, the male and the female figure constitute one pair, and the dog and the eagle another. The greatest difference between the

two pairs is in their dimension: the dog and the eagle are too big as compared to the human figures. Their style, however, is basically the same: the naturalistic rendering of the figures, the identical treatment of some smaller details (eyes, ears etc.) and the very poor quality of carving make it obvious that they belong together.

Despite their basic similarity, however, there are some minor differences amongst them, too. The most striking one is in the rendering of the feet of the two human figures: while the female's feet are well carved and even the toes are marked, the male is standing on a rectangular slab. Generally speaking the female figure is better carved than all the others: this is the only sculpture that is well polished, partially at least. All this could mean that the sculptures were made by different carvers. Yet one can find such minor differences on one and the same sculpture, too. In the case of Matakapotaiataia's mother, for instance, despite the general similarity of the shape of the ears there are small differences as well. On one side it is well made and its line is accentuated by incision, on the other side it is crudely done and seems to be unfinished. Likewise, there is a difference in the rendering of the hands: the fingers are not identically carved out. There is a difference even in the shape of the rectangular slabs on which the male figure is standing.

Because of these and other variations it is impossible to decide whether the small difference in the shape of the front and rear eyes is due to different carvers or not. One has to underline this because as a comment to an earlier draft of this paper it was suggested that the two extra eyes as attributes of Matakapotaiataia could be the results of a later addition, just as the typical Massim spirals of Matakapotaiataia's shield, the rather amorphous form of which is unknown in the Massim area. I have already mentioned that I consider this unlikely. Here I would only like to make it clear that one cannot decide this question on the basis of style and details of manufacture.

The mythology supports, however, that the sculptures belong together. According to the above quoted myth, Matakapotaiataia and the dog and eagle were brothers and after Matakapotaiataia killed the man-eating monster, Tokedukeketai, the eagle scratched out his eyes and the dog bit off his testicles.

It seems then that the four sculptures belong together both because of their style and their mythological connotations and represent the main figures of one myth, the giant-killer type: Matakapotaiataia, his mother,

his brothers: the dog and the eagle. Most probably the carver(s) were aware of the mythological traditions because otherwise he/they would not have represented the four related figures, and not in such a detail.

One question is why is the monster, Todedukeketai, not represented among the sculptures. One possible explanation is the following: one of the betel mortars in the form of a human figure (specimen No. 131553; Duau, Loboda; L: 28 cm W: 4,7 cm; Fig. 6.) serves at the same time practical and magical (?) purposes.

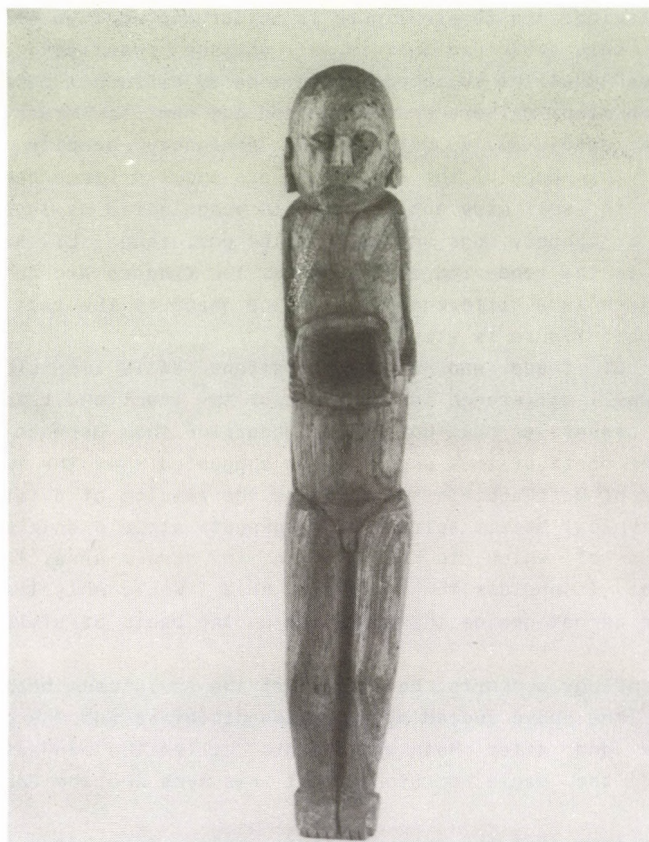


Fig. 6.a.



Fig. 6.b.

According to the old catalogue card which we luckily possess, it is portraying "Tokedukeketai (= man-eating giant of the tales) who cooked the children, whom he ate, in the bowl on his belly and he carried them in a basket on his back. (This is not represented on the sculpture! G.V.) The object itself is ketopia and mwarikuakua = that is betel-nut mortar and evil spirit. If it gets into the hands of a sorcerer he tells a spell over it, opens its "ears" and turns it into a human, who then runs about and sings kuakua."

This last phrase of Róheim clearly refers to some nonpractical, magical-supernatural-esoteric etc. aim. It is not clear, however, why the sorcerer tells a spell over it, if it "gets" into his hands, why he turns it into a human and what is the function of the "kuakua" song of the object turned into a human. It is interesting to note that the etymology of the object (mwari = kula armshell, kuakua = kula ?)⁶ suggests a connection with the kula. But again, it is not clear, how all this - kula, betel mortar in the form of a man-eating monster, and the magic connected with it - belong together.

On the basis of its name, however, it is possible, in fact probable that this sculpture is the missing figure of the myth. It is supported furthermore by the fact that its style and crude finish are exactly the same as those of the four other sculptures. Though it is made of a different type of wood, all its small details (mainly the general shape of the forehead, chin and ears, but the eyes, nose, mouth too) are identical with those.

This is all the more striking since this is the only sculpture which has an exact analogy in Róheim's collection - indeed an object which is of a far better quality and finish than this one (No. 131570; Duau, Quanaura; H: 27 cm, W: 4,3 cm; Fig. 7.) The betel mortar in question fits exactly into the Massim style both in the form of the human figure and the spirals decorating its neck. It is a traditional object beyond any doubt; from an aesthetic point of view it is an outstanding piece; and judging from the red deposit in the mortar part, it has been used.

On the basis of this analogy the traditional nature of Tokedukeketai's figure as a type of object (betel nut mortar in the form of a human figure where the mortar part is on the belly of the figure) is proved. But its style, its crude finish and the fact that it has not been used - there are not red deposits in the mortar - contrasts it with the former figure. This contrast is all the more accentuated as there is a small pedestal on its back with the help of which it can be placed, similarly to tourist souvenirs, on writing-desks, mantel-pieces etc. Thus, on the basis of its manufacture, this figure belongs obviously to the four above-mentioned figures.

The fact that this is the only object which has a practical function as well does not contradict this. It is obvious that the makers, while portraying Tokedukeketai for the anthropologist, would use, or reproduce old, traditional forms instead of inventing new forms.

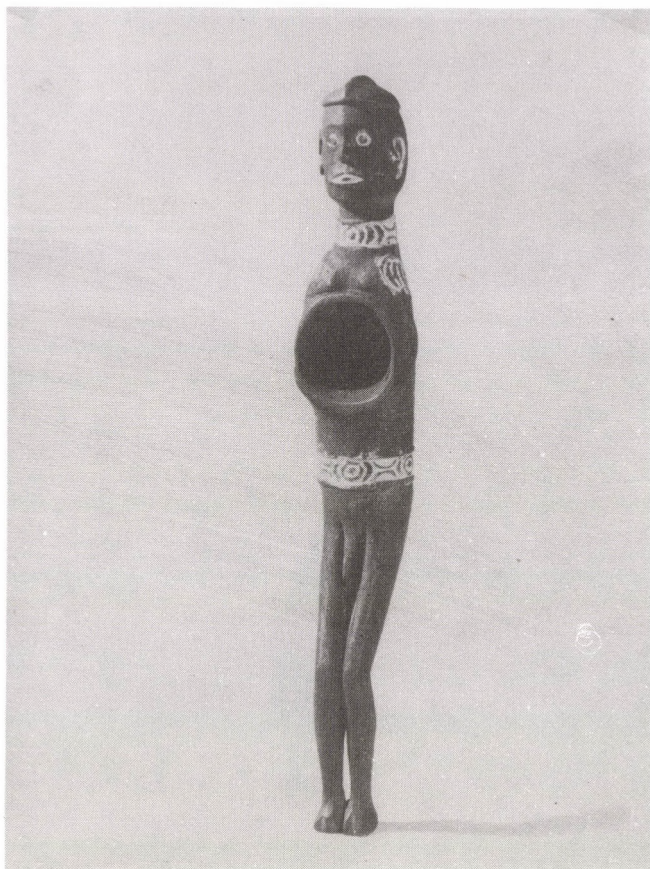


Fig. 7.a.



Fig. 7.b.

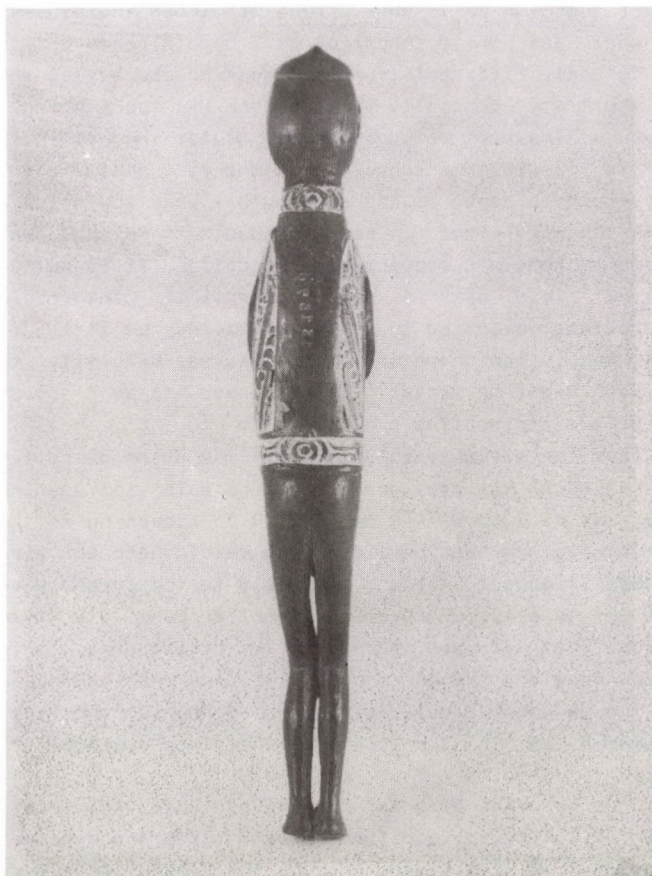


Fig. 7.c.

The other question is to what extent are these sculptures traditional, or rather, what was their function? As I have already pointed out, their style is completely different from the usual Massim style, their execution is rough and arbitrary. Generally speaking one has the feeling that they are some kind of a "modern" experiment to sculpt the mythic figures of the tradition. This is further supported by the fact that the five sculptures represent five participants of the same myth - when sculpting as a genre is rather rare in the area. Thus, it seems probable to me that these specimens had been made at Róheim's request or instigation. It is well-known that it was among the field methods of psychoanalytic anthropology to have children's drawings made and to analyse them. May be it was following this practice that Róheim had these sculptures carved. Naturally, this is a mere supposition that cannot be proved.⁷ It will have to be accepted, however, as long as a better explanation can be found.

Apart from the style it is once again the place of collection and the name of the sculpture that provides a starting point for specimen No. 131551 (Duau, Loboda; H: 45,5 cm W: 6,9 cm; Fig. 8.). According to the register it is the portrayal of Kasabwaibwaileta, the mythic hero who already appeared on the "double figure". Though, similarly to the former pieces, I do not know any parallel to it from other Massim collections, its style still makes the impression that it was carved in the Massim area. It is perhaps the shape of the head and the position of the arms resting on the thigh which suggest it.⁸ Though local manufacture seems probable, the same questions remain unanswered as in the case of the other sculptures: what was its function, etc.

We do not have any data for No. 131557 (Duau, Kelologeia; H: 46,5 cm W: 14 cm; Fig. 9.). Its style differs greatly from the Massim style and one has the feeling that it was made outside the Massim area, somewhere around the Papuan Gulf. However, it is worth noting that such angular figures are not unknown in early Massim collections (e.g. the McGregor collection in Port Moresby and Brisbane), even though there are no real analogies to it. It is perhaps the shape of the head and especially the sharp line of the mouth that makes this sculpture seem so strange. If a western origin is true, perhaps an explanation suggested by G. Mosuwadoga can be accepted.⁹ According to him very early, in the 1920s there was a lot of movement in the Massim area and many civil servants came from other areas, especially from the Papuan Gulf and Western Provinces. Perhaps a man belonging to these places carved this sculpture, or maybe a figure made by such a man gave

inspiration to the local maker. Of course, this is only an assumption again which can not be proved.



Fig. 8.a.

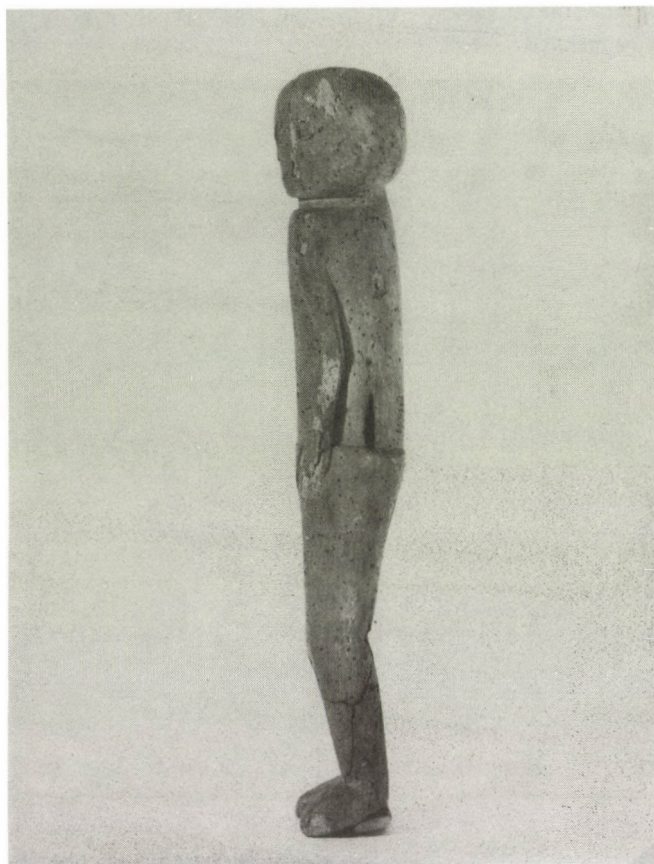


Fig. 8.b.

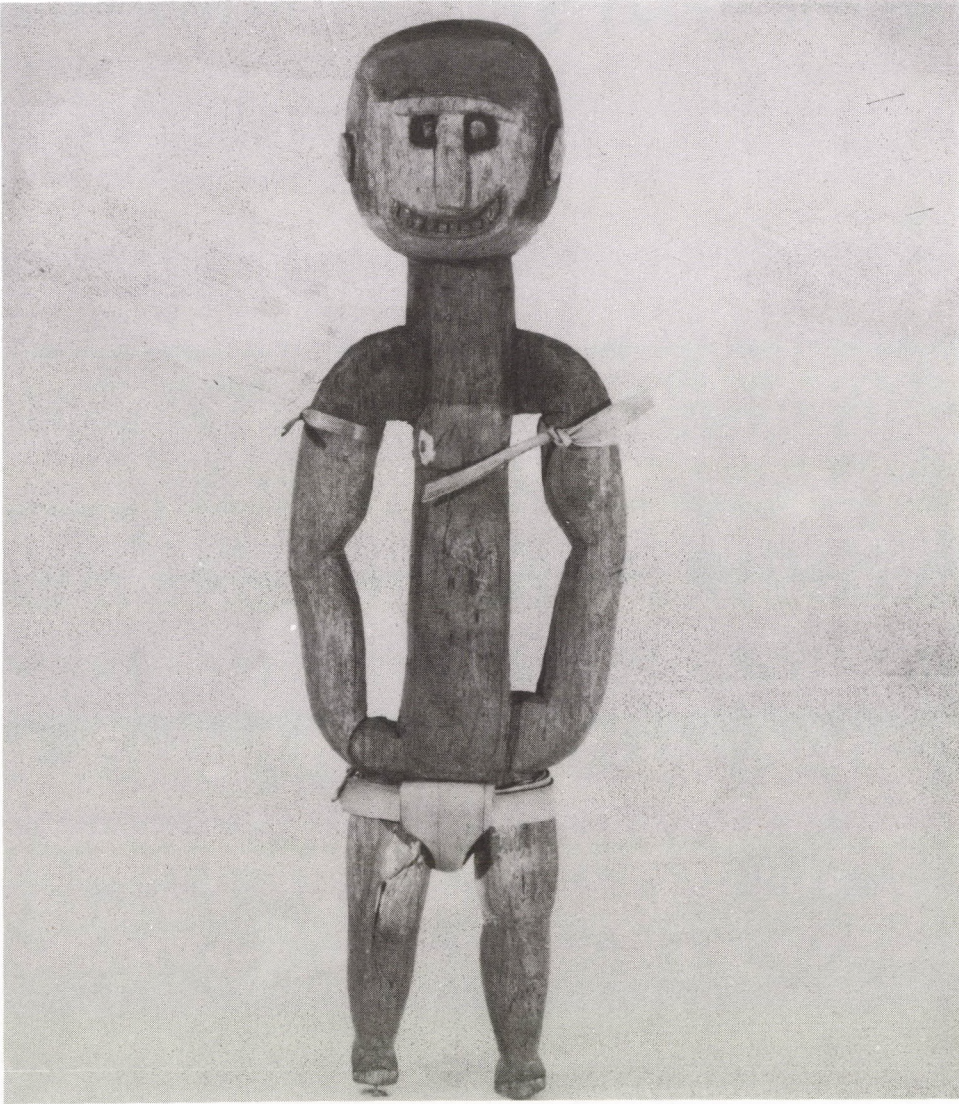


Fig. 9.a

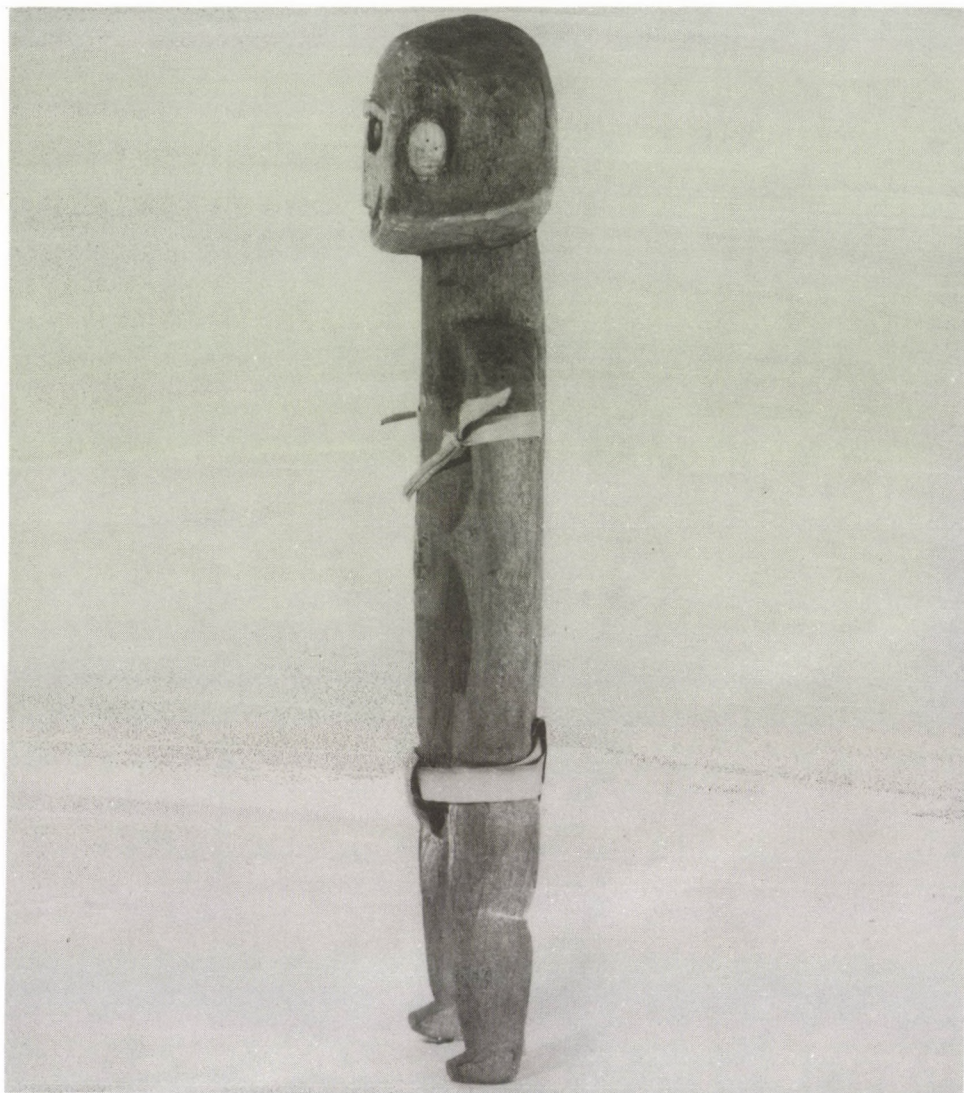


Fig. 9.b.

Let us summarize that has been said. First of all it has to be emphasized that here have never been so many sculptures published from the area or from any one part of it as here, and there are hardly more sculptures published from the entire Massim area in the literature known to me. This indicates that more attention should be paid to this rather neglected subject. The importance of the sculptures - apart from their relatively great number - is given by the fact that their provenance is well documented and that often they have names referring to the local mythology. All this equivocally proves their local make and mythological connections even if their function is unknown. The question of the style and of the traditional nature of the carvings is, however, more difficult: as we have seen there are specimens whose traditional nature is to be doubted in spite of the mythological connections. But there are pieces, too, which are quite compatible with our general views of the Massim style and the mythological connections only support it further.

Notes

- 1 In the Ethnographic Museum, Budapest, since 1950 a catalogue card containing 8 points of information is made for each object. As the new cards were prepared, the old hand-written ones were discarded. It is most likely that the cards of the Róheim material often containing important data based on Róheim's original notes also got among these.
 - 2 As, unfortunately, Róheim's original notes are also lost, the remaining old catalogue cards contain invaluable data. Among these three deserve special attention. Seligman (1910: 643) writes that in Bartle Bay, at the southeastern tip of New Guinea wooden human figures called *kokoitau* were represented on the pillars of the aqueducts leading over the river. The function of these was to frighten away the spirits called *paraúma* or *labuni*, who being unable to cross the river would climb the pillars. The efficacy of these sculptures sprang from the sculptures themselves and did not depend on any kind of spiritual force associated with them. The head form of the human figures shown on the photo bears a strong resemblance to the style of Lake Sentani; their hands either rest on their raised knees or in their laps.
- The other interesting description is from Jeness and Ballantyne (1920: 115). On the Island of Fergusson, in Seymour Bay at Yamaleli they saw a building in which food was stored, made for a funeral feast. Tied to the purlin of the building a roughly carved human figure of cca. 30 cm length could be seen (head + shoulders = bust! which in it self is extremely rare). The building had been made for the funeral feast of a recently died man, then the sculpture was carved to keep a resemblance of the deceased and it was put in a place where all participants of the feast could see it. After the feast the sculpture lost its significance; therefore they parted with it easily.

- However, the best examples of "magical carvings" are the so-called tokwalo figures. They are known only from the Trobriand Islands. Their "magical", preventive or protective function is described by Silas (1926). Though these observations were not made by a professional anthropologist it seems doubtless that the sculptures are connected with some kind of magic. Owing to the kindness of A. L. Crawford (then Institute of PNG Studies) who tried to redocument them on my behalf, I can add that they represent pig-men they were kept only in chiefs' houses and they helped communication with the spirits.
- 3 However, this topic deserves further research.
Personal communication, November, 1981. She did fieldwork on Vakuta island, Trobriands.
- 4 Seligman and Dickson (1946: 131-2) quote it from Róheim's book "The Riddle of Sphinx or Human Origins".
- 5 Professor Schlesier's letter to G.V. 14/11/1978.
- 6 S. Campbell called my attention to this.
- 7 According to Dr. K. Verebélyi (Department of Folklore, ELTE University, Budapest) who is familiar with Róheim's publications, unpublished correspondance and other materials, there is nothing to indicate this in Róheim's material. Nevertheless, she does not think this explanation impossible either.
- 8 Letter of dr. J. Specht to G.V. 27/6/1979 and 1/8/1979: "Specimen No. 131551 is quite compatible with what I would call a "standard" Massim style... we have nothing with a head form of this sort although many of our Massim figures have the arm resting on the thighs".
- 9 Director of the National Museum and Art Gallery, Port Moresby, himself of Trobriand origin. Oral communication in December, 1981.

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ФИННО-УГОРСКАЯ ПРАРОДИНА И ЭТНОГЕНЕЗ ВЕНГЕРСКОГО НАРОДА

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В настоящей статье мы попытаемся подытожить результаты о происхождении финно-угров и венгерского этноса, обработанных нами за последнее десятилетие.

Относительно этногенеза финно-угорских народов больше всего научных споров вызвала географическая локализация уральской прародины, то есть определение совместной исходной территории общих предков современных финно-угров и самодийцев до непосредственного отделения друг от друга, а также вопрос о причине расформирования уральской языковой семьи, в том числе выделение венгров.

Сравнивая такие разные определения первоначальной земли уральцев как волжско-камская, саяно-алтайская, волжско-окская, средне-польская, западно-сибирская или аральская концепции прародины финно-угров, можно прийти к выводу, что в связи с анализом этих гипотез возник ряд нерешенных проблем методологического и фактического порядка. Однако вызывает особый интерес то, что границы общей территории финно-угорской прародины, хотя ученые определяли по-разному, но ни один специалист, кроме М. Мункачи и В.Н. Чернецова, не локализует уральцев в южных областях Евразии, в основном все ищут на севере, в лесной зоне, простирающейся от Балтики до Алтая. Отметим, что привлекая дополнительные конкретные данные разных дисциплин и некоторые теоретические положения, из всех вышеперечисленных гипотез повидимому можно все же выбирать и развивать дальше ту концепцию, которая более близка действительности в локализации ранних совместных территорий общих предков современных финно-угорских и самодийских народов, то есть древних уральцев.

Как известно, сложный вопрос этнического определения археологических культур давно волнует специалистов, и является важной, но, к сожалению, до сих пор нерешенной проблемой этногенетических исследований комплексного направления. Несмотря на неокончателное решение этого кардинального вопроса, тем не менее были сделаны серьезные попытки не только территориального, но и археологического определения индоевропейской, алтайской, кавказской, и также уральской языковых семей, возникших видимо не ранее мезолита или неолита. Более того, даже пытались установить, помимо

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предполагаемого общего языкового состояния всех этих больших этнолингвистических общностей, географическую локализацию этой, так называемой ностратической макроязыковой семьи. Правда, эта интересная, заслуживающая внимания гипотеза вела слишком далеко в хронологическом отношении - к эпохе верхнего палеолита, являющейся в этническом аспекте, мягко говоря, слишком неопределенной. Пока вряд ли является благодарной задачей искать в древнекаменном веке прямых предков отдельных современных языковых семей.

В методическом отношении пожалуй, в какой то мере может быть правы те исследователи, которые утверждают, что чем дальше проникать вглубь истории, тем больше вероятность совпадения этноса, культуры и даже антропологического облика. Более или менее сходные взгляды были высказаны Е.И. Крупновым и частично В.П. Алексеевым и также А.Я. Брюсовым в СССР, Бела Гундой в ВНР.

В принципе нельзя полностью отрицать того, что в прошлом археологическая культура никогда не совпадала бы с этносом, несмотря на то, что в подтверждение этого мы имеем пока мало конкретных данных и не только из-за проблематичности понятия самой археологической культуры, но и из-за сложности определения этноса в условиях первобытности. Не дожидаясь пока всё будет ясно в этом отношении стоит теперь обратить внимание на недостаточно известное, но тем не менее ценное утверждение В.Н. Чернецова (1971). Он считает, что формирование, развитие и географическое распространение каждой значительной археологической культуры всегда происходили на определенной территории и требует длительного времени. Закономерно, что под влиянием длительной совместной жизни данной популяции в ее материальной культуре могут возникнуть некоторые общие черты, которые находят отражение в археологических находках, особенно в изобразительном искусстве, мало зависящем от хозяйственного уклада и географической среды. Эти традиционные, но обычно не функционирующие в хозяйственной жизни черты, характерные для каждой настоящей общности, отделяют ее от соседней и дают т.н. этнические признаки. В связи с этим, нужно отметить, что многие ученые Ч.С. Чард (1961), В.Н. Чернецов (1969), Я.В. Чеснов (1971), А.П. Окладников (1970), А.А. Формозов (1977) считают, что в северной Евразии большие азональные археологические комплексы в эпоху мезолита и неолита составляли своеобразные этнокультурные ареалы. Их создателей принимают за единую этническую общность, но не в современном понимании этого слова, а подразумевая большое этнолингвистическое единство целой языковой семьи или части ее. В этом отношении важно то обстоятельство, что границы этих археологических культур новокаменного века, как правило, имеют хорошо выраженные географические

рубежи, т. е. занимают целую физико-географическую страну. Похоже на то, что распространение сходного археологического материала часто не совпадает с отдельными ландшафтно-климатическими зонами того времени. По мнению исследователей, более важную роль играют водоразделы, расположенные в меридиональном направлении, в общем они представляют собой западные и восточные границы неолитических культур на севере Евразии. Естественно, это наблюдается не в абсолютном смысле, но в тенденции (Я.В. Чеснов 1971, 1976, 1981). Как известно, географическая страна - азональная морфогеологическая единица, имеющая определенную флору, в меридиональном направлении включает в себя несколько надшафтных зон. Так, например, в Западносибирской низменности, которая на Востоке граничит с Енисеем, а на Западе с Уралом, - где в основном локализируют большую часть финно-угорской прародины - можно найти зоны: тундру, лесотундру, тайгу, широколиственный лес, лесостепи и степь. Последняя граничит с Казахстаном, вместе с которым входит как отдельная подзона в евразийский степной пояс, распространяющийся в широтном направлении от Монголии до Венгрии.

Как известно, все эти перечисленные ландшафтно-климатические зоны, следующие друг за другом с юга на север, существовали не всегда в таком виде. В Евразии эти экологические пояса возникли в начале голоцена, когда на рубеже верхнего палеолита и раннего мезолита с исчезновением ледникового покрова формировались современные физико-географические зоны нашей земли, вследствие общего потепления, послужившего одним из толчков "неолитической революции" в засушливой области Передней Азии.

Однако, отклики этого качественного скачка производительных сил Ближнего Востока в это время, т. е. IX-VIII тыс. до н.э. в Северной Евразии, в том числе и Западной Сибири, не чувствовались, т.к. он имел тогда только потенциальный и локальный характер. В Северной Азии неолит начался немного позже, чем в Передней Азии, около X-IX тыс. до н.э. и тогда здесь распространялся новый метод обработки камня и появилась керамика, несомненно под южным, кельтеминарским влиянием. На современном уровне наших знаний в Северной Евразии были распространены неолитические археологические культуры, которые обычно пересекали разные экологические зоны. Во всяком случае для территории Зауралья и Западной Сибири это явление было характерно, по мнению подавляющего большинства исследователей, хотя в этом отношении недавно более осторожно высказался М.Ф. Косарев, который ждет окончательного решения этого вопроса от результатов дальнейших археологических раскопок: ведь интенсивное исследование Северо-Западной Сибири началось только недавно.

В связи с этим обратим внимание на высказывание некоторых ученых, по

мнению которых в неолите многообразие окружающей природы, например, лес и степь, не имело большого значения для присваивающей хозяйственной деятельности человека. Внутри неолитической археологической культуры, занимающей целую физико-географическую страну, найдем разные природные условия. Например, такие специалисты как Ч.С. Чард (1961), Я.В. Чеснов (1971) считают, что разделение культуры по экологическим зонам в Сибири возникло довольно поздно, именно с распространением животноводства.

Помимо Евразии сходные явления прослеживаются и на других континентах, как, например, в Австралии, где в джунглях и в сухих степях в сущности находим одну и ту же культуру. Чем объяснить причины этого интересного явления? Очевидно, правы те, кто предполагает, что возникновение и долгое существование азональных неолитических археологических культур, независимо от географических зональностей, в частности, объясняется тем, что оседлое присваивающее хозяйство рыболовов и охотников не требовало специализации их хозяйства (Я.В. Чеснов 1971). На низком уровне общественно-экономического развития в отличие от поздних периодов еще не могли сформироваться разные культурно-хозяйственные типы по ландшафтно-климатическим зонам, в будущем столь характерным не только для Северной Евразии, но и индейской культуры Америки. Несомненно, что в каменном веке из-за слабого развития производительных сил общественное разделение труда было слабо выражено, только по полу, возрасту и по сезонам. Но как раз благодаря сравнительно слабой адаптации к местным специфическим условиям окружающей среды удалось распространиться человеческим коллективам, занимающимся охотой и рыболовством, по всему земному шару. Общеизвестно, что слишком узкая специализация в прошлом грозила опасностью ухудшить возможность приспособляемости культуры данного коллектива к новым условиям. Но сама по себе углубляющаяся специализация в хозяйстве всегда являлась главным механизмом развития производительных сил, единственным путем общественно-экономического развития. Не без основания можно сказать, что материальная культура — есть функция приспособляемости экономической жизни к окружающей природной среде сообразно степени развитости общественных отношений данной социальной единицы или этноса.

С точки зрения этногенеза можно предполагать, что если каменные и костяные орудия труда, главным образом их сходная система орнаментации, а также керамическая посуда с идентичными декоративными украшениями, распространились на большой территории и одинаковые наскальные изображения находятся внутри физико-географической страны, тогда создатели и носители данной археологической культуры должны были составлять своеобразное

этническое единство. В этом отношении географическое распространение сложных систем орнаментами керамического материала играет особенно важную роль. Неолитическую археологическую культуру, судя по резко специфическим орнаментальным узорам, следует считать принадлежащей обществу с замкнутой брачной организацией. Это можно объяснить тем, что женщины, изготавливающие посуду (о чем свидетельствуют отпечатки пальцев маленького размера) согласно своим эстетическим нормам циркулировали в пределах больших эндогамных коллективов, внутри которых существовали строго экзогамные правила, заставляющие искать брачного партнера в пределах большой территории. Все это должно было привести рано или поздно к культурной, в том числе и к языковой нивелировке, то есть долгое время можно было поддерживать сравнительную этническую однородность и замкнутость довольно больших популяций, тогда более вероятно, что в первобытно-общинном строе все-таки не племя, а более широкие общности, цепь племенных объединений, по терминологии Г.Ф. Дебеца и Н.Н. Чебоксарова - "соплеменность", являлись основной единицей этнического деления каменного века. Их этническую сплоченность обеспечивала главным образом экзогамия и основывавшиеся на ней широко распространенные дуально-экзогамные половины "брачные классы" или фратрии. Эта общераспространенная бинарная система общественной жизни родоплеменного строя способствовала в большой мере языковой нивелировке не только внутри племени, как единой диалектно-этнографической группы, но намного шире. В это время, как и позднее, языковой фактор, особенно среди близко родственных диалектов, еще не мог играть этноразделительной роли. Вообще можно сказать, что этническое разделение внутри компактно живущих групп, близко родственных в языковом отношении, протекало довольно медленно и обуславливалось, как правило, не языковым фактором, а хозяйственно-культурным различием. Типологические примеры из "исторического времени" подтверждают эту гипотезу и дают право распространить ее на более отдаленные времена, вплоть до существования большой этноязыковой общности.

Судя по всему, можно не без оснований утверждать, если действительно существовали большие азонально расположенные археологические культуры в эпоху новокаменного века, тогда они имели не дифференцированный характер, и вместе с тем могли составлять в какой-то мере этническое единство. Некоторые исследователи связывают эти этнокультурные ареалы с языковыми семьями или с большими этнолингвистическими общностями прошлого, давшими далекий субстрат некоторых современных народов.

В том, что в этой гипотезе кроется зерно истины, вопреки некоторым скептическим взглядам, можно удостовериться привлечением других методов

смежных дисциплин в том числе и новых данных лингвистической палеонтологии относительно определения финно-угорской прародины.

Высказанные выше соображения, в какой-то мере теоретического характера, относящиеся к сравнительно слабо адаптировавшимся неолитическим рыболовам, охотникам и собирателям к местным узко локальным природным условиям Северной Евразии, с успехом можно применить не только для воссоздания древнего хозяйственно-культурного развития этого региона, но и для реконструкции этногенеза современных финно-угорских народов, живущих, кроме венгров, до сих пор здесь.

Без того, чтобы сейчас подробно излагать разные точки зрения относительно уральской прародины, все-таки хочется упомянуть, что на этот счет до сих пор нет единого мнения, среди специалистов существуют резко противоположные гипотезы.

Здесь нет возможности дать историографический обзор по всем этим вопросам, но все-таки хотелось упомянуть о том, что финно-угорской прародиной сперва считали Алтай, а потом территорию ямочно-гребенчатой неолитической керамики между Балтийским морем и Уральскими горами, и по недавно выдвинутому предположению палеолитическую Польшу, Волжско-Окское междуречье, Западную Сибирь или Среднюю Азию. Но самой распространенной среди всех многочисленных гипотез и весьма продолжительное время признавались районы Среднего Поволжья, рр. Оки и Камы. Не вдаваясь в подробное объяснение причин разнобоя по этому вопросу исходной территории древних уральцев, мы отсылаем читателя к историографическому обзору П. Хайду (1967), Я. Гуя (1973), И. Фодора (1976), П. Вереша (1979), и сейчас обращаем внимание только на самые важные результаты последних исследований.

Собственно, только в последнее время, после накопления большого фактического материала, можно говорить о серьезных опытах синтеза, когда исследователи, действительно применяя более или менее комплексный метод, пытались более точно определить ту территорию, где жили общие предки уральцев в прошлом, до своего разделения. Во всяком случае, большое значение имеет та новая тенденция, что результаты разных дисциплин по этому вопросу, использующих различные методы, в последнее время, в отличие от прошлого, все больше сближаются. Эти совпадения нельзя считать просто случайными. Весьма примечательно, что параллельно с критикой разных концепций в исследованиях все более утверждаются обоснованные взгляды покойного В.Н. Чернецова (1951, 1959) и А.Н. Бадера (1970), а также А.Х. Халикова (1968). По их теории сравнительно гомогенная неолитическая культура Западной Сибири и ее прилегающих территорий, включая обе стороны Урала, возникла на

мезолитических основах. Эта сравнительно единая культура мезолита и неолита пересекала разные ландшафтно-климатические зоны, что свидетельствует о некоем этническом единстве на данной территории, представляющим собой в свое время уральскую языковую семью.

Эту научную гипотезу, возникшую на основе тщательного ретроспективного исследования археологических культур перечисленных областей, подтверждают в некоторой степени южные лингвистические связи уральских языков с некоторыми другими, ностратическими языками, прежде всего, индо-европейскими, алтайскими, (прототюрскими?), палеоазиатскими и может быть дравидскими. Это сближается также с самыми новыми палеолингвистическими определениями уральской прародины П. Хайду (1964), венгерским академиком, который привлечением анализа пыльцы и на основе подробных критических лингвистических исследований, пришел к важному выводу. Он, отбросив до сих пор господствующую концепцию Ф.Т. Кёппена, и Д. Ласло (1961) и их последователей, воспользовавшись результатами исторической экологии реконструкции динамического развития лесного покрова северной Евразии выявил, что в современных уральских языках в основном можно найти только общие названия сибирской тайги (ель, кедр, пихта, лиственница). Из деревьев европейских широколиственных лесов обнаруживается общее финно-угорское название только единственного дерева, а именно вяза, распространявшегося с запада в неолите, по мнению Хайду лишь до Урала (сходные результаты позднее получил и американский исследователь К. Шеррей (1968).

Помимо вышеупомянутых палеолингвистических и археологических исследований, предположение уральской прародины в какой-то мере также подтверждается и результатами антропологических исследований.

Новое определение уральской прародины при помощи лингвистической палеонтологии академиком П. Хайду (и К. Шеррей) внесло большой вклад в разработку данной области финно-угристики, несмотря на то, что имеет, на наш взгляд, некоторые ограничения, т. к. нуждается в новых дополнительных палинологических данных, касающихся распространения в Западной Сибири широколиственных пород деревьев, прежде всего вяза, дуба и липы, которые из Восточной Европы проникли с среднего голоцена не только до Урала, как раньше предполагали, но и даже дальше на Восток, в среднюю и южно-таёжную зоны Западно-Сибирской равнины, вплоть до среднего течения Оби (В.С. Волкова, В.А. Белова, С.А. Архипова, Т.П. Левина, В.А. Панычев 1980). Эти палинологические данные в свое время не могли быть использованы при составлении концепции прародины общих предков финно-угров и самодийцев, так как еще не были известны.

Если новую лингвистическую гипотезу относительно первоначальной территории уральцев в некоторой мере модифицировать при помощи новейших палинологических данных относительно распространения вяза, подкрепленных радиоуглеродными абсолютными датировками, можно достичь полнейшего соответствия материалов разных дисциплин, главным образом, лингвистики и археологии. Дело в том, что именно в районе распространения вяза в Западной Сибири, прежде всего в южных землях Зауралья, выявлен центр неолитической культуры, который в течении всего каменного века и даже в более позднее время, показал весьма бурное своё развитие. Это необычное явление в Северной Евразии объясняется своеобразным экологическим условием данного района, которое в какой-то мере и обусловило распространение вяза – дерева восточно-европейского широколиственного леса, во время тёплого атлантического климатического периода, когда широколиственные породы сильно распространили свой ареал в северном и северо-восточном направлениях и частично проникли даже в Сибирь под влиянием ксеротермического оптимума (Н.А. Хотинский, 1977). Весьма благоприятная географическая обстановка Зауралья объясняется главным образом тем, что на Восточных склонах и близко прилегающих к нему областях зимой глубина снегового покрова в два раза меньше, чем на западных склонах. Это обуславливается тем, что Уральские горы являются препятствием циклонам, проходящим с Запада с Атлантического океана. При помощи новых данных относительно распространения пыльцы вяза, которые недавно были выявлены современными методами с периода мезолита на большей части территории Западной Сибири (включая даже её субарктические районы, как ветренные заносы), можно расширить исходные территории общих предков уральцев в южном направлении вплоть до степной зоны юго-западной части Сибири.

Прежние результаты, понятным образом не располагающие данными лесного покрова Западной Сибири последних лет, выявили только редко населённую часть уральской прародины, которая находилась в самой северной области контактной полосы восточно-европейской широколиственной лесной и сибирской таежной зоны Евразии.

Однако сравнительно многочисленные факты красноречиво свидетельствуют о том, что прежние взгляды о восточной границе распространения вяза до Урала нужно брать под сомнение. Это утверждение на уровне современных знаний не соответствует действительности. Как известно, раньше считали, что важнейшей особенностью пыльцевых диаграмм разрезов Западной Сибири является якобы полное отсутствие пыльцы как бы то ни было широколиственных пород. Обычно предполагали, что вяз распространялся в основном, только лишь до европейской

части среднего Урала (М.И. Нейштад 1957). Правда иногда допускали, что во время среднего голоцена в южной части Западной Сибири, где повсеместно были распространены не темнохвойные породы, т. е. сибирские ели, кедр, пихта, а сосна и береза, из широколиственных пород встречалась только липа. Эта точка зрения уже в своё время должна была бы противоречить тем общепринятым положениям, что широколиственные деревья, всегда распространились комплексно. Это подтверждается новейшими палинологическими исследованиями Западной Сибири, которые можно использовать для более точного определения прародины древних финно-угров и самодийцев по сравнению с прошлыми концепциями. Рефугиум широколиственного леса находится на Южном Урале.

Новый результат анализа пыльцы не только помогает надёжно связывать результаты разных дисциплин, но и вполне достаточен для того, чтобы сравнительно однородный археологический материал территории вблизи Урала связать с древне-уральской языковой общностью, тем более, что по мнению советских археологов обширная область Урала, включая и западно-сибирскую географическую страну, можно отнести в мезолите и неолите, этнически ещё недифференцированно к предкам финно-угров и самодийцев. Вряд ли надо отдельно подчеркивать значение того, что впервые согласовываются результаты разных наук, до сих пор резко противоречивших друг другу.

Итак, хотя совпадение общего термина финно-угров и самодийских народов с географическим именем Уральских гор произвольно, но видимо не случайно, что занимающиеся этногенезом и работающие ретроспективным методом археологов, ядро древних финно-угров в подавляющем большинстве находят всё-таки на обширных районах Уральских гор, включая, кроме бассейна р. Камы, также Зауралье и соседние области Западной Сибири.

Таким образом, сравнительно однородная неолитическая археологическая культура сопредельных областей Уральских гор, интерзонально включавшая в себя несколько ландшафтно-климатических зон, свидетельствует о некоем этническом единстве, а ее носители принадлежали, по-видимому, к уральской языковой семье.

Исследование причин распада финно-угорской языковой общности до последнего времени было слабо разработано в специальной литературе. Обычно предполагали, что с первоначальной территории древние уральцы расселились в конце неолита вследствие вклинивания между ними других этнических групп, или под давлением роста населения, или в связи с возникновением новых средств передвижения — прежде всего саней и лыж. Относительно возможности установления действительных причин распада финно-угорской языковой общности некоторые высказывались весьма скептически. Однако, по нашему мнению, всё-

таки можно найти конкретные данные и более убедительные объяснения по сравнению с предыдущими высказываниями, если принять во внимание те сложные хозяйственно-культурные процессы и экологические изменения, протекавшие на рубеже каменной и бронзовой эпох в северной части Евразии, которые не привлекались до последнего времени для решения указанных проблем исследователями, изучающими данный вопрос.

Мы считаем, что главной причиной окончательного распада финно-угорской языковой общности в конце неолита был прежде всего рост производительных сил, выразившийся в разной хозяйственной специализации входящих в неё родоплеменных групп, занимавшихся рыболовством и охотой. Это прогрессирующее развитие общественного разделения труда между древними уральцами, жившими в разных ландшафтных зонах Западной Сибири, Зауралья и Приуралья, сопровождалось не только усилением хозяйственной адаптации к местным, специфическим условиям окружающей среды, но и вело к культурной и этнической дифференциации, а также расселению. Именно таким образом на предполагаемой территории финно-угорской прародины, т. е. в обширных областях Уральских гор, включая и Западную Сибирь, между 2500-2000 гг. до н. э., сложились различные культурно-хозяйственные типы. В высоких северных широтах - в тундре - возникло промысловое хозяйство с преобладанием охоты на дикого северного оленя. Этому способствовало то, что после ксеротермического оптимума атлантического климатического периода наступило первое послеледниковое похолодание в начале суббореального времени. Под влиянием этого интенсивнее распространялся холодолюбивый северный олень, так как тундра в южном направлении на расстоянии 300-400 км вытеснила тайгу. В это же время, т. е. около 2500 лет до н. э. на Среднем Урале и Западной Сибири исчезает теплолюбивый тип вяза, тогда как его холодоустойчивые виды продолжают сохраняться и позднее. С ухудшением климата усилились поиски новых источников существования финно-угров. Видимо поэтому в таежной зоне Западной Сибири распространилась индивидуальная охота, а в бассейне Оби и её притоков, а также в лесостепи финно-угорские группы специализировались на рыболовстве. Параллельно с этим в более южные районы в лесостепной и степной поясах Зауралья проникли зачатки производящей экономики с дальнейшим сохранением значения рыболовства и охоты.

Мы считаем, что этногенез древних угров происходил именно в самой южной части уральской прародины, к тому же в экологическом отношении в исключительно благоприятных условиях западно-сибирской лесостепи вблизи Урала. Именно здесь общие предки венгров, хантов и манси создали свою оседлую рыболовную и скотоводческо-земледельческую культуру и вместе с этим

оформились в самостоятельную этноязыковую общность. В конце неолита благодаря экологическим, а также некоторым хозяйственным изменениям и внешним влияниям, источник которого находился на территории современного Казахстана, в более или менее единой доселе археологической культуре Урала и Западной Сибири возникли резкие локальные различия, особенно хорошо выраженные на юге. Все эти обстоятельства объясняют, почему с наступлением эпохи раннего металла, разорвались этнические связи между древними уральцами — охотниками и рыболовами, оставшимися в сибирской тайге, и родственными им уграми, попавшими, по-видимому, в новую, более благоприятную экологическую среду, и частично переходившими на производящее хозяйство. Таким образом, на основе сопоставления данных разных дисциплин, можно считать обоснованным предположением некоторых советских ученых, что андронидный археологический комплекс, испытывающий влияние федоровской культуры бронзовой эпохи на юге Западной Сибири, вблизи лесостепной Зауралья, для которого характерны производящее хозяйство, могилы в западно-восточном направлении и особый широколицый, но европеоидный антропологический тип, — частично этнически можно связать с древними уграми. Этот вывод не противоречит данным дальнейшей этнической истории древних венгров и обских угров, а также вполне соответствует результатам новейших антрополитических, палео-палинологических и других исследований, чем традиционная концепция большинства исследователей, локализирующих прародину угров в Прикамье. Дело в том, что в свете многочисленного археологического материала европейской стороны Урала, а также новых лингвистических данных, относящихся к иранским заимствованиям в угорских языках, район Среднего Поволжья должен быть исключен из тех территорий, на которых ищут этногенез общих предков венгров, хантов и манси. Ведь нет никаких данных об ирано-угорском языковом симбиозе. Сильное влияние иранцев на угров происходило немного позже, после их разделения, в период самостоятельного развития этих народов и их языков.

Угорскую языковую общность лесостепи Зауралья одновременно можно называть и этнической, так как современные этнические названия венгров "мадьяр" и "манси", а также фратриальные наименования обских угров "мось" или "монть" можно извести к общей угорской праформе: **mańćэ*. Раньше это слово ошибочно считали иранским заимствованием, чему противоречат некоторые семантические, фонетические и другие трудности. Остается предположить, что этот общеугорский этноним был либо заимствован в более раннее время, т. е. еще в финно-угорскую эпоху от протоиндо-иранцев (*manuś*), либо является ностратическим реликтом, как предполагает В.М. Илич-Свитыч. По нашему мнению, первую часть этнонима венгров "мадь-" и самоназвания манси можно

связать с финно-угорским глаголом *mon "говорить", "рассказывать", который позже соединялся с суффиксом прилагательного - ce/cã к ним и в венгерской и в обско-угорских языках закономерно добавляется слово "человек" (-ar, хум, нэ).

Этнонимы со значением "говорящий человек", выражающие резко языковые различия контактирующих этнических общностей, встречаются и у других народов. Лингвисты финно-угроведы до сих пор не обратили внимания на то, что сходные формы характерны не только для угорских и индоевропейских, но и почти для всех языков ностратической макролингвистической общности. Ностратическая праформа: *mon - финно-угорская реконструкция: *monu - угорская: *mańcã, которая расширена суффиксом прилагательных. Совпадение древне-угорского этнонима с реконструированной формой отглагольного существительного *mańcã "сказка, рассказать" считали случайностью, утверждая, что этноним всегда возникает на основе слова человек. Не принималось во внимание, что народы называют себя людьми и не заимствуют это слово от чужих, за исключением этнического смешения. Однако последнее по утверждению самих лингвистов не произошло между древними уграми и иранцами.

Мы пришли к тому выводу, что угорская этноязыковая общность в лесостепном Зауралье, имевшая андронидный культурный облик, после совместного тысячелетнего существования распалась. Это важное событие происходило, по всей вероятности на рубеже II-I тыс. до н. э. В этом свою роль сыграли сложные экологические и культурно-хозяйственные процессы позднего бронзового и раннего железного веков, долгое время не привлекавшие внимание исследователей, занимающихся этногенезом обских угров и венгров. В связи с этим нельзя оставить без внимания значительное климатическое изменение в конце суббореального периода в Северной Евразии, которое специалисты считают по новейшим палинологическим данным не ксеротермическим максимумом, как думали раньше, а увлажненным периодом на основе анализа пыльцы по C¹⁴. Так как, имеется сравнительно мало данных об этногенезе древневенгерского этноса, первостепенное значение имеет ухудшение климата в конце II тыс. до н. э. В этой связи очень важно, что начиная с XIII в. до н. э. по всем ландшафтно-климатическим зонам Евразии происходили важные экологические изменения так на севере, в лесах - увлажнение, на юге, в степных и пустынных районах - арадизация климата, что вызвало большие переселения народов от Индии и Балкан до Прибалтики, Поволжья, Башкирии, Зауралья и Западной Сибири. В вопросе причин распада угорской языковой общности, что привело к выделению древних венгров, первостепенное значение имеет то, что климатическое изменение в лесостепи Западной Сибири

действительно имело место на рубеже II-I тыс. до н. э.

Как бы то ни было, это экологическое обстоятельство позднего суббореала решающим образом повлияло на дальнейшую судьбу древних угров, живших на границе леса и степи Западной Сибири. Они либо должны были приспособить свой хозяйственный уклад к новой экологической обстановке, либо оставить эту территорию и переселиться в другие области, имеющие более благоприятные условия, либо погибнуть. Ведь этнос в понимании этого термина как своеобразного этносоциального организма является не закрытой, а открытой, динамичной системой, которая принимает и отдает материю, энергию и информацию, постоянно стремится к равновесию, гомеостатическому состоянию. Внутри этой открытой, то есть адаптивной системы все время усложняются и дифференцируются составные части, так как с помощью механизма обратной связи постоянно протекают взаимоотношения с окружающей средой. Достижение относительной стабильности этноса как особой социальной системы, выражается соответствующим балансом со средой, его развитие в результате нарушения этого баланса путей перестроек и заключения новых состояний. Северные племена угров – далёкие предки хантов и манси, начиная с XII в. до н. э. из района лесостепи Зауралья постепенно переселялись в бассейн Нижней и Средней Оби – на их современную этническую территорию в таёжной части Западной Сибири. А южная группа угров – предки венгров в это же время, т. е. около рубежа II-I тыс. до н. э., как и другие соседние народы степи и частично лесостепи, переходили к более прогрессивному специализированному типу хозяйства – пастбищному кочевому скотоводству – номадизму, в основном формирующемуся в этот же период в степной полосе Евразии под влиянием иссушения климата. Не безынтересно в связи с этим, что в XII-X вв. до н. э. из лесистого Зауралья в Северную Казахстанскую степь вклинивается андронидная археологическая культура и группа уральского антропологического типа. Таким образом, расформированию угорской этноязыковой общности около II-I тыс. до н. э. способствовало одновременное выделение предков обских угров и венгров. Последние активно участвовали в первом крупном общественном разделении труда, происходившем в конце бронзового – начале железного веков в степной зоне Старого Света. По всей вероятности, во время упомянутого особого климатического изменения между XIII-X вв. до н. э. протовенгры покидали лесостепи Зауралья вместе с тем приспособляли свою экономическую систему к новым экологическим условиям засушливых степей.

Древние венгры от оседлого комплексного хозяйства стали переходить к новым специализированным формам скотоводства – кочевничеству с коневодческим уклоном, что несомненно должно было обусловить более подвижный образ их

жизни. Древним венграм в их переходе к номадизму в большой мере способствовали ранее существовавшие скотоводческие навыки, приобретенные в лесостепи Зауралья. Венгры, переходя на кочевой образ жизни в степной полосе, попали в более благоприятные условия, чем другие финно-угорские народы, оставшиеся в лесной и таёжной зоне Северной Евразии, несмотря на то, что последние продолжали дальше заниматься земледелием, имевшего натуральный характер.

По новейшим антропологическим данным венгры-кочевники находились между Нижней Волгой и Аральским морем в Т тыс. до н. э. Эта территория соответствует круглогодичным кочеваниям номадов. Из хлебо злаков на ней растёт только сухоустойчивое просо, состав стада кочевников характеризует наличие лошади и овцы и отсутствие крупного рогатого скота. Это подтверждается лингвистическими данными венгерского языка, на которые, однако, до сих пор не обратили внимания специалисты. Более того в северном Прикаспии по палинологическому анализу выявлена пыльца вяза и березы в бронзовую эпоху, названия которых имеют финно-угорского происхождения в венгерском языке и сохранились до сих пор, несмотря на то, что предки венгров после выделения из угорской этноязыковой общности почти два тысячелетия были типичными кочевниками в Средней и Западной части Евразийской степной зоны. Новейшие исследования не подтверждают до сих пор широко распространенное, но слабо аргументированное мнение, что угорская общность распалась вследствие вклинивания тюркских народов. Соседями угров были не тюрки, а древние иранцы и этносы неизвестного происхождения — определить которые — задача будущих исследований.

Нам представляется, что происшедшее изменение хозяйственной жизни южных угров привело их к окончательному отделению от северо-угорской группы и возникновению нового этноса — древних венгров. Во всяком случае, именно тогда, в I тысячелетии до н. э., т. е. в эпоху ранних кочевников, начала формироваться система согласных современного венгерского языка на основе фонетических тенденций, сходных с древнеиранским языком: $*p \rightarrow f$, $*t \rightarrow \delta/z/$, $*k \rightarrow h$, $*s \rightarrow h$, и появление в начале слов звуков $b-$, $d-$, $g-$, которые не характерны для других финно-угорских языков, за исключением пермской группы, где они, по-видимому, появлялись также под влиянием иранцев. Не исключено, что предки венгров и иранцев долгое время были соседями и вследствие культурных и других связей, между ними возник так называемый языковой союз, который прежде всего выразился в распространении ареала общих фонетических изоглосс. Тем более, что длительный процесс формирования антропологического облика древних венгров локализуется в регионе Северного Каспия, между

Нижней Волгой и Мугоджарами и Аральским морем и происходил на срубноандроновском антропологическом субстрате, частично имевшем протоиранский этнический характер.

Итак, можно сделать заключение, что в этническом формировании древних венгров, выделившихся из угорской этнолингвистической общности к началу I тысячелетия до н. э., важную роль играли межэтнические связи с другими народами. Однако нельзя не обратить внимания на то, что при этногенезе венгров наряду с внешними культурными влияниями не менее важное значение имели и внутренние этноинтегрирующие факторы, не говоря уже об экономико-географических причинах. Внутренний фактор ранней этнической консолидации вытекал из своеобразного, изолированного положения языка венгров в степи. Древневенгерские диалекты, носившие финно-угорский характер, стояли особняком среди языков кочевников, принадлежавших к индоевропейской или алтайской семье. Это обстоятельство во многом препятствовало многосторонней интенсивной связи венгров с другими кочевниками, что, впрочем, в значительной мере ограничивало их этническое смешение. Вследствие неизбежного сужения брачных связей возник не только языковой, но в какой-то мере и генетический барьер между ставшей сравнительно закрытой эндогамной древневенгерской группой и окружающей её чужой этнической средой. Это, в свою очередь, привело к относительной языковой, культурной, в некоторой мере даже антропологической однородности, т. е. происходила ранняя этническая консолидация.

Значит, древневенгерский этнос (ряд племен и племенных диалектов) формировался в I тысячелетии до н. э. как закрытая коммуникационная система, имевшая информационную сеть средней-интенсивности. Противопоставление древневенгерского этноса соседним, но не родственным генетически общностям выразилось не только в изолированном положении языка и определенном уровне эндогамности, но и в том, что осознавалось бинарное понятие "мы - они", т. е. возникло этническое самосознание, которое, наверное, выразалось и в создании собственного самоназвания. По всей видимости, этноним мадьяр (венгр) этимологизируется как "говорящий человек".

Действительно, новый этимологический анализ венгерского этнонима возводится к дихотомии "говорящий - немой". Реконструированная форма самоназвания венгров (и манси) *mańćz не случайно совпадает с древнеугорским отглагольными существительными *mońćz "рассказ", "сказание", "рассказать".

По-видимому, этноним мадьяр у венгров формировался на осознанном языковом различии: они выразили противопоставление "свой - чужой" дихотомической оппозицией: "мы говорим, а они не понимают". Этноним с

подобным значением хотя и не часто, но встречается у других народов разных континентов, имеющих архаическую культуру. Например, название славян обозначает: мы — "говорящие", они, т. е. чужие "неговорящие", — немцы (немцы). В Восточном Судане горные буруны называют себя "кто понимает язык", а соседей — "глухими". Выражение "варвар" у древних греков, бербер у арабов, как известно, ведет происхождение от слова "заикающийся".

Вследствие всего сказанного, древневенгерский этнос можно не без основания характеризовать как осознанную культурно-языковую общность, которая формировалась на определенной территории между людьми, живущими в тех же общественно-экономических условиях. Кроме эндогамии, сыграло благоприятную роль и то обстоятельство, что у древних венгров к началу I тысячелетия до н. э. одновременно (а не позже) с другими степными народами сформировался свой кочевой уклад жизни. Именно это привело к тому, что среди иранцев и тюрков по своей численности доминирующих в степи, венгры, как равноправные участники единой евразийской кочевой культуры, могли сохранить внутреннюю общественную автономию, а также свое этническое лицо. Таким образом древние венгры избежали этнической ассимиляции. Конечно, это положение не исключало различные этнокультурные связи через двуязычие или возможности отделения некоторых групп от основной массы венгров, а также ассимиляции чужих.

Нельзя согласиться с теми, которые умаляют значение кочевничества в мировой истории вообще и в хозяйственной жизни древних венгров в частности и придерживаются той оценочной точки зрения, что земледелие при натуральном характере якобы всегда и везде должно было играть более прогрессивную роль, чем специализированное скотоводство — номадизм.

Уже сам переход древних венгров к кочевничеству на рубеже II-I тысячелетий до н. э. вытеснил на задний план земледелие. Не говоря о том, что формирование их антропологического облика происходило именно на весьма засушливой территории Северного Прикаспия между Нижней Волгой и Аральским морем.

Таким образом, на наш взгляд, отчасти кочевническое хозяйство древних венгров, а также географическая специфика — аридность их этнической территории объясняет, почему не удалось выявить до сих пор раннюю, собственноязычную терминологию земледелия. Венгерские племена потеряли специфически кочевнический характер хозяйства сравнительно поздно. Поэтому нет ничего удивительного в том, что первые основные земледельческие термины венгров, плуг, серп, пшеница, ячмень, жатва, стог и т. п., заимствованы из языка тюркских народов Хазарского каганата между 750—896 гг. н. э. Это

важный процесс происходил на южной части территории салтово-маяцкой археологической культуры, которая отражает процесс оседания разных по этническому составу кочевых и полукочевых народов и их хозяйственную деятельность, в том числе и пашенное земледелие, садоводство, виноградарство. Пока нет никаких данных, что венгерские племена должны были потерять специфически кочевнический характер своего хозяйства в скифо-сарматскую эпоху. Постепенное распространение более развитых форм земледелия у венгров можно приурочить только в эпохе "великого переселения народов", когда после IV в. н. э. они перекочевали из западноказахстанских полупустынь в Европу, в степи Кубани и Причерноморья. Закономерно, что здесь специализированная скотоводческая экономика пришлых венгерских племен изменилась прежде всего под влиянием тюркских групп, имевших древнеболгарский язык. Первые основные земледельческие термины венгров до X в. н. э. заимствованы из языка тюркских народов Хазарского каганата в VIII-IX вв. н. э. на южной окраине салтово-маяцкой археологической культуры, отражающей седентеризацию и земледельческую деятельность полукочевых и полuosедлых тюркских народов, с которыми кочевники-венгры жили в тесном хозяйственном симбиозе. Последнее обстоятельство, помимо заимствования определенных земледельческих навыков, привело к ассимиляции некоторых болгарских и хазарских групп (например, коваров) венграми в южнорусских степях. Однако данные относительно кариеса зубов венгров X в. н. э., остеологический материал состава их стад, обработка кожи квасцами, типы оружия, поселение на песчаных почвах, пригодных для номадизма и т. д. — указывают на то, что в экономической структуре венгров главенствующую роль занимало кочевое скотоводство. Хотя нельзя отрицать, что некоторым группам хорошо была известна земледельческая деятельность. Постепенный переход подавляющего большинства венгров к земледелию и оседлости, превращение полукочевников в земледельцев происходило в Среднем Придунавье под влиянием т. н. средневековой аграрной революции, что отражается в славянских заимствованиях в венгерском языке.

Если анализировать причины появления венгров в 896 г. н. э. в западном крае Евразийской степной зоны — на их современной этнической территории, можно прийти к заключению, что в появлении венгров в конце IX в. н. э. в Паннонии, помимо нападения западных групп печенегов, мог играть свою роль и процесс повсеместной деседентеризации полукочевых народов салтово-маяцкой археологической культуры по всей южнорусской степи на рубеже IX-X вв. н. э.

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В следующих работах можно найти точные библиографические данные настоящей статьи

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ZWISCHEN UNGARN UND INDONESIEN:
ANALYSE ZWEIER TRADITIONELLER KUNSTMOTIVE

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1. Vor mehr als 25 Jahren wurde ich auf eines der interessantesten Motive der ungarischen Volkskunst aufmerksam.* Frau Vilma Dajaszászy-Dietz teilte unter Nähereien der nach Südtransdanubien umgesiedelten Székler aus der Bukowina mit der Bezeichnung "Kissenkante mit Kreuzstichstickerei" als Nr. XXXII das vermutlich aus Józseffalva stammende Muster "csitkós (csikós)" ('mit Föhlermuster') mit. Sie selbst fügt folgende Bemerkung hinzu: "Wir zeigen auch ein figürliches Muster (DAJASZÁSZYNÉ, DIETZ 1951: Tafel XXXII), von dem wir mehrere Varianten vorfanden; vermutlich diene ihm die bekannte

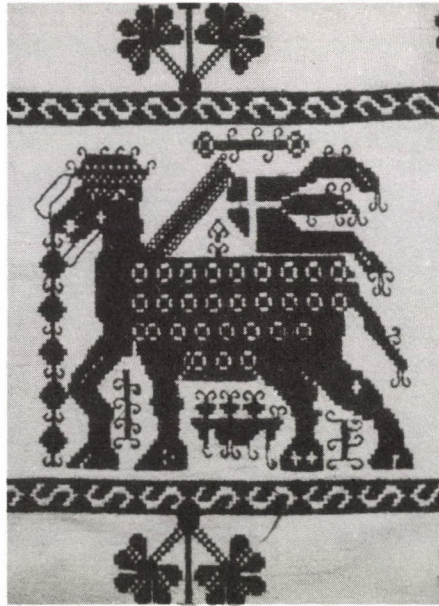


Abb. 1. Gotteslamm. Teilansicht eines Bettuches aus Andrásfalva, Bukowina. (Budapest, Néprajzi Múzeum). Nach HOFER, Tamás und Edit FÉL 1975: Magyar népművészet. Budapest (2. Auflage) Abb. 587.

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

ursprünglich kirchliche Stickerei 'Lamm Gottes' als Muster. Die Stickerinnen aus der Bukowina haben das Muster zum Teil verändert.

Statt des Lammes nähten sie ein Pferd und versehen es mit einer Figur auf seinem Rücken" (DAJASZÁSZYNÉ, DIETZ 1951: 4). Schon das Deckelblatt meines Buches "A folklór alkotások elemzése" (Analyse der Folklore-Schöpfungen, Budapest, 1972 geschrieben im 1963-64) trug die Zeichnung nach der oben erwähnten Székler Kreuzstichstickerei aus der Bukowina, die das seltsame Tier darstellt. Das von der Seite gesehene vierfüßige, geschwänzte grosse Tier hat eine stehende Menschenfigur auf dem Rücken, unter seinem Bauch sind ebenfalls Menschen zu sehen. Der Körper des Tieres trägt runde, durchbrochene Muster, gleichsam "Löcher". Auf seinem Kopf hat es irgendetwas hutartiges, von seinem Maul reicht ein Leitmuster hinab bis auf das Niveau der Füße, das auch als Boden bezeichnet werden könnte. Über dem Rücken des Tieres befindet sich ein höchst kompliziertes schwebendes Muster. Die einen nannten die Stickerei "Elefant", die anderen sahen ein Pferd in ihr, und ja

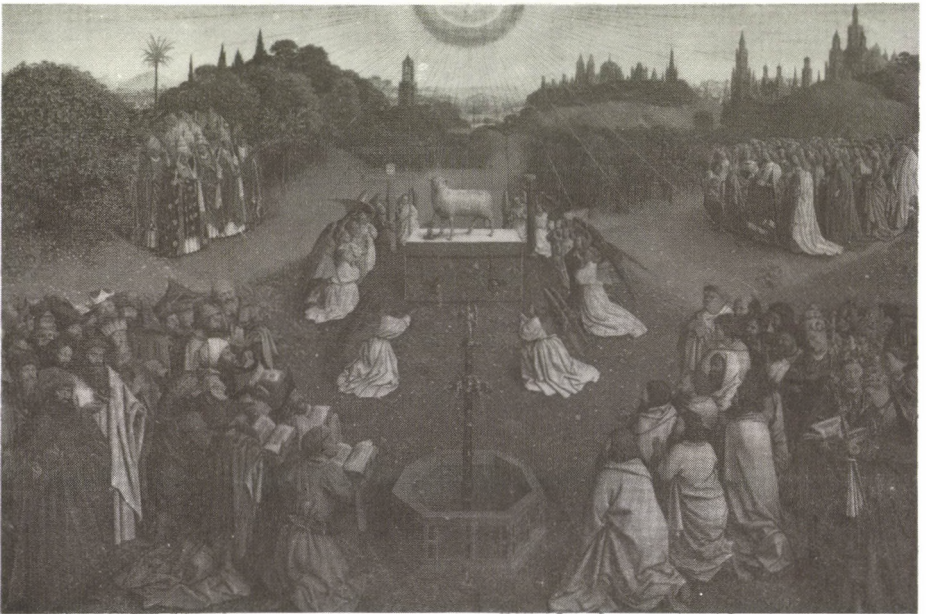


Abb. 2. Mittelteil des Genter Flügelaltars (Sint-Baafskathedraal) "Die Anbetung des Lammes". Lamm mit kreuzförmigem Nimbus und Kelch mit Blutstrahl.

mit gewisser Fantasie vermutete ein ungarischer Forscher aufgrund der Menschen und der "Löcher" das Trojanische Pferd darin. (Abb. 1.)

Aufgrund der Arbeiten der ungarischen Textilhistoriker (Gertrúd Palotay, Edit Fél, Mária V. Ember u. a.) sowie in Kenntnis der slowakischen und mährischen Parallelen wird jedoch das Motiv heute eindeutig als eine Darstellung des Themas "agnus Dei" angesehen: Die "Mütze" wurde als der glorienartige Heiligenschein des Gotteslammes, das über dem Rücken schwebende Muster als das Kreuzesbanner der Auferstehung identifiziert. Das Muster ist aus der ungarischen Herren- und Kunststickerei ebenso bekannt wie von den anderen "Volks"-Textilien der Bukowinaer Szekler. Es wurde mehrfach gezeigt, auf Bildern nach verschiedenen Textilstücken aus ungarischen Museen. In Ausstellungen war es zu sehen in einer Sammlung des Ethnographischen Museums (Néprajzi Múzeum) bzw. des Kunstgewerbemuseums (Iparművészeti Múzeum) in Budapest. Auch Verwirklichungen des Themas in anderen Kunstwerken und Techniken zeigte in ihrem kurzen Überblick des internationalen kunstgeschichtlichen Hintergrundes Frau Kincsó Verebélyi (1984: 12-13), wenn auch ohne Literaturverweise. Über die internationalen Parallelen mit Aufzählung der früheren Fachliteratur: gibt einen ziemlich guten Überblick Frau Miroslava Ludvíkova (1979). Die Ausstellung des Budapester Kunstgewerbemuseums im Schlossmuseum von Nagytétény 1982 - ("Netzstickereien") zusammengestellt und Katalogbeschreibung von Frau Emőke László (1982) - zeigt aus ihrem Titelblatt das unter Nr. 24 angeführte Leinwand-Antependium aus dem Komitat Sáros aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jh. mit dem gleichen Motiv. Der Katalog enthält zu dem eine sehr gute Bibliographie. Ich selbst habe vor, im Zukunft dem Themenkreis aus ikonographischer Sicht eine längere Studie zu widmen.

Bei all diesem Wissen ist es doch interessant, wieso ein so gut bekanntes Motiv wie das "agnus Dei" einmal Pferd und ein andermal Elefant genannt werden konnte und wie sich die "Löcher" und die Menschen um das Lamm verstehen lassen. Ich verzichte auf die Aufzählung weiterer Parallelen, glaube aber, die "Löcher" lassen sich letztlich einestils aus der Sticktechnik erklären, und die kleinen "Menschengestalten" haben ornamentalen Ursprung. Die an der Nase beginnende leiterartige Zeichnung - offensichtlich der Ausgangspunkt der Deutung als "Elefant" lässt sich am leichtesten aus dem Motiv des aus dem Eucharistiekelch tröpfelnden Blutes Jesu erklären, was wiederum im Umkreis der europäischen "Gotteslamm"-Darstellungen gut bekannt ist. Die Aussage dieses Artikels ist jedoch nicht die einfache und europäisch-kunstgeschichtliche Identifizierung, sondern

eine überraschende weitentfernte Angabengruppe.

Zur gleichen Zeit - als vor mehr als 25 Jahren - fiel mir auch ein indonesisches Textilmuster auf, das später auch Tibor Bodrogi in seinem Buch beschreibt.¹ Da letzteres eines gewissermassen komplizierten Überblickes bedarf, wende ich mich zuerst der Frage der Herkunft des Bukowinaer "Fohlenmusters" zu.

2. Die Textildarstellung des "agnus Dei" ist in der ungarischen Volkskunst zwar nicht eben häufig, kann aber als bekannt angesehen werden. Beispiele dafür finden sich im Ethnographischen Museum (Néprajzi Múzeum), Budapest, im Déri-Museum, Debrecen und vermutlich auch in mehreren anderen Sammlungen. Meist ist das Lamm leicht in den Darstellungen zu erkennen, wie es mit dem Vorderbein die Kirchenfahne trägt.²

Schon 1935 stellte der grosse Erforscher der slowakischen Volkskunst V. Pražák fest, dass das gleiche Motiv seit 1629 im damaligen Oberungarn in Textilien bekannt war und aus Sibmachers berühmten Textilmodelbuch von 1604 stammt,³ was um so wahrscheinlicher ist, als es sich neben dem gleichfalls von dort stammenden Drachenmotiv finden lässt.

Ein aus der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts stammendes oberungarisches (aus den Komitaten Gömör oder Sáros) Antependium aus Leinwand, mit schwarzer, grüner und roter Seide bzw. Metallfaden bestickt aus dem Kunstgewerbemuseum (Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest) erworben von der Ungarischen Landesgesellschaft für Kunstgewerbe (Országos Magyar Iparművészeti Társulat, Budapest) beschrieb und stellte Frau Emőke László aus.⁴ Auch sie machte darauf aufmerksam, dass dieses der Nürnberger Ausgabe des Sibmacher-Modelbuches von 1604 bzw. dem Modelbuch von Fürst von 1666 folgt.

Frau Mária V. Ember erwähnt aus dem Ungarischen Nationalmuseum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest) ein auf 1651 datiertes Kelchtuch (Ziboriumtuch) aus Nordungarn, das in der Mitte in einem durch vier Blumen geteilten Blattkranz eine "agnus Dei"-Darstellung mit den seitlichen Buchstaben P. A. D. und darunter der Jahreszahl 16:51 trägt. Das mit hellroten, hellgrünen, rosa und kremfarbenen Seiden-, mit Gold- und Silberfäden bestickte Tuch war vermutlich ursprünglich ein Brauttuch und wurde nach der Trauung der Kirche geschenkt. Daraufhin stickte man die figürliche Darstellung, die Buchstaben und die Jahreszahl hinein (V. EMBER 1980: 51 und Fig. 51, 52).

Infolgedessen scheinen die Herkunftsprobleme des Bukowiner ungarisch-szeklerischen Kissenkantenmusters geklärt zu sein, wenn man auch noch kurz darüber sprechen könnte, wie aus der mehrfarbigen, feinen Herrenstickerei in

der Hand das Volkes das einfachere Kreuzstichmuster wird. Dazu kann ich bemerken, dass der verstorbene ungarische Literaturforscher Viktor Julow mich noch 1963 darauf aufmerksam machte, dass gerade dieses "Pferdemuster" einer möglichen Ansicht nach die Darstellung des Trojanischen Pferdes sein könne, am Maul des Pferdes sähe man die Leiter, die runden Muster seien Luftlöcher, Fenster, die auf dem Pferderücken stehende Figur (und vielleicht auch die stilisierten Motive zwischen seinen Beinen) stellen die nachts vorrückenden Griechen dar.

Doch belegen die ähnlichen Elemente der übrigen "agnus Dei"-Darstellungen eindeutig, dass davon keine Rede sein kann; die "Leiter" stammt aus einem die Muster trennenden Schmuck, das Löchermuster ist eine späte Kreuzstich-Nachahmung der Netzsticktechnik. Im übrigen kennen wir keinerlei ikonographische Quelle, von der die Bukowiner Stickerinnen direkt das Motiv des Trojanischen Pferdes hätten übernehmen können. In ungarischer und siebenbürgischer Überlieferung ist zwar die "Darstellung" Alexanders des Grossen bekannt, ebenso wie aus den rumänischen Xylogravuren (Holzschnitten) aus Füzesmikola (Nicula) und Heszát (Hășdate) im Kom. Szolnok-Doboka (Kom. Cluj, Rumänien) der bebilderten Version des Alexander-Romans doch lassen diese ikonographisch keinerlei Verbindung zu.

3. Das "Lamm Gottes"-Motiv verbreitete sich offensichtlich durch die christliche Kirche in Europa. Intensiv beschäftigten sich die Theologie und die Kunstgeschichte mit ihm, infolgedessen lassen sich die Ergebnisse in einer sehr gedrängten Form zusammenfassen. Schon beim Opfer von Kain und Abel (1. Mose 4, 4) opfert Abel dem Gott ein Schaf. Die Erzählung von Abrahams Opfer (1. Mose 22) hat schon früh eine symbolische Bedeutung bekommen, man verstand unter dem Schafbock (und Isaak) das Urbild des Opfertodes Jesu. (Übrigens ist der Entwicklungsweg der Motivdarstellung des "Abrahamsopfers" sowie in der europäischen Kunst als auch in der ungarischen Volkskunst fast völlig identisch mit dem des "agnus Dei"-Motivs.) Im Neuen Testament macht besonders der Evangelist Johannes von der Symbolik des Lammes Gebrauch. Bei ihm charakterisiert schon Johannes der Täufer Jesus bei der Taufe so: "Ecce Agnus Dei" (Joh. 1, 29, vgl. Mt. 1, 17 "Filius meus dilectus"). Das ist ein Rückverweis auf Jes. 53,7, wo es vom Knecht Gottes heisst: "Als er gemartert ward, litt er doch willig und tat seinen Mund nicht auf wie ein Lamm, das zur Schlachtbank geführt wird; und wie ein Schaf, das verstummt vor seinem Scherer". In den Kapiteln 5, 6, 7 und 14 der Offenbarung des Johannes kommt das Lamm (ἀρνίον 'Schaf, Lamm') sehr häufig vor und bietet der apokalyptischen Darstellung reiche

Möglichkeiten. (Übrigens findet sich im Evangelientext ein anderes griechisches Wort: *κλυβός*.) Die Verbindung von Lamm und Kirche fördert stark, dass sowohl im Alten als auch im Neuen Testament der "gute Hirte" eine verbreitete Allegorie Gottes ist (Joh. 10, 11 *πολιτὴν καλὸν*.)

Besonders in der byzantinischen Kirche ändert sich der Gebrauch des "agnus Dei" recht häufig. Es erscheint sehr früh, wird im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert in monumentalen und auch kleinen Kunstwerken häufig verwendet, und im Jahre 692 verbietet das Konzil (genauer die gemeinsamen Ergänzungsverfügungen des zweiten - 553 - und dritten 680 Konzils von Konstantinopel, das sog. *quinisextum*), dass Christus im Bild des Lammes dargestellt wird. Es tauchen Ersatzmotive auf, und im 12. Jahrhundert erscheint dann das Lamm in Byzanz wieder, vielleicht als Zeichen der Annäherung an die Westkirche. Am Ende des 7. Jahrhunderts entsteht der bekannte Hymnus des *Agnus Dei*, den der aus Syrien stammende Papst Sergius als beim "Brotbrechen" zu singenden Text verordnet. In der Westkirche war das Motiv des Lammes Gottes immer vertreten, selbstverständlich in von Zeit

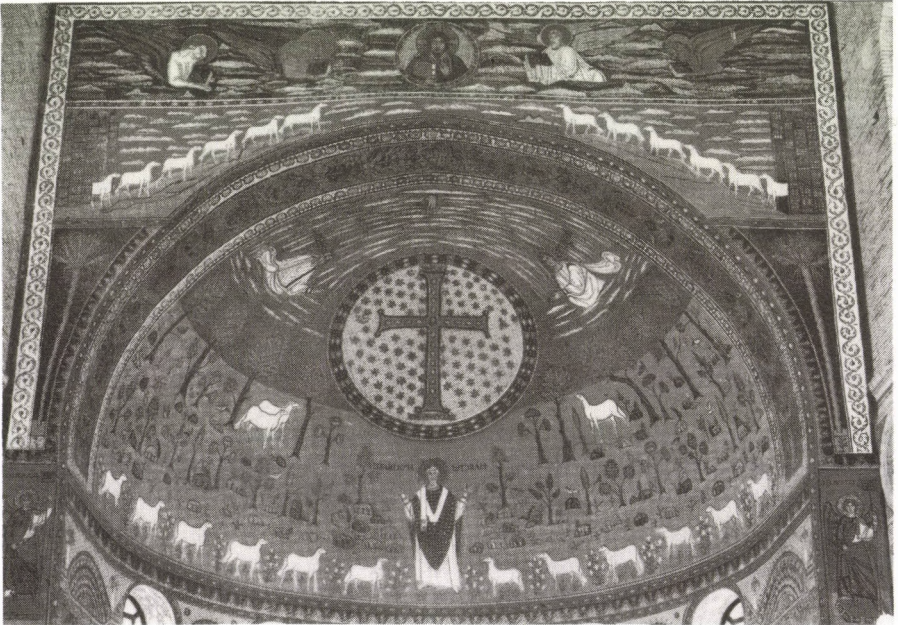


Abb. 3. Apsismosaik in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna (6. Jh.)

zu Zeit gewandelter oder uminterpretierter Form (zusammenfassend siehe ONASCH 1981: 236-237). Die bildende Kunst betonte besonders seine mystischen Züge, wie dies die Darstellung des Lammes mit Blutstrahl, Kelch und kreuzförmigen Halo im Mittelteil des Genter Flügelaltars von Hubert and Jan van Eyck um 1420 (-1432) gut zeigt (Abb. 2.; Hauptwerk über das Thema: ARMAND 1961).

Da es sich hierbei um ein Motiv handelt, das sich in allen Ecken Europas findet, von Steinmetzarbeiten grossen Ausmasses bis zum zarten Buchschmuck oder zur Textilie, lassen sich seine Vorkommen unmöglich alle berücksichtigen. Zusammenfassende Arbeiten, die dies versuchten, waren trotz ihrer imponierenden Materialfülle nie vollständig, stets tauchten neue ältere oder vollständigere Angaben auf. Deshalb wird hier auch nicht der gesamte Motivenkreis des "agnus Dei" untersucht, sondern nur einige Bemerkungen an das Motiv des fahnentragenden Lammes geknüpft. Dieses gehört im allgemeinen zum Symbolbereich von Ostern und Auferstehung, da auch der aus seinem Grab auferstehende Christus mit einer Fahne in der Hand dargestellt wird. Die Fahne selbst entspricht im allgemeinen der in der gegebenen Zeit üblichen Vexillendarstellung, die Fahnenstange ist häufig kreuzförmig oder endet in einem (griechischen oder lateinischen) Kreuz. Und da es eigentlich sich um eine Kirchenfahne handelt, ist die häufig gespaltene Flagge daran befestigt, die, wenn verziert, im allgemeinen das Kreuz (in der Art wie noch heute auf den Flaggen der skandinavischen Länder) trägt. Manchmal zieren die Fahne auch Bänder oder Quasten. Wenn die Fahne farbig ist, ist das Kreuz rot oder weiss.

Im Zusammenhang damit ist zu bemerken, dass die rotweisse Fahne mit einem Kreuz nichts anderes ist als das Pendant der ältesten europäischen Staatsflagge, d.i. der dänischen rot-weissen Fahne. Wie dies von der dänischen Kulturgeschichte vielfach und mit Vorliebe abgehandelt wurde, fiel diese Flagge am 15. Juni 1219 im Verlaufe des Kreuzzuges des dänischen Königs Waldemar gegen die heidnischen Esten in der Schlacht von Lindanæs selbst vom Himmel und führte die schon fast geschlagenen Dänen zum Siege. Der Name Dannebrog ist eigentlich friesischer (und damit dänischer) Herkunft und bedeutet 'rotes Signaltuch', verweist also auf jene frühere Praxis, dass die Kämpfer (und Seeleute) sich gegenseitig mit roten Tüchern Zeichen gaben. Die Fahne kennen schwedische Quellen seit dem 15. (aber die dänische nur seit dem 16.) Jahrhundert, selbst die Geschichte des Herabfallens vom Himmel berichtet eine Quelle zum ersten Mal 1529. Andererseits wissen wir, dass 1500 und 1529 Kämpfe um diese dänische Fahne stattfanden, und möglicherweise

stammte die vormalig in der Lübecker Marienkirche als Beutestück aufbewahrte zerrissene Fahne aus dem Krieg gegen die Dänen von 1427. Aus dieser reichhaltigen und widersprüchlichen Datensammlung lässt sich hier die Lehre ziehen, dass das rot-weiße Kreuzbanner höchstwahrscheinlich aus dem roten Tuch mit direkter Signalfunktion entstand, mit dem weißen Kreuz als Siegeszeichen des (ursprünglich gegen den heidnischen Osten geführten) Kreuzzuges (und damit des Christentums), das sich im 16. Jahrhundert (oder eventuel ein Jahrhundert früher) schon der einem "himmlischen" Gegenstand ziemenden und den Nationalflaggen vorausgehenden Verehrung erfreute.⁵

Als ein gewisses, wenn auch entferntes Urbild kann die berühmte Vision des Kaisers Konstantin des Grossen erwähnt werden, als 312, am Vorabend der Schlacht gegen Kaiser Maxentius, mit dem Ruf "In hoc signo vinces" das als Christus-Monogramm bekannte Symbol XP (die griechischen Buchstaben chi + rho) ein Zeichen fiel herab von Himmel und er dies anderentags in der siegreichen Schlacht an der Spitze des Feldherrnbanners (labarum) befestigte (nach Eusebius rät der im Traum dem Kaiser selbst erscheinende Christus ihm dies) - wiederum ein Beispiel dafür, wie ein Kreuzsymbol zur Fahne wird. Das Christus-Monogramm als Zeichen wird besonders später ein Symbol des Kreuzes, bzw. ein militärisches Siegesymbol, angefertigt an einem langen, lanzenähnlichen Stiel. Die Kombination der beiden griechischen Buchstaben in unterschiedlichen Formen bzw. die Kreuzform des chi identifiziert auf diese Weise ein Kreuzsymbol mit Christus, mit der Christenheit, dem Sieg, ja sogar mit der weltlichen (kaiserlichen) Macht (Siehe DINKLER 1967).

Im europäischen Mittelalter war das Kreuz (vorzüglich das rote grosse lateinische Kreuz) zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge ein allgemein bekanntes Kriegs- und Siegeszeichen. Vermutlich war es auch in Ungarn nicht unbekannt, wenn auch die ungarischen sowie die ausländischen Kreuzritter in der Darstellungen der sog. Wiener oder Ungarische Bilderchronik (*Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*), heute besser bekannt als die Chronik von M. Kálti (um 1370) ohne dieses, nur mit den auch anderswo von den Miniaturmalern mit Vorliebe verwendeten Zeichen und Fahnen wiedergegeben sind.

Interessanterweise - doch bezieht sich dies schon auf spätere Zeiten - findet sich die Kreuzesdarstellung auf der Kleidung oder als Kampfeszeichen weder in der sehr spärlichen glaubwürdigen Ikonographie über den Bauernaufstand in Ungarn (1514) geleitet von György Dózsa, noch in dem reichen ikonographischen Material der von Grafen Thököly und Fürst Ferenc Rákóczi angeführten "Kurutzen" - (d.h. 'Kreuzkrieger') Feldzüge. (Das Kreuz findet sich zwar unter den Symbolen der deutschen Bauernaufstände vom Beginn des

16. Jahrhunderts und als Symbol der ungarischen Staatlichkeit im auf die Kurutzen bezüglichen Bildmaterial, doch gelang es mir nicht, direkt zum vorliegenden Thema gehörende Angaben zu entdecken.)

4. Für die weiteren Ausführungen ist es zweckdienlich, eine Zusammenfassung unseres Wissens über die wichtigeren Stationen der kreuztragenden "agnus Dei"-Ikonographie vorzunehmen. Fast jedes Handbuch der kirchlichen Ikonographie und zahllose Fachstudien befassen sich mit diesem Problem, wobei ihre Angaben und Ergebnisse sich gewissermassen immer unterscheiden. Deshalb kann auch hier nur ein allgemeines Bild geboten werden.

Die Berufungen auf das Alte und Neue Testament werden vielfach in den illustrierten Bibelausgaben bildlich dargestellt. Wie bekannt, findet sich das Motiv vom Lamm Gottes auch in den Qumran-Schriften vom Toten Meer, allerdings ist mir von seiner bildlichen Darstellung in dieser Gemeinschaft nichts bekannt.

In der Patristik⁶ beschäftigen sich Clemens von Alexandrien, Origenes, Cyrillus von Alexandrien, Augustinus, Tertullian und andere aufgrund von Jes. 53, 7 mit diesem Motiv. Als Zeichen für Christi erste Ankunft wird es bei Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebius von Caesarea, Augustinus und anderen behandelt. Das Osterlamm als Christuszeichen betrachten Irenaeus, Origenes, Cyprian, Johannes Chrysostomus, Cyrillus von Alexandrien und andere. Das Osterlamm als Symbol der Eucharistie wird besonders von Johannes Chrysostomus (in mehreren Werken) und Eusebius betont. Es ist auch üblich, einzelne Eigenschaften und Attribute des Osterlammes mit Christi Eigenschaften gleichzusetzen. Als Grundlage dafür dienten die Gleichnisse vom verlorenen Schaf und vom guten Hirten. Selbst die Haut des Schafes konnte zum Christussymbol werden (ARMAND 1961: 124-140, 191-203 usw.). Da es auch zum Bestandteil der Liturgie wird, konnte es auch zu seiner verbalen oder visualen Fassung kommen.

In der frühchristlichen Kunst findet sich die Darstellung des Lammes sehr bald. Auf dem Sarkophag des 359 verstorbenen Junius Bassus (Rom, Vatikan) erscheint ein Lamm als handelnde Person in mehreren biblischen Szenen (Quellwunder des Moses, Moses empfängt die Gesetzestafeln, die drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen, die Taufe Jesu, die Brotvermehrung, die Auferweckung des Lazarus) - eine recht sonderbare Lösung, die aber eindeutig auf die Verbreitung und Beliebtheit der Allegorie des Lammes hindeutet. In der Kirche S. Apollinare in Classe von Ravenna (1. Hälfte 6. Jh.) sind die Apostel Petrus, Jakobus und Johannes in Lamm-Gestalt dargestellt (Abb. 3.),

neben ihnen noch 12 andere Lämmer, die nach späterer Erklärung die 12 Apostel oder die "ecclesia ravennatis" symbolisieren (ausführlicher dazu DINKLER 1964: 19 ff., 52 ff., 72 ff.). Auf anderen Darstellungen sind sechs Lämmer zu sehen, deren Bedeutung unsicher ist.

Zwischen dem 5. und 13. Jahrhundert ist die Wiedergabe der 12 Apostel durch 12 Lämmer sehr häufig. Doch erscheint auch das "agnus Dei" im engeren Sinne, z.B. am Eingang der (alten) St.-Petrus-Kirche in Rom aus der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts.⁷ Ein Symbol des wiederkehrenden Christus (der Parusie) ist das Lamm im Kuppelmosaik der Capella S. Giovanni im Lateran (5. Jh.) oder auf einem Buchdeckel im Domschatz zu Mailand aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts. Hier symbolisiert das Kreuz die Ankunft Christi. Die sich auf dem "Berg" des Paradieses versammelnden Lämmer zeigt ein Sarkophag des Galla-Placidia-Mausoleums in Ravenna aus dem 5. Jahrhundert, allerdings ohne Fahnen. (Ähnliche Darstellungen kennen wir auch von anderen Sarkophagen.)

Am bekanntesten unter den frühbyzantinischen Darstellungen ist eine grosse Lamm-Darstellung am Triumphbogenmosaik in der Marienkirche des berühmten Katharinen-Klosters auf dem Sinai (zwischen 548 und 565). Auf dem Kreuz (565-578) Kaiser Justinus II. in der Schatzkammer der St. Peterskirche in Rom befindet sich im Mittelpunkt das Lamm, selbst ein Stabkreuz tragend. Dieses Motiv verbreitete sich besonders in jenen Gebieten Italiens, die unter dem Einfluss der byzantinischen Kunst standen: in Ravenna beispielsweise auf dem Apsisfries in S. Michele in Affrisisco (545), im Gewölbe des Presbyteriums von S. Vitale, weiterhin in Torcello und Parenzo (dem heutigen Porec in Slowenien), in beiden Orten aus der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Gewiss hat diese Tradition auch die ähnliche Darstellung von S. Marco in Venedig (11. Jh.) beeinflusst. Aus der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts stammt in der gleichen Kirche das Lamm einer Ziboriumsäule.

Nach 692 wird die Darstellung im echten Einflussgebiet von Byzanz höchst selten, ist aber nicht ganz unbekannt. Die Fachliteratur nennt ein solches Fresko in Gülli Dare. In Rom dagegen existiert diese Tradition auch zur Zeit des Erstarkens der byzantinischen Einflüsse weiter, im 9. Jahrhundert findet sie sich in den Apsidenbildern der römischen Kirchen S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, S. Marco und anderen. Die in der Kapitularbibliothek von Vercelli befindliche Handschrift des Lexikons Etymologiae des Isidorus von Sevilla (1. Hälfte 9. Jh.) vertritt auch diese Überlieferung.

Das christliche Mittelalter in Europa schätzt die Darstellung des Gotteslammes in erster Linie aufgrund der Offenbarung des Johannes. Dabei

treten folgende Motive am häufigsten auf: das Lamm öffnet das Buch (Offb. 5, 1-14), das Lamm auf dem Berg Sion (Offb. 14, 1-5), die Hochzeit des Lammes (Offb. 19, 6-8), das Lamm als Licht des Himmlischen Jerusalem (Offb. 21, 23). Bei ihnen sind dem Lamm zumeist keine Attribute beigegeben (während bei den früheren Darstellungen byzantinischen und italienischen Charakters neben dem Lamm oder diesem beigegeben häufig das Kreuz zu sehen ist). Wir kennen mehrere Hunderte solcher Darstellungen an Reliquien und in der kirchlichen Ikonographie. Das Sakramentarium aus Echternach (um 870) und das Nicasius-Diptychon (9.-10. Jh.) sind die bekanntesten von ihnen. Besonders auf Illustrationen erscheint als Zeichen der Erlösung der eucharistische Kelch, der das aus dem Lamm strömende Blut auffängt, wie bei der Illustration der in der Bamberger Staatlichen Bibliothek befindlichen Alkuin-Bibel (ELBERN 1964: 109-117), in zwei Fuldaer Handschriften (der Illustration eines



Abb. 4. Kreuztragendes Osterlamm. Gewölbebogen-Schluss-Stein aus der Grosskirche III. von Cluny. Mitte des 12. Jh.s. (Musée Ochier, Seine-et-Loire)

Festlektionariums und eines Sakramentariums) und noch ungefähr 20 weiteren Darstellungen (HOSTER 1964). Diese ikonographische Überlieferung lebt auch später weiter, häufig mit anderen Motiven verknüpft.

Dieses kreuz- oder kreuzfahne-tragende "Sieges"-Lamm (häufig von den "vier beseelten Tieren" der Apokalypse umgeben) ist ein charakteristisches Symbol im Hochmittelalter. Es findet sich auf der Frontseite eines Kastenreliquiars im Palazzo Venezia in Rom (12. Jh., eigentlich ein Kunstwerk aus dem Rhein-Maas-Gebiet), an der Apsiswand der Kirche S. Passera in Rom (nach 1228), in Anagni (2. Viertel 13. Jh.), der Marienkirche von Berg im Drautal am Oberlauf der Drau (2. Drittel 13. Jh.), manchmal mit der Darstellung der vier Kardinaltugenden (wie auf dem Rückendeckel eines Buches aus dem 11. Jh.) oder der vier Paradiesflüsse (bereits an dem erwähnten Galla-Placida-Sarkophag zu finden),⁸ manchmal mit den vier Evangelisten, wie auf einem Reliefplatte aus Cluny (1150-1170). (Abb. 4.)

Als ikonographische (und ideologische) Varianten oder Aktualisierungen sind mehrere Formen bekannt. So z.B. die Verehrung genießende Gestalt des Lammes (wie am Kruzifix aus Elfenbein, einer Schenkung König Fernandos I. von 1063, im Museo Archeológico in Madrid, oder in der Krypta Saint-Aignan-sur-Cher vom Ende des 12. Jh.); das Lamm als Symbol der ersten Ankunft Christi (z.B. die Illustration des Lütticher Sakramentariums aus dem 11. Jh.); die Hochzeit der *ecclesia* mit dem Lamm (mehrere Illustrationen in Handschriften des 13. Jh., vorwiegend aus Westeuropa, vgl. SEIFERTH 1964); das Licht des Himmlischen Jerusalem; das Symbol der Wiederkehr Christi (gekennzeichnet durch Thron oder Triumphkreuz wie in den Domen von Osnabrück und Regensburg, in der Kathedrale S. Marco in Venedig); das Symbol für die Opferszene des Altarsakraments (Deckelplatte eines Tragealtars aus der 2. Hälfte des 11. Jh. in der Schatzkammer des Osnabrücker Doms, ein Fresko in Münstereifel um 1110, das Tympanonrelief von León (Colegiata de San Isidoro Anfang 12. Jh.), ein Fresko von 1123 (im Besitz des Museu de Arte Cataluna); oder als Illustration der Schöpfungsgeschichte (wie z.B. in S. Paolo von 1282-1290).

Die Neuzeit (15-20. Jh.) setzte die Tradition fort, indem man häufig, der Theologie und den Kunststilen folgend, die alten Darstellungen willkürlich änderte, andererseits wiederum bewusst auf die früheren ikonographischen Lösungen zurückgriff. Berühmte Künstler (wie Baciccio, P.P. Rubens, P. Troger, Matthäus Günther u.a.) verwenden sie-sie dabei selbstverständlich umdeutend. Besonders zwei ikonographische Eigenheiten werden von der Fachliteratur betont:⁹ das Lamm bezeichnet Gottes

Menschwerdung -- das beim Abendmahl verzehrte Lamm symbolisiert die Gottheit Christi. In den Darstellungen der Dreieinigkeit ist es das Bild des Sohnes. In der Emblematis¹⁰ erscheinen auch neue Elemente: das Lamm als Sinnbild der Schwachheit, Unschuld, "Zahmheit" und zugleich des Opfers. Eigentlich finden sich bis heute immer wieder neue Verwirklichungen dieser Darstellungen.

Von der kurzen Überblick ist es gut zu erkennen, dass sich die Forschung vielfach mit den frühesten Darstellungen beschäftigte, sie aber



Abb. 5. Christus mit rot-weißer Auferstehungs- bzw. Siegesfahne. Martin Schongauer (1445-1491): Altarbild in der Dominikanerkirche von Colmar. (Jesus und Maria-Magdalena). (Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar)

nicht ikonographisch, sondern mehr theologisch systematisierte und sich nicht um die Systematisierung der diesbezüglichen Darstellungen der späteren Massenkunst und Volkskunst oder deren Interpretation kümmerte.

5. Wollte man nun die gesamte historische Abfolge der ungarischen Angaben bieten, so würde das überaus reichhaltige Material eine gesonderte Studie oder sogar eine eigene Monographie erfordern. Es scheint, als sei das



Abb. 6. Jesuskind mit der Erdkugel und mit einer rot-weißen Siegesfahne. Neujahrswunsch, mit Inschriften "fil god jar", und "jesus". Einblattdruck, koloriert. Ursprünglich Oberrheinisch um 1430. Aus der Frühzeit des Holzschnitts sind eine ganze Zahl ähnlicher, vermutlich voneinander abhängiger Versionen dieses Motivs bekannt. (Dieses Blatt in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Sammlung "Estampes")

Auferstehungslamm mit der Fahne zur Reformationszeit auch in Ungarn sehr volkstümlich geworden, die Reihe der Beispiele reicht vom Stadtwappen bis zum Druckersignet, von der Buchillustration bis zur Stickerei.¹¹ Wir haben aber auch aus der vorangehenden Zeit, aus dem Mittelalter, Angaben über die Existenz dieses Motivs in Ungarn, z.B. auf Steinmetzarbeiten. Dies alles ist von den entsprechenden Erscheinungen der europäischen Kunst- und Bildungsgeschichte nicht zu trennen. Da auch dort die Verkörperungen des Motivs sehr vielschichtig sind (unterschiedlich in der Technik, im Material, der Funktion und Interpretation), liegt der Gedanke nahe, dass die ungarischen Beispiele sich im Rahmen ihrer jeweiligen Kunstgattung bewegen: das in Stadtwappen erscheinende Lamm weist auf die ähnlichen ausländischen Stadtwappen hin, die Steinmetzarbeit lässt sich auf ausländische Steinmetzarbeiten zurückführen. Dies lässt sich leicht mit dem Beispiel der

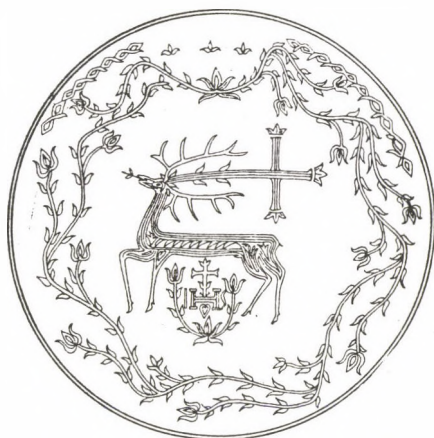


Abb. 7. Zinnschüssel mit dem Hubertushirsch. Von Meister Georg Rupprecht (1679-1731) aus Augsburg. Das älteste Stück der raren Zinnwaren mit volkstümlicher Zier. Der Hubertushirsch trägt eine Heilwurzer im Äser. Überraschend ist das mächtige Kreuz. Unter dem Bauch des Hirsches ein IHS-Monogramm.

(Nach: ROSENLECHER, Otto 1979. Ornamentfibel. Volkskunt. München. S. 114-115.)

Bukowiner Textilie belegen: der Vorgänger des Motivs in der ungarischen Volkskunst findet sich gerade in Musterbüchern und frühen, nicht zur Volkskunst gehörigen Stickereien. An dem ungarischen Beispiel sieht man auch, dass es sich ursprünglich nicht um eine allzu einfache, sondern eine in Material, Technik und Komposition anspruchsvolle Schöpfung handelte. Die detaillierte Darstellung ermöglichte ausserdem, dass auch die Interpretation in die Einzelheiten gehen konnte: Die Fahne, der Kelch, der glorienartige Heiligenschein liessen sich in der religiösen Symbolik auch gesondert deuten.

Schliesslich ist zu erwähnen, dass nach unseren bisherigen Kenntnissen die im übrigen höchst seltene byzantinische und bei den Juden auf Pessach-Schüsseln vorkommende Lamm-Darstellung keine Wirkung auf die ungarische Volkskunst oder ihre direkten Vorgänger hatte. Auf ein besonderes historisches Material hinsichtlich der gewohnheitsmässigen Züge ist man bisher nicht gestossen. Das ungarische Volkskunstmotiv ist so aus der europäischen Textilgeschichte zu verstehen.¹²

6. Die ungarischen Ethnologen sind sich dessen sehr wohl bewusst, dass Tibor Bodrogis Arbeiten im Bereich der Primitivkünste nicht nur hinsichtlich des Tatsachenmaterials, sondern auch seiner Gesichtspunkte noch sehr lange ihre grundlegende Wichtigkeit behalten werden. Das von ihm herausgegebene zweibändige Handbuch (BODROGI 1981)¹³ preist nicht nur in den von ihm selbst geschriebenen Kapiteln, sondern auch in der Lösung, wie seine Mitarbeiter ihre Gesichtspunkte herausgestalteteten, wie sie kontrolliert und übernommen wurden, seine Fähigkeit des Überblicks. Bei den Regionalmonographien schliesst sein Afrikaband (1967) ein Lücke, und da sein intensivstes Interesse das Gebiet Ozeaniens berührte, sind es gerade seine Arbeiten (1960; 1961) über dieses Gebiet (und die Kunst von Neu-Guinea), in denen die Materialkenntnis am tiefsten und die Kenntnis und Anwendung der theoretischen und praktischen Ergebnisse der Kunstethnologie am vollständigsten sind. Jedoch am interessantesten ist wohl - sowie aus der beschreibenden als auch aus systematisierenden Gesichtspunkt - sein Überblick über die indonesische Kunst (BODROGI 1971). Vorangegangen war ihm nämlich seine längste Feldarbeit, ermöglicht durch das Forschungsstipendium East-West Major Project der UNESCO im Jahre 1964. Die Herausgabe der Monographie zog sich infolge der politischen Veränderungen in Indonesien lange hin, so dass Bodrogi so seine vor und nach der Feldarbeit gesammelten Angaben, die er vorwiegend in Europa von diesbezüglichen Museumsobjekten gewann, verwenden konnte. So ist dieser Band auch aus dieser Sicht ein reifes Werk,

dessen einzelne Teile auch heute noch mit Nutzen neu zu überdenken und Spezialanalysen zu unterziehen sind.

Wie es ist im allgemeinen bekannt, Tibor Bodrogi selbst beschäftigte sich wiederholt mit theoretischen Fragen der Untersuchung der primitiven Kunst. Seine Bücher und Aufsätze enthalten auch Kapitel bzw. Bemerkungen solchen Inhalts. Am unvergesslichsten unter den Studien speziell dieses Charakters ist jene über Lage und Probleme der Kunstethnologie (BODROGI 1968). Dies ist eine ungefähre Darstellung und Wertung der bis zur Mitte der sechziger Jahre verfolgten internationalen Forschung. Die Jahrzehnte später erschienene ebenfalls übersichtartige Schrift "Stammeskunst - Umriss eines Forschungsgebietes" (BODROGI 1978) bedeutet im Grunde schon die Entstehung des zweibändigen Handbuchs (1981). Hier taucht zum ersten Mal Bodrogis in späteren Jahren grundlegend werdende kunstethnologische Kategorie, die "Stammeskunst" auf, ein an sich gar nicht selbstverständlicher und noch weniger unumstrittener Begriff. Offensichtlich wollten er und der Verlag den als falsch betrachteten Begriff "Primitivkunst" austauschen, jedoch diese Lösung ist offensichtlich in diesem Bereich kein Ausweg, und andererseits - und in diesem Zusammenhang viel wichtiger - wollte Bodrogi hier den früher von ihm selbst akzeptierten Begriff "Ethnokunst" überwinden.¹⁴ Mit diesem Bestreben steht er nicht allein. Um nur eine Arbeit mit ähnlichem Anspruch zu nennen: Brigitta Benzing (1978), die auch die ungarische Fachliteratur und namentlich Georg Lukács zitiert, denkt ähnlich über die Beseitigung des Begriffes "Ethnokunst". Aus meiner Sicht haben diese Studien trotz all ihrer Klugheit die wirkliche Lösung des Problems nicht gebracht. Mir scheint, mit traditionellen Methoden (historischen und vergleichenden Untersuchungen) und mit einer ethnologierten Verwendung der schon vorliegenden ästhetisch-folkloristischen Erkenntnisse lassen sich mehr Ergebnisse erreichen - auch bei der Untersuchung moderner Erscheinungen -, als dies die internationalen und ungarischen Forscher bisher versuchten. Selbstverständlich stösst man auf diesem Gebiet auch auf Überraschungen. Ein Beispiel dafür möchte ich nun vorführen.

Da der Museumdirektor Tibor Bodrogi noch vor meinem Studienabschluss (1963) den Wunsch äusserte, ich möge mich mit indonesischer Mythologie und Folkloristik beschäftigen, pflege ich nun schon seit einem Vierteljahrhundert die diesbezüglichen Publikationen (manchmal auch Gegenstände) durchzusehen. Dabei wurde ich auf die sog. "Seelenschiffstücher" aufmerksam, auf denen in ihrer Mitte manchmal ein grosses Tier zu sehen ist, auf und unter ihm kleine menschliche Gestalten,

auf mehreren Varianten sind auch "Rüssel" und "Schwanz" gut erkennbar, und manchmal lassen sich über dem Tier Aufbauten beobachten, die motivisch schwer zu begründen sind. Bodrogi (1971) bringt solche Bilder und sogar auch Erklärungen dazu. Dass ihn das Thema auch darüber hinaus beschäftigte, zeigt die Tatsache, dass er zwei solche Seelenschiff-Webstoffe (Leinwände) aus dem Ethnographischen Museum Budapest beschreibt (BODROGI et alii /II: 194-195, 248 und Abb. XVI, 182, 183).

7. Über die indonesische traditionelle Kunst entstanden zahlreiche vorzügliche, auch theoretisch beachtliche Facharbeiten. Alois Raimund Hein (1890) betrachtet sein Material nach Kunstarten und Ornamenten gegliedert und will damit die künstlerischen Fähigkeiten der Naturvölker beweisen. Werner Münsterbergers (1939) selten zu sehende (Basler) Doktordissertation hat die Kulturen der Inseln um Sumatra, sowie Borneo und Sumatra selbst zum Gegenstand. Schon direkt unserem Thema nähert sich die Utrechter Dissertation von Johannes Hendrik Jager Gerlings (1962) über die "sprechenden" Textilien. Die Ornamentik der korbflechtenden Dayak arbeitete Arne Martin Klausen (1957) auf.

Auch über die weltberühmten indonesischen Textilien selbst sind viele detaillierte, genaue, häufig geistvolle Überblicke entstanden.¹⁵ Im allgemeinen folgt man heute der Einteilung und Terminologie von Laurens Langewis und Frits A. Wagner (1964). Einen herausragenden Platz dabei nehmen die in erster Linie von Kroe in Südsumatra bekannten "Schiffstucher" ein. Die Autoren legten zumeist die Sammlung des Königlichen Tropeninstituts in Amsterdam zugrunde, und ihrer Feststellung nach sind diese Baumwollgewebe mit flottierender Einschlagtechnik ("supplementary weft"-Technik), was ihre Motive betrifft, die schönsten und reichsten in Indonesien. Ihr Hauptmotiv besteht in einem oder mehreren Schiffen (Seelen- oder Totenschiffe) mit folgenden Sekundärmotiven: Elefanten, Nashörner, Wasserbüffel, Pferde, Vögel, Wände, Blumen, Lebensbäume, Häuser, unbelebte Gegenstände und besonders Menschen (Abb. 8. und 9.). Jedes einzelne Tuch variiert diese Motive in individueller Weise, so dass sich in der gesamten indonesischen Kunst keine ähnlichen schönen Tücher finden; allenfalls finden sich auf dem Rand der viel einfacheren Tücher aus dem Lampong-Gebiet in Südsumatra auch einige der erwähnten Motive (LANGEWIS und WAGNER 1964: 33).

Die Frage von malaischen und indischen Beziehungen der indonesischen Textilien stellte sich zwar, detaillierte Belege dafür haben sich jedoch noch nicht ergeben. Schon Alfred Steinmann (1938/39) hat sich mit diesen Tüchern beschäftigt und in späteren kleinen selbständigen Werken (1945;

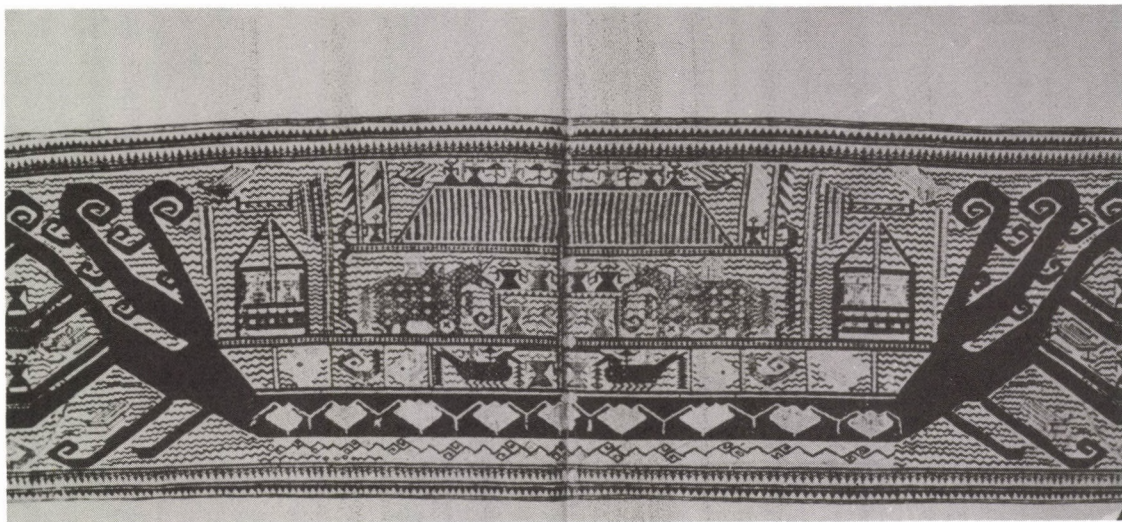


Abb. 8. Seelenschiffstuch aus Südsumatra. Lampong. (Nach BODROGI 1971. Abb. 22.) Originalgrösse 285 X 58 cm. (Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden. Inv.-Nr. 2324/3.)

1950) die Probleme der Verbreitung dieser Seelenschiff-Gewebemotive behandelt. Den Durchbruch bei der Deutung erreichte die Studie von B. A. G. Vroklage (1936). Sich auf drei weitere Studien Steinmanns (1939/40; 1965a; 1965b) stützend bringt Steinar A. Sorensen die Schiffe mit Bestattungsbräuchen in Zusammenhang und hält sie, besonders wegen der Lebensbaum- und Tier- (z.B. Nashorn Darstellungen) in ganz Westindonesien für Vertreter der präislamischen Zeit. Aufgrund anderer Argumente teilt auch Bodrogi diese Ansicht, der das von ihm vorgestellte und hochgeschätzte Schiffstuch folgendermassen charakterisiert: "Die tapis -Stoffe, denen man von Kroë bis nach Zentrallampong begegnet, sind weiter verbreitet als die tampan. Die Darstellungen auf beiden Stoffarten weisen eine ungewöhnliche Vielfalt von Formen auf. Das Hauptmotiv aber bleibt das Seelenschiff, das einfach oder verbunden mit wenigen oder vielen menschlichen Figuren sowie Gestalten von Land- und Wassertieren realistisch oder stilisiert ausgeführt wird. Dieses Schiff hat ein stark aufsteigendes Heck, einen ebensolchen Bug und einen baumähnlichen Mast mit zumeist drei nach innen gekrümmten Zweigen. Die ergänzende Ornamentik setzt sich aus Ranken und Spiralmotiven zusammen. Die Benetzung dieser Stoffe bei Zeremonien, ihre Bindung an Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten sowie ihre Ähnlichkeit mit den Schiffen an den bronzenen Kesseltrommeln der Dong-son-Kultur und mit Darstellungen des Seelenschiffes bei den Ngadju-Dajak lässt keinen Zweifel darüber, dass es sich bei den Geweben und Stickereien von Lampong um seit alters her überlieferte Darstellungen des Seelenschiffes handelt" (BODROGI 1971: 33).

Diese Feststellung folgt praktisch der Überlegung Frits A. Wagners, der in seiner Übersicht die Dong-son-Kultur¹⁶ nach dem Megalithikum, aber vor der Beschreibung der echten indonesischen dekorativen Künste behandelt und mit den Seelenschiff-Darstellungen von Kroe verknüpft (WAGNER 1959/1980: 17). Aufgrund von Victor Goloubews berühmten Studie (1929), wo auf dem oberen Rand einer bronzenen Kesseltrommel (Abb. 11.) die Zeichnung eines flach gebogenen Schiffes zu sehen ist, mit Menschen darin, Zeremonialgegenständen, einem Tier (vielleicht Schwein) und rudern den Männern, hält Wagner dies alles für den indonesischen Seelenschiff-Motiven sehr nahestehend. Nach Wagner könnte die nach ihrem Hauptfundort, dem Dorf Dong-son, benannte Bronzekultur¹⁷ von Nord-Annam ca. um 500 v. u. Z. ins heutige Indonesien gelangt sein.

Ohne hier die sonst sehr komplizierte frühe Archäologie Indonesiens abzuhandeln, soll hier die nüchterne Ansicht von Bernard Philippe Groslier (1960/1980: 31-36) zitiert werden: Die Bronzekultur der Ackerbaubevölkerung

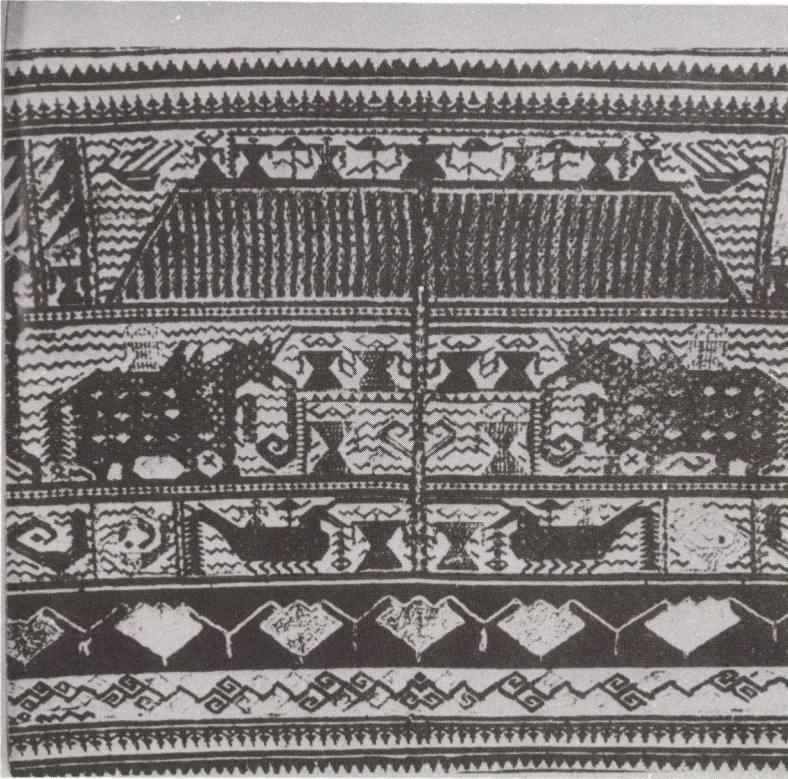


Abb. 9. Mittelszene des Tuches.
 (Nach BODROGI 1971: Abb. 24.) Zwei Tiere mit Rüssel,
 Lochstickmuster, vier Figuren. Darunter auch zwei sechsbeinige
 Tiere mit Figuren auf dem Rücken.



Abb. 10. Kesseltrommel aus Bronz. Bezirk Gui, Dorf Luo Pe Wan. Landesmuseum Nanning.

(mit Schiffahrtskenntnissen) der vom 5. Jahrhundert v. u. Z. bis ca. 111 v. u. Z. blühenden Dong-son-Kultur¹⁸ enthalte entgegen früheren Annahmen keine westlichen oder sogar "pontischen" Elemente, die von Mittelasien herübergekommen und mit den um 8. Jahrhundert v. u. Z. in China unter dem Namen Yüeh-chi bekannten Barbaren in Verbindung zu bringen wären. Praktisch könne hier nur von chinesischem Einfluss die Rede sein, hätten doch gerade die han-Truppen 111 v. u. Z. Tonking besetzt. Im übrigen liessen auch die späten und südlichen Beziehungen der Dong-son-Kultur noch viele andere, einander widersprüchliche Folgerungen zu.¹⁹

Soweit wir dies beurteilen können, mögen sich auch innerhalb der Zeit der Dong-son-Kultur die Bestattungszeremonien geändert haben; wahrscheinlich diente das Schiff auf den Bronzetroddeln dazu, die Seele des Verstorbenen (nach Osten, an einen entfernten Punkt des Ozeans?) zu bringen. Im Laufe der Bestattung versah man den Toten zuvor mit seinen irdischen Gütern und gab ihm dann verkleinerte (Ton-) Modelle bei. Solche Trommeln verwendeten die muong von Tonkig praktisch noch zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bei ihren Bestattungszeremonien (GROSLIER 1960/1980: 38). (Vgl. Abb. 12.)

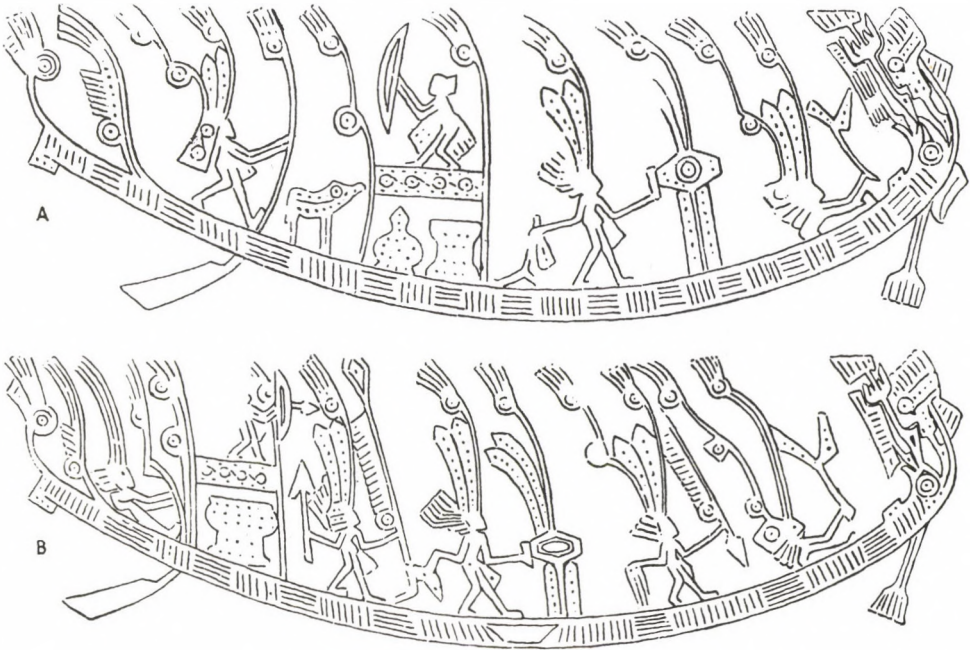


Abb. 11. Zwei Schiffe auf dem Ngoc-Lu Kesseltrommel. Krieger mit Trommel und Kultgegenstände.

(Nach GOLOUBEV 1929: Taf. XXVII.) (Musée de Hanoi, ehem. Inv. Nr. D. 6214.21.)

Die neueren indonesischen Textilforschungen brachten nicht sehr viele neue Gesichtspunkte. Die unveröffentlichte Doktordissertation von Mattiebelle Gittinger (1958) untersuchte - wie sich ihren späteren Studien und ihrem Buch entnehmen lässt - in erster Linie geographische und ritengeschichtliche Gesichtspunkte, eine neue Theorie über die Seelenschiffe (GITTINGER 1979: 91-93) stellte sie nicht auf. 1979 hielt das Textile Museum in Washington ein grossangelegtes Symposium über die indonesischen Textilien ab (GITTINGER 1980). Dabei gab Hiram W. Woodward einen von einer sehr reichen Bibliographie begleiteten Überblick mit Hinweisen auf viele weitere asiatische (sogar europäische) Zusammenhänge, doch hinsichtlich der Seelenschiff-Motive hob er nur die schon bekannten

vergleichenden Bezüge hervor. Bei der gleichen Konferenz beschäftigte sich Peggy S. Gilfoy (1980) mit den eventuellen Beziehungen der indonesischen und afrikanischen Textilien, konnte aber nicht mit neuen Ergebnissen in bezug auf das vorliegende Seelenschiffstuchthema aufwarten.



Abb. 12. Trommel bei einem Dorffestival der Yao. Dorf Pei-Ku, Bezirk Nan-Dan, Guangxi. Aufnahme im Besitz des Landesmuseums Nanning.

Wie stabil die schon für sicher gehaltenen Feststellungen wirken, belegen viele neue Veröffentlichungen (z.B. WARMING und GAWORSKI 1981, bes. 134-135). Dort werden auch schon andere indonesische Textilmotive vom Dong-son-Stil abgeleitet, und die Seelenschiff-Motive gelten als die charakteristischsten Erzeugnisse der für die archaischsten gehaltenen indonesischen Völker (wie die Sadang-Toradja von Südcelebes, die mannggarai von Westflores und natürlich die Kultur der Baumwollgewebe mit flottantem Einschlag der lampung von Südsumatra). Man erfährt, dass die Herstellung der "grossen Schiffstucher" schon seit einem halben Jahrhundert in ganz Indonesien schon eingestellt ist, dass die Mehrheit der mehreren tausend bekannten Stücke in europäischen (und amerikanischen) Museen liegt und dass sie ursprünglich für die gesellschaftliche Ortselite verfertigt wurden. Übrigens vermuten zahlreiche Arbeiten auch, dass das Bastflechten (und-weben) älter ist als die Verwendung der Baumwolle, die z.B. in Mittelborneo ihren Triumphzug erst zu Beginn unseres Jahrhunderts antrat.

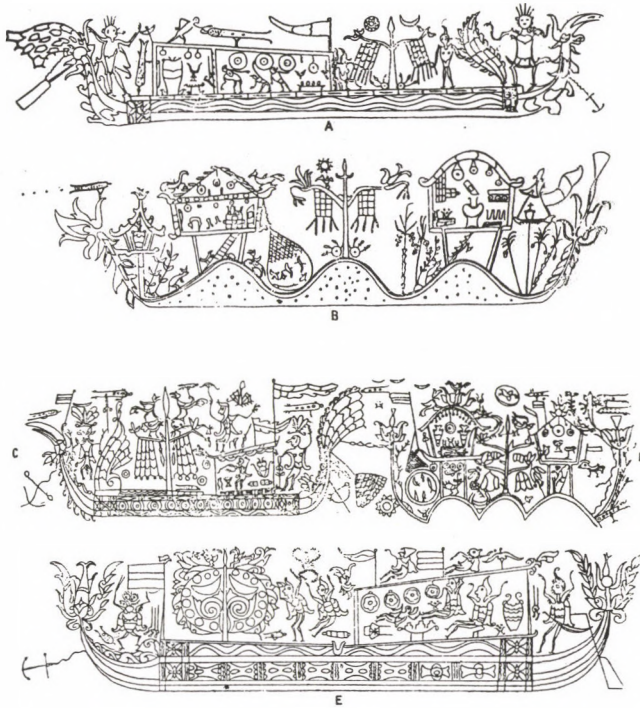


Abb. 13. Zeichnungen der Dayak, Totenschiffe mit Mast, Kajüte und Kultgegenständen (A, C, E) und Paradiesdarstellungen (B, D).
(Nach GOLOUBEV 1929: Taf. XXVIII.)

Die Frage des Ursprungs des indonesischen Seelenschiff-Motivs verknüpfte Robert Heine-Geldern in seiner als klassisch bewerteten Migrations-Studie (1937) mit der für das ganze Indochina vermuteten indoeuropäischen Einwanderung. Die darauffolgende Fachkritik lehnte zwar eine solche für die Dong-son-Kultur vorgeschlagene Herleitung ab (von diesen Ansichten hielt sogar Heine-Geldern selbst Bernhard Karlgrens (1942) Gegenargumente für erwähnenswert), bei der Überarbeitung seiner Studie in der Mitte der sechziger Jahre (HEINE-GELDERN 1966) blieb er jedoch bei seinen Ansichten (eine etwas kritische Einführung dazu bringt DOUGLAS 1966: 161-164). Auch er erwähnt die Zeichnung auf der Bronzetrommel von Tonking

und verknüpft sie mit dem von Südostborneo bekannten olo ngadju Gemälde auf Holz, das den Gott Tempong Telong darstellt, wie er auf einem Schiff die Seelen der Toten ins Totenreich bringt. Die Form des Schiffes, die hinten befindliche Kabine mit einem Bogenschützen (auf Borneo schon eine Kanone) auf ihrem Dach, in der Kabine grosse Speichergefässe und eine Trommel bzw. Bronzegongs - all das nennt Heine-Geldern schöne Beispiele des Weiterlebens und der Modernisierung und leitet es alles von den annamischen Bronzetrommelzeichnungen aus dem 1. Jahrtausend v. u. Z. her.

Dass die Diffusion sich in ganz unterschiedlichen Richtungen vorstellen lässt, zeigen Viktor Goloubews zitierter Artikel (GOLOUBEW 1929) und seine spätere Spezialstudie (GOLOUBEW 1932), in denen er nicht nur Zusammenhänge zwischen den Darstellungen der europäischen Hallstatt-Kultur und der Dong-son-Kultur zu finden glaubt, sondern auch daran denkt, die überreiche indonesische Parallelen verfügende Dong-son-Kultur selbst indonesischer (also nicht indochinesischer oder eben chinesischer) Herkunft sein. Diese Vermutung lehnten Heine-Geldern und andere jedoch bis heute ab.

Die ausgezeichnete Forscherin der skandinavischen Mythologie und Archäologie H. R. Ellis Davidson vergleicht in ihrem 1971 gehaltenen Konferenzbeitrag (DAVIDSON 1975) die polynesischen und indonesischen Schiffsbestattungsbräuche mit denen in Skandinavien und bei den sonstigen



Abb. 14. Altägyptisches Totenschiff. Holzmodell. Etwa 2000-1900 v. u. Z.
Der Tote unter einem kajütähnlichen Deckel.

(Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes.)

Wikingen. Sie kommt zu dem Schluss, dass wenn auch anderswo Hinweise zu Schiffsdarstellungen an Beerdigungsgegenständen oder in den damit verbundenen Bräuchen vorkommen, so entwickelte sich der Brauch der eigentlichen Schiffsbeerdigung doch nur bei den Wikingern und in Indonesien, worüber auch die primären Darstellungen uns lehren. In Europa entdeckt sie in bronzzeitlichen Felsenzeichnungen die älteste Darstellung dieses Gebrauchs. Natürlich verweist sie auf die altägyptischen Seelenschiff-Darstellungen (Abb. 14.), doch hält sie das Problem für komplizierter, als dass sie sie mit den skandinavischen und fernöstlichen Varianten verknüpfen möchte.

Andererseits macht sie darauf aufmerksam, es sei ein recht natürlicher Einfall, am Nil von altägyptischen Seelenschiff-Bestattungen zu sprechen, und obwohl die sich schwer in das Weltbild der Pharaonenzeit der Pyramiden einfügenden altägyptischen Darstellungen gäben zumindest eine Ahnung davon, dass man innerhalb der Elemente des sehr frühen ägyptischen Seelenglaubens eine mehrfache Stufenentwicklung und ständige Uminterpretierung annehmen muss. Tibor Bodrogi dagegen kennt in seinem Überblick (BODROGI 1980: 48-49) Belege für die Meeresbestattung nur aus Ozeanien, und erwähnt die altägyptischen bzw. germanischen Angaben gar nicht.

8. Für eine sehr sehr nützliche weitere vergleichende Erforschung des indonesischen Seelenschiffmotivs möchte ich nun auf folgende Gesichtspunkte aufmerksam machen:

1. Bei der Schiffsbestattung²⁰ selbst und der heutigen Verbreitung des Schiffskultus in Ozeanien kann man die bisherigen Forschungen über den Ursprung des entsprechenden indonesischen Brauches berücksichtigen.

2. Es wäre zweckmässig, den Brauch der Schiffsbestattung sowie die rituelle Texte Ozeaniens über Schiffe und Tote auch selbständig zu untersuchen.²¹

3. Auch wenn zur Zeit nur wenige Darstellungen der Dong-son-Kultur (am Bronzetrommelfund von Ngoc-lu usw.) das Seelenschiff zeigt, scheint es aufgrund sonstiger Angaben begründet zu sein, indonesische Wechselbeziehungen der Dong-son-Kultur vorauszusetzen; so kann man auch bei jener vergleichenden Untersuchung der Seelenschiff-Vorstellung diese fast zweieinhalbtausendjährige Angabe nicht übergehen.

4. Über die Unterschiede in Material und Technik, über die kulturellen und geschichtlichen Abweichungen hinaus gibt es zwischen dem nordannamischen Bronzekessel, dem Holzgemälde von Borneo und den Baumwollgeweben von Südsumatra immer noch soviel Übereinstimmungen, um die Umsetzungen auch

sinnvoll gemeinsam zu untersuchen.

Über den Ausgangspunkt der vorliegenden Skizze, die auf den indonesischen Schiffstüchern sichtbare, und in der Darstellung in der Kreuzstichteknik des Bukowiner Székler "Gotteslammes" sehr ähnliche Zeichnung der Tiere, lässt sich hier folgendes feststellen:

a) Einzelne Tiere kommen auf den "grossen" indonesischen Schiffstüchern nicht vor; bei einem einzigen Tier auf einem indonesischen Tuch handelt es sich vermutlich um die Nachahmung eines Details einer mehr grösseren Komposition.

b) Die indonesischen Menschengestalten im Zusammenhang mit den Elefanten und Pferdedarstellungen stellen teils die Treiber bzw. Führer dieser Tiere vor, teils gehören sie zur Gruppe der normalerweise in den Schiffen in allgemeinem befindlichen vielen Personen.

c) Eine spezielle Untersuchung verdiente jene "Loch"-Stickmustertechnik der Darstellung, die sowohl in Indonesien als auch in den ungarischen Textilien existiert, um so mehr, als man auch mittelöstliche Beispiele (und sogar mindestens ein peruanisches) Stück dafür kennt.

d) Sowohl auf den ungarischen als auch den indonesischen Darstellungen findet sich ein langes Tier mit Rüssel: in der ungarischen Überlieferung ist es einfach undeutbar, in Indonesien ist es dagegen natürlich der Elefant. Das Erscheinen dieser Darstellung wurde mit der Erscheinen und Verbreitung des Elefanten möglich.²² Dass hier aber noch weitere ethnologische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen angebracht sind, lässt sich leicht belegen.

In der Islam-Abteilung des Louvre befindet sich unter Inv. - Nr. 7502 ein iranischer farbiger Seidenbrokat aus Khorassan bevor 961, auf dem zwei einander gegenüberstehende Elefanten zu sehen sind (L'Orient... 1981: 6). Von dort aus konnte ein solches Textilmotiv schnell sowie nach Westen als auch nach Osten gelangen, um so leichter, als man dabei nicht mal mehr Material und Technik ändern musste. (Abb. 15.)

e) Auf eine weitere Möglichkeit ist noch aufmerksam zu machen: Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass seit dem Zeitalter der Entdeckungen (15-16. Jh.) die Darstellung exotischer Tiere in Europa zur Mode wurde. Nur ein Beispiel zur Illustration: Auf einem flämischen Wandteppich aus Tournai (Abb. 16.), den der portugiesische König Manuel I. in Auftrag gab, ist die Landung der europäischen Entdecker in Calicut (Indien) zu sehen. In der Mitte des Gewebes befindet sich zwischen typisch portugiesischen Schiffen das Flaggschiff Vasco da Gamas, von dem eben ein Pferd mittels einer

einfallreichen Aufzugswinde an Land gebracht wird, während zwei Kamele beim Mast warten. Am Ufer liegt ein mit einer Rückenleine gebundener affen- oder marderartiger Vierbeiner, und in einem ziegelförmigen Käfig sind Papageien zu erkennen. Das Schiff ist von einer wahren exotischen Menagerie umgeben. Der Wandteppich ist offensichtlich nach irgendeiner Skizze oder einem Vorbild angefertigt und kann mit Sicherheit ins. 16. Jahrhundert datiert werden.



Abb. 15. Seidenstoff-bruchstück aus Khorassan, Ostiran, vor 961.

Grösse: 94 cm x 52 cm, bzw. 62 cm x 24,5 cm.

(Paris, Louvre, Section islamique No. 7502.)

Zwei (Kriegs-?) Elefanten, bzw. kleine Kamele.

Das Textilbruchstück wurde in der Abtei St. Josse (Pas-de-Calais) in 1920 gefunden, als Reliquiartuch für die Reste von Hl. Josse.



Abb. 16. Flämisches Wandteppich aus Tournai für König Manuel I. von Portugalien. 16. Jh.

(Im Besitz von Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Lissabon)

Es gibt also Möglichkeiten, die Tiere der indonesischen Schiffstücher auf verschiedene vergleichende Weise zu untersuchen. Sicher ist, dass man ohne vergleichende Forschungen bei ihrer Deutung nicht weiter kommt. Vielleicht ist es in diesem Zusammenhang interessant, dass im Herbst 1912 in der Kirche von Skog in Schweden ein langer Wandteppich gefunden wurde, den Erik Salvén (1923) auf die Zeit zwischen Mitte des 11. und Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts datiert (Abb. 17.) Seiner Ansicht nach schildert das Gewebe den Kampf zwischen Heidentum und Christentum: In der Mitte sind die bekannten

(norwegischen) Holzkirchen und um sie herum Menschen (Reiter) und Pferde, ein Glockenturm usw. zu sehen. Das ganze Muster ähnelt verblüffend dem der indonesischen Schiffstücher, auch wenn es offensichtlich nichts mit ihnen zu tun hat. Da es sich hierbei um den bisher bekannten ältesten skandinavischen Wandwebschmuck handelt, ist seine Wichtigkeit noch offensichtlicher.



Abb. 17. Mitte des Wandteppichs aus Skog (Hälsingland, Schweden). Oben und rechts mittelalterliche Holzkirchenkonstruktion mit Glocken.
(Nach SALVÉN 1923: Taf.1a.)

9. Da hier nicht beabsichtigt war, irgendeine Herkunftsfrage endlich zu lösen und noch weniger irgendeine phantastische Hypothese über Zusammenhang von indonesischer und ungarischer Textilien vorzutragen, die eventuell die Székler in genetische Beziehung mit der frühen Kultur von Nordannam brächte, sondern vielmehr die aufzuwerfenden Probleme nüchtern und umsichtig beschrieben werden sollten -- was auch Tibor Bodrogis Arbeiten besser

entspräche -- soll nun auch hinsichtlich der jahrhundertealten Frage nach "Diffusion oder Elementargedanke" keine allgemeine Stellung genommen werden. Eine die gestaltenreichen Textilien verknüpfende Übersicht macht es dennoch möglich, einige weitere, wenn man so will, in Zeit und Raum allgemeinere Überlegungen anzustellen.

Zuerst einmal sind elementare künstlerische Bestandteile (Technik, Material, direkte Funktion, einfache Motive usw.) aussereodentlich schwer durch Kulturen und Perioden hindurch zu analysieren. Das Schiff, das Tier, das Motiv der kleinen menschlichen Begleitfiguren, die runden ("Löcher") Muster, der sich dreifach verzweigende Baum oder Strauch - sie alle machen für sich selbst im Falle ihrer Kongruenz eine gemeinsame Untersuchung der voneinander entfernten Vorkommen nicht notwendig. Anders verhält es sich mit den grösseren und ausgeprägten Kompositionen, den Szenen mit vielen Gestalten in hochrangiger Technik und mit teuren Stoffen.



Abb. 18. Teil einer sassanidischen Textil. 300-600 u.Z.
 Geflügelte Pferd mit siegesfahnenähnlichem Motiv.
 (Lyon, Musée des Tissus.)
 (Nach GEIJER 1979: Abb 14a. am Ende des Buches.)



Abb. 19. Majolikaschüssel aus Firenze, 15. Jh.
 Löwe mit Siegesfahne der Sippe Bourbon.
 (Paris, Musée du Louvre. Département des Objets d'Art)

Jene wundervollen Textilien, die auf Sumatra ebenso die vornehmsten waren wie im Sassanidenreich, in den skandinavischen Kirchen oder auch in einer der in der ungarischen Stickerei ältesten und schönsten Periode (zudem auch hier mit einer Sakralfunktion, die den Rang der Motive und ihre nicht allzu breiten Variationsmöglichkeiten gleicherweise bestimmte) enthalten die Verpflichtung, bei der Untersuchung der entfernten und letztlich auch genetisch nicht miteinander verbundenen Erscheinungen diese kontinentweiten Vergleicheshorizonten zur Kenntnis zu nehmen. Es besteht nämlich kein Zweifel, dass jene alte, hochrangige, in der Geschichte der Kunstgewerbe im allgemeinen als sassanidisch bezeichnete Textilkunst, deren meist bewunderte Beweise zumindest seit 1000-1200 Jahren bekannt sind, nicht nur in



Abb. 20. Messingplatte mit Lamm Gottes als Sakramentumsymbol.
 (Frankreich, 11. Jh.)
 (Nach DIDRON 1943: Abb. 82. auf S. 326.)



Abb. 21. Gedenkblatt zum 425-Jahres Jubiläum der Druckerei in Debrecen. Die treue Nachahmung des Lamm-Gottes-Motivs nach dem ersten Buch-Titelblatt in Debrecen mit Lamm-Gottes-Motiv: *Magiar praedicatio* (1563). (Siehe FITZ 1967: 201.) Von dem Kelch (rechts) wurde ein Blumentopf.

Einzelstücken sehr weit nach Westen und Osten gelangt ist, sondern auch in ihren Mustern die feinsten Textilien ferner Kulturen beeinflusste. Die teuren, mit Meisterhand gefertigten Textilien²³ mit ihren vielen Gestalten hatten weltweiten Importwert, sie wurden eifrig imitiert und schamlos kopiert.²⁴ Ihre einstige Neuartigkeit war ebenso an der Umgestaltung der lokalen Traditionen beteiligt, wie ihre einzigartige (und ursprünglich auch ja gut motivierte) Gestaltung manchmal sogar kaum wahrnehmbare Details fast kanonisch festlegte. Die mit ihren Rüsseln einander gegenüberstehenden Elefanten mit kleinen Figuren zu ihren Füßen oder der (die) auf dem Dach des auf dem Schiff sichtbaren kajütenähnlichen Gebäudes nach oben schiessende(n) Mensch(en) konnten Hunderte von Jahrhunderten und Tausende von Meilen ohne grösseren Wandlungen überlegen - bzw. sollte eine Veränderung eintreten, so konnte auch sie das ursprüngliche Muster, es gleichzeitig aufhebend und bewahrend, weiter vertreten.²⁵

Andererseits ist die Zahl der dennoch spezifischen Züge in den Kulturen der Welt nicht endlos. Gerade aufgrund ihrer Seltenheit kann man sie miteinander vergleichen. So ist z.B. der Brauch der Meeresbestattung nicht bei allen Küstenvölkern der Erde bekannt, wie es ein sich eilender Beobachter annehmen könnte, sondern eigentlich nur in Melanesien und Polynesien und gelegentlich auf den Inseln Mikronesiens gebräuchlich. Selbst dort wird nicht jeder einer Bestattung im Kahn teilhaftig, und wenn doch, sind Zahl und Wert der Beigaben eventuell unterschiedlich. Die angeführte überraschende Tatsache, dass die Schiffsbestattung ausser in diesen Gebieten nur von den Führern und Fürsten der Wikinger bekannt ist, weist darauf hin, dass wir diese auffälligen Begräbnisbräuche und die auf sie hinweisenden Nachrichten sehr ernst nehmen und mit vergleichenden (wiederum nicht automatisch mit genetischen) Methoden untersuchen müssen.

Diese Besonderheit und künstlerische Vollendung lässt die vorgestellten indonesischen "Seelenschiff-Tücher" so wichtig für uns werden, dass wir durch sie etwas mehr über ein Charakteristikum jener menschlichen Kultur erfahren, dessen gewiss auch durch Tibor Bodrogi bekannt und geschätzt gewordener Name nichts anderes ist als die faculté maîtresse.

Anmerkungen

* Im folgenden versuche ich über das sehr reichhaltige bibliographische und ikonographische Material derart zu informieren, dass ich die in Handbüchern zitierte weitere Literatur nicht wiederhole. Bei der Auswahl der angeführten Illustrationen bemühte ich mich, soweit wie es möglich war, in Ungarn bisher nicht zitierte oder publizierte Materialien zu bringen.

Natürlich waren mir viele wichtige Quellen bzw. Sammlungen nicht zugänglich, dennoch berufe ich mich manchmal indirekt auf sie. Ich halte diese Studie im übrigen nicht für abgeschlossen, vielmehr hielt ich es für wichtig, einige Fragen aufzuwerfen. Angemerkt sei, dass die Materialsammlung im Sommer 1982 und die Verfertigung des Manuskriptes im Mai 1983 abgeschlossen wurden; auf mir später bekannt gewordene Angaben konnte ich mich also eigentlich kaum mehr berufen. Eine erweiterte Bearbeitung des Themas ist für einige Jahre später geplant, und deshalb bitte ich die Leser, mir ihre geschätzten Wahrnehmungen mitzuteilen.

- 1 Bodrogi 1971: Fig. 22 und 24. Texterklärung: Das angeführte Tuch befindet sich im Besitz des Leidener Rijksmuseum voor Voelkenkunde (Südsumatra, Lampong).
- 2 Hiermit danke ich Frau Dr. Kincső Verebélyi für ihre Hilfe, mir ihre Sammlung über die Materialien ungarischer Museen betrefflich das Thema "Agnus-Dei-Textilien" zur Verfügung zu stellen. Da sie die Absicht hat, sich mit diesem Thema gesondert zu befassen, konnte ich auf eine Reihe damit zusammenhängender Fragen hier nicht eingehen.
- 3 Prazák 1935: 20. Vgl. ebd. 35, 41 sowie Tafel XI, Bild 23 und Tafel XXI, Bild 61. Gewiss hat sich der Verfasser in seinen späteren Werken erneut mit diesem Fragenbereich befasst, doch konnte ich diese Publikationen nicht einsehen.
- 4 László 1982: 8. Sibmachers Muster ist das oberste auf S. 9. Das oberungarische Muster unter Nr. 24 (Angaben und Abbildung im Katalog), die Vergrößerung auf dem Titelblatt. Links neben dem Lamm ein Kelch, in den das Blut des Lammes strömt.
- 5 Über die kaum übersehbare grosse Literatur zum Dannebrog geben die Handbücher der dänischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte ausreichende Information.
- 6 Bei der folgenden Darstellung (und Schreibweise der Name) war meine Quelle Vanyó 1980 (mit weiterer Literatur).
- 7 Eine auch im übrigen wichtige Quelle ist Beckwith 1970 (hier handelt es sich um Bild 19, vgl. auch Bild 100).
- 8 Ein der letzten Übersichten ist Grimm (1977: Kap. X), mit weiterer Literatur. Ringboms darstellungsgeschichtliches Material ist eigenartig aber auch sehr wichtig. Seine frühere (1951) und neuere (1958) Übersicht legte Haavio in seiner folkloristischen Dokumentation (zuletzt 1967: 360-362) zugrunde. Auf diesen Zusammenhang kann ich hier nicht eingehen, da diese Frage der Abbildung und allgemein auch die Paradies-Ikonographie selbst ein sehr komplizierter Fragenkreis ist.
- 9 Die Basis des folgenden Überblicks (auch in den Details) war das Handbuch des Herder-Verlages "Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie". Dieses Stichwort (Kirschbaum 1971/Bd. III: 8-14) wurde selbst durch die Redaktion zusammengestellt, mit zahlreicher weiterer Literatur und Verweisen. Die ohne Quelle zitierten Darstellungen lassen sich dort zurückverfolgen. Vgl. Charbonneau-Lassay 1940/1970: 157-173.
- 10 Eine Übersicht dieses Materials wäre Aufgabe einer gesonderten Studie.
- 11 Um hier nur ein einziges Beispiel zu erwähnen, Gotteslamm mit Siegesfahne von alters her ist das Stadtwappen von Debrecen, und zugleich diente als das Druckeremblem seit dem 16. Jahrhundert. Das erste Buch auf seinem Titelblatt mit diesem Symbol heisst Magyar praedikatioc ... von Péter Melius Juhász (Debrecen, 1563, Druckwerkstatt von Mihály Huszár). Die folgenden Drucker der königlichen Freistadt Debrecen, wie Rudolf Hoffhalter, haben dasselbe Bild öfters verwendet.

- Siehe z.B. das Titelblatt zu Gemma Frisius: *Aritmetica* (Debrecen, 1577), bzw. *Az mi Vronc Iesvs Christvs nag vy testamentoma ...* von Tamás Félegyházi (Debrecen, 1586). Die darauffolgenden Stadtdrucker, wie zwischen 1590 und 1595 János Csáktornyai, und noch später (ab 1596 bis etwa 1619) Pál (Paulus) Rheda (aus Leipzig) druckten nicht einmal das Gottes Lamm-Bild auf den Titelblättern ihrer Werke. Das Motiv Gottes Lamm als Druckemblem jedoch ist nicht nur aus Debrecen in Ungarn bekannt. Obwohl das damals vorgeschlagene Wiener Vorbild des Debrecener Lamm-Motivs scheint heute als unbegründet und zwar unbekannt, dagegen hat der aus Polen stammende und in damaligem Oberungarn wirkende Drucker Bálint Farinola (Mantskovit) in seinem [Evangéliumok és epistolák ...] (ohne Ortsbezeichnung, 1581-1582) ein Lamm Gottes mit Siegesfahne - jedoch in einer abweichender Fassung-als Titelblatt wiederum gedruckt. Zusammenfassend siehe Soltész 1961: 81, 83-84, 97; Fitz 1967: 201, 224. Die "Debrecen" Lamm-Abbildungen siehe: Fitz 1967: 201, 224, und Soltész 1961: Taf. XXXV, XXXIX, XLVII/2., auch mit weiterer Literatur (siehe Abb. 21).
- 12 Von Agnus Dei Motiv siehe zuletzt die ungarische Übersetzung eines deutschen Handbuchs, das im Prinzip auch ungarische Angaben berücksichtigt, jedoch im Falle des Lamm Gottes Motivs konnte ich solche Daten nicht finden (Seibert 1986: 45-46, mit vier wichtigen Illustrationen, 300 usw., und mit weiteren thematischen Hinweisen).
- 13 Hier werde ich zitieren, soweit es mir möglich ist die deutschen Versionen der Fachpublikationen von Tibor Bodrogi, ungeachtet der ungarischen, englischen usw. Fassungen. Eine vollständiger Bibliographie von Bodrogi befindet sich in diesem Band der *Acta Ethnographica*.
- 14 Siehe eingehend meinen Vortrag: Bodrogi Tibor művészettörténelmi felfogása (Die kunstethnologischen Ansichten von Tibor Bodrogi), Budapest, 1986. (Manuskript, im Druck)
- 15 Vergleichende Studien über ostasiatischen und europäischen Textilien sind nicht sehr zahlreich. Schuster, selbst Freund von Bodrogi und Fachmann von Südostasien und Melanesien, in einigen von seinen bahnbrechenden Aufsätzen hat sich mit diesem Thema im allgemeinen beschäftigt, jedoch ohne spezielle Hinweise auf Seelenschiffsthematik, und nur mit indirekten Belegen für Indonesien. (siehe z.B. Schuster 1937).
- 16 Über die komplizierte Probleme der Dong-son-Kultur und Vorgeschichte von Südostasien siehe die sonst schon erwähnte Werke wie Wagner 1959/1980 und Groslier 1960/1980. Zusammenfassend und wichtig sind: Goloubew 1936, Bezacier 1955, Hà und Trañ 1961, Boriskovskij 1971, Hammond 1973, usw. mit weiterer Literatur. Glover (1973) betont, dass die früheren Arbeiten der "Migrationisten" (in unserem Falle Heine-Geldern und van Heekeren 1957) sind bis heute durch neue Ausgrabungen kaum bestätigt. Erstaunlich viel wurde in der sowjetischen Völkerkunde über dieses Problem geschrieben. Zusammenfassend der Bevölkerungsgeschichte, wie Its (1972), über Religion und Bräuche, (siehe in Anmerkung 19), usw. In seinem Buch über "Ethnohistorie von Indochina", Česnov spricht nicht nur von der Dong-son Kultur (1976: 27-58), sondern er zitiert und kritisiert die Ansichten von Goloubew, Heine-Geldern und Walles (1957) ziemlich ausführlich. Er erwähnt auch die Frage der Schiffbestattung (Česnov 1976: 33-50), und verknüpft sie mit dem "Wasserfest", allgemeinbekannt in Süd- und Ost-Asien. Das Buch ist sehr reich in Literaturhinweisen, der Verfasser jedoch studiert die indonesisch-dong-sonische

- Totenritualparallele nicht endgültig. Seine Parallelen (von Altägypten bis Ostslawen, von Indien bis Ozeanien usw.) scheinen mir mehr allgemein als direkt. Die bis sibirischen Parallelen, die er nach Okladnikov (1971) zitiert, scheinen mir zu entfernt zu sein von den Dong-son Trommel-Schiffdarstellungen, davon er auch die Titelblattillustration seines Buches nimmt.
- 17 Die speziellen Untersuchungen von fernöstlichen Bronzetrommel siehe Goloubew 1932 (bis jetzt der einflussreichste Beitrag, ursprünglich für den ersten Prähistoriker-Kongress im Fernost 1932), schon vorher aber auch sein früherer Aufsatz: Goloubew 1929. Nachschlagwerke (wie Heger 1902, Vandermeersch 1958, Peacock 1964 usw.), oder Einzeluntersuchungen (wie z.B. Goloubew 1940, Deneck 1955, Finsterbusch 1957 usw.) geben nicht wesentlich neue Vermutungen. Es wäre denkenswert einen Vergleich mit alchinesischen Bronzen zu versuchen, aber aus den Handbüchern (wie z.B. Watson 1962/1977, Eliseeff 1977, Deydier 1980 usw.) kann man keine Entsprechungen, oder sogar dafür Wege zu finden. Bezacier (1955: 102) weist darauf hin dass die Bogenschützfigur auf dem Ngoc-lũ-Trommel einen einfachen Bogen, dagegen der chinesische Krieger einen "doppelten", sog. Reflex-Bogen spannt, was auch gegen direkte Kontakte spricht. Heine-Geldern in einer Spezialstudie (1933) selbstverständlich vertreten seine schon obenerwähnte Theorie.
- 18 Bis jetzt fehlt eine vollständige Korpus der Bronzetrommel aus Vietnam. Benennungen, Ortsbezeichnungen und Datierung sind manchmal wechselnd. In ihrem Sammelwerk von Dong-son Bronzetrommel in den Sammlungen des Museums für Geschichte Vietnams (Hanoi) Huyen und Vinh (1975) geben 52 Trommel zu, davon etwa neun sind für uns wichtig, von deren nur einige durch die ausländischen Forschern bekannt oder erwähnt sind.
- I. (Trong) Ngoc Lũ I. (auf Seiten 170-171, und mit 6 Illustrationen, erworben in 1902 (ist das meistbekannte Stück).
- II. Hoàng Hạ (auf S. 177-179, und mit 6 Illustrationen, erworben in 1937)
- III. Sông Đà (auf S. 187-189, und mit 6 einfachen Illustrationen, 1889 in Paris verschmolzen!)
- VII. Miêu Môn (auf S. 206, und mit 2 einfachen Illustrationen, erworben in 1961)
- IX. Dõi Ro (auf S. 211 mit einer einfachen, auf S. 213-214 mit 4 einfachen Illustrationen, erworben in 1966)
- X. Làng Vạc I. (auf S. 217 mit 2 einfachen, auf S. 219 mit 4 einfachen Illustrationen, erworben in 1972)
- XI. Làng Vạc II: (auf S. 221-222 mit 2 einfachen Illustrationen, erworben in 1973)
- XIII. Phú Xuyên (auf S. 224 mit 2 einfachen Illustrationen, erworben im Jahre ?)
- XLI. Hủ'n Chung (auf S. 226 mit drei stark stilisierten Illustrationen, auf S. 269 mit derselben Illustration, erworben in 1961)
- Da meine Aufgabe es nicht war eine vollständige Beschreibung aller vietnamesischen Bronzetrommeln hier veröffentlichen, beschränke ich mich auf diese Aufzählung, mit der Bemerkung, dass die Zahl der Trommeln selbstredend ist und spricht für die hohe Metallkunst der Dong-son Kultur. Über Kontakte zwischen Annam, Tonking und Indonesien usw. konnte man nur aufgrund des gesamten Materials Schlussfolgerungen ziehen. Siehe jedoch die etwas kritische Einführung zur Neuauflage des Aufsatzes von Heine-Geldern von Fraser (1966: 161-164).

- 19 Für eine erste Orientierung siehe Jenkins 1980, mit weiteren
Literaturhinweisen.
- 20 Über die traditionelle Religion in Südostasien, bzw. in Indonesien es
gibt viele guten Zusammenfassungen, jedoch ohne eine Lösung der
Schiffbestattungsproblematik. Siehe z.B. (mit guter weiteren Literatur)
Bezacier 1975: 356-357, Stöhr und Zoetmulder 1965 (besonders 178-193).
In anderen Standardwerken findet man noch wenigeres. Stratanovič (1978)
oder Spažnikov (1980) erwähnen nur indirekt unseres Thema.
- 21 Über Schiffskultus, genauer gesagt über Cargo-Kultus in Ozeanien ist
die Literatur beinahe endlos. Es sei jedoch hier erwähnt, dass einer
von der ersten Aufsätze von Bodrogi (1951) diesem Thema gewidmet wurde,
und gewann einen sehr positiven internationalen Nachklang.
- 22 Über die Verbreitung der Elefanten, besonders im klassischen Altertum
siehe das unlängst erschienene Buch von H. H. Scullard, mit Hinweisen
auf die frühere Fachliteratur.
- 23 Siehe z.B. das Buch von Sylwan und Geijer 1931, und die davon genommene
Abbildungen.
- 24 Von den vielen nutzbaren Werken der Textilgeschichte siehe Geijer 1979,
und die da zitierten Bücher.
- 25 Die Abbildungen meines Aufsatzes wiederspiegeln nur ein Bruchstück der
Vielfaltigkeit der Thematik. Eine vollständige Publikation (und Analyse)
der ungarischen Textilien mit Agnus Dei-Thematik wäre auch von grosser
Bedeutung. Die letzten Abbildungen sind auch für die weitere Forschung
gezielt.

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