

# ETHNOGRAPHICA ET FOLKLORISTICA CARPATHICA

12-13



2002

Ethnographica et Folkloristica  
Carpathica 12-13.



Ethnographica et Folkloristica  
Carpathica 12-13.

Edited by  
Elek Bartha – Veikko Anttonen

Debrecen – Turku, 2002

Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica 12-13.  
Műveltség és Hagyomány XXX-XXXI.

*An International Festschrift to commemorate  
the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of MIHÁLY HOPPÁL*

*Edited by*

ELEK BARTHA

VEIKKO ANTTONEN

Department of Ethnography  
University of Debrecen  
4010 Debrecen, P.O.B. 16.  
Hungary

Department of Cultural Studies  
University of Turku  
Henrikinkatu 3  
20014 Turun yliopisto  
Finland

ISSN 0139–0600 Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica  
ISSN 0580–3594 Műveltség és Hagyomány

© Authors, 2002

© Department of Ethnography, University of Debrecen, 2002



Mihály Hoppál  
*UNESCO General Assembly, 1997*



# Mental Spaces and Ritual Traditions

*An International Festschrift to commemorate the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of Mihály Hoppál*

Introduction: Bartha, Elek – Anttonen, Veikko: *Salutations to Mihály Hoppál* . . . . 9

## “ITT A SZENT HELY” – SACRALITY AND RITUAL IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Pyysiäinen, Ilkka: *Rituals as Generators of Common Knowledge* . . . . . 15

Anttonen, Veikko: *Transmission of Ritual Tradition among the  
Rural Meadow-Mari population in the Post-Soviet Political Context:  
A test case to the theory of the modes of religiosity* . . . . . 27

Keményfi, Róbert: *Aspects to the religio-geographical concept of the  
“sacred” and “sacred landscape”* . . . . . 37

Utriainen, Terhi: *Ethnography in a modern hospice: construction of  
sacrality behind the seemingly natural* . . . . . 47

Holm, Nils G.: *Ritual Studies and the Integrated Role Theory* . . . . . 63

Bartha, Elek: *Strategies of church building in Hungary during the years  
of the communist dictatorship* . . . . . 75

Bimmer, Andreas: *Sonntag. Ein Wochentag und seine Rezeption in der Volkskunde* . . . . . 83

## CONTEXTUALIZING TRADITION, RELIGION AND IDENTITY

Dégh, Linda: *Traditionalizing in Scotland* . . . . . 97

Siikala, Anna-Leena: *The Kalevalaic Tradition as Finnish Mythology* . . . . . 107

Lahti, Minna – Stark-Arola, Laura: *Where science has no answers:  
Catholic politics and Neapolitan identity in the miracle of San Gennaro* . . . . . 123

Laitila, Teuvo: *Geography, memory and ethical values:  
Aspects of Yugoslav history of the 1990s* . . . . . 133

Liszka, József: *Nationalsymbole der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der Slowakei* . . . . . 151

Petercsák, Tivadar: *Adelige Kompossessorate im Südteil vom Komitat Heves* . . . . . 175

Bársony, István: *Les changements des rapports ethniques  
dans le département Bihar pendant le XVIIIe siècle* . . . . . 187

Pozsony, Ferenc: *Hussitismus und Protestantismus in Moldavien* . . . . . 203

Junnonaho, Martti: *Bhuta Worship in the Village of Belma:  
An Exploration in an Indian Folk Belief* . . . . . 217



Bereczki, Ibolya T.: <i>Veränderungen in der Verarbeitung des Schweinfleisches im 20. Jahrhundert</i> . . . . .	227
Bódi, Erzsébet: <i>Potato meals in the North-eastern Highlands and the corn producing Great Plain in Hungary</i> . . . . .	239

EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT KNOWLEDGE IN FOLKLORE

Ujváry, Zoltán: <i>Verurteilungs- und Hinrichtungsspiele mit Todesstrafe und die Sündenübertragung</i> . . . . .	247
Ilomäki, Henni: <i>Who is speaking? On the concept of "I" in Finnish spells</i> . . . . .	263
Görög-Karády, Veronika: <i>L'arbre comme instrument de justice dans les contes africains</i> . . . . .	281
Knuuttila, Seppo: <i>Noncommunication in Folklore</i> . . . . .	293
Metsvahi, Merili: <i>On the Position of the Religious Legend of St. George in the Mental Universe of the Setu Woman Ksenya Müürsepp</i> . . . . .	303
Kríza, Ildikó: <i>King Matthias as a popular hero in Central European folklore</i> . . . . .	337
Kiss, Antal: <i>Farming Attitudes in Transition</i> . . . . .	347

APPROACHING SHAMANISM AND WORLDVIEW

Voigt, Vilmos: <i>Sky maps as world maps – on the history of worldview concepts</i> . . . . .	365
Leete, Art: <i>Mother of Mothers: Notes About the Shamanhood Among the Southern Mansis</i> . . . . .	387
Niemi, Jarkko: <i>"You are of the kind of kin, are you?" Reflections of the animistic world view in the oral folklore of the modern day Kanin Nenetses</i> . . . . .	397
Mägi, Kaur – Toulouze, Eva: <i>On Forest Nenets Shaman Songs</i> . . . . .	413
Gilberg, Rolf: <i>Kyo – The Shaman Who Knew too Much!</i> . . . . .	433
Szabó, Csaba: <i>Shaman's drumming as a kind of indirect hypnosis</i> . . . . .	447
Wienker-Piepho, Sabine: <i>Narrating and Urban Shamanism. Post-modern self-representations of urban shamans and their storytelling</i> . . . . .	455
Helve, Helena: <i>New Spiritualities, Gender Differences and Belief Systems</i> . . . . .	463

## Salutations to Mihály Hoppál

*Bartha, Elek – Anttonen, Veikko*

Wherever folklorists and anthropologists of religion meet and talk about shamanism, the name Mihály Hoppál is likely to appear. Mihály Hoppál has been an ambassador of shamanism more than three decades. The abundance of references to him in scholarly publications over the years suggests that he could be much older than 60. Although referring to old age is a way of showing appreciation, one can by no means make a judgment that the scholarly articles, books and films that Mihály Hoppál has accomplished during his academic career and which have given him worldwide fame, are signs of the author's aging. Certainly they are milestones but they are not to be viewed against conventional measures of time reckoning. Those who know Mihály Hoppál personally can testify the notion that his habitus is a manifesto of ideology in which personal and collective histories coalesce and in which the transcendence of the limits of time plays an important strategic tool in his ethnographic quest for unravelling the structures of cultural life in shamanic communities of the past – as well as their present forms of manifestation. On the occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday, the colleagues felt the urge to greet him with this volume. The authors of the papers included here celebrate him with those who could not send essays, but instead, conveyed all their felicitations through the editors.

During the two thirds of his life as an ethnographer, Mihály Hoppál has travelled around the world and contributed with his works to the re-emergence of shamanism as an area of academic interest and a cultural fashion. He has participated in scientific conferences, given lectures and presentations at universities, and conducted fieldwork in several continents of the world. Taking a closer look on his travel schedules makes one realize that it is only seldom that he spends a longer period of time at one place. But there is a simple reason for this: by placing emphasis on comparison he trusts *the method par excellence* that has given ethnography, the study of man, its distinctive characteristic as an academic field of study in the modern university. In order to compare, you need to travel. For Hoppál, ethnography means the accumulation of 'visual texts'. On the personal level, his academic nomadism has a model in the subject matter of shamanism itself. He has

internalised the shamanic role of a ritual specialist in which the journey forms the focal point of the profession. “Journey is the life of a shaman” as Mihály Hoppál has written. The Nenets’ expression for the shaman, *widutana* (“traveller”), is an apt term to describe him. By journeying Mihály Hoppál fulfils the fundamental task of a shamanic profession: to act as a mediator between the opposite spheres of life. In his role as an ambassador of shamanism, Hoppál does not only mediate that which is informed by the spirits, but operates as a mediator between East and West as well as North and South in pointing out the significance of shamanic knowledge for the common roots of human cultural history. He has felt at home in dwellings of shamans in Siberia, Mongolia, Tuva, China, Korea, and the Middle East, as well as in other continents. And in the meantime, he regularly returns to the place where his creations have their ‘sacred’ origin and where he gained the first decisive experiences in his childhood and in adolescence that inspired him to choose ethnography as his profession. Central Europe, the Carpathian Basin, Hungary is the *primus locus* in which his routes intersect.

The three towns of North-eastern Hungary, Kassa (today Košice in Slovakia<sup>1</sup>), Sarospatak and Debrecen, are locations that have given many notable personalities to the world. Kassa (Košice) is a multiethnic town that was severed from Hungary in the Peace Treaty ending World War I and which was reoccupied by Hungary for a few years before World War II. According to Mihály Hoppál’s own recollection, his grandmother on his mother’s side spoke seven languages, a phenomenon not uncommon in that multiethnic urban society. The first intellectual inspirations burst out from that part of the family, the influences of which are easy to trace in the later phases of his life.

Sarospatak was the scene of his high school studies. The town is famous for its gymnasium, the spirit of which was widely spread through its Calvinist culture of education. Mihály Hoppál learned to respect the knowledge passed down by his legendary teachers. It is in Sarospatak that he was first touched by the enchantment of ethnography.

Debrecen was the town of his university years. Debrecen is often mentioned as the “Calvinist Rome” for being the centre of Central European Calvinism. The conservative atmosphere of the town did not altogether correspond with the avant-garde endeavours of Mihály Hoppál, yet in the 1960s there was a certain resistance and reserve towards the dominant political regime in the heart of the young student that did not leave him unmoved. During the years that he spent at his alma mater, the University of Debrecen (Kossuth Lajos University at that time),

<sup>1</sup> The Slovakian town Kassa (Košice) was part of Hungary when Mihály Hoppál was born.

he was not primarily counted for being a student of ethnography, ethnology and folklore studies in the faculty of art, but for being a creative artist who succeeded in gaining disapproval in the eyes of certain representatives of the omnipotent Party. The artistic inclination and orientation paved his way towards areas of intellectual interest that still characterizes his scientific career. Similarly, the later decades of creativity have been determined by intellectual openness and aptness for the new – qualities that took shape during his ethnographic studies, primarily under the guidance of Prof. Béla Gunda, the founder, and – at that time – the Head of the Department of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen. The intellectual workshop, commonly known in Hungarian Ethnography as “the Debrecen school”, which was based on regular fieldwork and characterized by methodological and aspectual diversity, meant a life-long inspiration for him. The major scientific topics in the field of ethnomedicine, folk religion and ritual studies were there already at the beginning and they have oriented his journey through the past and to the future.

After graduating from the university, Hoppál went to Pest, where he participated in establishing the Archive of Folk Healing. He was admitted into the Research Group of Ethnography, at present known as The Institute of Ethnography of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. In addition to working as the director of the European Folklore Institute in Budapest, he still today belongs to the staff of the Institute of Ethnography, located on the hill of the Buda, where he started his research on Siberian shamanism under the guidance of Vilmos Diószegi, a famous scholar in the field of anthropology of religion and folklore studies. After Diószegi's early death, the young Hoppál “inherited” his field of research, as he later recalls it.

After the death of Diószegi, Hoppál's career as a researcher began to unfold. His intellectual openness, his aptness for the new, made him a versatile scholar in many areas of academic interest. He became well known for his works and achievements in the fields of communication, semiotics, folklore studies, and folk-art, as well as for his books and publications on visual anthropology, not to mention his great accomplishments in ethnographic film-making. This widely known versatility and openness was once called by one of his colleagues as a kind of “readiness” and preparedness to the reception of that which is actual and new and theoretically and methodologically significant. Structuralism and semiotics can be considered the major intellectual traditions in the field of ethnography that have played an important role in the scholarly work of Mihály Hoppál. By focusing his attention on images, signs and objects, he has gained a thorough knowledge both of the ma-

terial and spiritual characteristics in shamanism. His books and essays on the topic have been published in several languages and in several countries and continents. His name is related with a great number of conferences, journals and international periodicals. He has been the primus motor in starting several academic series and journals (*Ethnologica Uralica*, *Bibliotheca Shamanistica*, *Shaman*, etc.).

An anniversary greeting cannot provide a review of the whole oeuvre, all the important volumes, essays, films and pieces of work. It is the humble wish of the editors of this book that what has been undertaken here will be placed on a larger frame of vision to convey the message that there is much more to this oeuvre that needs to be elucidated in order to pay due homage to the life and work of Mihály Hoppál. The authors of the present volume present some of the fruits and results of their own work in the form of essays as a gift to the sixty-year-old Mihály Hoppál, hoping that this will reflect at least a small part of his thematically rich oeuvre.

The man with creative energy does not show signs of slowing down – instead, he is still “feeling groovy”. Mihály Hoppál is full of plans. He envisions accomplishing his unfinished works and the works that he has not even started yet. What else can we wish for the sixty-year old professor than a long and healthy life so that he can achieve his goals.



„Itt a szent hely”

Sacrality and ritual in theory and practice

*Pyysiäinen, Ilkka*

*Anttonen, Veikko*

*Keményfi, Róbert*

*Utriainen, Terhi*

*Holm, Nils G.*

*Bartha, Elek*

*Bimmer, Andreas*



# Rituals as generators of common knowledge

*Ilkka Pyysiäinen*

## Rituals – Why Indeed?

Think of all the time, energy, and economical resources people all over the world have invested in ritual activities, during the course of human history. Whatever the ultimate explanation of ritual behavior is, it obviously remains true that rituals are an extremely important concern of humans. One may quit smoking, stop drinking, and even adopt a celibate life, but hardly ever have we heard of a person totally refusing to participate in rituals. It would seem that an activity worthy of such investment of time and energy must be of utmost importance for human survival; yet it has not been shown that rituals serve any such function. What, then, is it that makes rituals so ubiquitous that they seem like our second nature?

We certainly are not short of answers, which I somewhat paradoxically take to be a sure sign of our ignorance about the causes of ritual behavior. What we know for sure, we can express in a single answer; what we do not know, we can go on explaining for hours. In this short essay, I only wish to offer a small emendation to Pascal Boyer's (2001- 229-263) recent explanation of ritual behavior, and also to formulate a hypothesis that can be empirically tested.

Boyer presents the following argument:

- 1) There are panhuman evolved mechanisms of the mind that are specialized in handling information about social relationships.
- 2) These mechanisms are tacit and intuitive; we are not normally conscious of them and cannot perceive how they function.
- 3) Therefore, the ways in which changes in social position are brought about have an aura of magic around them.

Then add to this:

- 4) beginning from infancy, we repeatedly see our cultural elders to associate a given ritual with given social effects.

Two conclusions immediately follow:

- 6) we are conditioned to think that rituals are essential for certain social effects: they causally produce the desired result;
- 7) we are motivated to stick to these ritual behaviors and to transmit them to future generations, because they seem necessary for the desired effects.

This may be – partly at least – a valid explanation of how and why ritual actions are so widespread in human cultures. But it does not say anything of why rituals are performed in the first place. The belief in causal efficacy cannot be the proximal cause of ritual behavior because it is the result of observing ritual performance. Although Boyer admits that baptisms, weddings, etc. are essentially social matters and deal with changes in social positions, he denies that in ritual people grasp or express any important messages about themselves and their relationships with each other. Moreover, although rituals deal with changes in social position that are important not only for the specific individuals acting as patients in the rituals, but for the whole community, the necessity to organize social relationships cannot explain why there has to be a ritual performance in connection with such social events. Rituals are not necessary to social processes, but only to people's thoughts about these processes. They do not create social effects, only the illusion that they do. (Boyer 2001: 232, 247-248, 252-256.)

In what follows, I shall argue that rituals are necessary to social processes and that they do convey information about social relationships. The need to convey information about changes in social positions may well be the proximal reason why rituals are performed, although it is very likely that people often also develop all kinds of beliefs about the 'magical' efficacy of rituals in causally producing the desired change in social position. As McCauley & Lawson (2002: Ch. 2) argue, the performance of rituals is "integral both to situating individuals within the larger religious community and to sustaining that community." I do not claim to explain why individual rituals are arranged in precisely those specific ways they are. There are different reasons for different rituals being the way they are. There may also be a general, ultimate, explanation for such general features of ritual behavior as repetitiveness, formal behavior, etc., but I am here not concerned about that aspect of explaining rituals either (Boyer 2001: 236-246). I only try to explain why members of a group gather together and jointly direct their attention to such facts as that someone has been born, some get married, someone has died, etc.

My account thus suggests that there is something in common in all rituals: the generation of common knowledge about the specific changes the ritual ap-

pears to be meant to bring about (Chwe 2001). However, this is – at best – only a necessary, not a sufficient, characteristic feature of rituals (there are other ways of establishing common knowledge as well). I argue that this is the most important reason for ritual behavior, although it does not rule out the possibility that people yet may believe that rituals actually cause the relevant changes. In the following, I try to explain the difference between rituals as generating common knowledge about social transformations and rituals as causally producing those transformations.

### The Problem of Social Causation

Societies are not bounded units of nature, but rather consist of mental concepts that have specified relations which other such concepts. This view is a version of the idea that societies are not made up of individuals but of communicative acts (Beyer 1984: ix-x). The specified relationships between individuals and groups of individuals do not exist in observed physical reality but in the minds of people. It is only by virtue of this that they can exercise influence on human behavior. Although there are certain biological facts that for example make a certain individual my brother and another one my mother, it is the human understandings of motherhood and brotherhood that contributes to the organization of social relationships. Not that these understandings are independent of inborn intuitions and their physical realization in the brain. That is not what I mean. I only mean that social structures are abstract entities based on our intuitions and conscious beliefs about the relationships between individuals as members of a whole. There are many types of classifications contributing to social structure: family, social class, ethnic group, caste, race, lineage, gender, etc. (Boyer 2001: 250-251).

Although these classifications are for the most part creations of human minds, we often are prone to think that they are somehow ‘natural.’ We think that there must be some unitary inner essence that makes someone a Finn or a Hungarian, or a shaman, thief, cousin, professor, etc. Such classifications are not understood as mere abstractions made on the basis of several, partly independent, facts. Membership in a class is rather considered as caused by a single unobservable essence the existence of which is inferred from certain perceptual cues. In principle, that essence cannot be changed: “once a thief, always a thief.” (Gelman & Hirschfeld 1999; Boyer 2001: 251-252; Ahn et al. 2001.) It has been suggested that this way of thinking originally emerged in the context of folk biology and has been subsequently adopted for use in the social context: priests, shamans, etc. are sup-



posed to have an essence just as natural kinds do (Boyer 1994: 155-184). It seems, however, that in fact essentialist thinking might have independently emerged in several domains (Gelman & Hirschfeld 1999).

So, how is it possible to acquire an essence or to lose it? Clearly, people graduate, are ordained as priests, marry, etc., and also cease to be children, laypersons, bachelors, etc. What causes the change? According to Boyer, as we cannot directly observe how someone turns from a bachelor to a married man, or from a non-professor into a professor, we are prone to provide all kinds of outlandish explanations for this change. Such changes also are accompanied by a ritual; having had many occasions to witness such rituals, we then gradually develop a belief that the ritual is in fact necessary for the change in question. In other words, we develop a belief that it is the ritual that causes the change. People thus are convinced that rituals produce effects, even if they have no idea of how the rituals produce the effects. Boyer calls this the “illusion that the ritual is actually indispensable to its effects.” (Boyer 2001: 250-256.)

### Counter-Intuitive Agents

Ignorance about the mechanisms through which rituals are efficacious makes it possible to put forward various kinds of conjectures. As we know from experience that the social world functions on the basis of intentional acts of rational agents, it is a default value that also the mysterious causes that rituals induce in social positions are someone’s intentional acts. They are not produced by any purely mechanical forces. If the cause lies in the intentions of an actor, and the actor cannot be seen, touched, or identified by any other concrete means, then the ritual effect obviously is brought about by a counter-intuitive agent that lacks ordinary physical and biological properties but yet has a mind with beliefs and desires. Such an agent can be a god, an ancestor, Christ, or any other variant of counter-intuitive agency. (Boyer 2001: 256-258.)

According to Lawson & McCauley, religious rituals can be differentiated from other kinds of rituals by the fact that in them the causal powers of the ritual are ascribed to some counter-intuitive agent (Lawson & McCauley 1990; McCauley & Lawson 2002: Ch. 1; cf. Boyer 2001: 236, 256). Counter-intuitive agents are agents with properties that contradict panhuman intuitive expectations about agents and agency already in place in young infants (see Boyer 1994: 91-124; 2001: 51-91; Lawson 2001; Pyysiäinen 2001: 14-22). Lawson & McCauley (1990), McCauley & Lawson (2002), and Barrett & Lawson (2001), have argued at length

that people have intuitive knowledge about ritual structures because rituals follow the general pattern of action (vs. something just happening): someone does something for someone by means of something. Religious rituals only include a “culturally postulated superhuman agent” (a CPS agent) either as the actor, patient, or instrument of the ritual action. Barrett & Lawson (2001) have experimentally shown that, in judging whether a hypothetical ritual is effective, people regard having an appropriate intentional agent as relatively more important than the particular action.

Lawson & McCauley (2002; McCauley & Lawson 2002; McCauley 2001) argue that when a CPS agent is the actor, the effects produced are ‘superpermanent’ because what gods do is done once and for all. Therefore, such rituals need not be repeated for any one individual. Only such rituals can be repeated where the actor is a group of humans and the patient is a CPS agent. But, as both I myself (Pyysiäinen 2001: 93) and Boyer (2001: 260-262), independently from each other, have argued, this seems like a mistaken interpretation. It is, for example, not the fact that it is God who actively gives his blessing to the deceased that makes a funeral a non-repeated ritual with a superpermanent effect; funerals are performed only once for any one patient simply because people die only once. We also are born only once, usually receive only one name, and do not get married every second week. All rituals in which the agent is a CPS agent are such that they relate to instances of social change that have a once-in-a-lifetime character (they are rites of passage). Rituals where the CPS agent is the patient do not deal with such social changes; a typical example of them are offerings. It is difficult to imagine that such rituals were done only once (see Whitehouse 2000). Rituals can be divided into rites of passage, calendrical rites, and crisis rites (Honko 1979); of these, it is only rites of passage that deal with changes in the social (or even ontological) status of persons, involve counter-intuitive agents as active agents, and have a once-in-a-lifetime nature. Calendrical and crisis rites are repeated rituals with humans agents as actors; they are clearly of a different nature (see below). (See Pyysiäinen 2001: 92.)

### Conclusion: Ritual and common knowledge

For Boyer, rituals are performed in order to achieve particular effects, although the connection between the actions prescribed and the results expected often is rather mysterious to the performers. Rituals are behaviors in which a group of people do something which they believe will have effects on their social

life, yet remaining completely ignorant of the mechanisms through which their deeds bring about what they are believed to bring about. As the ritual mechanisms of causation thus escape common sense, they often are explained with reference to gods, spirits, ancestors, and other such counter-intuitive agents which fill in the empty place-holder of 'caused by someone.' (Boyer 2001: 232.)

I have already expressed some dissatisfaction with this scenario. First, it does not explain why ritual behavior has emerged in the first place. Although I agree that many beliefs and behaviors can be accounted for by selectionist arguments explaining why these beliefs and behaviors have survived in cultural transmission, I think that we can and should say more about ritual behavior. To the extent that rituals are collective actions, we cannot explain them as idiosyncrasies that have become widespread because of their memorability and attention-grabbing potential. And, to say that they are group activities that subsequently have become widespread, leaves unexplained how they ever got to be group activities. Rituals do not start as idiosyncratic behaviors that then gradually become widespread. Belief in the magical causation thus cannot be the cause of ritual behavior because it is its consequence.

Second, I don't think that the driving force behind ritual beliefs is an intellectual curiosity that urges us to seek for metaphysical explanations for social causation. It is rather that we have the very practical need to know in what kinds of relationships we stand to other members of society. I need to know who is my mother and that my relationship with her is different from my relationship with my boss, etc. This is the kind of information that actually is expressed and transmitted in rituals. Even if we cannot explain why it is expressed precisely in the way it is, it remains true that such information is conveyed in rituals and that this information is important for humans (as also Boyer acknowledges). But this is not enough; also others need to have the same knowledge we do. In addition, we have to know that they know, they have to know that we know that they know, etc. (here I am inspired by Chwe 2001). What other means could there be to establish such common knowledge than public rituals? It is not that mere random performance of rituals gradually creates the illusion that it is these rituals that cause the relevant changes in social positions, thus making the rituals worthy of repeated performance and cultural transmission. Rituals are, from the outset, arranged because of the need to generate common knowledge (Chwe 2001). The society simply cannot function (or even exist) without common knowledge concerning social relationships.

In this perspective, rituals can be efficacious only to the extent that everybody agrees to their efficaciousness. As the whole issue concerns bringing about changes in social positions (which are ideas in human minds), it is not possible to have ritual effects in the absence of a common consensus. A person who has not undergone a wedding ceremony, for example, cannot argue that he or she actually is married but only through a secret ceremony which nobody has had the opportunity to witness. Although it is possible to live with another person in a self-defined marriage like this, such co-habitation will not amount to the social status of a marriage, if others refuse to treat the two as a married couple. Rituals are in this sense self-serving; it is the social agreement made manifest in the ritual that establishes the marriage.

Thus, although rituals do not cause changes in social positions, they are essential for distributing knowledge of the fact such changes have taken place (because some people have decided so). If I introduce myself to you, saying: "Hello, my name is Ilkka Pyysiäinen," I do not cause Ilkka Pyysiäinen to be name. I only let you know that fact. Similarly, in a wedding, the society is only informed that the couple now is a married couple. The effect is that after the ceremony everybody knows that the two are a couple, not that the ceremony would have turned the man and woman into a couple. The Finnish Lutheran wedding ceremony, for example, has gradually emerged from a mere churchly blessing of the engagement, made according to secular law and folk custom, into a ritual that actually establishes the marriage. In 1734, the churchly wedding was made compulsory by law; only as late as in 1963 the words "I declare you as man and wife" (uttered by the minister) were introduced into the wedding formula. Thus the church has gradually adopted a function that traditionally had belonged to families acting (ritually) on the basis of secular law and folk tradition. By the same token, the wedding ritual has been invested with such belief in the causal efficacy that probably was not part of the engagement ritual. (Heikinmäki 1981: 133-135; Lempiäinen 1986: 151-192.)

In my example of a 'secret marriage,' the failure to establish a marriage is due to the fact that others refuse to treat the 'secretly married' as a couple because the couple has refused to accept that others have the right to know. The ceremony is only a sign of a will to accept the authority of the society. It also is quite possible to explain a bachelor's behavior with reference to one kind of an essence and a married man's to another kind, without any theory of how the essence changes. People are not necessarily curious about the mechanism of this change, as it does

not have any direct consequences for everyday life. We simply use different kinds of essences to explain different cases.

Yet it is possible that people think that rituals can really cause shifts in social positions, whether the agent of causation is thought to be gods or the society. In this sense, Boyer's account may well be correct, although it only explains the belief in ritual causation, not why rituals are arranged in the first place. They are not arranged because people believe them to have magical-like effects; people rather believe them to have these effects because they are arranged. And they are arranged because the need to organize common knowledge. Whether people actually believe that rituals have magical-like causal effects can only be found out by experimental research. Barrett & Lawson (2001) already have shown that people intuitively think that a hypothetical ritual is most likely to be efficacious when either the agent or instrument is special in the sense of having been given special properties or authority by the gods. However, in this experiment, the subjects were directly asked to rate the probable efficaciousness of the described hypothetical rituals in producing special kinds of effects. Therefore, the results from this experiment do not rule out the possibility that people do not always think of rituals as means of producing changes in the physical or social reality. Rituals could just as well be understood as means of generating common knowledge. Also this hypothesis should be empirically tested, however.

Introducing counter-intuitive agents into ritual structure does not necessarily change the fact that rituals are arranged because common knowledge has to be generated. Counter-intuitive agents are 'interested parties' (Boyer 2001: 189) of our social life and thus need to have the same information as humans. In this sense, they are not needed to cause changes in social positions; they only need to have the opportunity to participate in the ritual as an interested party. Yet counter-intuitive agents can be considered to bring about causal changes in reality. Here they also differ from other types of agents in that it is possible to ascribe to them such powers that ordinary agents do not have. It is thus easier to consider them agents of change in such instances in which the mechanism of change is unknown.

Calendrical rites could be understood as a means of generating common knowledge about the passage of time, although I cannot develop an argument to support this claim within the present confines. Crisis rites are of a different type in the sense that they clearly aim at producing a change in the physical reality: to bring rain, heal a sickness, etc. Possibly also they could be understood as a means of 'publishing' the information that a draught is threatening the community, a



member of the group is ill, etc. But clearly they also involve the aspect of causality: people hope that counter-intuitive agents not only participate in the ritual but also do something about the danger that threatens the group. As counter-intuitive agents they should, after all, be capable of doing things humans cannot do.

Yet there is a small piece of evidence to support the hypothesis that people are not as likely to pray for a dramatically counter-intuitive effect as they are to pray for a more natural change. I am referring to Justin Barrett's (2001; 2002) study of the prayers of Protestant university students. In having to choose between praying for a counter-intuitive change that is either physical, biological, or psychological, they were more likely to choose the psychological change which was not as evidently counter-intuitive as the other two (it was easier to find a rationalist explanation for it). Yet this study only yields information about one especially intellectual religious tradition, Protestantism, and also may be open for a number of different interpretations. I here only want to emphasize that the need to generate common knowledge offers a basis for a very economical explanation of ritual behavior, although people may at times also believe in the causal efficacy of rituals. The explanation that proceeds from the need to have common knowledge also is well in line with what we know about the way the human mind actually works in regulating behavior; the capacity for cooperation is a built-in property of humans and forms perhaps the most important strategy by which we have been evolutionarily so successful as a species (Ridley 1996). Without empirical experimentation it is impossible to evaluate the plausibility of my suggestion, though. I shall, however, have to leave such work for the future.

Lastly, I want to mention that Durkheim's (1937) theory of religion was partly based on the same intuition as Boyer's theory and my emendation to it. There are, however, several important differences: 1) in my account it is not necessary to take recourse to the problematic notions of 'collective consciousness' and 'social facts'; 2) it is not necessary to consider 'gods' as only an expression of the society (an idea for which it is difficult to find empirical or theoretical justification); 3) religion is not seen as simply a symbolic expression and a shaper of collective consciousness (which would make religion redundant as a category); and 4) we need not satisfy ourselves with the rather mysterious explanation that social pressure affects us 'through mental pathways' (*par des voies mentales*) by which the group is 'incarnated' in the individual (see Pysiäinen 2001: 55-74). Society does not cause things, although we may intuitively think that it causes.

Whether rituals are understood as causes of change, or as a means of generating common knowledge about changes produced by other means, now waits for experimental research to provide the answer. I hypothesize the second alternative to be the more fundamental explanation of ritual behavior. It does not, however, rule out the possibility that people have both explicit and intuitive beliefs about the causal powers of rituals. If it turns out that people have at once both kinds of beliefs, it should be explored how they relate them to each other. In any event, these are sufficiently simple and exact hypotheses to hold a promise for exact answers to the question of why rituals are so important for us.

## References

- Ahn, Woo-kyoung, Charles Kalish, Susan A. Gelman, Douglas L. Medin, Christian Luhmann, Scott Atran, John D. Coley, Patrick Shafto (2001). *Why essences are essential in the psychology of concepts*. *Cognition*, 82, 59-69.
- Barrett, Justin L. (2001). *How ordinary cognition informs petitionary prayer*. *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, 1(3), 259-269.
- Barrett, Justin L. (2002). *Dumb gods, petitionary prayer, and the cognitive science of religion*. In Ilkka Pyysiäinen & Veikko Anttonen (Eds.), *Current Approaches in the Cognitive Science of Religion* (pp. 94-110). London: Continuum.
- Barrett, Justin L. & E. Thomas Lawson. (2001). *Ritual intuitions: Cognitive contributions to judgments of ritual efficacy*. *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, 1(2), 183-2001.
- Beyer, Peter. (1994). *Religion and Globalization*. London: Sage.
- Boyer, Pascal. (1994). *The Naturalness of Religious Ideas: A Cognitive Theory of Religion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Boyer, Pascal. (2001). *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Chwe, Michael Suk-Young. (2001). *Rational Ritual: Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Durkheim, Émile. (1937 [1912]). *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*. Paris: Félix Alcan.
- Gelman, Susan A. & Lawrence A. Hirschfeld. (1999). *How biological is essentialism?* In Douglas L. Medin & Scott Atran (eds.), *Folkbiology* (pp. 403-446). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Heikinmäki, Maija-Liisa. (1981). *Suomalaiset häätavat*. [Finnish Customs of Marriage.] Helsinki: Otava.

- Honko, Lauri. (1979). *Theories concerning the ritual process*. In Lauri Honko (ed.), *Science of Religion: Studies in Methodology* (pp. 369-390). (Religion and Reason; 13.) The Hague: Mouton.
- Lawson, E. Thomas. (2001). *Psychological perspectives on agency*. In Jensine Andresen (ed.), *Religion in Mind: Cognitive Perspectives on Religious Belief, Ritual and Experience* (pp. 141-172). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawson, E. Thomas & Robert N. McCauley. (1990). *Rethinking Religion: Connecting Cognition and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawson, E. Thomas & Robert N. McCauley. (2002). *Cognitive constraints on religious ritual form: A theory of participants' competence with religious systems*. In Ilkka Pyysiäinen & Veikko Anttonen (eds.), *Current Approaches in the Cognitive Science of Religion* (pp. 154-177). London: Continuum.
- Lempiäinen, Pentti. (1986 [1985]). *Pyhät toimitukset* [Sacred Ceremonies.] Helsinki: Kirjapaja.
- McCauley, Robert N. (2001). *Ritual, memory, and emotion: Comparing two cognitive hypotheses*. In Jensine Andresen (ed.), *Religion in Mind: Cognitive Perspectives on Religious Belief, Ritual and Experience* (pp. 115-140). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCauley, Robert N. & E. Thomas Lawson (2002). *Bringing Ritual to Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pyysiäinen, Ilkka. (2001). *How Religion Works: Towards a New Cognitive Science of Religion*. (Cognition & Culture Book Series; 1.) Leiden: Brill.
- Ridley, Matt. (1996). *Origins of Virtue: Human Instincts and the Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Penguin.
- Whitehouse, Harvey. (2000). *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



# Transmission of Ritual Tradition among the Rural Meadow-Mari Population in the Post-Soviet Political Context

*A test case to the theory of the modes of religiosity*

*Anttonen, Veikko*

## 1. Framing the issue

In his theory of the modes of religiosity, the British anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse invites religion scholars to pay attention on the question how memory systems contribute to the formation of tendencies by which people universally codify, transmit, cognitively process and socio-politically organize religious knowledge. The bulk of his theory rests on the distinction between the imagistic and doctrinal modes of operation and their conjectural role in constraining the formation and transmission of religious ideas in actual sociopolitical context (Whitehouse 1995; Whitehouse 2000). Whether the distinction and its psychological and sociological implications provide a successful tool that scholars of religion can utilize cross-culturally is open to critical inspection? In this article I look at the issue and its basic postulates from the perspective of folk religion of the Finno-Ugric Meadow-Mari population in present-day Russia.

I shall treat ethnographic materials that I collected ten years ago during my short fieldwork trip to the Mari Republic. The Mari inhabit a geographical area in Eastern Russia. Their territory extends 23 000 square kilometers between two rivers - Vetluga in the west and the Vjatka in the east. In the southern part of the territory the Volga separates the Mari from the Chuvass over 100 kilometers. Nowadays there are approximately 670 000 people who classify themselves as Mari, of whom about 80% speak Mari as their mother tongue. The Mari are divided into three distinct ethnic groups: the Meadow-Mari, the Hill-Mari and the eastern Mari. The majority of the republic's inhabitants are Meadow-Mari. The number of the Hill-Mari is approximately 60 000 (10 per cent of the total Mari population). Approximately 100 000 persons who belong to the Eastern Mari are living dispersed in the Republics of Tatarstan and Baškortostan.



During my visit I had a chance to document a ritual called *sürem pastramas* in a small Mari village of Tjodrajal near the border of Tatarstan. The *sürem* is a sacrificial ritual performed in connection with St. Peter's Day celebrations on July 12th. The term *sürem* denotes the expelling of the devil. The notion is equivalent to the Turkic-Tatarian designation of *šaitan*. Participants in the ritual gather together and sacrifice animals to their God in order to purify their social environment from all that is impure, evil and harmful. The actual expelling rituals have been traditionally performed with long birch-bark horns and with whips. Mainly young people and children are marching in processions from one border of the village to the opposite border, blowing their horns and whipping gates, walls, corners of the houses, benches, chairs etc. The older people chase devils by the windows inside the houses. (See Hämäläinen 1928, 29-34). The principal episode in the expelling ritual is the *sürem*-feast during which sheep, rams and geese are sacrificed in order to ensure God's (designated as Jumo in Mari language) aid to the growing crop and to the people's efforts in gaining prosperity, health and success.

## 2. Transmission of the *sürem*-ritual in the village of Tjodrajal in 1992<sup>1</sup>

The religious repertoire of the Meadow-Mari population is based on ethnic tradition elements. Ethnoreligious heritage is reflected in the visibility of sacred

<sup>1</sup> See Anttonen 1998.

groves even in the post-Soviet religious life of the rural Meadow-Mari. These sites, designated in Mari language as *küs-oto* and *keremet*, are set apart from the rest of natural environment both for the God and for the evil spirits, respectively. They do not function only as established sites for transmitting ritual traditions, but for serving as icons of traditional Mari landscape. As such they are sites of collective memory. Taboos that are connected with the sacred groves prevent people not only from violating social rules, but also from destroying the sites and abolishing the long link of historical duties that connects the present generation with the past ones. As sites of memory they remind people of obligations that they have inherited from their ancestors.

The *sürem*-ritual I attended was performed in a sacred grove (*küs-oto*) that was dedicated to the Oš Kugu Jumo (the white great god). The sacred grove of the Tjodrajal village was partly destroyed in the forties by active members of the Communist Party. What has survived from the olden times up to the present is no longer a very impressive grove, but a space with trees and bushes amid the vast cornfields of a local co-operative farm, administered by seven distinct villages. No external boundaries are marked and not even expressed by behavioral taboos, especially concerning women or children. The sacrificial site was on the edge of a hollow with a huge linden tree as a distinctive topographic marker. The linden tree was still used as a sacrificial tree. Its branches were covered with white cloths that the local population had brought as votive sacrifices.

Two men who acted as sacrificial priests, called *kart* in Mari language, were helped by both elderly men and women who prepared the ritual setting and who assisted in the sacrifices. The older of the *karts* recited prayers by heart while the younger one seemed like a novice as a sacrificial priest. The younger *kart*, not dressed in traditional ritual shoe wear and costume, recited prayers from the little booklet which were collected by ethnographers and published in Joškar-Ola in 1991 (see Popov 1991). The religious folklore of the past generations is no longer transmitted in oral communication, but recycled from the archival sources back to the ritual contexts through publications.

The ritual scene was constructed around three main centers of activity: 1) the site where the animals were sacrificed and flayed, 2) the site where the trunks of linden trees were set up in order to hold the cauldrons over the fire and 3) the two sites that were set apart as altars. Small sacrificial trees were erected on both places on the ground as a token of their sacrality, around the branches of which white towels were tied as a sign of the purity of the altar. After the throat of an sacrificial animal had been cut, the priests recited prayers to God.

“O the great God of sürem! The prophet, the messenger! Today on July 13th, on great Monday, the Mari people are gathered together prostrating and praying in front of you. Bless this day! We are the Ošmarij people. With unstarted bread, with unstarted honey-beer, with a candle, with cloven-footed and fur-bearing animals we beg you to give us happiness, health, happiness for our children, health, sensibility, good life for our families, protect us from headaches, fire, waves, bless our cattle, do not let our financial resources run dry! Give also prosperity to our collective farm! <sup>2</sup>

Sacrificial takes place by untying the animal from the pole that is stuck on the ground. Its feet are, however, tied together with a rope of linden-bark. The animal is thrown over on its left side so that its head is pointing to the direction of the sacrificial tree in the altar. Ritual slaughtering takes place by cutting the throat of the sheep and draining off its blood into a pit dug in the ground nearby the head. While the blood is draining off from the sheep's throat vessels, the *kart* holds a rope of linden-bark in his hands and wets it in the blood above the pit.

A small linden tree is erected on the ground as a sacrificial tree and as a marker of the sacred site set apart for the altar. The sacrificial *kart* takes the blooded rope of linden-bark and places it on the branches of the sacrificial tree. Women participants bring bundles of wheat bread, curd cakes and home-made honey-beer with them as they arrive at the sacred grove. They open up pastry that are wrapped around newspapers and place them on the altar. Adult participants in the ritual, including also us visitors who were there as guests, were advised to perform a candle and a coin sacrifice, to kneel down and make the sign of a cross with hands and place a thin honey-wax candle on the candle-holder in the ground. A small coin was put inside the loaves. Every person donating a candle and a coin said a silent prayer. After assistants to sacrificial priests had cooked the meat of the sacrificial animals in the cauldrons, they were brought to the altar. Addressed with the attribute *kugu* (the great) the god *Jumo* receives the souls of the sacrificed sheep, rams and geese. With bread in his hand the *kart* blesses the meat before it is sliced and distributed to the participants. He carves a chip from a twig of the linden tree in order to make judgments about God's favorableness, hits the blade of his knife against the edge of the cauldron in order to tempt the god, his prophet and the messenger to visit the people. He asks the great God, “*kugu Jumo*”, to bless them with steel-like hardness, iron-like purity and chase the evil beyond the reach of

<sup>2</sup> The prayers of the sürem-ritual are translated from Mari into Finnish by the professor Finno-Ugric linguistics Sirkka Saarinen at the University of Turku. English translation is mine.



the iron's sound. On the altar, there was also a bowl where the participants in the ritual could donate coins and rubels. The money is collected for arranging future rituals.

### 3. The modes of operation in Mari religiosity: Explaining the ritual

After the fall of pan-soviet political ideology, the role of religion has become a central issue in Russia in general, and in respect to Mari ethnicity in particular. In addition to the Greek-Orthodox Christianity, which is the major doctrinal tradition in Russia, the religious culture of the Meadow-Mari is shaped by indigenous traditions of belief and practice blended with Turkic-Tatar elements. Notwithstanding the syncretism, the doctrinal mode is seemingly absent from the religious repertoire of the rural Meadow-Mari population. Orthodox Churches have been built mainly in regions where Russians comprise the majority of the population (Janalov 1996). Those Mari people who are recognized as *rušla vera*, Russian believers, do confess the faith of Russian Orthodoxy, but during the Soviet rule "Sundays were silent". The expression depicts hidden or destroyed church bells either by political leaders or their secret confiscation by village people for the future use. The doctrinal tradition has not played a visible role in the everyday life of the Mari, mainly for the reason that performing religious rituals were prohibited. In the mid-1990's approximately 60 percent of the Meadow-Mari population were classified as *rušla vera*. Five to seven percent are religiously committed to the indigenous systems of belief and practice and classify themselves as adherents of *nature religion*. They identify as *Ošmarij*, the white Mari. Being an *Ošmarij* is tantamount to being a *Čimarij*, one who is an adherent of the old faith and thinks of him/herself as a pure Mari (see Tojdybekova 1998, 223. < V.Šabykov & S. Isanbajev 1995:126-128).

During the 1990's, in the post-Soviet political context, the indigenous systems of belief and practice have been revived in the rural villages, but received publicity and adherence also in the cities, especially among those artists and intellectuals who have moved from the countryside and who have inherited their religious nationalism from their parents. In spite of the political control of religious matters during the Soviet rule, successful transmission of imagistic tradition seems to have taken place in the rural areas. Right before the fall of Soviet Union, the Meadow-Mari activists founded an organization called *Ošmarij-Čimarij Union* in 1991, which continues the work of *Mari ušem* (the Union of the Mari) that was founded already in 1917 in order to oppose conversions into Christianity. Principal social factors

that have influenced on the transmission of imagistic forms of the Meadow-Mari religiosity from one generation to another, and have also operated as catalysts to their renaissance, is the stability of social structure, the low rate of fertility and slow renewal of economic structure. More than 65 percent of the citizens in the Mari El (the Republic of Mari) earn their living from agriculture and forestry.

The resurgence of *sürem*-ritual is part of a larger frame of ethnopolitics that people are creating as a response to their newly gained freedom of self-expression. Nationalism and patriotism are ideologies of identification (see Jenkins 1997, 74-87; 107-123) that have replaced socialism as the single foundation on which attempts to create social cohesion were built. Subsequent to the political change, also the modes of operation that were based on the doctrinal, i.e. centralized, extensively verbalized and efficiently distributed interpretations of the state as an abstract, metaphysical entity and the position of individual citizens within its structure (in which the notion of god was held insignificant) have become altered. The ideological 'telos' of socialism to create equal access to material conditions of living for all individuals in all sections of the society has been transformed. In the competition of limited material resources, access to non-material, spiritual forces of life have become just as well important in creating conditions for better living, and in molding the modern value environment.

Psychologically the revelatory experiences of individual participants play a role, although a minor one, in the transmission of ritual traditions. In post-Soviet political context, the ritual community does not comprise only of members of a small-scale village community. There are "anonymous others" with non-local social background who also participate in the *sürem*-rituals. It is, however, in oral modes of operation in which the Mari have codified and transmitted their religious notions. To employ Whitehouse's scholarly categories, imagistic codification and transmission does not play a crucial role since animal sacrifices cannot be comprehended as an investment "to trigger enduring religious revelations" (see Whitehouse 2000: 20). Since the *sürem*-ritual is emotionally low-arousal and there is no terrifying elements represented in the sequences of the ritual, it cannot be used to support Whitehouse's theory according to which imagistic, low-frequent rituals are emotionally high-arousal (Whitehouse 2002a). The same applies to doctrinal mode of operation. As a form of folk religion, there are no such religious contents in the *sürem* ritual complex that require participants to represent their faith in theologically correct manner. However, if the notion of doctrinal mode of operation can be extended to concern also modalities of codification that are not

designed only by religious elites, e.g. doctrines which leaders of political organizations forge in order to achieve their social goals and in which ethnomythological rhetoric is an integral element, the *sürem*-sacrificial ritual can be classified as politically doctrinal. In the post-Soviet political context, ritual performances of *sürem* are becoming increasingly routinized and frequently repeated. They are positioned in the annual calendar as nationally recognized festivity. Since episodic memory plays far greater role in imagistic religious representations, it is rather semantic than episodic memory (see Whitehouse 2001 and 2002b) that constrains the codification, routinization and frequency of transmission of the *sürem* ritual complex. There is a transition period taking place in the Meadow-Mari folk religiosity. Small, rural *Ošmarij-Čimarij* communities are keeping up with the transmission of ritual traditions that they have inherited from their ancestors, but inevitably both the Russian Orthodox Church and evangelizing Protestant movements shall gain ground among the Mari population.

In post-Soviet religious and political context, the Mari represent a specific form of religious nationalism. The awareness of the Mari as an “imagined community” (see Anderson 1983, 15) is being construed to serve political purposes, in which ethnically bounded expressions of religiosity have an important role to play. Although the *sürem*-ritual is conceptually organized on the basis of Eastern Christianity, its semantic content is created by rhetoric means of its political and religious significance for the Mari national identity. By the sacrificial feast the rural community recognizes that in the course of the agricultural year there are specific temporal periods that are considered more potential than other periods as markers during which the transcendental origins of growth can be manipulated. The *sürem*-period that lasts for several days is set off from work-based social life and during which community members can express their hopes for the better balance in struggling for the individual and collective benefits of life within the larger frame of socio-economic values.

Unlike Russians who are portraying their post-Soviet cultural identity as believing Orthodox Christians, the small number of rural Meadow-Mari population is still relying on the traditional forms of folk religion. In most part, it is the membership in the category of ‘folk’ on the basis of which participation in the religious practices is determined. Low-arousal emotional ritual setting marks the dignity of their ethnoreligious tradition. The participants in the *sürem*-ritual construe their identity according to markers of ethnicity in which animal sacrifice has traditionally played a visible role. By sacrificing sheep, rams and geese in public

rituals participants mark their membership in the local *Ošmarij* political communities. In addition to the fact domestic animals have nutritional value for the Mari as renewable resources, their religious killing is motivated by the belief that God will increase their number and growth and in the same process contribute to the maintenance of the Mari society.

The Mari hold the conviction that specific animal categories contribute to their social cohesion and ethnic survival. Animals that are chosen as instruments of ritual communication are established markers of values by which participants express both their respect to the ancestral heritage and their commitment to anti-Russian sociopolitical program. Beside the Udmurts, the Mari are one of the few known people who continue to perform animal sacrifices in present-day Europe. Participation in the Nature Religion has become a political issue not only in reference with domestic politics, but also international. In addition to distinguishing the Mari way of believing from the Russian way of believing, religious rituals have gained visibility by becoming a major media attraction and drawing public attention to the Mari traditions. The role of animals as ritual agents is perceived as an expression of originality and uniqueness of Mari tradition in the context of Modern Europe, although in present-day discourse the doctrinal value of animal sacrifices as celebrated expressions of traditionalism is being questioned by animal liberation activists. Ritual practices in which the notion of God is taken to encourage killing as a sacramental act of sustaining values of life are considered unethical and as an expression of backwardness of a culture.

How we should assess the role that memory plays in the transmission of ritual traditions of the Meadow-Mari population? During the atheist political program of the Communist Party and its many-layered political control mechanisms, not only the doctrinal religious traditions suffered from the infrequency of religious transmission, but the diversity of folk religious expressions as well. Although Harvey Whitehouse posits that there is a fear that “if religious beliefs and rituals do not take the form that people can remember, they do not know anymore what to believe and how to do rituals” (Whitehouse 2002c). The *sürem*-sacrificial feast, however, proves that it is the semantic knowledge that make people competent to perform the rituals even though their overt transmission was politically inhibited. The real issue on which modes of religiosity in general and imagistic modes of operation in particular depend upon, is not the episodic recollection of emotionally high-arousal events. In Whitehouse’s theory, according to my theoretical reflection, too little attention is paid on the semantic contents of the cultural categories

that form the conceptual foundation for ethnic religious notions and ways of organizing their religious behavior. To argue for the view that religion has a cognitive grounding we do not need only to resort to the impact of revelatory experience in our episodic memory, but just as well to look for both cognitive and social causes that give rise to the recognition of the significance of specific events and episodes. Moreover, for a religion to exist, it does not need the notion of revelation. Rites of initiation and annually repeated calendar rituals are integral elements not only in any folk religious tradition, but also in literally codified and doctrinally unified religious systems as well. An anthropological understanding of the notions of 'religion' and 'religiosity' requires far more subtle tools than what the distinction between imagistic and doctrinal modes of religiosity suggests and provides. As a methodological tool, the distinction between imagistic and doctrinal modes of operation covers too narrow range of modalities or tendencies in various types of religions and religiosities that would provide us a firm conceptual foundation on which to build an adequate theory of religion.

### Sources

Unpublished ethnographic material (including photos and videotapes) collected by dr. Veikko Anttonen and dr. Kaija Heikkinen of the *sürem*-ritual in the village of Tjodrajal in the Republic of Mari. July 13, 1992. The archive of the Department of Cultural Studies, University of Turku, Finland.

### Bibliography

- Anderson, Benedict 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anttonen, Veikko 1998. *The representation of sürem sacrificial ritual among the present-day Meadow-Mari population in Russia*. Acta Ethnographica Hungarica, 43 (1-2), 143-149.
- Heikkinen, Kaija 1992. *Women, Marginality and the Manifestation of Everyday Life. A Study of the Present-day Feasts of the Veps and the Mari (in Russia)*. Ethnologia Fennica 20: 5-17.
- Hämäläinen, Albert 1921. *Tšeremissien kansallinen uskonto*. Maaailma (joulu) 1921: 483-489.
- Hämäläinen, Albert 1928. *Tšeremissien ja votjakkien periodiset pahalaisen karkoitusmenot*. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 7: 26-46.

- Janalov, Vasili 1996. *Luontouskannon renessanssi* (The renaissance of Nature Religion). Unpublished manuscript ( 4 pages).
- Jenkins, Richard 1997. *Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations*. London: Sage Publications.
- Popov, Nikandr 1991. *Marij kumaltyš mut. Joškar-Ola: Marij kniga izdatel'stvo*.
- Šabykov .V. & S. Isanbajev 1995. *Sovremennyye verovanija marijcev (po materialam sociologičeskikh issledovanij). Materily I Vserosijkoj nauchnoj konferencii finnougrovedov. Uzlovyje problemy finnougrovedenija*. Joškar-Ola.
- Tojdybekova, Lidija 1998 *Marien yhteisörukoukset*. Pekka Hakamies (ed.), Ison Karhun jälkeläiset. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 697. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society)
- Whitehouse, Harvey 1995. *Inside the Cult. Religious Innovation and Transmission in Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Whitehouse, Harvey 2000. *Arguments and Icons. Divergent Modes of Religiosity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Whitehouse, Harvey 2001. *Transmissive Frequency, Ritual, and Exegesis*. Journal of Cognition and Culture 1(2): 167-181.
- Whitehouse, Harvey 2002a. *Conjectures, Refutations, and Verification: Towards a testable theory of the modes of religiosity*. Journal of Ritual Studies 16(2): 44-59.
- Whitehouse, Harvey 2002b. *Implicit and Explicit Knowledge in the Domain of Ritual*. In: Ilkka Pyysiäinen and Veikko Anttonen (eds.), *Current Approaches in the Cognitive Science of Religion*, 133-152. London & New York: Continuum.
- Whitehouse, Harvey 2002c. *Modes of Religiosity: Towards a Cognitive Explanation of the Sociopolitical Dynamics of Religion*. *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 14-3.

## Aspects to the religio-geographical concepts “sacred” and “sacred space”

*Keményfi, Róbert*

Studies on the spatial dimension of religious phenomena apply, according to the aim of the study, those basic spatial units that are adopted both in the field of social sciences (eg.: polity, politology, history, ethnography, social geography) and in the field of natural sciences (natural geography, biology/ecology). However, it should be emphasized that despite the fact that the notions are the same, their content differs according to the disciplines (even according to the different branches of the given discipline). That is why efforts are made now and then in the international literature to clarify the function and nature of the various spatial units (landscape, place) in different situations. For example, the word “landscape” is the same in ethnography, history and geography, yet these disciplines have different approaches to the meaning of the expression. As a matter of fact, the history of the ethnographical landscape-research shows that even inside ethnography different definitions and types were developed for the concept of the landscape depending on the branch of ethnography that carried out the research. According to this principle, research in the field of ethnography of religion have created their own conception of landscape, which, on the one hand is identical with, and on the other hand, different from the interpretation of landscape adopted in geography of religion.

The expression “landscape” comes from the Dutch painters of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century, and was spread in geography via the English language. Considering that with the evolution of this science the concept had to meet more and more demands, the content of meaning of “landscape” has become the central issue of the researchers’ discussions. Landscape is the most frequently used concept in natural geography, since this branch treats landscape as a basic unit of research, where the landscape-factors (eg.: soil, climate, relief) form a complex system.<sup>1</sup> However, as a result of the nature transforming effect of the society, natural landscapes unaf-

---

<sup>1</sup> Hettner, A. 1927



fectured by human influence are very hard to find. That is why the concept *cultural landscape* was adopted in scholarly literature as a “supplementation” in content to natural landscape, to reflect the results of the interrelationship between nature and society. In cultural landscape the various natural geographical and social/cultural elements form a complex, spatial system. This term is also open towards ethnography, since its original meaning has broadened: as cultural expressions are changing constantly, the concept of cultural landscape has to be interpreted dynamically as well.

Approaching the concept of cultural landscape with this aspectual shift leads one to realize that the expression could provide malleable frameworks to study the infinite spatial variations of social phenomena. According to this aspect the meaning of cultural landscape can establish the passage from geography to the investigation of the spatial issues in ethnography, as the broadening meaning of the concept makes it possible to use the term referring not only to the landscape formed as a result of the interrelation of natural and social phenomena, but also explicitly (or specially) to the complex spatial system of the constantly changing cultural phenomena of the social environment. I believe that such an approach provides the possibility to broaden the traditional cultural landscape units (eg.: Mediterranean or lowland). Even individual settlements can be considered cultural landscapes, where the spatial interconnectedness of the different cultural elements is analyzed. Therefore, cultural landscape is the environment that was created by man.<sup>2</sup> According to this phrasing even the social environment can be regarded as an independent (in other words, not dependent on the original natural environment) cultural landscape. So, if we regard the expression “landscape” applied to man-shaped landscape to be a collective/grouping concept, then the nature of the cultural landscape can be further clarified according to the aim of the research concerning the given social phenomenon. Consequently, the concept of sacral or sacred landscape, which can be interpreted as a subtype of cultural landscape, has appeared in ethnography of religion and geography of religion.<sup>3</sup> Owing to several comprehensive studies of Georg Schreiber, the expression gradually adapted to international and Hungarian folklore studies and ethnography of religion.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Wirth, E. 1979: 94-97.; Gunzelmann, T. 1987:32-33.

<sup>3</sup> However, it should be noted that the ambivalence of sacral power is reflected in the Latin expression „sacrum” as this word has a double – “sacred” and “not sacred” – meaning. Nevertheless, it is common in the two opposite senses that both meanings differ from “profane”. In other words, public speaking almost only uses it in the first, “sacred” sense with the “sacral” attribute, which can refer to helping and harming powers. – Sopher, E.S. 1967. 49.

<sup>4</sup> For the conceptual clarification of landscape-research in Hungary, see Bartha, E. 1992.



The question is though, that in what system of relations could the geographical landscape apply the attribute "sacred"? Or, in other words, how, and in what senses did the concept of "sacred", which had originally come to use in social sciences and theology, integrated into the exact, (theoretically/originally) quantitative science of geography? Even geography of religion has recognized by now that the spatial functioning of religious places and spaces cannot be understood, their relations cannot be interpreted while disregarding their surplus in content. As a result, the more subtle description of the sense of "sacred" appeared in geography of religion. Although ethnography and geography have much in common in interpreting the expression "sacred", because of the nature of these disciplines, there is still a shift of emphasis in using the term.

### To the concept of "sacred"

Present day ethnography uses the concept "sacred" most naturally. Veikko Anttonen has devoted a whole volume to the Finnish word "pyhä" – sacr(aliz)ed – and he presents the surplus in meaning that can be summarized by this word through the phenomena of Finnish culture.<sup>5</sup> The relationship between "pyhä" and the religious "sacred" is very complicated. The two terms only partially overlaps in certain parts of their meanings and are not precisely corresponding categories. However, the comparison of the two expressions clearly delineates the spatially important meaning of the sacral attribute in ethnography.

The etymological root of the word "pyhä" basically used as an adjective means: "to separate". The word "pyhä", the closest interpretation of which is "taken out of the environment", is used to denote such special natural places (eg.: rivers, ponds, hills) which separate the (wild) territories of different peoples. The question is: why should we call these spatial phenomena "sacred"? According to Veikko Anttonen, the following criteria should be satisfied for the usage of the expression:

- the place is an uninhabited, wild territory
- this should be the first name of the territory
- the place has a special function for the owner population
- the place is special, uncommon from a topographical point of view.

The above-mentioned criteria refer to such a conscious activity, through which the residents attempt to conciliate the given place with mythical places in order to reinforce their local identity.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Anttonen, V. 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Gribben, A. 1990: 277-291.

The word “pyhä” has a religious reference only to the extent it can be related to “sociality” and “territoriality”.

“Pyhä”: Social relevance: Crossing borders can be done only after proper, socially prescribed ceremonies.

Spatial relevance: Spatial borders are of magic, religious nature. “Pyhä” refers to the presence of subjective factors besides religion, which can make certain spatial elements or points of time sacral. In other words, a way of thinking different from religion can also make a place or object “sacred”.<sup>7</sup>

The sacral in a religious sense (sacr[aliz]ed) simultaneously refers to the process and the result of the process. Although sacral phenomena are recognized by other creeds as well, only followers of the religion concerned are capable of decoding the exact meaning of the sacred. The general content of the sacred (sacral) can be summed up in three points:

- consciousness in operation
- recognizing sacred things
- dissimilitude in quality different from the profane environment.

The expression sacred means not only a state, as I have mentioned, but also a process. On the one hand it means the process of consecration in a religious sense, but on the other hand it also refers to the social behaviour of man. Such a dynamic interpretation of “sacred” (“the continuous production of sacredness”) opens a way from the religious sense of the expression to the social conception of “sacred” (similarly to the notion of ethnicity: from ethnic state to ethnic dynamics<sup>8</sup>). Human behaviour is exposed to public attention, so “sacred” is not exclusively a religious functionality, but also a social set of relations (regulated, can be studied, and observable). This way sacred is not only a category of religious life, but also that of social life. So sacred should be interpreted as a symbolic border-constituting power/ effect. It starts operating in such social situations where categories, which are considered as value (eg.: marriage, justice, personal freedom, etc.), of a person or the community become fragile and endangered. Consequently, sacred is a category protecting against phenomena considered negative in the society, and referring also to the attack against these phenomena.<sup>9</sup>

Since asking questions in a geographical sense refers only to a special dimension, the spatial dimension of human activity, it does not need the multi-level

<sup>7</sup> Anttonen, V. 1999: 9-11.

<sup>8</sup> Barth, F. 1994. 11-32.; Keményfi, R. 2000. 255-266.

<sup>9</sup> Anttonen 2000. 271-282.

interpretation of "sacred" like ethnography, in fact, questions in the classic geographical sense – measurability, "tangibility", real existence in space – are unfamiliar with spirituality. So the traditional school of geography cannot deal with the personal manifestation and spiritual phenomena of religiosity. Researches on absolute space are only capable of analyzing the spatial processes of the institutionalized (i.e.: "real") structure of religious systems<sup>10</sup>: "Post-Enlightenment geography, with its emphasis on the observable, countable, and measurable properties of phenomena, has no place for spirituality. ... The pendulum seems to have swung too far the other way, and so-called 'modern geography' is founded on a set of assumptions about people and what motivates them that gives no credit to the supernatural, the apparently international, or the normative influence of the belief systems. There are some signs of attempts to redress the balance. If these even partially successful, we might expect to see spiritually back on the geographical agenda again in the future."<sup>11</sup>

That is why classic geography basically evades the exact geographical definition of "sacred", since its true meaning refers beyond the level of everyday (geographical) experiences. This stern forbearance from interpreting "sacred" has been "softened-up" by ecological anthropology's branch studying religious spatial structures and the environmental embeddedness of practicing religion, which gradually involved personal spaces in its scope of research.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, spatial science continues to be careful in defining "sacral", because "to broach the theme of holiness or the sanctity of place in geography always verges on the trite or the impertinent... (and threatens) to intrude on a domain preempted by theology."<sup>13</sup> It is important for geographers as well to feel the role and significance of the devotion and the miracle in experiencing the "sacred". Despite of the fact that the sacred place is a spatial unit of real expanse (ie.: measurable by geography) on Earth, sacred places cannot be replaced or transferred, because the place concerned received sacredness on that very spot.<sup>14</sup> Consequently geography of religion also has to accept that "sacred" is a double-meaning notion: both the absolute and the relative (mental) contents are present together in the concept. However, if a more "geographical" definition is needed, different from the theological, ethnographical, psychological ones, one may claim that "sacred" means the manifestation (mys-

<sup>10</sup> Sopher, D.E. 1967. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Park, C. C. 1994.26-27.

<sup>12</sup> Sopher, D. E. 1967. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Cited after Erich Isaac, who studies the spatiality of religiousness: Park, C. C. 1994. 250.

<sup>14</sup> Park, C. C. 1994. 250.

tery) of the transcendent world beyond and apart from the intelligible geographical environment. But this surplus in content does influence the space-organizing potency, the space-structural place of the given area, in other words, without this spiritual essence even geography cannot understand and analyze religious spatial processes, as it cannot give an even approximately precise view of the spatial operation of the analyzed sacred place. Depending on the conception of space, the attribute refers either rather to state (absolute space: “consecrated”) or rather to process (relative space: “being consecrated”): “It is by no accident where sacral buildings and other objects are located in the settlement-structure, since even the building itself possesses meaning and conveys information (given state – K. R.). These pieces of information are enhanced by the continuous repetition and continuous presence in the system of daily activities, and one cannot put aside their psychological effects (“production” process on the mental level – K. R.)”<sup>15</sup>

### To the concept of sacred space

Religion and space are closely intertwining concepts. Seeing that space is the object of research in geography, the concept of sacred space has appeared naturally in geography of religion. Ethnography also takes an interest in the spatiality of religiousness, and, similar to geography, the absolute and relative conceptions of space are also present in ethnographic researches. Yet the designated end delineates the differences in accentuation between the two sciences.

#### THE RELATIVE SPACE

On the one hand cognitive studies in geography attempt to represent the individual’s experiences concerning (sacred) space. On the other hand “sacred” refers to the process, to being consecrated in representing mental spatiality, namely it raises the question about the kind of space-experience the given sacred space appears in the believer’s mind.

In turn, ethnography aims to thoroughly analyze the individual’s and the community’s attachment to sacred places through religion. That is why the terminology on connectedness to sacred places is so subtle in ethnography. The main organizing nodes: 1. attachment to natural landscapes, 2. attachment to cities, 3. attachment to architecture (religious buildings and homes). Based on these frame-nodes, we can analyze the relationship of religion and emotion to space and the

<sup>15</sup> Bartha, E. 1992. 75.

development of attachment itself. We could sum it up by declaring that ethnography asks about attachment to sacred places as one thread of religious identity.<sup>16</sup>

#### THE ABSOLUTE SPACE

When presenting geographical "sacred" I mentioned that in the other (absolute) context of the interpretation of space the attribute "sacred" refers to that place/space in which the sacred appears. These are the permanent sacral places, in which sacred is regularly and constantly present. In this case geography of religion primarily deals with the space-influencing role of the sacred place. What effect does the sacred place have on the economy and population of the given area? As an example it focuses on the spatial net of tourism, traffic, and commerce related to shrines and pilgrim places.

The absolutist interpretation of the sacral space: in the narrowest perspective it means the really present objects playing roles in the manifestation of sacredness (church, bell, crucifixes, sculptures, chapels, dwelling houses, cemetery). In this approach investigations of space are aimed at the religion-organizing potency of the objects, and practically designate the revealing of a thread of religious identity linked to objective space (eg.: course of movement, activity spaces).<sup>17</sup>

The concept of the double natured (absolute and relative) sacral landscape cannot be defined on the basis of space-conception. Georg Schreiber created the expression "sacral landscape" to describe the area of influence of a shrine or a sacral center. Later the meaning of the concept broadened and now ethnography of religion regards those objects of human environment (objectivity) to be sacral landscape, which have some religious contents for the believers (subjectivity). This environment induces the religious individual / community to practice his or their religion, or simply reminds him/ them to their religion.<sup>18</sup> I believe that we should return to the meaning of "pyhä" in order to describe the Janus-faced sacral landscape more subtly.

According to the above-mentioned ideas, the expression primarily referred to the partition (accentuation) of not the built, but the natural landscape elements (river, creek, hill, forest) from the profane environment. In other words, the "pyhä" is a concept primarily (but not exclusively) related to landscape (and also to space). So the term is applicable in describing the ecological approach:

– It can refer to the (in this case: mainly) border-constituting potency of real landscape elements existing in the objective environment, and

<sup>16</sup> Mazumdar S. – Mazumdar, S. 1993. 231-242.

<sup>17</sup> Bartha, E. 1992. 39-74.

<sup>18</sup> Bartha, E. 1992. 31-32.

– It can refer to that content of the conscience, which “sets off” the given element from space.

On the basis of this, the functioning of a given part of landscape can be analyzed with traditional geographical or/and with (cultural) ecological methods, and with methods aiming the mental space. While “pyhä” has only a limited religious reference (see above), the meaning of this adjective can be transferred to the research of explicitly religious spaces. In this case the link between the religious “sacred” and “pyhä” is spatiality.

As a summary, it can be stated that the more and more subtle use of “sacred” in the geography of religion was made possible because of the recent aspectual shift in geography. Traditional geographical approach, which primarily focused on the exact, objective space, was complemented and partly replaced by the research of the space-perception capability of the subjective consciousness, namely that of individual, relative spaces. A new trend of research, which brought a turn in quality, has appeared in social geography: the conception of space as cultural factor, instead of “container”. Ethnography as a discipline concentrating on “small-region phenomena”<sup>19</sup> could (in fact, it does) have a place in this qualitative approach. It is by no accident that Hungarian geography of religion regards itself through recognizing the religious results of the also geographically rooted cultural ecology in Hungary.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, the approach focusing on individuality, which was integrated into geography after ethnography, does not use the expression “sacred” as a “simple” descriptive attribute (as it is the case in traditional geography), but in a way that it refers de facto to the individual characteristics of the given place, to its irreproducible (depending on the actual situation) content. By now the sacral (sacred) landscape described above has become such a complex spatial category, in which the built objects adjusting to the natural environment and serving religiousness (the place) are simultaneously “present” with the believer’s attachment to the place through religiousness, namely with the inner individual quality of the landscape.

## References

- Anttonen, Veikko 1996. *Ihmisen ja maan rajat. “Pyhä” kulttuurisena kategoriana.*  
Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

<sup>19</sup> Kraas-Schneider, F. 1992. 78.

<sup>20</sup> Hunyadi 1998. 325-347.

- Anttonen, Veikko 1999. *Nation and its Territory as Ritualized Space: Examining the Concept Of the Sacred as a Boundary Marker in Finland*. In: Bartha, Elek – Keményfi, Róbert (ed.): *Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica* Tom. 11. Debrecen: Publikations of the Department of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen, 9-22.
- Anttonen, Veikko 2000. *Sacred*. In: Braun, Willi – McCutcheon, T. R. (ed.): *Guide to the Study Of Religion*. London and New York: Cassel, 271– 282.
- Barth, Fredrick 1994. *Enduring and emerging issues in the analysis of ethnicity*. In: Vermeulen, Hans–Govers, Cora (ed.): *The Antropology of Ethnicity*. 11–32. Amsetrdam: Het Spinhuis
- Bartha Elek 1992. *Vallásökológia. Szakrális ökoszisztémák szerveződése és működése a népi vallásosságban*. Debrecen: Ethnica Kiadás 202p. (Ecology of Religion. The Organization and Functioning of Sacral Eco–Systems in Popular Religiousness.)
- Gribben, Arthur 1990. *Táin Bó Cuailnge: A Place On The Map, A Place on The Mind*. *Western Folklore*. 49 (July): 277–291.
- Gunzelmann, Thomas 1987. *Die Erhaltung der historischen Kulturlandschaft. Bamberger wirtschaftsgeographische Arbeiten*. Heft 4. Bamberg: (Univ. Diss.)
- Hettner, Alfred 1927. *Die Geographie. Ihre Geschichte, ihr Wesen und ihre Methoden*. Breslau 463 p.
- Hunyadi László 1998b. *Vallásföldrajz*. (Geography of Religions.) In: Tóth József – Vuics Tibor (szerk.): *Általános társadalomföldrajz*. I. (Humangeography) Budapest–Pécs: Dialog Campus Kiadó, 325–347.
- Keményfi Róbert 2000. *Streben nach der "räumlichen Realisierung" der symbolischen ethnischen Grenzen in Südosteuropa*. In: Dekker, Ton – Helsloot, John – Wijers, Carla (ed.): *Roots & Rituals. The construction of ethnic identities*. 255–266. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis
- Kraas-Schneider, Frauke 1992. *Ethnolinguistische Bevölkerungsgruppen und Minoritäten in der geographischen Forschung*. *Die Erde*. 123: 3: 177-190.
- Mazumdar, Shampa – Mazumdar, Sanjoy 1993. *Sacred Space and Place Attachment*. *Journal of Enviromental Psychology*. 13: 231–242.
- Park, Chris C. 1994. *Sacred Worlds. An Introduction to Geography and Religion*. London and New York: Routledge 332 p.
- Sopher, David E. 1967. *Geography of Religions*. Engelwood Cliffs. 118 p.
- Wirth, Eugen 1979. *Theoretische Geographie*. Stuttgart:Verlag Teubner





# Ethnography in a modern hospice: construction of sacrality behind the seemingly natural

*Terhi Utriainen*

## By the side of the dying

I am going to deal with the construction of sacredness in a modern Finnish hospice setting. A hospice is a care centre for terminally ill people. The hospice-movement started in Great Britain in the 1960s as a reaction against the conditions of dying people in modern hospitals. The criticism pointed out such faults as the seclusion of the dying, impersonal and objectifying treatment of them, and denial of approaching death by both the dying and his/her relations, as well as by the whole society. Since the '60s and '70s hospices have been set up in all parts of the world. The hospice-movement not only arranges homes for dying people, but also educates medical and nursing professionals as well as volunteers and relatives in the care of the dying, and promotes the possibilities for dying at home.

The hospice is a central institution providing discourse regarding the contemporary culture of death (especially in engendering ethical and normative public discussions on the conditions of the dying and on a "good death") as well as the opportunities for new ways to ritualize death. In making public the phenomenon of death in modern society, which has often been characterized as death-denying, the hospice-movement also promotes discussion on such themes as the notion of personality, and the value of human life. In doing all this, the hospice-movement is a rich field for the anthropologist who is interested in fundamental cultural structures of being-in-the-world in western society today. Study on the hospice is in line with studies done in the anthropology of death rituals and customs in different cultures, where death-related themes are seen as windows to central cultural values (e.g. Bloch & Parry 1982).

The name 'hospice' refers initially to medieval hospices or inns which were kept by women, often nuns, for travellers and pilgrims. The founder of the modern movement was Cicely Saunders, who explicitly combined Christian ethics of char-

ity and modern medical practices of care, and whose motto was that “when there is nothing to be done, there is still a lot to do”. In Finland the beginning of the hospice-movement can be dated to the early 1980s, when a great deal of publishing was initiated on the theme of the good care for dying patients. There are only three proper hospices in Finland, but many hospitals have integrated some of the principles into their own practices. The three hospices are very visible in public debates (on the themes of euthanasia, and medication, for example) and in the education of caregiving.

This paper is based on research done for my doctoral dissertation “Present, naked, pure; study in the anthropology of religion on women by the side of the dying” (1999).<sup>1</sup> The study was not directly or initially a study on the hospice-movement. It started instead as a study on religious and ritual traditions of women, and it was motivated by discussions in anthropology and in women’s studies concerning the special role and status of women vis à vis death, dying people and mourning (e.g. de Beauvoir 1949; Bloch 1982; Bronfen 1992; Caraveli-Chaves 1980; Hockey 1997; Nenola 1990). Women’s affinity to death can be seen in the symbolic as well as the practical and ritual contexts in many cultures. It is also very clear in our western, Christianity-based cultural practices. My study aimed at contributing to these theoretical discussions from the perspective of the experience of the modern caregiver of the dying. How did she articulate her experience by the side of the dying, with its cultural, religious, social and personal meanings? The gender-question will be dealt with on the very last pages.

The principal sources of my study were of two kinds: firstly, an analysis of 500 texts written by Finnish caregivers for the dying in the first half of the 1990s. This material was produced in the context of a nationwide project, „Good death” supervised by the Ministry of Health. Secondly, a two month complementary ethnographic study, based on participatory observation in a Finnish hospice. The hospice actually became the primary context or field of my study because the hospice movement exemplifies discussions and ideals in regard to death in contemporary Finnish society.

The primary textual material was 507 texts written by the caregivers, 422 of them written by women. These figures show that the question of gender is constitutive to the whole source material, which thus clearly reflects the division of labour related to the managing and dealing with death in the contemporary situation. I „interviewed” the writers of these texts as if they were my informants

<sup>1</sup> The study was part of an interdisciplinary project called „Death, Suffering and Signification” sponsored by the Academy of Finland and directed by professor Marja-Liisa Honkasalo.

in an ethnographic field study, and I read the texts as „answers” to certain very elementary questions.

The questions I posed to the narrators of the texts were: 1. Who are you? 2. What is it that you are doing? 3. What does it mean? Although the textual material was as large in volume (approx. 3,000 printed pages), and heterogenous in style and textual genres (autobiographies, reports, speculative essays, poems), when it was read keeping in mind the above-mentioned elementary questions (which focused on the identity and basic experiences of the caregiver) the answers came surprisingly as one voice.

*„I am the one who is present”; (‘läsnä’)*

*„What is needed by the side of the dying, is above all, presence” (‘läsnäolo’);*

*„I am trying to be as present as possible”;*

*„The meaning of being at the deathbed is presence; only after that come different ‘tricks’ and skills.”*

The texts by the caregivers thus revealed that „presence” is the necessary element during the death of the other. Many writers state how often significant others, such as doctors or relatives, find it easier to absent themselves from the deathbed, and how the presence of somebody is the key in providing a dignified and good death. „Presence” is also seen as a core value, as the foundation of ethics of the care for the dying. On the most simple level it means the same as „being there”. It is not, however, restricted to spatial closeness; it also entails a particular quality or way of being. Presence is described as being rather than doing. It has an interesting quality of passivity in it.

Methodologically this observation gave two possibilities: 1) The recurrent expression of „presence” could be taken at face value, as self-evident and obvious, and not calling for analysis; 2) It could also be analysed as (at least to some extent) culturally constructed. This second option, which I chose, starts from the phenomenologically motivated notion, that what we take as self-evident or as „natural” is very often a cultural construction that has become so naturalised that it is for us our „second nature”.<sup>2</sup> Anthropologists who study foreign cultures quite often

<sup>2</sup> The heuristic theoretical starting point of my study was Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s (1945) phenomenological notion of the embodied inter-subjectivity of the human situation. Being-in-the-world (perceiving, sensing, feeling, knowing) is rooted in a particular situation which is always already cultural, and which entails the subject’s embodied position or posture, and a relation to other(s). I turned this into an ethnographic idea, that culture can be studied through a detailed description of the seemingly simple bodily positions and gestures in everyday or institutional situations and settings, and the relations between people that these positions and gestures create and express. Ethnographically and anthropologically my methodology comes close to Michael Jackson’s radical empiricism (1989).

do exactly this: dig into the constructedness of what from the emic-perspective seems natural and self-evident.

The expression „presence” was stated and repeated almost ad infinitum in the large corpus of texts. It was often also formulated in strikingly similar ways, so much so, that the expressions gave the impression of either tautology or a sort of mantra, or liturgy: as something not only shared but also continually and collectively reinforced. Many writings even made explicit references to certain published texts by well-known writers in the field of the ethics of care as well as the hospice-movement, which proved – after a closer scrutiny – to be very influential in the making of the ethos of the Finnish hospice movement. Intertextual reading (by which I mean following the explicit and more implicit stylistic references and allusions to different intertexts of the analysed text) revealed repeatedly and convincingly, how pervasive the moral idea (or perhaps even a norm) of presence was in the hospice discourse, and how deeply this discourse had made its way into the caregivers’ way of expressing what they felt were their very own, and very intimate experiences.

This last observation is, of course, not in any way original. People’s expressions of their own and even very intimate situations are often constructions of elements or traces from various discourses and registers. Concepts from influential and normative discourses become part of the everyday language used to express personal and intimate sentiments. Culture and language give form, structure and meaning to the intimate. A strongly constructivist stance would say that language even constructs the experience. On the middle ground, I think it reasonable to see them as strongly directive elements in molding experiences, and in making them either wanted and legitimate or avoided and repressed, or labeled as beyond the ordinary or profane: as sacred.

### The sacrality of death in hospital and hospice

Focusing on the process of sacralization of „presence” in the context of the modern hospice is also an attempt on my part to analyse some form or aspect of the construction and maintenance of sacred in one’s own, modern culture, which is often characterized as secularized.(e.g. Berger 1967; McGuire 1997). Modern society is determined by a division of labour between numerous separate institutions, and the medical institution has taken over many functions which were formerly religious. In doing this the medical institution has also incorporated and assimilated some Christian values and deeply significant structures. Many of them

are not, of course, overtly stated as Christian in origin or essence, or as religious at all, but as „natural”– „nature” and „natural” being the self-justificatory bases of legitimation in the natural and technological sciences, and in related institutions. It is challenging to try to describe and analyse this sacralised nature. It often comes very close to what we see as self-evident, provided that we see it at all. The analytic task of unnaturalising the „natural”, or of showing the constructed nature of the self-evident, is, I think, one important task in studying one’s own culture, also in the field of comparative religion.

The hospice itself is seen and constructed as a sacred space in the modern world, a place apart. The sacredness of the hospice as a place for death and dying can be seen both in respect to the whole society, and in respect to the medical institution, or the hospital institution it is part of. The hospital (not the hospice) is a special spatial setting and institution within the society, which entails a whole set of peculiar, but often at least on the surface level rationalized rituals. But it is also a place apart from the rest of the society. The hospital is the legitimate place for death in modern society. But since the hospital is principally a place for cure and recovery, death is an anomaly, an unavoidable but irritating intruder. This paradoxical attitude of the medical institution towards death has been a source of much critical awareness during the last decades. There have been many, mostly sociological, but also philosophical analyses criticizing the profanization of death by the medical institution, and the seclusion of the dying from the rest of society. A big target for critics has also been the „tabooing” of death, meaning that there has been a gigantic modern project, or even a modern conspiracy to silence death into nonexistence because the modern ethos cannot deal with it. (See e.g. Baudrillard 1976; Bauman 1992.)

Interestingly the tabooing and seclusion have been interpreted as part of the processes of secularisation and profanization; within the hospice-discourse, I have not encountered the idea that in fact the sacred is often marked by seclusion, and surrounded by taboos. From anthropologist perspective of the sacred, the modern hospital could in fact be seen to have taken the sacralization of death to its astonishing (but not necessarily illogical) extreme. Death could well be argued – and has in fact been argued in a different context from the hospice-discourse (e.g. Jantzen 1998, also Baudrillard 1976) – to form the very obsession of modernity. This obsession, in which a culture both denies and avoids, and on the other hand, is utterly fascinated with death, might well be seen as a form of sacralization. (Here the „sacred”, of course, comes close to its „left-hand” meaning given to it

by Durkheim and Bataille: the „cursed“.) To follow the above line of thinking, the hospice as a critical counterculture movement, whose aim is to drastically change the medical-based attitude towards death, can be seen as an attempt to unsacralize, i.e. to profanize the horribly sacred death of modernity.

This can be seen for instance in the language of the hospice-movement, where expressions like „to render death natural again“; or „to make death again a part of life“; or „to bring death in the midst of life“ abound. These expressions are often in terms of nostalgia or social criticism. It is, however, also interesting to see them as an example of disrobing one kind of sacrality, and of making space for another kind of sacrality, this time the „real“, and „good“, „moral“, or „natural“ sacrality of the hospice itself. The hospice in a sense is reclaiming the right sacrality of death. This ‘right’ sacrality is not understood as tabooed or prohibited, but quite on the contrary, as a very positive and central value.

The key terms which determine each other, and which are also often treated as interchangeable in the discourse of the hospice-movement and its construction of the „right“ sacrality of death are: „present“, „natural“, „good“, and „real“, or „authentic“. In the narrative often repeated in the hospice-discourse, these terms are used to evoke a scene of the „good old agrarian life“, where people were believed to have died a good death, naturally at home, with all the closest people present by their side. People’s attitudes towards death are seen to have been real, authentic. This death scene is seen as both natural and sacred. It is not a seclusive sacred scene reserved for an elite, but a real and natural possibility for everyone. Natural belongs almost by definition to everyone; it is what is original and right for us all. This in fact is one dictum of „good“ modernity. We would still have this naturality – the story continues – if we had not lost it, if we had not given it up to the temptations of „bad“ modernity.<sup>3</sup> The hospice-movement finds its mission in telling and teaching us that we can recover this naturality again.

The story goes on to say how in this process we would also be healed as individuals, and find a healthier way of life. There are clear parallels to the New Age or New Spirituality language with its stress on the theme of ridding ourselves of the bad, the socially conditioned, and the alienated sides of us, and adopting the attitude of naturality, or authenticity (e.g. Heelas 1996). The hospice discourse can be analysed as part of contemporary authenticity-talk, where the major change is seen to start from individual experience as a kind of conversion.

---

<sup>3</sup> Modernity is not an undivided lump, but it has sides and aspects which are seen as positive or as negative depending on context and interest.

This narrative of cultural and personal recovery (authentification) uses impressive and religiously loaded, indeed very Christian language. One recurrent metaphor throughout my textual sources (both in the printed hospice-literature and in the original writings of the caregivers) is the metaphor of unveiling or undressing: nakedness. According to this metaphorical narrative, as the dying person is „undressed” of all masks and roles in the process of dying, we too, as those present, should „undress ourselves”. („The dying of the other also forces the one present to undress herself”, as one of my informants puts it.) This is one meaning of „presence” in the writings of the caregivers: presence is what is left when we take off everything unreal or unessential. It is the sacred nakedness, the authentic and natural purity of the human being. This is what the hospice-discourse stresses as the attribute of the good caregiver in the modern drama or ritual of the deathbed. Behind this ideal of a „naked presence” there is a dense fabric of Christian imagery of sin, repentance, death and resurrection. The Christian metanarrative of the human condition appears in many places in both the Old and New Testaments (from Genesis, through the Book of Job to Paul and finally the Apocalypse) through the images of nakedness and the newly dressed. The hospice discourse uses this imagery extensively in constructing and expressing its ideals. My study indicates that our contemporary vocabulary and metaphors for dying and suffering are still to a considerable extent deeply Christian.

### Constructing the sacred presence in the spatialities of the hospice

After these remarks on the construction of the sacred presence in different hospice-related texts, I shall turn to the more strictly ethnographic part of the study and ask how the sacrality of presence was constructed, maintained, enacted and experienced as a social reality in the hospice. My ethnography was based on the participatory observation of a novice in the caregiving work. From this stance and position information was gathered by learning the required tasks and attitudes, and by stepping into the process of acculturation and the various interactive situations. (My methodology was partly inspired by the phenomenologically based project of „radical empiricism” by the Australian anthropologist Michel Jackson.) I wanted to observe „presence” in the lived social world of the hospice. How would the ideal of presence be performed?

Compared with other methods, ethnography best revealed the field of social reality where the construction and the maintenance of the sacred presence was in process. It posed a radical challenge to the psychologically motivated, empathy-based presence of the caregiver by exposing the bodily suffering of the dying.



The initial intention was to bring in two ethnographers to observe activities at the hospice in order to get a „thicker” description, to use Clifford Geertz’s words. This was in fact done during the first, or the pilot week. After the end of the week the staff were very stressed and confused by our role as participant observers. They felt that our being there made futile the very core of their work – and this core was, in their own words, „the presence”. By saying this they pointed out two things: 1) the central importance of presence as the aim and task of hospice care – this is what the textual analysis had already revealed. 2) they also pointed out the delicacy and vulnerability of this presence: it was something (a form of interaction, relationship or experience) that needed to be protected.

In the hospice studied the construction of sacred can be analysed from the spatial angle. The hospice itself is a sacred space in the profane world; it is also an especially sacred place in the margins of the western hospital. The sometimes dichotomous relationship between hospital and hospice might be thought of as the distinction between „place” and „non-place” offered by the French anthropologist Marc Augé (1995). Augé calls „non-places” the special forms of spatiality in our contemporary western-based culture, which he has termed „super-modernity”. According to his idea, modernity, which is characterized as a life lived through institutions like the hospital, has further created a kind of liminal spatiality for transit situations, which have become more and more frequent in super-modern life. These transit situations involve corresponding transit identities. Augé’s central examples are the transit spaces of the airport and air, train, or motorway travel where people become anonymous and solitary passengers, unrelated to history or society. As the „non-place” extends in the contemporary society, we are also witnessing nostalgia for the more traditional „place”; for instance, weekend cottages in the countryside rooted in a living social, historical and cultural milieu.

The modern hospital might to a certain extent be seen from the perspective of „non-place”. Patients give away their identities, their relations and their rootedness to everyday local and moral lives; they become solitary passengers in a curious no-man’s land. The hospice, instead, is trying to replace (for the special category of people who are dying) this „non-place” with a „place” where the dying person can retain her/his history, society and relations. This can even be seen from the homelike atmosphere of the interior of a hospice. Patients may bring in their personal clothes and other items, as well as furniture. An aura of sacredness is given to this newly recovered and appreciated „natural” and humanitarian „place” of the hospice, whose aim is to anchor people and their identity during the very last



moments of their life.<sup>4</sup> (In reality the result is of course not a home, but rather a combination of contemporary hospital and a small cosy family-run hotel.)

The hospice is not, however, an undivided sacred space when seen from within. It is, much like a church or a temple, a space where the degree of sacrality varies. Five kinds of space can be discerned in the hospice. One is space for the staff only: the kitchen and coffee-room, as well as the storerooms and the office. For patients and their relatives there are four categories of space. One is the public space where during the day virtually anyone can walk, and where both patients and their visitors can have lunch and coffee, play games, walk around and talk. There is a comfortable entrance hall with stylish old-fashioned furniture, couches and small tables for sitting, reading or visiting. There is another hall for dining and having tea or coffee. In the middle of the estate there is a spacious conservatory with benches to sit on, and where one can listen to music.

Then there is the private space of the individual rooms (during my time there was only one patient in one room at a time even though most of the rooms were double rooms). The rooms have a hospital bed and a side table, but apart from this the furniture is not hospital-like. Some of it has been willed by earlier patients or their relatives, some has been received as donations. There are pictures on the walls and flowers on tables. The rooms are spacious, with their own bathrooms and showers. There is plenty of room in the wardrobes for the patient's own clothes and personal items, as well as for those of their relatives or friends who often come to stay for much longer periods than they would in hospitals. People spend most of their time with their closest ones in these rooms, and very often alone. They provide space for privacy and/or solitude, and for most of the suffering. Without exception, it is in these relatively private places that people die. These rooms are also nocturnal space – in the sense that suffering and anxiety seem to intensify, and even dying often takes place at night. (The spatial reality of the hospice was considerably different at night.) Restless patients called from their rooms for help, solace or company: for presence. The presence of the caregiver took place in this space, giving it the quality of intimacy between two people.

The third and fourth category of space are the small morgue and chapel. The morgue is a closet hidden from sight in the entrance hall of the chapel, which is also called the „silent room”. The dead bodies are laid on biers one upon the other

<sup>4</sup> As if the „bad” marginalization (as seclusion from society with no possibility of reentering it) of the dying caused by the modern hospital could be changed into the „good” liminality of the hospice (as a specially marked place within the society).

and wrapped in plastic, with a name card at their feet. The silent room is very different. The room itself is airy, calm and decorated with a few religious symbols. The deceased lies on her/his bed in the middle of the room. She/he is covered in white linen, or dressed in her/his own best clothes. There are often flowers by her/his side. Relatives and friends have room and time to stand around her, or they can sit on chairs available by the walls. There are two distinct, and perhaps even contradictory representations of the dead here. The morgue displays the deceased as a physical body in its most basic and naturalised form, as a corpse among corpses. The silent room, on the contrary, displays a person, an individual in intersubjective and emotional relations.

When the dead were transported on their bed from their „own” private rooms to the morgue or directly to the silent room (if relatives were coming immediately), the staff always made sure that nobody saw the corpse in the public and relatively profane space of the hospice, in the halls and corridors. This meant that although I was repeatedly told by the staff that death was „natural” and not hidden in the hospice, it did not mean that it was allowed to spread, or even to be seen uncontrolled just anywhere in the hospice. There were places for death, and there were other places which were kept relatively untouched by death (either by its contamination or by its positive sacredness). I was poignantly told by one member of the staff, that the hospice wanted to be seen not only as a „house of death” but also as full of life. This was accomplished partly through continuous maintenance of spatial boundaries between life and death.<sup>5</sup>

### The most sacred „here and now” – ritualization of the presence of the caregiver

The most sacred event, or the most sacred phase in the ritualization of death in the hospice, was the presence of the caregiver by the side of the dying in the intimate privacy of the room. It was even more sacred than the moment by the side of the deceased person in the silent room. The official instructions for terminal care (1982) state that the dying person should not be left alone unless she/he especially wants to be alone. Protecting the dying patient from unwanted solitude (soli-

<sup>5</sup> Julia Lawton (1998), who has studied English hospices, argues that on the society level, hospices manage death through separating death and the dying from the living in spite of their claim of integrating death with life. The question of separation and/or integration is very interesting. In fact, the hospice wanted to have both life and death within its boundaries: to integrate them. Inside this integration, however, there was a detailed structure separating them from each other.

tude produced by the negative „non-place” of the modern machinelike hospital), which is seen as an insult to her fundamental rights, is the most important ethical task or mission of the hospice-movement. This, however, is a more complicated promise to keep than it seems because of its seeming simplicity.

Everyone in a hospice is, by definition, a dying person in a terminal phase of life (otherwise she/he would not be there). Thus the promise of presence in a strict sense should cover the rest of her/his life. This, of course, is not possible in practice. One reason is that some patients may stay in the hospice for months; others may be so extremely needy or (to borrow the metaphor of the minister who visited the hospice weekly) so „hungry” for presence that the staff runs out of both practical and emotional resources. The key solution to this dilemma was to ensure the presence of the caregiver (who can be a nurse, a volunteer, a relative or a friend) especially at the very last moments of life, and at the very hour of death. The most valuable and uncompromised presence was clearly the presence at this moment.

In practice an evaluation of „presence” and its categorization into more and less important according to the imminence of death cannot be understood or explained purely from the angle of ethics of care (which would get its legitimation from the needs or rights of the dying other). The dying person’s need for another’s presence might well be at some other point of time, especially since many cancer patients die peacefully in a state of unconsciousness.<sup>6</sup> Their anxieties and fears often peak days or weeks before death or at night. This is when the presence should be guaranteed if it were understood clearly and unambiguously as a moral imperative. Since this is not the case, and since the most important and valued presence is the presence in the borderline situation where life suddenly or gradually turns into death, the motivation cannot be purely ethical.

Ethnographic field work provided situations where the incomparable and sacred „presence” of the caregiver showed a different face, depending on whether it was seen from the ethical perspective explicitly provided by the hospice, or from the perspective of the caregiver’s sacred experience. There seems to be an interesting tension between the ethical and the sacred (in the sense of the sacred experience) in the world of the hospice. On the explicit level the hospice discourse sacralizes the ethical motivation for the presence of the caregiver. On the implicit

<sup>6</sup> Most of the patients in the hospices are cancer patients, since their remaining lifetime can be estimated better than that of many other patients. Cancer patients often, according to the hospice-literature, die peacefully, although the time preceding their last moments may be extremely difficult.

level, however, the practice of hospice care sacralizes as the most sacred the subjective experience of the presence of the caregiver.

My argument is that the moment at the very edge of life was – in fact, and in the often unspoken but shared consciousness or ethos of the caregivers – seen as more sacred than dying patient's moments of suffering. Thus the presence at this moment was the most valuable presence for the caregiver, if not necessarily for the dying patient. It was presence at an incomparable moment, a moment like no other. This moment is also a relatively limited one: presence in a situation which has clear temporal boundaries is easier to bear than presence in a situation with less clear boundaries. In these less sacred situations the needs and suffering of the dying patients were often met through pharmacological tranquillizers instead of by the presence promised and cherished by hospice-discourse.

My point is that although the need of the suffering person is the explicit grounds for the presence of the caregiver (ethical grounds), In practice, in the hidden „religious” structure the value of presence comes from another source: the experience of the caregiver. Alongside the modern and ethical argument for the importance of presence there was a fascination for the sacrality of death. The death of the other was a means to gain an experience often classified as the most sacred. The sacredness of presence at the very edge of life can also be seen in the written comments of the caregivers who describe it as a peak experience, as something which regenerates their feeling of being fully alive. Some also described the hour of death as something they wanted to relive over and over because it made life so meaningful, and expanded their sensual awareness to the full.

For a student of comparative religion (especially for one with a preference towards French sociological theories of the sacred) this brings to mind, among other things, sacrificial rituals (or why not public executions). Even if presence by the side of the dying is not as dramatic as a sacrifice or execution, it shares with them the participants' intensified sense of being alive because of the physical closeness to someone else (the other) dying. This fascination with death can also be detected in the practices of the contemporary hospice.<sup>7</sup>

### Feminine presence?

This study also dealt with the woman, the feminine, and the motherly in our culture of death. If the importance of „presence” of the caregiver was over-

<sup>7</sup> Another, and somewhat different means to get close to death would be that of the extremist who submits himself to the peril of death. This is one visible trait in the contemporary performative arts. The ways the fascination for death is exhibited in the contemporary culture, which more or less hides death, would be a rich field of study.

emphasised throughout the hospice-related discourses, it is not insignificant that those to whom the message is sent are traditionally, predominantly and typically women. This was, as already indicated in the beginning of this article, clearly seen in the gender-figures of my textual data: of the entire 507 texts 422 were written by women. In the hospice studied, all the nurses and volunteers (except one) who worked on regular bases, were women. This, of course, is due to many cultural factors. One is the feminine construction of caregiving in the western culture. It is well known that the profession of nursing was explicitly constructed as an application of the supposedly natural abilities of the Woman. The idea of „presence” is found in early texts from the 1800s which determine the roles and tasks of the nurse and doctor vis à vis one another. The doctor was seen more as someone who diagnosed the patient otherwise as absent, whereas being present by the sick was in fact the main duty of the nurse. The nurse was seen to „build a continuity of presence over the absences of the doctor.” (Gamarnikow 1991; see also Littlewood 1991 and Samuelson 1991.)

Even if the gender of the caregiver of the dying is not often explicitly mentioned in contemporary texts of my study, the adverbs, attributes and metaphors used still refer to the old model: the motherly woman. The several and heterogeneous intertexts (both from the fields of nursing and hospice, and from the more spiritual and religious fields, as far back as Martin Luther!<sup>8</sup>) of my data abound with descriptions of the motherly lap needed by the dying; the dying, who in turn is described as having regressed or declined into the state of a helpless infant. This image is repeated and transmitted with practically no critical reflection, as if it were indeed the „natural” model of and for the situation.

The „presence” thus depicted is moulded in and through these textual and other cultural practices, into something more apt for a woman than for a man. Discourse on this during my field work revealed a variety of opinions among caregivers and patients. Many accepted it as if it indeed were natural, and did not even quite catch the point of my question. Some, however, especially some dying male patients, criticized this maternal model spontaneously, even when the theme of gender was not put forward by me. They felt embarrassed or intimidated by the motherly „fuss” around them, they did not like being talked to or helped like children, and they spoke warmly of a temporary male nurse who had a very different style and manners in relating to them both in speech and bodily contact.

<sup>8</sup> When Luther described dying, he likened it to the everyday event of a mother carrying her child to sleep.

The dominant motherly model has deep roots, however, and is continually regenerated. In its transmission we can see arguments both for its „naturalty” and its „sacrality”. In psychologically oriented theories (widely and extensively used in the construction of the scientific and moral basis of hospice-care) the ability to care for and to be present by and for the other (including the suffering and dying other) is not seldom stated as a motherly, and thus naturally womanly, ability. In cultural and religious imagery this idea(l) is reflected in such figures as Pietà (best known as Michelangelo’s statue), where the Virgin Mary holds her dead son in her lap.

These theories and images together weave a very strong pattern which moulds and limits gendered self-understanding, as well as our contemporary cultural and social practices (cf. eg. Gatens 1996). They are also part of the culturally transmitted and regenerated matrix of sexual difference which also constructs sexually typical (or atypical) sacrality. The sacrality of presence is moulded and designed through various cultural interpretations into the form of a receptive and motherly woman. The experience of the sacred traditionally and typically „fit” for women has been an experience by and through the other (see e.g. Atkinson 1991; King 1993, 89-90). One of these has been the experience of being present by the side of the dying other.

### Bibliography:

- Atkinson, Clarissa W: *The Oldest Vocation. Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca 1991.
- Augé, Marc: *Non-places. Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity*. Translated by John Howe. Verso, London 1995.
- Baudrillard, Jean: *L'échange symbolique et la mort*. Éditions Gallimard, Paris 1976.
- Beauvoir, Simone de: *Le deuxième sexe*. Editions Gallimard, Paris 1949.
- Berger, Peter: *The Sacred Canopy. Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York 1967.
- Bloch, Maurice: *Women, Death, and Power*. In: *Death & the Regeneration of Life*, 211-230. Eds. Bloch M & Parry J. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1982.
- Bronfen, Elisabeth: *Over her Dead Body. Death, Femininity and the Aesthetic*. Manchester University Press, Manchester 1992.
- Caraveli-Chaves, Anna: *Bridge between Worlds. The Greek Women’s Lament as Communicative Event*. In: *Journal of American Folklore* 93, 129-157, 1980.

- Gamarnikov, Eeva: *Nurse or woman: gender and professionalism in reformed nursing 1860-1923*. In: *Anthropology and Nursing*, pp. 110-129. Eds. Holden P. and Littlewood. J. Routledge, London 1991.
- Gatens, Moira: *Imaginary Bodies. Ethics, Power and Corporeality*. Routledge, London and New York 1996.
- Hockey, Jenny: "Women in grief: Cultural representation and social practice" In: *Death, Gender and Ethnicity*, pp. 89-107. Eds. David Field et al. Routledge, London.
- Jackson, Michael: *Paths Toward a Clearing. Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1989.
- Jantzen, Grace M: *Necrophilia and Natality: what does it mean to be religious?* *Scottish Journal of Religious Studies* 19 (1), 101-121, 1998.
- King, Ursula: *Women and Spirituality. Voices of Protest & Promise*. Macmillan, London 1993.
- Lawton, Julia: *Contemporary Hospice Care: the Sequestration of the Unbounded Body and 'dirty dying'*. *Sociology of Health and Illness* 20:2, 121-143, 1998.
- Littlewood, Jenny: *Care and ambiguity: towards a concept of nursing*. In: *Anthropology and Nursing*, s. 170-189. Eds. Holden P and Littlewood J. Routledge, London 1991.
- McGuire, Meredith: *Religion. The Social Context*. Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont 1997.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice: *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Gallimard, Paris 1945.
- Nenola, Aili: *Kuolema kohtaa naisen*. In: *Naisen elämä*, pp. 421-509. Ed. Immonen K. Otava, Helsinki 1990.
- Samuelson, Helle: "Nurses Between Disease and Illness". In: *Anthropology and Nursing*, pp. 190-201. Eds. Pat Holden and Jenny Littlewood. Routledge, London 1991.
- Utriainen, Terhi: *Läsnä, riisuttu, puhdas. Uskontoantropologinen tutkimus naisista kuolevan vierellä*. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura, Helsinki 1999. (Present, Naked, Pure. A study in the anthropology of religion on women by the side of the dying. Finnish literature society, Helsinki.





# Ritual Studies and the Integrated Role Theory

*Nils G. Holm*

## Introduction

The study of rites or ritual has a long history. As far back as we can go into the history of religious studies we find analyses of the behavioral dimension of religiosity. It was only towards the end of the 19th century, however, that scholars began to pay more regular attention to rites. This new attitude was linked with an increasing tendency to study foreign cultures, often within a discipline that had come to be called anthropology. In theology, and also very much within religious studies in general, greater notice has been given to the cognitive side, that is to say the study of myths and religio-philosophical questions. Gradually, the behavioral dimension – and therefore rites – have acquired greater significance in religious studies, something which the following presentation will demonstrate. But first I will define a few terms.

I understand the term rite as practically synonymous with behavior. To give rite a more precise definition, I would like to suggest that a rite is generally a formal practice or custom, which can be performed by individuals or groups. Ritual, in addition, is more formalized in character and may be defined as conscious repetitious symbolic bodily actions, often placed in contexts, which are connected with the holiness dimension. In practice, the use of these two terms – rite and ritual – largely coincides.

In the following presentation I shall first give a brief account of research into rites, before turning to my own more psychologically oriented considerations on the efficacy of rites or ritual.

## Older research traditions

As I have already mentioned, at the end of the 19th century there was an increasing awareness within anthropology and religious studies of the importance of rites. Rites were regarded as magic, and often irrational, activities among in-

digenous peoples in various parts of the world, in contrast to the technological and rational activities of more highly developed Western man. This was the age of colonialism and evolutionism, when there was a readiness among scholars to situate human behavior within evolutionary schemes. A distinction was made between religion and magic, something that emerges clearly in the work of James George Frazer (1963). Much brainwork has subsequently been devoted to whether – and if so how – a distinction between magic and religion should be made. Today it is well understood that such debate is obsolete and unrewarding.

Within biblical scholarship and the whole field of Middle Eastern studies, the myth and ritual school came to play an important role. It stressed the close connection between myth and rite. It claimed that a rite was always accompanied by a myth, i.e. of words read or spoken that gave content and meaning to a rite. It was common to refer to enthronement myths and ritual in ancient Mesopotamia. It was also believed possible to interpolate texts from one quarter with corresponding texts from somewhere else, since there were often only fragmentary sources to begin with. In the same way, it was possible to “reconstruct” rites which were only indirectly suggested in the sources. Much of the Book of Psalms in the Old Testament was thus thought to belong to an enthronement rite, or an annual rite where the king was stripped of his dignity, assumed his people’s sins and underwent purification rites before being reinstated in his high function. This interpretive model played an important role well into the twentieth century. (Cf Widengren 1971)

The so-called phenomenological school, inspired amongst other figures by the philosopher Edmund Husserl, regarded earlier religious studies (the work of Tylor and Robertson Smith, for example) as reductionist in character. Beginning from the unconditional study of religious phenomena, one was to get as close as possible to their inner meaning. This was the working method of scholars such as Rudolf Otto (1917), Gerardus van der Leeuw (1933) and Raffaele Pettazzoni (1960). The experiential world of the religious person was to be treated with utmost seriousness and not be reduced to something else in the name of scholarship. *Homo religiosus* was promoted as an honourable term. To a certain extent, one may claim that rites came to play a subordinate role in this school. Mircea Eliade, who may be regarded as a late representative of the school, had absorbed impressions from other theorists, including C.G.Jung (1983), and gave great importance in his research to myths and symbols without, however, entirely forgetting the ritual dimension. Rites were regarded as repetitions of cosmic myths of creation, life and death. (Eliade 1958; 1968)

Contributions to the discussion of rites came from depth psychology, too; it is, above all, Sigmund Freud who should be mentioned in this context. He developed his psychoanalytical theory, in which the unconscious and the ego's defense mechanisms play a large part. Freud regarded repeated behavior patterns – rites – as being caused by obsessive neuroses. But he also participated in the debate on totemism at the beginning of the twentieth century and, in his book *Totem and Taboo* (1989), he constructed his theory of parricide in the primitive human horde, something leading to the deification of the murdered father and the need for repetitive patterns of worship. Rites in this context thus acquired a predominantly negative significance. Later depth psychologists have nevertheless in many ways refined Freud's original ideas on this point.

In early religious sociology, too, rites came to play a role. In his famous book, *The elementary form of religious life* (1995), Émile Durkheim made a clear distinction between the religious and the secular. He regarded religion primarily as rites aimed at social solidarity and identification. No society without religion and no religion without collective rites, he reasoned. Durkheim's contributions have assumed great significance in the subsequent sociology of religion. Religion has come to be seen as the cementing force in societies of different kinds.

Anthropology continued in the direction taken by religious sociology and developed functionalist theories. Names such as A.R.Radcliffe-Browne (1958) and B.Malinowski (1962) may be mentioned here. There was a reaction against evolutionism and an alternative emphasis on the specific meaning of each ritual in its context. The functionalist interpretation of social phenomena sees society as a unified and more or less closed system, where every part has its organic function within the whole. Rites become important in diverting aggressions, restoring balance and getting society and its different components in overall harmony with each other. Anthropologists of different persuasions have tried, above all through the study of indigenous cultures, to identify this balance within the social machinery. (Cf Eriksen 1995, 4-9)

The step from functionalism to structuralism is not a large one. E.E.Evans-Pritchard (1962), Claude Lévi-Strauss (1958;1964-68) and Clifford Geertz (1993) have, through more detailed study of myths and individual rituals, tried to decipher an inner meaning structure in cultural expressions. Through a binary polarization of phenomena, they have discovered deep strata of meaning that were not immediately apparent. The functionalist and early structuralist A. van Gennep (1960) deserves special mention here, since his concept of *rite de passage* has achieved

widespread currency. Van Gennep studied life's great transitional rites and isolated three stages through which an individual was often obliged to pass: separation, transition and incorporation. By going through rituals which separate him from earlier communities, hold him at an intermediate stage – transition – and then incorporate him into a new community, the individual is transferred from one group affiliation to another. Common examples here are puberty rites and initiation rites, which insert an individual into the adult world. Other important scholars in this group include Victor Turner and Mary Douglas. The latter has become known for her categories of "grid" and "group": grid here refers to rules controlling individual relations and formal positions in society, while group is connected with the more or less involuntary class affiliation of individuals (1970).

### More recent research approaches

In the decades after the Second World War great changes took place in the global structure. The era of colonization finally drew to an end and anthropologists also began to direct their research towards more complex western societies. It began to be understood that rites and rituals could be found here, too. At the same time, sociologists, historians, political scientists and other researchers analyzed societies and also came to use such terms as ritual. Within ethology repetitive patterns were studied in animals and birds. The use of the terms rite and ritual has therefore become very widespread, so that they have almost come to coincide with behaviour in general.

The newer scholarly approach to rites was largely derived from structuralism, but was further combined with insights from linguistics. In the same way as one can analyze speech acts and the meaning of words, one can also analyze ritual behaviours. These acquire a symbolic value which goes far beyond the immediate character of the actual expression. A scholar who has made significant contributions in this field is Edmund Leach (1967). Leach understands rites as cultural messages with significance for people's ways of understanding their position within society, as well as for how they are to position themselves with regard to the invisible or metaphysical world. In other words, rites or ritual make culture meaningful.

Clifford Geertz has significantly developed these ideas. Geertz sees religion as a cultural system of symbols adding significance to people's motivations and emotions by giving unified and coherent patterns to the meaning of life. A worldview is lived out through rites and thereby acquires concrete meaning for the private individual.

A further development of these ideas can be found in such scholars as E. Thomas Lawson and R.N. McCauley (1990). The latter have become known for a so-called cognitive theory of religion. In the same way as Noam Chomsky claims that linguistic competence goes back to physiological structures in the human brain, these researchers claim that religious communicative competence is also based on physiological functions. One can in other words distinguish a kind of "grammar" of religion and particularly for rites. If one participates in a rite, one knows the rules for an exchange of views, just as the user of a language does. Lawson and McCauley are partly critical of earlier scholars who, in their opinion, devote themselves principally to descriptions and subjective judgments. The cognitive theory, they believe, is more concerned with theorizing and even with empirical testing.

Similar theoretical approaches are to be found in Dan Sperber (1996) and Pascal Boyer (2001). They stress that religion is a normal human activity based on the cognitive ability developed during the evolutionary process. Confronting the reality around herself the human being uses her intuitive capacity of understanding things. That is the everyday experiences we have. But there are also a lot of things which will not so easily be understood. Then a capacity cognitivists call counterintuitive takes over and forms the ideas. Religion is basically understood as a counterintuitive activity. Boyer writes: "There is no religious instinct, no specific inclination in the mind, no particular disposition for these concepts, no special religion center in the brain, and religious persons are not different from nonreligious ones in essential cognitive functions. Even faith and belief seems to be simple by-products of the way concepts and inferences are doing their work for religion in much the same way as for other domains" (pp. 329-330).

The ritual activity is also seen as a product of the human equipment in the cognitive and behavioral domains. The rituals are extremely important in the human life and are directed to the social realm of the life. Boyer writes: "What matters to rituals and makes them relevant is that one construes the social effects as the *result* of the actions prescribed. Because of the massive salience of agency in our mental systems, most humans fill this gap with concepts of agents; but an abstraction like 'our tradition' or 'society' can play much the same role as gods or ancestors." (p. 262) (See also Pyysiäinen 2001).

Ritual studies were adopted by the American Academy of Religion as a special area of research within religious studies in 1977. They received official status in 1982 under the designation of "Ritual Studies Group". At the same time,

the *Journal of Ritual Studies* began publication, making an important contribution towards unity within the group. A driving force of the group has been Ronald L. Grimes, who also published his ground-breaking study, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (revised edition, 1995). In this work, Grimes gives a thorough account of different rituals and relates them to such concepts as time, space and language. He divides rites into different categories and thereby comes to include a very large number of formalized human behaviours within the notion of ritual. He also reviews the work of different theorists such as Gotthard Booth (psychosomatic theory of illness), Theodor Gaster and Victor Turner (anthropological theory) and Jerzy Grotowski (ritual theatre). The book is a real source of inspiration for the study of human behaviour.

We are also given an extensive account of rites in Catherine Bell's study, *Ritual. Perspectives and Dimensions* (1997). This is a thorough survey of previous scholarship in religious studies, as well as such individual activities as "rites of passage", calendar rites, communion, rites of affliction, fasts and feasts, and political rites. Bell also considers general activities with the character of rites, and therefore discusses formalism, traditionalism, invariance, sacral symbolism, performance etc. In this context, she also stresses the physicality of rites. Finally she adopts a more sociologically oriented approach, analysing societies that promote rites and ritual, as well as those groups which try to resist ritualisation. The book is a quite excellent review of theories and material connected with the study of rites.

The study *Pluralism and identity. Studies in ritual behaviour* (edited by Jan Platvoet and Karel van der Toorn, 1995) is also a valuable contribution to the field. Here we are given a description of real rites in different cultures (including Umbanda, Bodhgaya rites, the Ayodhya conflict, the Rechabites in ancient Israel and several Muslim rites), as well as a more theoretically oriented analysis of the concept of "ritual". It is Jan Platvoet who goes into the question of definitions, providing an exhaustive account of how he understands the issue.

To summarise earlier research, then, we find that scholars were initially prepared to see ritual among indigenous populations where magic was a frequently occurring phenomenon. Ritual was something more irrational, which could not therefore be found among more developed groups in the west. Myth or the conceptual was more characteristic of the "evolved" individual. Gradually, however, the focus changed, largely through work in sociology and linguistics. Rites and ritual are now seen as meaningful instruments of communication for maintain-

ing the structure of societies and the identity of individuals. Rites have become something quite universal and are found in every culture. They are practically the same thing as behaviour in general. At this point, we come to the corporeality of rites, referring to what today often goes under the name of “embodiment”. Every rite presupposes a body and one may therefore claim that religion and identity, in a certain sense, sit in the body. We have come a long way, then, from regarding a person’s religion or world view only as something conceived – or philosophical – to seeing it rather as something also anchored in the body and in behaviour.

### Some reflections in the light of religious psychology

When we talk of rites and their significance for the individual and society at large, we come to the question of their “efficacy”. One may ask how rites and individuals give people substance, and in what way they can exercise a kind of power over those that practice them. In partial illustration of this question, I would like to present briefly a religio-psychological perspective for which I have become a spokesperson in recent years.

It must first be noted that all individuals, while growing up, are subject to a learning process. We do not invent cultural patterns by ourselves, but we are brought up among thought processes and behaviours that are more or less collective and culture bound. In this process we constantly meet other people who influence us by the force of their personalities, but we are also drawn into a number of different situations that can prove either emotionally attractive or repulsive. As we thus learn cultural behaviour patterns – rites or ritual – we also acquire, by actual performance, an emotional relation to our educators, as well as to the different situations in which we find ourselves. The experiences of cultural learning and influence stay in the memory with varying degrees of emotional charge. But experiences are not merely preserved in a long succession; they are adapted in the inner consciousness where fantasies, dreams and daydreams play an important part. In this way, experiences are “condensed” into larger units, perhaps the kind of thing that is positive and attractive, but also the kind of thing that may be negative and repulsive. A certain amount of this material becomes fairly insignificant and disappears into what we call oblivion.

Our experiences of early contact with key persons in our environment, with behavioural patterns imposed on us while growing up, as well as with thought



processes we learn mainly through language, are combined in larger units of a symbolic nature. A picture of god can thus be understood as a symbolic quantity where features from concrete individuals in our childhood play a part, but where ideas learned through tradition also acquire significance. It is a similar process with the negative symbol of the devil, which becomes the quintessence of everything destructive. The cognitive forms of expression associated with religion can therefore be understood as symbolic expressions of experiences undergone by previous generations and formalized in this way. The same process operates with rites: prayers, religious services, baptism, communion, marriage, funerals etc, become symbolic actions which include content from tradition, but also a great deal from the individual experiential world present in every single person from early childhood. The plane on which this takes place within each individual psyche is something I call *inner existence space*.

The experiences of earlier generations have, over the course of time, been externalised and brought out into the collective, forming patterns where norms and social customs are important components. Culture is thus a stereotyped human reality, which has acquired fixed forms in both linguistic and behavioural activity. In other words, culture contains condensed human experience in the form of a mass of symbols. This may be called *outer existence space*.

The interaction between one's own inner world and the outer social one is essential. When symbols from this inner world find a correspondence in culture, a kind of fertilization takes place which leads us forward and provides satisfaction on an inner plane. When an individual finds a correspondence between inner experience structures and what is offered by the collectively given in culture, a kind of *inner role-taking* takes place, a process which can lead to growth, healing, hope and optimism. Sometimes, however, there are negative blockages which can lead to hardships and reverses.

The conceptual model I have described above I call *integrated role theory*.

The material content acquired through the symbolic function is thus something which earlier generations have possessed and which is always passed on in cultural formations – that is to say both narratives and rites. At the same time, there is an experiential base unique to each individual. When these two formations simultaneously enrich each other, the individual is given experiential quali-



ties with great reality value. The characters of fairy-tales can grasp such content and evoke quite fundamental experiential worlds in both children and adults. The relationship with religious symbols is similar. There is nevertheless a difference: the religious symbols are often fostered by groups who endow them with transcendental value and a self-evident existence.

Where religion is concerned, I start from the assumption that all human life is influenced by something we might call the sacrality dimension. A sociologist like Émile Durkheim made a clear distinction between the sacred and the profane. I nevertheless find it more justified to regard the sacrality dimension as a continuum from something quite commonplace and profane to something holy and sacred. Various intermediate forms are found both at the individual level and socially. Each of us undergoes significant experiences fixed in time and space, regarding them as something that goes beyond normal occurrences. It may be a matter of birthdays, examination days, places where one has experienced something very positive or very negative. And in societies there are also generally places and times where one clings in a particular way to things that have happened in history: memorial sites, burial sites, war veteran graves, independence days etc. The really sacred places and points in time are naturally churches and religious services of all kinds. By the repetition of rites in such places and at such times, one establishes for each new generation the memory of events in history – mythological and/or historical.

Religious symbols such as divine services often return to what for the individual are often quite commonplace and “simple” circumstances. It is a matter of different ways of approaching the symbolic and spiritual centre which forms the nucleus of faith. In most cultic contexts, this happens through reading – reciting or singing – holy texts, listening to the interpretation of texts (preaching), invocation through prayer or praise-giving, performing some kind of sacrifice (making a collection) and participating in the ritual meal (communion for Christians). Such contexts, and many other cultic events, always include experiences from both the world of religion and from that of everyday life.

When discussing the efficacy of symbolic actions – or rites – then, it is important to consider both the learning process which has preceded the rite itself and the inner symbolic structures carried by each individual in their own inner existence space. A special rite or ritual becomes meaningful and significant for an individual when her inner experiential structures correspond to the alleged content of a certain action. If one obtains reinforcement at this point through group

processes involving persons with similar inner symbolic structures, then these experiences can be very strong and sometimes even approach what we would call trance or ecstasy. In such cases, leaders of different kinds can strongly influence individuals and channel opinions far in the direction of enthusiasm and exclusivity. If the influence of these individuals is seen as inappropriate, then the experiences can be negative and lead to protests and repudiations.

The efficacy of rites and rituals is therefore in direct proportion to how the learning process surrounding them has functioned, and depends on what symbolic structures in outer existence space an individual can connect their performance with. This fluctuates somewhat from generation to generation and from culture to culture, but there are on the whole common structures that remain relatively fixed over a long period. Rites and rituals are a fairly fixed symbolic language which people have used at all times, and which have created solidarity within groups and meaningful experiences for individuals.

Sometimes existential crises and geographical displacements can produce a situation where deeply ingrained rites become meaningless. Then the person in question must rebuild contact with content which corresponds meaningfully to an altered inner world and reality interpretation. In such cases, it is precisely rites themselves which can be of help in the construction of some new, so-called "wordless language".

### Summary

The study of rites has been influenced relatively little by psychological perspectives. Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical contribution came to emphasize the negative and compulsive character of rites. It is mainly anthropologists and various scholars of religion who have analysed the form and function of rituals in different societies. We have been able to trace a development in the history of research, from seeing rites as something magic and irrational to regarding them as meaningful and universally human phenomena. On the whole, we may claim to have found an increased appreciation of rituals in the literature. There is now a tendency to emphasize the body and the corporeal as a carrier of spiritual meaning. We have come to the conclusion that there is no spirituality without a connection to behaviour, which in turn always implies a body.

But for bodily rites to achieve efficacy it is essential that they should be connected with learning processes and symbolic functions in an individual's inner existence space, to the kinds of symbols that have some positive charge and meaning. Without such psychic content, the performance of a rite becomes simply an empty event which in the worst case only produces negative reactions. If, on the other hand, there is positive memory material on the depth-psychological level of events and rites of different kinds, then the feeling of significance and relevance can reach the point where one experiences something definable as ecstasy or trance.

## References

- Bell, Catherine 1997 *Ritual. Perspectives and dimensions*. Oxford University Press. New York – Oxford.
- Boyer, Pascal 2001 *Religion explained. The evolutionary origins of religious thought*. Basic Books, New York.
- Douglas, Mary 1970 *Natural symbols: explorations in cosmology*. Barbie & Rockliff, London.
- Durkheim, Émile 1995 *The elementary form of religious life*. Free Press, New York.
- Eliade, Mircea 1958 *Patterns in comparative religion*. Sheed and Ward, London.
- Eliade, Mircea 1968 *Heligt och profant*. Verbum, Stockholm.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland 1995 *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*, Pluto Press, London – Sterling, Virginia.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward Evan 1962 *Essays in social anthropology*. Faber and Faber, London.
- Frazer, James George 1963 *The golden bough: a study in magic and religion*. Macmillan, London.
- Freud, Sigmund 1989 *Totem and taboo*. Norton, New York.
- Geertz, Clifford 1993 *The interpretation of culture*. Selected essays. Fontana Press, London.
- Gennep, Arnold, van 1959 *The rites of passage*. Routledge, London.
- Grimes, Ronald L. 1987 *Ritual studies*. The encyclopedia of religion. Vol. 12. Macmillan publishing company, New York.
- Grimes, Ronald L. 1995 *Beginnings in ritual studies*. Revised edition. University of South Carolina Press.
- Holm, Nils G. 1997 *Människans symboliska verklighetsbygge. En psykofenomenologiskt studie*. Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter nr 40. Åbo Akademi. Åbo.

- Holm, Nils G. 1997a *An integrated role theory for the psychology of religion: concepts and perspectives. The psychology of religion. Theoretical approaches.* Eds. Bernard Spilka & Daniel N. McIntosh. WestviewPress.
- Jung, Carl Gustav 1983 *Gesammelte Werke.* Walter-Verlag, Olten Freiburg im Breisgau.
- Leach, Edmund (Ed.) 1967 *The structural study of myth and totemism.* Tavistock, London.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1958 *Anthropologie structurale.* Plon, Paris.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1964-68 *Mythologiques: vol 1-3.* Plon, Paris.
- Lawson, E. T., & R. McCauley 1990 *Rethinking religion. Connecting culture and cognition.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Leeuw, Gerardus, van der 1933 *Phänomenologie der Religion.* Mohr, Tübingen.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw 1962 *Sex, culture, and myth.* Harcourt, Brace & World, New York.
- Myerhoff, Barbara G., Linda A. Camino & Edith Turner 1987 *Rites of passage. The encyclopedia of religion.* Vol. 12. Macmillan publishing company, New York.
- Otto, Rudolf 1917 *Das Heilige.* Breslau.
- Pettazzoni, Raffaele 1960 *Der allwissende Gott: zur Geschichte der Gottesidee,* Fischer, Frankfurt am Main.
- Platvoet, Jan 1995 *Ritual in plural and pluralist societies: instruments for analysis. Pluralism and identity. Studies in ritual behaviour* (Eds. Jan Platvoet & Karel van der Toorn). E. J. Brill, Leiden – New York – Köln.
- Platvoet & Karel van der Toorn (Eds.) 1995 *Pluralism and identity. Studies in ritual behaviour. Studies in the history of religions* (Numen Book series). Eds H. G. Kippenberg & E. T. Lawson. Vol. LXVII. E. J. Brill. Leiden – New York – Köln.
- Pyysiäinen, Ilkka 2001 *How religion works. Towards a new cognitive science of religion.* Brill, Leiden – Boston – Köln.
- Radcliffe-Brown, Alfred Reginald 1958 *Method in social anthropology: selected essays.* Univ. of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Sperber, Dan 1996 *Explaining culture. A naturalistic approach.* Blackwell, Oxford.
- Widengren, Geo 1971 *Religionens värld.* Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
- Zuess, Evan M. 1987 *Ritual. The encyclopedia of religion.* Vol. 12. Macmillan publishing company, New York.

# Strategies of church building in Hungary during the years of the Communist dictatorship

*Ethnographical instructions of a denominational example*

*Bartha, Elek*

The persecution of religion and the hindrance, restriction of the activities of the Churches were part of the ideological bases of the communist regime that came into power a few years after World War II. Several means of accomplishing these goals were available for those in power, from the socialization of the church's property to the persecution of those participating in practising, to the restriction of catechesis or the hindrance of practising. This attitude against religion, and against the church characterized the whole era of the Communist dictatorship, with a shifting intensity. Both in the darkest hours of the personality cult and in the "softer" era, almost till the last hours of the collapse, and still a decade after the political change, this attitude has been and is manifested in the present mentality of the successor organisations. So, it is not surprising that church building activity, which had been part of the Hungarian churches' life for centuries, was stopped almost completely during the four decades of party-state era. Only a very small number of churches were built during these years, as the conditions of building sacral edifices were determined by strict regulations. New churches could be built only to replace church-buildings and school-chapels that were taken or pulled down by the state, or became marred and useless by any other causes.<sup>1</sup> The situation did not change much in the period of "consolidation" after the revolution of 1956.

The persecution of religion was a general practice not only in Hungary, but in the other Communist states as well. However, religiosity could not be stopped immediately by a word of power, it continued to survive. Religious life functioned partly between the permitted frameworks and partly by eluding the authorities of the atheist ruling power, evading the restrictions, and, even if in a muted form, it succeeded in breaking through the impediments. Thousands of ethnographic data

---

<sup>1</sup> Magyar építőművészet, 1991/4. 2.

prove how the watchfulness of authorities was circumvented: a whole series of ceremonies and services held in secret, priests hidden by worshippers in many countries, christenings held far away from the dwelling place and nuptial ceremonies in secret indicate those strategies applied by religious people and communities in order to preserve their faith.

In the following paper, through the example of a small Hungarian denomination, I will show the functions of these strategies in an area where the most prominent manifestation of religious life is the building of new churches. The following examples are taken from the Catholics of Byzantine rites, the Uniate Church. This denomination belongs to the Catholic Church and composes 2,5–3% of the population of Hungary. It is quite easy to define it geographically: most of its parishes are situated in the north-eastern part of the country, although more and more Greek Catholic communities were formed in the larger towns of Hungary because of the migration.

Unlike in other Communist states, the Uniate Church was allowed to function here during the decades of the party-state – although it was banned or suspended for shorter and longer periods in almost all the other states.

The Hungarian Greek Catholics faced many hardships of building churches since the formation of the Uniate Church, since their union with the Catholic Church (1646).<sup>2</sup> In the 17-18<sup>th</sup> century the authorities often obstructed the erection of sacral buildings. The Greek Catholic communities were often forced to organize their religious life without a church.<sup>3</sup> According to the available data, the Orthodox people (mainly Ruthenians and Romanians) settling in large numbers in the Eastern and North-eastern regions were eager to build their own churches as soon as possible. Whole communities and villages settled down, bringing their priests with them. There were examples of settlers who had taken their churches of their old home to pieces to make it transportable, and rebuilt it at their new dwelling place. Tales of settlers transporting their old church on a cart from their old country are still within living memory. According to different data, the beams of the dismantled church were floated down the Tisza river, so the community moving to the Eastern verges of the Great Plains could rebuilt it in their new homeland.

<sup>2</sup> The book of J. Botlik cites several sources: *Hármas kereszt alatt. Görög katolikusok Kárpátalján az ungvári Uniótól napjainkig (1646-1997)*. Budapest, 1997. 34.

<sup>3</sup> According to the information of Pirigyi, churches were especially few in the parishes. For example in 1805, only 293 of the 1660 registered parishes had a church on location. I. Pirigyi: *A magyarországi görög katolikusok története, I. Nyíregyháza, 1990. 151.*

For the new communities arriving without a church, problems concerned building a church and they were less worried about organizing their religious life. Their state without a church had various durations. It depended primarily on the size of the community, the attitude of the ecclesiastic magistrates, on the donors' offerings, and several other individual circumstances. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century for example, the permission of the bishop of Eger was required for the united parishes to build a church.<sup>4</sup> In those villages and towns where the number of the Greek Catholic population increased gradually by new settlers and internal growth of the population, it is natural that they did not care too much about building churches.

According to the available data, churches built in the second half of the last century and in this century replaced those wooden churches that had been demolished or burnt down – or in certain cases been deliberately set on fire<sup>5</sup>. Most of the Ruthenian churches, the *cerkós*, were made of wood in the earlier centuries. Some of the wooden churches still functioned during this century, either at their original place or after being moved to another place. Today, Greek Catholic wooden churches are impossible to come across in Hungary, even their memories can rarely be found.<sup>6</sup>

In places where churches were not present before, it is only the historical sources or the similar situations of the present that ground the probability that a chapel, a belfry, a cross, or a graveyard, the crucifix in the graveyard could hold the functions associated with a church. However, there are data concerning the provisional usage of Roman Catholic churches, the sacral usage of schools, masses held at private houses.<sup>7</sup>

After some time following their settling, communities with churches had to face with new challenges: with the growth of population of the congregation and with their growing needs and financial capabilities the erection of a stone church was planned instead of the wooden one. The former wooden churches often burned down, rotted away or simply proved to be too small after a while. Greek

<sup>4</sup> The building of a church with Byzantine rites was allowed only in those places where the commissioners of the bishop of Eger had personally made sure of the necessity of erecting it. Pirigyi: op.cit. 157.

<sup>5</sup> R.Kemenyfi: Etno-kulturgeográfiai vizsgálatok két magyar-román faluban. Debrecen, 1994.

<sup>6</sup> The only Greek Catholic wooden church, which occasionally works, is situated near Budapest, in the Open Air Ethnographic Museum of Szentendre. A few Greek Catholic wooden churches can still be found in the areas of the present Eastern Slovakia, Transcarpathia (the Ukraine) and Transylvania (Romania).

<sup>7</sup> A. Hodinka: A munkácsi görög katolikus püspökség története. Budapest, 1910. 783.



Catholic stone-churches were already built by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup> and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup> as well, but the real era of building them was the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Building a church has always meant and still means great expenses for the worshippers. According to the general practice, members of the parish contributed to the building operations with voluntary donations or with work or sums of money assessed by the church council or, before that, the local authorities.

Raising the material and financial funds was done in various ways according to the inventiveness of the locals. They collected contributions-in-kind for the purposes of the church to be built, which mainly meant the agricultural products of the worshippers. The money from selling them was spent on the construction. In other places money was collected in the form of taxes. And according to a different practice, the construction was covered by collective lease-working. However, lease-working could be a means of paying off the credits. The public works in the building operations were considered to be important contributions in all known cases.

Several examples show how state and church institutions and authorities help these building operations as well.<sup>10</sup> Relevant data can be found to such cases from earlier centuries too, and this practice, that the parishes turned to external help to supplement their resources, became more common in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The indirect form of requesting state support is the widely used method to form civic organizations for the building operations and the preferences ensured to these organisations may help the building of the church.

One form of financial aid was the necessary rebuilding of ancient monument churches, which affected several Greek Catholic churches as well. Even the communist state took part in the ancient monument restorations in several occasions. This is not equal to church building, but, in many cases, it makes possible putting the newly claimed churches in practice, which is functionally equal to seizing a new church. Presently, the ancient monument restoration of the parish-church of

---

<sup>8</sup> For example, the church of Viszló was built in 1672. János Kisfalusi's (parish-clerk) kind information.

<sup>9</sup> A. Hodinka: *op.cit.* 783.

<sup>10</sup> The further existence of the anti-religious culture policy of the dictatorship is manifested in that political turmoil that was launched by the revival of that earlier practice in 2000 when the Ministry of Environment and Regional Development provided financial contribution to the building of Greek Catholic churches in Szatmár (Eastern Hungary). According to the minister, his office helped the development of the intellectual environment in the region.



Győr, which was in use before, is effectuated by appropriating funds from the state budget along with local resources.

During the sometimes open, sometimes hidden persecution of religion of the party-state decades, the building of new churches has significantly decreased. According to certain data, more than 250 Catholic (Greek Catholics included), Protestant and other churches were built in Hungary from the end of World War II to the beginning of the 1980s.<sup>11</sup> However, the enhanced post-war building fever of the period before the Communist regime is included in this number.

The most important condition of buildings was the obtainment of permissions, which was not an easy task at all. The permission of the State Office for Ecclesiastical Matters was necessary for the forwarding of the plan-documentations to the building authorities. In this era serious private donations could not be counted on, there weren't any personalities in the country who could have appear as church-founders. The financial part of the construction were covered by the worshippers' donations, the occurrent central support of the Church, and in some cases by foreign aids. Expenses were significantly lowered by the voluntary work of the worshippers. Aiding, skilled labour and carriage were undertaken even by people who did not belong to the building denomination. As Ferenc Török, an architect awarded by the Kossuth-prize recalls it: the cost of building churches under his supervision was extremely low for that fore mentioned reason.<sup>12</sup>

According to the data, authorities attempted to impede, or at least restrain the building of churches on local and on higher levels similarly. This effort is in many traits recalled the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the building of Protestant and Byzantine-rite churches had been obstructed. During the religious commotions of the earlier centuries, especially during the persecution of Protestants, the spire emerging from among the houses often became victim of these endeavours. The applicable means of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were much wider, from the categorical prohibition, to the hindrance of building permission, to limitations and bounds concerning the situation of the building inside the settlement, its size, and its exterior and interior structure. It is typical that prohibitions concerning the spire were common in the party-state era as well. Alleviating the authorities' rigidity often required a great amount of ingenuity of the worshippers, the Church and of the architects designing the church and it often created unusual situations. In the followings I present a few examples from the plentiful data relevant here.

<sup>11</sup> I. Rév: *Templomépítészünk ma*. Budapest, 1987. 7.

<sup>12</sup> F. Török: *Templomok Magyarországon*. Szombathely, 1995 The village population participated together with the members of the local collective farm, in building the church of Edelény designed by Ferenc Török. I. Rév: op.cit. 95.

The building of the church of the Little St. Theresa of Lisieux Greek Catholic Parish of Diósgyőr-Vasgyár was carried out in the 1950s and 1960s in vicissitudinous circumstances from its designing until the completion of the building operations. The builders had to overcome many hardships from the several requirements of re-designing and modifying plans to moving the location and to the continuous harassment from the police's part. Finally, the competent authority permitted only an edifice without the spire so as to prevent the sacred building becoming too conspicuous. The parish even had to ask for the permission of the municipal council to allow the worshippers' help as public works. The poor conditions of the building operations are well characterized by the fact, that the necessary amount of water was taken from a nearby public well of the villagers and were carried to the location of the construction by a commuting cart pulled by a donkey. The widely recited argument was enounced by a local representative of the ruling Communist party (Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party) too, that 'it is useless to trouble with the building of the church, as religion will cease to exist in a few years time'. The answer of the parish-clerk was the following: "the candle of the Mother-Church has been burning for 2000 years, we'll see whose candle lasts longer..." The furnishing of the church, and much of the internal and external works could only be accomplished long after its consecration in 1961 – they had to wait 12 years with the plastering of the walls.<sup>13</sup>

The chapel in Edelény was built in the 1950s, in the darkest era of the persecution of religion. A private house was transformed according to sacral purposes. The main problem was not simply to raise the necessary money, but to keep the workings in secret until the end of the building operations. The secret was kept successfully while the tradesmen working at the building operations had their snacks at the canteen of the nearby party-house. The purpose of the building became public only after the first mass when it would have been embarrassing for the authorities to intervene.<sup>14</sup> Here, a church was also built in 1983, which the locals regarded to be an important step for the village to become a town.<sup>15</sup>

The Greek Catholic worshippers of Bodrogkiszalud wanted to build a chapel in that very period too. However, they received a permission of building only for a dwelling house, so they built a smaller chapel inside the building.

<sup>13</sup> B. Horzsa: A Lisieux-i Kis Szent Teréz tiszteletére emelt Diósgyőr-Vasgyári Görög Katolikus Egyházközség története 1929-1997. Miskolc-Diósgyőr, 1997. 8-13.

<sup>14</sup> Kind information of Dean Miklós Telenkó, former chaplain of Edelény.

<sup>15</sup> I. Rév: op.cit. 93-95.

The church of Selyeb was built in 1972 and was consecrated in 1973. Before that worshippers used the chapel in the castle. But it was too small for size that the congregation did not have enough space inside it during the Holy Liturgy and many of them stood outside while the ceremony lasted. The sum to cover the expenses of building the church was bequeathed to the village in the testament of a former resident who had left for America. The locals mainly contributed to the building with their work. Those who were not able to perform such tasks brought at least a jug of wine to the workers. The masons and carpenters were tradesmen from Múcsony, and Greek Catholics as for their creed. It is part of the history of building the church that at the beginning, the locals did not want a spire on their church *so as to prevent its becoming so ostentatious*. Finally they received the permission, but only for a

spire not much higher than the corona.<sup>16</sup>

The Greek Catholic church of Erdőhorváti was built in 1977. According to the information of the villagers at that time and their later recollections, they received a permission for a spire smaller than the one planned, and they received that with much trouble.

The church of Pálháza was consecrated in 1979. An unusual reaction from the worshippers' part, that many of them despise the building and are not satisfied with the quality of work either – "*it was built as possibilities allowed it*".<sup>17</sup> As the villagers recollect it, the building had to be redesigned three times before it obtained its present form – which reminds them a theatre or a community centre. Many believe that the authorities wanted to permit a building that can be used for other purposes as they expected the withering or cessation of religious life. According to the worshippers' opinion, the fact that a cross had already been on the parcel near the street played an important role in obtaining the permission, *as they were obliged to permit it*.

Before the party-state era, peculiarly, it was the Soviet occupation that made the first steps of building the Greek Catholic church of Ózd possible. Before the building of the church the first vicar of the congregation forming at that time said his masses in the chapel of the hospital. As the vicar spoke Russian he was often asked to interpret for the Soviet command in 1945 and the Soviet commander of the city donated him a house to have a place for saying masses. After several transformations, the church of today was built out of that house, with a sanctuary and

<sup>16</sup> Collected by Tímea Türk.

<sup>17</sup> After two decades, water soaked through the walls of the building.

two aisles added later to that. The iconostasis with the 14 icons was finished last.<sup>18</sup> A new church has been built since then, which was consecrated in 2000.<sup>19</sup>

The inclination for building churches has increased by leaps in each post-communist country since the political change. Relieved of the oppression, the historical Churches have been building hundreds of new churches all around Hungary, the numbers of which are reinforced by the churches, houses of prayer and little Bethels of the new denominations that appeared in the past decades. Exploring these new processes, as well as the more thorough ethnographic treatment of party-state church building, will be the task of the coming years.

## References

- Botlik József 1997 *Hármas kereszt alatt. Görög katolikusok Kárpátalján az ungvári Uniótól napjainkig (1646-1997)*. Budapest
- Dobosy László 1991 *Szagrális emlékek a Hangony-völgyben*. Debrecen
- Hodinka Antal 1910 *A munkácsi görög-katholikus püspökség története*. Budapest
- Horzsa Bertalan 1997 *A Lisieux-i Kis Szent Teréz tiszteletére szentelt Diósgyőr-Vasgyári Görög Katolikus Egyházközség története 1929-1997*. Miskolc-Diósgyőr
- Keményfi Róbert 1994 *Etno-kulturgeográfiai vizsgálatok két magyar-román faluban*. Debrecen
- Kisfalusi János 1995a *Ünnepi népszokások a Keleti Egyházban*. H.n.
- Pirigyi István 1990 *A magyarországi görög katolikusok története, I-II*. Nyíregyháza
- Rév Ilona 1987 *Templomépítézetünk ma*. Budapest
- Török Ferenc 1995 *Templomok Magyarországon*. In: Lőrincz 1995. 37-41.
- Türk Tímea 1999 *Válaszok a görög katolikus kérdőív kérdéseire*. (Kézirat) DENIA 3295 Debrecen

<sup>18</sup> L.Dobosy: Szagrális emlékek a Hangony völgyében, Debrecen, 1991. 48-49.

<sup>19</sup> Kind information of Prof. Istvan Ivancso.

# Sonntag. Ein Wochentag und seine Rezeption in der Volkskunde.

*Andreas C. Bimmer*

## Vorbemerkung

Im Zuge der Freigabe der Ladenöffnungszeiten in Deutschland, auch ihre Liberalisierung genannt, wurde die Schutzwürdigkeit des Sonntags als arbeitsfreier Tag, auch durch das Grundgesetz<sup>1</sup> gesichert, von den verschiedensten Interessengruppen in den Jahren 1999 und 2000 vehement kontrovers diskutiert und meist auch (noch) verteidigt. Im wesentlichen sind es zwei Strömungen, die hier zu nennen wären: zum einen die Kirchen und zum anderen die Gewerkschaften und Arbeitnehmervertreter in den Parteien. Auf der anderen Seite steht die Finanz- und Geschäftswelt, unterstützt durch Apologeten in der Politik und in den Medien, die sich durch die Liberalisierung des Welthandels bestärkt und durch die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Kräfte im Lande legitimiert sehen, jegliche (vermeintliche) Handelsschranken, vor allem traditionell begründete, einzureißen. Ein Beispiel hierfür mag die erstmalige Öffnung der Börsen an Himmelfahrt 2000 gewesen sein, zwar kein Sonntag, aber ein allgemeiner und arbeitsfreier Tag, ein kirchlicher Feiertag, an dem in diesem Fall zugleich auch der alljährliche Kirchentag stattfand. Die Öffnung für das Börsengeschäft stellte also eine sehr potenzierte Herausforderung nicht nur eines Feiertages sondern auch des Sonntages ganz allgemein dar. Es gab zahlreiche, aber wirkungslose Proteste auf der einen Seite und glaubt man den Wirtschaftsberichten, daß der finanzielle Erfolg zwar eher mager war, so scheint doch eine grundlegende Änderung wohl eher aufgeschoben als aufgehoben zu sein. Derweil ging und geht die Debatte munter weiter, zahlreiche, kaum noch zu übersehende Sonderregeln, etwa Ladenöffnungsfreiheit in Fremdenverkehrsgebieten oder die seit langem üblichen

---

<sup>1</sup>Artikel 140 des Grundgesetzes der Bundesrepublik Deutschland sagt - schon in Übernahme des Artikels 139 der Weimarer Verfassung: Der Sonntag und die staatlich anerkannten Feiertage bleiben als Tage der Arbeitsruhe und der seelischen Erhebung gesetzlich geschützt.

verkaufsoffenen Sonntage in der Adventszeit, stellen unaufhörlich das Privileg des Sonntags in Frage und es ist abzusehen, wann diese Bastion fallen wird. Diese öffentliche Beachtung mag Grund genug sein, sich des Sonntags auch von volkskundlicher Seite wieder einmal anzunehmen, über das bisher dazu Erarbeitete zu reflektieren und neue Bezüge, Gedanken und Ideen zu entwickeln und vor allem den kulturwissenschaftlichen Zugang zum Sonntag zu vertiefen.

## Sonntag in der Volkskunde

Der Forschungsstand zum Sonntag ist nicht einfach zu ermitteln. Bei der Vorbereitung zu dieser kleinen Studie wurde zunächst das Stichwort ‚Sonntag‘ in den Grundlagenwerken der Volkskunde vom Ende des Jahrhunderts und in den Zwanziger Jahren nachgeschlagen, etwa im Sartori<sup>2</sup> oder im Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens<sup>3</sup>. Dort liest man unter dem Stichwort „Sonntag“ zunächst religiöse Erklärungen, dann die sprachliche Herleitung, Kirchengesetze, Geschichte, weitere Entwicklung und schließlich mit nur wenigen Worten einige Informationen zur Bedeutung des Sonntags in Volkskunde und Ethnographie, überwiegend im Bereich von Brauch und Glauben. Höchst selten wird über den Sonntag an sich räsoniert, meist in Verbindung mit einem besonderen Sonntag, etwa Ostersonntag oder Totensonntag.

In einem zweiten Schritt wurde in großen Enzyklopädien der Sozialwissenschaften nachgeschlagen. Dort findet man neben religiösen Erklärungen vor allem Hinweise auf das Arbeitsleben, das heißt den arbeitsfreien Sonntag und dessen Ursprung zum Schutz der Religionsausübung. Aber zunehmend wurde der Sonntag auch immer mehr als eine Strukturierung der Arbeitswoche und des Arbeitslebens aufgefaßt. Schon unter diesem Gesichtspunkt erscheint es daher unverständlich, daß es in der Volkskunde nur höchst selten Abhandlungen über den Sonntag gibt, gerade weil die Arbeit, besonders die der kleinen Leute und vor allem die der Bauern doch genuiner Teil volkskundlicher Forschung war und wohl weiterhin auch ist.

Die Suche in den Bibliographien, allen voran in der Internationalen Volkskundlichen Bibliographie (IVB), erbringt zwar vereinzelt, dafür aber kontinuierlich über Jahre, einzelne Literaturnachweise zum Sonntag und es ist eine interessante Tendenz festzustellen: in den deutschsprachigen Ländern finden sich nur sehr wenige Belege zum Sonntag, dafür um so mehr in den skandinavischen Ländern,

<sup>2</sup>Sartori, Paul: Sitte und Brauch. 3 Bde., Leipzig 1910, 1911, 1914

<sup>3</sup>Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens. Hrsg.: Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer und Hanns Bächthold-Stäubli. Berlin-Leipzig 1930 ff, hier Band VIII Sp.88-99

meist mit Gegenwartsbezug, zum Beispiel, "Das Wochenende als Verlängerung des Sonntags" und anderes mehr. Die Durchsicht von fünfzehn Bänden der IVB, das bedeutet einen Zeitraum von gut dreißig Jahren, erbrachte für den deutschsprachigen Raum exakt einen Artikel aus dem Jahre 1956 "Zur volkswissenschaftliche Bedeutung des Sonntags" von Karl Ilg in der Zeitschrift für Volkskunde<sup>4</sup>. In diesem Aufsatz befaßt sich Ilg vor allem mit der kirchlichen Entwicklung des Sonntags, er hebt aber auch die sozio-ökonomischen Aspekte des Arbeitsrechtes seit den achtziger Jahren des vergangenen Jahrhunderts hervor und zeichnet die Geschichte des Sonntagsmahls. Besonders betont er, daß der Sonntag "auch ein 'Ordnungsprinzip' ersten Ranges"<sup>5</sup> darstelle.

In seiner Einführung verwundert sich Ilg über die Nichtbeachtung des Sonntags in der bisherigen volkswissenschaftlichen Forschung: "Nicht in allen brauchwürdigen Darstellungen des Jahresablaufs wurde ihm jene Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, die ihm in einer volkswissenschaftlichen Betrachtung zufallen darf. Dies wird vielleicht am besten mit seiner allzu großen "Alltäglichkeit" angesichts seiner 52maligen Wiederkehr durch das ganze Jahr hin erklärt?"<sup>6</sup> Und er fügte an, daß vielleicht auch die weltweite Verbreitung des Sonntags dazu geführt habe, daß Volkskundler den volkstümlichen Charakter des Sonntags nicht als forschungsrelevant betrachten wollten.

Der Hinweis auf die "Alltäglichkeit" als Hinderungsgrund sich mit dem Sonntag zu beschäftigen ist ein schönes Beispiel für den Wandel der Forschungsperspektiven in unserem Fach. Stellen Alltag und Gegenwart heute nahezu eine *conditio sine qua non* dar, ohne die das Fach nur schwer zu legitimieren wäre, so stand dies 1956 außerhalb der Diskussion, ja es stellte offenbar ein Wagnis dar.

Ich denke, daß die als zu gering erachtete Forschungsrelevanz und die Häufigkeit im Jahr weitgehend auch heute noch die beiden wesentlichen Gründe für eine breite volkswissenschaftliche Sonntagsenthaltung sind, abgesehen von einigen kleineren Studien, von den später berichtet wird. Sonntag ist so unspektakulär und gewöhnlich, daß er scheinbar keine ethnographische Untersuchung lohnt, weder regional noch komplex betrachtet.

Bisher wurde Arbeiten nachgespürt, die diesen Tag der Woche zum zentralen Objekt ihrer Thematik genommen hatten. Das ist sicherlich eine ein we-

<sup>4</sup>Ilg, Karl: *Zur volkswissenschaftliche Bedeutung des Sonntags*. In: Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 1956, S. 196-208

<sup>5</sup>Ebda. S. 205

<sup>6</sup>Ebda. S. 196 - 197



nig puristische Betrachtung, die aber hervorheben sollte, daß - wie sogleich zu zeigen sein wird- volkskundlich Sonntag zwar häufig tangiert wird, aber stets in beiläufigen Bezügen, selten fokussiert. Natürlich existieren zahlreiche Studien, in denen Sonntag als Ende der Woche, als Gelegenheit, als jour fixe, als Normbereich eine Rolle spielt. Eine kurze Erkundung mag dies in Erinnerung rufen, ohne auf Einzelheiten eingehen zu müssen. In der Brauch- und Festforschung wurde die Berücksichtigung des Sonntags als privilegiertem Tag der Woche zwar nicht vernachlässigt, aber seltener in themenzentrierter Perspektive. Es gibt zahlreiche spezielle Sonntage, vor allem im Kirchenjahr, aber auch Sönnitage des Gedenkens, wie Totensonntag oder Volkstrauertag, nicht zu vergessen der Muttertag, sowie zahlreiche partielle Zuweisungen, wie z.B. der Tag des Baumes und andere, bei dem sich verschiedene Interessengruppen des Sonntags als geeignetem, weil arbeitsfreiem Tag bemächtigt haben. Einerseits eignet sich Sonntag praktisch für Feste und Feiern aller Art, andererseits ist er, vornehmlich in gläubigem Umfeld und in ländlichen Gegenden ein Tag der Besinnung, der Arbeitsruhe und der religiösen Ausübung. Vor allem ist Sonntag ein Tag für und ein Tag der Familie. Familientreffen, Sonntagsbesuche, Feiern und gemeinsame Unternehmungen prägen diesen Bereich, wobei deren gestalterische, wie zwanghafte aber auch entlastende Bedeutung im sozialen Leben zu betrachten wäre.

Auch im Bereich anderer Arbeitsfelder der Volkskunde, etwa in der Glaubens- und Aberglaubensforschung gab es Studien, in denen Sonntag als hervorgehobener Tag eine relevante Rolle spielt. Mit der Unterscheidung in Sonntags- und Wochentagsmahlzeiten wurde ganz besonders in der Nahrungsforschung<sup>7</sup>, in der modernen wie in der traditionellen, mit der Untersuchung hervorgehobenen Verhaltens, wie Sonntagsmahl, -braten, etc. besondere Forschungsrelevanz nachgewiesen. Ähnlich verhielt es sich in der Trachten- und Kleidungsforschung, bei der die Frage nach besonders festlicher und sonntäglicher Kleidung einen beliebten Ansatz für Untersuchungen darstellte. Das betraf im übrigen nicht nur volkskundliche, sondern auch soziologische, wirtschaftsgeschichtliche oder demoskopische Studien.

Kleidung und Ernährung, traditionell wichtige Arbeitsgebiete der Volkskunde, stehen gleichzeitig auch im Interesse anderer Disziplinen wie z.B. Völkerkunde und Geschichte.

Aktueller, gewichtiger und von größerem Interesse für viele Disziplinen dürfte aber der Sonntag in seiner Bedeutung für die weite Thematik der Freizeitforschung sein.

<sup>7</sup>Vgl. als ein Beispiel unter vielen. Schmeling, Hans-Georg: Werktags- und Sonntagskost nach Vertreibung, Flucht und Neueingliederung.



Hierbei wird der Sonntag aber immer häufiger zusammen mit dem Sonnabend zugunsten eines Wochenendbegriffs gesehen. Herbert Freudenthal hielt es für wichtig, in seinen 'Volkskundlichen Streiflichtern', in denen er regelmäßig gegenwartsvolkskundliche Betrachtungen erörterte, auf eine Hamburger Studie zur Nutzung der Freizeit eingehend hinzuweisen. In dieser Studie hatten Forscher unter anderem danach gefragt, "wie am Sonnabend zuvor das Wochenende verbracht worden sei"<sup>8</sup>.

Anschließend referiert er recht umfangreich aus den Ergebnissen und kritisiert dann, daß keine Differenzierung zwischen Sonnabend und Sonntag stattgefunden hätte.

Er begründet seine Einwände mit der Anmerkung, daß man (1965) noch nicht durchgängig von einem arbeitsfreien Sonnabend hätte ausgehen können, daher wäre es sinnvoller, wollte man eine Aussage über die Freizeitbeschäftigung in der Hansestadt machen, sich auf den für alle arbeitsfreien Sonntag zu beschränken.

Inzwischen dürfte diese Differenzierung wohl nicht mehr vonnöten sein, zeichnet sich doch fast allgemein ein Wochenendbeginn ab Freitag nachmittag ab. Damit wird aber auch eine isolierte, aber nicht minder tiefgehende Betrachtung des Sonntags immer schwieriger.

Die vielfältigen Forschungen aus den Sozialwissenschaften insgesamt zu dem Thema Wochenende in bezug auf die Freizeitgestaltung, auf den Medienkonsum, den Sport und die sozialen und familiären Aktivitäten sind derweil so zahlreich, daß eine detaillierte Betrachtung in diesem Rahmen nicht möglich ist.

Auch im Bereich der Volkskunde kann man hierzu etliches auf tun, aber, und hierum geht es mir in diesem Aufsatz, eine besondere Hervorhebung des Sonntages bleibt selten. Wochenende, Sonntag eingeschlossen, ist die Voraussetzung, der äußere Rahmen für eine Untersuchung.

Unter dem Titel "Der lange Samstag" setzt sich Klara Löffler<sup>9</sup> mit dem Wandel dieses Tages in der Gegenwart auseinander. Im Gegensatz zum Sonntag, den sie im Sinne von Zuschreibungen für weitgehend einvernehmlich definierbar hält, stellt sie für diesen Tag fest: "Vom Samstag hat man weniger und dann oftmals gegenteilige Nachrichten (oder sollte man besser sagen: Vorstellungen?)

<sup>8</sup>Freudenthal, Herbert: Volkskundliche Streiflichter X, 47. In: Beiträge zur deutschen Volks- und Altertumskunde 12 (1968), S. 135 -141

<sup>9</sup>Löffler, Klara: Der lange Samstag. Eine Möglichkeitsform. In: Zeitspezifisches. Konrad Köstlin zum 8. Mai 1995. Hrsg. von Elisabeth Fendl, Renate Glaser, Klara Löffler. Regensburg 1995, S. 15 - 27

parat. Der Samstag gilt als der Tag, an dem man sich viel, vieles, allzu vieles vornimmt – der Samstag als der volle und der offene Tag am Wochenende.”<sup>10</sup> Die Autorin entwickelt im folgenden drei Konstruktionen, wie sie sie nennt. In der ersten ist der Samstag der volle Tag, an dem Haus- und Gartenarbeit, Einkäufen und eben alles, was man in der Woche nicht hat erledigen können, gemacht werden soll, aber meist dann doch nicht gelingt.

Die zweite Konstruktion des Samstag nennt sie den offenen Tag und will damit auf die freien Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten dieses für die meisten Menschen arbeitsfreien Tages hinweisen. Hier haben Muße, Kommunikation und Spontaneität ihren Ort.

Die dritte Konstruktion des Samstags schließlich nennt Klara Löffler den ‘neuen Sonntag’. Sie belegt ihre These mit Beobachtungen und zunehmend bemerkbaren Appellen, z.B. aus der Werbung, die bisher nur auf den Sonntag zutrafen, etwa wie eine Anzeige in einer Frauenzeitschrift “Das Samstagsmorgen-Frühstück. Superkleber für eine glücklichen Familie”.<sup>11</sup>

Für eine Betrachtung des Sonntags sind derartige Überlegungen äußerst interessant, belegen sie doch, daß nicht nur Samstag und Sonntag zusammen als Wochenende betrachtet werden, sondern daß die beiden Tage auch in den Konnotationen zunehmend austauschbar werden.

Elisabeth Fendl stellt im gleichen Band eine Collage zusammen, der sie den Titel “Der geheiligte Sonntag”<sup>12</sup> gibt. Nach einer Reihe sorgfältig ausgewählter Funde zu persönlichen Erinnerungen an Sonntag und seine individuellen Begleitumstände, meist von Schriftstellern und Dichtern, setzt sie sich mit der (wohl meist bildungsbürgerlichen) Kritik am Sonntag auseinander. Sie diene “in der Hauptsache der sozialen Abgrenzung, der Selbstbestätigung des eigenen reflektierten Umgangs mit der Freizeit” - und weiter “zum Teil wird in der Kritik am Sonntag -so meine ich- ein wenig Neid spürbar, Neid auf die ‘geordneten’ Leben der anderen.”<sup>13</sup>

Von einem ganz anderen Sonntag handelt der Begleitband zu einer Ausstellung im Fränkischen Freilandmuseum Bad Windsheim. Andrea K. Thurnwald<sup>14</sup> hat sich mit der ländlichen Sonntagskultur befaßt. Mit den Titelworten ‘Kirchgang, Klöße,

<sup>10</sup>Ebda. S. 17

<sup>11</sup>Ebda. S. 26

<sup>12</sup>Fendl, Elisabeth: Der geheiligte Sonntag. Eine Collage. In: Zeitspezifisches. Konrad Köstlin zum 8. Mai 1995. Hrsg. von Elisabeth Fendl, Renate Glaser, Klara Löffler. Regensburg 1995, S. 29 - 45

<sup>13</sup>Ebda. S. 42

Kartenspiel' weist sie auf den den Sonntag dominierenden und auch strukturierenden Dreiklang von Kirche, Küche und sonntäglicher Freizeit hin. Diese Studie ist wohl als die einzige ausführliche volkskundliche Untersuchung zum Sonntag zu betrachten. Hier steht der Sonntag als Thema im Zentrum des Interesses.

Auf der Basis von lebensgeschichtlichen Erzählungen hat die Autorin für den Zeitraum von 1905 bis in die 50er Jahre hinein ein reiches Erinnerungsmaterial erheben können, das sie in dem Band vorstellt und erläutert. Dadurch ergibt sich ein ausführliches, sehr instruktives Bild vom 'alten' Sonntag auf dem Lande. Eingerahmt werden die einzelnen Abschnitte durch das Eingangskapitel "Vom Tag des Herrn zum Ausschlagtag: Sonntag im Wandel" und das Schlußwort "Was bleibt vom Sonntag?" Neben der museumsdidaktischen Absicht, das Thema in einen gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhang zu stellen, weisen besonders die abschließenden Worte, die letztlich auch die Bilanz der Forschung darstellen, auf einen definitiven Wandel hin. "Die dörfliche Sonntagsgestaltung von einst ist mit der relativ geschlossenen Welt, der sie angehörte, für immer dahingegangen."<sup>15</sup> Als Gründe führt Thurnwald 'die gewaltig gewachsene Mobilität' im ländlichen Bereich sowie die sozialen Entwicklungen an, die den traditionellen Familienzusammenhang auflösten.

Und sie fragt sich weiter, ob "nach der Auflösung der lokalen und sozialen Einheit der Sonntagsgestaltung nun auch die zeitliche folgen (wird)"<sup>16</sup> Damit spricht die Autorin eine Aufhebung der Trennung von Arbeit und Freizeit an, wie sie sich etwa in Gleitzeit oder ungebremsten Ladenöffnungszeiten bereits andeuten. Und Thurnwald geht in ihrem Resümee noch einen Schritt weiter. "Wenn es keine regelmäßigen Ruhetage für alle (und) keine gemeinsamen Feiertage mehr gäbe.. würde die Entsolidarisierung der Gesellschaft völlig neue Dimensionen erreichen... Der Sonntag hat hierzulande immer einen entscheidenden Beitrag zur Integration der Gesellschaft geleistet"<sup>17</sup>.

Was hier mit der Emphase des Fazits klingt, weist aber doch mit einiger Richtigkeit auf die Funktionen des Sonntags hin: Zeitstrukturierung der Woche als Orientierung, sozialer Zusammenhang als Voraussetzung. Daß jedoch die Ursachen des Niedergangs des 'alten' Sonntags, Mobilität, Delokalisierung und soziale Distribution umkehrbar wären, ist wohl nicht anzunehmen.

<sup>14</sup>Thurnwald, Andrea: Kirchengang, Klöße, Kartenspiel. Traditionelle Sonntagskultur im evangelischen Franken. Bad Windsheim 1997, 223 S. (= Schriften und Kataloge des Fränkischen Freilandmuseums 29)

<sup>15</sup>Ebda. S. 212

<sup>16</sup>Ebda. S. 213

<sup>17</sup>Ebda. S. 313

Bildungsbürgerliche Kritik auf der einen und das Ende des traditionellen Sonntags auf der anderen Seite drängen zu der Frage: gibt es noch einen alltäglichen Sonntag, der schlicht als solcher begangen werden kann (und darf)? Ist Sonntag, wenn er Alltag, Wochentag ist, nicht mehr Sonntag?

Am Lehrstuhl für Ethnologie der Universität Lodz/ Polen wurde 1996 eine Tagung zum Thema "Hors de travail, le dimanche"<sup>18</sup> veranstaltet, an der Volkskundler aus zahlreichen europäischen Staaten über den Wandel und die Bedeutung des Sonntags in ihrem Land berichteten. Abgesehen von wichtigen historischen Beiträgen, in denen der 'traditionelle Sonntag' in der jeweiligen nationalen Prägung beschrieben wurde, waren sich die Teilnehmer weitgehend darin einig, daß der Sonntag als hervorgehobener arbeitsfreier Wochentag künftig nur noch zusammen mit dem Samstag als Wochenende betrachtet werden müßte. Die gegenüber der Arbeitszeit wesentlich höhere freie Verfügbarkeit der Wochenendzeit unterliege zunehmend geringeren äußeren Vorschriften, dadurch werde die Untersuchung des Freizeitverhaltens zum dominanten Faktor. Allerdings wurde ebenso betont, daß es weiterhin auch notwendig sei, den historischen traditionellen Sonntag zu untersuchen.

Die derzeit wohl ausführlichste Auseinandersetzung mit dem Sonntag, aus historischer wie theologischer Sicht ist die österreichische Publikation "Der Tag des Herrn. Kulturgeschichte des Sonntags"<sup>19</sup>. Hier findet man nicht nur die kirchen- wie zeithistorische Herleitung des Sonntags, auch rechtshistorische, medizinische und gewerkschaftliche Orientierungen, sondern auch Ausführungen zur "Sonntagskultur in der modernen Gesellschaft: Wohin führt die Zeitdynamik unserer Zivilisation?" (Rudolf Weiler) oder "Die Versuche, den Sonntag abzuschaffen: Gegenkalender und Freizeitindustrie (Johannes Michael Schnarrer). Schon mit diesen Aufsatztiteln wird die aktuelle Spannweite des Themas Sonntag deutlich.

Im Umfeld der eingangs erwähnten Diskussion in Deutschland um die Öffnung des Sonntags für den Kommerz ist auch ein anderer Konflikt zu nennen,

<sup>18</sup>Hors de travail, le dimanche. X. Atelier des Réseau P.A.C.T.- EURETHNO vom 12. bis 15. September 1966 in Lodz/Polen. Die Teilnehmer dieses französischsprachigen Symposions kamen aus Polen, Griechenland, Ungarn, Rumänien, Albanien, Rußland, Schweden, Italien, Frankreich, Spanien, Portugal und Deutschland. Mit meinem Beitrag "Le dimanche - sujet de négligence dans les coutumes et des fêtes au domaine de l'ethnologie régionale" habe ich erste Überlegungen zum vorliegenden Aufsatz gemacht. Erste Ergebnisse der Tagung wurden unter dem Titel...!!! veröffentlicht.

<sup>19</sup>Weiler, Rudolf (Hrsg.): Der Tag des Herrn. Kulturgeschichte des Sonntags. Wien, Köln, Weimar 1998

bei dem es um die völlige Abschaffung eines bisherigen Feiertages, das sind meist Sonntage, ging. Zur Finanzierung der neu einzuführenden Pflegeversicherung sollte von den arbeitsfreien kirchlichen oder bundesweiten Feiertagen einer zu einem normalen Arbeitstag zurückgeführt werden. Nach langer Debatte entschied man sich für den Buß- und Betttag, einen evangelischen Feiertag im November. Das war zwar ein Mittwoch, aber durchaus einem Sonntag in seinen wesentlichen Fakten gleich: landesweit arbeitsfrei und mit relativ hohem Freizeitwert. Die Debatten wurden in etwa mit den gleichen Argumenten wie die zur Verteidigung des Sonntags geführt, nur das hier das Interesse der Wirtschaft, mit einem weiteren Arbeitstag die zusätzlichen Soziallasten der Pflegeversicherung finanzieren zu können, nicht so offen zutage trat, wie bei dem Wunsch nach zusätzlichen Verkaufsmöglichkeiten am Sonntag.

Der Hamburger Volkskundler Helge von Giese hat diese Auseinandersetzungen mit einer Untersuchung über die Berichterstattung hierüber analysiert.<sup>20</sup> Nach einer historischen Einführung in die Geschichte und Bedeutung des Buß- und Bettages, stellt der Autor dar, daß in der öffentlichen Kontroverse vornehmlich der Verlust von Freizeit beklagt wurde, auch die betroffene evangelische Kirche reklamierte dies, allerdings, mag man unterstellen, Freizeit zur religiösen Übung. Dennoch sei im schließlichen Nachgeben "ein Verlust christlicher Deutungsmuster für gesellschaftspolitisch relevante Symbole deutlich geworden"<sup>21</sup>, der die immer geringer werdenden Einflußmöglichkeiten der Kirchen auf politische Entscheidungen offenbarte.

Zur methodologischen Erfassung des Buß- und Bettages in seiner Untersuchung führt der Autor aus: "Zeit als eine empirisch erhebbare Kategorie ist auf den ersten Blick in meiner Analyse eine bestimmbar zeitliche Dauer: ein Tag, der aber ohne Tätigkeit, ohne Inhalt und ohne Bewertung nichts weiter als eine abstrakte Einheit ist. Was dieser Tag bedeutet, warum er nicht "ein Tag wie jeder andere ist", machte ihn zum streitbaren Symbol."<sup>22</sup>

Das gilt in abgewandelter Form auch für den Sonntag der Gegenwart. Über Jahrhunderte unbestritten in seiner Hervorgehobenheit, zunächst als Tag der religiösen Besinnung und der Arbeitsruhe, dann zusätzlich als Tag von Familie und Freizeit, gerät nun der Sonntag in die Diskussion der Verfügbarkeit.

<sup>20</sup>Giese, Helge von: Der Konflikt um die Abschaffung des Buß- und Bettags und seine zeitliche Dimension. In: VOKUS Sonderheft Zeit, Hamburg 2000, S. 55 - 67

<sup>21</sup>Ebda. S. 66

<sup>22</sup>Ebda. S. 66

<sup>23</sup>Die berechtigten Diskussionen, ob ein arbeitsfreier Tag auch gleichzeitig freie Zeit für Freizeit bedeutet - besonders immer noch für Frauen - soll in dieser Argumentation ausgespart bleiben.

Ist Sonntag damit ein Tag wie jeder andere arbeitsfreie<sup>23</sup> Tag, wie Sonnabend oder Freitagnachmittag? Machen Gleitzeit und Teilzeitarbeit den Sonntag individuell austauschbar, je nachdem, an welchem Wochentag der arbeitsfreie Tag dann liegt?

Macht es Sinn, auch über andere Wochentage zu arbeiten, etwa den Montag<sup>24</sup>, der früher manchmal in Handwerkerzusammenhängen Blauer Montag hieß?

Hilfreich scheint es hier, die Komponente der Zeitstrukturierung stärker zu beachten. Sonntag ist, mindestens individuell empfunden, das Ende und zugleich der Anfang der Arbeitswoche. Je allgemeiner das noch gilt, desto verbreiteter dürften allein Sonntag und Wochenende den Funktionen Familie und Freizeit noch im weitesten Sinne genügen. Sonntag eignet sich am ehesten für soziale Regelmäßigkeiten, z.B. Bräuche der unterschiedlichsten Zuordnungen. Das galt auch und besonders für den traditionellen ländlichen Sonntag.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Analyse von bäuerlichen Tagebüchern schreibt Marie-Luise Hopf-Droste: "Es gibt die 'Alltäglichkeit' des Sonntags, das heißt es gibt eine festgelegte Struktur des Sonntagsgeschehens, die sich im Tagebuch feststellen läßt, in der die Handlungen festgelegt sind. Ein Sonntag unterscheidet sich nicht wesentlich vom anderen Sonntag, wohl vom Werktag. Der Sonntag hat einen anderen Rhythmus als die übrigen Tage, einen festlicheren, und er strukturiert ähnlich wie die Festtage das Jahr. Er ist die kleinste strukturierende Einheit, die Woche ist eine gängige Zeitbestimmung."<sup>25</sup>

Auch moderne Sonntage unterliegen einem anderen Rhythmus als die Arbeitstage.

Nur als kleines Indiz: offenbar gelten auch ungeschriebene Regeln, die das bestätigen würden, so würde man Sonntagmorgens Besuche oder Telefonanrufe nur mit Vorsicht tätigen, und wenn überhaupt, dann meist erst ab einer bestimmten Zeit oder nach Aufforderung, bzw. Einladung.

Der andere Rhythmus als der Arbeitstag würde aber auch für einen Mittwoch eines Schichtarbeiters zutreffen, der an diesem Tag seinen 'Sonntag' hätte. Allerdings würde dies wahrscheinlich nicht einmal für den Rest seiner Familie zutreffen. Der Grad allgemeiner Gültigkeit des Sonntags ist doch von größerer Bedeutung.

<sup>24</sup>Vgl. hierzu Glaser, Renate, Barbara Michal: "Can't trust that day..."? Der Montag. In: Zeitspezifisches. Konrad Köstlin zum 8. Mai 1995. Hrsg. von Elisabeth Fendl, Renate Glaser, Klara Löffler. Regensburg 1995, S. 47 - 58

<sup>25</sup>Hopf-Droste, Marie-Luise: Das bäuerliche Tagebuch. Fest und Alltag auf einem Artländer Bauernhof. Cloppenburg 1981, S.103

Will man über den gegenwärtigen Sonntag in Deutschland arbeiten, wo sollte man ansetzen, welche Schwerpunkte setzen und in welchem theoretischen Verständnis die Arbeit verankern? Was macht den Sonntag unter der kulturwissenschaftlichen Perspektive einer Alltagskulturforschung<sup>26</sup> interessant? Kann mit dem Konzept einer Alltagskulturforschung, die als theoretische Kategorie immer wieder kritisch hinterfragt wurde und wird und doch gleichzeitig Aushängeschild nahezu jeder volkskundlichen Studienordnung ist, Funktion und Phänomenologie des Sonntags hinreichend erarbeitet werden?

Im sozialwissenschaftlichen Fachverständnis wäre jedenfalls noch erheblicher empirischer Bedarf an konkreten Fakten zum aktuellen Sonntagsverhalten der unterschiedlichen Bevölkerungsgruppen einzufordern. Verglichen mit den Kenntnissen über den 'traditionellen ländlichen' Sonntag, weiß man verhältnismäßig wenig über den aktuellen Sonntag, und wenn, dann nur über Anleihen bei anderen Disziplinen und ihren Studien zu Freizeit oder zum Mediengebrauch.

Am Ende meiner Ausführungen bleibt die anfängliche Verwunderung, warum der Sonntag auch weiterhin ein Stiefkind der volkskundlichen Arbeit geblieben ist. Gerade unter der Perspektive des Wandels des Sonntagsverständnisses gäbe es viel zu erforschen.



<sup>26</sup>Zuletzt hat sich B. Lauterbach damit auseinandergesetzt und einen knappen, aber informativen Überblick verfaßt. Lauterbach, Burkhart: Von der Heimatkunde zur Europäischen Ethnologie: Volkskunde als vergleichende Alltagskulturforschung. In: Augsburger Volkskundliche Nachrichten 6 (2000), Heft 1, S. 5- 25





## Contextualizing Tradition, Religion and Identity

*Dégh, Linda*

*Siikala, Anna-Leena*

*Lahti, Minna*

*Stark-Arola, Laura*

*Laitila, Teuvo*

*Liszka, József*

*Petercsák, Tivadar*

*Bársony, István*

*Pozsony, Ferenc*

*Junnonaho, Martti*

*Bereczki, Ibolya T.*

*Bódi, Erzsébet*



## Traditionalizing in Scotland

*Degh, Linda*

In my effort to understand the maintenance of the layer of cultural tradition we identify as folklore, I continue to look at creative individuals who consciously adhere to, and reformulate the expressive forms of their legacy in order to keep them relevant to others in their peer group. Tradition always was and still is the natural base upon which innovations can be set forth. New technologies of today may change the relationship and the proportions of the give and-take between the two, while the conflicting worldviews of old and new remain similar dynamic forces of revision, as people keep appealing for both conservative and modern values. It seems the nostalgic idealized recasting of tradition is a necessary platform to slow down the speed and cushion the blow of rapid change and gain time to prepare for what is in the making: a homogenized global technocracy run by institutionalized accommodators of work, leisure, health ideology and welfare. In this, a mechanized mass society is projected, isolating and alienating human beings from each other by turning them into space aliens vegetating on separate self-contained planets, building their own imaginary world, and constructing a virtual global village by internet communication. But have no fear. We have not reached that stage yet. Perhaps the juvenile computer geniuses who force us to learn new skills and keep buying new machines to perfect our individualization will resort to other games satisfying their lust for power that money can buy. We are familiar with this lust; it has been the driving force of folktale protagonists with ego-trip motivation, such as Jack, the simpleton orphan boy who outwits everyone in power so that he can acquire their dominance. We indeed empathize with the Dragonslayer (AT 300) who prioritizes personal interest over the welfare of the *Gemeinschaft*.

But forces of modernity cannot eliminate forces of antiquity concerned with the safeguarding and celebration of community that endows individuals with secure values, assigning them a place in the hierarchy of family, clan, lineage, village, region, ethnic and national group. Individuals, thus, appear as creative entities, bearing the cultural and political traditions that give them a sense of pride

of their community-defined identity. The fear of losing identity is symptomatic of cataclysmic changes anywhere in the world. Yet it is particularly painful for Europeans who have been, over a period beginning with the end of World War II, continually exposed to a new technology of communication tending toward intercultural globalization, threatening distinctiveness, coupled with an aggressive and violent ethno-political rearrangement of national boundaries. Fortunately or unfortunately, folklore keeps its attraction as commodity to politicians and salespeople - keeping it relevant and blossoming in the modern world while causing uncertainties among folklorists concerning its academic worth (Bendix 1998, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

How can we forge a folkloristic approach to folklore in this situation? How can we identify the voice of folklore, separate from folklorism in its current configurations, manipulated, objectified, sold and imposed by so many insider-outsider interest groups and brokerages, revivalists, populists, politicians and merchants? It would be hard but not impossible if we followed the historical process of the uses and interpretations of folklore by the folk, by other users and by schools of folkloristics. Those who are familiar with the history of our discipline know that its subject, folklore, evolves and keeps being shaped by epochal *Zeitgeists*, running its course in cycles before progressing to the next stage that repeats the same relationships adapted to new socio-economic constellations. We should know that the confusion is not bigger than it ever was, it's only seems so because the planet is more populated.

But instead of surveying the historic process, a simpler strategy could be suggested: an exploration of the current status of folklore from the viewpoint of its bearers, active performers and their audiences. How does the folk define folklore, its content, and its nature? In this brief essay I will present the views of a bearer of one of the wealthiest narrative traditions in Europe, reporting my conversation with Essie Stewart during my 1998 summer fieldwork in Scotland. Historically, folklorists have not been very much concerned about the ways bearers relate to their traditions.

Scotland has the longest history of collecting and studying folklore among oppressed nations with an "inferiority complex" (Dundes, 1985). James Macpherson published ancient epic poems that he attributed to an early Gaelic bard, Ossian, were in fact constructed by Macpherson himself from contemporary oral and manuscript collections (Macpherson 1760). This work set an example for European nationalists fighting for the independence of their homeland. Along with



The pub in Edinburgh, where stories are told, songs are sung with whiskey and beer –  
Hamish Anderson folklore scholar

Macpherson's "new Homer," Bishop Percy's compilation of ballads as reliques of ancient poetry (Percy 1765) convinced leading European intellectuals that indigenous oral poetry in vernacular languages are effective weapons to achieve recognition. The message spread like foxfire with reference to the Scottish example. From the 1780s to the end of the nineteenth century, appeals in literary magazines urged patriots to collect the poetry of the folk, which was the only preserver of national values (Cocchiara 1954, Dundes 1985). The result was overwhelming and led to the establishment of national archives and museums (living outdoor folk museums as well) for documentation and preservation. Folklore societies were founded for scholarly exchange and public education. University chairs were instituted to secure continuity and a dignified place for folklore among the humanistic sciences. Remarkably, an internationally coordinated nationalistic science was born that was as much self-contained and independently developed in each of the adherent countries, as it was inspired by the same spirit of European populism. Evidently, folklore, the subject of the discipline is also paradoxically national as much as it is international. The most celebrated classical forms of national folklore: Märchen, legend, ballad, song, turned out to be internationally widespread, causing unhappiness among patriotically driven scholars (Ortutay 1972, 98-108) and national politicians.

Elements of the eighteenth and nineteenth century myth of national ownership of folklore in unique formulations necessarily lingers on in expressions of cultural identity consciousness. In a recent article James Porter cautions Scottish

folklorists against the object-oriented displays of cultural identity “as a reified, idealised view of the past”(Porter 1998,10), but the magnitude of the problem lies in the fact that the idealized third century Scots identity that was “invented” in the eighteenth century continued, and was imposed and expanded (Trevor-Roper 1983) by the arbitrators: the gullible, romantic folk, the folklorist and the public. In other words, true or fiction, genuinely believed or deliberately forged, the process of folklorization combines and accommodates innumerable disparate elements resulting in folklore that is endemic, subjectively claimed and identified by its bearers. In Scotland, the self-image of modern folk artists who combine the art of tale and legend-telling, ballad singing and bagpipe playing traditionalizes and acts out the invented identity features. This bothers historians, but does it really matter to the folklorists that the image is constructed? Shouldn't folklorist be more interested in the artistic, subjective, emotionally changed true facts behind the contemporary forms of traditional art that continues the societies need for them? No doubt, part of the repertoire of the currently performing artists are of literary origin, chronicling a semi-fictional prehistoric and medieval Gaelic past. Some of the narrators specialize in old epic poetry and reject the international *märchen* themes as alien. Some want to be loyal to ancestral tradition as they know it, write and recite their own patrimonial geneologies, and trace their Highland origin, other narrators wear tartan and Celtic badges. Others rewrite their own traditional oral narratives and autobiographical experiences in a literary style seasoned with expressions and cadences of elite literature.

Storytelling, poetry recital, ballad and song singing, instrumental music playing and dancing are all parts of Scottish social life at the ‘*ceilidh*’, which is an evening gathering of family, friends and neighbours. As the stranger is informed, this tradition and entertainment was a part of the original distinctly Celtic Highland culture. According to informants, its narrative body from the Western Highlands, represented by the classic collection of J. F. Campbell of Islay (Campbell 1860/62) has been preserved, carried on and further disseminated by the clan of itinerant tinsmiths, basket makers and artisans known as the Travelling People. In brief, they are the “tinkers, hawkers and horse-dealers who, for centuries, have passed through ..villages buying, selling and entertaining. These Scottish nomads... are indigenous, Gaelic speaking Scots who, to this day, remain heirs of a vital and ancient culture of great historic and artistic importance to Scotland...” (Neat, 1996). In the 1950s, folklorist Hamish Henderson discovered the travellers and did a tremendous service to scholarship as well as contributed to the popularization of Scottish oral tradition by tape-recording the expressive

art of this non-literate group. One of his outstanding storytellers was Alexander of the widespread Stewart clan, (the Stewarts of Remarstaig) a blind man known as Ailidh Dall (born 1882). "It was the cream of my life, the top of my life - writes Henderson, - those two months up there with the Stewarts, a four-wheel drive and a ridge-pole tent, out on the road three families strong, with horses, carts, with barefoot children and an old man telling Homeric, Ossianic tales" (Neat 73).

Essie was fourteen at that time, living with her mother and her grandfather. She was raised by the traveller culture, spending 5-6 months on the road, sharing the strong family orientation and philosophy of a selfless, godfearing, but carefree, easygoing and fun-loving life. She had heard her grandfather's stories since early childhood, but when she got married at seventeen to a travelling pearl fisherman who was twenty-nine, her responsibilities changed. She learned how to fish for pearls, and in time became an expert at selling them. But the marriage went sour after four children were born and Essie left her husband for a younger man. She was later employed in hospital administration and retired in due course as her children completed their education, an accomplishment that she herself could never afford. Her daughters are now professionals, and married with children. Essie leads a comfortable life and helps her daughters her grandchildren. In heart, she remains a traveller, cherishing the memory of her grandfather, her mother and the extended family that endowed her with the superior morality inherent in the tales they were telling. At fifty-seven, Essie realizes what she had missed by staying a passive recipient, not an active reciter of tales like her grandfather, passing on the legacy of their ancestors. Now that she has the time, Essie decided to listen to the audiotapes of Ailidh Dall deposited at the Archives of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh. Committed to her cultural heritage, she hopes that the voice of the past will bring back her childhood memories of narration in the traveller's tent and enable herself to recapture the ancestral tales, and transmit them to her grandchildren. Talking about her life to folklorists at the School indeed began to shed light on forgotten stories<sup>1</sup>, and she was eager to talk to me, allow me to ask questions to trigger her recall. We set up two occasions at the School for informal conversations yielding six supernatural family legends among others<sup>2</sup>. I was deeply impressed by Essie's attrac-

<sup>1</sup> I owe thanks to John Shaw and Barbara McDermitt from the School of Scottish Studies, helping us to make contact with key narrators. Their generosity is surpassed only by that of our informant's who treated us like old friends and taught us new knowledge we never would have learned without them.

<sup>2</sup> Our fieldwork team of folklorists from the Indiana University Folklore Institute included myself and my colleague Gregory Schrempf, and graduate students Julie Heath and Andrew Hyman.



Duncan Williamson, the most prominent storyteller, balladsinger among the Scottish travellers. Balmullo, Scotland, 1998

She looked like a professional woman, dressed in a blue suit with simple elegance in good taste, and a sweet smile on her face. She had poise indeed, making us, her audience feel comfortable starting a conversation. She answered our questions thoughtfully, with feeling, consideration, and a good sense of humor, but also with dignity. She often apologized for not having a good education yet her conduct revealed sharp intelligence and knowledge. Her conversational language was engaging. She seemed to be comfortable with talking to us, calling us by our first names, like old friends when explaining something we were asking about. Then, breaking into performance, her narrative style became dramatic, rhythmic with incremental repetitions, similar to that of seasoned narrators. Her interest in re-learning the forgotten stories is clearly a conscious effort to boost her Scottish-Gaelic traveller identity, an expression of loyalty to ancestral values. Essie, the passive listening member of this storytelling subculture is motivated by the same ideal as the active traveller storytellers I have met. For example, Duncan Williamson, who estimates his tale repertoire as large as “a couple of thousands of stories,” stated to me that he is a collector. Each tale he knows, some in several versions, originated from the great narrators of the past, and he collected them from older relatives and friends.<sup>3</sup> His only contribution was to reshape the stories to make their meaning more accessible to his audiences. At seventy, Duncan has three audiences to entertain. The primary and natural is that of his own folks at the natural gatherings of travellers, and secondary is that of the staged and organized international festivals where he plays a paid starring role as a professional performer, and learns new stories from Japanese, Israeli, African, etc. narrators. Duncan’s third audience is schoolchildren getting an education in the wisdom and moral values of ancestral tales. Both Essie and Duncan were raised by nonliterate storytellers but educated in a changing world they left behind the confines of their subculture. Yet, both of them feel obligation to their elders whose principles of conduct are manifest in folktales. It is for the next generation

<sup>3</sup> We have paid a visit to Duncan Williamson at his home in Balmullo, Fife, July 16.



to continue and keep identity preserved. Here is one of Essie's stories that she remembered during our conversation about supernatural encounters: This is a classical legend superbly told with all important ingredients, expressing her own certainties. She respects and trusts those who had told it to her, but since they had passed away long ago, there is no way to ask them for confirmation.

### The evil eye

"...there is a little story that perhaps you would be interested hearing, Linda. And that happened to my granduncle. My mother's ... my granny's brother. And he was a baby. And he died in 1957, aged 65. And this happened when he was six months old. And this was ... and this is the evil eye I'm talking about.

And they were round by... round by Eastern ... Western Ross, somewhere ... I'm not terribly sure where. You know, on the rounds, during the summer, and my great-granny was going around. Selling her tin. It was mostly tin that they had in those days because they were excellent tin smiths. This is my great-granny on my mother's side. I'm talking about OI' Granny Williamson.

And it was a Saturday, and her last port of call was at a shop. She knew the people of course, everybody she knew, everybody, and everybody knew her. And the shop, the house on the shop, they were attached. The shop was just a little building that was attached to the main house. But there was an adjoining door. She went into the shop, and the lady at the shop was busy. And she says: 'Kate', she says, 'Just go through, have a seat, and I'll be through when I finished serving these people.'

And she was carrying this six month old child in her lap, and she also had a little one, trotting along at her side. So she went through the door, and she went into the living room or the kitchen, whatever. There was this woman, sitting at the fireside whom she recognized, but didn't really know well. So they chatted away for awhile. And this woman turned ... turned to Kate Williamson. And she turned to her: 'Well, Kate,' she says, 'what is the three most beautiful things you've ever seen in your life?' And she says: 'To be perfectly honest,' she says, 'I wasna paying much attention', to what she was seeing. And well, she turned toward her: 'Well', she says, 'I don't know, and to be quite honest,' she said, 'I do not know what where the three most beautiful things I've ever seen in my life. I haven't really thought about it.' 'Well', she says, 'I'll tell you of the three most beautiful things that I have ever seen in my life. And that is', she says, 'that's a pregnant woman, a boat under sail, and a mare in foal'. And the shopkeeper overheard, and

she came through the adjoining door: 'O', she said, 'be quiet', she said, 'stop that nonsense.'

However, there was no more said, and she had, Kate Williamson had forgotten about it. Bought her tea, bought her groceries, and went home. By the time she got home, the baby started crying. And the baby cried all night. That was Saturday night, remember, all Sunday, all Sunday night until the early hours of Sunday morning. At six o'clock on Sunday morning, she couldn't take it anymore. She got up, she got dressed, even if she wasn't in bed at all, I wasn't very sure. And she took ... she dressed the eldest boy. He was about ... eight... seven-eight, and she settled, on her rounds, and she had quite a way to walk. By the time she got to the first houses, they have just begun to light the fires. And she knocked on the first door she came to. And the lady came out, and. . . 'O my goodness', she said, 'what's wrong with your baby?' And she said: 'I don't know Missus,' she says, 'I can't, I don't know what ... who did this destruction.'

'Just come in.' So she ... went in. And she took one of her tin buckets she was selling. She handed it to the older boy and she said to him: 'You get the bucket and go to the well, 'she says, 'and fill it up to a quarter. And when you fill it up to a quarter,' she says, 'take a two shilling piece.' (In those days... it is an equivalent to two pences, nowadays. . .)' Just put it into the water, in the bucket. Bring it back here', she says, 'it does not matter whom you see, whom you meet, don't talk to them.'

So the child did it as he was told, and he brought back the water. She put it in a pan and she put it on the side of the fire to heat. When the water was sufficiently warm, she put it into the bath and got her ring, her gold wedding ring, her gold band, and she put it in the bath water. By then she had undressed the child and she started bathing him. By the time she had finished ... even before she had finished bathing him, she was jumping. All the while she was bathing the baby, she was jumping. But Kate Williamson couldna move, She had no idea, she wasna clear what she was seeing... what was going on. Like she was like... talking in tongues. Before she had even finished bathing the baby, the child had fallen asleep. So she dressed him, and she wrapped him in her shawl, and she handed him back to his mother. She made her tea, and. . . 'Kate', she said, 'over the last few days', she said, 'have you been talking to anybody... anybody, a stranger? Has anybody said anything strange to you?' She said, 'I can only remember the woman wearing a shawl in the shop.' 'O yes!' And she mentioned, you know, that she had been in the shop of Missus So-and-So, and this person had been in the shop, 'and I might

have known. . .? And she said: 'She cursed your baby, `she said, ` she cursed your child.' She said: 'another hour and your child was dead,' she said, 'I could have warned you'. Well, well... she is evil...

Maybe it is a bit far fetched, you know, but, you know, if someone had told me, perhaps I would not have believed it. But I mean, it has not been told to someone. But harm have been done, it happened to my great-granny, it happened to my granduncle, and I have no reason whatsoever to disbelieve them.



Essie Stewart tells the Evil Eye story of her grand-aunt at my office at the school of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh, Scotland, 1998

Finishing her story with her statement of belief Essie responded to our questions:

- Does she know what the evil woman's words meant?
- No. Not as far as I know. It was ... I mean it's a long time ago, you know, and the people involved are dead, you know ... Even my mother. And there's no one I can ask about it, you know. I told you the story the way it was told to me, and the way I heard it, you know.
- Was she a witch?
- Obviously she had the power, she had a power of some kind, you know. They called it the evil eye, you know. So I mean, she must have had some power when she had the child, you know, Another hour, and the baby would have been dead. Ahm. And here again, she had the power to put the curse on the child and the other lady had the power to take the curse off, you know, so it works both ways. You know, I mean, one was bad, and... one was evil, and one was good.

- Julie: Was it unusual to have good power?  
 – Julie, I think it was quite prevalent, you know. I really think it was quite... yeah, yeh. You know, there was good and bad I mean, but we don't hear about it nowadays. Maybe it exists, I'm sure it does, but we don't hear about it.

## Bibliography

- Bendix, Regina. 1997. "Of Names, Professional Identities, and Disciplinary Futures," *Journal of American Folklore* 111, 235-246
- Campbell, John Francis. 1860-62. *Popular Tales of the Western Highlands*. 4 vols. Edinburgh  
 Cocchiara, Giuseppe. 1954. *Storia del folklore in Europa*. Einaudi: Torino
- Dundes, Alan. 1985. "National Inferiority Complexes and the Fabrication of Fakelore: A Reconsideration of Ossian, the Kinder- and Hausmärchen, the Kalevala and Paul Bunyan." *Journal of Folklore Research*, 22:5-18
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, 1998. "Folklore's Crisis" *Journal of American Folklore* 111:281-327
- Macpherson, James. 1760. *Fragments of Ancient Poetry Collected in the Highlands of Scotland and Translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language*.
- Neat, Timothy. 1996. *The Summer Walkers. Travelling People and Pearl-Fishers in the Highlands of Scotland*. Canongate Books, Edinburgh
- Ortutay, Gyula 1972. "Between East and West," in: *Hungarian Folklore: Essays*. Akademiai Kiadó, Budapest 76-97
- Percy, Thomas. 1765. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*.
- Porter, James. 1998. "The Folklore of Northern Scotland: Five Discourses on Cultural Representation," *Folklore* 109:1-14
- Trevor-Roper, Hugh. 1983. "The Invention of Tradition: A Highland Tradition of Scotland," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 15-42.

## The kalevalaic tradition as finnish mythology

*Anna-Leena Siikala*

Myths forge a link to immutable principal events in the past and in doing so establish a social entity united by notions of a common origin. Thus they have an uncanny power of self-definition and are therefore suitable for political uses. Myths have played an important role in social movements attempting to create group unity on national, ethnic or regional grounds. Myths address both socio-cultural and existential questions. Therefore, research into mythical traditions has been vital in analysing both the shaping of our common conception of history and the construction of cultural identity of distinct population groups. The study of mythical aspects of history extend into of classical mythology (see Detienne 1981), while issues addressing cultural identity led, among other things, to the compilation of the Kalevala and ensuing research on its material (Honko 1990). The study of Finnish mythology has used Kalevalaic folk poetry as one of its main, though by no means only, source materials. Since the 1980s the study of mythical traditions has grown in importance, mainly because of the establishment of the European Union and the subsequent need to strengthen the European identity. In the United States the new wave of myth research has been inspired by the ethnonationalism of the postcolonial era. Many a small nation has taken the Finnish Kalevala as its model in establishing its own national symbol.

Finnish interest in Kalevalaic poetry and mythology did not fade with the establishment of an independent Finnish state: the Kalevala jubilee celebrations (1985 and 1999) were widely appreciated. Today, the Kalevalaic tradition is attracting more and more interest. The changing structures in Europe and the economic recession shook the basic pillars of the Finnish worldview. It seems that a nation needs identity symbols not only in its infancy but also in transition and in times of crisis. The meaning and symbolic value of the Kalevala or its equivalents cannot be understood in a narrow national context. To understand the character of the Kalevalaic tradition as a national mythology, we have to examine it more closely to see what aspects of it make it so suitable for self-identification.

## The Kalevala and the world's epics: myth as history

Kalevalaic poetry existed - like the epic poetry of non-literate cultures in general - only as oral tradition. The early collectors could already make observations on its nature in the light of parallel traditions in other peoples. Mikael Agricola in 1551, for example, obviously had some idea about the nature of epic poems when he named Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, the central figures in Kalevalaic poetry, gods of the peoples of Häme. Elias Lönnrot, accordingly, placed Kalevalaic poems on a level with the great epic poetry of Europe - the Iliad and Odyssey of Greece, the Edda of ancient Scandinavia, the Nibelungenlied of Germany and the Beowulf of the Anglo-Saxons - when creating the Kalevala epic. The European literary epics differ both from one another and from the epics of Asia and Africa not only in content but in the way and the period they were noted down. The relationship between the finished epic and the collection of oral poems telling of the deeds of the same hero is also something of a problem. Nevertheless, there are common features in these traditions. Their special value, sacredness or cultural significance places them above all other stories.

In *The Kalevala and the World's Epics* (1990) by Lauri Honko the Kalevala keeps company with distinguished epics of other peoples. The theme running through the work is the Kalevala as a representative of its genre, alongside other epics and epic poetry of the world. In the introduction Lauri Honko answers the question "What is an epic?" by calling the epic as Brenda Beck did in 1982 (p. 196) a superstory, a folk genre carrying an image of first-rate narration. Folk epics are, according to him, long poems often running to thousands of lines sung or recited by 'professional' tradition bearers. Myth and history are woven into them to form true, trusted events, so that they become mirrors of the world, the nation and its early heroes.

Remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity (Lowenthal 1990, 197-200), be it an individual or a group identity. A sense of a shared 'history' seems to be necessary to the formation of an ethnic group. Kirsten Hastrup sees that in a case where the shared history is absent, traditions may be invented for the purpose of distinction (Hastrup 1987, 258; see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). A concept of the past of one's own group and of the fundamental essence of the universe is one of the most basic forms of human knowledge. Before the art of writing was invented, oral narratives and poems were the primary tools for preserving this knowledge. The controversy over the explanation of the mythical knowledge codi-

fied in oral tradition - evident as a preference for either the mythical or the historical interpretation - ultimately illustrates the difference between the concepts of history held by Western researchers and the members of the culture studied. In traditional cultures myth and reality are not placed in different compartments as they are in Western thinking. The fact that comparative religion has underlined the religious dimension of mythology has often prevented us from seeing its historical function, its position as the 'sacred' history of one's own group.

So far attempts to determine the nature of old Finnish epic poetry have drawn on the categorising concepts 'mythical', 'historical' or 'heroic'. The mythical and the historical interpretations have been fighting for supremacy in determining the fundamental nature of Kalevalaic poetry from the 18th century onwards. Similar problems have been shared by research into Homeric epic (cf. Detienne 1981, 22-24) and ancient Scandinavian poetry. In Finland this dispute had deep roots. The quest for history, for insights into the past through epic poetry, is an extremely powerful force stimulating epic research in a young state devoid of literary sources. And we can see from the trend in the historical interpretations of the Finnish epic that this force not only stimulates but also guides research in accordance with whatever national interests are dominant at the time (cf. Siikala 1992, 133-136). In contrast to this there emerged a school following the trends in mythology research of the European continent. It is surely no exaggeration to claim that the more cosmopolitan a researcher's orientation is and the wider his familiarity with comparative materials representing different cultures, the sharper his view becomes of the mythical and fictive nature of the Finnish epic.

Both myth and history are symbolic forms of connecting the past and present. Christine Seydon (1990) points out that epics with a mythical bias are a characteristic feature of communities which lack a centralised power structure and in which the devices for communal identity are founded on a system of kinship. Epics with a historical bias are in turn to be found among communities in which a framework for identity is provided by state-like systems and hierarchical social relations. We could ask what is so special in the Kalevalaic tradition, in its mythic history that it was accepted as the mythology of the new state? We could answer that illiterate Finnish culture needed its own history, but is that enough?

### Myths as mental models building worldview

By codifying the structures of the worldview, myths bear mental models of the past; they are one form of the structures of *longue durée* of culture. In ad-



addressing the prerequisites for human and social existence, the mythologies of the world revolve around the same key questions, even though the solutions may vary and diverge according to the culture in question. Thus the mythologies of different cultures are not similar. Ways of seeing the world and analysing it, making even empirical judgements, and thus ascribing meanings to perceptions vary from one culture to another. Notions about the world and its phenomena are structured in different systems of knowledge and mental imagery. The most fundamental areas of cultural consciousness are related to the community's worldview and basic values; mythology is constructed as a representation of precisely such basic structures of consciousness.

Discrete cultural materials and oral traditions can easily cross national boundaries. Unlike these surface elements, the structures of consciousness to sustain worldview and to solve contradictions are more deeply rooted and conservative. Hence, mythology is one of the most persistent mental representations. In fact, we can even view mythology as a long-term prison – if we use the metaphor of the Fernand Braudel- , which tenaciously endures even the most radical historical changes and continuously carries the past into the present. Nevertheless, myths are interpreted within the framework of each culture and constantly transformed according to the social context (Vernant 1992, 279). The life of mythical traditions is characterised by the inherently conservative nature of its basic structures and even themes, but at the same time these structures and themes are constantly reinterpreted in social practice (Sahlins 1985).

The great theories of myth from 19th century scholars to the 20th century have influenced the way Finnish scholars have identified mythical themes in Kalevalaic poetry. Therefore the study of Finnish mythology requires a thorough re-examination of the concept of myth, a task which has attracted growing attention due to the rise of classical mythology as an important object of study. My previous research has demonstrated that the myths of Kalevalaic poetry did not - as was assumed by earlier research - occupy a marginal position as thematic fragments, the background of which could be traced in an earlier stratum of tradition. Kalevalaic epic poetry ought to be approached as a mythic discourse in which meanings are generated at all levels of tradition. Myths are woven into the Kalevalaic epics as 1) narrative entities, i.e. epic songs, and 2) complexes of myths consisting of these songs. Besides the mythical motifs, the researcher should look at 3) the fundamental questions and dualisms constitutive of the narratives and 4)



the symbols, metaphors and mythical imagery which form the core of Kalevalaic mythical poetry, epics and the corpus of incantations.

The key metaphors in Finnish mythology emerge from the symbolism of the other world (Siikala 1992, 48-40, cf. Eliade 1971, Ricoeur 1976). Individual singers and song communities interpreted the poems in different ways. The meanings ascribed to the mythical images and poetic metaphors have varied in different cultural contexts. Images and motifs derived from different epochs constitute a loosely structured network of images, concepts and narratives open to constant reinterpretation. The nature of the mythical discourse, however, defines the possibilities of recontextualisation (see Hanks 1996, 274-277), but despite constant variation, the tradition has a historical continuity.

### Common roots of the Finno-Ugric worldview

The multidisciplinary symposium entitled *Suomen väestön juuret* (The origin of the Finnish people) held at Lammi on 8-10 November 1997 challenged established notions within studies of Finnish mythical traditions. The interdisciplinary consensus connecting Finno-Ugric speakers with East-European Comb-Pit Ceramic archaeological cultures (see Häkkinen 1996, 73) and above all the location of the early Indo-European language speakers in the neighbouring areas on the Russian steppes provide new substance for reconstructing the background of the Finno-Ugric mythical tradition.

Comparative studies have demonstrated that the mythical motifs found in the Kalevalaic epics which depict the emergence, structure and creation of different cultural phenomena are part of a widespread international tradition. Parallels can be found both in Uralic and Indo-European, as well as in more distant Asian and even Native American cultures. The significance of these parallels for the understanding of pre-Christian cultures and their worldview is a difficult research problem. Nevertheless, mythology consisting of narrative motifs, mythical imagery, symbols and significant concepts can be regarded as a type of language or system of coding which has its own characteristics. This notion opens up the possibility to analyse, through comparative research of mythical traditions and their motifs, imagery and concepts, a stratum of traditions extending in different directions which corresponds to the subgroupings of languages based on the results of comparative linguistics.

While many fundamental questions remain for discussion, including where the Uralic languages were spoken and over how large an area, a common vocabu-

lary reveals quite clearly the kind of culture possessed by speakers of early Uralic and Finno-Ugric languages. As Kaisa Häkkinen has pointed out, pan-Uralic vocabulary fragments indicate “a language used by a society living in the relative North which practised hunting and fishing at a Stone Age level of development” (Häkkinen 1990: 176). In seeking the roots of Finnish shamanism on the basis of comparative research (Siikala 1992), I came to the conclusion that the oldest layer of religious imagery represents not an Arctic but a Subarctic culture, existing in the milieu of the northern ‘taiga’ type. It was a culture, furthermore, in which waterways occupied a crucial role. This is well suited to the framework of the vocabulary presented by Häkkinen, even though it must be kept in mind that the meaning of a word may shift in the course of cultural or ecological change. Insofar as we interpret Uralic and Finno-Ugric vocabulary on the basis of information concerning northern hunting and fishing cultures, whose environment and subsistence modes make them useful points of comparison, we can attempt to describe these ancient cultures in more detail.

It is characteristic of the hunting and fishing cultures of northern Eurasia that they exhibit a vast range of detail within surprisingly similar basic structures. The variety of detail can be traced back to traditional orality and the absence of a codified educational system, while the structural resemblance springs from similarities in subsistence modes and ecological conditions, but can also be seen to derive from highly archaic models of thought. Early Uralic hunting and fishing cultures can be assumed to have contained similar cosmological structures and mental models regarding the other world, the nature of humans and their relationship to their environment, as well as animal ceremonialism and shamanistic practices.

### The structure of Uralic mythology and the transformation of tradition

I have characterised the Finno-Ugric hunting and fishing cultures as fitting the framework of the Comb-Ceramic and Pit-Ceramic cultures of Eastern Europe and the Urals. The earlier Uralic-language culture was, in its general outlines, a similar sort of Northern hunting and fishing culture. Thus the structural hallmarks of the mythology characteristic of such Uralic and Finno-Ugric cultures are linked to the demands of a nature-oriented way of life and observation of both nature and the paths and positions of the stars in the night sky. For many cosmological myths and images documented among Uralic peoples, analogous forms

have been discovered from such a broad area that these traditions have been considered age-old, stretching back in time as far as the Stone Age. Thus they can also be considered in all likelihood to have been part of the culture of those peoples speaking the early Proto-Uralic language.

In addition, Uralic mythology as a whole appears to form a worldview built on intertwined complexes of beliefs and images and reflecting the mentality of hunters and fishers. (See Hoppál 1979, Napolskikh 1992, Siikala 2002). Its cosmographic features include a worldview centred on the Polar Star, the syncretic fusion of horizontal and vertical models of the world, an emphasis on the north-south axis as well as the importance of waterways in linking this world and the next. The north-south axis is also emphasised in depictions of the forces associated with life and death. The centrality of (water) birds reflected in astral mythology is connected to the cult of the sun as well as a female life-giver, whose attribute is the birch, a variant of the world tree. Categories of the supranormal have undergone continuous alteration under the influence of neighbouring religions, so that it is difficult to identify divine beings leading directly back to the Uralic period. Beliefs held in common, however, include the concept of the sky-god, female deities having power over life and death, and above all the nature spirits and animal spirits essential to a hunting and fishing culture. Uralic peoples have also shared the fauna-centred astral mythology peculiar to Eurasian hunting and fishing cultures as well as the complex view of the soul which underlies both animal ceremonialism and the shamanic institution.

Elements of a worldview reaching back to early hunting and fishing cultures were best preserved among those groups for whom these modes of subsistence were of continued economic importance. The most significant rupture in this mode of thinking occurred during the transition to agriculture. The transition was nonetheless so gradual, and left ample room for the continuation of hunting as a supplementary form of subsistence, that the foregoing themes and images of mythology survived for millennia. Even if many features of livelihood and habits in the Finnish-Karelian culture area were fairly modern, seers, hunters and fishermen maintained age-old traditions found among other Finno-Ugric and Uralic cultures. The basic elements of Uralic mythologies were preserved, for example, in the Finnish-Karelian epic and incantation poetry: these included cosmological beliefs, animal ceremonialism, especially bear rituals and myth, astral mythology (involving the elk and bear), bird mythology and the female mistress of sun and south, features of shamanism, etc.

Cultural contact and dominant religions transform mythic traditions by eradicating the old and introducing new elements. But the way in which change occurs in models of mythology and folk belief - both the Uralic and others - still remains a problem. The issue at stake is basically the relationship between the birth, establishment and transformation of factors characterising worldview and other structures of culture. Despite the stubborn conservatism of collective awareness, worldviews seem to vary according to the social and economic structures of the communities. This is evident if we look at the differences in the mythic traditions of different Finno-Ugric and Uralic groups. There are, in fact, many more dissimilarities than similarities and they reflect the history and economic and social conditions of different groups.

We could examine the transformation of myth tradition as a dialectic process in which cultural change and new cultural contacts offer new concepts and images to replace the old ones. The mental models inherited from the past, on the other hand, provide cognitive frameworks into which these new elements are placed. The adoption of new elements thus occurs on the terms dictated by existing cultural knowledge. This can be seen particularly in concepts regarding divinities and the land of the dead. Another prominent feature of folk belief and mythology is the multiplicity of parallel images and ideas. New images combine easily with those generated on the basis of tradition.

The more vital and deeply rooted the values, attitudes and beliefs, the broader the transformation required in the culture as a whole to renew them is. Elements of religion and mythical worldview may have persisted despite opposition through various cultural eras. But their meanings may not necessarily have remained the same: the motifs may have been re-interpreted and re-fashioned within the confines of new cultural frames.

### Similar images and motifs, different mentalities

The many central themes, motifs and images found in epic poetry in Kalevalaic metre are part of a far-flung and obviously old international body of myths in which the heritage of Uralic hunting cultures can be traced even today. On the other hand epic poems and incantations tell about contacts with Indo-European, Baltic and Scandinavian cultures, as Julius Krohn (1885) and Kaarle Krohn already noted. The ethnographic material in the epic poems displays features characteristic of the times of the Crusades and the Vikings in Northern Europe. This led Kaarle Krohn to think that Kalevalaic poems told about histori-

cal events and were originally produced in Western Finland during the Viking era and then wandered to the eastern and northern parts of the Finnish-Karelian area (Krohn 1914 and 1918).

As a mythical and mythico-historical tradition, the Karelian epic in many respects resembles the ancient Icelandic poetry noted down in the 13th century. The characters of the hero-gods and the mythical places display numerous communal features, some of which have so far tended to be overlooked. What is, however, more significant is that the mentalities and worldviews, the concepts of and values assigned to nature, society and mankind differ clearly from one another. (Siikala 1992, 272-276).

Explanations differ even for the very essence of the world. Ancient Icelandic poetry claims that the world was born from the body of the giant Ymir according to the myth of the killing of the primeval monster, in contrast to the more nature-oriented Finnish-Karelian image of its being born from the pieces of an egg. The Icelandic god-heroes belong to either the Aesir or the Vanir, two races of gods who fought both between themselves and with outside forces. The battle finally leads to the destruction of the world. The heroes are the patriarchal heads of families whose abodes, mansions and helpers are described in detail. A dangerous assignment is either undertaken as a concerted effort or is delegated to deputies and envoys. Of all the gods, Thorr alone, equipped with a mighty belt and hammer, travels alone among the giants. The Finnish-Karelian heroes tend to be bachelors rather than family men. The stories about them prefer to describe a journey fraught with dangers, its destination and means of transport rather than the hero's abode. Journey themes describing the borders of the earth and the regions in the other world are popular ones in international myths. One notable feature is, however, that the Finnish-Karelian hero is not aggressive simply for the sake of it. He leaves home in order to woo, to seek knowledge or to return stolen property.

In Scandinavian poetry man is bound by his social status, his kin and his fate. He dreams of a paradise with never-ending ale drinking and the brandishing of weapons typical of Valhalla, leaving such technical skills as the forging of magic golden objects to outsiders such as dwarf smiths. The Finnish-Karelian hero does not submit to his fate in the same way. The heroes of Karelia are the smith and the tietäjä - seer or shaman - who overcome what would appear to be superhuman problems by means of their abilities and skills. In the epic, shaman themes serve to stress the importance of knowledge and its acquisition rather than the importance of the spirit world.

Poetries differ most fundamentally in their view of the status of women. The Germanic woman is a wife, a cause of dispute and a schemer who occupies the domain of fertility and magic. The woman in Karelia is a maiden wooed by suitors, or a ruler of the places encountered by a mobile husband on his journeys. On entering Pohjola, Päivölä, Hiisi or Tuonela, the man is received by the mistress, assisted by a band of male helpers. Louhi and her counterparts are women of authority who act independently. There are two things that indicate that these descriptions are not concerned just with the 'otherness' of the mythical world. One is that in Scandinavian mythology this status is assigned to a man, Loki. The other is that the woman in the courting poems is invariably the giver-away of her daughter. According to the custom assimilated later, and also prescribed by law, this is the father's job. Even in the poem *Elinan surma* (The Death of Elina) dating from medieval Western Finland, the suitor requests the maiden's hand from her mother or brother. All in all, family relationships seem to acquire different manifestations in poetry. The Germanic tradition stresses the relationships between father and son, man and wife regarded as meaningful by the kin system familiar to us in the West. By contrast, Finnish-Karelian poetry prefers to examine the relationships between mother and son or brother and sister, just as many cultures outside Europe do. The poems undoubtedly bear messages of social systems long since vanished.

### The basic polarities of Finnish mythology

Mihály Hoppál has stressed that mythology should be understood as a system in which the basic oppositions have a constructive role. The examination of basic oppositions that are often fundamentally universal allows comparative study of mythologies. (Hoppál 1979, 219). The basic structures of the Finnish-Karelian mythology represent and recreate the main features of the worldview. The mythic discourse maintained and performed by Kalevalaic runes handles the problems of the ontology of the universe and its beings. Poems discuss the features of the life history of divine heroes and the relationships of the oppositions which create the frame for the worldview: the relationship of non-time and time, night and day, this world and the other world, male and female, young and old, the elements of the cosmos, nature and culture.

The poetry centring on Väinämöinen – the main hero of Kalevalaic poetry – reflects the basic mythical structures in an illuminating way (detailed analysis in Siikala 2000). As a cultural hero, Väinämöinen was involved in the creation of the cosmos. He is floating in the primeval sea and on his knee the primeval bird

lays the egg out of which the parts of the cosmos are born. Väinämöinen belongs both to the time before the beginning of time and to the time after the creation. It is interesting to see how some poems describe his birth. In Ostrobothnia the mother of Väinämöinen or his father is the Maiden of the North; in Karelia a virgin gives birth to him and his two brothers Ilmarinen and Joukahainen. A woman as the origin of divine heroes and thus also of the cosmos is not a typical feature of the world mythologies. It may say something about the Finnish-Karelian gender concepts.

It seems that the main aspects of the social order, such as the principle of seniority, the opposition between old and young, are depicted in the figure of Väinämöinen as well as the opposition of female and male. In the wooing poems and in the Sampo poetry he woos a young woman and meets an old one - Louhi - as his opponent. What is important here is Väinämöinen's failure in his wooing: he continues to be a bachelor and in a Rääkkylä poem he expresses the norm which he himself did not obey: the denial of marriage between young and old people.

Väinämöinen is capable of overcoming this social taboo because his origin is in the other world, beyond the border to the social realm. His place is in the non-human world and in primeval time. But, like many other divine heroes, he crosses the border between non-time and time, the other world and this world. This is pictured in, for example, the lines which stress the opposition of night and day: Väinämöinen was born in the night, when the day came he went to his smith's hut. He belongs to the night but he comes to the day, as some Polynesian mythical heroes do. He comes to the day and becomes a man. The hero who crosses the boundary of this and the other world, non-time and time, night and day, is transformed into another being and is capable of continuing his life in the altered conditions.

Once born, Väinämöinen acts and feels like a human being but his doings change the state of the world. He creates a culture with his brother Ilmarinen. However, he bears signs which show his otherness. Like many divine heroes in world mythology, Väinämöinen's body is deformed. He is blind like Odin and Oedipus; his foot is wounded like the foot of Achilles, the Greek hero. Deformation of the body, which is often self-caused, can be interpreted as the elimination of the cosmic connection. The crime conducted by the hero serves the same function; Väinämöinen, for example, is accused of incest. It is interesting in this connection that the relationship in the incest episode is that of son and mother - Väinämöinen and his mother - not the one typical in Germanic poetry - father and daughter.



The poems about Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen also describe the relationship of the elements of nature as well as the relationship of nature and culture. Both act as cultural heroes and change the elements of the world by creating main cultural objects from the materials of nature. Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen create fire, the first boat, the kantele, music and the Sampo, a miraculous object giving fertility. The poem of the origin of fire is interesting in describing the relationship of water and fire. After Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen have created the fire, it is dropped into a lake and finally found in the stomach of a fish. Fire is born in heaven, which is Ilmarinen's element, but it comes to the world through Väinämöinen's element, water.

Heat and cold, south and north, life and death are depicted in the relationship of the heroes called Kaleva's sons (Väinämöinen Ilmarinen, and others) and the mistress of the North, Louhi, Loveatar, a witch or an evil shaman whose abode is situated on the edge of the world near the kingdom of death and demons. The relationship of life and death, the fertility-giving south - the sun - and the cold northern elements are expressed in the figures of female heroes. Louhi represents death and evil things, Päivätär - the goddess of the sun - and the Virgin Mary everything which is good and healing.

I could add to my examples. What is important here is the fact that oral poems which bear mythical knowledge cannot be understood as separate poems. They form an entity in which the motifs and images - even containing contrasting elements and contradictory interpretations given by singers - make some sense just as an entity: the mythical awareness of the world.

Students of the Kalevalaic tradition from Elias Lönnrot to the present day have stated that the core of Finnish culture, its worldview and basic values seem to be 'softer' than, for example, the worldview of the old Scandinavians. The stress on nature, the quest for knowledge and technical skills, the powerful mistresses and female dominance in kinship relationships, the lack of a strong heroic ethos, created a picture of a nation which - perhaps - cherished some archaic modes of thought, but which at the same time had a mind capable of learning and respecting gender and social equality.

## The Kalevalaic tradition as national mythology

The recreation of Finnish mythology, the compiling of the Kalevala, in order to establish a link with the ethnically relevant past was, of course, the result of a national awakening in Finland. The work of Elias Lönnrot gained importance at



the beginning of the 20th century because it supported the identity processes of the young national state. The process or negotiation of identity can happen only in interaction with an 'other'. A consciousness of self - either of a person or of a group - needs knowledge of the existence of the other. We see ourselves through the mirror of the other (cf. Hegel). Identification and rejection are both important factors in the process of building the identity. They help to make distinctions between us and the other.

National symbols are sought from sources that have the authority and uniting power of the past. Mythology or mythic history has this capacity. The Kalevala testified that the Finns had their own sacred past. It also made a difference; it was something unique, something Finnic which separated Finns from the former masters - the Swedes as well from the recent occupiers - the Russians. That is a reason why the Kalevalaic mythology preserved in folk poems and compiled by Elias Lönnrot into an epic was re-mythologised in the nation state of Finland.

The process has not ended. Finland has recently become a member of the European Union. It seems that we need a new mythology which unites us with the other European nations. Studies of ancient Greek mythology have gained more importance and a new theory of the original home of the Finns has been presented by some Finnish linguists. Instead of the Volga area it lies somewhere in Germany. Maybe folklorists will soon be studying the similarities between Kalevalaic poetry and its European parallels.

Studies in Kalevalaic poetry and other oral epics have shown that there is no static stage in the life of oral mythic history. It is constantly re-contextualised and re-interpreted, even recreated in changing political contexts. The authority, authenticity and truth of an oral tradition is repeatedly challenged and constructed in the cultural practice. And yet there is continuity in the life of mythic history: something to be valued, something which bears the authority of the past.

## Bibliography

- Beck, Brenda E.F. 1982: *The Three Twins, The Telling of a South Indian Folk Epic*. The Indiana University Press. Bloomington.
- Detienne, Marcel 1981: *The Creation of Mythology*. The University of Chicago Press. London & Chicago.
- Eliade, Mircea 1971: *Patterns in Comparative Religion*. Studies in Religious Symbolism. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey.

- Hanks, William F. 1996: *Language and Communicative Practices*. Westview Press: Boulder, Colorado & Oxford, England.
- Hastrup, Kirsten 1987: *Presenting the past. Reflections on myth and history*. In Folk, Journal of the Danish Ethnographic Society, vol. 29. Copenhagen.
- Hobsbawm, Eric & Terence Ranger 1983: *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Honko, Lauri 1990: *Religion, Myth, and Folklore in the World's Epics. The Kalevala and its Predecessors*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin & New York.
- Hoppál, Mihály and Juha Pentikäinen (eds.), *Northern Religions and Shamanism*. Ethnologica Uralica 3. Budapest.
- Hoppál, Mihály 1976: *Folk Belief and Shamanism among the Uralic Peoples*. In Péter Hajdú (ed.), *Ancient Cultures of the Uralian Peoples*. Corvina Press. Budapest.
- Häkkinen, Kaisa 1990: *Mistä sanat tulevat. Suomalaista etymologiaa*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Helsinki.
- Häkkinen, Kaisa 1996: *Suomalaisten esihistoria kielitieteen valossa*. Tietolipas 147. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Helsinki.
- Krohn, Julius 1885: *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden historia*. Kalevala. Weilin ja Göös'in osakeyhtiön kirjapaino (Weilin & Göös). Helsinki.
- Krohn, Kaarle 1914: *Kaleva und seine Sippe*. Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja XXX, n:o 35. Helsinki.
- Krohn, Kaarle 1918: *Kalevalan kysymyksiä I-II*. Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja XXXV-XXXVI. Helsinki.
- Lowenthal, David 1990: *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.
- Napolskikh, Vladimir (1992): *Proto-Uralic World Picture: A Reconstruction*. In Mihály Hoppál and Juha Pentikäinen (eds.), *Northern Religions and Shamanism*. Ethnologica Uralica 1. Budapest.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1976: *Interpretation Theory. Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*. Fox Worth.
- Seydon, Christine 1990: *Identity and Epics: African Examples*. In Lauri Honko (ed.), *Religion, Myth, and Folklore in the World's Epics*. Mouton de Gruyter. Berlin & New York. Pp. 403-423.
- Sahlins, Marshall 1985: *Islands of History*. The Chicago University Press. Chicago.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena 1992: *Suomalainen šamanismi*. Mielikuvien historiaa. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. Helsinki.

- Siikala, Anna-Leena 2000: *Väinämöinen – Political Leadership and Mythic Thinking*. In Nils G. Holm et al. (eds), *Ethnography is a Heavy Rite. Studies of Comparative Religion in Honor of Juha Pentikäinen*. Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter 47. Åbo Akademi. Åbo. Pp. 148-164.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena 2002: *What Myths Tell about Past Finno-Ugric Modes of Thinking*. In Anna-Leena Siikala (ed.), *Myth and Mentality. Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought*. Studia Fennica Folkloristica 8. Helsinki. Pp. 15-32.
- Vernant, Jean-Paul 1992: *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey.



# Where science has no answers: Catholic politics and Neapolitan identity in the miracle of San Gennaro

*Lahti, Minna and Stark-Arola, Laura*

## Introduction

It is a fact that scientific 'progress' has not been able to bring about universally scientific ways of thinking and believing. Creationism, linked most often to fundamentalist religious groups, is still with us, and there are organizations of persons who believe the world is flat. But even more significant than a lack of belief in science and technology is ethical opposition to the activities of the scientific establishment. In Europe this position finds its most powerful voice in the Catholic Church, which styles itself as the moral voice of Europe. It would be too simplistic to portray the attitude of the Vatican toward science as one of pure antagonism, however, for in practice the relationship between the two is much more complex: the Vatican II Council was a move toward modernization, toward dispelling ignorance and superstition, but the Vatican has always been concerned about the question of the limits and authority of science: this concern is clearly manifested in the current conflicts between Catholic Church authorities and the scientific community over reproductive technologies, genetic research, and weapons technology, among others. These are not merely disputes between the Church and science, they are struggles over social power, especially in countries in which the background culture is clearly Catholic but the secular areas of society (law, medicine, commerce, technology, education, etc.) espouse a scientific and 'rational' worldview. The question addressed in this paper, therefore, is this: what strategies does the Church employ to influence people's beliefs and perspectives concerning science and ethics? It is important to understand the processes which form people's viewpoints and beliefs because in democratic societies, rule by majority (and directed by the majority's viewpoints and beliefs) makes it difficult for institutions to react quickly to social and environmental problems. Both science

and the Church have a difficult time trying to address the world's problems in a climate of public distrust, opposition or plain disbelief.

The Church's attitude toward science, by no means clear-cut even at the top levels of the Catholic hierarchy, becomes much more complex at the lower levels, in the local setting. Here the institutional interest in restricting science's authority interacts with local worldviews and identities in interesting ways. We focus on Italy, a country with a relatively high acceptance of the Church's voice on current world issues. For example, in the mid-1990s, when our fieldwork took place, 57% of Italians believed that it is appropriate for the Church to take a stand on environmental issues; likewise 57% for abortion. The focus of our paper is a religious ritual in Italy with a large audience: the Miracle of San Gennaro in Naples, in which the dried blood of Naples' patron saint who died more than 1,600 years ago becomes liquefied once per year. We argue that this ritual is more than just a colorful piece of Mediterranean folklore or remnant of superstitious devotion: it is an extremely useful arena for the Church to get its messages across.

### The Miracle's Sequence of Events in 1994

The ritual itself is composed of a number of segments and in its entirety lasts seven days, but we concentrate here on the day on which the blood turns to liquid, that is, September 19 of each year. The ritual takes place in the main Cathedral of Naples and is attended by more than 5,000 persons, both men and women, from all levels of Neapolitan society. The ritual celebration begins in the morning before nine o'clock, in the small chapel of San Gennaro within the main Cathedral. Prayers for Italy and the family are led by an altar attendant. The atmosphere is expectant, reverent. Then the VIPs of the celebration arrive, including the left-wing mayor of Naples, the Cardinal and other Catholic officials. Members of the audience shush one another to be quiet. A white handkerchief waved by a church official tells the audience that the Miracle has already occurred. Those present in the chapel applaud, some cry and go down on their knees. "The Saint has said 'yes'", the people say to each other. The Cardinal waits for the crowd to quiet down before he announces what took place. When he opens the safe and takes out the ampules of blood, the blood has liquefied immediately. According to the Cardinal's speech, this is a sign that San Gennaro's blood is living blood.

The ampules of blood are taken from the chapel to the main altar of the Cathedral in a formal procession. They are carried high on a palanquin where everyone can see them. The bronze bust of San Gennaro is carried separately

on its own palanquin. The crowd tries to touch them as they are carried to the altar. From outside can be heard the sound of shots being fired, which tells those in the city that the Miracle has occurred. At the altar the Cardinal tells the audience what happened, joking that the Saint is unpredictable – the blood liquefied before anyone could have expected it (the blood is usually expected to turn to liquid sometime during the day, but not necessarily during the ritual itself). After his speech, the Cardinal shows the ampules of blood to the journalists who are present at the front of the Cathedral. The television cameras film the Cardinal moving the ampules back and forth so that it is clear to all that the blood is in liquid form. The Cardinal also shows the blood to the applauding guests of honor and the rest of the audience. The Neapolitans are told that the ampules of blood are available to be kissed that evening and for the next several days. The official part of the ritual celebration has ended at about eleven A.M.

### Naples and the Miracle

The role of the city's patron saint, according to the popular view, is that of protector from the ever-present threat of earthquakes and the volcano Vesuvius. According to popular belief, the occurrence of the miracle each year is a sign of San Gennaro's favor and continued protection: the failure of the miracle to occur signals impending disaster for the city. According to the stories told to us in Naples, the earthquake of November 1980 occurred after the blood failed to liquefy on the ritual of September 19 the same year. According to legend, during the eruption of Vesuvius in 472, when the patron saint of Naples was still Saint Agrippino, and it seemed to the Neapolitans that he would fail to save the city, they gathered by the thousands to pray to San Gennaro in his catacombs. San Gennaro put an end to the eruption and became the city's patron saint and protector. Subsequent earthquakes and eruptions by the volcano have been seen as supernatural punishments that can be avoided by remaining faithful to San Gennaro. For example, the priest we interviewed at the Cathedral told us his interpretation of the earthquake of 1980: a Communist mayor had been elected two years previously in 1978. According to Paliotti (1981:18), Neapolitans have in fact interpreted their history as a struggle between the saint and the volcano, between good and evil.

Any study of Neapolitan culture must take into account the process of self-image making. A large urban center with a high population density, Naples can look back on a grandiose history: from 1266 to 1860 it was the capital of the Kingdom of Naples, and in the year 1500 it was one of only four cities in Europe with a

population of over 100,000 people (the others were Istanbul, Paris and Venice).<sup>1</sup> Yet today it is faced with the present-day realities of chronic unemployment, poverty, pollution, prostitution and organized crime. Its self-image has suffered over the last 50 years from being part of the 'Southern Italian problem' from which Northern Italy would like to divorce itself (see Tapaninen 1996). For Neapolitans, the image of Naples in the eyes of the world is very important. Our informants often asserted that symbols of Naples such as Vesuvius and San Gennaro were immediately recognizable on a worldwide scale, like the Eiffel Tower for Paris, and no one was therefore surprised that researchers would come all the way from Finland to study San Gennaro. Any attempts to improve social conditions in Naples would thus have to take self-image into account. The Church has recognized this, setting itself up as an important and indispensable part of this process through its virtual control of the propaganda surrounding the city's patron saint and the event which (at least in the eyes of many Neapolitans) puts Naples on the map once per year. The Church uses the importance of the Miracle of San Gennaro for Naples to draw approximately five thousand participants and onlookers into its own spaces, and it also promotes the importance of the ritual by attracting the city's and the nation's elite as well as the local and international media, and thus the attention of the world. For example, the Italian television channel Rai Uno announces whether or not the Miracle has occurred on nationwide television the same day, and newspapers carry headlines such as "San Gennaro: Sì". In 1994 a television film crew from Japan was also said to be present, amongst a large number of other journalists.

During the ritual, the Cathedral of Naples becomes a ritual space which lies outside classic 'rationality': it is centered on an event and an object which not only cannot be explained by reason or science, but are in fact full of symbolism and significance which has no meaning from a rational standpoint. Power, rather than rational meaning, is the key to an appreciation of the ritual's effectiveness. The ritual space in which the Miracle takes place, the Cathedral of Naples, is filled with an impressive combination of power symbols. These include the blood of the saint himself poised between life and death (metaphysical power),<sup>2</sup> the elite

<sup>1</sup> Burke 1994:244.

<sup>2</sup> The idea of metaphysical power contained in the 'bodies' (whether fluids, relics or representations) of Catholic saints, which Binde (1999:121) argues is the concept underlying the Catholic concept of *grazia*, is characteristic of Southern Italy as a whole. *Grazia*, or the vital bodily power of the saint, is transferred to the human body through contact with, for example, San Gennaro's blood when devotees kiss the ampules following the miracle (ibid).



guests, representatives of NATO, the Italian Navy and city government, who represent social power and status, the national and international media representing cultural power, and the collective presence of large numbers of ordinary people which lends importance and legitimacy to this ritual in the eyes of Napoli and the outside world.

### Science and the Miracle

A main reason, perhaps, that science has found no answers for the Miracle is that scientists have not been allowed to open the ampules and analyze the liquid inside: the Church naturally views the ampules as priceless relics from Antiquity (they are said to date back to the saint's death in 305 A.D.) which must be preserved for future generations. Preliminary tests, however, seem to indicate that the substance is indeed some kind of blood, and there are currently three pseudo-“scientific” theories as to how the dried blood becomes liquid, all based on the idea that the blood is not really dried but ‘gelled’ or solidified. According to one hypothesis, the church candles warm the blood and ‘melt’ it, according to a second, the heat created from the presence of so many people in the Church melts the blood, and according to a third, the blood liquefies when moved or shaken. The Cardinal referred to this last theory in his speech: the blood had liquefied before he even had a chance to touch it. Once again San Gennaro had confounded the scientists!

It is important to note here that in a secularized world, the Church cannot simply reject science outright; it depends on scientific recognition of the Miracle for legitimization. The Church can only triumph over science because scientists have viewed the miracle as worthy of scientific attention and because limited tests have been performed on the blood (with inconclusive results). The involvement of science thus legitimizes the Miracle, gives it the status of intelligibility in the rational-secular world. This can be seen from a similar miracle of liquefied blood connected to a lesser patron saint of Naples, Santa Patrizia. The nuns we talked to at Santa Patrizia's shrine told us that the female saint's dried blood ‘reacts’ in some way to the liquefaction of San Gennaro's blood (although it is in a different location) and itself becomes liquid around the same time. The Catholic priest at the Main Cathedral whom we interviewed was of a different opinion, however: Santa Patrizia's miracle was not to be considered important because no scientific tests had been conducted on the blood. The Miracle of San Gennaro may be explained by the Catholic Church as a mystery of faith, but it is paradoxically an extremely

well-documented mystery, with tens of thousands of pages having been written on the saint's life, the archaeological findings connected with him, as well as the history of the Miracle of its celebration through the ages. The blood miracles connected to Santa Patrizia, on the other hand, were dismissed by our informant because part of her history was "shrouded in mystery", in other words, unable to be scientifically documented and therefore not useful to the Church seeking status in the secular world. But although the Church needs the recognition by scientific authorities that the Miracle is worthy of study, there is a fine line between scientific recognition and scientific appropriation, and the Church must be careful to avoid the latter. If science were to find an explanation for the Miracle, it could wrest it away from the Church's own control and interpretations.

### The Church's Control of the Miracle

A great diversity in devotional expression can be found outside the Cathedral proper, in the carnivalesque atmosphere of vendors hawking candy and souvenirs, a band named "The People's Revolution" dressed in Pulcinella costumes, and children dressed in sackcloth or as angels for the procession proceeding the Miracle. Within the Cathedral, however, the ritual surrounding the Miracle is tightly controlled and overseen by the Cathedral officialdom: here there are no alternative or competing messages concerning the 'meaning' of the ritual other than the one offered by the Church. Nevertheless, there are three things that need to be said about the Church's control over its ritual space: the first is that 'tightly controlled' does not mean that all movement by people was restricted: after the Cardinal announced the liquefaction of the blood and began his long speech, there was a lot of movement on the sidelines and people continued to go in and out of the Cathedral and back and forth.

Second, this control is not a fixed state but a struggle, a process in flux. By this we mean that the Church has had to compete with 'unofficial' religious groups during the miracle, such as the 'relatives of San Gennaro' (i parenti di San Gennaro), who are elderly women from the city's poorer classes. These 'relatives of San Gennaro' have their own term of address for the saint, "yellow-face" (due to the bronze bust which represents him in the ritual) by which they cry out to San Gennaro, but which in the Church's opinion is "offensive" to the saint.<sup>3</sup> During the 1994 ritual, these women were sitting in the front pews of the small chapel of San Gennaro, loudly chanting a formula prayer to San Gennaro. After a while one

<sup>3</sup> From an interview with a Catholic priest who works in the main Cathedral in Naples, September 17, 1994.

of the two assistant priests at the front of the Cathedral, who had until then been answering questions from the many curious people who were swarming to see the bronze bust of San Gennaro, asked for quiet in the chapel. The half-dozen women were silent for about a minute or so, and then started up again, quiet at first and then louder and louder. Later when everyone moved into the large church space to hear the Cardinal's speech, I heard the chanting start up again, (presumably when the same women moved into the larger space) but the prayer had caught on only for a moment before some loud piped organ music from the loudspeakers effectively drowned them out. The official Church had (momentarily) won the contest to dominate the ritual space with its own auditory input.

Third, the Church's control over this ritual process and ritual space is not uni-directional, but represents a dialogue. Many of the ordinary Neapolitans who come to view the ritual already reject what they label 'rationality', in other words order and modernity, which has brought with it neither economic well-being nor a positive self-image for Naples.<sup>4</sup> Naples is considered a chaotic city where anything is possible – for Neapolitans. Many of the city's inhabitants seek to impress this stereotype on tourists and foreigners. "In Naples, other drivers will honk at you for stopping at a red light", it is said, and taxi drivers warn naïve-looking tourists that the city is crawling with thieves. Only Neapolitans know the ins and outs of life in their city, the 'rules of chaos'. In their opinion, Naples is the only city in Europe in which 'rationality' takes a back seat to emotion. Rationality is considered to be cold and calculating, while Neapolitans consider themselves, on the contrary, to be open, generous, sensitive and warm. Thus the Church may use identity to draw people into a space where it controls the message, but it is the people who created a culture receptive to that message. It was also the people who created and perpetuated San Gennaro's role as the protector of Napoli in the first place.

### The Messages of the Miracle

What is interesting is the process by which the Church has increasingly, over the years, incorporated the saint and the miracle into itself and has created a mes-

---

<sup>4</sup> The church recognizes this and draws a parallel here between its own interests and those of Neapolitans. The Church survived its battle with Communism which was especially intense in Italy, but it views the Capitalism as an equally potent threat because it promotes rational secularism, and in this concern the Church finds a sympathetic audience in Naples. As the Cardinal pointed out in his speech: "Communism has fallen, and Capitalism has won, but often we forget what the victory of Capitalism has brought with it. Capitalism brings wealth, but only to a few at the expense of the many."

sage from both. This message is directed at two audiences: Naples and the world. But in a sense the image of Naples which is broadcast to the world, intended to place Naples 'on the map', is meant for Neapolitans themselves: so they can see themselves observed by the outside world, occupying center stage, so to speak. This message is thus one of pride, identity, and status. For Southern Italy, pride, identity and status mean linking the present to the past and the future, looking back on past glory while looking forward to a role in the European Union and the world (for instance the hosting of the G7 summit in Naples in 1994). The now-institutionalized cult of San Gennaro is useful here, as the 1,600-year-old patron saint links Naples to its past, and the miracle itself is symbolic of both promise and renewal for the future: at least for the coming year.

There is, however, another, more important message communicated by the ritual, and it is a message whose impact is greatest on those who are physically present in the Cathedral space dominated by the Church, who can 'see' the Miracle with their own eyes. The message is this: the Church has something in its control which the scientific establishment cannot claim for itself because it cannot explain it. In fact, only the Church can offer an explanation for this phenomenon, "witnessed" by 5,000 persons annually. By standing within an institutionalized space and witnessing an event for which only the Church has answers, those present automatically participate in an awareness of the limitations of science, technology, and 'rationality'. Furthermore, only the Church can link the Neapolitan participants to the past of their city and guarantee its future protection in quite this way. At the same time, the Church can offer participants a chance to be 'on center stage' so to speak, as they become part of a phenomenon being observed by the world. The official Church thus uses the idea of an unexplained phenomenon in its control to undermine the dominance of scientific rationality and suggest that the Church, not science, possesses answers critical for the personal and collective well-being of Neapolitans.

### Body, space and ritual

Through this ritual, participants become ritualized into a new awareness of a world turned upside-down: they experience first-hand the victory of inexplicable forces over scientific understanding, together with the thousands who share the same space with them, including the elite of the modern secular world: politicians, generals, and the media. Participants find themselves in a space in which science plays no part, has no answers, a circumstance which naturally suggests that there

may well be other times and places where science is not omniscient. By the very fact that their bodies are present and thus participating in these new relations, persons' perceptions are changed (Bell 1990, 1992). Living out this experience guarantees that this realization, however subtle, will be impressed on the person present: this is how bodily acts and participation can alter relationships of power. Just as Roy Rappaport (1979:200) pointed out that the act of kneeling creates a subordinated kneeler, so the fact of being present in the Cathedral during the Miracle has the potential to create a person who, for the moment at least, is 'freed' from subjection to scientific authority. Those present at the Miracle become self-conscious participants in a ritual space and time which both lies outside modern rationality and exalts Naples not just as a city but as an ideal – and identifying with this ideal and sharing in the city's elevated status binds Neapolitans to the institution offering the transformation.

The Catholic Church must make its position on world issues communicated, listened to and legitimized in order for its viewpoint to be included in the discourse on social issues at the national and international level. But at the local level, many micro-processes underlie this effort. Perhaps the relevant power at the local level is not always the power to directly influence people's perceptions through oral or written discourse, through appeals to logic or emotional propaganda. The Miracle of San Gennaro suggests that the relevant power may be the ability to dominate a space which in turn has the potential to create ritualized bodies. This must always be a space imbued with power, and in different cultural contexts these manifestations of power will be different. By dominating the ritual space during the Miracle, the Church is able to show (even without the speech of the Cardinal which subtly mocks the ineffectuality of science to explain the Miracle) that there is at least one place where the message, and thus the values of the Church are supreme. And most significantly, this supremacy is not only in the sense of what it can explain, but also what it can offer Naples in terms of self-image making and identity maintenance. Rituals are never final solutions to a problem (Bell 1992:110), and the Miracle of San Gennaro does not offer a final solution to the difficulties facing Naples, the threat posed by Vesuvius, its chronic social problems and negative image. But a recurring ritual can alleviate these tensions and put off indefinitely their escalation into full-blown crises: it can make Naples famous for a day, or promise protection from disaster for the coming year. The temporary solutions offered by the Miracle are what draws people inside the Church-dominated space. Once there, the Church takes advantage of the opportunity to offer suggestions on social

issues, most notably on family and youth, representing an effort to get Catholic values reproduced in future generations. This is not the same as forcing these discourses upon the people, who come voluntarily and partake of the message to varying degrees. What is important is that the ritual space and the messages within the Cathedral belong to the Church: it has won itself a space in which the socialization of new ritualized bodies is at possible, at least for the moment.

### Literature cited

- Bell, Catherine. 1990. "The dynamics of ritual power," in *Journal of Ritual Studies* 4(2): 299-313.
- Bell, Catherine. 1992. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Binde, Per. 1999. *Bodies of Vital Matter: Notions of Life Force and Transcendence in Traditional Southern Italy*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
- Burke, Peter. 1994. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, England: Scholar Press.
- Paliotti, Vittorio. 1981. *Il Vesuvio. Una Storia di Fuoco*. Napoli: Azienda Autonoma di Soggiorno Cura e Turismo.
- Rappaport, Roy A. 1979. *Ecology, Meaning and Religion*. Richmond, Calif.: North Atlantic Books.
- Tapaninen, Anna-Maria. 1996. *Kansan kodit ja kaupungin kadut: etnografinen tutkimus eteläitalialaisesta kaupungista*. Helsinki: Suomen Antropologinen Seura.

# Geography, memory and ethical values: aspects of Yugoslav history of the 1990s

*Teuvo Laitila*

Our memories of experiences are inseparable from our actions in space (cf. Butler 1989, 2-3). What we remember is in some way or another linked with what has happened in a given place or context. Recollections of actions in a given context, in turn, are vehicles of maintaining, transmitting and changing customs, prejudices, attitudes and ethical and other values. (See Fentress & Wickham 1992; Halbwachs 1992.) To take an example, most Europeans view the names of Auschwitz, Chornobyl (Chernobyl) or Srebrenica with feelings of horror, because they evoke a series of memories of what happened in those places and, hopefully, the ethical rallying call: never again! (see Mojzes 1995, 1-9; Sorabji 1995, 85).

In the following sections I will deal with a few aspects of the recent history of a place called the Balkans or, more precisely, I will discuss a variety of ways of imagining and mentally constructing the place called 'the Balkans' (cf. Todorova 1997). Consequently, the article is divided into three sections entitled 'geography', 'memory' and 'ethical values'. The construction process I will pay special attention to the history of relations of Bošnjaci or Muslim Slavs<sup>1</sup> of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Serbs in the 1990s.

The three concepts I use form an abstract system, in which each term both implies the existence of the other two terms and is a constituency them. Starting with the presupposition that concepts are about, and refer to, social relations, I define them as follows. 'Geography' includes the physical milieu and social environment and culturally learned dispositions to view these in a certain way; that is, 'geography' in my parlance is the human relation to space, which changes over time. 'Memory', in turn, means socially internalised habits of acting and thinking, that is, traditions or, more abstractly, the framework within which the present cre-

---

<sup>1</sup> In socialist Yugoslavia, 'Bošnjaci', in Serbo-Croatian 'Bosanci', was used to denote 'inhabitants of Bosnia' disregarding their ethnic or religious affiliations (Sorabji 1995, 89). Today the word is more or less a synonym for Slavs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina and confessing the Islamic faith.



ates the past. 'Ethical values' (or morality), finally, is a catch-word to define ways of making decisions and legitimating acting and thinking, disregarding whether these justifications are rational and conscious or emotional and at least partly unconscious. More generally, 'ethical values' refers to ways of making choices inside different 'geographies' or 'memories', because by doing so we select, establish a border between 'this' and 'that' and, ultimately, between 'good' or 'right' and 'evil' or 'wrong'.

## Geography

From the Great Power viewpoint the Balkans are on the periphery, not only in a pure geographical term but also in a derived cultural sense of the word, that is, as a civilisation. The Balkans are a space where 'civilised' norms and rules are no longer valid or, worse, are superseded by 'savage' and 'barbarian' ways of life. This is clear, for example, from the west European and American way of attributing wars in the Balkans to 'aggressive nationalism' or 'ancient hatreds' that, somehow, is part of the (inhuman) nature of the Balkan peoples (see Sorabji 1995, 80).

Moreover, the Balkans were seen, or constructed, as a border area, an intermediate 'grey' space between European and Asian (or Oriental) civilisations. This resulted in sparse knowledge of the Balkans outside the area. One prominent Englishman could claim about Bulgaria in 1876, that 'many [English] people use the word "Bulgaria" to mean any country between the Adriatic and the Euxine' (quoted in Anderson 1968, 16) and this holds in general for common knowledge of outsiders about the Balkans. It must be added that, in the nineteenth century, in Vienna, Paris, Berlin or London there was some, and in cases rather detailed, information about the Balkans to be found. But it either was confined to small circles of experts or was filtered through pre-established stereotypes which had been formulated in the course of the 'invention' of eastern Europe (see Wolff 1994) or adopted from scholarly and popular orientalism (see Said 1985). Thus, despite the fact that the Balkans were neither a part of eastern Europe proper nor the Orient, the area was nonetheless categorised as 'backward', 'superstitious', 'savage', 'uncivilised', 'wild', 'exotic' or 'erotic' (see Todorova 1997, Ch. 4). Moreover, these concepts were regarded not only as ways of describing the Balkans but somehow its qualities; that is, the Balkans did not only appear 'backward'; truly they were backward.

This, of course, was a problem of the nineteenth century western Europe not only with respect to the Balkans but the outside world in general. Had the problem



vanished in the twentieth century we would have no reason to tackle the matter. Unfortunately, such categorisation is still alive today. For example, in 1993 the US Carnegie Endowment republished the Report of the International Commission to inquire into the causes and conduct of the Balkan Wars (of 1912-1913), which had originally appeared in 1914. The Introduction to the reprint was written by the US ambassador to the Soviet Union and, later, Yugoslavia, George Kennan. He said that, in the Balkans, nothing had changed since the early twentieth century; the same 'aggressive nationalism' that had been the cause of the 1912-1913 wars had been the spark igniting the Yugoslavian wars of disintegration since 1991. A dozen years later Kennan's opinion is perhaps no longer the prevailing view, but neither has it been abandoned; 'aggressive nationalism' is something typical of the Balkans, but not of Europe or the United States (cf. Gow 1997). The Balkans, that is, are not only geographically but also mentally different, the other.

If Kennan and others sharing his opinion (see examples in Bakić-Hayden 1995, 918-19, cf. also Oberschall 2000, 989) had thought in more detail, that is, if they had been able to reflect how they were categorising the other, they would have perceived that 'aggressive nationalism' was a characteristic of their interpretation of the Balkans, not a quintessence of the place itself (cf. Okamura 1981, 457-8), and that armed conflicts (or 'aggressions') are universal, not a uniquely Balkan phenomenon (see Hudis 1996, 336-7).<sup>2</sup> On deeper reflection, Kennan had also realised that what was common to the conflicts in the 1910s and 1990s was different (local and governmental, grassroots and above all, ethno-religious and secular) ways of addressing the question of borders, both in terms of geography and political and economic interests as well as personal and group identity. The Balkan history allows almost any kind of interpretation of 'natural' territorial and social borders between different nations or ethnic groups, and nearly all peoples of the Balkans could with some justification claim several parts of the Balkans as solely their 'own', in fact, they have tended to do just that (see Bax 2000).

Thus, although drawing borders for a state or an 'ethnic' territory is always haphazard, it is doubly so in the Balkans. Does, for example, Bosnia-Herzegovina belong to Serbs or Croats, because their forefathers had lived there for hundreds

<sup>2</sup> The concept 'aggressive nationalism' also runs against common wisdom which says that the highest form of (traditionally understood) nationalism is dying for the fatherland (in a fight against an aggressor) (see Hedetoft 1993, 281). But perhaps, from Kennan's functional viewpoint, there really was no difference between 'aggressive nationalism' of the early 1900s, the post-Second World War 'totalising' socialism and the 'nationalist' ideology that followed Titoism in the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the late 1900s (cf. Hayden 1994, 168).

of years and had embraced Christianity before part of them accepted Islam? Or, does it belong to Muslims, whose pre-Muslim forebears were relatives to the Serbs and Croats? (See Bakić-Hayden 1995, 927-8; Cohen 1997, 491-2.) When trying to solve the Balkan puzzle, one has to avoid the stereotype (still perpetuated in the 1990s by several plans of dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina into ethnically homogeneous 'cantons') that a particular piece of land belongs somehow 'naturally' to this or that ethnically or otherwise heterogeneous group. Instead, we have to persuade the inhabitants to see that one place may belong to many cultures, or that multinationalism (in the form of mutual tolerance and a sort of 'division of labour' between different groups) is in reality more faithful to the Balkan history than 'ethnic cleansing'.

This is easy to say but hard to put into practice. Balkan geography, that is, the division of the space, is inseparably bound to interpretative power: whose claims to a given place are 'justified' and whose are 'false'. On the run-up and during the Bosnian War, nationalist Serbs would say that 'in reality' Bošnjaci<sup>3</sup> are either traitors to their tribe (i.e., the Orthodox people who had embraced Islam, and thus 'betrayed' their 'true' ethnicity) or 'fanatics' (that is, the 'ethnically foreign aggressors') originating from Ottoman Turks who, according to the Serbs, had for centuries oppressed the Balkan Orthodox Christians, particularly, of course, the Serbs. Whatever the truth, both 'traitors' and latter day 'oppressors' were considered as being unfit to live in the present Balkans. Ethnic categorising had thus geographical implications; ethnically 'wrong' peoples should not be tolerated in a particular area.

Worse still, ethnic categorisation 'justified' geographical purification, not only of peoples but also of 'wrong' historical monuments, such as mosques, Ottoman-built bridges and bazaars (see, for example, Balić 1994). Razing important buildings to the ground was an attempt to quite literally destroy all memories of the other; or, perhaps more precisely, to prevent the others from preserving what they wanted to remember (stories, values, feelings) in a certain place (cf. Halbwachs 1992, 193-235).

According to one calculation, in the Bosnian War more than 1,100 mosques, some 300 Catholic and 36 Orthodox churches as well as over 1,000 other historically or culturally important buildings were demolished or damaged (Herscher 1998). These were not merely places of worship or monuments of the past, they

<sup>3</sup> The Serbian and Croatian expression is 'poturice' or those who have abandoned their ('true') ethnicity and became Turks (Mojzes 1995, 32).

were above all shared places, in most cases familiar and well-known to all or almost all of the inhabitants of a town or village. Laying to these buildings waste meant erasing part of one's home and, together with it, recollections that could unite different groups. This was one typical feature of the Bosnian War: violence took place inside one's home or at one's front door and, thus, turned domestic places into sites filled with memories of fear and horror which usually did not belong there (cf. Sorabji 1995, 91-93).

A particularly disgusting such attack was rape. Women are commonly bearers and transmitters of tradition and thus their rape meant both defiling human beings and destruction of memories; for, according to Bosnian cultural values, raped women, most, but not all of whose were Muslims (cf. Mojzes 1995, 168-9), were no longer acceptable as marriage partners to their menfolk. Thus rape meant the disruption of the chain of transmitting tradition and memories associated with multiculturalism and Muslim presence in Bosnia.

## Memory

Memories and history of what has been done, what has happened or how things used to be in the 'good old days' are important factors in individual and social identity-building. Thus these who dominate the formation of memories and history also dictate personal and group identity, at least at the official or public level. The crucial question here is: what kinds of memories and events are selected for remembering and writing history and why and by whom. Another important aspect is: what purpose or goal do remembering and history-writing serve, and what opportunities do they produce for forgetting; for although memories may have cathartic effects, forgetting of certain (traumatic) occasions is at least as important as their remembrance (see Butler 1989, 16-17).

Here I think it is necessary to digress for a while to ponder the term 'memory'. It can refer, for example, to personal recollections, passing of traditions in written or oral forms, periodic commemoration of certain events and the ability to remember. In a postmodern sense, 'memory' can also be a product, something of local or global manufacturing and consumption. What I have in mind here is a disposition to use stories about 'our history' as a means of guiding our acting and thinking. Thus, I see 'memory' neither as an individual ability or a collective, consciously performed ritual (for example, as the commemoration of Independence Day is in my opinion), nor a part of disconnected 'impressions' about the past as commercialised by today's 'market', but as a culturally internalised proclivity to

see things in a certain way (rather than another) and to conduct oneself accordingly. Hence, 'memory' refers to behaviour that we consider 'normal' or 'ordinary' (but which in fact is both contradictory and a continually changing) way of speaking, thinking, feeling and doing in our everyday life, to all that is so 'banal', as Billig (1995) would say, that we normally do not pay attention to it unless someone actively challenges it or tried to suppress it; then we defend our memories and, ultimately, our tradition and culture, by inventing histories to explain their inconsistencies and to justify our conduct or views (Butler 1989, 12-13, 18-19; Okamura 1981, 455-6).

When Kennan claimed that an (unspecified) 'Balkan' identity was built on 'aggressive (Serbian) nationalism' which, in his opinion, was 'the same' in 1913 and 1991 or 1992, he was wrong in many respects. Historically, the Balkans of 1913 was totally different from the Balkans of the early 1990s. If we consider the Serbs, in 1913 they were creating their identity relative to the Ottoman time, which was the 'other' from which they wanted to dissociate themselves. In the early 1990s, the other was Tito in general or this or that of his comrades' political decisions, which were blamed for everything. In other words, in both the early and late 1900s national identity was built on premises and grievances resulting from a particular situation, not from any 'perennial' Serbian nationalism. However, Kennan was right in insisting that identity and the building of the enemy-image followed in both cases the same logic: the culprit responsible for our problems had to be found 'out there', not among ourselves.

Tito's Yugoslavia<sup>4</sup> was for forty years dominated by 'partisan mythology', which tended to sweep all historical conflicts between various nations, nationalities and ethnic groups under the carpet and emphasised national unity by referring to the common fight against the fascist enemy in the Second World War and to the building of socialist Yugoslavia after that, a state in which all national questions were (officially) solved (hence the Titoist slogan 'Brotherhood and unity'). This mythology had Janus-faces. On the one hand, it provided different nations with a common language and, correspondingly, with at least an illusion that different persons and groups had something in common. On the other hand, although the partisan myth at first roughly corresponded to the experience of a great many people (see Roksandic 1994, 110-12), they soon grew weary of it. So, as time went by historical details about pre-socialist Yugoslavia (which were officially presented

<sup>4</sup> How far we may identify Yugoslavia (from 1945 to 1980) as Tito's (personal) project is, of course, a question open to debate (see Roksandic 1994, 104).

in a highly selective manner, see Roksandic 1994, 113-16) surfaced, as did memories of the likewise officially suppressed civil war (between monarchist Serbs and partisans and between Croats and Serbs in the so-called Independent Croatia of the wartime) in the Second World War. This resulted in conflict between public and private views and official and individual recollections. In addition, in places there were continuous local conflicts between different religious groups after the Second World War, for example in parts of Herzegovina there were frequent disputes between Muslims and Croats (Bax 2000, 18-19, 22).

Officially, 'dissident' ways of remembering the relations between the different nations were declared taboos (see Roksandic 1994), but, I would say, that everyone of Tito's generation knew of many unofficial memoirs about conflicts and disputes, which in most cases were orally transmitted or published abroad by émigré circles (see Hayden 1994, 167-8, 173-5). Nevertheless, to remain in power, the party elite pretended that relations between different nations could be solved by harmonising relations between the political parties in the republics (Roksandic 1994, 120). This backfired after Tito's death in 1980, which was followed by rapid and extensive political and economic changes and the corresponding re-assessment of relations between the different peoples and memories about their past. Individuals, ethnic groups and even the entire nations had to redefine their identities, because the old identities based on narratives of socialist unity, tolerance and the allegedly fair distribution of economic resources and products had lost their basis and meaning. However, new identities were forged in relation to 'old' myths,<sup>5</sup> for example, by disclosing secrets from the Tito-era, such as the exact nature of conditions in those prison camps where Tito sent his political opponents after his break with Stalin in 1948 (see Hayden 1994, 168-9; Roksandic 1994, 123-4).

The fate of old narratives was particularly sad in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where they had been mixed with pre-socialist (and, in fact, pre-Yugoslav) tales of mutual tolerance. These tales, particularly in the cities such as Sarajevo, had resulted in a strong sense of 'Yugoslavisim', and an identity emphasising mutual respect and

<sup>5</sup> Ramet (1996, 72-3) suggests that 'Titoist programme' was typical of the city; hence its opposite was the dominance of rural, national values. There probably is some truth in that. However, I would say that "rural values" (by which Ramet (pp. 78-9) means patriarchal rule, respect of Serbian Orthodox Church, xenophobia and 'nostalgic orientation to past glories and sufferings, to the point of mythologizing the past') were not the cause of ethnic cleansing' and 'aggressive nationalism'. Rather, these values existed in urban Serbian culture, too, and in the new situation after Tito's death some of them were selected to cope with the change. Thus the new Serbian national identity was not an opposite but rather a reconstruction of the earlier identity.

downplaying of national and religious differences. After Tito's death, such ideas and identities based on these ideas were disregarded. Particularly many Serbs and Croats tended to claim that all of their problems had arisen directly from such (in their opinion, fictitious) thinking. These ideas and identities were substituted by tales of conflicts and cultural and historical differences. The logic was simple: if unity has destroyed our society and its economic backbone, separation and, ultimately, annihilation of the other, must be the path to 'our' recovery. Concomitantly, nationalistic Serbs and Croats tended to build their identities on fragmented narratives about past conflicts and factors that distinguished 'us' from 'them', such as customs, religion or language. If these were too close to each other, differences in history and culture were invented, as in the case of the Serbo-Croatian language, which was broken down into separate 'languages', Bosnian, Croat and Serbian. Even those who were unwilling to emphasise their Serb, Muslim or Croat identity had to do so, otherwise their more identity-conscious neighbours would have evicted from 'our' society (cf. Sorabji 1995: 84-5).

When this shift from unity to diversity and historical non-continuity in identity-building took place, it also had repercussions in the power structure. Already under Tito's rule, several changes in Yugoslavia's constitution had occurred. The 1974 constitution identified six semi-independent Yugoslavian republics, which were 'united' mainly by the federal communist party, the army and mutual economic dependence. After Tito's death, separatist tendencies started to strengthen and non-official memories (and identities built upon them) began to rapidly emerge. In Serbia, particularly foreign observers labelled this new identity as 'nationalism' or 'Greater-Serbianism'. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the wake of Khomeini's revolution, the Serbs tended to dub the new Slav Muslim consciousness as 'Islamic fundamentalism'.

While I agree that memories are inseparable from political, economic and social aims, I also argue that identity has something to do with individual and group self-consciousness that cannot be reduced simply to immediate material gains. Hence, when Serbs in Serbia started to speak about the persecution of their compatriots in areas outside Serbia proper (that is, in Croatian Krajina, in Kosovo and in areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina where the Serbs were in a minority), they were not only preparing the ground for an armed expansion of their territories; they were also creating a new identity. Moreover, they were using a certain space, Krajina or Kosovo, to locate attributes of their new identity, such as 'defending Europe from Islam' (as had the border-ranger in Habsburg vojna krajina or military frontier



zone) or 'being persecuted by Muslims' and 'loosing the (control of the) "cradle of Serbia" to them' in concrete frames (see Mojzes 1995, 19-20).<sup>6</sup> These places were obviously used, because, as Oberschall points out (2000, 990), Serbs in both regions, particularly in Kosovo, were a minority and thus the public in Serbia proper could be convinced by propaganda that they life and, in fact, the very existence, or their compatriots was threatened. So, the fear and the hatred that followed fear, made stories about 'persecution' and 'defence' of Europe plausible.

For many, this reinvention of 'Serbdom' was nothing new, it was a return to the old, 'genuine' or 'authentic' Serbian identity. And it was this belief, namely that the Serbs were rediscovering themselves in a way similar to that of the nineteenth century construction of the Serbian national state, that lead many observers (and perhaps many Serbs themselves) to think that 'aggressive nationalism' was somehow 'back', while, in fact, old clichés were employed to invoke proper memories and to establish an identity suitable for the new, post-Titoist, situation. This kind of non-socialist nationalism and the associated memories had been banned under Tito (see Roksandic 1994), it suited well for overthrowing the mythology he had invented.

The same may be said of Bošnjaci and 'Islamic fundamentalism'. Already Tito had occasionally accused Bosnian Muslims of that; in fact, it was a convenient label for all kinds of separatism, which those in power in Yugoslavia wanted to eradicate from predominantly Muslim areas. The Serbs who wanted to increase their political power, merely intensified that propaganda about 'Islamists'. It served the Serbs in two ways: by pointing out the other (and thus making 'our' identity more visible) and by increasing 'our' unity in face of an 'outside' threat (which minimised the disruptive power of conflicts among 'us'). Thus, 'Islamic fundamentalism' in Bosnia-Herzegovina was above all something created in a particular situation and for a particular purpose (cf. Sartre's view [Sartre 1965, 101-5] on Jews, who are

---

<sup>6</sup> Hayden (1994, 170-1) points out that from a Serbian perspective, after the inauguration of the constitution of 1974, the tale of losing Kosovo made some sense. He notices that the constitution decentralised Yugoslavia 'to the point of confederation. Where the other republics received almost complete powers, including the exclusive power to execute federal (italics original) powers in their respective territories, Serbia was handicapped by the strengthening of the two "autonomous provinces" within its borders. These provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina, were virtually independent of Serbia and could pass legislation without review by the Serbian parliament. Serbia, on the other hand, could pass its own legislation only with the consent of both provinces. Furthermore, the provinces each had their own independent representations in federal executive and legislative bodies – representations that, combined, were greater than that of Serbia.'

Jews because the milieu they live constructs them as Jews and Okamura's review [1981] of 'situational ethnicity' in social anthropology). However, Bosnian Muslims, too, made use of 'Islamic fundamentalism'; it suited those of them who wanted to declare in the most radical way: that they need have nothing to do with either Tito's socialism or the 'new' Serbian way of thinking. In other words, it was a way of redefining the Muslim Slav identity, also for the part them who did not want it (see Oberschall [2000, 995-7] for Serbian and Croatian examples). And the more the Serbs (or even some outside the Balkans) considered Muslim Slavs as 'fundamentalists' the more they themselves were likely to reconsider their relation to Islam.

The fact did not matter for Serbs that Alija Izetbegović, who in the early 1980s was prosecuted and imprisoned for several years for having written, in 1970, the Islamic declaration, a text that encouraged Muslims to live true to the principles of their faith was far from 'fanatic' interpreter of Islam. Neither did another fact, namely, that relatively few Muslim Slavs were followers of even moderate Islam. (Cf. Cohen 1997, 486-8.) What mattered was that (some) Muslim Slavs even dared to attempt an identity-building that would separate them from the Serbs or Serb-lead Yugoslavia. The 'crime' of Muslim Slavs in Bosnia was not their 'fundamentalism'. The crime was that they ventured to remember things differently, not along the lines of those in power at the federal level. Briefly, their recollections were 'wrong'; and so were those of others who protested against the 'new' Serbian (or, later, Croatian) interpretations.

Thus we return to the point that remembering is inseparable from power politics and rhetoric, which, in turn, are an essential part in constructing and reconstructing social relations and principles of what a given group considers right or wrong. In fact, and in addition to what I said earlier, remembering is a part of establishing social relations and the expectations we attach to them. When mapping out social networks – who is whose friend or relative, colleague, co-religionist, member of the same ethnic group, etc. – we are using memories and narratives such as 'he will do this because he is my friend or relative' or, 'we cannot trust him because he is of "foreign" religion or ethnicity'. In other words, we use categories and stereotypes to show the nature of a given person or group (cf. Birnbaum 1971; Sartre 1965, 61-70).

In the Bosnian War, the 'foreigner' was all too often a neighbour, friend or colleague. It may be, as Sorabji suggests (1995, 91) that local people were used as torturers for practical reasons; there was no time and possibilities to draft outside



forces to carry out the 'work'. On the other hand, Sorabji perhaps overestimates the amount of such violence and underestimates the atrocities inflicted by the militias against civilians (see Oberschall 2000, 982-3, but cf. *ibid.*, 984-6 and Mojzes 1995, 116-17). Nevertheless, in my opinion, the use of violence and the way it occurred in familiar territory was a vehement act of demolishing old recollections without establishing new ones. Not only did the 'trust on neighbourliness', as Sorabji (1995, 89-91) put it, collapse, so did also normal human relations, even 'normal' ways of building enemy-images, because the end-result of destruction and looting was also destruction of practically every aspect of establishing relations between different groups or nations. Thus, it follows that an essential part of both modern Balkan history and solution to local problems consists of rethinking national and personal memories, or narratives of past experiences and social relations.

Since the past is always created by present needs and goals of a society or person by selecting appropriate memories and clustering them around themes that are considered to suit best for the present situation (see Wood 1994). If, as has happened in recent years in the western Balkans, economic, political and social problems began to escalate, these need to be explained and the evil they have caused has to be made somehow comprehensible. However, because rational reasoning seldom ends with emotionally satisfying answers, such explanation and interpretation is often augmented by invoking emotions and memories of the past. Hence, for example there was a revival of Serbian accusations about the Croat crimes in the Second World War in the late 1980s and the early 1990s and, in the case of Bošnjaci, horror stories about recent 'Islamic fundamentalism' linked with claims about (by implication unreliable) Muslims as 'traitors' of their alleged 'Serbian' past.

In the Bosnian War, this reinterpretation of memories took place in a tense situation with a heightened level of intolerance. Hence, the purpose of the 'new' (fabricated) memories was primarily to create, for a moment at least, an atmosphere which would support and justify intolerance, aggression and separation from the other. All of the memories which could have reduced the tensions were ignored, forgotten or pushed aside. Thus, if we wish to avoid such situations or solve the conflict which they had created we have to try and revive memories that reinforce mutual co-operation and peaceful coexistence. This can be accomplished in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in general, I think, by supporting the rebuilding of a society requiring joint work of different peoples and allowing them all enjoy a sufficiently secure political and economical position. To establish such a society is a

moral or ethical question, and so is mutual co-operation and peaceful coexistence. This all requires a contextually-bound solidarity and identity that is understood more in terms of situation and rationality than the biologically or religiously determined human 'essence' (cf. Hudis 1996, 343).

## Morality

Understanding memories as social constructions means that morality, or ethical values, too, can be interpreted in terms of recollecting persons or groups. Thus, the question: whose memories are the 'right' ones or worth remembering? is also an ethical question: who is right and who is wrong? In most cases, it is the ruling elite, party or group; but it may also be the power of custom, law or idea that has dominated a given culture for a long time (as in the case of, say, the tradition of blood fraud in western Balkans). However, the nature of the source of power notwithstanding, the result is always an one-sided morality, even in the case of the so-called democracies. Whether or not they want it, those in power will dominate the public sphere: they will decree what will be published, what kind of information is spread by media, what will be taught in schools and universities.

This kind of distortion of memories and, hence, ethics, is unavoidable. In multiculturalism, such as the ideal of Sarajevo (see Sucic 1996), this probably is not such a major problem, because it allows the coexistence of a variety of distorted memories (and ethics) without one single dominating 'corrective' structure. But during the Bosnian War, outside events (such as the Serb and Croat propaganda and aggression) so-to-speak isolate this kind of distortion; memoirs and ethics no longer exist together or in relation to but in opposition to each other. Memories of 'ethnic cleansing', destruction of architectural and cultural monuments or the rape of women cannot be shared by all; they can only create more conflicts.

While memories of one war or conflict, and hence ethical judgements of the case by the involved parties, may be clearly black and white, in the long run both memories and morality are a much more complicated matter. Perpetrators of one crime are often descendants of offers those who had committed earlier crimes (cf. Hayden 1994, 172-9). This was skilfully used by Serbs; e.g. Jasenovac, the most notorious Croatian concentration camp during the Second World War, become one of the dominant symbols in Serbian agitation against the Croats; and the number of persons killed there was hotly debated.<sup>7</sup> 'Islamic fundamentalism', linked with

<sup>7</sup> The number varied from Serbian claims of hundreds of thousands dead to new Croatian admissions of 'only' some tens of thousands (Hayden 1994, 177).

the myth of the Battle of Kosovo Polje in 1389 claimed as the act that saved Europe from Muslim 'hordes', played a similar role against the Bosnian Muslims.<sup>8</sup> Briefly, memoirs from one injustice were used to justify another iniquity. Or, from the viewpoint of morality or ethics, crimes committed against 'us' could neither be forgotten nor forgiven. Somehow they were beyond morality, whereas, in my opinion, morality presupposes that crimes, including memories of these crimes, are debated, put aside and pardoned.

This is easier said than done. For example, can a mass-raped Muslim woman forget or forgive, or a mother whose husband and children have been killed before her very eyes? Or, more generally, can persons who have been forced to the edge of horror, panic and fear, forgive the people to which their torturers belonged? Can a Bosnian Muslim forgive the Serbs in general, although she or he cannot forgive the individual Serb who did attack her or him? I seriously doubt that. However, at a general level, the opportunity for forgivingness exist, precisely because not all Serbs took part in killing and destruction, and several of them, particularly in Bosnia, sided with the Muslims and actively helped their Muslim neighbours, even protected them from other Serbs.

War crimes are not the only moral question in Bosnia-Herzegovina; also the federation's post-war development has created serious moral problems, which are linked with geography and memories. One such problem is the return of refugees to their native areas. In the course of war, the Serbs took a large part of Muslim territory in eastern Herzegovina. On the other hand, the Serbs had to evacuate many Muslim-dominated places in Bosnia, including Sarajevo, where only a handful of Serbs stayed on. With respect to the Croats, the present capital of Herzegovina, Mostar, was divided between them and Muslims, while in the pre-war times it was a 'cosmopolitan' or 'mixed' urban centre. The moral part of the problem is: who has the right to decide where a refugee may be re-settled. Is it morally or otherwise right to displace people from their homes and then re-settle them in a new place?

One could retort that migrations have 'always' been the norm in the Balkan history (see *Migrations* 1989). Perhaps so, but this does not morally justify a person's or a group's involuntary dislocation. The fact that such things happen does not warrant the matter in any ethical sense of the word. To grasp a moral point

<sup>8</sup> Before the massacre in Srebrenica in 1995, Foča, the medieval capital of Herzegovina where monarchist Serbs, četniks, executed hundreds of Muslims in 1942 and which the Serb extremists attacked in 1992, could be a similar 'dominant symbol' for Bošnjaci.

we have to consider, not only what happened, but how it affected the local people. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the international acceptance of displacements in Dayton in late 1995 dealt a moral blow to the tradition of multiculturalism. Another blow was inflicted in July 1995 in Srebrenica, where Dutch peace-keepers stood aside and allowed the mass murder of more than 7,000 local men and adolescents by Serbian forces.

Examination of what happened in Srebrenica has also confirmed that there was more truth in Serbian claims about 'Islamic fundamentalism' in the Bosnian War than has commonly been admitted. Already during the war, as a reaction to the rise of religious (that is, Catholic and Orthodox) propaganda around them, the Bosnian Muslim Army adopted Islamic teaching and practices, such as daily prayer (Cohen 1997, 494). The Dutch study of events in Srebrenica, published in 2002, confirmed that the United States armed Bosnian Muslims by smuggling weapons through Croatia – a fact that both Serbs and Croats obviously knew well (see Bax 2000, 27) – and this was done in co-operation with Turkey, Iran and various radical Islamist groups with links, for example, to Afghanistan and Iran (Aldrich 2002). What the Serbs, however, 'forget' to say was that Ukraine, Greece and Israel armed the Serbian side in Bosnian war (Aldrich 2002). Thus war crimes were committed not only by those involved in the actual fighting but also the international community.

When speaking of morality we have to consider what morality or ethics is about. For example, I have argued that multiculturalism is morally preferable to ethnic homogeneity and that open politics is better than double-dealing. Moreover, I think that multiculturalism and open politics should not be treated as separate ethical issues; for, all too often moral questions are tackled independently, each as a separate question. Yet, in my opinion, morality is inseparable from social relations, which means that moral issues are also social issues and each individual act has several, and partly unintended, repercussions. What the Dutch soldiers or Serbs did in Srebrenica is not an isolated 'wrong' deed but an expression of moral tendencies dominating not only those who committed the violence or stood by but also the international or local communities behind them. Morality, thus, is a combination of what we do and of tendencies which dominate our ways of doing, thinking, feeling and evaluating. When we consider an event we similarly consider the intentions and ways of categorising events, customs and the values that lurk behind them. While I am afraid we have no 'objective' way of proving that, for

example, not killing is preferable to killing my neighbour, I believe that peaceful competition and co-operation is socially more productive than armed struggles.

A concrete example, although not from Bosnia-Herzegovina but from Kosovo, is the reconstruction of the bridge of Mitrovica, the notoriously divided town in northern Kosovo. It was destroyed during the fighting and bombing in 1998 and 1999 and rebuilt in 2001. The project was carried out by thirty Serbs and thirty Albanians. The year-long collaboration obviously did not resolve ethnic or other tensions between Serbs and Albanians of the town, but, according to Payton (2002, 38), 'it certainly turned down the temperature'.

Moreover, in my opinion, helping others is an integral part of human morality. What we do, as well as what, and how we remember, are two sides of the one moral act. In practice, in the Balkans this means open discussion of recent conflicts and necessary punitive measures against those found guilty. In other words, though I by no means belittle the Hague tribunal, I think that it is essential that matters must be settled in the Balkans and between the Balkan people as well.

On the other hand, the international community should not simply adopt the role of a prosecutor. Open discussion and recognition of faults committed is a prerequisite to a credible involvement in and rebuilding of the Balkans. In my opinion, what else is needed is a humanistic vision of the future of the area, that is, a debate between the Balkan peoples and outside powers of what would be the most profitable and suitable way to help and to develop the area and the peoples. For it seems to me that during the last fifty years or so both local and foreign initiatives to create viable Balkan states or communities have in most cases lead up a blind alley.

*I thank Ewen MacDonald, PhD, for improving my English. All shortcomings are mine.*

## References cited

- Aldrich, R. J. 2002: "America used Islamists to arm the Bosnian Muslims," in: *The Guardian*, 22 April 2002.
- Anderson, D. 1968: *The Balkan volunteers*. London: Hutchinson.
- Bakić-Hayden, M. 1995: "Nesting Orientalisms: the case of former Yugoslavia", in: *Slavic Review* 54 (4).
- Balić, S. 1994: "Destruction of the Bosnian architectural heritage: an interim report," in: *Journal of Islamic Studies* vol. 5 (2).
- Bax, M. 2000: "Warlords, priests and the politics of ethnic cleansing: a case-study from rural Bosnia Hercegovina," in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (1).

- Billig, M. 1995: *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Birnbaum, M. D. 1971: "On the language of prejudice," in: *Western Folklore* vol. 30.
- Butler, Th. 1989: "Memory: a mixed blessing," in: *Memory: history, culture and the mind*, ed. Th. Butler. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Cohen, L. 1997: "Prelates and politicians in Bosnia: the role of religion in nationalist mobilisation," in: *Nationalities Papers* vol. 25 (3).
- Fentress, J. & Wickham, Ch. 1992: *Social memory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gow, J. 1997: *Triumph of the lack of will: international diplomacy and the Yugoslav war*. London: Hurst.
- Halbwachs, M. 1992 [1950]: *On collective memory*. Ed., tr. and with an introduction by L. A. Coser. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hayden, R.M. 1994: "Recounting the dead: the rediscovery and redefinition of wartime massacres in late- and post-communist Yugoslavia," in: *Memory, history, and opposition under state socialism*, ed. R.S. Watson. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Hedetoft, U. 1993: "National identity and mentalities of war in three EC countries," in: *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 30 (3).
- Herscher, A, [1998]: "Remembering and rebuilding in Bosnia," in: [www.ijt.cz/transitions/remnreb1](http://www.ijt.cz/transitions/remnreb1) (March 1998).
- Hudis, P. 1996: "Bosnia in the historic mirror: a commentary," in: *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* vol. 24 (3).
- Migrations 1989: *Migrations in Balkan history*, ed. I. Ninić. Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umenosti.
- Mojzes, P. 1995: *Yugoslavian inferno: ethno-religious warfare in the Balkans*. New York: Continuum.
- Okamura, J.Y. 1981: "Situational ethnicity," in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol. 4 (4).
- Overschall, A. 2000: "The manipulation of ethnicity: from ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia," in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (6).
- Payton, J. R. 2002: "Recent developments in the Balkans: summary and comment," in: *Religion in Eastern Europe*, vol. 22 (2).
- Ramet. S. P. 1996: "Nationalism and the 'idiocy' of the countryside: the case of Serbia," in: *Ethnic and Racial Studies* vol. 19 (1).
- Roksandic, D. 1994: "Nationale Konflikte in Titos Jugoslawien – ein Tabu?," in: *Tabu und Geschichte: zur Kultur des kollektiven Erinnerens*, hg. Von P. Bettelgeim & R. Streibel. Wien: Picus Verlag.
- Sartre, J.-P. 1965 [1954]: "Juutalaiskysymys," in: J.-P. Sartre, Esseitä I, suom. A.T.K. Lahtinen & J. Tyyri. Helsinki: Otava.

- Sorabji, C. 1995: "A very modern war: terror and territory in Bosnia Hercegovina", in: War: a cruel necessity? The bases of institutionalized violence, ed. R.A. Hinde & H.E. Watson. London & New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Sucic, D. S. 1996: "Sarajevo's intellectual and cultural elite – and the city's unique spirit – may never return," in: Transition vol. 2 (5).
- Said, E. 1985 [1979]: *Orientalism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Todorova, M. 1997: *Imaging the Balkans*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolff, L. 1994: *Inventing eastern Europe: the map of civilization on the mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Wood, N. 1994: "Memory's remains: Les lieux de mémoire", in: History & Memory vol. 6 (1).





# Nationalsymbole der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der Slowakei

Liszka, József

## 1. Vorbemerkungen

Der Spruch *“Die Nation lebt in ihrer Sprache”* wird ursprünglich Montesquieu zugeschrieben.<sup>1</sup> Nun, diese Feststellung mag wahr sein oder auch nicht. Sie ist insofern wahr, als es eigentlich nur via Sprache möglich ist, die neuzeitlichen Nationen zu definieren. Alle andere “nationalen Spezifika” lassen sich eher unter die ethnischen Stereotype einreihen als unter wirkliche, für eine ganze Nation – und lediglich für eine Nation – charakteristische Züge. Andererseits sind diese sog. “nationalen Spezifika” historisch determiniert; ein Trachtenelement z. B., das heute für eine bestimmte Volksgruppe charakteristisch ist, konnte früher im größeren Kreis bekannt, sogar typisch sein (z.B. der Riemenschuh wurde am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts für ein “typisches” Trachtenelement der Rumänen gehalten, während uns aus historischen Quellen bekannt ist, daß er vor anderthalb Jahrhundert auch bei den Ungarn genauso verbreitet gewesen ist. Ähnliche Beispiele könnte man in großer Menge aufzählen). Neben der Sprache gibt es jedoch auch ein künstlich herausbildetes Symbolsystem, dessen Aufgabe darin besteht, die Selbstbestimmung einzelner Nationen zu (re)präsentieren. Zur Herausbildung dieses Symbolsystems hat die Volkskunde selbst, die – mit den Wörtern Orvar Löfgrens – “das Kind des Nationalismus” war (Löfgren 1989, 5) wesentlich beigetragen. Dabei muß man nicht unbedingt an die Ausgriffe des Nationalsozialismus in die Wissenschaften, auf dessen mißbräuchliche Indienstnahme auch des Faches Volkskunde denken. Die Volkskunden der einzelnen Nationen haben seit Herder jahrhundertlang (wissentlich und unwissentlich) Materialien zur Bestärkung der einzelnen nationalen Identitäten geliefert. Was (auch) die Volkskunde verursacht

<sup>1</sup>Der vorliegende Text ist eine verbreitete und ergänzte Variante des Referats am 10. Internationalen Symposiums der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Semiotik, “Mythen, Riten, Simulacra” in Wien (Liszka 2001a) und des Vortrags, veranstaltet vom Lehrstuhl für Volkskunde der Universität Passau am 17.5.2001.

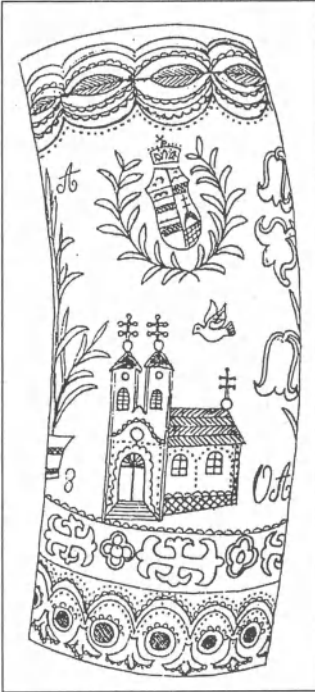
hat, kann man wiederum mit den Methoden der Volkskunde/Europäischen Ethnologie erforschen.

Man kann es zu den grundlegenden Bedürfnissen der Menschen rechnen, daß Gruppen (Stämme, Ethnien, "Nationen", nationale Minderheiten usw.) ihre Territorien, ihre Wohngebiete mit Zeichen, Symbolen, Gedenkstätten markieren, abgrenzen müssen. Dieses Bedürfnis ist für die sog. großen Nationen ebenso charakteristisch wie für die kleineren Ethnien (vgl. Barna 2001; Bausinger 2000, 48). Der Begriff "nationale Symbole" wird hier freilich im weitesten Sinne verstanden. Dazu gehören nämlich nicht nur die Nationalfarben und die Nationalhymne, die verschiedenen nationalen Denkmäler (Statuen von berühmten Nationalhelden, Staatsmännern, Dichtern, Komponisten usw., Kriegerdenkmäler, Begräbnisstätten von bekannten Persönlichkeiten), Gedenktafeln, sondern auch festliche Akte (Kranzniederlegungen, Volksfeste, Trachten- und Volkstanzvorführungen, festliche Umzüge usw.), die fähig sind (mindestens nach dem Glauben der Akteure), die nationale Zugehörigkeit der einen oder anderen menschlichen Gruppe auszudrücken. Es gibt darunter also auch solche Phänomene, die nicht in jedem Fall und in jeder Beziehung als "national" funktionieren müssen (Ein Szeklertor<sup>2</sup> hat beispielsweise an Ort und Stelle eine praktische und keine "nationale" Funktion. Unter bestimmten Bedingungen kann es aber als ein ungarisches Nationalsymbol wahrgenommen werden). Durch solche Kennzeichen werden Grenzen markiert, jedenfalls in den Köpfen der dort lebenden Menschen; diese müssen nicht unbedingt auch mit den offiziellen Staats- oder irgendwelchen Administrationsgrenzen identisch sein. Solche Raumgebilde können kleiner, aber auch größer als die aktuellen Staatsgebiete sein (vgl. Downs–Stea 1982).

### 1.1. TERMINOLOGIE UND KATEGORIEN

Im weiteren versuche ich das reiche Geflecht der nationalen Symbole zu gliedern, ein bißchen (mindestens für mich selbst) übersichtlich zu ordnen. Es muß aber erwähnt werden, daß man zwischen einigen Kategorien, zwischen einigen Erscheinungen keine scharfen Grenzen ziehen kann. Es gibt immer Übergangserscheinungen, die mit gutem Recht in die eine oder in eine andere Kategorie eingeordnet werden können. Ich möchte schon jetzt in der Einführung betonen, daß es Nationalsymbole ähnlicher Art eigentlich bei allen europäischen

<sup>2</sup>Die Szekler sind eine ungarische Volksgruppe im heutigen Rumänien (Siebenbürgen). Ein Szeklertor ist ein aus Holz gefertigter, meistens mit reichen Stern- und Pflanzenmotiven verzierter Tor-Typus.



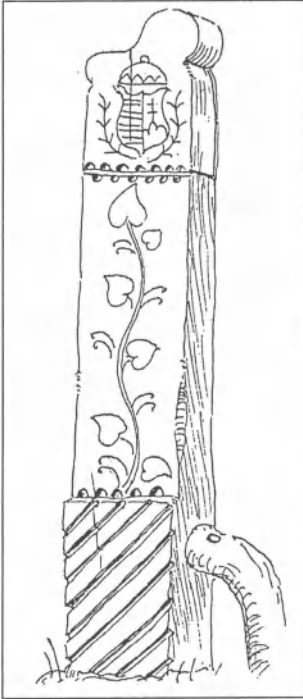
1. Das ungarische Landeswappen auf einem Hirtenschnitzwerk aus der Ost-Slowakei (in Galgóczy 1999, 95)

(und nicht nur europäischen!) Nationen gibt. Wenn ich also fast ausschließlich ungarische Beispiele benenne, bedeutet das keinesfalls, daß es sich um eine spezifisch ungarische Erscheinung handelt.

#### 1.1.1. Primäre Nationalsymbole

Zu den primären Nationalsymbolen zähle ich jene Zeichen und jene Phänomene, die eine Nation, ein Land offiziell symbolisieren. Es geht hauptsächlich um die Nationalfahne (Nationalfarben), um das Landeswappen und um die Nationalhymne. Diese werden meistens sowohl von innen wie von außen akzeptiert.

Die primären Nationalsymbole kommen jedoch oft auch auf volkstümlichen Gegenständen als Dekorationsmotive vor. Es geht hauptsächlich um Gebrauchsgegenstände, die mit einem Landeswappen, mit einer Nationalfahne usw. dekoriert sind. Attila Selmeczi-Kovács hat sich mit dieser Seite des ungarischen Materials beschäftigt (Selmeczi-Kovács 1996). Er hat auf Grund von knapp 500 Gegenständen der Sammlung des Budapester Ethnographischen Museums seine Schlußfolgerungen gezogen. Aus seinem Artikel (dessen gekürzte deutsche Version hat er übrigens als einen Beitrag beim SIEF-Kongreß in Budapest Ende April 2001 vorgetragen) kann man erfahren, daß die ungarische Volkskunst neuen Stils seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts eine große Zahl von Ziergegenständen produziert hat. Unter den Dekorationen dieser Gegenstände kommen immer öfter die Nationalsymbole vor. Zuerst, nach der Niederschlagung des Freiheitskampfes 1848/49, haben diese nationalen ungarische Motive einen Widerstand gegen die Habsburger Macht ausgedrückt. Seit den 70-er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts sind mehrere ausländische Ausstellungen veranstaltet worden, wo auch die Handwerksprodukte der einzelnen Nationen ausgestellt wurden. Seit dieser Zeit dienten diese nationale Dekorationselemente als Schutzmarken der ungarländischen (also nicht nur ungarischen!) Erzeuger. Seit dem Jahre 1896, als das Tausendjährige Jubiläum der ungarischen Landnahme gefeiert wurde, haben sich diese Zierelemente noch mehr in der ungarischen Volkskunst (hauptsächlich in



2. Das ungarische

Landeswappen auf einem aus Holz ausgeschnittenen Tor auf dem slowakische Teil der Kleinen Tiefebene (in Tichy-Thain 1992, 79)

der Hirtenkunst) verbreitet. Attila Selmeczi-Kovács beschäftigt sich außer dem Landeswappen und der Nationalflagge auch mit der ungarischen Krone (der Heiligen-Stefans-Krone) und mit den Husaren- und Räuber-Gestalten als "Nationalsymbolen". Diese letzteren sind mir ein bißchen suspekt. Die Husaren sind nach der ungarischen Tradition zwar echt ungarische Kavalleristen, die eine charakteristische bunte und auffallende Uniform trugen (sog. *Attila* und *Tschako*), aber es sollte allgemein bekannt sein, daß diese leichten Reitertruppen ursprünglich aus Italien oder aus dem Balkan stammen und anfangs einfache Straßenräuber waren. Erst im 15. Jahrhundert kamen sie in Ungarn auf, und dann in mehreren Ländern Europas. Durch Friedrich den Großen sind die Husaren auch in Preußen als leichte Reiterei stark vermehrt worden. Husarenfiguren kommen natürlich auch in anderen Ländern Europas vor (z. B. auf Lebkuchenformen in Böhmen und Österreich).

### 1.1.2. Sekundäre Nationalsymbole

Zu sekundären Nationalsymbolen zähle ich jene Erscheinungen, die ursprünglich nicht als Nationalsymbol fungierten, aber unter bestimmten Bedingungen doch als Nationalsymbole betrachtet werden können (dazu habe ich schon das Beispiel des Szeklertors erwähnt). Man kann von innen und von außen aus betrachtete sekundäre Nationalsymbole zu unterscheiden.

Sekundäre Nationalsymbole, die eigentlich und meistens nur von innen aus als solche betrachtet werden, sind bei Ungarn z. B. ein Szeklertor, ein Speerholz, die nationalen Gedenkstätten usw. Mit diesen Objekten und Denkmälern werden oft (aber nicht unbedingt!) auch primäre Nationalsymbole verbunden (z.B. das Landeswappen, die Heilige-Stefans-Krone usw.) Mit diesen Phänomenen werde ich mich im Folgenden an konkreten ungarischen Beispielen aus der Slowakei beschäftigen.

Als sekundäre Nationalsymbole von außen können die verschiedenen nationalen Stereotype benannt werden. Es geht um Phänomene, die in Ausland als

charakteristisch für eine bestimmte Nation oder für ein bestimmtes Land gelten. Bei Ungarn ist es z. B. die *Pusztá, csikós, gulyás, paprika, csárdás, Zigeunermusik* usw.). Dieser ganze Komplex hängt aber nur ganz locker mit den Nationalsymbolen im engen Sinne zusammen, deshalb werde ich mich mit diesem Formenkreis jetzt nicht beschäftigen. Jetzt möchte ich nur auf das Buch von Hermann Bausinger, das sich neulich mit dieser Thematik aus deutscher Sicht eingehend beschäftigt hat, aufmerksam machen (Bausinger 2000. Vgl. Liszka 2001c).

## 1.2. EINE KLEINE FORSCHUNGSGESCHICHTE UND PROBLEMSTELLUNG.

Es ist hier nicht möglich und nötig, eine vollständige Forschungsgeschichte der Problematik zu geben. Nur ein paar Hinweise sollen genügen: Mit den nationalen Symbolen an Gegenständen des traditionellen Kunsthandwerks haben sich die Forscher eigentlich im Rahmen der allgemeinen Volkskunstforschung immer beschäftigt, aber systematisch hat diese erst Attila Selmeczi-Kovács getan (Selmeczi-Kovács 1996). Sein methodischer Ansatz zählt zu den traditionellen volkskundlichen Methoden. Mit der Schaffung und Neu-Schaffung der Nationalkultur, mit den Symbolwelten der postkommunistischen osteuropäischen Gesellschaften haben sich Tamás Hofer (Hofer 1991; 1999) und Péter Niedermüller (Niedermüller 1989; 1992; 1997) aus kulturanthropologischer Sicht beschäftigt. Ganz eingehend haben sich die Teilnehmer und Teilnehmerinnen des 30. Deutschen Volkskundekongresses mit den Fragen der Symbole (darunter auch mit den Nationalsymbolen) beschäftigt (Brednich–Schmitt Hrsg. 1997).

Die ungarische Volksgruppe in der Slowakei ist eine erst in der jüngsten Vergangenheit künstlich gebildete nationale Minderheit; sie existiert erst seit achtzig Jahren. Meine Fragen lauten:

- Wie konnte sich aus einer Anzahl von verschiedenartigen Landschaften und Volksgruppen eine einheitliche nationale Minderheit bilden?
- Sind die Ungarn in der Slowakei tatsächlich zu einer einheitlichen nationalen Minderheit zusammengewachsen?
- Wird der von den Ungarn in der Slowakei bewohnte Raum mit Symbolen, die auch als "nationale" wahrgenommen werden können, markiert? Wenn ja, welche Nationalsymbole werden von dieser Volksgruppe benutzt? Was für eine Rolle spielen diese Symbole im Alltagsleben dieser Volksgruppe? Sind es Zeichen, die eine eigenständige Position dieser Volksgruppe ausdrücken wollen, oder sind es Zeichen, die die Zugehörigkeit zur ungarischen Kulturnation betonen? Gibt es auch solche (National)Symbole, die ausschließlich für die Ungarn in der Slowakei charakteristisch sind?

Im Folgenden versuche ich diese Fragen durch die Erörterung einiger konkreter Beispiele zu beantworten, bzw. Antworten vorzubereiten.

## 2. Siedlungsgeschichte und Demographie des ungarischen Sprachraums der Slowakei (20. Jh.)

Das gesamte Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei gehörte vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg zum Königreich Ungarn. Im damaligen Oberungarn (also ungefähr auf dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei) lebten vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg (1910) etwa 2 Millionen Slowaken, 885 000 Ungarn (30,3%), 300 000 Deutsche, außerdem noch Kroaten, Ruthenen, Juden und Zigeuner. Die Ungarn bildeten hinsichtlich Kultur und Wirtschaft, ja sogar hinsichtlich der Sprache damals keine selbständige Einheit. Diese Volksgruppe (besser gesagt: Volksgruppen!) lebte(n) in einem mehr oder weniger breiten Streifen, der sich von Preßburg bis zur heutigen slowakisch-ukrainischen Staatsgrenze über etwa 500 km hinzieht. Auf diesem geographisch mannigfaltigen Gebiet gibt es Flach- und Hügellandschaften sowie Mittelgebirge. Die überkommene wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Lebensweise der dort Wohnenden war recht verschiedenartig. Sprachlich kann man diese Ungarn mindestens in drei Dialektgruppen aufteilen. Von dieser Vielfalt ist auch heute noch etwas zu spüren. Die (klein)regionale Identität der Ungarn in der Slowakei hat sich sogar in den letzten Jahren noch verstärkt.

Aber kehren wir zur historischen Reihenfolge zurück! Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg, nach dem Diktat von Trianon (1920), wurde das gesamte Untersuchungsgebiet an die damals begründete Tschechoslowakei angeschlossen. Infolgedessen konnte auf lange Sicht mit der natürlichen Assimilation der Ungarn (desgleichen der Deutschen, der Kroaten usw.) gerechnet werden. Es gab jedoch von Zeit zu Zeit auch künstliche (also: gewaltsame) Assimilationsversuche. Davon zeugen etwa die tschechischen und slowakischen Einsiedlerdörfer (sog. Kolonien), die man in den zwanziger Jahren innerhalb der fast vollkommen ungarischen Gebiete gegründet hat. Infolge der tschechoslowakischen Bodenreform entstanden in der Slowakei nämlich 94 Kolonien, davon 64 in Landschaften mit ungarischer Mehrheit. Das eindeutige Ziel der Kolonisation war, den ethnisch homogenen ungarischen Komplex aufzubrechen, in erster Linie im nördlichen Teil der Kleinen Tiefebene (zu weiteren Einzelheiten vgl. Liszka 2001b). Nach der Volkszählung im Jahre 1930 wohnten in der Slowakei knapp 2,5 Millionen Slowaken, 592 000 Ungarn (17,8%) und 200 000 Deutsche. Nach dem ersten Wiener Beschluß vom Jahr 1938 gelangte ein Teil dieses Gebietes wieder an Ungarn zurück.

Am 14.3.1939 wurde die selbständige Slowakei gegründet, bei der auch ein kleiner Teil Ungarns verblieben ist (etwa 80 000 Köpfe). Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, als das ganze untersuchte Gebiet wieder der Tschechoslowakei angeschlossen wurde, gab es erneute Versuche zur Umprägung der ethnischen Landkarte. Gemeint ist unter anderem die sog. "Reslowakisierung"; sie beruhte auf folgender Idee: in der Tschechoslowakei gebe es überhaupt keine echten Ungarn, sondern nur madjarisierte Slowaken. Diesen "ungarisch sprechenden Slowaken" sollte die Möglichkeit geboten werden, wieder zu Slowaken zu werden, also sich zu "reslowakisieren". Wer sich nicht zu "reslowakisieren" wünschte, der sollte mit mehreren "Schwierigkeiten" rechnen müssen: zwischen 1945-1953 wurden 11 568 von ungarischen "wirtschaftlichen Einheiten" (43 546 Köpfe) aus der Slowakei nach Böhmen deportiert. An Stelle der aus dem Sudetengebiet vertriebenen Deutschen wurden diese Ungarn als Arbeitskräfte eingesetzt. Ferner: im Zuge des ungarisch-tschechoslowakischen "Einwohnertausches" – als ungarische Familien aus der Südslowakei mit slowakischen Familien aus Ungarn "ausgetauscht" wurden – sind 89 660 Ungarn aus der Slowakei nach Ungarn umgesiedelt worden. In ihre Häuser sind Slowaken aus Ungarn eingezogen (vgl. Vadkerty 2001).

Nach dem Jahre 1948 hat sich die Situation der ungarischen Minderheit in der Tschechoslowakei allmählich konsolidiert. Die Volkszählung vom Jahr 1950 konnte nur noch 355 000 Ungarn in der Slowakei aufführen (10,3%). Diese relativ geringe Anzahl von Ungarn kann mit dem Reslowakisierungsprozeß erklärt werden. Bei der folgenden Volkszählung haben sich aber diese "reslowakisierten" Ungarn schon wieder zur ungarischen Nationalität bekannt (insgesamt: 519 000 Köpfe, das ist 12,4%). Nach dem Jahre 1993 kam diese ungarische Minderheit schon wieder in einen neuen Staat, und zwar in die nun selbständige Slowakei. Nach der Volkszählung vom Jahr 1991 lebten in der Slowakei (außer den kleineren ethnischen Minderheiten) etwa 4 Millionen Slowaken und 567 000 Ungarn. Diese letztere Volksgruppe bildete also knapp 10,7% der Gesamtbevölkerung. Heutzutage – nach den Angaben der Volkszählung vom Jahr 2001 – ist die Zahl der Ungarn in der Slowakei jedoch auf 520 000 gesunken (9,7%), aber ist sie immerhin die zweitgrößte nationale Gruppe in der Slowakei.

Diese Aufzählung von "trockenen" statistischen Daten könnte ein bißchen langweilig sein. Trotzdem war sie wichtig, denn in den unterschiedlichen Zahlen kann man auch die sich wandelnde Identität der Ungarn in der Slowakei greifen. Im Folgenden versuche ich, in fünf Zeitabschnitten die Veränderungen



der ungarischen Identität in der (Tschecho)Slowakei und die diese begleitenden Nationalsymbole zu charakterisieren.

### 3. Der Wandel der ungarischen Identität in der (Tschecho)Slowakei seit 1918

#### 3.1. 1918 (1920) – 1938

Ich habe es bereits erwähnt: nach 1920 kam die ungarische Bevölkerung des vorherigen Oberungarn in eine für sie völlig neue und ungewohnte Lage. Aus der Zugehörigkeit zu einer staatlich-ethnischen Mehrheit wurde von einem Tag zum anderen die Position einer ethnischen Minderheit. Wie reagierten die Ungarn, in erster Linie die Intelligenz, auf diese Herausforderung? Die ältere Generation wollte nichts mit der neubegründeten Tschechoslowakei zu tun haben. Sie verstand den Zustand als eine Übergangssituation; in einer Art passiven Widerstandes wartete sie auf eine neuerliche Grenzänderung. Die jüngere Generation dagegen (*„die Generation der Söhne“*), die bereits in der Tschechoslowakei zur Schule gegangen war, hat die Situation als definitive Realität aufgenommen und sich für tschechoslowakische, bzw. slowakische Ungarn erklärt (ungarisch: *„szlovenszkói magyarok“*). Sie machten gewissermassen aus der Not eine Tugend und interpretierten die Minderheitsposition als einen moralischen Gewinn. Darüber sind literarische Werke, programmatische Gedichte etwa, entstanden. Diese kritisierten unter verschiedenen Perspektiven zwar die tschechoslowakische Gesellschaftsordnung, blieben aber zur Republik im Grunde loyal.

#### 3.2. 1938–1945

Nach den Grenzänderungen im Jahre 1938 hat sich die Situation grundsätzlich verändert. Das nationale Gefühl entflammte wortwörtlich, die nationale Identität verstärkte sich wesentlich. Die einmarschierenden *Honvéd* – d.h. die ungarischen Soldaten – wurden in allen Ortschaften mit Ehrenpforten, Mädchen in *„ungarischer Volkstracht“*<sup>3</sup>, gelegentlich auch mit Versen, Blumensträußen und Küssen empfangen (nebenbei gesagt, diese Aktionen sind meistens zentral, aus Budapest organisiert worden). Die Ehrenpforten wurden in mehreren Ortschaften in Form eines Szeklertors gebildet; denn die Szekler wurden schon damals als der beste Zweig der ungarischen Nation wahrgenommen. In den an

<sup>3</sup>Bei dem Ausdruck *„ungarische Volkstracht“* benutze ich jedesmal Anführungszeichen, weil dieses keine traditionellen örtlichen Trachten, sondern künstlich herausgebildete, mit ungarischem Dekor ergänzte Kleidungen waren.



Ungarn zurückgegliederten ehemaligen südslowakischen Gebieten wurden den Dorfbewohnern von Lehrern Vorlesungen mit Szekler-Thematik gehalten; der Szekler-Geist war auch bei profanen und praktischen Unternehmen anwesend wie etwa einem Holzschnitzkurs: hier lernten die Teilnehmer von einem Meister aus Steffelsdorf (ung. Rimaszombat, slov. Rimavská Sobota) gemäß einem Artikel in der Zeitung *Sajó-Vidék* in Rosenau (ung. Rozsnyó; slow. Rožňava) aus dem Jahre 1941, Holzgegenstände anzufertigen, zu *“bohren, schneiden, wie die Szekler.”* Dem Publizisten fällt es nicht einmal auf, daß in diesem Gebiet (dem Gebiet der Palotzen<sup>4</sup>) die Holzarbeit eine mindestens ebenso lange Tradition hat wie bei den Szeklern.

Ein anderer Feuilletonist der Zeitung *Sajó-Vidék* fragte sich noch 1939 anlässlich der Wiederaufstellung der Kossuth-Statue in seinem Artikel, warum man für die Begrüßung der einmarschierenden ungarischen Truppen Ehrenbögen nach Szeklertor-Art konstruieren mußte; warum man auch anlässlich der Kossuth-Statue-Feier wieder so etwas anfertigen mußte und warum diese Pforten nicht nach lokalen Motiven zusammengestellt wurden:

*“Wieder wird ein Ehrenbogen aufgestellt. Szeklermotiv. Warum denn? Enteignen wir uns an Siebenbürgen? Wäre eine Bergmanns-Idee<sup>5</sup> nicht stilvoller gewesen?”*

Kálmán Tichy (1888-1968), Volkskunstsammler und damaliger Direktor des Museums zu Rosenau, erklärte in seinem Antwortartikel, daß diese Motive gar nicht szeklerisch sind, sondern allgemein ungarisch (sic!). Speerholz und Szeklertor wurden in dieser Zeit immer mehr zu allgemein ungarischen Symbolen; Siebenbürger, bzw. das Szeklertum wurden zum Vorbild des besten, des echten Ungarischen. *“Siebenbürgen drückt den uralten ungarischen Geist am klarsten aus”* – so ist es unter anderem auch in der Zeitung *Sajó-Vidék* aus Rosenau im Jahre 1940 zu lesen.

Nach Siebenbürgens Rückgliederung im Jahre 1940 wurde das Thema Szeklertor in Rosenau wieder aufgenommen:

*“Es ist bereits überholt. Über die Ehrenpforte haben wir schon damals unsere Meinung gesagt. Damit war die Sache damals abgeschlossen. Jetzt, nach der Rückgliederung, ist es bereits überholt. Durch das Tor wird am Haupteingang auch der Verkehr behindert, aber ungeachtet dessen fehlen am Ehrenportal auch schon Bretter, und auch die Nationalfarbe ist ganz verblichen. Die Zeit ist über die Pforte hinweggegangen, deshalb ist es zu empfehlen, sie abzubauen”.*

(*Sajó-Vidék*, 28.9.1940)

<sup>4</sup>Palotzen sind eine ungarische Volksgruppe in der heutigen Mittelslowakei und im nordöstlichen Teil des heutigen Ungarn.

<sup>5</sup>Rosenau ist eine Bergstadt in der Mittel-Slowakei.

In derselben Nummer der Zeitschrift, auf derselben Seite, gibt es übrigens eine Werbung: ein Speerholz mit "Szeklermotiven", ein szeklerartiger Glockenstuhl, Zeichen eines Rundfunkgeräts und einen Werbungslogan:

*"Siebenbürgens Wort ist wieder ungarisch!*

*Es sendet das Telefunken-Radio".*

Es gehört zwar nicht ganz zum Thema, aber der Geist der Epoche und die Frage der nationalen Identität(en) können durch den nächsten Fall sehr gut charakterisiert werden. In der Eisensteinmine von Rudna (nicht weit von Rosenau) haben Männer des benachbarten ungarischen Kőrös (slow. Kružná) und des von Slowaken bewohnten Rekenyeújfalu (slow. Rakovnica) gemeinsam gearbeitet. Rekenyeújfalu ist heute fast ausschließlich von Slowaken bewohnt. Über die Siedlung muß Folgendes gesagt werden: wenn man die Grabinschriften des Friedhofs analysiert, scheint es, als ob das Dorf zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts madjarisiert gewesen wäre (offensichtlich als Folge der bekannten ungarischen nationalen Bildungsgesetze bzw. als Wirkung eines agilen örtlichen Lehrers oder Priesters). Die früheren Inschriften sind nämlich slowakisch, von der Zeit der Jahrhundertwende an aber (mit slowakisch lautenden Familiennamen) verbreiten sich ungarische Inschriften. Im Jahre 1918 wurde dieser beginnende Madjarisierungsprozeß gestoppt. Die Staatsgrenzen wurden 1938 fast ausschließlich nach ethnischem Prinzip markiert, also blieb Rekenyeújfalu in der (Tschecho)Slowakei, während Kőrös und Rudna Ungarn zugeteilt wurden. Durch diesen Entschluß wurden die Slowaken in Rekenyeújfalu von einem Tag auf den anderen arbeitslos. In der mündlichen Überlieferung von Rudna ist bis heute noch die Geschichte lebendig, daß die Bewohner von Rekenyeújfalu mit dem Richter an der Spitze und mit der ungarischen Flagge in der Hand an die neu markierte Staatsgrenze kamen und mit falscher Aussprache, d.h. mit slowakischem Akzent skandierten: *"Rot – weiß – grün, Rekenyeújfalu ist ungarischer Fild"* ["Piros – fehér – zeld, Rekenyeújfalu is magyar feld"]. Ihre Forderungen waren erfolgreich, da das Dorf nach einem halben Jahr, am 14. März 1939, an Ungarn angeschlossen wurde (nur in Klammern möchte ich bemerken, daß solche nach angeblich ethnischem Prinzip erfolgten Grenzziehungen in mehreren Gemeinden von Gömör Mißfallen erregten, denn in Wirklichkeit lagen wirtschaftliche oder verkehrstechnische Motive zugrunde. Auch die Slowaken in Pacsa /slow. Pača/ und Falucska /slow. Hačava/ forderten ihre Angliederung an Ungarn).

Aber kehren wir zum Fall Rekenyeújfalu zurück. Über das zweijährige Jubiläum der "Rückgliederung" wird in der Zeitung *Sajó-Vidék* folgendermaßen berichtet:

*“Es ist ein Fest in Rekenyeújfalu, dessen Rückgliederung an Ungarn am 14. März 1939 erfolgte. Es ist ein bedeutender Tag auch für die Dorfbewohner, auch für uns, die Zeugen dieses an bewegten Szenen reichen Ereignisses waren. Als den Vorgesetzten des slowakischen Dorfes versichert worden war, daß die Bewohner ihre Muttersprache in ihrer Schule auch weiterhin frei verwenden dürften, antwortete der verdienstvolle Haupttrichter des Dorfes (der wegen seines Ungarischen viel gelitten hatte) folgendermaßen: Wir brauchen ungarische Schulen, wir möchten Ungarisch sprechen lernen, da wir sowieso schon Slowakisch können. Die Rückgliederung hinterließ in den Dorfbewohnern tiefe und dauerhafte Spuren. Das zweijährige Jubiläum wurde jetzt auf eine würdige Art gefeiert; zum Schluß der Feier trug die patriotische Jugend das ungarische Stück ‚Katóka őrmesterné‘ (‚Wachtmeisterin Käthen‘) vor. Der Erfolg war riesengroß. Mitwirkende und Zuschauer waren ebenfalls glücklich (...) Das einaktige Stück ‚Marisa‘ erreichte keinen so großen Erfolg [das dürfte offensichtlich ein slowakisches Stück gewesen sein; Anm. J.L.]. Unsererseits zeichnen wir auf den Seiten unserer Zeitung mit großer Freude auf, daß Rekenyeújfalu auf dem Wege zum ungarischen Aufbau, zur ungarischen Zukunft pfeilgerade fortschreitet. Helfer dieser schönen Arbeit war größtenteils Malvin Pásztor, staatliche Lehrerin, die weder Zeit noch Mühe scheute, um alle Kulturansprüche ihres Dorfes zufriedenzustellen.”*

(Sajó-Vidék 22.3.1941)

Nur so nebenbei möchte ich als Kontrapunkt erwähnen, daß ungefähr zu der Zeit, als der Richter in Rekenyeújfalu sagte, daß die Bewohner keine slowakische Schule bräuchten, weil sie ungarisch sprechen lernen wollten, die ungarische Zeitschrift *Csallóközi Hírlap* in Niedermarkt (ung. Dunaszerdahely, slow. Dunajská Streda) eingestellt wurde. In einem Abschiedsartikel begründete die Redaktion die Einstellung damit, daß die Zeitschrift ihre Mission bereits erfüllt habe. In den Jahren der “tschechischen Unterdrückung” habe die Zeitschrift den Ungarn der Großen Schüttinsel “Mut zugesprochen”, nun jedoch werde diese Mission nicht mehr gebraucht...

### 3.3. 1945–1949

Wie schon erwähnt, die Jahre unmittelbar nach 1945 waren für die Ungarn in der Slowakei wirklich Jahre der Heimatlosigkeit. Als zweitrangige Einwohner konnten sie nur um den Preis der sog. Reslowakisierung die tschechoslowakische Staatsangehörigkeit erhalten, sonst drohte ihnen die Gefahr der Zwangsarbeit in Böhmen oder eine Umsiedlung nach Ungarn. Die neue tschechoslowakische Macht hatte die nationalen ungarischen Symbole und die überwiegende Mehrheit der Denkmäler beseitigt.

### 3.4. 1949 – 1989 (1993)

Aufgrund des Einflusses der innen- und außenpolitischen Veränderungen der späten 40er Jahre war dann der Druck auf die Ungarn in der Slowakei ein wenig gemindert worden. Ungarische Schulen wurden eröffnet, ungarische Blätter erschienen, die Csemadok-Organisation wurde gegründet. Csemadok, der “Kulturbund der Ungarischen Werktätigen in der Tschechoslowakei”, wurde auf Vorschlag und mit Unterstützung der Kommunistischen Partei der Tschechoslowakei im März 1949 in Preßburg aus der Taufe gehoben. Das Ziel der damaligen Machthaber war, die ungarische ethnische Minderheit im Sinne des Kommunismus umzuerziehen und die Dörfer zu kollektivieren. Da aber in der Benennung des Verbandes das Wort “Kultur” enthalten war, mußten sie hinnehmen, daß man sich auch mit Kultur und Bildung, sogar mit Volkstraditionen und deren Sammlung beschäftigte. Dank der Csemadok-Organisation wurde in dieser Zeit die ungarische Bevölkerung in der Slowakei kulturell und emotional immer einheitlicher. In ungarischen Intelligenzkreisen gab es in der zweiten Hälfte der Siebziger Jahren beständig Diskussionen darüber, ob die Ungarn in der Slowakei eine selbständige Identität hätten (also weder eine slowakische, noch eine ungarische, sondern eine “slowakisch-ungarische”), oder ob sie bloß eine Identität hätten, die sie direkt an die ungarische Kulturnation anknüpfte.

### 3.5. 1989 (1993) –

Im Vorangehenden versuchte ich einen Prozeß der Vereinheitlichung bei der ungarischen Volksgruppe der Slowakei zu demonstrieren. Es gab Bemühungen auch von Seiten der Staatsmacht, der ungarischen Minderheit zu helfen, für sich eine selbständige Identität auszubilden und die Verbindungen zur Volksrepublik Ungarn abzubauen. Nach der Wende im Jahre 1989 hat sich alles verändert. Die vorherigen zentralen Organisationen sind zerfallen oder haben entscheidend an Wirkung verloren; die Zentralveranstaltungen wurden nicht mehr organisiert, die kulturellen Arbeitsstellen sind aus der Hauptstadt Preßburg in verschiedene Städte der Süd-Slowakei ausgelagert worden, es sind neue regionale Kulturorganisationen, Vereine, Gesellschaften gegründet worden, die miteinander gar keine oder nur sehr lockere Kontakte haben. Diese Dezentralisation der ungarischen Institutionen und Organisationen in der Slowakei hat eine Gegenkraft gegen die Vereinheitlichung der Ungarn in der Slowakei ausgeübt. Außerdem gibt es mehr und mehr Möglichkeiten für die Schulkinder (von der Grundschule, über die Mittelschulen bis zur Universität) ungarische Lehranstalten im benach-

barten Ungarn zu besuchen. Diese Tatsache stärkt die Zugehörigkeitsgefühle der Studenten zur ungarischen Kultur und nicht zu einer imaginären ungarischen Minderheitsgruppe in der Slowakei.

#### 4. Sekundäre Nationalsymbole der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der Slowakei. Ihr Sein, Vergehen und Wiederaufleben

##### 4.1. NATIONALE GEDENKSTÄTTEN

Die von ungarischen Kleingemeinschaften in der Slowakei geschaffenen Denkmäler waren zunächst keine ausgesprochen nationalen Symbole gewesen. Hierzu sollen in erster Linie die Andenken an den Ersten Weltkrieg (Kriegsdenkmäler) erwähnt werden. Die ziemlich ambivalente Symbolwelt der Kriegerdenkmäler hat Vilmos Voigt am Beispiel des Turulvogels analysiert (Voigt 1985). Eine massive Gruppe der Kriegsdenkmäler bilden nämlich die Werke, wo der einstige, vermutliche ungarische Totemvogel, der Turul, einen bestimmten Platz einnimmt (der Turulvogel ist ein undefinierbarer Raubvogel, der zwischen einem Falken und einem Adler steht). Obwohl er ursprünglich vielleicht ein vorchristliches ungarisches Nationalsymbol gewesen war, konnte er dieser Rolle in der Zwischenkriegszeit nicht entsprechen. In dieser Zeit wurden die Heilige-Stephans-Krone und das Landeswappen als Nationalsymbole betrachtet. Im besten Fall konnte der Turulvogel nur neben diesen eine zweitrangige Rolle spielen. Die Bedeutung des Turulvogels hat sich jedoch nur wenige Jahrzehnte später völlig verändert. Zu diesem Thema kehre ich später zurück.

Zu nationalen Gedenkstätten können auch die Statuen von berühmten ungarischen Schriftstellern, Künstlern und Staatsmännern gerechnet werden. Die neuinstallierte tschechoslowakische Macht versuchte diese (hauptsächlich einige Kossuth<sup>6</sup>-Statuen) von den frequentierten Plätzen der bisherigen Siedlungen wegzuschaffen. Die Zerstörung der Maria-Theresia-Statue (Exponent der von Ungarn jahrhundertlang gehaßten Habsburgerdynastie!) in Preßburg haben die Ungarn merkwürdigerweise mit mehrtägigen friedlichen Demonstrationen beantwortet. Dagegen sind mir keine Protestmaßnahmen von Seiten der Ungarn gegen die Entfernung der Statue des Revolutionsdichters Sándor Petőfi bekannt. Bei der Zerstörung der 48er "Honvéd"-Statue in Kaschau (ung. Kassa; slow. Košice) gab es jedoch auch eine Demonstration, bei der mehrmals die ungarische Nationalhymne gesungen wurde. Bedauerlicherweise sind bei Zusammenstößen von Demonstranten und tschechischen Soldaten zwei Personen

<sup>6</sup>Lajos Kossuth war die führende Persönlichkeit des ungarischen Freiheitskampfes 1848/49.

ums Leben gekommen. Diese Entgleisung wurde auch von dem tschechischen Stadtkommandanten verurteilt. Die Statue, die vorher keine bedeutende Rolle im Leben der Stadt gespielt hatte, wurde in den zeitgenössischen ungarischen Zeitungen nicht als Nationaldenkmal, sondern als Symbol der Freiheit bezeichnet. Trotzdem kann dieses Ereignis als die erste offene Stellungnahme der Ungarn für ihre Nationalsymbole in der (Tschecho)Slowakei eingestuft werden.

Mir sind keine weiteren Angaben darüber bekannt, daß die Ungarn auch in anderen Ortschaften in der Slowakei kräftiger demonstriert oder gar Gegenmaßnahmen ergriffen hätten; ich muß jedoch hinzufügen, daß die damalige ungarische Presse in der Tschechoslowakei und besonders das Archivmaterial unter diesem Gesichtspunkt noch nicht analysiert wurden. Erst später (eigentlich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg) avancierte die Jókai-Statue<sup>7</sup> in Komorn (ung. Komárom; slow. Komárno) zum nationalen ungarischen Symbol. Bei deren Grundsteinlegung am 20. Juni 1937 hielt Milan Hodža, der damalige tschechoslowakische Ministerpräsident, eine wirkungsvolle Rede (in ungarischer Sprache!), in der er auch die Versöhnung der Völker im Donaubecken ankündigte.

Nach der Zurückgliederung an Ungarn (1938) wurden im erforschten Gebiet die früher beseitigten nationalen Gedenkstätten wieder aufgestellt, es wurden in den meisten Ortschaften sog. Landesflaggen errichtet. Diese waren aus festem (meistens steinernem) Fundament, einem Sockel und einer hohen Stange, wo ständig die ungarische Fahne wehte.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg sind diese Landesflaggen entfernt, bzw. in ein kommunistisches Denkmal (mit einem roten Stern, so in Sommerein) oder – ein bißchen später – in ein Kriegerdenkmal umgebaut worden (Felsőzellő). Mehrere solcher ungarischen Nationaldenkmäler sind auch beseitigt worden; z. B. die Komorner Jókai- bzw. Klapka-Statue<sup>8</sup> wurde entfernt, ebenso die Kossuth-Statue in Rosenau.



3. In ein Kriegerdenkmal umgebautes Fundament der Landesflagge. Felsőzellő

<sup>7</sup>Mór Jókai, berühmter ungarischer Schriftsteller aus dem 19. Jahrhundert, geboren in Komorn.

<sup>8</sup>General György Klapka war der Verteidiger der Komorner Burg im ungarischen Freiheitskampf 1848/49.

Am Ende der 60er Jahre wurde die Csemadok-Organisation de facto gespalten. Es gab einerseits die offizielle, gegenüber der kommunistischen Partei total loyale obere Führung, andererseits gab es die Kreiskomitees und die örtlichen Organisationen, die mit der Zeit eine Art Oppositionsrolle spielten (diese Stufen der Hierarchie steckten manchmal auch unter einer Decke). So konnte die Csemadok-Organisation erreichen, daß sie in Neuhäusel (ung. Érsekújvár; slow. Nové Zámky) eine Statue für Gergely Czuczor<sup>9</sup> errichten durfte (früher hatte es in der Stadt eine bronzene Czuczor-Statue aus dem Jahre 1907 gegeben, diese wurde jedoch nach 1918 eingeschmolzen). Die Entstehungsumstände der neuen Statue sind aufschlußreich. Diese ließ man nämlich aus einem alten Grabstein herausarbeiten. Auf der Rückseite des Grabsteins wurde das Geburtsdatum (1849) des Toten vom Bildhauer belassen. So haben die Eingeweihten gewußt, daß diese Czuczor-Statue gleichzeitig auch ein 1848-er Denkmal war, also eine nationale ungarische Gedenkstätte. Die Inschrift der Statue enthält nämlich nur den Namen und die Geburts- und Todesdaten des Dichters, jedoch keinen Hinweis auf seine Tätigkeit in der ungarischen Revolution und im Freiheitskampf von 1848/49. Im Rahmen der jeden Frühling organisierten Czuczor-Tage wurden an der Statue Kränze niedergelegt, und zwar immer am 14. März abends (man hat sehr darauf geachtet, daß die Zeremonie nicht am 15. März erfolgte, wobei jedoch alle wußten – sowohl die Machthaber als auch die Teilnehmer –, daß es eine Feier zum 15. März<sup>10</sup> war). Dies war eine Möglichkeit, sowohl für die Ungarn in Neuhäusel als auch für die Bevölkerung der benachbarten Dörfer, ihre nationale Zugehörigkeit auszudrücken. Gleichfalls haben die Teilnehmer in Komorn als Schlußakt der durch die Csemadok organisierten Jókai-Tage die Jókai-Statue bekränzt; außerhalb des offiziellen Programms erklang hier zum Schluß immer auch die ungarische Nationalhymne.

Nach 1989 sind die erwähnten Gedenkstätten, Statuen und noch vieles andere eindeutig zu nationalen Gedenkstätten geworden. In dieser Zeit gelang es zu erreichen, daß die Klapka-Statue in Komorn wieder auf ihrem ursprünglichen Platz vor dem Rathaus aufgestellt wurde; der Platz wird heute Klapka-Platz genannt. Die Kossuth-Statue in Rosenau stand bis Anfang der 90er Jahre im Museumsgarten (1990 wurde hier die Feier zum 15. März organisiert). Aus dem Museumsgarten verschwand die Statue aber plötzlich, es hieß, man wolle sie restaurieren... Seither

<sup>9</sup>Gergely Czuczor, geboren in der Nähe von Neuhäusel, war ein ungarischer Priesterdichter des 19. Jahrhunderts und Teilnehmer an der ungarischen Revolution und Freiheitskampf 1848/49.

<sup>10</sup> Am 15. März 1848 ist die ungarische Revolution in Pest ausgebrochen; heute nationaler Feiertag Ungarns.



wurde am Hauptplatz von Rosenau an einem Haus, wo einst der ungarische Dichter Sándor Petőfi weilte, eine Gedenktafel angebracht; die Ungarn in Rosenau organisieren nun hier ihre Feier zum 15. März. Zum Zentrum der nationalen ungarischen Interessen wurde hier die Statue von Franciska Andrassy. Die Wiener (!) Sängerin mährischer (!) Herkunft war wegen ihrer Wohltätigkeit in der Umgebung sehr beliebt. Ihre Statue am Rosenauer Hauptplatz unter dem Rákóczi-Wachturm wurde durch die kommunistische Macht in den 70er Jahren entfernt; dank der Initiative der Ungarn aus Rosenau wurde die Statue gegen Mitte der 90er Jahre wieder aufgestellt. Die Statue einer Wiener Sängerin mährischer Herkunft wurde also zum (zwar lokalen) ungarischen Nationalsymbol!

Im Jahre 1999, anlässlich des 50jährigen Jubiläums der Gründung der Csemadok-Organisation und der Gründung der Schulen mit ungarischer Unterrichtssprache, wurden in der ganzen Südslowakei Erinnerungstafeln enthüllt. Das Millenniumsjahr war offenbar auch ein guter Anlaß, weitere nationale Symbole, wie Speerholz, Szeklertor, St-Stephan-Statuen, aufzustellen.

#### 4.2. SPEERHOLZ UND SZEKLERTOR

Innerhalb der Volkskunst wurde um Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts, hauptsächlich von Künstlern, eine ungarischer Nationalstil zu konstruieren versucht. So sind einige Ziermotive (die tatsächlich nicht nur für Ungarn charakteristisch waren) zu "echt" originellen ungarischen Motiven geworden (vgl. Hofer 1999).

Aus den charakteristischen protestantischen Grabhölzern (auch Speerhölzer genannt) wurde ebenfalls eine typisch "ungarische" Erscheinung. Nach einigen Vermutungen sollten diese Grabhölzer (Speerhölzer) aus der Türkenzeiten stammen. Damals sollten die gefallenen ungarischen Helden mit solchen speerholzarartigen Grabhölzern begraben worden sein. Diese, mit Stern und Tulpenmotiven reich verzierten Objekte sind hauptsächlich für Siebenbürgen charakteristisch. Aber nicht ausschließlich. Sie kommen auch in den kalvinistischen Friedhöfen der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der Süd-Slowakei vor (vgl. Liszka 1998) und – merkwürdigerweise – sind sie auch für einige slowakische evangelische Friedhöfe in der Slowakei und in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene charakteristisch. Man braucht nur die slowakische Friedhofsmonographie von Rudolf Bednárík aufzublättern; hier findet man schöne Beispiele von sog. Speerhölzern, sowohl in slowakischen Friedhöfen in der Slowakei als auch in slowakischen evangelischen Friedhöfen in Ungarn (Bednárík 1972, 43-47).

Am Anfang wurden die Speerhölzer zwar als charakteristische Erscheinungen der ungarischen Volkskunst betrachtet, aber im "außervölkischen" Milieu nur sel-



ten aufgestellt (in einzelnen Fällen wurden Speerhölzer auf die Gräber berühmter Persönlichkeiten gestellt, aber immer auf die tatsächlichen und nie auf symbolische Gräber). Sie waren also museale Dokumente der ungarischen Volkskunst. Nach meinem Wissens hat man erst im Jahre 1976, als an die Schlacht bei Mohács im Jahr 1526 erinnert wurde, auf dem Schlachtfeld (an dem Ort der Niederlage der ungarischen Truppen vor den türkischen also) eine Gedenkstätte eingeweiht, bei der auch reichgezierte Speerhölzer und Grabkreuze aufgestellt wurden: ein symbolischer Friedhof also! Von da an wurden die Speerhölzer immer häufiger auch als nationale Symbole bei den unterschiedlichsten Anlässen verwendet (z.B. zur Erinnerung an den ungarischen Freiheitskampf 1848/49, an die Revolution 1956 usw.).

Das Speerholz als ungarisches Nationalsymbol ist in der zweiten Hälfte der siebziger Jahren auch in der Slowakei in Erscheinung getreten. Meines Wissens ist das erste Speerholz in der Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg von den Teilnehmern des Ersten Bildungslagers (1977) in Ŕrsújfalu (slow. Nová Stráž) bei Komorn aufgestellt worden. Da ich daran auch persönlich teilgenommen habe, kann ich darüber relativ ausführlich berichten. Es kam damals der Gedanke auf, ein ungarisches Symbol in Form eines "Szekler-Speerholzes" aufzustellen. Ich persönlich vertrat die Ansicht, wenn wir schon ein **Grabdenkmal** zum Andenken einer gerade **geborenen** Initiative (d.h. des Bildungslagers) aufstellen wollten, dann



4. Runeninschrift ("Wir sind da") auf einer Bronzeplakette (Zeichnung: József Liszka)

sollten wir wenigstens ein örtliches, heimatliches Motiv dazu hernehmen. So wurde ich beauftragt, das Speerholz zu entwerfen. Ich habe es nach dem Vorbild der Grabdenkmäler im reformierten Friedhof von Farnad (vgl. Liszka 1998, 237) mit Stern- und Tulpen-Motiven angefertigt (weder früher noch später habe ich so etwas gemacht, und so sieht das Endprodukt auch aus...). In Runenschrift steht darauf eingraviert:

**"wir sind da"** – damit wollten wir der (tschechoslowakischen) Macht und der Nachwelt eine Botschaft senden. Es hat uns nicht interessiert, daß die Schrift von niemandem gelesen werden konnte, also unsere "Botschaft" ihre Funktion nicht erfüllen konnte ("Wir sind da" in Runenschrift wurde später am Speerholz im Hofe des Fábry-Hauses<sup>11</sup> in Schtoss – ung. Stósz; slow. Štós – und am Speerholz

<sup>11</sup>Zoltán Fábry war ein ungarischer Schriftsteller in der Slowakei. Sein Haus in Schtoss ist heute Gedenkmuseum



5. Denkmal mit Turulabbildung in Krasznahorkaváralja



6. Denkmal zum Andenken der ungarischen Landnahme (896) mit einem Turulvogel und mit – die sieben landnehmenden ungarische Stämme symbolisierenden – sieben Speerhölzern. Ipolyvarbó

des Campingplatzes in Gímes – slow. Jelenec – im Neutra-Gebiet sowie auf der Bronzeplakette des zweiten Bildungslagers verewigt). In Órsújfalu wurden fast anderthalb Jahrzehnte lang Speerholz-Andenken hergestellt; sie sind auch auf Ansichtskarten zur Werbung für den Campingplatz (Mitte der 80er Jahre) zu sehen.

Vor einen Jahr habe ich den Campingplatz in Órsújfalu besucht. Es gibt dort kein einziges Speerholz mehr, sogar die ganze Campinganlage ist verschwunden. So viel über die Wirkung unserer Botschaft an die Nachwelt und die Frage nach Sein oder Nichtsein...! Übrigens wurde die Errichtung von Speerholz-Denkmalern in den 80er Jahren zur allgemeinen Modeerscheinung; Orte für die verschiedensten kulturellen Veranstaltungen sind überall mit einem Speerholz ausgezeichnet worden (vgl. Liszka 2001a).

Dieser Denkmaltyp hat also inzwischen seinen früheren rein protestantischen Charakter verloren und wurde zu einem, aus konfessioneller Hinsicht ökumenischen nationalen Symbol. In diesem Sinne wurde ein Speerholz sogar zum Andenken der Errichtung einer neuen römisch-katholischen Kirche in Bodoló (slow. Budulov) verwendet. Auf einem Speerholz in Szalánc (slow. Slavec) sind sogar verschiedene eher katholische Symbole (wie Kreuz, IHS), sowie eher protestantische Symbole (Kelch) zu sehen.

#### 4.3. ZURÜCK ZU DEN TURULVÖGEL AUF DEN DENKMÄLERN

Nach der Wende im Jahre 1989 bekamen auch einige Kriegerdenkmäler allmählich einen ausgesprochenen nationalen Charakter. In Egyházgelle (slow. Holice) zum Beispiel wurde nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ein Heldendenkmal mit einem Turulvogel aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg von einigen Dorfbewohnern vergraben; an welchem Ort, das wußte nur ein enger Kreis. Nach der Wende (1989), als keine Gefahr mehr bestand, hat man den Turul wieder ausgegraben und aufgestellt. Zu diesem Anlaß wurde ein großes Fest mit Kranzniederlegungen, Gelegenheitsgedichten, Volkstrachtengruppen und mit der Nationalhymne organisiert. Ähnliche Fälle sind uns aus mehreren Dörfern bekannt. Die Jahrtausendfeier der ungarischen Landnahme (1996) war ein guter Anlaß zur Errichtung von nationalen Symbolen, als verschiedene Typen von Denkmälern aufgestellt wurden. In mehreren Dörfern wurden Statuen von St. Stephan aufgestellt, in Nagykapos (slow. Velké Kapušany) hat man ein riesiges Denkmal mit einer Kombination der heiligen ungarischen Krone (Stephanskrone) und eines Turulvogels, in Krasznahorkaváralja (slow. Krásnohorské Podhradie) eine Kombination von Szeklertor und Speerholz



7. Speerholz mit katholischen und protestantischen Symbolen. Szalánc

errichtet. Außerdem wären noch anzuführen unzählige Speerhölzer und Gedenkkreuze. Die Aktion war so durchgreifend, daß sie die slowakische Volksmehrheit und die damalige, nicht besonders ungarfreundliche Mečiar-Regierung ernsthaft irritierte. Der Aufstellung dieser Denkmäler folgte eine Reihe von Gerichtsverhandlungen, vorwiegend unter dem Vorwand, daß es an einer Bauerlaubnis gefehlt hätte. Es gibt beeindruckend viel Medienmaterial über den Fall in Krasznahorkaváralja, wo die zuständigen Behörden den Abriß des Denkmals beschlossen hatten. Die Dorfbewohner aber beschützten das Denkmal Tag und Nacht und gewannen ihren Kampf am Ende. Die andere Seite der Medaille ist, daß sich die Wortführer im Dorf und die Organisatoren nun darüber beklagen, daß an der letzten Kranzniederlegung (im Jahre 2001) nur noch 20 von den etwa 1000 Einwohnern teilgenommen haben.

#### 4.4. VOLKSTRACHT, VOLKSTANZ, VOLKSMUSIK: FOLKLOREVERANSTALTUNGEN

Es gibt keine einheitliche ungarische Volkstracht, sondern es gibt verschiedene örtliche und zeitliche Varianten der Volkstrachten im ungarischen Sprachgebiet, die auch miteinander, aber auch mit den Trachten und Trachtenelementen der benachbarten Völker in Beziehung stehen. Erst in den 20-er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde eine ungarische Volkstracht künstlich herausgebildet. Diese Tracht wurde dann bei verschiedenen festlichen Gelegenheiten (hauptsächlich auf der Bühne) getragen, war aber unter der dörflicher Bevölkerung nicht oder nur sekundär und kleinräumig verbreitet. Auch der "charakteristische ungarische Nationaltanz" *csárdás* wurde in derselben Zeit erfunden.

Von dem ungarischen Kulturbund in der Slowakei, Csemadok, wurden seit Anfang der 50er Jahre große Kulturereignisse organisiert. Die von Csemadok veranstalteten gesamtslowakischen Volkskunstvorführungen in Gombaszög (slow. Gombasek) und Zseliz (slow. Želiezovce) dienen zur Präsentation der regionalen und lokalen ungarischen Volkstrachten- und Volkstanzgruppen.

Daß diese Veranstaltungen im Laufe der Zeit trotz der kommunistischen Ideologie zu ungarischen Nationalsymbolen wurden, zeigte sich erst nach der Wende von 1989. Seit Anfang der 90er Jahre gab es nämlich immer weniger Geld für die Organisation solcher Großveranstaltungen. Die ungarische Presse in der Slowakei war jahrelang voll von empörten Artikeln, Diskussionsbeiträgen und Leserbriefen, die das Fortleben dieser Veranstaltungen forderten.

#### 4.5. GEGENREAKTIONEN

Es müssen auch die Initiativen oder "Gegenreaktionen" kurz erwähnt werden, die in der Südslowakei in den letzten Jahren von Slowaken betrieben worden sind. Als im Jahre 1996 in Nyitracsehi (slow. Čechynce) die dortigen Ungarn im Kirchengarten die Statue von St. Stephan mit einer ungarischen Inschrift aufstellten, errichteten die Slowaken noch in demselben Jahr daneben eine genauso große Statue mit einer slowakischen Inschrift für die Heiligen Cyrill und Method. Der Fall der Komorner Cyrill-Method-Statue ist ein zweites Beispiel. Die hiesigen Slowaken beriefen sich auf das historisch nicht ganz begründete Ereignis, daß die zwei Missionare irgendwo in der Gegend des heutigen Komorn über die Donau gesetzt seien, und eben deshalb wollten sie eine riesige (mit Sockel fast fünf Meter hohe) Cyrill-Method-Statue aufstellen. Dies wieder erlaubte nun die in der Mehrheit ungarische Selbstverwaltung von Komorn nicht, offensichtlich als Antwort auf die Prozeßführungen der Jahrtausendfeiern. Die Statue ist jedoch vollendet worden; sie wartet im Garten der örtlichen evangelischen (!) Kirche, daß sie vielleicht doch einmal auf einem öffentlichen Platz aufgestellt werden kann. Im Archiv für Sakrale Kleindenkmäler des Forschungszentrums für Europäische Ethnologie gibt es keine Dokumentation eines Objekts, die so umfänglich wäre wie die der noch nicht aufgestellten Cyrill-Method-Statue in Komorn.

#### 5. Zusammenfassung

Das kulturelle und politische Leben der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der Slowakei wird von verschiedenen nationalen Symbolen bestimmt. Diese Symbole sind tatsächlich vielfältig und reichen von den Nationalfarben und der Nationalhymne bis zu den Denkmälern und Statuen der berühmten ungarischen Helden und Schriftsteller. Grundsätzlich aber drücken diese nationalen Symbole keine selbständige Identität der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der Slowakei aus (eine Ausnahme bilden vielleicht die Gedenktafeln anlässlich des 50jährigen Jubiläums der Csemadok-Organisation und der ungarischen Schulen in der Slowakei), son-

dern signalisieren ein Zugehörigkeitsgefühl zur ungarischen Kulturnation generell. Diese Symbole, diese "nationale" Tätigkeit der Ungarn in der Slowakei, beabsichtigen aber keinesfalls eine Loslösung von der Slowakei, sondern sie versuchen, (auch mit Hilfe dieser Symbole) im Rahmen der Slowakei ihre nationale ungarische Identität auszudrücken und zu bewahren.

## Literatur

- Barna Gábor 2001 *Reale Grenzen – symbolische Welten*. Acta Ethnologica Danubiana 2-3. Jahrbuch des Forschungszentrums für Europäische Ethnologie 2000-2001. Hrsg. von József Liszka. Dunaszerdahely–Komárom, 23-36. p.
- Bausinger, Herman 2000 *Typisch deutsch. Wie deutsch sind die Deutschen?* München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 175 p.
- Bednárik, Rudolf 1972 *Cintoríny na Slovensku* [Friedhöfe in der Slowakei]. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied [Verlag der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften], 172 p.
- Brednich, Rolf Wilhelm – Schmitt, Heinz (Hrsg.) 1997 *Symbole*. Zur Bedeutung der Zeichen in der Kultur. 30. Deutscher Volkskundekongreß in Karlsruhe vom 25. bis 29. September 1995. Münster – New York – München – Berlin: Waxmann, 577 p.
- Downs, Roger M. – Stea, David 1982 *Kognitive Karten. Die Welt in unseren Köpfen*. New York: Harper & Row, 392 p.
- Galgóczy Tibor 1999 *Az Ungvidék pásztorművészete* [Die Hirtenkunst der Unggegend]. Ungvár – Budapest: Intermix, 111 p.
- Hobsbawn, Eric J. 1990 *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge University Press, 191 p.
- Hofer Tamás 1991 *Construction of the "Folk Cultural Heritage" in Hungary and Rival Versions of National Identity*. Ethnologia Europaea 21, 145-170. p.
- Hofer Tamás 1999 *Historisierung des Ästhetischen. Die Projektion nationaler Geschichte in der Volkskunst*. In Johler, Reinhard – Nikitsch, Herbert – Tschofen, Bernhard (Hrsg.) *Ethnische Symbole und ästhetische Praxis in Europa*. Wien, 108-134. p.
- Korff, Gottfried 1996 *Volkskunst: ein mythomoteur?* Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde 92, 221-233. p.
- Liszka József 1998 *Ungarische Friedhöfe im nördlichen Teil der Kleinen Tiefebene (Südwest-Slowakei)*. Ostbairische Grenzmarken. Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte Kunst u. Volkskunde. Jahrgang 40, 223-238. p.

- Liszka József 2001a *Zum Symbolsystem der Selbstbestimmung der ungarischen Volksgruppe in der (Tschecho)Slowakei*. In *Mythen, Riten, Simulacra. Semiotische Perspektiven*. Akten des 10. Internationalen Symposiums der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Semiotik. Hg. von Jeff Bernard und Gloria Withalm. Wien 2001, 711-724.
- Liszka József 2001b *Zeitliche "Grenzen" der ungarischen Popularkultur in der Slowakei (Kulturwirkende Einflüsse der Herrschaftswchsel im 20. Jahrhundert)*. *Acta Ethnologica Danubiana* 2-3. Jahrbuch des Forschungszentrums für Europäische Ethnologie 2000-2001. Hrsg. von József Liszka. Dunaszerdahely–Komárom, 151-164. p.
- Liszka József 2001c *Typisch deutsch? Randbemerkungen zur Publikation von Hermann Bausinger*. *Acta Ethnologica Danubiana* 2-3. Jahrbuch des Forschungszentrums für Europäische Ethnologie 2000-2001. Hrsg. von József Liszka. Dunaszerdahely–Komárom, 253-259. p.
- Löfgren, Orvar 1989 *The Nationalization of Culture*. *Ethnologia Europaea* 19, 5-23. p.
- Niedermüller Péter 1989 *National Culture: Symbols and Reality: The Hungarian Case*. *Ethnologia Europaea* 19, 47-55. p.
- Niedermüller Péter 1992 *Die imaginäre Vergangenheit: Volkskultur und Nationalkultur in Ungarn*. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 88, 185-201. p.
- Niedermüller Péter 1997 *Politik, Kultur und Vergangenheit. Nationale Symbole und politischer Wandel in Osteuropa*. In *Brednich – Schmitt (Hrsg.) 1997*, 113-122. p.
- Selmeczi-Kovács Attila 1996 *National Symbols in Hungarian Folk Art*. *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 41 (1-4), 155-178. p.
- Thain János – Tichy Kálmán 1992 *Kisalföldi és gömöri népi építészet [Volksarchitektur der Kleinen Tiefebene und des Gömör-Gebietes]*. Hg. von József Liszka. Budapest, 190 p.
- Vadkerty Katalin 2001 *A kitelepítéstől a reszlovakizációig. Trilógia a csehszlovákiai magyarság 1945-1948 közötti történetéről [Vom Aussiedlung bis zur Reslowakisaton. Eine Trilogie über die Geschichte der Ungarn in der Tschechoslowakei zwischen 1945-1948]*. Pozsony
- Voigt Vilmos 1985 *Közvetítő és átmenet = a turul [Der Vermittler und Übergang = der Turulvogel]*. In *Monumentumok az első világháborúból [Monumente aus dem Ersten Weltkrieg]*. Hg. von Ákos Kovács. Budapest, 55-63. p.





# Adelige kompossessorate im Südteil vom Komitat Heves

*Petercsák, Tivadar*

Während der Untersuchung der traditionellen Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft und Kultur dürfte nicht entgangen sein, die Traditionen der Kompossessorate aufzudecken, weil die niedrigsten Schichten des ungarischen Adels meistens auf dem Niveau der Bauern gelebt haben.<sup>1</sup> Ein typisches Beispiel für die lokalen Wirtschaftsgemeinden, die sich aufgrund der Selbstverwaltung organisiert haben, ist das im 17.-18. Jahrhundert entstandene adelige Kompossessorat.

Eine feudale Eigentumsgemeinschaft existierte, wenn mehrere Personen bezüglich der Herrngüter auf einer Siedlung oder auf mehreren Siedlungen, oder bezüglich der Nutzniessung eine Gemeinschaft gebildet haben, bzw. wenn sie über diese Güter oder über die Nutzniessungen in einer ungeteilten Gemeinschaft verfügt haben.

Der Anteil der Besitzer war durch den Anteil auf das Ganze bezogen bestimmt, aber dieser Anteil war auch tatsächlich im Besitz des Kompossessorates. Das Eigentumsrecht des gemeinsamen Vermögens betraf die Kompossessorate insgesamt, die als solche Feudalrechte ausgeübt haben.

Zum nicht teilbaren gemeinsamen Vermögen gehörte z.B. das Regale-Recht (Kneipen-, Zoll-, und Markrecht), dessen Gewinn das Kompossessorat aufgrund des eigenen Anteil teilhaftig wurde und es hat zu den gemeinsamen Kosten ebenso gleichmässig beigetragen.<sup>2</sup>

In den letzten zwei Jahrzehnten ist die Aufdeckung der Tätigkeit und des Organisationsrahmen der Kompossessorate lebhafter geworden.<sup>3</sup>

Während der Untersuchung des Waldgebrauchs und der Viehhaltung der Bauern habe ich die wirtschaftsorganisierende, Weideordnungs- und waldschützende Tätigkeit der adeligen Kompossessorate und deren Weiterleben sogar selbst bis zu den 60er Jahren beobachtet.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Siehe zusammenfassend: Paládi-Kovács Attila 2000. 138; Kósa László 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Kállay István 1983. 101.

<sup>3</sup> Hervorzuheben sind die Arbeiten von: Degré Alajos, Wellmann Imre, Kállay István, Hudi József és Kósa László. (Siehe. Literatur.)

<sup>4</sup> Petercsák Tivadar 1992. 48-51; 1998. 263-283.

In den meisten Leibeigenendörfern im Komitat Heves verfügten mehrere Gutsherren über das Eigentumsrecht.

Während der Untersuchungen in den Archiven und in den Datensammlungen der Museen stoß ich auf schriftliche Urkunden, die sich auf die Tätigkeit der Kompossessorate einiger Dörfer (Atkár, Besenyőtelek, Heves) im Süd-Heves bezogen haben. Anhand der Sitzungsprotokolle, der Abrechnungen und der Inventare lässt sich die Organisationsform und das Funktionsmechanismus dieser eigenartigen Gemeinschaften vom 18. Jh. bis zum 20. Jh. aufzeichnen.<sup>5</sup>

### Organisationsrahmen, Beamte

Das adelige Kompossessorat wurde durch ein Körperschaftsorgan, sowie durch die von dessen gewählten Beamten regiert. Der Rechtsgrund des Kurialist- Kompossessorats in Besenyőtelek (*curialis compossessoratus*) war unter den drei Zweigen der Familie Szabó die zwischen 1730 und 1769 gebundene *Transactio*(*transactio*).<sup>6</sup> Der Vorstand des Kompossessorates war der Direktor (*director*), der von der Körperschaft des Kompossessorates gewählt wurde. János Szabó wurde am 7.-ten Januar 1790 zum Direktor gewählt. Laut der Körperschaftsregelung in Besenyőtelek war der Direktor verpflichtet, am Anfang jedes Jahres 15 Tage lang eine Versammlung verkündigen: 1826 wird zum Pflicht des Direktoren, dass „nach diesen soll der Herr Direktor jeden Mittwoch und jeden Samstag mit seinen censoren zusammensitzen, und sie sollen die Angelegenheiten des Dorfes sowie der alleinstehenden Personen erledigen (soweit sich ihre Macht darauf erstreckt), und alles schriftlich dokumentieren. Wenn es so ist, dass etwas Wichtiges verboten wird, oder jemand befreit wird, oder ein gemeinsames Gebäude neu aufgebaut werden sollte: dann soll er[der Direktor] laut dem 10. Punkt der Transaction die ganze Ortschaft rufen lassen.“<sup>7</sup>

In Heves fiel die Versammlung (*concursum*), in Atkár die Versammlung des Kompossessorats oder anders ausgedrückt die Versammlung der Herren eine Entscheidung über die wichtigsten Fragen, wo gleichzeitig auch die Beamten gewählt worden sind.

Der Termin der Versammlungen war beweglich, die Aktualität der zu besprechenden Themen hatte ihre Einberufung beeinflusst. 1855 in Atkár wur-

<sup>5</sup> Quellen: Archiv des Komitats Heves (HML) V-207/4 (Atkár), Sammlung des Museums Heves. Nicht-archiviertes Material (Heves). Vö: Alsó László 1928. (Besenyőtelek). Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 263–283, 1999a. 311–328; 1999b. 144–152.

<sup>6</sup> Török Katalin 1989. 283. Vergl.: Alsó László 1928. 9–10.

<sup>7</sup> Alsó László, 1928. 37.

den zweimal (17. August und 30. Oktober) Versammlungen gehalten, im Jahre 1864 wurden jedoch achtmal Gutsherren einberufen. Im Jahre 1851 wurden 16 Versammlungen gehalten, deren Platz das Zettelhaus am Marktplatz war.

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurden in Atkar und Heves den Mitgliedern vor 8 Tagen schriftliche Einladungen mit der Benennung des Themas der Versammlung geschickt. In Heves war die Versammlung unabhängig von der Gesamtzahl der Erschienenen beschlussfähig, wenn der Vorstand der Gutsherren den Aufgabeschein vorgezeigt hatte (1891).

In Atkar waren 9 Personen für die Beschlussfähigkeit der Versammlung erforderlich, aber es sollte eine 2/3 Mehrheit für die Entscheidung vorhanden sein. Die minimale Gesamtzahl wurde noch in diesem Jahr auf 5 gesenkt, wegen der wenigen sesshaften Gutsherren. Die Verbleibenden wurden auf dem nachfolgenden Tag der Versammlung in einem Auszug über die Entscheidung verständigt.<sup>8</sup>

Der Vorstand des Kompossorates war der von den Mitgliedern gewählte Direktor (in Besenyőtelek, in Heves) oder der Gouverneur (Heves), bzw. der Verwalter (Atkár). In Atkar wurde der Vorstand des Kompossorates für drei Jahre gewählt, und der gewählte Direktor konnte jahrelang das Vertrauen der Gutsherren genießen. Z.b. 1891 hatte Dezső Dobóczy in Heves nach 17 Jahren sein Direktoren-Amt niedergelegt.<sup>9</sup>

In Besenyőtelek waren alle vor ihrem Amtseintritt verpflichtet, einen Eid abzulegen, der folgendermassen lautete: „Ich N.N. schwöre auf den einzigen lebendigen Gott, dass ich auf alle menschliche Blicke, ..., auf Verwandtschaft, auf Ersuchen, auf Versprechen, auf Geschenk, auf Angst, auf Hass verzichtend in den Angelegenheiten und Beschwerden der adeligen und nicht-adeligen Bewohnern der Ortschaft Bessenýő ohne Beachtung der Person die völlige Rechtspflege übe.

Die 1769 gebundene *Transactio* und den nicht ratifizierten Ersatzvertrag zwischen Heves und Külső-Szolnok Komitate werde ich in dem wirklichen Sinne selbst einhalten, und ich werde meine Gutsherren und die Bewohnern zu deren Einhaltung bewegen, so wahr mir Gott helfe, etc.<sup>10</sup>“

In Atkar war die Aufgabe des Direktoren, die Versammlungen einzuberufen, die Regale-Rechte zu verpachten, weiterhin die Aufsicht auf die Gemeinschaftsgebäude, auf die Strassen, auf die Brücken, auf die Wasserableitungsgraben, auf die Lehmgruben. Es war auch seine Pflicht, die

<sup>8</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 265; HML. V-207/4. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 266.

<sup>10</sup> Alsó László, 1928. 38.

Pachtverträge einhalten zu lassen. Bei ihm wird die Landkarte, das Urbarium, die Verträge, und sonstige Dokumente der Gutsherren gelagert.<sup>11</sup> Der Direktor erhielt im allgemeinen kein Honorar, aber seine Kosten wurden zurückerstattet. In Besenyőtelek erhielt jedoch János Szabó 16 (rhénes) Forint.

In Heves hat der adjunctus oder der Gehilfe des Direktors das Bussgeld für die sich im verbotenen Gebiet verhaltenden Tiere eingesammelt, wofür er im Jahre 1838 150, im Jahre 1843 250 Forint erhielt, weiterhin noch das 1/6 Teil der Bussgelder. Man kennt das Amt des coadjunctors zu Besenyőtelek nicht.

In Besenyőtelek und in Heves war die Aufgabe des Kassenwirts die Verwaltung der Gemeinschaftskasse, die Abwicklung der Einnahme und der Ausgabe und die der Auszahlungen. In Heves wurde es auch számtartó, számadó genannt. Sein Lohn war im Jahre 1843 100 Forint, den er vierteljährlich als 25 Forint erhielt.

Der Lohn des perceptors in Besenyőtelek war am Ende des 18. Jh. 12 Forint.<sup>12</sup>

Die Sitzungsprotokolle (conkurs) hat in Atkar der Notar (jegyző), in Besenyőtelek und Heves der Notar (notárius) geführt und er hatte alle schriftliche Arbeit getan. Da es in Atkar keinen Kassenwart zur Registrierung des aus den Regales eingeflossenen Einkommens gab, hatte der Notar die nötige Arbeit verrichtet. In Heves und Besenyőtelek erhielt der Notar dafür Honorar. In Atkar erhielt er ausser des 10 Forint Pauschales im Jahre 1881 auch Honorar<sup>13</sup>.

In Heves gab es auch in der zweiten Hälfte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts eine Feldmarkaufsichtsperson mit einem jährlichen Einkommen von 250 Forint, der Kapitän wurde demgegenüber mit gelegentlichen Aufgaben beauftragt.<sup>14</sup>

## Die Verwaltung des gemeinsamen Guts

Das adelige Kompossessorat hatte als kollektiver Feldherr die weniger bedeutenden königlichen Regale-Rechte ausgeübt. Unter diesen sind das Marktseinkommen, das Einkommen aus den Kneipen, das Einkommen der Bierbrauereien und der Brennereien und das Einkommen der Metzgereien die Wichtigsten. Die Verpachtung dieser Rechte war die meist verbreitete Benutzungsform.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> HML V-207/4. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 266; Alsó László, 1928. 19.

<sup>13</sup> HML V-207/4. 168.

<sup>14</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 266.

<sup>15</sup> Vö: Kállay István, 1983. 115.

Unter den untersuchten Siedlungen existierte das Markthaltungsrecht nur in Heves. Hier verfügte nicht die Siedlung über dieses Recht bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts, sondern das adelige Kompossorats erlang es durch eine Gabe des Königs, was sich im Jahre 1833 auf vier Jahresmärkte und Viehmärkte bezog. Das Markteinkommen wurde von dem Kompossorats in Pacht gegeben und es galt als wichtige Einnahmequelle.<sup>16</sup>

Das Jahrmarktsrecht galt für drei Jahre, der Pacht wurde in einem Jahresbetrag festgestellt, was der Pachtinhaber jeweils in den vier Monatsmonaten angezahlt hatte. Im Jahre 1844 war der Jahrespacht 620 Forint, im Jahre 1851 795 Forint.

Als zusätzliches Marktseinkommen galt in Heves der Betrag, der für die extra Marktplätze eingezahlt worden war. Deswegen hatte im Jahre 1838 für die Stiefelmacherzunft aus Erlau 25 Forint, im Jahre 1844 der Israelit József Prüm für die ständigen Marktplätze 25 Forint eingezahlt. Der ortsansässige Schneieder Márton Jabretzki hatte für die zwei ständigen Holzbuden von 1846 bis 1851 jährlich 25 Forint eingezahlt.

Am Marktplatz zu Heves standen zwei Zettelhäuser(cédulaház), wo nicht nur die Marktgebühren eingesammelt worden sind, sondern auch die Versammlungen des Kompossorates stattgefunden sind (Versammlungszimmer)!. Die jährliche Instandhaltung und Sauberhaltung des Zettelhauses bedeutete eine immense Arbeit und Ausgabe für das Kompossorats.

Das adelige Kompossorats übte das Jahrmarktsrecht bis 1911 aus. Im August dieses Jahres hatte es das Kompossorats beschlossen, auf dieses Recht zu verzichten und dessen Ankauf dem Gemeinde anzubieten. Am 6. September hatte der Hauptnotar in der Sitzung des Körperschaftsorgans des Kompossorats angekündigt, dass die vertretende Kommission mit dem Kompossorats eine Vereinbarung getroffen hatte, den Marktplatz mit dem Zettelhaus und mit der Ausstattung dem Gemeinde für 50000 Krone anzubieten.

Die Metzgerei, die Kneipen, die Läden waren als Pacht vom König im kollektiven Eigentum des Kompossorates und sie versicherten eine Einnahmequelle durch die Verpachtung an die gemeinsamen Feldherren.

In Besenyőtelek hatte die Transactio aus dem 18. Jh. unter den üblichen Einnahmequellen den Pacht der Kneipen, der Metzgerei, des Marktes und des griechischen Ladens aufgezählt. „Wie auch bisher, auch von jetzt an sollte eine Kneipe

<sup>16</sup> Die Detaille der Verpachtung der Markthaltung und der Gebäude des Marktplatzes siehe I. Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 273–278.

und eine Metzgerei vorhanden sein, ... es sind verboten aber alle Bauernschenken, unter keinen Umständen darf Wein, Bier oder Schnaps verkauft werden, wenn es so ist, dann soll man 12 Ft Bussgeld zahlen, und das genossene Getränk wird in Beschlag genommen. –ist es unter dem 11. Punkt zu lesen.<sup>17</sup>

In Heves wurde die Metzgerei alle drei Jahre in Pacht gegeben. 1833 wurde sie Farkas Morvai für 576 Forint in Pacht gegeben, und es wurde auch die Weise der Fleischhauerei, sowie seine Verantwortung geregelt.

Mit der Aufsicht der Metzgerei wurde ein Mitglied des Kompossessorates beauftragt, aber man kann aus 1846 sogar das Amt Fleischkommissars (comissarius) treffen. Die Aufsicht der Metzgerei war bestimmt nötig, wegen der öfteren Beschwerden und Anzeigen. Neben dem Einkommen, das aus dem Pacht einfluss, bedeuteten die Kosten, die Wartung und Renovierung der Gebäude der Metzgereien für das Kompossessorat eine regelmässige Ausgabe. 1843 ist einmal 798 Forint, das zweite Mal 475 Forint für den Bau des Metzgerhauses ausgezahlt worden.

Neben der regelmässigen Wartung des Brunnens hatte das Kompossessorat auch die Hackbank gekauft, die 1852 5 Forint kostete.

Am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts gab es drei verpachteten Kneipen in Heves, deren Pachtinhaber sich beklagt haben, „dass sich die Bauernkneipen so vermehrt haben, dass es langsam die verpachteten Kneipen nicht mehr nötig werden, wenn die Bauernkneipen nicht beschränkt werden.“ 1831 ist eine Entscheidung gefallen, „dass es nicht mehr als 5 Läden existieren dürfen.“<sup>18</sup>

In Atkar hat das Kompossessorat vom Tage des Heiligen Georges des für 4 Jahre – ab 1885 für 6 Jahre – die königlichen Pächte für den das meiste Geld Angebotenen verpachtet, mit dem man „Pachtvertrag“ abgeschlossen hatte. Laut der Vereinbarung aus dem Jahre 1861 verpachtet man das Wein-, Bier-, und Schnapsschänkerecht neben der Wohlbehaltung des Kneipenrechts des Gemeindes ab dem 24. April 1861 für vier Jahre.

„Ansonsten darf man ausserhalb des Dorfes keinen Wein, keinen Schnaps und kein Bier in kleinen Quanten ausschenken, oder ausserhalb des Dorfes bringen (mit der Ausnahme des guten Weines für den Kranken.“

“Der Pachtinhaber bekommt auch das Fleischhauereirecht, wofür er verpflichtet ist, das Dorf jeden Tag mit gesundem und frischem Rindfleisch, im September und im Oktober mit Schafffleisch reichlich zu versehen. Der Pachtinhaber übernimmt auch inventarmässig das Gasthaus, das im Besitz des Kompossessorates ist, die Metzgerei, den Stall, und er bezahlt auch deren Reparaturkosten.

<sup>17</sup> Alsó László, 1928. 28.

<sup>18</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 278–280.

Er stellt im Gasthaus ein Zimmer jederzeit für das Kompossorates zur Verfügung und versichert im Stall Plätze für zwei Pferde. Das Pachtgebührl soll ratenweise zweimal – vor dem Tage des Heiligen Georges und des Heiligen Michaels – in die jeweilige Hände eingezahlt werden.”

Das Kompossorats zu Atkar hatte ständig versichert, dass seine Mitglieder unmittelbar vom Pachtinhaber seinen Anteil im Verhältniss von seinem Gut erhalten.

Der Notar der Gutsherren hatte in jedem halben Jahr die Verteilung im Verhältniss des Guts unter den 50 Gutsherren und den „Schlüssel“ dem Pachtinhaber überreicht, er hatte unmittelbar den einzelnen Mitliedern seinen Anteil ausgezahlt. Der Schlüssel war am 29. September 1857 210 Forint, woraus die Anteile der Gutsherren von 1 Forint 5 Krone bis 20 Forint 46 Krone ausfielen.<sup>19</sup>

Im Jahre 1889 erfolgte der Ankauf der königlichen Regale-Rechte in einer Summe, wozu das Kompossorats seinen Anteil ermessen hatte.

Damals hatte man die Anteilquote in Hundert-Tausendsteln unter den 56 Gutsherren festgestellt. Nach den Verhandlungen mit dem Staat hatte die Sitzung am 22. Oktober 1889 einen Ablösungsbetrag in Höhe von 12 671 Ft 93 Krone festgestellt. Noch in demselben Jahr wurde auch das Kneipengebäude dem bisherigen Pachtinhaber für 2500 Ft verkauft.<sup>20</sup>

In Atkar hatte das Kompossorats das Weiderecht des 8 Joch Tongebietes für drei Jahre verpachtet, jährlich für 15 Forint.

Das Pachtgebührl war 1970 schon 70 Forint, wofür ausser des Weiderechts dem Pachtinhaber keine weitere Rechte zukamen.

Die Gutsherren durften auch weiterhin für eigenen Bedarf Ton aus diesem Gebiet holen lassen, sie konnten Ton ausgraben lassen und der Pachtinhaber war nicht in der Lage, es zu verhindern. Der Pachtinhaber war auch für die Qualität des Tons (vor Ort hergestellt) verantwortlich.<sup>21</sup>

## Die Regelung der Viehhaltung

Obwohl das adelige Kompossorats keine gemeinsame Landwirtschaft getrieben hatte, doch hatte es sich in die Angelegenheit einiger Gutsherren eingemischt. Ein typisches Beispiel dafür ist der Weideplatz und die Weide. Das Kompossorats hatte die Anzahl der Tiere, die an der Weide gehalten werden

<sup>19</sup> HML V-207/4. 19–20.

<sup>20</sup> HML V-207/4. 235–238.

<sup>21</sup> HML V-207/4. 119, 128.



dürfen, bestimmt und den Weideplatz vermessen, und das Pachtgeld für die Weide und die verbotenen Gebiete festgestellt.

In Besenyőtelek hatte man in dem 18. und 19. Jh. die Weide, den Termin des Vieheintriebes und Austriebes geregelt, es wurde auch die Anzahl der temporären Weideplätze, die Anzahl der Rinder, die auf die eigenen Plätze ausgetrieben werden durften, und der Mass der Bussgelder geregelt.

„Es war während der Ernte verboten, die Pferde, die Rinder frei zu lassen, auf dem nicht geernteten Feld mit einer Kutsche hindurchzufahren, und auch wenn es keine Erntezeit gab, mit den Rindern auf dem Saat herumzugehen, vor der Fahrt die Rinder auf verbotenem Gebiet zu hüten, sowie das Schaf vor der Genehmigung des Directorats in den Weizenfeld zu treiben, wenn es keine Genehmigung des Direktorat vorliegt, dann die Adelligen sollen 12 f bezahlen, die Nicht –Adelligen sollen 12 Stockschläge bekommen.“<sup>22</sup>

In Heves war in den 20-er -30-er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts die Aufgabe des Directors, dass er darüber Aufsicht führt, wer wieviel Rinder und Pferde weiden lässt und ob sich nur das Vieh in der festgestellten Anzahl auf der Weide verhält. 1836 wurden separate Gebiete (járás) für den Kalb, den Ochse, die Kuh, das Schaf, das Schwein, und für das Gestüt besimmt.

In den schriftlichen Dokumenten des Kompossessorates war die Weide ein häufiges Thema ab dem 19. Jahrhundert und daher die Bestrafung der Verursacher des Schadens in der Saat oder in der Ernte. 1800 wurden fünf Hüter beschäftigt, 1836 schon sechs, ihr jährliches Gehalt war 30-30 Forint. Diese Summe wurde mit einer anderen Summe (hajtóbér) ergänzt, die nach den in Beschlag genommenen Tieren erteilt worden sind. Die Regelungen der Viehhaltung mochten keine bedeutende zurückhaltende Kraft gehabt haben, da in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Verletzung des Verbotes ein sich immer wiederkehrendes Problem ist. Detaillierte Nachweisungen bewahren die Anzahl, die Art der in Beschlag genommenen Tieren, die Summe der Bussgelder und die Provision der Hüter.<sup>23</sup>

1863 in Atkar wurde unter den Gutsherren eine Aufsichtsperson für die Weide gewählt, die eine Aufsicht auf die zwischen der Wiese und des Dorfes liegenden mähbaren erntebringenden Gärten ausgeübt hatte.

Die Aufsichtsperson war verpflichtet, den Schaden dem Besitzer zu melden. Sein Lohn war 48 Ft jährlich, aber ein Drittel des Bussgelder hatte er für die in verbotenen Gebieten weidenden Tiere erhalten.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Alsó László, 1928. 35.

<sup>23</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 267–271.

<sup>24</sup> HML V-207/4. 78.



## Bewahrung der öffentlichen Ordnung, Instandhaltung der Infrastruktur

Die Bewahrung der öffentlichen Ordnung war nicht nur Pflicht des Kompossorates, sondern auch Interesse.

In Besenyőtelek wurde 1826 vorgeschrieben, dass „derjenige, der im Sommer bis 10 Uhr und im Winter 9 Uhr abends bis zur Morgenglocke alleine oder mit mehreren Personen im Dorfe herumgeht, oder in einer Kneipe allzulange tobt, und die Ursache seines verdächtigten Aufenthaltes nicht benennen kann, dann muss er bestraft werden, wenn er zu den Adelligen gehört, dann muss er 6 Ft bezahlen, wenn er zu den Nicht-Adelligen, dann muss er 12 Stockschläge bekommen... Diejenigen, die nicht Verdächtiges tun, können angesprochen werden aber dürfen nicht in ihrem Weg gehindert werden.“<sup>25</sup> Nachtwärter wurden auch in Heves und Atkár beschäftigt.

In Heves wurde 1831 entschlossen, dass für die Bewahrung der öffentlichen Ordnung zwei Wächter vom Tage des Heiligen Georges bis zum Tage des Heiligen Georges angestellt werden.

In den 40er, 60er Jahren des 19.-ten Jahrhunderts ist ihr Jahresgehalt 60 Forint, auch die Bekleidung der Wächter bedeutete hohe Kosten für das Kompossorats.<sup>26</sup> In Atkár stellte das Kompossorats zwei Nachtwächter an, die vom 12. Januar bis 24. April „sie sind verpflichtet, von der Abendglocke um 8 Uhr abends, bis zur Morgenglocke um 5 Uhr jede Nacht, das Wetter nicht betrachtend, mit einer weiteren Aushilfsperson die Diebstähle zu verhindern und andere gesetzwidrige Vorkommnisse zu verhindern oder inwiefern es möglich ist, diese zu beschränken.“ Um Gewehr und Munition müssen sie selbst kümmern. Ihr Gehalt beträgt 100 Forint.<sup>27</sup>

Auf die Instandhaltung der Strassen, der Brücken, der Brunnen und der Wasserableitungsgräben achtete jedes Kompossorats und diese Themen sind oft in den Versammlungsprotokollen erwähnt.

Im Heves beschäftigte man in 1831 mit der Angelegenheit von zwei Kanälen. Der Kanzler János Homér und Imre Szabó wurden beauftragt, dass sie mit angeheuerten Tagelöhnern die Kanäle putzen lassen und sie fortlaufend aus der gemeinsamen Kasse instande halten.

In Atkar war in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts das Putzen der Wasserableitungsgräben und Kanäle ein ständig vorkommendes Problem. Besonders

<sup>25</sup> Alsó László, 1928. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 271–272.

<sup>27</sup> HML V-207/4. 80–81.

wurde die Aufmerksamkeit der Gutsherren der Wiesen darauf gelenkt, dass „die Kanäle müssen so geputzt werden, dass das Wasser nicht nur auf der einen Seite des Flusses fließt, sondern frei, in seiner Breite gleichermassen.“ In 1876 wurde beschlossen, dass diejenigen, die ihr Kanal-Teil nicht ordentlich putzen, deren Regale-Einkommen vom Direktor zurückgehalten werden darf und dann aus diesem Geld der Wasserableitungsgraben geputzt wird.<sup>28</sup>

In Heves wurde mehrmals die Instandhaltung der Wege und der Strassen besprochen, es war ja in 1831 die Jász-Stasse ungangbar, die Kutschen und Wagen versanken. In Atkár hat der Richter in 1856 die Gutsherrn darum gebeten, die umgehbare Wege auszubessern.

### Subventionierung

Es kam in Heves und Atkár oft vor, dass auch aus dem Einkommen des Kompossessorats Geld für die Subventionierung der armen Leute gab. So hat die Versammlung in Heves in 1846 für die Unterstützung des Richters 100 Ft bewilligt, der Brandstiftung erlitten hatte.<sup>29</sup>

In Atkár wurde 1864 beschlossen, dass aus dem Regale-Einkommen 150 Ft unter den Armen des Dorfes erteilt werden soll.<sup>30</sup>

Für das Kompossessorat und die Bewohner des Dorfes gilt die Benutzung des gemeinsamen Getreidespeichers (Heves) und die Inanspruchnahme der Getreidespeicherstiftung (Atkár) als eine besondere Möglichkeit.

In der Behandlung des Kompossessorates war die Getreidespeicherstiftung, die am Anfang der 50-er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts ein Gutsherr gespendet hatte. Das Kompossessorat hat in schlechten Zeiten aus dieser Stiftung Saatkorn ausgeliehen, die Bedürftigen habes es aus der Ernte zurückgezahlt. Der Getreidevorrat der Getreidespeicherstiftung wurde 1882 für Geld verkauft. 1833 hatte sich das Kompossessorat entschlossen, dass er die Getreidespeicherstiftung vom Dorfe zurückkauft, die 9414 Forint 86 kr. Kapital hatte, und dadurch werden die ärmeren Bewohnern mit niedrigen Zinsen subventioniert.

1908 verfügte die Stiftung über 11000 Kronen, im Jahre 1891 wurden es aus diesem Geld 2800 Kronen für den Aufbau der örtlichen katholischen Schule verwendet, in 1903 wurden für 4000 Kronen zwei artesische Brunnen hergestellt.

Es hat sich anhand der Protokolle des Kompossessorates in Atkár herausgestellt, dass die Auflösung des Kompossessorats in der Versammlung am 10. Juni

<sup>28</sup> HML V-207/4. 144, 193.

<sup>29</sup> Alsó László, 1928. 35.

<sup>30</sup> Petercsák Tivadar, 1998. 282; HML V-207/4. 81.

1908 stattfand. „Es hat keinen Ziel, dass das Kompossorats als Körperschaft weiter repräsentiert, weil seine veralteten Rechte, besonders die königlichen Regale-Rechte, die das Einkommen des Kompossorats gebildet haben, von der Regierung übernommen wurden, und die Körperschaft des Kompossorats wurde im Jahre 1891 gegen Ablösezahlung aufgehoben.“

Damals wurde so entschlossen, dass die Tongrube, die im Besitz des Kompossorates war und die Stiftung dem Dorfe Atkar mit der Bedingung übergeben wurden, dass dieses Kapital den Grund einer später errichtenden Dorfklasse bildet. „Das Kompossorats hebt seine Tätigkeit auf, gilt als aufgelöst, und schmilzt mit dem Dorfe zusammen.“<sup>31</sup>

Als Zusammenfassung kann man feststellen, dass die oben gehandelten adeligen Kompossorate aus dem Süd-Komitats Heves eine determinierende Rolle hatten. Die angemessene Wirtschaftsführung, die Verpachtung der Regale-Rechte hat es versichert, dass das gemeinsame Vermögen vernünftig nutzbar gemacht wurde.

Es wurde die öffentliche Ordnung aufrechterhalten, es wurde um die Weide für das Vieh gekümmert, es wurde die Weideordnung, die Anzahl der auf die Weide treibbaren Tiere und die der verbotenen Gebiete geregelt.

Das Kompossorats hat für die ganze Bevölkerung die Metzgerei, die Läden, die Kneipen verwaltet und versicherte die Abwicklung des Marktes.

Das Kompossorats hat die öffentlichen Gebäude instand gehalten und auch heutzutage könnte ein folgendes Beispiel sein, wie es sich bemüht hatte, den Stand der Strassen, Brücken, Brunnen zu bewahren, und die Funktionsfähigkeit der Wiesen, Wasserableitungsgräben, Kanäle zu versichern.

Die gewählten Beamten der Kompossorate haben ihre Arbeit anhand der inneren Regelung und unter der Kontrolle der regelmässig angehaltenen Versammlungen getan.

Die adeligen Kompossorate haben auch nach der Auflösung des Frondienstes weitergelebt, und in bestimmten Fällen kann man auch ihre Auflösung bis zum Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts zurückverfolgen.

Die Organisationsordnung und Funktionsmechanismus der aus dem Feudalismus geerbten adeligen Kompossorate diente als Beispiel für die sich ab den letzten Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts bildenden bauerlichen Kompossorate, die über ein gemeinsames Weiderecht verfügten.

---

<sup>31</sup> HML V-207/4. 288–290.

## Literatur

- Alsó László 1928 *Das Behörde und das Organ des adeligen Dorfes*. Budapest.
- Degré Alajos 1977 *Das Organ der ungarischen adeligen Dörfer und ihre Wirtschaftsführung vor 1848*. In: Studien über die Dorfgemeinden. Pécs. 55-71.
- Hudi József 1995 *Das Organ der adeligen Dörfer im 18.-19. Jahrhunderts*. Ortsgeschichte aus dem Komitat Baranya Pécs. VII-VIII. Pécs, 7-34.
- Kállay István 1983 *Das adelige Kompossessorat*. Veröffentlichungen des Archivs. LIV. 101-147.
- Kósa László 2001 „*Im Schatten der sieben Pflaumenbaumes*“. Budapest.
- Paládi-Kovács Attila 2000 *Gesellschaft und Kultur der Kleinadeligen*. Ungarische Ethnographie VIII, Gesellschaft. Budapest. 138-172.
- Petercsák Tivadar 1992 *Die Rolle des Waldes im Bauernwirtschaft des Nordgebirges (18-20. Jahrhundert)* Debrecen.
- Petercsák Tivadar 1998 *Adeliges Kompossessorat in Heves*. Agria XXXIV. 263-283.
- Petercsák Tivadar 1999a *Eine feudale Eigentumsgemeinschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Das adelige Kompossessorat zu Atkar*. Agria XXXV. 311-328.
- Petercsák Tivadar 1999b *Adelige Kompossessorate im Südtel des Komitats Heves*. Jahrbuch der Museen des Komitates Nógrád. Agria XXXV. 311-328.
- Török Katalin 1989 *Dorfgesetze aus dem 18. Jahrhundert in Besenyőtelek. Geschichtliche-ethnographische Quellen aus dem 18.-19. Jahrhunderts*. Documentatio Ethnographica 13. Budapest. 284-327.
- Wellmann Imre 1981 *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Kompossessorats im 18. Jahrhunderts*. Jahrbuch der Museen des Komitates Nógrád. VII. 61-85.

## Les changements des rapports ethniques dans le département Bihar pendant le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle

István Bársony

Pendant le régime ottoman c'étaient de loin les Hongrois qui ont souffert la plus grande perte de sang en Hongrie. Les autres peuples, pendant ce temp-là, ont continué leur vie, à l'abri des montagnes, des forêts; c'était surtout les Hongrois qui étaient en lutte constante avec les Turcs conquérants et ils étaient exposés aux conséquences de la guerre sur les territoires ouverts, peu défendus par la nature.<sup>1</sup>

Notre historiographie accepte généralement que c'est au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle que la Hongrie est devenue vraiment un pays multinational et bien que le peuple hongrois reste l'ethnie dominante, sa participation dans la population est moins de 50 %.

Au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle les Roumains ont aussi participé dans au peuplement des territoires occupés par les Turcs. Leur cible principale en Hongrie était le territoire entre le Danube, le Tisza et le Maros, tout en envoyant des colonisateurs vers la Grande Plaine dans la direction du Nord, apparaissant ainsi dans les départements Szabolcs et Békés.<sup>2</sup>

Dans le département Bihar, se trouvant à peu près entre les deux départements, nous trouvons aussi une population roumaine, mais leur nombre était considérable déjà à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'objectif de nos recherches est de mettre à jour les spécificités des changements ethniques du département Bihar au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Nos recherches embrassent l'époque entre la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et 1772/73. L'oeuvre de ZSIGMOND JÁKÓ<sup>3</sup> a mis à jour les rapports ethniques du département Bihar – entre autres – jusqu'à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ses résultats probants, exhaustifs, riches en sources ont été représentés sur une carte aussi (1<sup>ère</sup> carte). Au cours de nos analyses des changements des rapports ethniques nous allons prendre ses

<sup>1</sup> WELLMANN IMRE: *Magyarország népességének fejlődése a XVIII. században*. Magyarország története. 4/1. Főszerk.: PACH ZSIGMOND PÁL. Bp. 1986. 67.

<sup>2</sup> RÁCZ ISTVÁN: *A török hódoltság hagyatéka*. Debrecen, 1995. 135.

<sup>3</sup> JAKÓ ZSIGMOND: *Bihar megye a török pusztítás előtt*. Bp. 1940.

affirmations pour des points de départ. Il est extrêmement important de souligner que les Roumains étaient en majorité sur 1/3 du territoire du département Bihar déjà à la fin des années 1500. Dans le changement des rapports ethniques du département Bihar nous attribuons un rôle déterminant à trois facteurs:

- pendant la domination ottomane et les guerres de reconquête ce sont les territoires peuplés par les Hongrois qui ont subi la grande partie des ravages,

- la majorité des victimes des épidémies de peste en 1738/40 et 1742/43 était hongroise

- pendant tout le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, il est perceptible une immigration continue roumaine dans le département sans organisation quelconque.

Il s'ensuit de là que l'année 1692 représente un tournant important. Le facteur essentiel est sans doute la reprise de Várad. C'est pendant cette année que le département Bihar réussit à se séparer du territoire et des institutions de l'occupation ottomane, et se met en marche le processus dont le résultat sera le rétablissement du système varié des propriétés du département, où on trouve également des propriétés domaniales, ecclésiastiques et privées, ainsi que des communes privilégiées. La fin de l'occupation a créé une nouvelle situation de plusieurs points de vue, le territoire devenant le cible des migrations aussi.

La dernière date est constituée par l'année du recensement, fait à l'ordre de Marie Thérèse. Les recenseurs de 1772/73 ont marqué le nom de la commune dans la langue la plus usuelle (hongrois, allemand, roumain), le statut de la commune (pagus, oppidum, civitas), la religion des habitants, le nombre des maîtres d'écoles et des instituteurs, et la langue la plus parlée par les habitants.

Ces données-là, comme en général les données des recensements à l'époque féodale, n'ont pas une valeur absolue, mais elles sont aptes à nous esquisser les tendances générales de l'époque. Notre objectif ne dépasse pas l'intention de montrer les tendances qui aboutissent à la continuation des changements des proportions ethniques dans le département Bihar au profit de l'ethnie roumaine au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Nos analyses se basent en premier lieu sur des sources qui donnent des informations sur tout le territoire du département et, dans la mesure du possible, sur la même période. Il ne nous est donc pas possible d'éviter l'emploi du recensement domaniale de 1692, dont les données, grâce à la publication de KÁROLY MEZŐSI, sont acceptées et employées dans les références par notre historiographie jusqu'à un passé récent. Cela fait à peu près trois décennies que les démographes historiques se déclarent contre cette conception et proposent des critiques de sources sérieuses en rapport avec le recensement signalé. La conscription a été

faite par la Chambre pour inventorier les relations de propriété du département, le nombre et la situation économique des habitants, la mesure des services payés, etc. On ne peut cependant pas savoir qui ont fait le recensement. Dans quelle mesure connaissaient-ils les rapports de la Hongrie et particulièrement ceux du département Bihar? C'était des nobles ou des fonctionnaires de la Chambre? Ce n'était pas trop tôt de préparer un recensement pareil seulement quelques mois après la reprise de Várad? Est-ce qu'ils ont fait leur travail aussi consciencieusement comme KÁROLY MEZŐSI suppose? Si on peut croire à la conscription, le département a subi un si grand ravage qu'en 1692 le nombre des habitants n'était que de 12.564.<sup>4</sup>

ZOLTÁN KOVÁCS<sup>5</sup>, en 1972, a comparé les données de 1692 aux notes du recensement national de l'année 1715-20 publié par IGNÁC ACSÁDY et il a trouvé des chiffres concernant le nombre de la population sur les territoires habités et non habités au moment de la conscription qui, en considérant les facteurs destructifs de la population entre 1693 et 1710, excluent l'acceptabilité même approximative des données du recensement de 1692. Le plus récemment ZOLTÁN DÁVID a soumis à une critique de source détaillée le recensement de 1692<sup>6</sup> et il est arrivé à plusieurs affirmations essentielles. Il donne une interprétation différente pour la notion de „deserta” en disant que la population des communes se trouvant dans le chemin des armées était pauvre, spoliée, incapable de payer les impôts cet automne de 1692 et l'expression „deserta” fait allusion à cet état.<sup>7</sup> En ce qui concerne les territoires déclarés détruits, abandonnés par masses, qui n'étaient même pas touchés par les combats, ZOLTÁN DÁVID considère que les recenseurs n'y sont même pas allés et ont fait leur travail à base des déclarations orales. Il faut souligner son opinion selon laquelle on ne connaît pas à fond ou on n'a pas accordé de l'attention nécessaire aux couches sociales négligées pour des raisons différentes par les recensements d'impôt.

ZOLTÁN DÁVID et ZOLTÁN KOVÁCS arrivent à la même constatation tout en ayant des points de départ différents, c'est que les données chiffrées du recensement de l'année 1692 sont incertaines, et le nombre de la population dans le département Bihar au tournant du XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles dépasse le numéro y indiqué.

Les données du recensement selon les ménages<sup>8</sup> de l'année 1696 concernant le département Bihar contiennent également beaucoup de facteurs d'incertitude.

<sup>4</sup> MEZŐSI KÁROLY: *Bihar vármegye a török uralom megszűnése idején*. Bp. 1943. 133

<sup>5</sup> KOVÁCS ZOLTÁN: *A magyar népességfejlődés a honfoglalástól 1870-ig*. Szeged, 1972. 3-6.

<sup>6</sup> DÁVID ZOLTÁN: *Az 1692. évi összeírás forrásértéke*. HBmL. Évkönyve. IX. Debrecen, 1982. 117-127.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Országos Levéltár. Portális összeírások 1696. VIII. köt.

Selon les instructions du recensement il faut agir selon la loi 62 de l'année 1609: on a compté 480 setiers de Presbourg de terre par maison, en prenant en considération certains facteurs économiques favorables (commerce, moulin, rivière navigable) et des facteurs défavorables (logement des soldats, inondations, manque de prés et des paturages). Le recensement du département de Bihar donne les surfaces emblavées par villages et le nombre des habitants ayant ou n'ayant pas de surfaces emblavées.

La totalité des surfaces emblavées dans le département était de 6.438 setiers de Presbourg, ce qui correspondra en principe à 13,41 ménages. Mais les taxateurs n'ont pas signalé les autres calculs à faire. Le recensement n'ayant pas donné le résultat attendu, le paiement des impôts ne se faisait pas selon la conscription préparée. ZOLTÁN DÁVID dans un essai de 1962 analyse les données des listes de dîmes, du recensement des tailles de l'année 1696, de la conscription nationale des années 1715-20, et d'un registre terrier datant de l'année 1726 et il arrive à la constatation que les données de 1696 indiquant 1397 chefs de famille sont complètement inutilisables.<sup>9</sup>

Le nombre des villages recensés dans le département Bihar<sup>10</sup>:  
(1692-1784/85)

1692	112
1696	218
1715	396
1720	442
1728	415
1735	447
1743	457
1753	458
1763	464
1773	468
Redevances seigneuriales	418
1784/85	472

Cette liste de données nous donne la possibilité de faire plusieurs constatations. La première, qui est la plus saillante est que pendant les quatre années

<sup>9</sup> DÁVID ZOLTÁN: Magyarország népessége a 17-18. század fordulóján. Történeti Statisztikai Évkönyv. 1961/62. 230

<sup>10</sup> A források jegyzékét ld. BÁRSONY ISTVÁN: Bihar megye adózó népessége a XVIII. században. Debrecen, 1984.



entre les deux recensements des années 90, 106 communes se sont peuplées, alors que cette période marquée par une invasion turque en 1693 et un ravage tartare en 1697 était peu appropriée à la réalisation d'un processus pareil. Ces quelques années n'étant pas suffisantes pour la migration intérieure ou l'immigration en masse des Roumaines, la multiplication du nombre des villages ne peut s'expliquer que par le fait, que parmi les communes déclarées dépeuplées ou détruites il y a quelques-unes de l'état desquelles les recenseurs ne se sont pas convaincus ou il est arrivé un phénomène assez fréquent de l'époque, décrit par IMRE SOÓS à propos des relations du département Heves: la population a fui les dévastations et les enlèvements et a cherché abri dans les forêts, dans les marais ou dans les grandes villes; en rentrant les gens ont construit leurs maisons en torchis, leurs cabanes en osier pour s'enfuir à la prochaine occasion d'une attaque turque.<sup>11</sup> IMRE DANKÓ décrit le même phénomène à propos de Sarkad, il note que Sarkad n'était pas inhabitée à l'opposition des données du recensement de 1692. Ses habitants apeurés, peu nombreux ont fui les recenseurs et se sont cachés dans les marais et dans les forêts environnants.<sup>12</sup>

Le recensement de 1692 prend pour une commune inhabitée Szalonta aussi, bien que cette année-là l'existence de la forteresse de Szalonta soit encore attestée par l'accord sur sa remise, conclu avec les Turcs au moment de la reprise de Várad. C'est seulement d'une commune habitée que l'on peut fuir les Turcs dans les forêts environnantes, et sans doute n'a-t-on pas fait de sceau municipal en 1695 pour deux ou trois familles seulement.<sup>13</sup> D'autres recherches révèlent des recensements d'autre type des années 90 où les communes sont indiquées avec un nombre de population qui exclut la probabilité qu'il existait seulement 112 communes habitées dans le département en 1692. Cependant, avant d'inspirer la croyance de vouloir décrire une image trop favorable de la situation des communes du département, il faut faire allusion à deux notes d'un registre terrier qui décrivent unanimement la destruction, le ravage. L'auteur du registre terrier écrit de Szentjób en 1696<sup>14</sup>: le château a été totalement détruit, la commune n'a que 8 familles, ne disposant pas de surfaces emblavées selon le recensement national d'impôt. Dans le registre terrier de l'année 1704 on peut lire sur le recensement des biens de Belényes et de Papmező de la propriété Kornis: le château de Papmező a été détruit, les Allemands en ont pris les armes à feu et toutes les munitions. Les haïdoucs ont

<sup>11</sup> SOÓS IMRE: Heves megye benépesülése a török hódoltság után. Eger, 1955. 4.

<sup>12</sup> DANKÓ IMRE: Sarkad hajdúváros (Tanulmányok Sarkad múltjából) én. 55.

<sup>13</sup> Nagyszalonta 1606-1696. Szerk.: MÓCZÁR JÓZSEF. Nagyszalonta 1906. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Országos Levéltár Urbaria et Conscriptioes. Fasc. 17. No. 7. (1696)

enlevé les objets en fer. Le fossé autour du château était auparavant un étang, avec un moulin du côté de la porte, on n'en voit que sa place.

Il y a des vignobles, mais ils sont aussi délabrés, si l'on les cultivait ils donneraient 30 seaux de vin. Le grand pré autour du château est envahi par les mauvaises herbes, sa récolte d'ailleurs pourrait être de 300 chariots de foin. A l'intérieur, la maison du prêtre est aussi détruite, on n'en voit que les murs de pierre vides. La terre appartenant au château n'est pas grande, parce qu'il n'y pas trop de place, mais les champs sont aussi envahis par les mauvaises herbes.<sup>15</sup>

Le recensement de 1692 offre des données qui justifient que le dépeuplement d'une commune ne signifiait pas forcément l'extinction de sa population. A Kaba en outre des 26 habitants locaux recensés, il y avait treize personnes venues de Sas 15 ans auparavant. A Báránd on a marqué 6 personnes originaires de Keresztes, installées dans le village depuis 4 ans à peu près. D'autres sont venus de Berekböszörmény et Dancsháza, leurs données n'étaient pas d'ailleurs détaillées par les recenseurs. A Udvari, en outre les 16 locaux, on a trouvé 4 habitants de Szerepi, installés depuis 8 ans. A Bajom aussi, on a trouvé des originaires de Dancsháza qui s'y sont installés 10 ans avant. A Derecske il y avait trois habitants, originaires de Tépe, et un habitant, originaire de Komádi, installés dans le village depuis huit ans et un an respectivement.<sup>16</sup>

En ce qui concerne le ravage des communes du département, en nous basant sur les oeuvres déjà citées de ZSIGMOND JÁKÓ et KÁROLY MEZŐSI, et sur la base des données de VINCE BUNYITAY, nous considérons indirectement prouvée par les sources la destruction des villages qui ne se trouvent plus du tout dans les différentes sources au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est à remarquer, cependant, que les villages indiqués encore dans les bases de données, mais pas au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne sont pas devenus détruits ou dépeuplés forcément pendant le régime ottoman, les changements pouvaient s'accomplir plus tard aussi. Par exemple Alba a changé de nom déjà au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle ou bien il a été dévasté, Bánháza n'est plus mentionné dans les sources après 1375. Parmi les communes dépeuplées au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle on trouve: Barátpüspöki, Battyánülése, Bibateleke, Csökmő (près de Terebes), Csősztelek, Déter, Kengyel, Máriamagdolna, Németi (entre Bors et Szentjános).

De nombreuses communes se sont intégrées dans les villages voisins, disparaissant ainsi des pages des sources historiques. Voici quelques exemples: Benkefalva – Brost, Boj – Vaskóh, Brázkútja – Papmezőkimpány, Császló – Semjén,

<sup>15</sup> Országos Levéltár Urbaria et Conscriptioes. Fasc. 164. No. 40. (1704)

<sup>16</sup> MEZŐSI KÁROLY i. m. 55. kk.

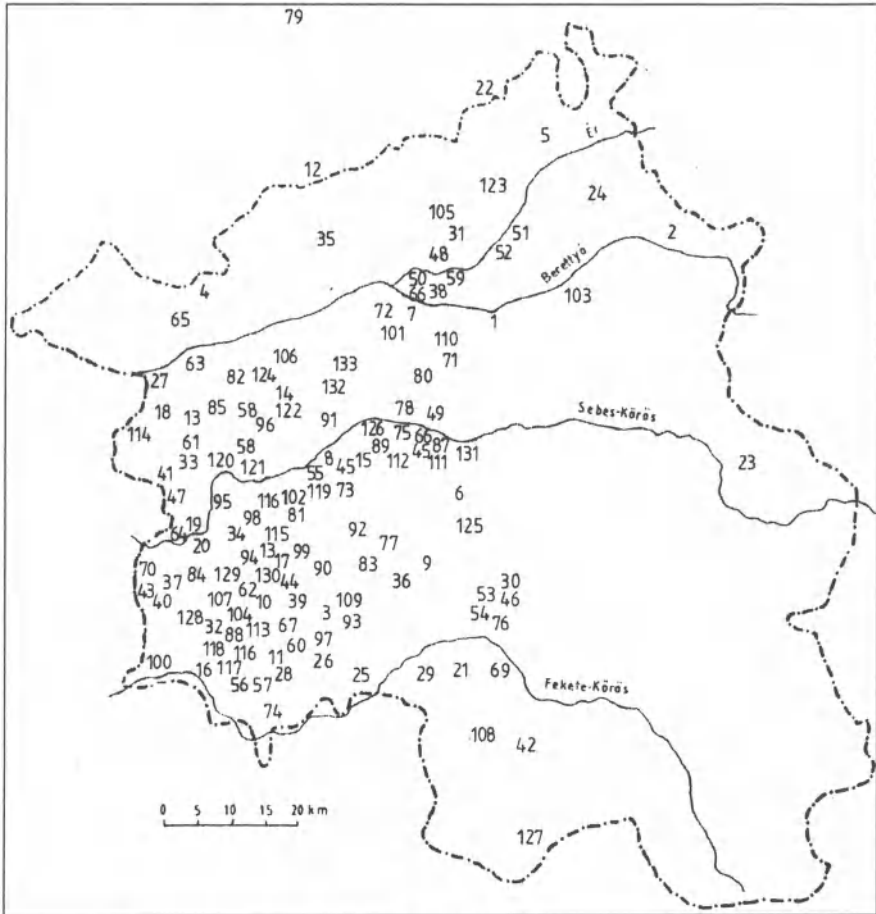
Csomafalva – Szurdics, Dusnok – Nagykereki, Gémfalva – Buntyesd, Goila – Lunkaszprie, Györgyegyháza – Bagamér, Iharpataka – Székelytelek, Nagykosár – Mézes, Rasztoka – Petrász, Kistelegd – Nyárszeg, Tormafalva – Almaszeg, Tótfalu – Mihályfalva, Tótfalu – Gáborján, Zlovest – Pocsaveled.<sup>17</sup>

Les communes détruites et dépeuplées pendant les luttes avec les Turcs ( les numéros aident à s'orienter sur la deuxième carte ci-jointe):

1. Adorján 2. Akor 3. Andacs 4. Andaháza 5. Apáti (Pusztá) 6. Ábrányháza 7. Ádámi
8. Álcsi
9. Babostya 10. Bagd 11. Barmod 12. Bánk 13. Bagécs 14. Besenyő ( dans le voisinage de Berekböszörmény) 15. Besenyő (a SO de Várad) 16. Bélsok 17. Bogyiszlóháza
18. Bosold 19. Bökény 20. Bölcsi 21. Buzásd 22. Buzita
23. Csanád 24. Csatár (Oláh-) 25. Csatfalva 26. Csagód 27. Csif 28. Csömek
29. Dalom 30. Dántelek
31. Egyed 32. Écs 33. Ész
34. Fancsika 35. Fejértó 36. Fölöpegyháza
37. Gyante 38. Gyapoly 39. Gyarak (Mező-) 40. Győr
41. Hát 42. Herna 43. Herpa
44. Iklód (pred de Geszt) 45. Iklód (a SO de Várad) 46. Illyefalva 47. Iráz
48. Jankafalva
49. Kakucs 50. Kasza 51-52. Kágya (Kis-, Nagy-) 53-54. Káránd (Kis-, Nagy-) 55. Kecset
- 56-57. Kemény (Kis-, Nagy-) 58. Kenéz 59. Kerekegyháza 60. Keszi 61. Kérsziget 62. Kéza 63. Kórógy 64. Kót 65. Kovácsi 66. Kozmafalva 67. Kölesér 68. Körmösd
69. Lakottya 70. Lapos 71. Latabár
72. Marja (Nagy-) 73. Mácsa 74. Mártonteleke 75. Megyer 76. Méhelő 77. Méhes
78. Micske 79. Monostor 80. Morcháza
81. Nagyfalu 82. Nyésta
83. Orosi 84. Oroszi
85. Ős 86-87. Ősi (Cser-, Egyházas-) 88. Ősi (Sarkad-)
89. Palota 90. Panasz (Mező-) 91. Panasz 92. Pankota 93. Pata 94. Pánt 95. Peszere
96. Petlend 97. Péterháza 98. Piski
99. Radvány 100. Remete 101. Régen 102. Rövid
103. Sánci 104. Sáp 105. Sárffő 106. Séptely 107. Simonkerék 108. Sipót 109. Solymos 110. Süvegd
111. Száka 112. Szentmihály 113. Szil 114. Szöcsköd

<sup>17</sup>JAKÓ ZS., MEZŐSI K. i. m., BUNYITAY VINCE: A váradi püspökség története. III. k. Nagyvárad 1884; GYÖRFFY ISTVÁN: Dél-Bihar népesedési és nemzetiségi viszonyai negyedfélszáz év óta. FÖLDRAJZI KÖZLEMÉNYEK. 1915 adattárai, illetve táblázata alapján

115. Talmács 116. Tamási 117. Tarcsa (Köte-) 118. Tarcsa (Szil-) 119. Toboly 120-  
 121. Tóti (Kis-, Nagy-) 122. Tölgykerék 123. Tulogd  
 124. Újlak  
 125. Vadassa 126. Vadász 127. Vajvogyesd 128. Varsány 129. Váttyon 130. Vémer  
 131. Volf  
 132-133. Zomlin (Kis-, Nagy-)



Les communes dépeuplées et détruites pendant les combats avec les turcs dans le département Bihar

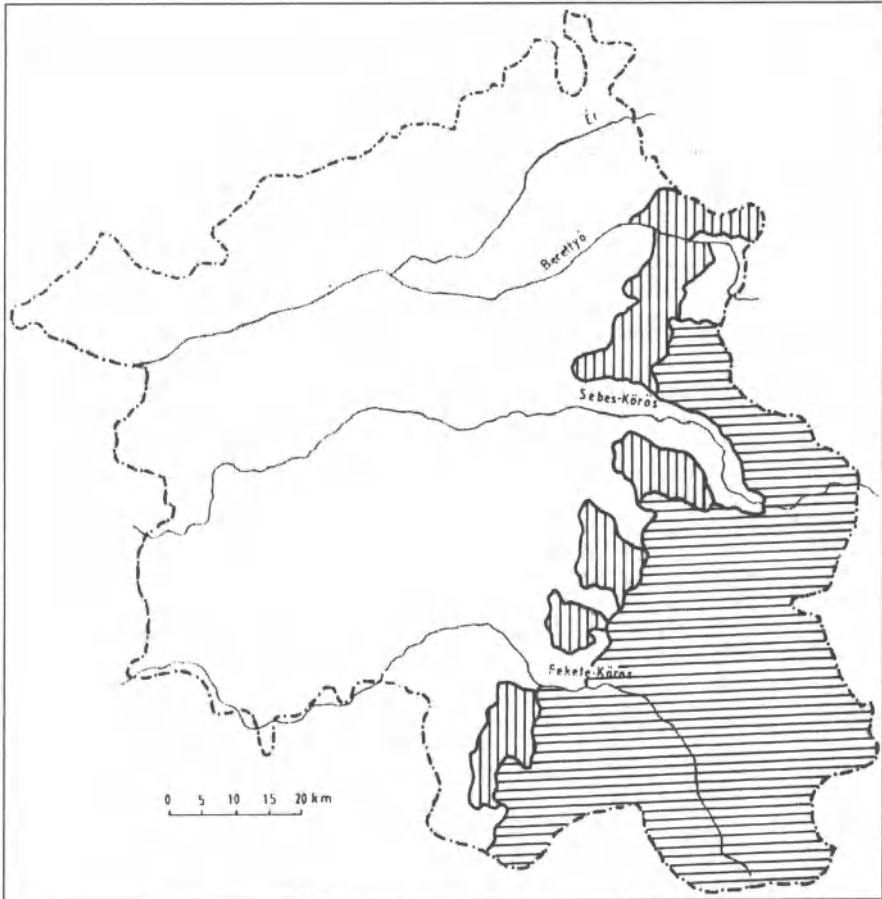
La représentation des données sur une carte étaye unanimement l'avis de ZOLTÁN DÁVID selon lequel les résultats du recensement de l'année 1692 concernant le dépeuplement sont complètement incertains. Les territoires les plus touchés par la destruction et le dépeuplement se trouvent d'une part dans les en-

virons de Várad et Szentjób, d'autre part dans les régions centrales et méridionales du département peu défendues par des forêts et des marais, ainsi que les communes facilement accessibles par voie fluviale. Même dans les régions entourées de montagnes, de forêts ou de marais il semble que le déplacement provisoire de la population d'une commune ne soit pas exclu, ce qui pouvait mener à l'augmentation provisoire de la population de certaines communes plus grandes.




Le déplacement de la population pouvait être déclenché – comme on l'a déjà mentionné – par l'approche des percepteurs. Si en plus celui-ci se contente des données lui déclarées sur place, il est facilement croyable à l'époque de la domination turque et des guerres de reconquête l'image de la destruction, transmise par la conscription de l'année 1692, même si dans la réalité elle semble quelque peu exagérée.

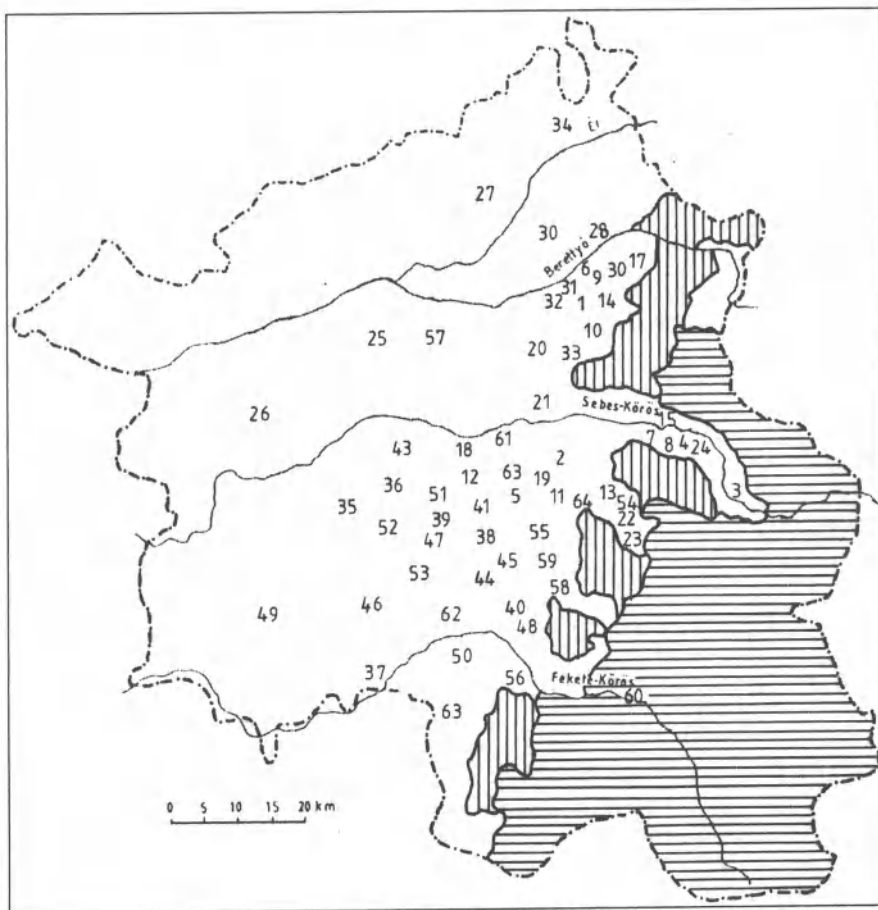
Les villages ci-dessus énumérés ne se sont jamais repeuplés, ils ont été détruits définitivement pendant les combats contre les Turcs. 133 villages transformés en pays désert, intégrés dans le village voisin, ou disparus de la carte du département ne peut en aucun cas être considéré insignifiant, même si ce chiffre reste de loin inférieur à la donnée du recensement de 1692 qui a qualifié 370 villages de dépeuplés. On a vu également des communes – et non des plus petites – qu'on peut à juste titre considérer habités à la différence des données du recensement de 1692.

Dans le recensement de l'année 1692 on trouve également une donnée à laquelle les chercheurs ont accordé peu d'attention, c'est la date du dépeuplement. En les analysant de plus près on peut remarquer certaines particularités. Le nombre des villages quittés par la population pendant les quelques dernières années est relativement petit. Semjén et Piskolt par exemple ont été quittés il y a deux ans, Értarcsa il y a trois ans, et neuf autres villages il y a quatre ans. Vasad est dépeuplé depuis cinq ans, Széplak depuis six ans. En revanche 24 communes sont déclarées dépeuplées depuis sept ans. Si on y ajoute qu'après les combats dans la partie du Nord du département c'est en février 1686 que le château de Szentjób a été pris par les armées impériales, on arrive à trouver peut-être plus facilement la solution. Les villages dépeuplés depuis sept ans se trouvent tous à l'intérieur d'un cercle de 12-15 kilomètres de rayon, donc ils pouvaient effectivement être victimes des guerres de reconquête. A l'approche des guerres la population a quitté ses maisons, et au moment du recensement ils ne sont pas encore rentrés, les combats n'ayant pas encore pris fin depuis longtemps ou bien ils n'étaient pas encore en mesure de payer les impôts. Les 24 villages mentionnés sont devenus dépeuplés ou ruinés économiquement à cause des combats entre 1685 et 1692.



Les frontières ethniques de la population du département Bihar a la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle

- Territoire habité par les ROUMAINS 
- HONGROIS ET ROUMAINS 
- HONGROIS 



Changements ethniques dans le département Bihar jusqu'à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle

L'état habité par les  
XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle

}	Territoire habité par les ROUMAINS	
	HONGROIS ET ROUMAINS	
	HONGROIS	

1-64 commune devenue roumaine au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle

En remontant dans le temps on a connaissance de relativement peu de communes où la déchéance est survenue à propos d'un événement militaire concret. Le nombre des villages quittés depuis 30 ans est petit (5), ce qui peut être mis en rapport – dû à la situation géographique – avec l'occupation turque de Várad en 1660.

Quant aux autres communes, il est possible de les classer de la façon suivante:

– les communes dans le cas desquelles la destruction était signalée par les recenseurs sans expérience personnelle et indépendamment de la réalité, mais faute de source, il ne nous est pas possible de prouver le contraire

– les communes pour lesquelles on possède des preuves indirectes qui justifient qu'elles étaient habitées déjà en 1692.

A la base des données de nos recherches on peut constater que la population contribuable et les personnes oubliées des recensements en 1692 et les années suivantes étaient beaucoup plus considérables qu'on ne le croyait. Au début de la période après la reprise de Várad le nombre de la population contribuable peut être estimée trois fois plus grande que le chiffre donné par KÁROLY MEZŐSI. Ce fait diminue considérablement la cadence de l'accroissement de la population au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et également la proportion de l'ethnie hongroise.

Nous avons déjà fait allusion à la relation que l'on suppose exister entre la diminution de la proportion des Hongrois dans la population du département Bihar au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et les épidémies de peste en 1738/40 et 1742/43. Les tableaux suivants montrent le nombre des victimes, classées selon l'ethnie<sup>18</sup>:

Le nombre des victimes hongroises,  
roumaines et ruthènes de l'épidémie de peste de l'année 1738/40

	Hongrois	Roumain	Rhutène	Mixte	Total
<b>Commune</b>	63	12	–	4	79
<b>en %</b>	79,9%	15,2%		5,1%	100%
<b>Victimes</b>	20440	520	–	1476	22436
<b>en %</b>	91,1%	2,3%		6,6%	100%

<sup>18</sup> DÁVID ZOLTÁN: Az 1738/43. évi pestis pusztítása Bihar megyében. Déri Múzeum Évkönyve. 1969-70. Debrecen, 1971. 181-185.



Le nombre des victimes hongroises,  
roumaines et ruthènes de l'épidémie de peste de l'année 1742/43

	Hongrois	Roumain	Rhutène	Mixte	Total
<b>Commune</b>	48	42	1	2	93
<b>en %</b>	51,6%	45,2%	1,1%	2,1%	100%
<b>Victimes</b>	10324	1847	62	231	12464
<b>en %</b>	82,8%	14,8%	0,5%	1,9%	100%
<b>Vict. totale</b>	30764	2367	62	1707	34900
<b>en %</b>	88,16%	6,78%	0,17%	4,89%	100%

On voudrait rappeler que la population du département Bihar au recensement de Joseph II était encore de 316.021, la perte de population de 35.000 personnes de la période antérieure de 50 ans ne peut en aucun cas être considérée inférieure à 11% de la population de l'année 1784/85. La proportion de 90 % des Hongrois dans le nombre des victimes de la peste signifiait d'une part une perte, et – à cause des victimes mineures – un problème dans la reproduction ultérieure de la population.

On a également mentionné que tout au long du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle l'immigration continue des Roumains est sensible dans le département Bihar. Par la classification du point de vue ethnique des données du recensement de l'année 1772/73 on arrive à dresser le tableau suivant<sup>19</sup> :

La répartition ethnique des communes (1772/73)

Région	Hongrois	Roumain	Rhutène	Hong. – Roum.	Hong. – Rhout.	Total
Várad	31	80	–	–	–	111
Sárrét	37	3	–	4**	1***	45
Érmellék	38	32	1*	–	–	71
Belényes	24	217	–	–	–	241
<b>Total</b>	130 (27,8%)	332 (71,1%)	1 (0,2%)	4 (0,8 %)	1 (0,2%)	468 (100%)

\*Selind; \*\*Darvas, Keresztzegapáti, Szakáll, Zsáka; \*\*\*Acsád

Les données reflètent le déroulement d'un processus tout à fait univoque. Nous représentons sur la carte 3 les anciennes communes hongroises qui, à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ont été habitées majoritairement par les Roumains.

Les communes marquées sur la carte par un numéro sont les suivantes:

1. Almás 2. Alpás 3. Bánlaka 4. Birtiny 5. Csehi 6. Csokaj 7. Czéczke 8. Esküllő 9. Farnos 10. Fegyvernek 11. Hájó 12. Kiskér 13. Kigyik 14. Kővág 15. Kövesd

<sup>19</sup> Lexicon locorum universonum, 1773. (Kiadja a magyar békeküldöttség. Bp. 1920.) 57-72.

16. Alsólugos 17. Nadántelek 18. Ősi 19. Rontó 20. Sitervölgye 21. Suabolcs 22. Szaránd 23. Tasádfő 24. Űrgeteg 25. Peterd 26. Vekerd 27. Csanáros 28. Fancsika 29. Keresztúr 30. Királyi 31. Szentlázár 32. Vámosláz 33. Sárszeg 34. Vasad 35. Atyás 36. Barakony 37. Feketebátor 38. Bikács 39. Cséffa 40. Görbed 41. Gyapjú 42. Magyargyepes 43. Harsány 44. Homoróg 45. Jánosda 46. Illye 47. Inánd 48. Kávásd 49. Méhkerék 50. Kisháza 51. Less 52. Madarász 53. Marcziháza 54. Harangmező 55. Nyárszeg 56. Petegd 57. Rojt 58. Rósafalva 59. Székelytelek 60. Széplak 61. Tarján 62. Tulka 63. Nagyürög 64. Somogy-Uzsopa.

Aux 64 communes énumérées on peut ajouter encore les 64 villages à population mixte, qui sont devenus à la fin du siècle des villages roumains: Betfia, Bogdánsovárhegy, Borostelek, Borzik, Hagymádfalva, Kistótfalu, Nagytótfalu, Telkesd, Töttös (Région Váradi)

Almaszeg, (avec Szuszafalva et Tormafalva), Alsóderna, Baromlak, Bartfalva, Bisztraújfalu, Bozsaj, Cséhtelek, Déda, Felsőderna, Középes, Lüki, (avec Kohány), Sástelek, Száldobágy, Széltalló, Szunyogd, Terebes, Terje, Várvíz, Vedresábrány (Région Érmellék), Kisürög, Kocsuba, Krajova, Olcsa, Pósa (Région Belényes)

A la base de nos données on peut constater qu'au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle la répartition ethnique d'au moins 100 villages a changé au profit des Roumains dans le département Bihar, ce qui représente 21 % des communes. Selon les données du recensement de l'année 1772/73, utilisées comme sources, c'est seulement dans le département Bács que la proportion de l'ethnie non-hongroise était supérieure à celle du département Bihar. Là, dans 64 villages sur les 89 la majorité des habitants n'était pas hongroise, ce qui représente 72 % par rapport au 71 % dans le département Bihar<sup>20</sup>.

Le changement des rapports ethniques ne signifie cependant pas, que le rôle économique, culturel du peuple hongrois a changé de la même manière. Pour justifier notre affirmation on présente ici deux tableaux:

Villes agricoles dans le département Bihar (1772/73)

Région	Hongrois	Roumain	Total
Várad	7 (100%)	-	7
Sárrét	7 (100%)	-	7
Érmellék	5 (100%)	-	5
Belényes	3 (50%)	3 (50%)	6
Total	22 (88%)	3 (12%)	25

<sup>20</sup>RÁCZ ISTVÁN: i.m. 37

Le nombre des maîtres d'école et des instituteurs dans le département Bihar  
(1772/73)

Région	Hongrois	Roumain	Rhutène	Hong.- Roum.	Hong.- Rhut.	Total
Várad	38 (95%)	2* (5%)	-	-	-	40
Sárrét	36 (78,28%)	2** (4,34%)	-	7 (15,21%)	1 (2,17%)	46
Érmellék	45 (90%)	4*** (8%)	1 (0,2%)	-	-	50
Belényes	25 (87,9%)	3**** (11,7%)	-	-	-	28
Total	144 (87,9%)	11 (6,7%)	1 (0,6 %)	7 (4,2%)	1 (0,6 %)	164 (100%)

\*Alsólugos, Szurdok; \*\*Peterd (2); \*\*\*Cséffa, Harsány, Rézbánya; \*\*\*\*Almaszeg, Szunyogd, Vasad, Vedresábrány



## Hussitismus und Protestantismus in Moldavien

*Pozsony, Ferenc*

Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts erfreuten sich die Lehren des Prager Jan Hus im ungarischen Kronland Szerémség großer Popularität. Nachdem König Sigismund den Initiator der religiösen Bewegung 1415 auf den Scheiterhaufen schickte, brachte er es mit den Tschechen zu einem Ausgleich und im Einverständnis mit dem Papst forderte er die Rückkehr der "Verirrten" in den Schoß der katholischen Kirche. Die zur Bekehrung der Ketzer herbeigeschickten Mönche lösten in den meisten Gemeinschaften bewaffneten Widerstand aus. Vor den blutigen Vergeltungsaktionen flüchteten die Hussiten, angeführt von ihren Geistlichen, entlang der Flüsse Donau und Szeret in das Moldaugebiet, wo sie von der weltlichen Macht an der Ausübung ihres religiösen Lebens in der Muttersprache nicht gehindert wurden. Die Hussiten ungarischer und deutscher Muttersprache ließen sich 1420 in Kotnár nieder.<sup>1</sup>

Die moldauischen Fürsten nahmen die Flüchtlinge mit der fortschrittlicheren westlichen Wirtschaftskultur auch gerne auf, sie durften dort in Frieden leben und anfangs sogar mit der Erlaubnis der Woiwoden ihre Lehren frei verbreiten. Der Bischof von Krakau erklärt die rasche Verbreitung des Hussitismus in einem 1432 datierten Brief mit der Schwäche und Desorganisiertheit der hiesigen katholischen Kirche und die freundliche Aufnahme der Hussiten führt er auf die Polenfeindlichkeit des moldauischen Woiwoden (Alexandru cel Bun) zurück.<sup>2</sup>

Die Ansiedlung der Hussiten wird auch in der päpstlichen Bulle des IV. Eugenius von 1446 sowie in einem Bericht von 1571 beschrieben.<sup>3</sup> Ihre Auswanderung dauerte etwa fünfzig Jahre an. Zuerst kamen sie aus den südlichen Teilen des ungarischen Königreichs, aus dem Szerémség und aus Süd-Transsylvanien; später, in den 1480er Jahren, auch von den nordwestlichen Peripherien des Landes, aus der Umgebung von Pozsony (Bratislava). Es ist anzunehmen, dass mit den zahlreichen ungarischen Gruppen auch Sachsen und

<sup>1</sup> Papacostea 1962. 253-258.; Giurescu 1966. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Papacostea 1962. 253-254.

<sup>3</sup> Binder 1982. 123.

Tschechen in den Norden Moldaviens kamen. Die Flüchtlinge gründeten hier mehrere wichtige Gemeinden. Ein Zeugnis davon legen die Städtenamen „Husi“ und das nach Hieronymus von Prag benannte „Jeromosfalva“ ab. Bedeutendere Gemeinschaften lebten in Románvásár, Tatros/Târgu Totruș, Kotnár und Szászkút. Sie spielten eine Rolle sowohl in der Gründung von neuen Dorfgemeinden als auch in der Verstärkung von bereits existierenden ungarischen Gemeinschaften wie zB. in Csöbörcsök<sup>4</sup>, Szent Péter, Szent János und Szent Antal. Tamás Pécsi und Bálint Újlaki. Zu hussitischen Geistlichen gewordene Mönche, übersetzten in Tatros die vier Evangelien der Bibel zum ersten Mal ins Ungarische. Diese sind in der Kopie von György Németi im Münchner oder Jókai-Kodex erhalten geblieben.<sup>5</sup> Nach dem Schlusssatz des Evangeliums Johannis fügte der Kopist auch die Bemerkung hinzu, dass diese Übersetzung 1466 Tatros varasaban (in der Stadt Tâtros) angefertigt wurde.<sup>6</sup>

Die katholische Kirche tat schon unter Papst IV. Eugenius alles, um die in mehrere Tausende gehenden Hussiten zurückzuführen: Sie verbündete sich mit dem Fürstentum Moldau und schickte 1444 zwei ungarische Mönche namens Dénes Újlaki und Fábíán Baka in das Gebiet, damit diese dort Inquisitionstätigkeit gegen die hussitischen Gemeinschaften ausübten. Zwischen 1445–1446 führte der Papst erneut strenge Maßnahmen gegen die Ketzer ein und 1451 schickte er vier weitere ungarische Prediger unter der Leitung des ungarischen Mönches László dorthin. Die wichtigsten Lehren der moldauischen Hussiten wurden von ungarischen Minoriten in ihrem Bericht von 1461 festgehalten: Sie erkannten die Obrigkeit des Papstes nicht an, hielten zur Rückkehr zu den Lehren des Evangeliums an, lehnten die Anbetung von Heiligenbildern, den Glauben an die Heiligen, ihre Reliquien und Wundertaten, das Fasten und die mönchische Lebensweise ab. Gleichzeitig hielten sie an der Existenz des Himmels und der Hölle fest, feierten nur an Sonntagen und hielten die Predigten der Priester für wichtig. Die Kritik an bestehenden gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen Moldaviens trat in ihren Texten weniger in den Vordergrund.<sup>7</sup>

Trotz der Offensive der römisch-katholischen Kirche konnten sich hussitische Gemeinschaften in Moldavien unter dem Woiwoden István Nagy [Ștefan cel Mare] (1457–1504) ungestört weiterentwickeln. Dazu trug auch der 1462

<sup>4</sup> Der Rest der ungarischen Bevölkerung siedelte Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts nach Husi um. Siehe Halász 1999. 167.

<sup>5</sup> Gálos 1928.; Sógor 1992. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Binder 1982. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Craciun 1996. 23.

ausbrechende Konflikt zwischen den ungarischen Minoriten und der moldauischen orthodoxen Kirche bei. König Matthias eroberte 1481 Mähren und zwang die dortigen Hussiten, ihre Heimat zu verlassen. Aus diesem Grund kamen hussitische Flüchtlinge gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts vor allem aus Mähren an die Moldau und ließen sich eher verstreut nieder. Ihre Lehren fanden im Kreis orthodoxer Rumänen kein besonderes Echo und kaum Anhänger.<sup>8</sup> Im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts, auf Anregung Bartolomeo Bruttis, wurde der Kampf gegen die Hussiten unter den Woiwoden Bogdan Lapusneanu und Petru Schiopul zu einer Angelegenheit von staatspolitischem Rang. Der wichtigste politische Ratgeber von Peter dem Hinkenden war gerade Brutti, von albanischer Herkunft, der den Woiwoden dazu bewegt, vom Papst Jesuitenmönche zur Zurückdrängung von Hussiten und Protestanten zu erbitten. Im Jahre 1588 treffen auch schon die ersten Mönche aus Polen ein; ihre Aufgabe besteht darin, die sich von Siebenbürgen her in bedenklichem Ausmaß verbreiteten "ketzerischen" Lehren zurückzudrängen und ein ständiges Kollegium aufzustellen. Vielerorts haben sie die verheirateten Pfarrer vertrieben, die Pflichten des Dorfpfarrers übernommen, die Messe gelesen, die Sakramente ausgeteilt usw.<sup>9</sup> Obwohl ihre kämpferische Bekehrungsarbeit oft dadurch gehindert wurde, dass sie mit den ungarischen Gläubigen an der Moldau nur mit Hilfe von Dolmetschern kommunizieren konnten, findet sich in mehr als einer schriftlichen Quelle der Bericht über ihre erfolgreiche Tätigkeit. So berichtet z.B. György Vásári (Sekretär des katholischen Bischofs von Kameniec) in einem Brief von 1571 an den päpstlichen Nuntius in Polen mit offensichtlichem Stolz darüber, dass Mihály Thabuk, Priester von Tatros in Husz, Románvásár und den umliegenden Dörfern an die 2000 ungarische Hussiten bekehrt habe. Er bat um die Entsendung von weiteren Priestern, da diese Leute sonst, in Ermangelung der seelischen Betreuung, zu ihrem ketzerischen Glauben zurückkehren könnten. Auf Thabuks Bitte erhielten vom polnischen Bischof zwölf Priester die Weihe, damit diese ihn bei seiner Arbeit unterstützten. Der moldauische Woiwode Bogdan erkannte die Bedeutung der Bekehrungsarbeit des Priesters gleichermaßen an und schlug diesen für einen höheren kirchlichen Posten vor.<sup>10</sup>

Die hussitischen Gemeinschaften gerieten Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts in eine schwierige Lage: Ihre eigenen Pfarrer starben nacheinander ab und es folgte

<sup>8</sup> Craciun 1996. 16-17.

<sup>9</sup> Domokos 1987. 60-61.

<sup>10</sup> „Ungari, qui erant in oppido Hustwaras, item in alio oppido dicto Romanwaras est in villis vecinis duo millia hominum in circa sunt conversi ad fidem catholicam, qui prius sequebantur haeresim Ioannis Hus...“. Siehe Benda 1989. 71. Zitiert bei Craciun 1996. 185.

ihnen niemand nach, etwa aus dem Karpatenbecken, so dass in der Folge ein Teil der vereinsamten Kirchengemeinden zur reformierten Kirche übertrat. Eine kleinere Gruppe in Szászkút hielt unter den Ungarn noch im 19. Jahrhundert am reformierten Glauben fest. Die Ansiedlung von hussitischen Gemeinschaften stellte an der Moldau einige Zeit lang eine gewisse Störung dar, aber die meisten wurden nach und nach in die römisch-katholische Kirche reintegriert. Deodatus, katholischer Bischof von Sofia, fand 1641 in Husz einige Familien vor, die noch hussitische Lehren befolgten und zur Zeit des Besuchs von Bandinus (1648), d.h. lange nach ihrer Rekatholisierung, sangen diese während der Messe immer noch auf ungarisch. Die Anwesenheit der Hussiten an der Moldau war vor allem deshalb von Bedeutung, weil sie das religiöse Leben in der Muttersprache zur stärkeren Präsenz verhalfen. Nach ihrer Rekatholisierung kamen vor allem fremde Sprachen sprechende Mönche in das moldauische Missionsgebiet, weshalb infolge der fehlenden Kommunikation sehr viele zum orthodoxen Glauben übertraten.<sup>11</sup>

Im Laufe des 16. Jahrhunderts übten an der Moldau gleichzeitig mehrere religiöse Reformbewegungen eine Wirkung aus. Neben dem Hussitismus sind vor allem beim städtischen Bürgertum die lutherischen und kalvinistischen Lehren des Protestantismus populär geworden. Bei mehreren Gemeinden erfährt man von einer Vermischung zwischen Hussiten und Protestanten. In anderen Ortschaften zeigte sich die Wirkung der Reformation dahingehend, dass die katholischen Geistlichen heirateten und Familien gründeten, ohne ihren Glauben und ihre Religion aufzugeben zu haben. Der Synkretismus des religiösen Lebens an der Moldau wurde dadurch noch komplizierter gemacht, dass die Hussiten sich in vielen Fällen unmittelbar nach ihrer Rekatholisierung das lutherische oder kalvinistische Ideengut angeeignet haben.<sup>12</sup>

Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts konvertierte ein Großteil der im Karpatenbecken lebenden Ungarn zum protestantischen Glauben. Im unabhängigen siebenbürgischen Fürstentum nahmen die Sachsen einheitlich die lutherischen Lehren an, während die Ungarn (mit Ausnahme von Csík, Gyergyó, dem oberen Háromszék und entlang des oberen Nyárad) vor allem die neuen kalvinistischen und unitarischen Lehren befolgten. Die Erneuerung des Glaubens machte aber an den Ostkarpaten keinen Halt, im Gegenteil setzte sie sich bei den ungarischen und sächsischen Gemeinden an der Moldau blitzschnell fort. Hier verursachte jedoch die Reformation eine viel grundlegendere Veränderung und Verwirrung

<sup>11</sup> Benda 1989. 31, 41., 71-72.

<sup>12</sup> Halász 1999. 168-169.



als der Hussitismus. Da nur ein schmaler Streifen im Osten von Siebenbürgen bei der katholischen Kirche blieb und selbst im Kloster von Csíksomlyó nur noch einige Wenige Mönche tätig waren, war es unmöglich geworden, aus dem Seklerland Geistliche oder Franziskaner zu den moldauischen Ungarn zu entsenden. Die Verbreitung des Protestantismus an der Moldau verfolgten die westlichen Reformatoren mit großem Interesse. Sie sahen in der von Rom unabhängigen orthodoxen Kirche einen potenziellen Verbündeten, den sie für eine globale Kirchenreform und für die Vereinigung der europäischen christlichen Kirchen gewinnen wollten. Die Verbreitung der Reformation wurde auch von der toleranten Kirchenpolitik des moldauischen Woiwoden Petru Rares (1527–1538 und 1541–1546) vorangetrieben, der für die Verwirklichung seiner Pläne der Unterstützung durch das ungarische und sächsische Bürgertum bedurfte und diesem vollständige Religionsfreiheit gewährte. Ähnlich wie die Türken zeigte er sich dem Protestantismus gegenüber tolerant, wofür er die Unterstützung der westlichen Welt erhoffen durfte.<sup>13</sup> In dieser mehrheitlich orthodoxen Umgebung spielten die siebenbürgischen Sachsen und Ungarn bei der Verbreitung der protestantischen Ideen eine große Rolle.<sup>14</sup> Martin Luthers Lehren konnten vor allem in den moldauischen Städten schnell Fuß fassen, in denen eine bedeutende Zahl Ungarn und Sachsen lebten, die zu den siebenbürgischen Protestantenzentren intensive Handels- und Familienbeziehungen unterhielten. Wie aufgrund des Beispiels von Szászékút bereits ausgeführt, sind im 16. Jahrhundert sehr viele hussitische Gemeinschaften protestantisch-reformiert geworden. Die Verbreitung des Protestantismus wurde auch vom Mangel an Geistlichen in der Moldau begünstigt; vielerorts wurden die in der Muttersprache predigenden lutherischen Pfarrer mit offenen Armen aufgenommen.<sup>15</sup> Dem Protestantismus verhalf auch der grie-

<sup>13</sup> Craciun 1996. 45-49.

<sup>14</sup> Der Protestantismus wurde bei den moldauischen Rumänen zu keiner Massenbewegung. Sein Ideengut wirkte nur auf eine schmale elitäre Schicht (zB. Luca Stroici und Ieremia Movila), die in Deutschland studierte. An den Außenwänden des von Luca Stroici gegründeten orthodoxen Klosters in Dragomirna finden sich keine Fresken, was gleichfalls von der puritanen, protestantischen Auffassung des Mäzenen zeugt. Siehe Craciun 1996. 194-195. Verstreute Berichte zeigen jedoch, dass die protestantischen Lehren auf die mit Ungarn und Sachsen eng zusammenlebenden Rumänen sehr wohl eine Wirkung ausübten. Es wurde zB. in einem Schreiben des Geistlichen von Jászvásár aus dem Jahre 1577 überliefert, dass ein unter Sachsen lebender junger Rumäne (wahrscheinlich gerade aufgrund der Mischehe) zum lutheranischen Glauben konvertierte. Siehe Craciun 1996. 195-196.

<sup>15</sup> Maria Craciun ist auch der Meinung, dass in der Aufnahme und Verbreitung des Protestantismus in der Moldau die sogenannten allogenen Gemeinschaften eine bestimmende Rolle spielten. Siehe Craciun 1996. 43.

chischstämmige Despot Voda (1561–1563) zu stärkerer Verbreitung, der gleich nach seiner Thronbesteigung Religionsfreiheit auf dem Gebiet des Fürstentums einführte. Da er die römisch-katholischen Priester und Mönche nicht dulden wollte, ließ er 1562 aus Polen protestantische Bekehrer holen und versuchte sein Volk zum Konvertieren zu bewegen. In der Gestaltung seiner kirchlichen und politischen Ansichten spielten seine polnischen protestantischen Berater eine große Rolle, z.B. Jan Lusinski oder der deutsche Johann Sommer und andere.<sup>16</sup> Voda stiftete in der Stadt Kotnár eine protestantische Schule, die bald zum Zentrum der neuen religiösen Ideen heranwuchs.<sup>17</sup> Die Stadt Moldvabánya mit ihrem kapitalkräftigen sächsischen und ungarischen Bürgertum wurde schon Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts protestantisch, was auch die Motive der aus dieser Zeit stammenden Grabsteine bezeugen.

Die von Toleranz zeugenden Maßnahmen des Woiwoden Despot (1561–1563) schürten in seiner eigenen Umgebung und bei den ihm folgenden Herrschern tiefe Antipathie. Unter der kurzen Herrschaft des Stefan Rares (1551–1552) brach eine regelrechte Verfolgung der Nichtorthodoxen (Protestanten und Armenische) los: Es wurden Kirchen geplündert, Einrichtungsgegenstände und Bücher verbrannt. In einem Brief von 1552 wird darüber berichtet, dass der Woiwode alle moldauischen Ungarn gewaltsam zur Orthodoxie bekehren wollte, aber er ließ auch die lutherischen Sachsen seinen Zorn spüren. Dabei wurden auch die Römisch-Katholischen nicht verschont, da er auch die Bischofskirche von Szeretvásár erbarmungslos verwüsten ließ. Seine schonungslose Vorgehensweise kann damit erklärt werden, dass er zum Halten des unsicheren moldauischen Throns der eindeutigen Unterstützung des orthodoxen Klerus sehr bedurfte.<sup>18</sup>

Auch Alexandru Lapusneanu (1552–1561 und 1563–1567) war bestrebt, die orthodoxe Kirche auf seiner Seite zu haben, weshalb er, besonders in der ersten Zeit seines Regiments, einen Kampf gegen die des Ketzertums beschuldigten protestantischen Bewegungen führte. Gleichzeitig unterhielt er gute Beziehungen mit den Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, dem orthodoxen Klosterzentrum auf dem Berg Athos und nahm auch die siebenbürgischen Orthodoxen in seinen Schutz.<sup>19</sup> Peter der Hinkende (Petru Schiopu), der 1574–1577, 1578–1579 und 1582–1591 auf dem moldauischen Thron saß, bekundete seine Achtung dem Vatikan gegenüber, indem er 1587 die deutschen und siebenbürgischen „Ketzerpfarrer“ seines

<sup>16</sup> Craciun 1996. 110.

<sup>17</sup> Barsanescu 1957.

<sup>18</sup> Craciun 1996. 58–61.

<sup>19</sup> Craciun 1996. 65–98.

Landes verwies und die aus Siebenbürgen kommenden Jesuiten ins Land nahm. Wegen seiner strengen Anordnungen flüchteten alle ungarischsprachigen protestantischen Pfarrer von der Moldau nach Siebenbürgen. Woiwode Peter mahnte sogar seine aus 500 ungarischen Soldaten bestehende Leibwache, dass in seinen Diensten kein einziger Ketzler zu stehen habe.<sup>20</sup> Die die ungarischen protestantischen Pfarrer ablösenden fremden katholischen Mönche konnten sich mit den ungarischen Kirchengemeinden gar nicht verständigen, so dass der Woiwode schon 1587 des Ungarischen und Deutschen mächtige Mönche vom polnischen päpstlichen Nuntius erbat. Die Situation wurde dadurch noch konfuser, dass die auf Befehl scheinbar katholisch gewordenen Gläubigen sich sogleich den in ihre Städte kommenden protestantischen Geistlichen anschlossen, die in ihrer Muttersprache predigten.<sup>21</sup> Die gleiche Auskunft gibt Petrus Deodatus, Bischof von Sofia, der bei seinem Besuch an der Moldau 1641 die Erfahrung machte, dass in der Umgebung von Tatos "wegen der Nähe Siebenbürgens viele zum Ketzler werden".<sup>22</sup>

Unter dem Woiwoden Aron (1591–1595) kam es für eine kurze Zeit zu einer grundlegenden Änderung des Verhältnisses zu den moldauischen protestantischen Kirchen. England übte, vor allem durch seinen Gesandten in Konstantinopel Edward Barton, starken Druck auf die Kirchenpolitik des Woiwoden aus. Die Engländer, die engere Beziehungen zu den Türken suchten, sahen klar, dass der an der Gegenreformation arbeitende Vatikan in der orthodoxen Kirche einen Verbündeten erkannte, weshalb sie die osteuropäischen Protestanten mit allen Mitteln zu schützen und unterstützen suchten. Da sich unter Peter (1588–1591) die gegenreformatorischen Aktivitäten der Jesuiten unter der Führung Bartolomeo Bruttis verstärkten, ließ Woiwode Aron den unbequem gewordenen Missionsführer ermorden und vertrieb 1592 seine Mönche aus dem Fürstentum, um der Forderung der Engländer zu genügen. Im folgenden Jahr versprach Barton nur in dem Falle eine Unterstützung bei der Wiedereroberung des Throns und der Bestärkung der Macht des Woiwoden, wenn dieser den Hussiten und Protestanten ihre Kirchen zurückgebe und auf dem Gebiet des Fürstentums Religionsfreiheit einführe. Die Haltung der Engländer kann damit erklärt werden, dass der Papst

<sup>20</sup> Craciun 1996. 182. Siehe weiters Benda 1989. 85.

<sup>21</sup> Eine ausgezeichnete Schilderung der Verhältnisse zwischen 1585–1587 gibt der Jesuit Giulio Mancinelli: „...essendo condotto in una chiesa latina, lo trovo profana dalli ministri luterani, che spesso venivano in quel loco per servitio delli artegiani, che sono quasi tutti Tedeschi ovvero Ungari luterani.“ Craciun 1996. 185.

<sup>22</sup> Benda 1989. 77, 205.

zuvor die englische Königin Elisabeth aus der römisch-katholischen Kirche verbannt hatte.<sup>23</sup>

Die Verbreitung der protestantischen Lehren stiftete auch in den stärkeren katholischen Gemeinden ernsthafte Verwirrung. Vielerorts brachen die Geistlichen das Zölibat, heirateten und erzogen stolz ihre Kinder. Dafür liefert der Bericht Bernardino Quirinis aus dem Jahre 1599 ein wichtiges Zeugnis, der in Kotnár 1080 Katholiken, an ihrer Spitze aber den (aus Siebenbürgen stammenden) Priester Daniel vorfand, der eine Witwe heiratete und dessen Hochzeit von einem anderen verheirateten Geistlichen zelebriert wurde. Der Bischof tadelte die Ehefrau hart und dann vertrieb er sie in eine andere Gemeinde, wobei er aber Daniel aufgrund des Mangels an Geistlichen an der Spitze der Gemeinde beließ. In Bánya traf er den verheirateten Laurentius Demuth, in Némethváros (Tirgu Neamt) einen siebzehnjährigen Geistlichen mit Familie und in Tatros den gleichfalls verheirateten János Bene.<sup>24</sup> Aufgrund des schon erwähnten Mangels ließ der Bischof auch zu, dass der aus Siebenbürgen stammende lutherische Schulmeister Petrus Elmon bei seiner Gemeinde blieb. Dieser gründete in der Stadt eine Schule mit ungarischer und lateinischer Unterrichtssprache und besaß mehrere "ketzerische" Bücher auf ungarisch sowie verbotene Biblexemplare, die auf der Stelle verbrannt wurden.<sup>25</sup> Quirini bemerkt im Zusammenhang mit dem aus Siebenbürgen stammenden und in der Stadt Husz/Huși arbeitenden Observanten -Franziskaner namens János, dass dieser verheiratet sei und mehrere Kinder habe.<sup>26</sup> In vielen Ortschaften machte er die Erfahrung, dass die Geistlichen eine Kirchengemeinde leiten, ohne vorher die Weihe erhalten zu haben. Cesare Alzati vermutet bei den vielen Fällen des Zölibatsbruchs über die protestantischen Impulse hinaus eher orthodoxe Einflüsse, da an vielen Orten gerade die Gläubigen ihren Leiter darum baten, sich noch vor der Priesterweihe zu verheiraten und eine Familie zu gründen, wie das griechisch-katholische Popen taten.<sup>27</sup> Quirini war bestrebt, strengere Maßnahmen einzuführen, um die aufgrund des protestantischen Einflusses nachlassende Disziplin wiederherzustellen. Mit den im Geiste des Konvents von Trient durchgesetzten härteren Regelungen (z.B. die Einhaltung des Zölibats betreffend) waren viele nicht einverstanden, weshalb man gegen Quirini einen Attentat plante.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Craciun 1996. 160-169.

<sup>24</sup> Benda 1989. 123-124.

<sup>25</sup> Benda 1989. 47, 118-119.

<sup>26</sup> Benda 1989. 118.

<sup>27</sup> Alzati 1982. 263-269. Zitiert bei Craciun 1996. 188.

<sup>28</sup> Craciun 1996. 192.

Lange nach der gegenreformatorischen Offensive der katholischen Kirche, Anfang und Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts fanden Missionäre auf ihren Reisen in Moldavien noch sehr viele Protestanten vor. Zum Beispiel fand 1623 Andreas Bogoslavich in Husz (Huși), Karácsonykő (Piatra Neamt), Szucsáva (Suceava) und Tatros (Târgu Trotuș) Gläubige von "lutherischer" Konfession. In Kotnár war noch 1630 ein lutherischer Pfarrer im Amt. Ein anderer franziskanischer Missionar meldete 1632 der Heiligen Kongregation, „dass in Tatros, Bogdánfalva und anderswo etwa 200 katholische Familien vorzufinden sind, die auf kalvinistische Art die Sakramente erhalten, da sie keine Geistlichen aus ihrer Nation haben“.<sup>29</sup> Simon Appoloni berichtet 1643 aus Jászvásár von der Bekehrung eines lutherischen Ehepaares. Bandinus fand jedoch 1647 bei seiner Visitation nur noch einen kalvinistischen Priester in Bákó vor, der sich um das Seelenheil der Ungarn in der Stadt und ihrer Umgebung über fünfzehn Jahre gewissenhaft kümmerte.<sup>30</sup>

Die in Siebenbürgen lebenden Protestanten legten keine besondere Anstrengung an den Tag, die Ungarn an der Moldau auf koordinierte und planmäßige Art und Weise zu bekehren. Trotzdem konvertierte in den 1540er Jahren ein bedeutender Teil der katholischen Bevölkerung in den Städten zum Protestantismus. Gleichzeitig hielt die konservativere ungarische Landbevölkerung fest an ihren sakralen Traditionen und bewahrte die römisch-katholische Religion bis in unsere Tage. Die Verbreitung des Protestantismus löste bei den orthodoxen Fürsten einen gewaltsamen Protest aus. Vor allem unter Stefan Rares (1551–1552) sowie Alexandru Lapusneanu (1552–1561) erreichte die Intoleranz ihren Höhepunkt, was sich in der Zerstörung, Brandschatzung oder Ausplünderung von römisch-katholischen Kirchen und in der gewaltsamen Bekehrung der Menschen zum orthodoxen Glauben sowie Zwangstaufen zeigte.<sup>31</sup> Quirini, Leiter der moldauischen Mission, machte in seinem Bericht an den Vatikan darauf aufmerksam, dass die griechisch-katholischen Priester bei den konfessionellen Mischehen die ungarischen Ehegatten vor der Heirat mit Zwang wiedertaufen. Aufgrund des Mangels an Geistlichen nahmen sehr viele Ungarn an der Moldau die Dienste von Orthodoxen in Anspruch, was auch die Übernahme von griechisch-katholischen Elementen nach sich zog.<sup>32</sup>

Im Laufe des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts kamen aus Siebenbürgen wieder protestantische Flüchtlinge, die verstreut, in kleineren Gruppen an der Moldau leb-

<sup>29</sup> Benda 1989. 170.

<sup>30</sup> Halász 1999. 171.

<sup>31</sup> Papacostea 1998. 221-222.

<sup>32</sup> Craciun 1996. 196.

ten und sich deshalb verhältnismäßig schnell in römisch-katholische Gemeinden intergrierten. Auf dem Friedhof von Klézse (Cleja) beispielsweise bildeten ihre Gräber noch Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts eine von den katholischen deutlich unterscheidbare Einheit.<sup>33</sup> Größere und kleinere Gruppen von reformierten ungarischen Handwerkern siedelten sich ab dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts auch in moldauischen Städten (zB. in Jászvásár) an. Verstreute Angaben weisen darauf hin, dass in Prála und Bucsum an der Onyest (Onești) um 1850 auch reformierte Familien lebten, die von Kozma Funták, dem Geistlichen von Gorzafalva, 1860 rekatholisiert wurden.<sup>34</sup>

Am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts lebte eine bedeutende Zahl Reformierter in Visonta (Vișontea) im Komitat Vrancea, die im Jahre 1814 aus Siebenbürgen an die Ostkarpaten umzogen. An der Spitze der protestantischen Gemeinde von Visonta stand ein ungarischer Pfarrer, der von seinem katholischen Kollegen beim österreichischen Konsul der Moldau angezeigt wurde und auf dessen Intervention hin das Dorf verlassen musste. Zwei Jahre später kam aus Orbaiszék (dem Vrancea benachbarten siebenbürgischen Komitat), aus dem Dorf Barátos ein neuer reformierter Pfarrer. Von der Anwesenheit des auf ungarisch predigenden Geistlichen verärgert, protestierte der in Bákó residierende katholische Pfarrherr 1817 gleichfalls beim österreichischen Konsul, und forderte, Wien solle entschiedener auftreten und den kalvinistischen ungarischen Pfarrer zurück in seine Heimat Siebenbürgen kommandieren. Benjamin Beder diente aber noch 1817 seiner ungarischen Gemeinde in Visonta. Später verließ er infolge der Insultationen die Ortschaft und wechselte an die Spitze der zahlenstärkeren Szászkuter Gemeinde. Im Jahre 1858 lebte nur noch die Großfamilie von János Nyújtó im reformierten Glauben und die verlassene Kirche der Protestanten fiel bald zusammen.<sup>35</sup>

Eine reformierte Dorfgemeinde an der Moldau erhielt sich bis zum 20. Jahrhundert nur in Szászkút (Sascut). Der Name des Dorfes weist darauf hin, dass es im Mittelalter über eine bedeutende sächsische Bevölkerung verfügte, die mit den als Hochburgen des Protestantismus geltenden Brassó und Barcaság intensive Beziehungen unterhielt. Diese deutschsprachige Gemeinschaft nahm gemeinsam mit den ehemals hussitischen Ungarn das Ideengut der Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert bereitwillig auf. Die reformierte ungarische Gemeinde von Szászkút vergrößerte sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und in der ersten des 19. Jahrhunderts durch die Zuwanderung von aus dem siebenbürgischen Háromszék geflüchteten Familien. Beispielsweise zwang das Hungerleiden, das infolge der großen Dürre in

<sup>33</sup> Domokos 1987. 543.

<sup>34</sup> Domokos 1987. 542-543.

<sup>35</sup> Czelder 1861. 13, 159.

Siebenbürgen im Jahre 1817 eintrat, viele Sekler zum Auswandern. Diese fanden bei den moldauischen protestantischen Gemeinden eine neue Heimat. Ihre Pfarrer entstammten vor allem dem benachbarten Háromszék. In den 1810er Jahren dienten hier Benjamin Beder, András Cseh, dem Károly Jakab Levitenpfarrer folgte. 1837 wurde der aus Barátos in Háromszék stammende Mózes Márk (der vorher in Bukarest als Lehrer tätig war) hierher geladen. Während seiner Tätigkeit, im Jahre 1838, wurden der Gottestisch, der Messkelch aus Zink und die kleinere, 25 kg wiegende Glocke der Gemeinde angefertigt. Die Gemeindeglocke, das Wohnhaus des Pfarrers und der Friedhof befanden sich in einem größeren Garten. Die Szászkúter unterhielten auch eine ungarische konfessionelle Schule unter sehr ärmlichen Bedingungen.<sup>36</sup> Mózes Márk teilte jeden Tag das Schicksal seiner in biblischer Armut lebenden Gemeinde. Márton Czelder, Leiter der reformierten ungarischen Mission in Bukarest, machte zur Zeit seines Besuches von 1861 den Versuch, die absterbende Gemeinde wiederzubeleben. Er ließ die heruntergekommene Kirche neu decken, führte die Rekatholisierten zu ihrem Glauben zurück und ließ einen neuen Gemeindevorstand wählen. Er hielt feurige Predigten, denen auch die römisch-katholischen Ungarn gerne zuhörten. Der Pfarrer von Szászkút versorgte in den 1870er Jahren auch die 39 reformierten ungarischen Familien im Dorf Domnesti südlich von Adjud, die aber 1898 alle schon zum römisch-katholischen Glauben konvertiert waren. Mózes Márk diente bis zu seinem Tode (1876) unter sehr ärmlichen Verhältnissen, aber mit nie nachlassender Treue seiner immer weiter absterbenden, immer kleiner werdenden Gemeinde. Der letzte Pfarrer von Szászkút, György Dobai, stammte aus einer Familie von Großgrundbesitzern und hatte seine Studien in Debrecen und Sárospatak betrieben. Dieser gebildete Geistliche diente ab 1875 in Szászkút. Er nahm sich eine Frau aus Esztelnek im Oberen Háromszék. Im Laufe des ersten Weltkrieges brannten die reformierte Kirche und das Pfarrhaus bis auf die Grundmauern ab. Der Lebensweg seiner Kinder könnte als exemplarisch für das Schicksal der Szászkúter Reformierten im 20. Jahrhundert bezeichnet werden: Eine seiner Töchter starb noch in der Kindheit, ein Sohn fiel im ersten „großen Gefecht“. Nach dem 1925 eingetretenen Tod ihres Vaters sind drei zum römisch-katholischen, zwei zum orthodoxen Glauben konvertiert. Dasselbe Schicksal wurde der kleinen Szászkúter ungarischen Gemeinde zuteil. Im Laufe der rumänischen Volkszählung von 1930 wurden 115 römische Katholiken registriert, von denen sich 109 zur ungarischen Nationalität, 103 zur ungarischen Muttersprache bekannten.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Czelder 1861. 11-13.

<sup>37</sup> Gazda 1992.; Halász 1999. 174-177.; Sógör 1992.



Das Schicksal der kleinen reformierten Gemeinde von Szász-kút kann in vielerlei Hinsicht als Modell dienen: Unter den besonderen geschichtlichen, gesellschaftlichen, wirtschaftlichen, ethnischen und konfessionellen Bedingungen waren die Protestanten nicht eher als die römisch-katholischen Ungarn imstande, ihre Muttersprache und Identität zu bewahren. Gleichzeitig muss hervorgehoben werden, dass die Aktivitäten der auf die Religionsausübung in der Muttersprache so großen Wert legenden protestantischen Kirche an der Moldau im 16–17. Jahrhundert in beträchtlichem Maße dazu beigetragen hatten, dass das Bewusstsein der ungarischen Identität und Muttersprache bei den Csángó-Gemeinschaften selbst am Anfang des dritten Jahrtausends noch lebendig ist.<sup>38</sup>

## Literatur

- Alzati, Cesare 1982 *Terra Romena tra Oriente e Occidente, chiese ed etnie nel tardo 1500*. Milano
- Bărsănescu, Ștefan 1957 *Schola Latina de la Cotnari, biblioteca de curte și proiectul de academie al lui Despot Vodă*. București
- Benda Kálmán (szerk.) 1985 *Csöbörcsök. Egy tatárországi magyar falu története a 16-18. században*. *Századok* 4. sz. 895-916.
- Benda Kálmán 1989 *Moldvai csángó-magyar okmánytár (1467-1706) I-II*. Budapest
- Binder Pál 1982 *Közös múltunk. Románok, magyarok, németek és délszlávok feudalizmus-kori falusi és városi együttéléséről*. Bukarest
- Crăciun, Maria 1996 *Protestantism și ortodoxie în Moldova secolului al XVI-lea*. Cluj-Napoca
- Czelder Márton 1861 *Missziói levelek Ballagi Mórhoz*. *Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lapok* 13. Idézi Halász 1999. 174.
- Domokos Pál Péter 1987 *A moldvai magyarság. Ötödik átdolgozott kiadás*. Budapest
- Gálos Rezső 1928 *Legrégibb bibliafordításunk*. *Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek* 9. Budapest
- Gazda István 1992 *Szász-kúti múlt és jelen. Felebarát. Gyülekezeti lap a szórványban élő magyar református családok számára* III. 1-2. Sz. 19-21.
- Gazda István 1992 *Karácsony Moldvában*. *Felebarát* III. 1-2. Sz. 22-23.
- Giurescu, C. C. 1966 *Cauzele refugerii husiților în Moldova și centrele lor în această țară*. *Studii și articole de istorie* VIII. 28.
- Halász Péter 1999 *A protestáns vallások szerepe a moldvai magyarok életében*. *Ráday Gyűjtemény Évkönyve* IX. Budapest, 165-178.
- Papacostea, Serban 1962 *Știri noi cu privire la istoria husitismului în Moldova în timpul*

<sup>38</sup> Halász 1999. 175.



- lui Alexandru cel Bun. *Studii și cercetări științifice. Istorie*. nr. 2. Iasi, 253-258.
- Papacostea, Serban 1998 De la geneza statelor românești la națiunea română. In: Bărbulescu – Deletant – Hitchins – Papacostea – Pompiliu: *Istoria României*. București, 141-238.
- Pávai István 1999 Etnonimek a moldvai magyar anyanyelvű katolikusok megnevezésére. In: Pozsony Ferenc (szerk.): *Csángósors. Moldvai csángók a változó időkben*. Budapest, 69-82.
- Sógor Csaba 1992 „Elszertült” reformátusok Szászkúton. *Felebarát* III. 1-2. sz. 17-19.
- Tánczos Vilmos 1997 Hányan vannak a moldvai csángók? *Magyar Kisebbség* (Új sorozat) III. évf. 1-2. sz. 370-390.



# Bhuta Worship in the village of Belma: An Exploration in an Indian Folk Belief

*Junnonaho, Martti*

## 1. The region of Dakshina (Southern) Kannada

Dakshina Kannada is located on the coast of the Arabian Sea in the state of Karnataka in Southern India.<sup>1</sup> Geographically, parts of the region are flat and well suited to agricultural cultivation while in other parts there are hills, on slopes of which one of the largest tea- and coffee plantations of India is situated. The most important urban centers in the area are Mangalore (the capital), the population of which is about 500 000, and Udupi.

The cultural and linguistic climates of Dakshina Kannada are distinctively Dravidian. The language of administration is Kannada, which is also the official language of Karnataka. However, the majority of the people living in the area speak Tulu. It is spoken by 2 million people and therefore the area is sometimes referred to as Tulunadu, the land of Tulu. And Tulu, too, is a Dravidian language. As Tulu is not a written language, the language of education and written communication in the area is Kannada (and English). Despite this, Tulu is by no means a dying language, and its position can even be said to have strengthened recently; e.g. for some years ago the Tulu Academy was founded in Mangalore to take care of the Tulu language and culture. Even some written material has now been published in Tulu using the Kannada (or Roman) script. Although the culture of Dakshina Kannada has its roots in the ancient Dravidian tradition, it has since long ago been influenced by the cultural and religious invasion of the Aryans. This cultural influence is called Sanskritization or Aryanization. Such well known Hindu philosophers as Ramanuja and Madhva, who have founded two out of the six classical schools of Hindu philosophy, have been active in the area of Dakshina Kannada. Furthermore, there have been and still are some Buddhist and numerous Jainist centers in the area. Also Shivaism and Vaishnaism have since hundreds

<sup>1</sup> This article is based on fieldwork done in several periods during 1989–1998.

of years had great influence there. For example one of the most famous temples dedicated to Krishna, is situated in Udupi. Because of the vicinity of the sea, also Islam, which was brought into the area mainly by seafarers and traders, has left its imprint in the culture of the Dakshina Kannada. Also some Christian elements can be recognized as a result of the colonial, in particular the Portuguese, influence in the area. Religiously speaking the area of Dakshina Kannada could be described as a melting pot of different traditions and religions. Yet it seems that the most distinctive features in the culture and religion of the area are Dravidian. The Dravidian elements seem to be especially dominant in the tradition of the villages in the countryside. In the coastal regions of Kannada the worship of serpent (in Sanskrit Naga) has been a very old religious custom. From prehistoric times, this region has been one of hills and forests and a abode of serpents, which has attracted fear and propitiation. It has even been said that the serpent was the original deity and totem of the local tribes, and that gods and goddesses of the refined Great Tradition entered it as an overlay on the earlier base. Even today there are a lot of serpent temples in the area, and Naga is worshiped as identical with the serpent god Supramanya overall the coastal Karnataka. The serpent worship is also connected with the Bhuta worship, the most typical belief system of Tulunadu.

## 2. The Bhuta Worship

The bhuta rituals<sup>2</sup> are annual religious ceremonies, which in Tulunadu are performed around from November-December to May-June. The bhuta festival is like the Day of the False King, as on that particular day the members of the lowest caste(s) impersonate the bhuta spirits. These spirits come back annually to observe the village life: they give advice on how people should run their lives, and they also give out warnings and impose punishments in order to keep order in the society. The bhuta rituals are multidimensional, and they can be viewed from the social, cultural, political, judicial, and health perspectives. The rituals can be studied in terms of their internal aspect. This includes the study of paaddanas<sup>3</sup> (epic songs), the masks and makeup, the dances, the dresses, the dialogue between the impersonator and the participants, the ceremonial meal and the setting up of the context of the performance. The external aspect includes changes in the internal aspect for example changes in the duration of the act, in the dresses, the choice of songs, and the organization of the whole ritual.

<sup>2</sup> Gowda 1991; about bhuta rituals see also Upadhyaya & Upadhyaya 1984; Shetty 1986; Claus 1986; Padmanabha 1971; Brückner 1995;

<sup>3</sup> About baaddanas see Upadhyaya & Upadhyaya 1986; Claus 1991; Brückner 1995.

The contexts of history and society are involved in the whole process. In this sense the bhuta ceremony reflects the social and political systems of Tulunadu. The social system of bhuta is based on the caste system and operates according to the life cycles and annual cycles of the castes. The basic rules of the cultural order are inclusion and exclusion. What is considered suitable and proper for one community is a forbidden taboo for the other. The criteria for the ranking of different groups include the distinctions of purity and pollution, superiority and inferiority, cultured and uncultured the first being pure and the second polluted and impure. These rankings determine and maintain the group identities. The epic songs, paaddanas, reflect the anguish and sorrowful sighs of the lower castes. In fact the main motif of the paaddanas is social conflict and the injustice, that once prevailed and still does. It is interesting that the (village) communities that still practice the bhuta worship, have often been subordinated by the more powerful cultures. The organization of the bhuta ceremonies is the responsibility of the higher castes, but practically all social classes take part in them, and the impersonators are usually members of the lower castes. During the ceremony the world of illusion and paradox takes over: the impure become pure, the lowcaste impersonator becomes a deity, the oppressed become respected. When the ceremony takes place at night, it symbolizes the thirst and hunger of daylight. The ceremony is an uprising and a protest that will fade back to the world of illusion the very next day.

Territorially the bhuta ceremonies can be divided into main bhuta festivals, regional bhutas, and local bhutas. In terms of hierarchy at least six different levels of bhuta ceremonies can be distinguished ranging from royal bhutas to family bhutas. The most of the bhuta deities and spirits are ancient or historic forefathers or kings. Traditionally the performance of the bhuta ritual has been considered as an important remedy against illnesses. Besides this, all sorts of activities such as cockfights, betting, ritual football and hunting and different kinds of market activities have risen around the basic ritual. Also the Muslims can take part in these activities. The performance and position of the bhuta worship has during the hundreds (or probably thousands) of years changed a lot and adapted to external influences. However, it has proven to be an enduring and accommodating system and therefore its future seems secured for the moment. It appears, that the people living in the Dakshina Kannada area want to see spirit world incarnate annually in the form of an impersonator. When the spiritual and the material worlds meet in the dark of the night, the balance between the human and the divine worlds is maintained.

### 3. The village of Belma

With a population of about 4000, Belma is, by the Indian standards a fairly small village. It is located within an hour's drive from Mangalore City. Muslims form a small majority in the village. Occupationally the Muslims are mainly shopkeepers and craftsmen, and in general they work in professions considered to be inferior. Although the Hindus form a minority in the village, they dominate the economic, social, and cultural life of the village. As of old the Hindus (mainly bunts, the highest caste after brahmins) have been big landholders and despite the land reform in the 1960's they still own most of the land. The traditional caste system is still strong among the Hindus in the village. The hierarchical rules of caste system uphold the traditional lifestyle against the pressures of change. Another important and interesting factor that helps to maintain the integrity of the country way of life is the matrilineal order of succession (among the bunts). Although the old cultural and belief systems have been preserved fairly intact in the village, the vicinity of the nearby town and the road leading to the village have facilitated the spread of modern technology and cultural innovations. The wealthier households are equipped with telephones and televisions and most households own a radio. In other words the villagers can at the same time follow an ancient religious ceremony that is taking place in the village and watch American TV shows via satellite. Because of the new influences the village is already hampered with many social problems. During my visits I have personally noticed, that more and more often the (Hindu) men, who were employed outside their family used a considerable part of their income in alcohol, which was relatively cheap and easy to obtain when compared to other commodities. The village of Belma is part of an administrative unit comprising three villages (mandala panchayat). In addition to local government officials some voluntary organizations also operate in the village. They aim to support the self-asserting development of the village and improve the possibilities of education so that also the poorest and the most deprived (the Muslims, the women, and the girls) would be able to improve their position.

### 4. The belief system of the village

As the Hindus and the Muslims adhere to different religions, also their ritual systems differ from each other. There are five mosques in the village for the Muslims to visit. Especially the main mosque is impressive. In connection with the mosques there are kindergartens and (Koran) schools that aim to ensure that also

the poorest Muslims get a basic education. Especially the neglect of the education of the Muslim girls is a problem in this village as well as in the rest of India. This is one of the problems that the voluntary organizations have paid special attention to. The belief system of the Belma village is, nevertheless, founded on the Hindu belief system. The core of this seems to be an ancient Dravidian tradition, the bhuta worship. In addition to bhuta worship, several other religious rituals are also performed in the village. There are for example five places of serpent worship, where Naga rituals, for example fertility rites, are performed usually once a year. The serpent rituals are in principle independent cults but there are connections to the bhuta rituals and the places of serpent worship are always situated by or near the bhuta temples or places of worship. Another important figure in the belief system of the village is the goddess Mari, who protects the villagers against epidemics and illnesses. The village of Belma is also under the influence of the Someshwara temple and therefore under the influence of Vishnu and Shiva and many other gods of the Great Tradition of Hinduism. The most popular pan-Hindu god in the region is Ganapathi (Ganesha).

### 5. The Bhuta Worship at Barike House

The information describing the Bhuta worship above concerns more or less the whole Dakshina Kannada region. There is, however, a big variation of the bhuta rituals in different parts (= villages) of the region. Therefore I shall next describe in more detail one local bhuta worship system in Belma village as I have observed it from the viewpoint of one important Manor House, Barike House. My knowledge is based on four shorter field study periods in the village in 1994-98. The field materials consist of videotapes, audiotapes, slides, and note books collected by participant observation and personal interviews. Barike House is the most important house of the nine Bunt houses which maintain the bhuta system in one part of the village, because it is traditionally responsible for the arrangements of the four days long annual bhuta rituals, Nema. Besides these nine families there are about one hundred Hindu families connected to this particular bhuta system. Almost all the rituals are concentrated on Barike House and the vicinities. From the viewpoint of Barike House this local bhuta system is an independent belief system, which has a sphere of influence of about one thousand people altogether. Barike House has two bhuta spirits of its own, Panjustnaya and Posa Bhuta. The landlord says that the former is a kinglike bhuta and the latter like his minister. Both of them are living in the house. Panjustanaya is living in his own shrine

(gudi) and Posa Bhuta in the attic of the House, where he has a big cradle. The third important bhuta spirit of Barike House is called Bermeru (one of the most powerful bhuta spirits in the region), who has also a shrine at a distance of a half mile from the house. An other important ritual place close to Barike House is the bhuta field, pelattadi, where the big annual bhuta festival (Nema) is organized at the end of January.

The bhuta ceremony is a ritual and divine drama that needs all the castes of the part of the village as participants and as audience. The casting of the drama consists of many important "roles" to organize it and to keep it going. The person that connects the local belief system to the great Hindu tradition is called tantri. He is a Brahmin priest who lives outside the village, but he attends to every single bhuta ritual of Barike House. Without him any ritual cannot be performed. He is the person who controls and supervises all the religious life of people connected to this particular bhuta system. Only tantri can go inside to the holiest space of the bhuta shrine. Under his leadership all the puja ceremonies during the bhuta rituals are performed. (As a salary for his duties tantri receives eight mudis (mudi = 40 kg) of rice per year.) In the beginning of any possession ritual it is him that reads the prayers to the panHindu gods and to the bhuta(s), for example like this:

"From time to time, according to the customs, followed at Barike place...Now this is the worship done on account of mahanavami (nine-day-ritual), in this puja some errors might have occurred by us. Today is the forth day festival, considering the petal which we have offered as one fullflower, please accept this worship, this is the service offered by the people of this village, please accept this with happiness, please bless those, the organizers, the villagers, the devotees, the families and it is your virtue to see that all the difficulties and defects are solved by you in the maya world. And it comes under the prestige of you, gods and deities like Mahaganapati (great Ganesha), Somanateshvara (Vishnu), Arasu (king) Panjustnaaya, Posa Bhuta, Banta to bring prosperity for the villagers in the days to come, oh lord, oh god."

The organizer and the leader of this bhuta system is the landlord of Barike House is called madyasta. He says that it has been his duty to follow this system since he came to the house in 1972 by marridge. Except for arrangements he is also the organizing leader of every single Barike House bhuta ceremony. Maybe his most important role during the ritual is, however, to call the bhuta spirits to enter the patri, the impersonator. He says to the spirits:

"Give good advise to the whole family (= village); that's why we sacrifice to you all these prasadans (gifts)."



At the same time the patri starts shivering (= darshana), he gets the possession of the spirits (bhutas) and begins to impersonate them. The patri comes from acary caste (carpenters), the next caste in hierarchical order in the village. Although there is only one family belonging to this caste, it is very important from the viewpoint of the bhuta system, because the patri is the impersonator of both bhuta spirits of Barike House. The role of patri in the ritual is essential, because it is only him that has the capacity and the power to get the spirit possession. The patri's life is controlled in many ways. He is, for example, expected to adhere to a long list of ritual proscriptions in his daily life and specially on the days prior to the bhuta ritual. He:

- may not touch an untouchable
- may not talk to a woman during her menstrual period
- may not carry manure
- may not drink alcoholic beverages
- may not attend funerals
- should take a bath before the noon meal
- should eat only one rice meal per day
- should wear gold and silver bangles (given by the bhuta)
- should wear two gold chains given by the bhuta
- should wear hair in a tuft
- may not eat meat during the period of the village ritual
- may not have intercourse with women during the period of the village ritual

During the possession the bhuta spirits start to speak through him for example like this:

“All are present, all are present, yes. One is present, one is not present, such a dispute should not appear, oh priest. I have come from (a place called) Malar, according to the practice. Including both rich and poor people, my devotees, amidst these people, with all my paraphernalia. I am the deity made my presence in this festival (ritual), I have made my presence through the manmedium, at this nectar moment, in the cocktied pelattadi (field) now, I have arrived, this is my order, on the day of sankranti, on the border of a field, arrived.... oh baraga (cultivator)....having erected the elephanttree (gajamara) which was kept below by your hands. The first chance to serve I have given to the original house, such a deity I am. Now, since there is no king in the village, thinking that there should be a king chief for the village and hence created this so. Until yesterday we have made you to do this practice. Will there be any encounters, such big doubts, my

villagers, by the good wishes of Panjustnaya and Bermeru, I have solved their encounters. And to my family members and to the villagers, I have distributed the nectar. I see that this practice shall continue by your hands beautifully until there is sun and moon. You can believe that Panjustnaya and Posa Bhuta are there. Any more to be discussed? Oh priest, oh all villagers, oh all villagers, oh people assembled here, something fallen from this sky? I will convert it into victorious gem, for the prosperity of the village. I will see that the service is rendered to the village till the sun and moon is there in the earth. This will be carried out by Panjustanaya and Posa Bhuta, you do believe. Oh priest this is the nectar moment, there may be number of disputes, moments of justice, you all come under my family, I am there to look after you. Listen to me, come forward, this is the paraphernalia which has been erected in the auspicious moment, let me bring down this in the auspicious moment, oh priest listen, this is auspicious moment.”

In addition to the functions *tantri*, *madyasta* and *patri* there are several other duties and functions in connection with the *bhuta* ceremonies. Actually there is very complicated division of labor during the preparations of the ritual and during the ritual; each caste has to take care of its own, very exactly classified piece of the whole. There are the lamp carriers, the torch carriers, the musicians, the ox-keepers etc.

## 6. Tulu calendar

In Tulu region, there are two parallel calendars in function. The Western calendar is official, but the religious life always follows the traditional lunar calendar. One of the most important things in the traditional calendar from the religious point of view is the categorizing of time as auspicious or as inauspicious. This division determines the exact moment of any ritual in Hindu calendar, and also in *Bhuta* ritual calendar. There are months that are very auspicious for religious rituals (*Jaarde-Beesya*, November-December to May-June), but for example *Aati* month (July-August) is so inauspicious that any religious ritual that takes place then is impure. In Tulu land it is said the gods and the *bhuta* spirits are sleeping in *Aati*. The turn of month, when the new moon is born, is called *shankramana* night, and it is a very auspicious moment. Therefore most of the *bhuta* rituals take place during nights. From the viewpoint of *Barike House* *bhuta* rituals *Ponni* month (the end of January) is the most auspicious and important, because the annual *bhuta Nema* (festival) is arranged then.

## 7. Bhuta worship as social integration system

The basic concept of the bhuta system is family. In the widest sense of the term, from the viewpoints of the bhuta spirits, the family consists of the whole village community that is in their sphere of influence. The madyasta, the head of Barike House, is a mediator between the spirit world (the world of the bhuta) and the material world (maya world). He was called to that position when he married the heiress of the house, and it is his duty to follow the system as long as he is the landlord. If we regard the bhuta worship as a social integration system, it seems to be a very functional system with all the numerous details. It is like a net or network where every single part has its own particular function to keep the net whole. The bhuta spirits come regularly among the community to remind of the tradition (“according to the practice”, “according to the customs”), to remind of the duties of every single villager both in the ritual and outside the ritual. From the viewpoint of the landowners that means that as long as the bhuta system is going on, they are superior to all other village people, all other castes in village. They have got the divine authority for that. It is clear that it is their interest to continue the system as long as possible, because the rest of the villagers can remain as their laborers with very low wages. From the viewpoint of the lower castes this means that as long as the system is living, their part will not become worse, the bhuta spirits have promised that.

### Sources – field material

- about 12 hours video recordings of bhuta rituals
- about 20 hours sound recordings of rituals and interviews
- about 300 slides and photos

### Literature

- Brückner, Heidrun 1995. *Fürstliche Feste. Texte und Rituale der Tulu-Volksreligion an der Westküste Südindiens*. Wiesbaden.
- Claus, Peter J. 1986. *Translating Performance*. National Seminar on the ritualistic Theatre of Coastal Karnataka. Seminar Paper.
- Claus, Peter J. 1991. *Tulu Paaddanas: Text and Performances*. Mangalore University Decennial Volume. Mangalore
- Gowda, K. Chinnappa 1991. *The Dynamics of Bhuta Worship*. Mangalore University Decennial Volume. Mangalore

- Padmanabha, P. 1971. *Special Study Report on Bhuta Cult in South Kanara District*. Mysore: Census of India.
- Upadhyaya, U.P. and Upadhyaya, S.P. 1984. *Bhuta Worship: Aspects of Ritualistic Theatre*. Udupi.
- Upadhyaya, U.P. and Upadhyaya, S.P. 1986. *Structure of Tulu Paaddanas*. Udupi.

## Veränderungen in der Verarbeitung des Schweinefleisches im 20. Jahrhundert

*Bereczki, Ibolya T.*

Im folgenden sollen die wichtigsten Veränderungen vorgestellt werden, die in der Rolle und der Aufarbeitung des Schweinefleisches im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts eingetreten sind. Die Betonung soll dabei auf die Prozesse gelegt werden, die sich in kartographischen Untersuchungen widerspiegeln konnten bzw. die die Tendenzen der letzten Jahrzehnte verdeutlichen.

Die in der Reihenfolge der Wichtigkeit und des zeitlichen Ablaufs gleichermaßen erste Veränderung, die gleichzeitig den Ausgangspunkt zu weiteren Tendenzen bildete, war der Rassenwechsel in der Schweinepopulation. Aufgrund der Untersuchungen von József Szabadfalvi kann man als bewiesen betrachten, dass die Präsenz der beiden wichtigsten ungarischen Rassen, die sich im Mittelalter verbreitet haben, nämlich des Bakonyer und Szalontaer Schweines, schon im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts zurückzugehen begann. Die Struktur der Bewirtschaftung wurde auf der Tiefebene durch die Flussregulierungen und den darauf folgenden Weidebruch grundlegend verändert. Auch in der Zusammensetzung der Tierpopulation verschoben sich die Akzente wesentlich und der Bestand an Schweinen im Land vergrößerte sich um die Jahrhundertwende innerhalb einiger Jahrzehnte um ein Vielfaches. Im Laufe dieses Wechsels verbreitete sich in Ungarn im 19. Jahrhundert die Rasse der vom Balkan stammenden, vor allem Schmalz/Speck hergebenden Mangalizen vom Süden her, entlang der Viehtreiberrouten. Die wichtigsten Vermittler waren die raizischen Händler. Diese Rasse war an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert auf der Tiefebene, in der Batschka und im Banat gleichermaßen charakteristisch, wies vielerorts eine ausschließliche Präsenz auf, verbreitete sich in Nordungarn ab Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, wobei sie dort erst am Ende des Jahrhunderts massenhaft auftrat<sup>1</sup>.

Die intensive, auf Fütterung basierende Haltung hing mit dem Erscheinen der englischen Fleischschweine zusammen. Die Regierung unterstützte ihre

<sup>1</sup> SZABADFALVI 1991, GUNDA 1956.

Verbreitung schon in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts, trotzdem entwickelten sich größere Bestände erst von den 1930er und 1940er Jahren an. Der Übergang von der Mangaliza zum Fleischschwein setzte in den 1950er Jahren auch im Norden Ungarns und damit landesweit ein und kam in den 70er Jahren zum Abschluss. Im Jahre 1978 in Karcag und 1989 auf dem Markt von Szabadka (im heutigen Jugoslawien) hatte ich noch Gelegenheit, Mangalizen zu sehen. In Tarnalelesz wurde das letzte Tier im Jahre 1979 geschlachtet.<sup>2</sup>

In der Nachfrage und im Verbrauch von Fleisch und Speck ging eine mit dem Rassenwechsel eng verbundene Verwandlung vor sich. Wie allgemein bekannt, war im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts in den Dörfern der Tiefebene die wichtigste Fettart der gesalzene weiße Speck, der in ausreichender Menge vorhanden, für alle Bauernfamilien übers ganze Jahr eine Sicherheit der Ernährung im Alltag bedeutete. Es kam ausschließlich beim Schweineschlachten vor, dass das Frischfleisch zu Gerichten verkocht und als Kostprobe verschenkt wurde; der Rest wurde konserviert, gesalzen und geräuchert. Die knochigeren, weniger Fleisch enthaltenden Teile (Rücken, Schulter, Klauen, Kopf) wurden im Winter oder Anfang des Frühlings verbraucht, wobei der Schinken einerseits zu Ostern einen festen Bestandteil des festlichen Menüs bildete, andererseits für die härteren Arbeitsphasen des Sommers aufgespart wurde. Im Kiskunság wurde der "Abfall" frisch verarbeitet, geräuchertes Fleisch und geräucherte Wurst waren Bestandteile der Ernährung im Sommer, während Speck und Schmalz den Fettverbrauch des ganzen Jahres sicherten.<sup>3</sup> Im nordungarischen Gömör galt die Zahl der geschlachteten Schweine im Jahr als Gradmesser der gesellschaftlichen Stellung. Jeder war bestrebt, mindestens eines schlachten zu können und es musste schon ein sehr armes, verelendetes und altes Ehepaar sein, das dazu nicht imstande war. Ein guter Wirt brachte es auf zwei, das eine wurde zu Weihnachten, das andere zu Fasching geschlachtet; als wohlhabend galt man mit drei Schlachtungen im Jahr.<sup>4</sup> Die Tendenz der Veränderungen im 20. Jahrhundert zeigte in die Richtung des geringeren Verbrauchs von Speck und Schmalz sowie der verstärkten Gewinnung von Fleisch. Dies kann man im Grunde als für das gesamte ungarische Sprachgebiet typisch bezeichnen.

Eine bedeutende Veränderung ging im 20. Jahrhundert im Kreis der Personen vor, die das Schweinefleisch aufarbeiteten. Beschreibungen vom

<sup>2</sup> SZABADFALVI 1991, SZABADFALVI 1991.a, SZABADFALVI 1989, SCHWALM 1989. 379-496, SCHWALM 1989. 435.

<sup>3</sup> TÁLASI 1936, 227.

Anfang des Jahrhunderts berichten ausnahmslos davon, dass der Arbeitsgang der Schweineschlachtung einen Teil des bäuerlichen Wissens darstellt und dass fast jeder Mann im Stande ist, die Arbeiten um die Zerteilung und Konservierung des Fleisches zu verrichten. Ein Spezialist wird von Fall zu Fall nur gerufen, damit er der Familie etwas Arbeit abnimmt; die Helfer sind sonst alle nähere Verwandte und Gevatter. Von den 30er Jahren an tauchten die ersten gelernten Fleischhauer auf. Sie spielten eine immer bedeutendere Rolle und hatten nicht wenig Anteil an der Einführung von neuen Verfahren, Werkzeugen und Präparaten im Prozess der Fleischverarbeitung.

Die 1960er Jahre stellen den Ausgangspunkt einer ganz neuen Entwicklung dar. Die grundlegenden gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen führten dazu, dass die Zahl der im Dorf lebenden jungen und erwachsenen Männern drastisch zurückging und dass selbst diese meist zu pendelnden Arbeitern wurden. Die Möglichkeit sich bäuerliches Wissen auf traditionellem Wege anzueignen, nahm ab, so dass Männer, die heute im mittleren Alter sind, nicht mehr gelernt haben, wie man Schweinefleisch verarbeitet. So liegt es auf der Hand, dass man ab den 1970er Jahren einen gelernten Fleischhauer für die Schlachtung engagierte.

Eine weitere Veränderung ist in der Arbeitsteilung zwischen Männern und Frauen zu beobachten. In den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts gehörte die Anfertigung von Leberwurst und Schwartenmagen zu den ausdrücklich weiblichen Aufgaben. Frauen verrichteten die nicht leichte Arbeit der Darmreinigung, das Abkochen der Fleishteile, des Reises und dann der Leberwurst. Sengen, dem Fleischer helfen, Speck einsalzen, Wurstfleisch und Speck aufschneiden, Fleisch faschieren, Wurstfleisch kneten und einfüllen – dies alles war Männerarbeit. Ab Mitte des Jahrhunderts wurde dann auch die Leberwurst von Männern angefertigt, wohingegen der Speck sowohl von Frauen als auch Männern ausgebraten werden durfte.

Bedeutende Veränderungen gingen im 20. Jh. im Arbeitsverlauf und dem dazugehörigen Werkzeuginventar der Verarbeitung vor sich. Um die Jahrhundertwende geschah im größten Teil des ungarischen Sprachgebiets die Entfernung der Haare des abgestochenen Schweins durch Sengen. László Kardos beschreibt das Sengen als einzig verwendetes Verfahren im Örség (Westungarn)<sup>5</sup>; über das gleiche Verfahren in Szentgál (Bakony-Gebirge, Transdanubien) berichtet Aurél Vakjai<sup>6</sup>, im Hanság und im Rábaköz ist es ebenfalls die Art der Reinigung.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> UJVÁRY 1992. 145-146.

<sup>5</sup> KARDOS 1943. 74.

<sup>6</sup> VAJKAI 1959. 156.

<sup>7</sup> TIMAFFY 1991. 144.

In Transdanubien, vor allem in den Dörfern mit deutscher Bevölkerung ist auch die Enthaarung durch Abbrühen charakteristisch. Dies geschieht in einem Holztrog mittels heißen Wassers. In den Komitaten Baranya und Tolna sind beide Verfahren gebräuchlich, aber das Abbrühen betrachtet man als für die Deutschen typisch (eigene Sammlung); im Komitat Somogy wurde das Schneiden um die Jahrhundertwende bei Ungarn und Kroaten gesengt; ab den 1920–1930er Jahren kommen bei Ungarn und Deutschen gleichermaßen beide Verfahren vor.<sup>8</sup> Zwischen Donau und Theiss sowie in Nordungarn ist das Sengen ebenfalls typisch<sup>9</sup> auf der Tiefebene kann das Sengen im Laufe des ganzen 20. Jahrhunderts als ausschließliches Verfahren bezeichnet werden.<sup>10</sup> In Mezőberény kann dem Einfluss der ortsansässigen Deutschen zugeschrieben werden, dass neben dem Sengen auch das Abbrühen als bekanntes Verfahren galt.<sup>11</sup> Charakteristisches Werkzeug des Sengens mit Stroh ist die eigens zu diesem Zweck angefertigte Gabel, die in jedem bäuerlichen Haushalt zu finden war.

Während das Sengen um die Jahrhundertwende ausschließlich mit Stroh durchgeführt wurde, verbreitete sich in den 1920–30er Jahren von der Tiefebene ausgehend ein mit Maiskolben, später mit Brennholz betriebenes Handgerät.<sup>12</sup> Dieses Handgerät verbreitete sich in den nordungarischen Gebieten erst in den 50er Jahren, während es bei den *barkók* von Attila Paládi-Kovács 1982 als bis in unsere Tage in der Praxis gebräuchlich beschrieben wird.<sup>13</sup> Eine landesweite Veränderung ging Ende der 60er, Anfang der 70er Jahre vor sich, als sich die durch Propan–Butan–Gasflaschen betriebenen Senggeräte verbreitet haben. Heutzutage wird überall und ausschließlich dieses Gerät verwendet. Seine Form ist verhältnismäßig einheitlich; es wird von geschickten Leuten im Dorf selbst hergestellt und

<sup>8</sup> KNÈZY 1980.

<sup>9</sup> KISBÀN 1984. 783., UJVÁRY 1991. 151, CS. SCHWALM 1989. 436., PALÁDI-KOVÁCS 1982. 107.

<sup>10</sup> Ohne einen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit: ECSEDI 1935. 215, FAZEKAS 1994. 72, PAPP I. 1982. 205, P. MADAR 1983. 468, P. MADAR 1993. 180, BÖDI 1985. 343, PAPP Z. 1975. 252, Bálint 1974. 121, SZIGETI 1974. 131, T. BERECZKI 1992.

<sup>11</sup> BANNER 1973. 369. Die Slowaken sengten mit Stroh: TÀBORI 1973. 357, HATHY 1973. 348, SZÜCS J. 1993. 348.

<sup>12</sup> Anfang der 1940er Jahre in Mezőberény war für meinen Vater, damals in seinen jungen Jahren, dieses Seng-Gerät ein wichtiges Mittel zum Geldverdienen, da er an einem einzigen Wintermorgen drei-vier Schweine abgestochen und gesengt und auf dem letzten Hof er selbst die Zerteilung durchgeführt hat.

<sup>13</sup> PALÁDI-KOVÁCS 1982. 107.



seine Anwendung ist nicht von Fachwissen und Erfahrung abhängig wie - laut Beschreibungen - das Sengen mit Stroh.<sup>14</sup>

Ein Werkzeug, das die Verarbeitung des Schweinefleisches grundsätzlich veränderte, war der Fleischwolf. Die Beschreibungen der Jahrhundertwende berichten noch ausnahmslos von der Zerkleinerung des Wurstfleisches mit Messern<sup>15</sup>, die Anfang der 20er Jahre zum Teil vom Beil abgelöst wurden. In Gömör schreibt man die Einführung des Fleischwolfes eindeutig den zwischen 1910–1920 aus Amerika Heimgekehrten zu<sup>16</sup>, nach Sándor Bálint verbreitete er sich durch den Einfluss der Fleischindustrie.<sup>17</sup> In den 40er Jahren war er auch schon in Dorfläden erhältlich. Da auch die Ausleihe möglich war, erleichterte oft ein einziges Stück die Arbeit einer ganzen Strasse und es konnten größere Mengen Wurst hergestellt werden. Die Abneigung gegenüber diesem Gerät konnte aber unter den am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts Geborenen noch in den 60ern beobachtet werden. In Békéscsaba (Komitat Békés) war die Wurstherstellung besonders bedeutend.<sup>18</sup>

Die wachsende Menge und der immer größere Anteil der Wurstprodukte hängt mit der Verbreitung eines anderen Werkzeugs, des sog. Wurstfüllers, zusammen. Berichte, die sich auf das Ende des 19. und den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts beziehen, erwähnen meistens den Wurstfüller aus Horn; bei Leberwurst ist auch die Rede davon, dass die Frauen den Dickdarm mit der Hand vollstopfen. Der zylinderförmige Wurstfüller, von Klempnern hergestellt, war in den 40ern schon fester Bestandteil des Angebots in den Läden. Nur starke Männer konnten damit arbeiten: sie drückten mit Hilfe einer Sessellehne oder ihrer Bauchmuskulatur das Fleisch durch den Trichter in den Dick- oder Dünndarm. Dies wurde in den 50er Jahren vom Fleischwolf abgelöst. Als neues Gerät galt in den 70ern die mit der Hand angetriebene, nur zum Wurstfüllen verwendete Maschine.<sup>19</sup> Die Maschine wurde wegen ihres verhältnismäßig hohen Preises am Anfang nur von Schlächtern und Metzgern gekauft, die sie regelmäßig verwendet haben. Man findet sie auch heutzutage nicht in allen Haushalten eines Dorfes, sondern eben vor allem dort, wo man jährlich mehrmals Schlachtungen vornahm.

<sup>14</sup> Der diese Aufgabe durchführende Mann muss v.a. darauf achten, dass er mit gleichmäßiger, nicht allzu grosser Flamme und in bestimmten Schritten arbeitet. Bei grosser Kälte pflegt man die Gasflasche in einen Kübel mit warmem Wasser zu stellen, damit das Gas nicht allzusehr abkühlt.

<sup>15</sup> SZÜCS J. 1993. 349.

<sup>16</sup> UJVÁRY 1992. 154.

<sup>17</sup> BÁLINT 1974. 124.

<sup>18</sup> SZÜCS J. 1993. 347.

<sup>19</sup> In Szeged wurde die sog. Füllkiste als Erfindung eines Alsótanyaer Meisters bekannt. BÁLINT 1974. 125.

Auch die Art und Weise, wie das Schwein aufgeschlitzt wurde, und das dazugehörige Werkzeug änderten sich im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts. Das Aufschneiden am Rücken<sup>20</sup>, das für den Anfang des Jahrhunderts noch typisch war, wird nicht überall gleichzeitig, vom Aufschlitzen am Bauch abgelöst, was als ein Verfahren der Metzger angesehen wurde. Der Ethnographische Atlas des Komitats Szolnok widmete der Verbreitung und Terminologie des Verfahrens eine eigene Untersuchung. Die Karten zeigen, dass das früher einheitliche Aufschlitzen am Rücken allmählich zurückging. In den 60er Jahren überwiegte im Kreis Szolnok, in den größeren Orten des Nagykunság und im Theisseck (Komitat Jász–Nagykun– Szolnok) das Aufschlitzen des Bauches, während im Norden des Komitats noch das Aufschlitzen am Rücken dominierte.<sup>21</sup> In der Praxis der letzten Jahrzehnte sind beide Verfahren vorhanden. Dies ist vielleicht damit zu erklären, dass die Verwendung des Frisch- und tiefgefrorenen Fleisches sowie die Nachfrage nach dem Rückenknochen angestiegen sind.

Auf der Tiefebene und in Nordungarn wurde das Schwein nach allgemeinem Gebrauch liegend, auf einer abgewaschenen Lattentür zerteilt. In den Untersuchungen zum 19. Jh. trifft man oft auf die Beschreibung, dass das Tier auf sauberes Stroh gelegt wurde. Über den Nordosten des Landes berichtet Sándor Zoltán Papp, dass die Zerteilung des Schweins im Haus, auf dem Stroh liegend, vorgenommen wurde.<sup>22</sup> Ein für den Komitat Somogy typisches Werkzeug war der niedrige "Stuhl", der sich vor dem ersten Weltkrieg verbreitete.<sup>23</sup> Ab Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts ist in dieser Gegend die Verbreitung eines Gestells namens "rendfa" zu beobachten, an dem man das Schwein aufhängt und der Praxis der Metzger entsprechend aufschneidet. László Timaffy kennt dieses Gestell aus Bölcske (beim Fluss Rába)<sup>24</sup>. Aus dem Komitat Tolna berichteten wir selbst auch von diesem Verfahren, hier wird das Gestell "rénfa" genannt.<sup>25</sup>

Als bedeutendste Veränderung in der Verarbeitung des Schweinefleisches im 20. Jh. kann betrachtet werden, dass sich bei der Nutzung der verschiedenen Teile die Proportionen verschoben haben und dass sich die Rolle der verschiedenen Konservierungsmethoden gewandelt hat. Mitte des Jahrhunderts beginnt

<sup>20</sup> Nach der Entnahme der Schinkenstücke wird das Schwein auf den Bauch gerollt und beim Kopf beginnend entlang des Rückgrates aufgeschnitten.

<sup>21</sup> SZMNA, 1974. I. 1. Kommentar von Anikó Fűvessy, 310.

<sup>22</sup> PAPP Z. 1975. 252-253.

<sup>23</sup> KNÉZY 1980. 116.

<sup>24</sup> TIMAFFY 1991. 144.

<sup>25</sup> KNÉZY 1980. 116., T. Bereczki 1994. 314-315.

der Anteil des Räucherns zurückzugehen. Das betrifft vor allem die knochigen Teile (Kreuz, Schulter, Rippen, Kopf). Schon in den ersten Jahrzehnten des Jahrhunderts trat das Räuchern von Haut und Fett selbst in den Gebieten Nordungarns in den Hintergrund, wo das früher besonders typisch gewesen war. Im Falle von Speck blieb das Räuchern im Grunde landesweit charakteristisch. Auch auf der Tiefebene, wo man früher ausschließlich gesalzene weißen Speck verzehrte, isst man in den letzten Jahrzehnten den geräucherten. Ebenfalls erhalten blieb die Konservierung von Schinken durch Räuchern. Im Gegensatz dazu sind Veränderungen in der Wurstzubereitung zu beobachten. Die Menge der aus einem einzigen Schwein hergestellten Wurst hat sich erhöht. Unter den Produkten ist auch die in Dickdarm (seit neuestem auch in Rinds- oder künstlichen Darm) gefüllte, scharf gewürzte und bis zum Sommer haltbare Salami zu finden. Im ersten Drittel des Jahrhunderts wurden die salamiartigen, haltbaren, geräucherten Produkte um Szeged herum zuerst von Ungarn hergestellt, in den Komitaten Békés, Hajdú-Bihar, Szatmár und in Transdanubien zuerst von den Deutschen, dann auf deren Einfluss hin auch von Ungarn.<sup>26</sup>

Von den herkömmlichen Konservierungsverfahren beschränkte sich das Salzen in der Tiefebene in den letzten Jahrzehnten nur auf den Speck, obwohl früher auch knochenfreies Fleisch auf diese Weise konserviert wurde.

Einer weiteren Analyse bedürfte die Konservierung durch Braten. Man findet dafür zwar nur verstreute Beispiele auch aus den ersten Jahrzehnten des Jahrhunderts aus dem gesamten ungarischsprachigen Raum, jedoch ist das Verfahren selbst nicht neu. Seine Verbreitung ist unterschiedlich, sie ging jedoch ab den 60er Jahren zurück.

Diese Untersuchung hat nicht zum Ziel, die Verbreitung des Schwartenmagens zu beschreiben. Der Verbreitungsprozess ging vom Westen Richtung Ostungarn vor sich und schloss sich Mitte des Jahrhunderts ab. Die Bezeichnungen dafür sind vielfältig: Während im Norden und in der Mitte von Transdanubien die Bezeichnungen "préshurka", "prés" verbreitet sind, heissen sie im südwestlichen Transdanubien "prezbors", "preszburs" (Presswurst) und im Südosten sowie entlang der Donau "svartli" (Schwartenmagen). Dieser Name kommt auch im Gebiet zwischen Donau und Theiss vor, sonst findet man aber auf der Tiefebene die Bezeichnungen "disznósajt" (Schweinskäse) und "sajt" (Käse) vor. In Siebenbürgen heissen sie "fejsajt" (Kopfkäse) und "disznófösajt" (Schweinskopfkäse). Im Osten der Tiefebene, wo sich der kulturelle Einfluss Siebenbürgens auch auf

<sup>26</sup> VAJDA 1981.

anderen Gebieten des Lebens zeigt, kommt ebenfalls diese Bezeichnung vor.<sup>27</sup> Die Landkarten von Eszter Kisbán im Ungarischen Ethnographischen Atlas (MNA) stellen eine Vorarbeit zu der später von ihr durchgeführten Analyse der Verbreitung dar<sup>28</sup>.

Zum Schluss möchte ich aufgrund von eigenen Beobachtungen und Sammlungen einige Hinweise über Veränderungsprozesse im letzten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts geben (auf Grund von ethnographischer Sammlung vor Ort, beobachtender Teilnahme im Tiszazug, in Nagyréve und Csépa, in Szolnok, Vezseny, Zagyvarékas, Tószeg, Tiszaörs und Tiszafüred. Eine Schweineschlachtung 1986 in Nagyréve und eine 1994 in Bölske sind vollständig dokumentiert). Eine Möglichkeit zum Vergleich besteht nur beschränkt, weil in den Sammlungen vor allem als traditionell angesehene Schlachtungen beschrieben sind und die Veränderungen nicht immer an bestimmte Zeitpunkte fixiert sind. Wenn doch, dann beziehen sich die Daten größtenteils auf das erste Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts, bei neueren Sammlungen auf die Zwischenkriegszeit oder auf die unmittelbare Nachkriegszeit.<sup>29</sup>

Meinen Beobachtungen nach wird in der zweiten Hälfte der 60er Jahre sowie Anfang der 70er fast ausschließlich ein Mastschwein eigener Züchtung (als Ferkel gekauft) geschlachtet. Der Kauf eines ausgewachsenen, schlachtungsreifem Schwein ist nicht typisch.

Der Zeitpunkt der Schlachtung verschiebt sich allmählich vom Wochentag auf den Samstag oder Sonntag.<sup>30</sup> Wir wissen aus Schularbeiten aus dem Jászság in den 50ern, wie große Freude das Schweineschlachten den Kindern bereitere, da sie an dem Tag nicht in die Schule gehen mussten. Bis zu den 60er Jahren wurden Schlachtungen zwischen Dezember und Februar vorgenommen. Verhältnismäßig selten sind zwei Schlachtungen im Jahr und die unmittelbar vor Ostern. Um die Wende der 60er zu den 70er Jahren ist das Schlachten ein wichtiges Familienfest und ermöglicht, dass sich Familienmitglieder aus verschiedenen Gegenden treffen. Man kann neben der Berufstätigkeit unter der Woche auch darin einen Grund für die Auswahl des Wochenendes sehen.

<sup>27</sup> MNA, 1989. Karte 433, sowie BÖDI 1985.

<sup>28</sup> KISBÁN 1994.

<sup>29</sup> Eine Dokumentation der jüngsten Veränderungen erfolgte in Kecel. KISBÁN 1984.

<sup>30</sup> István Tálasi berichtete in den 30ern noch davon, dass bei der Auswahl des Schlachtungstages im Kiskunság die Position des Mondes eine äusserst wichtige Rolle spielte, da man der Überzeugung war, dass bei Neumond nicht geschlachtet werden darf, weil Fleisch und Speck dann nicht halten. TÁLASI 1936. 227.

Das Schweineschlachten verlor in den 70er Jahren an Bedeutung für die Familien, die aus der dörflichen Umgebung herausgerissen waren. Zunächst geht die Rolle beim Zusammenbringen von entfernteren Familienmitgliedern und als Fest zurück und schließlich wird es zum Arbeitsprozess der engeren Familie. Mitte der 70er Jahre trugen der hohe Preis des fertigen Futters sowie die große Auswahl an Frischfleisch in den Geschäften dazu bei, dass immer öfter auf die Hausschlachtung verzichtet wurde. Hausfrauen konnten das Frischfleisch jederzeit leicht besorgen und das Schnitzel am Sonntag wurde fast obligatorisch. Diese Erleichterung konnte durch den finanziellen Vorteil und die Sicherheit der Selbstverarbeitung nicht aufgewogen werden. Die Verarbeitung des Schweinefleisches zu Hause ging wegen vorübergehender Unbequemlichkeiten, dem Mangel an entsprechenden Werkzeugen und der zu diesem Zweck ungeeigneten Einteilung der neugebauten Häuser zurück. Nicht zuletzt blieb die Weitertradierung des Wissens vom Vater auf den Sohn oft aus. Die in der Industrie arbeitenden, pendelnden oder eben weiterlernenden Jugendlichen hatten keine Gelegenheit und wohl oft auch keine Lust, sich die Fachbegriffe anzueignen.

Die Hausschlachtung gehört aber trotzdem nicht ganz der Vergangenheit an. Infolge der Veränderungen im letzten Jahrzehnt trat die Selbstversorgung sowohl im Dorf als auch in der Stadt wieder in den Vordergrund. Das Schweineschlachten ist immer noch die geeignetste Methode, den Fleischbedarf der Familie für das ganze Jahr zu sichern. Bei den Werkzeugen und den Verfahren ist eine ständige Veränderung zu beobachten. Einen wichtigen Faktor in den Wandlungen stellt die fast "explosionsartige" Verbreitung der Tiefkühltruhe Anfang der 90er Jahre dar, die die Konservierungs- und Aufbewahrungsgewohnheiten grundsätzlich veränderte. Mit ihrer Hilfe ist es möglich geworden, die aus den Kantinen und Restaurants bekannten Speisen zuzubereiten, die für mehr als eine Mahlzeit gekauften Mengen aufzubewahren und zu einem beliebigen Zeitpunkt zu verwenden. Durch den Besitz der Tiefkühltruhe wurden die Schweine haltenden Familien hinsichtlich des Fleisches zu unabhängigeren Selbstversorgern, sie sind den Preis- und Gehaltsschwankungen weniger ausgeliefert. Im Jahre 1992 schlachteten die Schweinezüchter infolge des Preissturzes im Ankauf schon Mitte des Sommers ihre nicht mehr rentabel haltbare Schweine. Das Einfrieren diente in diesem Fall vor allem der Verminderung von Verlusten.

Es ist wahrscheinlich nicht übertrieben zu behaupten, dass die Möglichkeit, Fleisch in größeren Mengen einzufrieren, die wirksamste Veränderung im 20. Jahrhundert nicht nur und nicht in erster Linie in den städtischen, sondern vor al-

lem in den dörflichen Haushalten herbeigeführt hat. Ablauf, zeitliche und örtliche Unterschiedlichkeiten und Wirkungen dieses Prozesses detailliert zu untersuchen steht aber unserem Wissenschaftszweig noch bevor.

## Literatur

- Balázs Lajos *A szalonna és háj szerepe Nádudvaron a XIX. században*. Ethnographia 1968. LIIIX. 593-597.
- Bálint Sándor *A disznótartás és disznótor szegedi hagyományai*. A Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 1972/73-1. Szeged, 1974. 111-130.
- Banner József *Táplálkozási hagyományok a németeknél*. In: Mezőberény története 2. Szerk. Szabó Ferenc. Mezőberény, 1973. 363-378.
- Bátky Zsigmond *Táplálkozás*. In: A Magyarország Néprajza I. 37-123.
- Bereczki Ibolya, T. *Népi táplálkozás Szolnok megyében*. Studia Folkloristica et Ethnographica 19. Debrecen, 1986.
- Bereczki Ibolya, T. *Disznótori tréfák és szokások Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok megyében*. In: Kultúra és tradíció I-II. Tanulmányok Ujváry Zoltán tiszteletére. Szerk. Viga gyula. Miskolc, 1992. 457-469.
- Bereczki Ibolya, T. *Népi táplálkozás a Közép-Tiszavidéken*. Kandidátusi értekezés. Szolnok, 1993. Kézirat
- Bereczki Ibolya, T. *Népi táplálkozás Bölcskén*. In: Múlt és jelen Bölcskén. Bölcскеi Tanulmányok 1. Szerk. Szabó Géza. Bölcске, 1994. 285-354.
- Bódi Erzsébet *A termelt javak fogyasztása és feldolgozása Bárádon*. In: Báránd története és néprajza. Szerk. Balassa Iván. Báránd, 1985. 333-346.
- Dankó Imre *Ételkonzerválás Hajdúböszörményben a századfordulón*. A Hajdúsági Múzeum Évkönyve III. Hajdúböszörmény, 1977. 213-235.
- Ecsedi István *A debreceni és a tiszántúli magyar ember táplálkozása*. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1934. Debrecen, 1935.
- Fazekas Mihály *Karcag népi táplálkozása*. Folklor és etnográfia 80. Debrecen, 1994.
- Hathy Tibor *A mezőberényi magyarok táplálkozási hagyományai*. In: Mezőberény története 2. Szerk. Szabó Ferenc. Mezőberény, 1973. 345-352.
- Kardos László *Az Őrség népi táplálkozása*. Budapest, 1943.
- Knézy Judit *A sertéshús fogyasztása és tartósítása Somogy megye parasztságánál (1850-1960)*. In: Somogy néprajza 2. Anyagi kultúra. szerk. Knézy Judit. Kaposvár, 1980. 109-136.
- Kisbán Eszter *A sertéshús tartósítása a paraszti háztartásban*. Népi kultúra - Népi társadalom II-III. Budapest, 1969. 103-116.

- Kisbán Eszter *A táplálkozás néprajzi vizsgálatának negyedszázada Magyarországon (1951-1976)*. In: *Dissertationes Ethnographicae II. Eredmények és feladatok az anyagi kultúra kutatásában*. Szerk. Tálasi István. Budapest, 1976-1978. 152-203.
- Kisbán Eszter *A táplálkozáskultúra kutatása az Ethnographia első száz évfolyamában. 1890-1989*. *Ethnographia* 1989. 100. 373-383.
- Kisbán Eszter *Ételek, étkezés*. In: *Kecel története és néprajza*. Szerk. Bárh János. Kecel, 1984. 769-818.
- Kiss Lajos *A szegény ember malaca*. *Népünk és Nyelvünk II.* 1930. 61-69., 135-143.
- Kiss Lajos *A hódmezővásárhelyi mészáros mesterségről*. *Népünk és Nyelvünk VIII.* 1936. 140-153.
- Kocsár László *A debreceni hentesmesterség*. In: *Végh József: Táj- és népkutatás a középiskolában. A Magyar Táj- és Népismeret Könyvtára 6*. Budapest, 1942. 100-119.
- MNA *Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz VI.* Szerk. Barabás Jenő. Budapest, 1989.
- MNL *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon I-V.* Főszerk. Ortutay Gyula. Budapest, 1977-1982.
- Molnár Sándor *Disznóölés Újfehértón*. In: *Végh József: Táj- és Népkutatás a középiskolában. A Magyar Táj- és Népismeret Könyvtára 6*. Budapest, 1942. 96-99.
- Mutatvány *Mutatvány a Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz anyagából*. *Néprajzi Értesítő* 1967. XLIX. 5-72.
- Paládi-Kovács Attila *A barkóság és népe*. Miskolc, 1982.
- Papp Imre, 1982. *A régi szentesi disznótorok*. In: *A parasztember élete Szentes tanvilágában*. Szentes, 1982. 193-224.
- Papp Zoltán Sándor *A beregdaróci emberek élete a századfordulón*. Budapest, 1975.
- Pusztainé Madar Ilona *A békésiek táplálkozása*. In: *Békés város néprajza*. szerk. Dankó Imre. Békés, 1983. 463-504.
- Pusztainé Madar Ilona *Sárrétudvari néprajza*. Debrecen, 1993.
- Schwalm Edit, Cs. *A palócok táplálkozása ünnepeken és hétköznapokon*. In: *Palócok III.* Szerk. Bakó erenc. Eger, 1989. 379-496.
- Szabadfalvi József *Az ősi sertésfajták Magyarországon*. *Agria XXIII.* Eger, 1989. 161-162.
- Szabadfalvi József *Az intenzív sertésfajták Magyarországon*. In: *Történelem, régészet, néprajz. Tanulmányok Farkas József tiszteletére*. Szerk. Ujváry Zoltán. Debrecen, 1991. 135-146.
- Szabadfalvi József *A sertés Magyarországon*. Debrecen, 1991.

- SZMNA *Szolnok megye Néprajzi Atlasza*. I.1. I..2. Szerk. Csalog Zsolt-Szabó László. Szolnok, 1974.
- Szűcs Sándor *A Nagy Sárrét régi disznótartása*. Debreceni Szemle 1940.
- Tábori György *A mezőberényi szlovákok táplálkozási hagyományai*. In: *Mezőberény története 2.* Szerk. Szabó Ferenc. Mezőberény, 1973. 353-362.
- Tálas István *Kiskunság*. Budapest, 1936.
- Timaffy László *Rábaköz és a Hanság*. Budapest, 1991.
- Vajda Mária *A balmazújvárosi Németfalu táplálkozási szokásai*. A Debreceni Déri Múzeum Évkönyve 1979. Debrecen, 1981. 331-351.
- Vajkai Aurél *Szentgál*. Budapest, 1959.
- Zsigmond József *Disznóölés Magyarán*. Népismereti dolgozatok 1978. Bukarest, 1978. 107-117.



# Potato meals in the North-eastern Highlands and the corn producing Great Plain in Hungary

*Bódi Ezsébet*

The first Hungarian technical book on gardening was published in 1664<sup>1</sup> not mentioning the potatoes. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Protestant students brought the potato seeds with them when they returned home from Germany,<sup>2</sup> but potato growing was not until later.

According to historians<sup>3</sup>, ethnographers<sup>4</sup> and botanists<sup>5</sup> potato-growing was started at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in eastern Hungary. Farmers grew potatoes later than corn<sup>6</sup> or tobacco<sup>7</sup> for it was valued less.

Potatoes were grown first in the royal domains of the Habsburg rulers who prompted the production by introducing national statutes. At the beginning they offered potatoes for making spirits/probably vodka). Potatoes became popular with the increase in the need for grain, but still more benefit was seen in the cultivation of corn. The utility of potatoes was compared to the grain.

The cultivation of potatoes became widespread as a result of „high culture”. Farmers had to be instructed on how to grow potatoes since the features of the potato were very different from that of corn and grain. Nearly all agricultural technical books in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century emphasised the importance of potatoes. Illiterate farmers acquired the methods of cultivating potatoes through practise. Learned men coming back from abroad encouraged peasants living in the feudal system to engage in potato growing.

First production in the home gardens; later in commonly owned fields. The geographical names of villages refer to this process. The next step was field-growing, with the same technique.

---

<sup>1</sup>Lippay, J. 1664.

<sup>2</sup>Kósa, L. 1980.

<sup>3</sup>Orosz, I. 1971. 1-24.

<sup>4</sup>Kósa, L. 1980.

<sup>5</sup>Mándy, Gy.-Csák, Z. 1964.: Péntek, J.- Szabó A. 1985.

<sup>6</sup>Balassa, I. 1960.

<sup>7</sup>Kósa, L. 1980.

From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century potatoes became popular food in Hungary. The great famine, the increase of population of cities, German and Slovakian colonists, the recognition of cool climate in the hills as a perfect condition for growing-potatoes; all these contributed to the increasing popularity of this vegetable.

The potato plague in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had its worst devastation in 1846 and 1847, never the less potato growing was still continued. Hungarian potato growing fields developed by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, still determine the nutritional habits of the people there.

Potato-growing places in Hungary are the following: *the Western part of Hungary*: the Great Plain in north-west Hungary, Somogy country, Tolna country, Mohács island, the surroundings of Veszprém, the western boundary (cool climate); *in the north*: the North-Central chain of mountains, *in the central part*: the territory between the river Tisza and the Danube (sandy soil), *in the east*: Nyírség (sandy soil) and the very eastern part of Hungarian language community Székelyföld (Romania). In these territories where the potato does not grow the main crops remain corn and wheat.

There are more than 40 names for potato.<sup>8</sup> The most frequent are the following: *burgonya, krumpli, kolompér, burgundia, pityóka, bandurka, baraboj, bibricskó, bigyizó, bojóka, bubulyicska, csucsor, csucsorka, földi alma, földi körtvély, földi mogyoró, golandé, gruje, gumós ebszölő, gurgonya, indija, kartifli, körömpe, földi kukujó, lipsai gyümölcs, péra, picsóka, pijó, pirkó, piskó, pityó, pityere, pityirkó, svábtök, svábdinnye, tojórépa, tótrépa*, etc. Similarly there is a great variety of names in the Polish language. Several names refer to recent cultivation, utilisation and the slipping of ethnic cultural usage into the language.

Potatoes in Hungary are used for consumption and make spirits. According to recipe books any meal, which has grainflour as its basic ingredient, may be made from them. Popular practise, however, does not seem to prove this statement even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Now I am presenting the potato consumption of Hungarian, Slovakian, Polish and German villages found in the potato-growing regions and also that of market town of the grain-growing Great Hungarian Plain. The data represent the present culture. It has been acquired through my ethnographical research<sup>9</sup>.

The grain without processing is not suitable for human consumption, potatoes, however, may be consumed immediately after peeling. Potatoes are given

<sup>8</sup>Kósa, L. 1980.

<sup>9</sup>Bódi, E. 1981. 89-105.: 1984.

to the children to strengthen their teeth. Potato consumed this way may not be measured since it serves only as a type of snack like *csicsóka*<sup>10</sup> or apple.

Potatoes boiled in their skins or fried potatoes are eaten in every region and they already belong to the part of the tradition. Potatoes boiled in their jackets are not mashed or sliced. Potatoes cooked in ashes are particular in the North-Central chain of mountains. They serve as an occasional meal and their consumption is connected to the gathering of the new potato. On this occasion the workers in the fields make fires from the dried potatoes vines and cook their potatoes in their skins in the glow of fire. The northern territories are linked by this custom where the potato is roasted in open fires for the common joy while in the southern parts bacon is roasted instead.<sup>11</sup>

Peeled and chopped potatoes boiled in the salty water or fried (oil or fat) are consumed in all of Hungary. Potatoes prepared this way do not belong to typical traditional dishes of the countryside. Presently town people eat potatoes as a side dish to meat.

Potatoes boiled in salty water are mashed and flavoured with bacon pieces fried with chopped onions or with curd cheese and fried butter, with flour mixed with milk, buttermilk or sour milk. They are consumed as a separate dish if prepared this way. These meals are the ethnic versions of the mashed potato, which is widely known in today's kitchens and is usually served as a supplement to meat.<sup>12</sup> The mashed potato is typical in the North-Central chain of mountains, but not in the Great Plain.<sup>13</sup>

Grated potato mixed with flour, seasoned and boiled in water or fried in fat has turned into a typical traditional dish. These dishes are linked to nationalities Slovaks, Ukraines, Polish, but they are not national characteristics brought from their common native land. These communities became familiar with the cultivation of potato in Hungary. The people keep animals for their milk since they used various dairy products for flavouring. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century these dishes became characteristic of those communities where people did not have enough bread-grain.

Boiled, mashed potato was used as a raising agent for baking cakes, which afforded a nutritious meal than only grain. Common dishes include fried dough, small unsweetened round cake (*pogácsa*) and different kinds of bread. These

<sup>10</sup>Péntek, J.-Szabó, A. 1985.

<sup>11</sup>Fazekas, M. 1994.

<sup>12</sup>Cziffray, I. 1840.

<sup>13</sup>Fehér, Á. 1978-79. 155-160.

meals are peculiar not only to potato-growing regions but also to grain growing regions.

The potato as a basic ingredient encouraged the creation of new meals: especially with soups and vegetable dishes. The most typical Hungarian dishes, potato stewed in paprika or potato soup a'la Hungarian, have been developed not in the great potato growing regions, but in the grain-growing Great Plain.

Potato as a flavouring agent may be found in most soup, which are served as a first course. It can also be independent thick liquid meal such as meat soup, bean soup, vegetable soup, and goulash soup, pea soup and fish soup.

Potatoes do not play an important role in the traditional festival menu. Fried and boiled potato have become dominant in the fast foods.

Potato meals made from potato flour or those, which were too complicated to make, have not become implemented in the cooking habits of the countryside. These meals were found in the recipe books from as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Breads, cakes, cookies, and pastries made from only potato flour are not prepared today in these regions.

In a book published in 1816-18 *Zsuzsanna Rátz* provides more than thirty ways of preparing potato. One third of the listed meals have become potato dishes.

István Cziffray's recipe book dated 1840, sixth edition offers potato as an ingredient for 35 dishes. These meals include soups, flavouring agents for soups, potato fried with meat, potato as an addition for meat, fried potato, potato hot-pot, potato boiled in milk, potato used as bread-crumbs, stewed potato, gravy made from potato, stuffed potato, potato dumpling, potato dishes with celery, onion, cheese, cream, anchovy, pickled cabbage, marjoram, potato pie, potato pudding, potato mush, potato *pogácsa*, and potato griddle cake.<sup>14</sup>

From these dishes, gravy and pudding stayed unfamiliar in Hungarian countryside kitchens.

Sixty-four potato dishes are prepared in recent Hungarian books.<sup>15</sup> Kitchens of the countryside are familiar with only half of them. Wheat bread and meat, salty unsmoked bacon and dairy products serve as the basic ingredient for everyday and festive meals in the grain-cultivating region of the Great Plain. Peasant families in these territories rarely use potatoes. A family of 5-6 eats 3.5-4 quintals of potato in the potato-growing region of the countryside. Meanwhile 1,5-2 quintals of potato is used up in the Great Plain as a flavour.<sup>16</sup> There is only one independent

---

<sup>14</sup>Cziffray, I. 1840.

<sup>15</sup>Varga, Gy. 1993.

<sup>16</sup>Fazekas, M. 1994.;Varga, Gy. 1993.

meal made out of potato: potato stewed with paprika. Its basic ingredients are onion stewed in fat suet, red pepper, salt and potato. This dish is believed to be a typical Hungarian one because of its taste and smell although it is easy to prepare and may be varied to taste. Even men can make its simplest version and main meals for herdsmen. It may be made more nutritious by adding some dried or smoked meat and gnocchi made from flour and eggs. It is a delicious meal and may be served with various vegetable salads.<sup>17</sup> It is only typical in Hungarian territories for everyday consumption.

Potato meals are still undervalued today in the Great Plain.<sup>18</sup> People think that only their stomach will grow as a result of eating a lot of potato and they will not have enough strength for the physical jobs. Only one potato is allowed to be boiled for a typical lowland food “mutton-paprika-stew” in the Great Plain.<sup>19</sup>

Finally as a summary we may conclude that the consumption of the potato and potato meals divide Eastern Hungary into two: the northern part potato consuming area and a grain-consuming area. In the potato-consuming area a great variety of meals is made from the potato, the names of which are of Hungarian, Slovak, Polish and Romanian origin. In the grain-consuming area few dishes are prepared from the potato, the most common dish became a typical Hungarian meal, potato stewed with paprika.

## Bibliography

- Balassa, I. 1960 *A magyar kukorica*. Akadémia Kiadó, Budapest
- Bódi, E. 1981 *Ethnocultural Connections between Hungarians, Slovaks and Polish as Reflected through a Popular Dish*. In: *Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica* 2., 89-105. Debrecen
- Bódi, E. 1984 *Egy magyarországi lengyel település táplálkozása*. *Studia Folkloristica et Ethnographica*, Debrecen
- Cziffray, I. 1985 *Szakács mester' Magyar Nemzeti Szakácskönyve magyar gazda asszonyok szükségeihez alkalmaztatva újra kiadta Vasváry Gyula szakács mester*. Pest 1840 Reprint Budapest
- Fazekas, M. 1994 *Karcag népi táplálkozása*. *Folklór és Etnográfia* 80. Debrecen
- Fehér, Á. 1978-79 *A burgonya szerepe Komlóska népi táplálkozásában*. In: *A Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum Közleményei* 17. 155-160. Miskolc

<sup>17</sup>Varga, Gy. 1993.

<sup>18</sup>Fazekas, M. 1993.

<sup>19</sup>Fazekas, M. 1993

- Kósa, L. 1973 *Kartoffelbaugebeiten in Ungarn am Ende des 19. Und in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts.* In: A Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum Közleményei 433-436. Budapest
- Kósa, L. 1980 *A burgonya Magyarországon.* Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest
- Lippay, J. 1664 *Posoni kertje.* Nagyszombat
- Magda, P. 1819 *Magyar Országnek és a' határ őrző Kapitány vidékének legújabb statisztikai és geographiai leírása.* Budapest
- Mándy, Gy.-Csák, Z. 1964 *A burgonya.* Akadémiai kiadó. Budapest
- Nyárádi, M. 1956 *A burgonya szerepe egy Szabolcs-Szatmár megyei község (Rakamaz) életében.* In: Szabolcs-Szatmári Szemle. 97-110. Nyíregyháza
- Orosz, I 1971 *Die landwirtschaftliche Produktion in Ungarn 1790-1849.* In: Agártörténeti Szemle. 1-24. Budapest
- Péntek, J – Szabó, A. 1984 *Ember és növényvilág.* Kritérium Könyvkiadó, Bukarest
- Rácz, Zs. 1816-18 *Búza szükségben felsegálló jegyzéke.* Miskolc
- Varga, Gy. 1993 *A népi táplálkozás Hajdú-Bihar megyében a XX. Század első felében.* A Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Múzeumok Közleményei 52. Debrecen

Explicit and implicit  
communication in folklore

*Ujváry, Zoltán*

*Ilomäki, Henni*

*Görög-Karády, Veronika*

*Knuuttila, Seppo*

*Metsvahi, Merili*

*Kríza, Ildikó*

*Kiss, Antal*





# Verurteilungs- und Hinrichtungsspiele mit Todesstrafe und die Sündenübertragung

*Ujváry, Zoltán*

Bei der Untersuchung der neuzeitlichen Volksspiele und deren historischer Vergangenheit stößt man oft auf Motive, für die man Parallelen, oft überraschend ähnliche Details, in der Kultur des Altertums findet. Die auffallenden formalen Ähnlichkeiten verlocken den Ethnologen dazu, viele heutige Spiele und Bräuche als Jahrhunderte, ja sogar Jahrtausende alten Funktionszusammenhang zu identifizieren.

Der Vergleich ist zweifelsohne berechtigt, aber die Frage der Kontinuität muss einem doch große Sorge bereiten. Während der Untersuchung sollte man die Veränderungsprozesse der Zeiten, Kulturen und Gesellschaften in jedem Falle berücksichtigen. Die Ethnologen haben den formellen Vergleich auf die Naturvölker ausgedehnt, mit denen die europäischen Völker keinerlei Beziehung haben konnten. Ein Vergleich der Erscheinungen in der klassischen Kultur mit denen in der neuzeitlichen europäischen Kultur kann vielleicht der besseren Erklärung der Phänomene dienen, ohne dass man gleich Kontinuität zwischen der klassischen Antike und heute konstruiert.

Versuchen wir so in die Vergangenheit und die „ursprüngliche“ Funktion eines Volksspieles einen Blick zu werfen. Eine mögliche – und vielleicht überzeugende – Interpretation eines Spieles kann man in einer Ritusgewohnheit aus dem Altertum entdecken. Die Volksspiele, in denen eine lebendige Person, ein Tier oder ein Gegenstand eines Vergehens schuldig gesprochen und deswegen mit dem Tode bestraft werden, werden von der ethnologischen Fachliteratur „Narrengericht“ genannt. Die Forschung hat aber nicht beachtet, dass es ziemlich viele Variationen eines Spieles geben kann, die allein durch das Moment der Hinrichtung und das der Todesstrafe verbunden werden können. Das Spiel wurde in erster Linie in die scherzhaften Faschingsbräuche eingeordnet. Die vielen Beispiele zeigen, dass sich die Verurteilungs- und Hinrichtungsspiele an die unterschiedlichsten Momente anknüpfen und abwechslungsreiche Funktionen

erfüllen können. Man kennt mehrere Varianten der Verurteilungsspiele in der ungarischen Volksüberlieferung. Die Vorführung des Spieles kann wiederum an viele Zeitpunkte und Anlässe gebunden sein. Der „Verurteilte“ kann Mensch, Tier oder Gegenstand (Puppe) sein, die verschiedenen Formen und Typen haben sich manchmal vermischt. In den Hinrichtungsspielen können eine oder mehrere Personen zum Tode verurteilt werden. Mehrere vollständige Varianten dieser Spiele haben bis heute in der Palocz-Tradition überlebt. Der Brauch ist nach der örtlichen Benennung als „Sträflingsschneiden“ oder „Sträflingstragen“ bekannt. Das Spiel wird im Kreise der Paloczen zu zwei Anlässen, nämlich an Fasching und zur Hochzeit aufgeführt. Entsprechend kann man unterschiedliche Funktionen des Spieles beobachten. Das Verurteilungsspiel galt bei den Paloczen aus dem Komitat Borsod als bedeutendes Gemeinschaftsereignis. Ich konnte diesen Brauch vor Ort beobachten. Die Spielvorbereitungen begannen schon eine Woche oder noch früher vor der Vorführung. Die Person, die den Richter personifizierte, schrieb die Verteidigungsrede. In dem von mir untersuchten Dorf (Sajónémeti) trägt der Scheinrichter die Verteidigungsrede in Versform vor.

In dem Text zählt er alle Kriminalfälle, Diebstähle, Schlägereien, Unkeuschheiten, Schäden des Dorfes usw. auf und sagt sie dem Beschuldigten auf den Kopf zu. Als Gesamtstrafe verhängt er über ihn die Todesstrafe und ordnet ihre sofortige Vollstreckung an. Die Beschuldigten, die Gefangenen – im allgemeinen zwei Männer – werden am Abend vor dem Spiel – am Faschingmontag – in der Kneipe ausgewählt, ebenso wie die zwei Henker (hóhér–hévér). Die Bekleidung der Ersteren besteht aus im Alltag getragenen, abgenutzten und zerfetzten Kleidern; um ihre Taillen ist eine Kette geschlungen. Nach einer Schilderung vom Jahrhundertanfang wurden sie mit einem Strohseil eingewickelt und ihre Gesichter wurden mit Russ beschmiert. Die Henker führen die Gefangenen an einer Kette und halten in ihrer Hand ein Schwingbeil statt eines Schwertes. Die Gefangenen und die Henker gehen zusammen, zum Tanz in das Tanzhaus, wobei die Henker aber die Ketten festhalten, damit die Gefangenen nicht entlaufen können. Trotzdem gelingt es den Gefangenen oft zu entkommen. Sie flüchten in die Kneipe und wenn die Henker sie nicht einholen können, müssen die Henker die Gefangenen aushalten. Die Fluchtversuche wiederholen sich häufig zum Amusement des Publikums während der langen Tanzzeit, nämlich bis zum Nachmittag des Fastenabends, wenn die Gefangenen hingerichtet werden. Die Gefangenen werden von den Henkern zum Richtplatz geführt, zu einem großen Platz des Dorfes, wo sich die Schaulustigen – auch aus den benachbarten Dörfern –

versammeln. Die zum Tode Verurteilten müssen niederknien, auf ihre Köpfe wird ein Topf gesetzt. Der Richter trägt die Verteidigungsrede vor und verhängt die Todesstrafe. Dann enthaupten die Henker die Verurteilten mit dem Schwert – mit dem Schwingbeil – indem sie ihnen den Topf vom Kopf herabschlagen, so dass die Scherben auf die Zuschauer fliegen. Kaum sind die Gefangenen gestorben, werden sie wieder lebendig. Sie springen auf und laufen in die Gastwirtschaft, wo sie von der Kette befreit werden. Dann gehen sie ins Tanzhaus, wo die Jugend bis zu Mitternacht – bis Aschermittwoch – zusammen feiert.<sup>1</sup>

Die Verurteilungsspiele waren sehr beliebt bei Hochzeitsfesten. In den Komitaten Borsod, Heves, und Nógrád wurden die Verurteilungsspiele öfters zu Hochzeiten gespielt, als zur Faschingszeit. Die Spiele, in denen ein Tier verurteilt und hingerichtet wird, wurden sogar auf städtischen Hochzeitsfesten gespielt. Am häufigsten wurde das Spiel im Freien aufgeführt; es konnte aber auch in einem geschlossenen Raum – in einem Haus – aufgeführt und der Verurteilte im Hof hingerichtet werden. Das Spiel wurde am zweiten oder dritten Tag der Hochzeit gespielt. In der Hochzeitsversion der Verurteilungsspiele wählt der Verurteilte eine Person unter den Hochzeitsgästen für die Rolle des Gefangenen aus. Nach den Schilderungen wurden seine Hand, sein Bein und sein Leib mit einem Strohseil umbunden, auf den Kopf wurde ihm ein helmförmiges Strohbündel gesetzt; Hand und Bein wurden noch zusätzlich mit einer Hemmkette gefesselt. Manchmal wurde ein Mann anstelle seiner Ehefrau ausgewählt und in einschübiges Frauenkleid gekleidet. An der Spitze des Hochzeitszuges ging der Henker, in der Hand das Schwert (es war die Haftschwinge) haltend. Danach folgte eine Wache mit Heugabel, dann kamen der Verurteilte und seine Frau. Neben ihnen gingen auf beiden Seiten Männer mit Harken, Sensen, und Holzgabeln, die mit Tüchern geziert wurden. Eine Zigeunerkapelle und ein Trommler begleiteten sie, weiterhin Kinder, Mädchen, Jungen und junge Frauen. Sie zogen durch alle Strassen. Bis sie auf dem Marktplatz oder auf einem anderen breiten Dorfplatz stehen blieben, wo der Verurteilte vom Henker schließlich „hingerichtet“ wurde. Die Augen des Gefangenen wurden verbunden, der Strohhelm wurde ihm vom Kopf genommen und er musste niederknien. Ihm wurde ein Topf mit Asche auf den Kopf gesetzt. Auf den Topf wurde mit dem Haftschwinge–Schwert gehauen, also wurde er enthauptet. Hier tat der Verurteilte, als ob er gestorben wäre und stürzte um. Er wurde auf eine Trage gelegt und in die Kneipe getragen, wo ein Schmaus gehalten

<sup>1</sup> Das Spiel habe ich detailliert gezeigt: Zur Frage der Funktion eines Faschingsspiels. Ethn., LXVIII.1957.143-160. Spiel und Maske, I. Debrecen, 1983. 156-198.

wurde. Dort ist der Verstorbene wieder lebendig geworden und hatte die Kosten des Leichenschmauses zu bezahlen.<sup>2</sup>

Die Vollstreckung des Urteils war zweifelsohne die Hauptattraktion des Spieles. Auch die Gerichtsverhandlung wurde interessiert verfolgt. Der Gefangene wurde meistens des Diebstahls angeklagt. Das Gericht bestand aus einem Hauptrichter, einem Richter, einem Anwalt und einem Ankläger. Das Gerichtsverfahren dauerte häufig ziemlich lange und die Zuschauer haben sich gut über die oft langen, improvisierten Anklage- und Verteidigungsreden amüsiert. Der Hauptrichter verurteilte den Gefangenen zum Tode. Auf seinen Kopf wurde ein Topf gesetzt und er wurde aus dem Haus geführt und zum Richtplatz, bis auf den Hof oder zum Ende des Gartens, mit Musik begleitet. Der Hauptrichter ließ den Gefangenen niederknien, verkündete das Todesurteil und gab das Zeichen zur Vollstreckung. Der Junge, der den Henker spielte, richtete den Gefangenen hin, indem er ihm mit einem Stock den Topf vom Kopf schlug.<sup>3</sup> Hie und da wurde das Todesurteil im Zimmer vollstreckt. Der gefesselte Gefangene wurde auf dem Hauptbalken aufgezogen oder er sollte in der Mitte des Zimmers niederknien und ihm wurde dort der Topf vom Kopf geschlagen. Für den „verstorbenen“ Spieler wurde eine Begräbniszeremonie gehalten. In den Mund des Scheintoten wurde Wein (manchmal auch Wasser) gegossen und er wurde so wieder zum Leben erweckt.<sup>4</sup> In einer Variante der Verurteilungsspiele wird nicht ein Mensch, sondern ein Tier zum Tode verurteilt und tatsächlich hingerichtet. In einer Schilderung aus dem vergangenen Jahrhundert erfahren wir von einer eigenartigen Hochzeitsgewohnheit aus Miskolc, nämlich der Verurteilung und Tötung eines Hahnes. Am Hochzeitstag hatte eine Gruppe Männer die Aufgabe, diesen Hahn vor den Hochzeitsgästen her zu führen, nach der Kirchenzeremonie einen Urteil über ihn zu fällen und ihn danach hinzurichten. Wie aus der Mitteilung ersichtlich ist, gab es viele unter den Beteiligten des Spieles, die eine Maske (*álarcás volt*) getragen haben. Zwei Männer hatten sich als Türken mit einem roten Kleid (*veres ruhában*) gekleidet, ihren Kopf

<sup>2</sup> Gyula Istvánffy: Palocztes Hochzeitsfest in Matraalja. *Ethn.*, V. 1894. 50-51.; János Manga: Informationen zur Sammlung von schauspielmässigen Gewohnheiten. Budapest, 1953. 27.; Zoltán Ujváry: Spiel und Maske, II. Debrecen, 1983. 251-259.

<sup>3</sup> Gábor Barna: Die Hochzeit zu Jászdózsza. In: *Jászdózsza und die Palóczen* (Verf. László Szabó). Eger-Szolnok, 1973. 178-179.

<sup>4</sup> Lajos Fülöp: Die Gewohnheiten zur Geburt, zur Eheschliessung und zum Tod in Gyöngyöspata. Gyöngyös, 1969. 29. In den reduzierten Versionen wurde der Sünder nicht zum Tode verurteilt, sondern er wurde aufgefordert, das Getränk (den Schnaps) zu bezahlen. Am Morgen des anderen Tages der Hochzeit konnte sich der Gefangene am Lagefeuer mit Schnaps freikaufen.

schmückte ein Turban (turbány), in ihrer Hand hielten sie ein blankes Schwert. Durch die Nasenlöcher des Hahnes wurde ein schmales Band gezogen. Ein Mann, der Hahnenführer, hielt das Band als ob es ein Zügel wäre und trieb das Tier vor sich her. Hinter ihm folgten unmittelbar die zwei Türken und dahinter die Zigeuner und die Hochzeitsgäste. Während der Hochzeit blieben die Heuchler vor der Kirchentür. Nach der Trauung suchten sie mit den Hochzeitsgästen die wichtigeren Beamten der Stadt auf: den Vizegespan, den Stuhlrichter, den Richter der Stadt, die sie mit Gedichten begrüßten. Unterwegs musizierten die Zigeuner, die Heuchler knallten mit der Hetzpeitsche und trugen schelmische Gedichte vor. Nach den langen Begrüßungen und Scherzen gingen sie zum Hochzeitshaus. Bevor das eigentliche Hochzeitsfest begann, versammelte sich der Gerichtshof wegen des Hahnes. Aus der Gruppe der Heuchler trat eine Person nach vorne und zählte die Sünden des Hahnes auf. Der Hahn wurde angeklagt, dass er mit seiner Mutter und mit seinen Töchtern zusammen geschlafen hatte und er mehrere Ehefrauen hatte. Der Gerichtshof befand, dass dies eine schwere Sünde sei und er mit einem strengen Urteil ein gutes Beispiel geben wolle; deswegen wurde die Todesstrafe über den Hahn verhängt und die sofortige Vollstreckung des Urteils angeordnet. Der Hals des Hahnes wurde mithilfe eines Bandes zugezogen und der eine türkisch gekleidete Heuchler hat den Kopf des Hahnes abgeschnitten.<sup>5</sup> Hie und da, in einer vermischten Version wurde die Rolle des Hahns von einem Menschen übernommen. Der Spieler trug ein Horn am Kopf und stellte ein Rind dar: er wurde „geca“ (ung.) genannt. Die Person wurde an einem Strohseil geführt und von als Metzger verkleideten Mitspielern begleitet. Die Metzger töteten das Tier, indem sie das Horn abschlugen.<sup>6</sup>

Es sind zahlreiche Varianten der Hinrichtungsspiele bekannt, in denen die Tiere tatsächlich getötet, bzw. die das Tier nachahmenden Spieler symbolisch getötet werden. Die Mehrheit der in diese Gruppe gehörenden Spiele – sie werden Hahnenschlag oder Hahnenschiessen genannt – ist heute schon zum

<sup>5</sup> Sándor Rész Ensel: Volksgewohnheiten in Ungarn. Pest, 1867. 71-72.; Mit Literatur und Parallellitäten: Zoltán Ujváry: Die Fragen der Übergabe und der Übernahme in dem Volksgewohnheit. Bildung und Tradition, III. 1961. 7 kk

<sup>6</sup> Aufzeichnung von Sándor Várady: Ethnologische Datensammlung (Budapest, Museum für Völkerkunde). Ltsz.:4797.7-10.; Als Parallele erwähnen wir die Variante, als der Junge die Rolle eines Tieres gespielt hatte. Mit einem Seil wurde er hochgezogen, um das Tier zu schlachten. Mária Hoffman Rédeyné: Aus dem Tagebuch eines Landflüchtigen. Ethn., XXXVII. 1926. 25.; Weitere Beispiele zur Hinrichtungsszene. Imre Ferenczi: Volksgewohnheiten in Szőreg. in: Volk von Szőreg, 311.

Aussterben verurteilt. In vielen Orten lebt dieser Volksbrauch als Vergnügen von Schulkindern weiter, jedoch in vereinfachter Form. Über das Spiel, das Elemente des Volksschauspiels enthält, schreiben wir hier nur sehr kurz, weil es mit seinen Varianten eine völlig eigenständige Gruppe (mit ganz anderem historischen Hintergrund) der Volksbräuche bildet. Hier ist die Verurteilung nicht Teil des Spieles. Manchmal wird vor der Tötung vom Kandidat Abschied genommen. Ihrer Funktion nach kann man sie zu den Wettbewerbsspielen zählen. Das „Hahnenschlagen“ und „Hahnenschiesen“ ist in den Traditionskreisen Fasching, Ostern, des Hochzeitsfestes und des Erntefestes einzuordnen, jedoch kommt es auch auf Schulfesten und bei Handwerkerveranstaltungen vor. Der Hahn (manchmal auch ein Huhn) wird auf einem offenen Platz an einen Pfahl befestigt. Die spielenden Personen (junge Männer, Studenten, Schüler), näherten sich dem Tier. Den rundherum laufenden und herumfliegenden Hahn zu töten, war für die Spielenden mit verdeckten Augen auf keinen Fall eine leichte Aufgabe. Gewinner ist der, der das Tier mit seinem Schlag treffen und töten kann. Es giebt auch die Variante, dass der Hahn eingegraben wird, so dass nur sein Kopf zu sehen war.<sup>7</sup>

Nach einem Zeugnis aus der Mitte des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, ließ man den Hahn Schnaps und Wein trinken. Sein Fuß wurde mit einer Schnur gebunden und man zog musizierend durch das Dorf. Ein Junge hatte über die Sünden des Hahnes zu berichten; die Hauptsünde bestand in unzähligen Ehebruch. Deswegen musste er sterben. Die Jungen schlugen auf das Tier mit verbundenen Augen, bis sie es totschiessen konnten. Das Totschiessen des Hahnes war auch die Aufgabe des Bräutigams beim Hochzeitsfest. Während der Ernte hat man den Kopf des Hahnes mit einer Sense abgeschnitten. Unter den Varianten des Brauchs kennt man noch das Schiessen nach dem Tier mit einem Pfeil oder das Schiessen auf ein Brett, auf dem das Tier abgebildet ist.<sup>8</sup>

Unter den das Tier tötenden Hinrichtungsspielen erwähnten wir das symbolische Töten des Spielers, der das Tier darstellt. Die analogen Beispiele der ungarischen Tradition sind die Spiele mit der Pferdemaske. In vielen Varianten endet die Pferdemaskenzene mit der Tötung des Tieres. Ähnlich, wie bei dem oben erwähnten Verurteilungsspiel, das mit Menschen gespielt wird, imitiert man den Kopf des Pferdes mit einem Blumentopf, der zerschlagen wird. Bei vielen Varianten wird vor oder nach der Tötung des Tieres (ähnlich wie beim Hahnenschlagen) von ihm Abschied genommen, indem ein Gedicht oder ein

<sup>7</sup> Ein sich auf die Ungarndeutschen beziehendes Beispiel. J.Á. Volksgewohnheiten. Honderü, V. 1. r. 1847. 93-95.

<sup>8</sup> Zu den Beispielen und der Literatur: Zoltán Ujváry: Hahnenschlagen und Hahnenschiesen in Ungarn. Acta Ethnographica, XIV. 1965. 277-301.

Lied, evtl. ein Prosatext vorgetragen werden. (Siehe Details im Kapitel über das Pferdmaskenspiel.)<sup>9</sup> Bei den die Menschen hinrichtenden und das Tier tötenden Spielen kann man viele ähnliche, bzw. gleiche Züge beobachten. Nach meinen Untersuchungen kann aber nicht von genetische Beziehungen gesprochen werden. Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, dass sich aus einer Grundschrift zwei Zweige, eben den Menschen tötende und dazu parallel das Tier tatsächlich hinrichtende Spiele einerseits, andererseits nachahmende symbolische Tötung des Tieres herausgebildet haben. Im Falle der letzteren kann man die Abschiedsrede für Tiere als neuzeitliche Zugabe betrachten. Man kann auf die Tatsache nicht übersehen, dass das Menschenopfer durch eine mildere Form, nämlich das Tieropfer ersetzt worden war. Hierfür gibt es zahlreiche Beispiele nicht nur aus Europa, sondern auch von außerhalb. Die Verurteilungsspiele waren im breiten Kreise der europäischen Völker bekannt. Es gibt schriftliche Schilderungen des Narrengerichtes während des Faschingsfestes aus dem 15. Jahrhundert. In einem Verurteilungsspiel wurde der Gerichtsprozess nachgeahmt und alle Sünden des vorigen Jahres wurden dem Angeklagten zugerechnet. Wirkliche Gerichte nachahmend wurden Urteile über die Scheinsünder und über die nicht beliebten Personen gefällt.<sup>10</sup> Am Fastenabend oder am Aschermittwoch wurden in Deutschland, Österreich und in Tschechien eine Stroh puppe oder andere Requisiten zum Tode verurteilt (In Tschechien war es eine Geige) und die kirchliche Bestattungszeremonie parodisierend wurden sie bestattet.<sup>11</sup> In Kobern (Eifel-Gebirge) wurde eine Stroh puppe auf den Markt gebracht und ein öffentlicher Prozess abgehalten. Die zum Tode verurteilte Puppe wurde verbrannt.<sup>12</sup> Im bayrischen Mainingebiet beschuldigten die Scheinrichter die Stroh puppe des Unglückbringens, der Schäden im Dorf und auf den Feldern. Die Puppe wurde als Sündenbock verbrannt.<sup>13</sup> In der Provence wurde eine Puppe, die bizarr gekleidet wurde, vor Gericht gestellt. Die zum Tode verurteilte Puppe wurde gesteinigt und ihre zerfetzte Überreste wurden ins Wasser geworfen.<sup>14</sup> In Arden war die hinzurichtende Person ein junger Mann, der mit Platzpatronen totgeschossen wurde.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Siehe noch: Zoltán Ujváry: Das Pferd ist in den dramatischen Volksgewohnheiten der Tieflandsdörfer. *Bildung und Tradition*, XV-XVI. 1972-74. 299-337.

<sup>10</sup> Geiger Paul: *Deutsches Volkstum in Sitte und Brauch*. Berlin-Leipzig, 1936. 58-59; Menli Karl: *Schweizer Masken*. Zürich, é.n. 83.

<sup>11</sup> Sartori Paul: *Fastnacht begraben*. In: *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Red.: Hoffman-Krayer E.- Bachtold-Stauble H. ), II. Berlin.Leipzig. Bonn-Leipzig, 1924. 209.

<sup>12</sup> Wrede A. *Eifeler Volkskunde*. Bonn-Leipzig, 1924. 209.

<sup>13</sup> Fahrle Eugen: *Feste und Volksbräuche im Jahreslauf europäischer Völker*. Kassel, 1955. 80.

<sup>14</sup> Frazer James George: *Der goldene Zweig*. Leipzig, 1928. 444.

<sup>15</sup> Frazer James George: *The Dying God*. New York, 1951. 227.



Die Verbrennung, die Erhängung oder das in's Wasser Werfen der zum Tode verurteilten Person, der Puppe oder des Gegenstandes, ist in den ehemaligen dalmatinischen Gebieten an der Adria weit verbreitet.<sup>16</sup> Eine Parallele dazu war in der neugriechischen Tradition zu erkennen. Man hat den Gefangenen der Tötung eines Schweins beschuldigt, worauf ihn der Scheinrichter zum Tode verurteilte.<sup>17</sup> Zahlreiche Varianten der Verurteilungsspiele sind im Kreise der Hochzeitsbräuche des Karpaten-Beckens bekannt. Während des Hochzeitsfests der ungarischen Slowaken hatte man einen Gefangenen in einem Gerichtsverfahren entsprechend der paloczen Tradition zum Tode verurteilt. Die Beteiligten der vollständigen Variante sind: Dieb, Richter, Priester, Henker, Klagefrauen und Totengräber. Auf den Kopf des Verurteilten setzte man einen Topf den der Henker zerschlug. Das Spiel endete mit einer Parodie der Bestattung.<sup>18</sup> Ähnlichkeiten mit den paloczen Spielen weist auch die slowakische „Väterchenverbrennung“ (pálenie deda) auf. Ein Mann wurde von den Hochzeitsgästen ausgewählt, seine Kleidungsstücke wurden mit Stroh ausgefüllt oder mit einem Strohseil herumgebunden. Ein anderer Spieler verkleidete sich als schwangere Frau. Der dritte übernahm die Rolle des Henkers. Das Väterchen wurde beschuldigt, die Frau geschwängert zu haben, deswegen wurde er zum Tode verurteilt: er sollte enthauptet werden. Der Henker schlug vom Kopf des Gefangenen mit dem als Schwert funktionierenden Schwingbeil den Topf herab. In einer Variante gab es auch einen Scheinpriester, der mit dem mit einem Strohseil gefesselt und dem an der Kette geführten Verurteilten und mit den Gästen von Haus zu Haus zog. Sie haben überall getanzt und gesungen. Meistens bekamen sie als Geschenk Speck oder ein anderes Lebensmittel. Nachdem das Dorf begangen worden war, gingen sie auf eine Wiese, wo der Priester predigte und dem Verurteilten schließlich mitteilte, dass er geköpft und danach begraben wird. Nach der Predigt wurde ihm das Stroh abgerissen, sein Gesicht mit Russ beschmiert und ein Topf auf den Kopf gesetzt, der mit einem Schwingbeil abgeschlagen wurde. Manchmal wurde der Angeklagte durch eine Strohfigur ersetzt.<sup>19</sup> In den slawischen Beispielen kam es oft vor, dass der

<sup>16</sup> Bonifacic Rozin Nikola: Narodna drama i igre u Sinskoj krajini. Narodna umjetnost, V-VI. 1967-68. 521, 546, 549.; Drobnjakovic Boivoje: Etnologija naroda Jugoslavije. Beograd, 1960. 195.

<sup>17</sup> Megas George A. Greek Calendar Customs. Athen, 1963. 6 1.

<sup>18</sup> János Manga: Bräuche in Tótkomlós. Veröffentlichungen der Museen des Komitats Bekes, III. 1974. 18.; Janecko Jan. Svobodne zvyky v Canadalberte. In: Narodopis slovakov v. Madarsku. Budapest, 1975. 109-112.

<sup>19</sup> Mjartan Jan: „Pálenie deda“ na okoli Valaskej Belej. Narodopisny sbornik. Svazok 1. 1939. 47-49.; Noch : Komorovskij Jan: Tradicna svadba na Slovanov. Bratislava, 1976. 269-270.; Zum Urteil sich Tomes Josef: Svatebni hry a tance na Mornacku. Narodopisne aktualy, 1964. 1. 12.





Bräutigam oder der Trauzeugen zum Tode verurteilt wurde. Auf Hochzeitsfesten in Dalmatien wurde ein Richter erwählt, der sein Urteil über den Bräutigam sprach. Der Bräutigam entfloh, dann „brach er tot zusammen“, aber der Kadi erweckte ihn zum Leben. Als Parallele zu der bekannten Erhängungsszene, die auch in der ungarischen Tradition bekannt ist, kann man den Brauch der mittelbosnischen Muslime ansehen, wo der junge Ehemann im Haus seines Schwiegervaters während des ersten Besuches nach der Hochzeit gefesselt und dann weggeführt, um ihn „aufzuhängen“. Der Schwiegersohn wird aber von seiner Schwiegermutter freigekauft. In einem russischen Beispiel hat das Narrengericht den Trauzeugen zum Tode verurteilt. Der Brautführer verkleidete sich als Henker und band um seinen Leib eine Peitsche aus Stroh. Den Verurteilten ließ man auf eine Bank schnallen und der Henker prügelte ihn mit der Strohpeitsche zu Tode. Bei einer Hochzeit zu Litov wurde statt des zum Tode Verurteilten Trauzeugen eine ihn imitierende Strohfigur erhängt.<sup>20</sup>

Wie oben erwähnt, sind zahlreiche Parallelen aus der Tradition der Völker im Karpatenbecken für die Tötung der Tiere – für das Hahnenschlagen – bekannt. Besonders viele Varianten kommen in den Bräuchen der Ungarndeutschen, der Deutschen in Siebenbürgern, im allgemeinen der Slowaken, der Tschechen, der Deutschen und der Franzosen vor. Aus dem reichen ausländischen Material erwähnen wir nur aus dem Hochzeitstraditionskreis einige Beispiele, die mit den ungarischen Spielen mit Gerichtszeremonie überraschend übereinstimmen. Die Gerichtsparodie der Slowaken aus Gömör gilt als lehrreiches Beispiel für die interethnischen Beziehung. Wenn eine Hochzeit stattfand, band man den Hahn an einem Pfahl fest. Ein Richter trug die Sünden des Hahnes vor und verhängte die Todesstrafe. Der Strohpriester „bereitete“ den Hahn für den Tod vor. Danach wurde er vom Henker mit einem Schwert geköpft. In der Umgebung von Privigye wurde der Hahn an einer Leine von den Hochzeitsgästen unter Musik auf die Strasse gebracht und er wurde dort verurteilt. Die Augen des Henkers wurden verbunden und er hantierte so lange mit seinem Schwert herum, bis er den Kopf des Hahnes abgeschnitten hatte. Der Hahnenkopf wurde als Siegeszeichen auf einen Stock gesteckt und mit dem Hochzeitszug zu den neu Vermählten gebracht. Es ist in der slowakischen Literatur auch bekannt, den Hahn mit einem Dreschflügel hinzurichten. Es kam manchmal vor, dass der Bräutigam, bzw. der junge Ehemann den an dem Pfahl befestigten Hahn mit einem Dreschflügel totschiessen sollte.

<sup>20</sup> Zu den Beispielen: Komorovskij Jan : 272-273.; Szavuskina N. I. Russzkij narodnij tyeatr. Moszkva, 1976. 50-51.

Wenn es dem Ehemann nicht gelang, versuchte es die junge Frau. Sie haben es so lange probiert, bis der Hahn tot war. Im Komitat Pozsony war die Enthauptung des Hahnes zur Hochzeit weit verbreitet. Die Hochzeitsgäste versammelten sich an einem öffentlichen Ort und einige junge Männer in Masken haben den Hahn geköpft. Unter den Heuchler befanden sich ein Priester und ein Henker. Der zu köpfende Hahn war mit einem Schnur an einen Mast befestigt und hing in der Luft. Der Priester sprach über den Hahn das Todesurteil und der Henker hatte den Kopf des Hahnes mit seinem Schwert abzuschneiden.<sup>21</sup> Die dargestellten Varianten der Verurteilungsspiele mit Todesstrafe und der Hinrichtungsspiele zeigen uns die Popularität dieses Brauchkreises, seinen Variantenreichtum und weite Verbreitung. Die verschiedenen vermischten Versionen bieten für die Wandlung eines Spieles und für die sich verzweigende Gestaltung eines Grundbrauches Beispiele: von der einfachen Gewohnheitsform angefangen, bis zu den Szenen mit den Elementen der Volksspielkunst findet man verschiedene Varianten. Einmal kann man Spiele in die Gruppe des Narrengerichts und der Gerichtsparodie einordnen, man kann auch mehrere Varianten beobachten, die in die Kategorie des Volksschauspieles gehören. Sowohl in den Gewohnheiten der Ungarn als auch in denen anderer Völker sind die auf Rollenverteilung beruhenden Spiele mit mehreren Teilnehmern zu finden. Diese Spiele können mit anderen Spielen und Spielteilen ergänzt und erweitert werden, z.B. die Varianten, die mit einer Bestattungsparodie abschließen. Hier kann man noch bestimmte Varianten der Tierverurteilungsspiele erwähnen, die aufgrund des Hauptmotives, eben der Hinrichtung, in diese Gruppe gehören. Bei der Untersuchung der Herausbildung der Verurteilungsspiele und der Hinrichtungsspiele wäre es naheliegend, auf das Prinzip der Nachahmung abzu-

<sup>21</sup> Siehe die Beispiele: József Sztancsek: Hochzeitsbräuche von den Slowaken. Eth., XB.1904.213-214.; Pál Jedlicska: Erinnerungen von den Kleinen Karpathen von Vöröskő bis Szomolány. Budapest, 1882. 334-335.; Zu den hiesigen slowakischen Beispielen: János Oláh: Berichte vom Balaton in freundlichen Briefen. Wissenschaftliche Sammlung, 1834. XVIII. 3.k. 55-56.; László Lukács: Hahnenbrennen bei den Slowaken in Nordost-Dunántúl. In: Die Vorträge der II. nationalen Völkerkundenkonferenz. III. (Red.: Ernő Eperjessy- András Krupa) Budapest- Békéscsaba, 1981. 607-608.; Weitere slowakische und tschechische Beispiele: K. Chorvát: Slovenska svatba. Slovenske pohľady, XVI.1986. 122-123.; Dobsinský Pavel: Prostonarodnie objcaje, pvery a hry slovenske. Turc. Sv. Martin, 1880. 25.; Britan Rudolph: Ludove obycaja z okolija Banskej Bystrice, Chyzneho a Mosoviec pred 100-130 rokmi. Narodopisny Sbornik, VI-VII. 1945-1946. 174.; Benarik Rudolf: Duchovna kultúra slovenskeho ludi. Slovenska vlastiveda, II. Bratislava, 1943. 51.; Den Hahenschlag in Slowakei und Tschechien wird von János Manga erwähnt. Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Paloczen und ihre slowakische Analogien. Acta Ethn., VI.1957. 197.; Yibrt Cenek. Vesele chvíle v zivote lidu ceskeho. Vysehrad-Praha, 1950.550.566-567,569-570.; Vaclavek M.: Valasska svadba. Telc, 1892.77

heben. Ich vertrete aber die Meinung, dass man die Frage nach dem Ursprung des Spieles und seine funktionelle Deutung zu stark vereinfacht, wenn man es nur auf die Parodie der offiziellen Form des Gerichtsprozesses zurückführt. Das Spiel war meiner Meinung nach nicht die Nachahmung des Gerichtsprozesses, zu der es sich erst später – natürlicherweise – gewandelt hat.

Vor allem muss betont werden, dass die Strafe, das Urteil des Richters oder des Gerichtes in den Verurteilungsspielen ausschließlich der Tod oder die mit dem Tod gleichwertige Vernichtung ist. Wenn die Spiele dieses Brauchkreises einfache Nachahmungen des Gerichtsprozesses wären, dann sollten mehrere Arten der Strafe und zahlreiche Variationen des Urteilsmaßes existieren. Wir könnten in diesem Fall sicher voraussetzen, dass zu anderen Varianten auch andere Urteile gehörten, den lokalen Traditionen der verschiedenen Gemeinden entsprechend. Wenn wir „nur“ über das Narrengericht reden, dann hätten persönlichen Ideen im großen Maße zur Geltung kommen können. Demgegenüber ist aber festzustellen, dass die Hauptmotive der Spiele aus diesem Kreis nicht nur in einem Gebiet, bei einem Volk, sondern überall, wo dieser Brauch gekannt ist, gleich sind. Das kann überhaupt nicht Zufall sein. Auch kann die rituelle Zeremonie der Sündenübertragung an diesen Traditionskreis anknüpfen.

Mehrmals hatten wir darauf hingewiesen, dass viele Elemente der antiken Kultur sich verändernd, sich funktional verwandelnd, in den Bräuchen zu verschiedenen Anlässen und Spielen aufbewahrt wurden. Dazu liefern der Agrarkult und der Totenkult ausgezeichnete Beispiele. In den Brauchkreisen beider Kulte, in den mit ihnen zusammenhängenden Maskenspielen, sind Überreste altertümlicher Riten verborgen. Diese Überreste erscheinen – natürlicherweise – in der rezenten Tradition mehrmals verwandelt und umgewertet. Auf diese Fragen bin ich im Zusammenhang mit mehreren Spielen detailliert eingegangen. Auch die Verurteilungsspiele enthalten Rest antiker Traditionen. In Athen und in den ionischen Städten wurden feierliche Reinigungszeremonien abgehalten. Im Mittelpunkt der Riten standen ein oder zwei Personen, die als „Pharmakos“, also als Sündenbock durch den Raum geführt, geschlagen und endlich verjagt bzw. getötet wurden. Mit dieser Zeremonie wurde „Lustration“ getan, um die Gemeinde von den eigenen Sünden zu reinigen. Auch die Beseitigung von Krankheit war ein Ziel des rituellen Tuns. Die Gemeinde übertrug ihre Sünden auf eine Person, die geopfert wurde, wodurch die Gemeinschaft von allem Unglück befreit wurde. Die Schilderung einer „Pharmakos“-Zeremonie des ionisch-attischen Thargelia kennen wir von einem Gedicht aus dem 6. Jahrhundert der byzantinischen Zeit.

Wenn der Zorn der Götter eine Stadt heimsuchte, (Hunger, Pestilenz oder etwa eine andere Plage) wurde der hässlichste als Sündenbock ausgewählt. Man hat ihm Käse, Brot und Feigen in die Hand gegeben, siebenmal hat man ihm auf den Glied geschlagen, mit Brennesseln, mit wildem Feigenzweigen und mit anderen wilden Pflanzen, zum Schluss wurde er auf dem Scheiterhaufen verbrannt. Seine Asche wurde in den Wind gestreut, damit wurde die leidende Stadt gereinigt.<sup>22</sup> Die Analogien zur athenisch-ionischen Zeremonie treten auch in anderen griechischen Beispielen hervor. In jedem Beispiel kommt die tatsächliche oder symbolische Hinrichtung des Sündenbockes vor. Ovid erwähnt es mehrmals: „In der Stadt von Adora hatte man den Brauch, dass man jedes Jahr einen Menschen für die Vergebung der Sünden der Bürger geopfert hat.“ „Sieben Tage vorher wurde er verflucht, damit alle Sünden von anderen auf ihn übergehen könnten... Für diesen Zweck wird ein um Geld gekaufter Mensch aufgeboten, der für die Befreiung aller zu Tode gesteinigt wird.“<sup>23</sup>

Lactantius schreibt in seiner Schrift zu Statius Thebais: „Die Reinigung des Staates durch Menschenblut ist eine gallische Tradition. Einer der Ärmsten wird mit Geschenken dazu überredet, dass er sich selbst zu diesem Zweck verkauft.“ Diese Person wurde das ganze Jahr zuvor mit reinigender Nahrung versorgt, die gemeinsam gezahlt wurde. Zum Schluss wurde er an einem bestimmten und feierlichen Tag durch die ganze Stadt geführt und außerhalb der Stadtmauer zu Tode gesteinigt.<sup>24</sup> Die Forscher, die Vergangenheit und Ursprung der Bräuche und der Glauben untersuchten, haben betont, dass es oft verblüffende Ähnlichkeit zwischen den Kulturelementen des Altertums und der Neuzeit gibt. Ein direkter Zusammenhang kann bei der Mehrheit der Beispiele nicht nachgewiesen werden. Über die Kontinuität lässt sich höchstens angesichts eines Motives oder einer archaischen Form sprechen, ohne dass man über die Ähnlichkeit der Grundidee oder der Funktion sprechen würde. Nilsson hatte Bezüglich des Pharmakos die Verflechtung der Elemente betont. Er weißt darauf hin, dass das Zusammentreffen und die neue Vereinigung von einzelnen Elementen oft dann vorkommen, wenn

<sup>22</sup> Griechische Religion, griechische Götter (Red: János Sarkady) Budapest, 1974. 277.; Ursprünglicher Text: Tzetzes: Chiliades, V. 726-743.; Siehe Murray Gilbert: Rise of the Greek Epic. Appendix A. 317 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Deubner L.: Der Pharmakos von Abdera. Studi italiani die filologia classica, XI. 1934.; Deubner L. Attische Feste. Berlin, 1932.; Gebhard.. Die Pharmakoi in Ionien und Sybakchoi in Athen. München, 1926.; Zum Fragenkreis: Kerényi K.: Unsterblichkeit und die Apollon-Religion. Budapest, 1884. 505.

<sup>24</sup> Er zitiert und untersucht das Pharmakos-Brauchtum detailliert: Ede Sajkás: Ein altgriechischer Volksbrauch vor der Ernte. Kolozsvár, 1944.

die Riten allein durch die Tradition bewahrt worden sind und der Sinn der einzelnen Elemente nicht mehr ganz klar ist. Daran lässt sich nicht zweifeln, dass die Griechen im „Pharmakos“ nur das Mittel der Vergebung gesehen haben, das sie einerseits im einzelnen Falle eines gelegentlichen Unglücks angewandt haben, andererseits nahmen sie es auch unter ihre Riten auf. Den Pharmakos liess man entweder in der Stadt herumführen oder die Mauer der Stadt umgehen, dann wurde er vertrieben oder getötet.<sup>25</sup> Wilhelm Mannhardt hat den Pharmakos mit dem Geist des Wachstums identifiziert.<sup>26</sup> Nach George Frazer sollte er deswegen sterben, damit Ihm jemand nachfolgen können sollte. Die Forscher betonen im allgemeinen die Sündenbockrolle des Pharmakos. Der Pharmakos wurde mit den Sünden der Gemeinde belastet und danach vernichtet. Die Betonung der Parallelität zwischen der Pharmakos-Zeremonie und den Verurteilungsspielen der europäischen Spiele – abgesehen von der Frage der Kontinuität – wird durch den Gedanken der Sündenübertragung bedingt. Laut der ungarischen und europäischen Beispiele wird die vor Gericht gestellte Person wegen der Sünden der Gemeinde zum Tode verurteilt. Die verschiedenen Variationen, die sich in der historischen Entwicklung herausbildeten, ändern doch an der archaischen Grundform nichts. Das ist das Spiel, in dem ein Mensch verurteilt wird und aus dem sich dann verschiedene Verurteilungs- und Hinrichtungsspiele herausgebildet haben. Man betont natürlich, dass eine ferne Beziehung zu den Hinrichtungsspielen für Tiere besteht. Diese Spiele sind Zweige eines Seitentriebes, die sich an einem Punkt mit der Grundidee treffen. Die Varianten zeigen die gestaltende Entwicklung des Volksschauspiels, bei denen als Hauptattraktion die Zeremonie des Gerichtsprozesses gilt. Das ist die letzte Entwicklungsstufe: aus der rituellen Zeremonie wird Volksschauspiel, eine Volkskomödie mit neuer Funktion. Im Zusammenhang mit den Verurteilungsspielen müssen wir unbedingt daran denken, – worauf ich schon früher hingewiesen habe –, dass sie sich als Nachahmung der alltäglichen Rechtsprechung herausbildet haben. Dem steht aber die Gleichartigkeit der Verurteilungsspiele in einem sehr großen Gebiet gegenüber, die Sündenübertragung und die allgemeine Erscheinung des Todesurteils. Man muss aber die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Bräuche lenken, die eine tatsächliche Rechtspraxis mit der Genehmigung des Volkes, der Gemeinde geltend machen. Zwei voneinander im Raum weit entfernte Beispiele möchte ich erwähnen: aus Europa und aus Ozeanien. In Oberbayern war eine Rechtspraxis unter dem

<sup>25</sup> N.P. Nilsson: Geschichte der griechischen Religion, I. München, 1941. 98-99.

<sup>26</sup> Andrea Richard: Ethnographische Parallele und Vergleiche. Stuttgart, 1877. 136-137.

Namen „Haberfeldtreiben“ bekannt, wo die Beteiligten zu Mitternacht bei einer Person maskiert erschienen sind, die die Gemeinde schuldig gesprochen hatte und sie haben die Person öffentlich verurteilt. Das war eine volkstümliche, gemeinsame und offiziell wirkende Rechtssprechung. Dem Spiel gab das maskierte Gesicht der verurteilenden Person ein besonderes Gepräge. Eine ähnliche Rechtssprechung fand auf den Inseln Duke of York, in Melanesien, statt: ein Verurteilungsspiel (bzw. ein geheimer Bund) unter dem Namen Duck–Duck (duk–duk). Der Duck–Duck war Richter und Henker in einer Person, eine maskierte Person, die vom Häuptling für diese Aufgabe ernannt wurde. Sie geht zu demjenigen, der an jemand anderem ein Unrecht begangen hat oder der eine Sünde begangen hat und er fällt der Sünde entsprechend ein Urteil und ein Strafmaß. Alle fügen sich der Anweisung der maskierten Person. Ihr wird überirdische Kraft zugeschrieben. Sie hat durch die Maske eine stärkere Kraft, als die Mitglieder der Gemeinde. Beide Beispiele – obwohl sie zufällig und im Raum weit entfernt sind – zeigen die Praxis gut, dass das Maskentragen im Vollzug der tatsächlichen Rechtssprechung eine wichtige Rolle hatte. Die Maske wurde nicht als Requisit zum Spiel verwendet, sondern als ein Mittel, das die Rechtssprechung aus der Reihe der alltäglichen Ereignisse hervorgehoben hat. Als diese Formen der Rechtssprechung wegen der Änderung des Rechtssystems und anderer Wirkungsfaktoren unnötig wurden, sind im Repertoire des Spieles diese dramatischen Maskenszenen erhalten geblieben. Alle jene Beispiele, die wir oben geschildert haben, dienen zur Illustration jenes Vorganges, wie aus mehreren Richtungen kommende Bräuche, Riten, und zereemonielle Handlungen im Sammelbecken des Volksschauspieles und der dramatischen Bräuche zusammenfanden.





## Who is speaking?

*On the concept of 'I' in Finnish spells*

*Ilomäki, Henni*

Hundreds of spells, in numerous different variants, have been recorded from the area around Finnish Karelia and the majority of these have been published in the collection *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (Old Poetry of the Finnish People).<sup>1</sup> The material collected therein is principally the work of 19<sup>th</sup> century singers, both men and women. Many spells have also been recorded in the minutes of various trials during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when they were used as proof of the accused's witchcraft.

Spells can be seen as an act of communication, whereby it is assumed that the speaker's message has a (supranormal) recipient. They can thus be seen as speech (parole) containing a given message (cf. Weiner 1984, pp. 702-3). Formally, a spell is a monologue incanted against another force. It is also a psychic process, which penetrates its opponent's will, breaks free from its own territory into another person's space. The need thus arises to protect oneself, a need for the reassurance of one's own impenetrable autonomy. In everyday life, people's deeds are defined by many physical factors such as a limited field of vision, a space and an environment within one's control, one's own physical strength and the constraints of time. In the magical psychological reality of spells, there are no such limitations, indeed conquering them is a prerequisite for the success of the spell reciter. On a verbal level, spells can also be seen as depicting the relationship between the participants in a rite (Siikala 1984, p. 193). As such, it is a ritualistic tool, which is used to achieve a given objective.

Spells are incanted to rid people of everyday problems, in connection with healing rites and the magic associated with supporting people's livelihood - fishing, rearing cattle, working the land - as well as ensuring their sexual capacity. It is thus that medical steps and other such symbolic acts are often carried out alongside the chanting of a spell.

---

<sup>1</sup> All examples in this article are taken from volume VII/4 of that collection and are identified by the numbers given in that volume.

Finnish-Karelian spells consist of a wide variety of verbal material. There are often both narrative and descriptive passages along with a direct discourse in the texts. The latter can take the form of questions, prayers, threats or invocations. At least part of the text is always tied up with the given aim of the spell, even though spells used for different purposes may contain some of the same stanzas; indeed, these can often be seen even in the poetic tradition. As such, the body of spell texts takes many different forms, whilst structurally they represent a logic, which deviates considerably from the norm. What is ostensibly incoherent and somewhat varying repetition can perhaps be seen as depicting the periodical strengthening of psychic powers.

The use of spells also varies considerably. Some texts would have been used by almost any layman; these texts are thought to have been chanted mechanically, merely by reading them aloud. However, in dealing with serious problems - such as the outbreak of a virulent disease, the loss of herds of cattle or being the victim of an evil form of witchcraft - the help of a seer, a specialist in the rite tradition, was enlisted. This person was required to have a knowledge of the topology of the underworld and of supernatural beings, as well as the ability to adapt this mythical knowledge in order to solve the particular acute problem (Siikala 1989, p. 67). What are known as the words of the seer are often associated with this; these words are known by many different names, for example words of protection, words of invocation or words acting as vehicle. It is particularly in these spell texts that we find a wealth of material involving a first person narrative, an 'I'. If the text of a spell is read without any personal involvement, merely as a mechanical means of achieving a given end, the 'I' is left with a purely grammatical function as the subject of the sentence. If, however, the monologue is taken to be an agent in the spell's overall effect, thus the aim of that effect rises beyond the semantic content of the sentence. Is the speaker in the spell, the text's 'I', therefore a role assumed by the seer - thus using the text in the same manner as other instruments involved in the rite? Does the word refer to the self of the seer, for whom the text of the spell is a projection of their internalised actions? For one reading recorded archive material, the body of text reveals only a verbal 'I' - is it also concealing a self?

### Hidden knowledge in spells

Naturally, it is impossible to offer generalised answers to questions pertaining to the self of the spell reciter. Even narrowing the focus of this paper to exclusively Finnish archive material does not help simplify matters. One particular problem is

the temporal stratification we encounter in the textual elements of spells. In practice, this means that the same text can sometimes contain elements to do with the spell's world view from different eras, anything from archaic shamanistic material to Christian ideas.

Despite the somewhat linguistic uniformity of some texts, it would seem that spells held different meanings for different experts. The level of intensity between the one invoking the spell and its textual semantics also varies a great deal. Recorders of this tradition have collected texts both from those who themselves had used the magic of the words and from those who had coincidentally heard the texts from someone else. The ability to comprehend the text is often dependent on their 'proficiency' as spell users. One person may have heard another recite the spell, whilst another may have been told that someone else uses a particular text as a spell. In such cases, it is unlikely that the person performing the spell will have had any notion of the 'I' in the text. An indifferent reciter may well have used the spell without paying attention to the significance of this notion. It is in such cases that the spell would have been used as a mechanical means of achieving a given end. Indeed, the relationship of the reciter to the text concerned is often not mentioned in collectors' notes. What is sometimes noted down is some information about the person, from whom someone initially learnt the spell - this is generally a person whose supernatural powers were widely recognised within the community. Conversely, those performing the spell have often remained silent about their own such powers. There are just few recorded instances, from which we can conclusively demonstrate how the reciter him/ herself perceived the 'I' of the verses.

Although in practice it is impossible to verify to what extent recorded information is purely subjective, we can nonetheless examine two alternative assumptions. On the one hand, there is the question of the text's relation to tradition. A prerequisite of collective interpretation is a formal loyalty towards the communally accepted form of the text. However, individual interpretation may lead to freer textual variation. For the purposes of the present examination, I find the latter a most interesting alternative. By narrowing this examination to the words of the seer, we can take as a starting point the spell's function as a rite text, which strives to influence events on the basis of an individual interpretation. If we assume this, the speaker is then no longer the one who merely imparts the text to others, rather he or she also fulfils a ritualistic function as an implicit vehicle in this process towards a given objective. The 'I' of the text thus enters into an as yet undefined relationship with the speaker's self.

## Characteristic features of the 'I' in spell texts

In the words of the seer, the 'I' often comes to the fore through, for instance, the speaker's description of him/ herself, placing particular emphasis on their magical abilities. The powers of the 'I' form a kind of magical inheritance. A blacksmith has traditionally been seen not only as an everyday vocation, but also has mythical associations with the forger, as the world was created. On the other hand, eating is often considered in spells to be a metaphor for the mythical wielding of power (Ilomäki 1995). The metallic attributes of the opponents depicted in spells represent to a certain extent their supernatural capacity. The distinctions pohjalainen, tyriläinen and lappalainen refer to a local identity laden with unknown mythical significance.

Mie oun noian nuorin poika,  
vaskiseppien valama.  
Mie syön noiat nuolinensa  
velhot veitsirautionensa,  
katehet kuraksinensa

I am the witch's youngest son,  
forged by the brass smiths.  
I eat witches with all their arrows  
sorcerers with their knives of iron,  
the envious ones with their daggers

...

Mie oun poika pohjalainen,  
tyriläisen tuuvittama,  
lappalaisen liekuttama  
rautasessa kätkyessä,  
hihnoissa hopehisissa (1742)

I am a boy from the far north,  
rocked by the Tyri,  
rocked by the Lapp  
in a cradle of iron,  
in straps of silver

According to the text, the magical capacity of the 'I' can affect both human constructions and elements of nature. The 'I' is described with images, which in everyday life would have awoken fear and displeasure.

Mie kun liikun, linnat liikkuu.  
Mie kun järkyn, järvi järkkyy. (1746)  
Missä kyiset hintahani,  
maan matoset vantuheni,  
joilla kynän kyisen pellon,  
kärmeiset käännättelen? (1745)  
Mull on kourat kondiolta,  
veren juojalta vekarat,  
linnulta lihan pitimet,

As I move, so towns move.  
As I tremble, so lakes tremble.  
Where are my adder gloves,  
my earth worm gloves,  
with which I plough the field of adders,  
and banish the snakes?  
I have the hands of a bear,  
the grip of one who drinks blood,  
the bird's meat claws,

havukalta haarottimet  
jolla konnan kouristelen,  
jolla ilkiän asetan (1716)

the eagle's talons,  
with which I clamp the scoundrel,  
and grip all evil.

Here, the speaker describes him/ herself with attributes, which threaten power in order to show that the person approaching the opponent is not simply anyone, and that the persona of the 'I' is powerful.<sup>2</sup> Instead of the reciter him/ herself, the speaker could be their ruler or some greater power may be speaking through their mediation.

Nostan luontoni lovesta,  
haon alta haltijani,  
puhumaan puolestani,  
virkkamaan vierestäni (1721)

My soul arises from the beyond,  
my spirit from under a spruce branch,  
to speak on my behalf,  
and to talk with me.

en puhu omalla suulla,  
puhun suulla puhtahalla,  
Herran henkellä hyvällä (1747)

I do not speak with my own mouth,  
I speak with a pure mouth,  
with the Lord's good spirit.

This contemplation of the self in the spell's monologue threatens the supernatural 'listener':

Ruvennenko, ryhtylenkö,  
tätä hiittä hiomahan,  
paholaista painamahan?  
Hampahat sären huuhmarissa,  
pään panen pahan patahan,  
kielen pieksän petkelellä,  
ikenet kivellä survon (1660)

Shall I start, shall I begin  
to frighten this gnome,  
to weigh down the devil?  
I shatter the teeth of mortals,  
its head I shall place in the cauldron of evil,  
its tongue I shall whip with a stamper,  
its gums I shall grind with stones.

The speaker may also appear to be humbly aware of their own powerlessness:

Kuin ei liene minussa miestä  
tämän jakson jaksajoa,  
saakoon Jumala joku,

When there is not enough man in me  
to endure this enduring,  
may God find someone,

<sup>2</sup> According to Finnish folk beliefs, the dynamistic component to the entities in the world, *väki* is defined by Jouko Hautala as a kind of impersonal force or power belonging to all beings and phenomena. "This force is concealed when these go unnoticed, but becomes active and makes these beings and phenomena dynamic when they become of current interest and the more powerful, important, unusual, conspicuous and emotional the being or phenomenon is in itself, the more effective is the force. (Hautala 1960, p. 13; English translation in Stark-Arola 1998).

tulkoon vanha Väinämöinen  
 kaikki päästöt päästämään,  
 kaikki jaksot jaksimaan,  
 ahinkot avaamaan,  
 reisiä repäsemään (1758)

come, old Väinämöinen  
 to release all that shall be released,  
 to endure all that shall be endured,  
 to open up closed spaces,  
 to tear at thighs.

Alternatively, the speaker may invoke “a thousand devils” (1762) or “males from a closed lake, one hundred men with swords, one thousand males of iron” (1960). According to the lyrics, as the speaker gathers power from different sources, their magic psychic potential grows and the characteristics of their everyday personality seem to disappear. As such, does this give rise to a momentarily transfigured self or does the reciter construct the ‘I’ from latent elements of his / her personality? Of what does the magic potential of the ‘I’ consist? As a background to this we must first examine the facts behind the recitation of spells.

### The ritualistic monologue

Although the monologue is essentially that of the reciter, the words give the impression of an address to an assumed listener. Communication is an act involving two people, therefore the monologue is assumed to have a listener - despite the fact that monologues are generally read in private, indeed actively avoiding other people. The ‘I’ of spells assumes there to be a ‘you’. However, although there may have been a number of listeners present during the reading of a spell, these people were not actually intended as the recipient of the spell’s message. It was thought that a supernatural opponent would fill this role - a bringer of disease, a spirit protecting game or some other kind of antagonist, whose intention, it was assumed, was to hurt the reciter and those he / she was helping. Often, it was supposed that this opponent was some evil person, who was thought to have brought about disease or the loss of cattle by magic means. In some instances, it was thought that the opponent had supernatural helpers or that the people being helped by the reciter were plagued by the dead. It is particularly common of healing spells that they have a way of identifying the opponent. By addressing the birth of the being which has caused the problem, the reciter can in a way take hold of the being and crush it (Honko 1959, pp. 19-20). Although there are parallels between the concepts holy power and orenda, these have in fact to be addressed in a more narrow and concrete way: “the dynamic force may be located in the forest, the earth or the ground, the sauna steam, fire, etc.” (Stark-Arola 1998, pp. 120-121). As such,

people often thought that disease or other problems were caused by places or beings associated with negative power.

Mistä pulmat puutununna  
Ihohon ihmisen lapsen?  
Onko kiistynyt kiroista,  
Vai lienet, vienonen, vesistä,  
vai lienet vesi hiis, ves kalma,  
vai lienet tuska tuulilta tullut,  
vai lienet kalma kalmoista (1759)

kivistäkö, kannoistako,  
vaanko vanhoista akoista,  
vaanko siitä seipähästä,  
jossa on korppi saanut kohulliseksi,  
munivaksi musta lintu? (1760)

Vai on tuuli tuuvittavanna  
Vai on kalma kammiosta,  
Perkele pyhästä maasta,  
Kirkon kirjavan sivulta,  
Satalauan lappiasta,  
Tuhatlauan tutkaimesta,  
Jossa lukkarit lukevat,  
sekä papit pauhovaapi,  
messumiehet mellehtivät (1762)

Where do problems fasten  
To the skin of a child?  
Are they transmitted by curses,  
or, gentle one, are you of the water,  
or are you the water gnome, death,  
or are you suffering come on the winds,  
or are you the death of all deaths?

of stone, of stumps,  
or of old hags,  
or of that staff,  
where the raven became fertile,  
the black bird began to spawn?

Is it the wind that rocks us  
Or is it death from the tomb,  
The Devil from the sacred land,  
From the side of the colourful church,  
From the ceiling of a hundred planks,  
From the corner of a thousand planks,  
Where the parish clerks read,  
and the priests roar,  
and give sermons.

Some spell texts immediately name their particular ailment and its birth: "Sie oot, horkka,/ tuulen tuoma,/ tuulen tuoma,/ veen vetämä" (1955) [Plague, you are/ brought by the wind,/ brought by the wind,/ carried by the water]. Thus the 'you' is verbalised. This list of questions presented to the listener does not merely describe the kinds of places the evil could have come from; it is also indicative of the reciter's own potential: the list outlines a space, which the reciter controls, thus forcing the opponent (the assumed listener) to submit to the reciter's will. Although the 'I' does not appear as a verbal element in the text, it is clear that the person performing these questions is indeed the semantic first person agent of the spell. This is the person who asks the 'tooth worm' the question: "Is it here you have set your bean,/ Is it here you have placed your pea?" (1939).

In any case, the capacity of the 'I' in the spell is exceptional in its ability to control the landscape imbued with magic described in the text. Who could have had such a psychic structure and such spiritual resources? Is the performer an 'I' implicitly hidden in the text or a seer involved in the healing act itself?

### Meanings underlying the body of texts

In preparing to fulfil his/her ritual task, the reciter must begin from his/her own everyday 'I'; here, the point of departure is the person with all the qualities seen in their everyday life. In order to overcome the limits of everyday reality, the reciter must possess exceptional psychic powers. To achieve this - and to protect oneself from harmful people or supernatural beings - the 'I' of the seer would first gather supernatural power verbally, as described above. It may also mean that the reciter would invoke his/her spirit, that is, would call for help from the nature of the other side; a spirit companion. These spells would normally begin with an invocation of the spirit.

Haltiuttani havatan, velhouttani verestän (1565)

[I awake my spirit, I call upon my sorcery]

The invocation of nature by an ecstatic healer has strong associations with the archaic shamanistic tradition, even though they sound banal out of the context of the original worldview (Siikala 1985, p. 161). Alongside such age-old elements in the text, these spells are abundant with material relating to cultural strata from a far later period. However, there are no grounds for us to assume that elements from different origins would have held radically different meanings for later users of the spell or that they would have been in conflict with each other or even that they would have differed in value. Forms of expression belonging to different mental contexts would presumably have been interpreted according to the meaning contemporary with the time of recital and, as such, conflicts have not been recorded. Even in texts from different backgrounds, the interpretation of the 'I' is strikingly similar.

According to the oldest written sources, in performing the ritual, the seer would fall into a motoric trance; in other words, he/she was in ecstasy, or possessed by the spirit in achieving a transfigured form of the self. Martti Haavio has used the French word *possédé* to describe this kind of psychic state (Haavio 1967, p. 316). According to Christfried Ganander, who in the 18<sup>th</sup> century recorded much information about the use of spells, "No one would dare to disturb these zealots,



for they would fly into a rage, grind their teeth together, jump into the air in a frenzy, mutter, kick their legs and behave like one in the grip of fury” (Ganander 1789, p. 21). Around two hundred years later, Samuli Paulaharju described a seer he had met in Russian Karelia preparing for a spell, protecting himself with fire and iron. By concentrating he achieved a frenzied state, “the rise of the spirit could be seen in that his hair stood on end” (Paulaharju 1929).

A gifted reciter could bring him/ herself to a sense of his / her own powers, to a state of over-excited, transfigured consciousness. Thus aware of his / her own powers, the seer would experience sensations like having “jaws of steel, teeth of iron” (1565) with which to bite. In this state, his / her potential was far greater and he/ she could carry out unusual feats: he/ she could paralyse his / her opponents or banish them to places imbued with magical powers - to the mythical waters of Lapland or deep within the earth. The seer may also have been able to return the problem or its cause and all the pain it brought with it back whence it came.

Mie laulan Lappalaisen,  
salasyöjäni sanelen,  
laulan halki hartioni,  
puhki leukani puhelen (1628)

I sing the Lapp,  
I address the evil one,  
I sing through my shoulders,  
and through my jaws I speak.

Tuonne mie sinun manoan:  
koskehe kovah,  
Lapin muah lainehese (1751)

Thither shall I banish you:  
into that hard torrent,  
to the far Lappish wilderness.

Tuonne ma sinun manaan  
vuoreen teräksineen,  
rautaseen kallioon,  
josta ei kuulu kuuna pääänä,  
selviä sinä ikänä (1616)

Thither shall I banish you  
into that steel mountain,  
into that rock of iron,  
from whence you will never be heard,  
and never shall you survive.

Reikä keskellä kiviä,  
tuohon mä kipuja tungen,  
tuohon vaivoja vähennän. (1807)

A hole in a stone,  
thither shall I shove these pains  
and diminish these afflictions.

Mäne sinne, jonne käsken,  
mäne luokse laittajasi,  
tekijäsi tienohille,  
panijasi parmaille (1670)

Go where I command  
go to that which sent you,  
to meet your maker,  
to the shoulders of your creator.

In calling upon the help of other powers, it is not a matter of understating the self, but rather of a threat and of the inverted image of the reciter's powers. Thus, as well as their own powers, the reciter also gathered the strength of the supernatural beings mentioned, the act of saying the words aloud meant that their powers would accumulate in the reciter themselves. The central objective of these texts is to strengthen the 'I', to depict its power as being greater than the powers of its opponent. Here, a supernatural capacity is in use, it is a concentration of powers charged by the words.

Still the question remains. Is the 'I' of a ritual text a separate entity with no connection to the reciter's everyday self or does the reciter him/ herself transform, as their spirit consists of many different elements? Some renowned seers were known to undergo a powerful personality change - at least outwardly - at the beginning of the spell. Miina Huovinen, in his private life an obliging, happy and hospitable man, was known to clasp a weapon during rites. Similarly, Poahkomié Omenaiñi, who was friendly, open-minded and unprejudiced, behaved like a raging dog whilst in a trance (Pankmo 1996, p. 13). According to some sources, the abilities of seers were often seen as a heavy psychic and repellent burden, which was already discernible as different from the rest of the community at a young age (Kopponen 1973, pp. 76-79).

The 'I' of the reciter thus differs from the everyday, functioning individual within society. On a textual level, does the spell guide its user beyond the limits of their everyday 'I' and to assume the verbalised ego and the ritualistic self? Is the reciter able - even for a brief moment - to experience this transfigured self as a true personal self? This is an attractive assumption, but two separate identities are however not in question here. The ability to have magical influence over events is not a normal quality, rather it is the result of 'training' and specific psychic preparation. In preparing for this task, the seer must assume elements of personality, which do not appear under normal circumstances. Therefore, reciting the spell brings latent personality elements to the fore. Nonetheless, we can still ask the question as to whether the 'I' of the reciter is a conscious manifestation of his / her self.

### Questions to the 'I'

As a concept, 'self' is no more unambiguous and clearly defined an entity than 'I'. In many ethnic cultures it is by no means considered a central concept (Shulman & Stroumsa 2002, p. 3) and yet in literate cultures it has been assessed from philosophical, psychological and linguistic perspectives. In a text published

in 1938, which was originally given as a lecture, Marcel Mauss outlined the historical development of the 'I' (*moi*) from its opposite role (*personnage*) to the idea of a person with full legal rights (*personne*), until an awareness of one's 'inner life' brought about the concept of the individual (*personnalité*) (Mauss 1985). The analysis made by George Herbert Mead has become just as much a seminal text: here, he adds to the socio-psychological perspective a bio-social level as he describes "how the human mind and self arise in the process of conduct" (Morris 1934, xv). According to this analysis, one cannot identify the self with the person as a physiological organism, rather it is the result of experiences gained through interaction with another individual. Constructing this requires an awareness of those experiences, which are associated with the self - therefore, both how these experiences can be acquired and produced. One result of this is that the self is at once conventional ('me') and yet consists of something far more subjective. "I which is aware of the social me, the I reacts to the self which arises through the taking of the attitudes of others" (Mead 1962, p. 171). Looking purely mechanically at the spell, the 'I' of the text represents the 'me' side of the self, which in turn reveals a creative and working first person subject. Fundamental life experiences which arise from one's relations to other people are, according to Senni Timonen, catalysts in the dynamics of songs by both Ingrian and Mansi women. The relationship of the 'I' to the 'you' is at the foundation of these songs (Timonen 1990, pp. 200-1).

The distinction made by Grace Gredys Harris is based on a variety of different material, yet she nonetheless ends up at the central problems of the same concepts. According to this, the word 'individual' refers to a person as a part of the universe and a member of humankind. The distinctive criterion of this self-awareness is a mastery of the communal language. Conversely, the self is seen as the existential 'I', a product of social experience. Identity is bound up with this concept of the self, as is an awareness of the capabilities of the 'I' and its limits in relation to other people. The third category, 'person', forms "an agent, the author of action purposely directed towards a goal" (Harris 1989, pp. 600-602). This questions the dimensions of the 'I' as it is consciously directed by both the self and others. This social process produces a communally competent 'I', just as the awareness of this creates an undamaged self. Associated with the self built into people's social communication are other factors, a person's habitat, elements of their work and their relationship within the community. We can therefore assume that the reciter's 'I' may be found on this level. George Mead has defined, in abstract terms, a person as

a personality who belongs to a group and assumes the model of behaviour within that society. "The process out of which the self arises is a social process, which implies interaction of individuals in the group, implies the pre-existence of the group" (Mead 1962, p. 158). Even the reciter has undergone a learning process and it is during this that the features of the self have changed. He / she is nonetheless more independent of conventions during the recitation of a spell.

On the whole, assessments of cultural anthropological concepts of the 'I' and the self are holistic and generalising. Concerning the self, it may be necessary to look more closely at this distinction, as suggested by Michelle Z. Ronaldo, and to separate the individual sense of self from the socio-cultural category the 'concept of self'. One's psychic and physical awareness of bodily and individual existence is a fundamental cognitive assumption, thus a conscious concept of the self can only arise gradually. "There would always be a gap between the personality and its culture". However, it cannot be denied that "thought is always culturally patterned and inspired with feelings which themselves reflect a culturally ordered past" (1984, pp. 137-141). Naturally, this is true, even in the light of the reasoning of an outside examiner (an anthropologist). One must however remember to question the requirements for putting oneself in the 'skin' of another cultural representative, especially as in anthropological study these cultures are generally primitive (Geerts 1984, p. 125).

Grace G. Harris has put forward a three-way division of the 'I' in spells and perhaps the most interesting parts of this are how some of these features differ from the norm. She suggests that the definition of the concept 'individual' disrupts some of the concepts of folk belief (e.g. the European werewolf, the Ojibwa cannibal monster and African shape-changing magicians). Contrastingly, the concept 'self' obscures some of the descriptions of spirit possession referring to ideas of there being some gaps in the availability of the self as an object. On the level of the persona, Harris recognises a temporal dimension, which gives some space to the definition of a crystallised identity (Harris 1989, pp. 605-607). The reciter's social 'I' is of course one point of departure, however, it is a ritual 'I' which is portrayed in spells. These two concepts must be kept clearly distinct from one another.

Cultural anthropologists have debated whether it is right to define "the Western conception of the self" as the opposite of that in other cultures (cf. e.g. Spiro 1993). In an examination of the 'I' in spell texts, such juxtapositioning of cultures or even generalisations referring to individual ethnic groups is not particularly helpful. Although as far as their content is concerned, a spell is a cultur-

ally bound text, within its own culture it is also exceptional speech. This is why examining it against an abstract cultural background is largely irrelevant. Any examination must move closer to the text itself.

How does the 'I' in spells compare to that in other oral tradition? It is best to limit an examination of this kind to genres, in which there is the same kind of subjectivity as that found in spells; therefore, in which the 'I' could be interpreted as the speaker him/ herself. Alongside laments (cf. Nenola 2002, pp. 63, 74), lyric poetry could also be called into question. In much the same manner as with lyric poetry, spells consist of strictly traditional elements and, despite some variation individual to each performance, the same images recur in spell repertoire. Senni Timonen has crystallised the idea of self in Finno-Ugric lyric poetry thus:

Who is this ego: singer, poet, audience, or all these together? In these songs, in which the ego is conditioned by an accumulation of collective values and experiences, the scope for individual self-expression is less prominent. Rooted in a collective mind – and at the same time actively shaping the scale of feelings and values of that mind – the 'I' of the songs and the feelings communicated by it combine to produce the collective 'self' of lyric poetry: a self in constant dialogue with the self of the singers, poets and audiences. Repeatedly this self coincides with them, it lives and breathes through them, is transmitted and transformed by them. Yet the actual experience of sameness is fleeting; this collective sense is transient, to be identified only momentarily with any one individual. (Timonen 1993, 339).

Although the material available to a reciter forms a socially controlled paradigm and the form of expression is also uniform, the text of the seer's words is nonetheless not socially shared to the same extent as lyric poetry. A lyric poem interprets personal emotions, with which many listeners or a person reciting the song can identify. Conversely, spells are texts specific to given rites, to which the reciter must be entirely committed and for which not everyone has either the right or the bravery to use. Unlike lyric poems, which can apply to changing situations, a spell is a vehicle for momentary yet intense influence, which draws each reciter into that influential power.

### The 'I' and the message of the text

Communication cannot transmit experience, but its significance to the self can however be described and it is in this way that it is communicated to others (Ricoeur 1976, p. 16). This can be seen readily in lyric poetry but spells are less transparent. The speaker's true relation to the experience is not revealed on a ver-

bal level. The image of a frenzied reciter armed with iron and fire is very individual. It cannot be used to describe a singer who has accepted the collective tradition, but rather a self-aware rite specialist; perhaps this is because it is not meant for members of the community but for another reality. The line “I have the hands of a bear” relates to role assumed by the seer, but this role’s precise relationship to the real ‘I’ seems to remain a mystery. Once the rite has been carried out, the reciter returns to his/ her own everyday ‘I’ - are these two entities completely separate?

Should we approach spells as real communication or should we stress the nature of the monologues within them?<sup>3</sup> In that case, should we assume that, whilst in a trance, the reciter is completely unaware of and is not interpreting his / her words as a form of address? Can the reciter experience this trance as merely a vessel for the rite speech and not as one with personal influence? As such, these verses would be drawn from the collective paradigm and would be adapted intuitively for use in acute situations. Even in such cases, the concept of the ‘I’ in the text would no longer be an empty one, as in the background there would be an assumption based on a ritual context.

In any given language, most words are polysemic, but the context generally limits the possibility of misunderstanding. “To mean is what the speaker does. But it is also what the sentence does. The utterance meaning – in the sense of the propositional content – is the ‘objective’ side of this meaning. The utterer’s meaning – in the threefold sense of the self-reference of the sentence, the illocutionary dimension of the speech act, and the intention of recognition by the hearer – is the ‘subjective’ side of the meaning” (Ricoeur 1976, 11-19). Those who use spells would, in addition to the skills of a seer or a healer, have also had other characteristics and facilities related to social life. These would have been, amongst other things, features of their character, their family membership, professional skills and roles associated with age or social status. Moreover, they have defined the side of the reciter’s everyday ‘I’, which other people see. The self has the characteristic

<sup>3</sup> Only a few letters distinguish two variations of *Voiteen luku* (The Chapter of Ointment) from one another: one of them was recorded in Suistamo in 1884 and the other in Soanlahti some thirty years later. The latter is a speech to the Virgin Mary: “Voia alta, voia päältä, kerta keskeltä sipase, keskeltä kivuttomaksi, alta aivan terveheksi, päältä tuntumattomaksi!” (1785) [Put ointment underneath, ointment on the head, gently touch the middle, the middle will become painless, underneath completely healthy, the head unconscious]. The version recorded in Suistamo is in the first person: “Voian alta, voian päältä...” (1782) [I put ointment underneath, I put ointment on (my) head...]. The former resembles a prayer, in which the role of the reciter remains in the background. In the latter, the reciter is a decisive healer.

that it is an object to itself and that characteristic distinguishes it from other objects and from the body. Although the self is the object of experience, as Ricoeur points out, as a word it is reflexive and as such refers both to the subject and the object. The significance of the 'I' in spells must therefore be found in the wider areas at the edge of communication.

Communication makes itself visible and places itself alongside or opposite another person. Thus, it is possible for the self to become aware of itself as 'another', with whom it can also communicate. The self is placed outside; in Mead's words this is 'social intelligence'. The character can only be an object to itself on the level of linguistic behaviour; in a sense, communication creates the self. However, a person can also behave in such a way that the self-aware 'I' retreats to the background. For instance, an instinctive reaction can instigate the act of running, which the self cannot regulate (Mead 1962, pp. 136-7). Perhaps at this point, it is necessary to outline the extent to which the 'I' of the text and the reciter's self are the same yet different. Are we to believe that the concentration required in the task takes over the mind so much that the reciter's own self remains outside the actual rite? If this is the case, the 'I' of the text (which invokes, threatens, demands, bites and so on) is merely a verbal element learnt for a specific text and is spoken as part of a text, supposedly read 'correctly'. Charles Malamoud has noticed this kind of duality in his examination of the self in a selection of Veda texts. He concludes with the assumption that through the text there is the construction of "a sublimated replica, a sacrificial body made of words and rhythms that is at the same time a thing of beauty and their true self" (Malamoud 2002). This option does not however support the assumption about communication. The reciter is still seen to gather influential powers by addressing their assumed opponent or other supernatural beings. As long as we think of spells as speech, so the speaker must necessarily be 'present'. The 'you' being addressed requires there to be a speaking, self-aware 'I'.

Even ritual texts are language per se, they consist of elements of verbal expression. In considering the origins of the meanings of spoken language, Paul Ricoeur uses the pronoun 'I' to illustrate the difference between linguistic code and discourse. On a linguistic level, the word 'I' is very simple, just like any personal pronoun. However, it is not a concept which can be exchanged with the definition 'the one who is now speaking'. The word has different meanings depending on the context in which it is used and each time it refers to a particular individual person. In speaking, 'I' refers to itself as the logical subject (In Finnish,



the word *minä* (I) is generally included in the verb form of the first person singular. Theoretically speaking, this is the same thing.) Although linguistic codes are given a precise expression in the act of speaking, they only refer to the subject of that act without interpreting it.

## Conclusion

The mystery of the self in spell texts cannot be solved from a socio-anthropological basis, nor from that of an individual writer. Although they are 'traditional', spells are always texts belonging to exceptional personalities within a society. Above is outlined why the words of the seer are exceptional even amongst other spell texts. Using them requires - at least in theory - personal commitment and conviction in the act, in order for the verbal achievement to have the desired effect. This is also why, even in its most mechanical use, the 'I' of spell texts cannot simply be explained semantically as a hollow expression. Even anthropologists who have attempted to define the social 'I' accept this exception to the rule: in a ritualistic context, very specific roles are being realised and at such times the individual subject breaks loose from its absorption within its social group (Morris 1994, p. 4). The behaviour of the reciter can be seen as the opposite of the norm. In general, thinking implies a symbol, which causes the same response in another that it calls out in the thinker (Mead 1962, p. 147). Communication which moulds the self produces an array of interactive experiences, for which a common model of explanation is required to interpret them correctly. The person sending out a message cannot, however, experience that message in the same way as the person receiving it. Aggressive behaviour and frenzied speech may frighten the person listening, but they do not bring about the same feelings within the speaker. As the 'I' of the spell threatens the opponent, it is assumed that this opponent becomes frightened and backs away. However, the 'I' of a spell text - and for that matter the actual speaker - does not share these sentiments. The self of an ordinary person may have reason to fear supernatural beings, but the 'I' of a seer blessed with magic powers is safe. As such, the self of the spell is more abstract than an ordinary person and semantically more concrete than the empty word 'I'; it is the 'I' constructed by the seer for an acute situation. At such times, a person's everyday 'I' subsides - on a textual level and employing latent features of his/ her personality - to a ritually constructed 'I', independent from experiences gained within social interaction and communication.

*Translated by David Hackston*



## Bibliography

- Ganander, Christified (1789), *Mythologia Fennica*. Øbo
- Geerts, Clifford 1984 (1974), "From the Natives' Point of View": *On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding*. *Culture Theory*. Eds. Richard A. Schweder and Robert A. LeVine. Pp. 123-136. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Haavio, Martti (1967), *Suomalainen mytologia*. WSOY, Porvoo
- Harris, Grace Gredys (1989), *Concepts of Individual, Self, and Person in Description and Analysis*. *American Anthropologist* 91, 599-612.
- Hautala, Jouko (1960), *Sanan mahti. - Jumin keko: tutkielmia kansanrunoustieteen alalta*. Ed. by Jouko Hautala. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. (Tietolipas, 17)
- Honko, Lauri (1959), *Krankheitsprojekte. Untersuchung über eine urtümliche Krankheits-erklärung*. Helsinki. (FF Communications, 178)
- Illomäki, Henni (1995), *Ord som äter och förtär. - Livets gleder: om forskeren, folkediktningen og maten*. Stabekk; Vett & Viten.
- Kopponen, Tapio (1973), *Tietäjä. Heikki Hurtsisen toiminnan tarkastelua*. Helsinki. (Helsingin yliopiston Kansanrunoustieteen laitoksen toimitte, 4).
- Malamoud, Charles (2002), *A Body Made of Words and Poetic Meters. Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions*. Ed. By David Shulman & Guy G. Stroumsa. Oxford University Press, Oxford & al.
- Mauss, Marcel (1989), *A category of the human mind: the notion of person; the notion of self. The category of the person: Anthropology, philosophy, history*. Cambridge University Press. London. .
- Mauss, Marcel (1985), *A Category of the Human Mind: The Notion of person; The Notion of Self, The Category of the Person: Anthropology, Philosophy, History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge & al.
- Mead, George Herbert (1934/1962), *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist*. Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press.
- Morris, Brian (1994), *Anthropology of the Self. The Individual in Cultural Perspective*. Pluto Press, London.
- Nenola, Aili (2002), *Inkerin itkuvirret. Ingrian Laments*. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki. (SKS toimituksia, 735).
- Pankamo, Heidi (1996), *Miina Huovinen ja Poahkomie Omenain'i vienankarjalaisen tietäjätradition edustajina. Tradition edessä. Kirjoituksia perinteestä ja kulttuurista*. Eds. Kaisu Kortelainen and Sinikka Vakimo. Suomen Kansantietouden Tutkijain seura. Joensuu (Kultaneito, 1)

- Paulaharju, Samuli (1929), *Vienan karjalan tietäjistä*. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 9 WSOY, Porvoo.
- Ricoeur, Paul (1976), *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning*. The Texas University Press, Forth Worth.
- Shulman, David & Stroumsa, Guy G. (2002), *Introduction. Persons, Passages, and Shifting . Cultural Space. Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions*. Ed. By David Shulman & Guy G. Stroumsa. Oxford University Press, Oxford & al.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena (1985), *Tietäjän sanojen kulttuurihistoriallinen tausta*. Suomen tiedeakatemia. Vuosikirja 1984-1985. Helsinki
- Siikala, Anna-Leena (1989), *Myyttinen ajattelu ja loitsujen variaatio*. Runon ja rajan tiellä, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki. (Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja, 68)
- Spiro, Melford E., (1993), *Is the Western Conception of the Self "Peculiar" within the Context of the World Cultures?* Ethos 21:2, 107-153
- Stark-Arola, Laura (1998), *Magic, Body and Social Order. The Construction of Gender Through Women's Private Rituals in Traditional Finland*. Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden seura. (Studia Fennica Folkloristica, 11)
- Timonen, Senni (1993) *Self. The Great Bear: A Thematic Anthology of Oral Poetry in the Finno-Ugrian Languages*. Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki.
- Weiner, Annette B. (1984) *From words to objects to magic: Hard words and the boundaries of social interaction*. Man 18:4, 690-709.

## L'arbre comme instrument de justice dans les contes africains

Görög-Karády, Veronika

Comme l'atteste le matériau folklorique réuni à diverses périodes et dans diverses civilisations à travers le monde, les contenus symboliques liés à l'arbre présentent universellement de grandes ressemblances. De par ses caractéristiques de base, l'arbre appartient à la fois à la nature et à la culture, et cette dualité explique aussi le fait qu'il puisse apparaître dans des rôles et des contextes très variés. L'examen systématique d'un certain nombre de répertoires ethniques montre la présence constante et plus ou moins active des arbres. On les rencontre dans des fonctions quasi permanentes, comme l'arbre donneur de trésors, qui pourvoit le héros de nourriture et de richesse, tandis que dans un autre ensemble de récits proposé ici, l'arbre remplit des fonctions plus diverses mais toujours en rapport avec la justice. Dans cet ensemble, on peut distinguer trois catégories et ce classement très simple met en relief la nature plus ou moins dynamique et dramatique des intrigues.

Dans les récits appartenant à la *première catégorie*, l'arbre est un outil passif et son rôle est instrumental. Le plus souvent, mais pas exclusivement, c'est comme d'un instrument que s'en sert le protagoniste, qui a l'intention de faire tomber son adversaire dans un piège. Il profite des caractéristiques et des contenus sémantiques symboliques qui se rapportent aux différents attributs de l'arbre: ses fruits sont un aliment, ses feuilles ramassées peuvent servir de couche confortable et ses branches s'élèvent en hauteur et tendent vers la sphère.

Dans la mesure où c'est le héros qui prend l'initiative de la montée dans l'arbre de son adversaire (ou d'un des associés de ce dernier) pour cueillir des fruits ou réunir des feuilles pour une couche, il s'agit d'un prétexte pour éloigner – sans recourir à la force – l'antagoniste, en le faisant monter dans l'arbre sans retour possible dans le monde des vivants. Dans le cas contraire – si c'est une figure négativement connotée qui veut tuer au moyen de l'arbre – la ruse reste inefficace, le projet meurtrier court à l'échec. Cela signifie que la passivité de l'arbre n'est qu'apparent

car, comme porteur de la justice immanente, il se tient aux côtés du protagoniste représentant la «bonne cause». L'équivalence entre le fait d'envoyer quelqu'un en haut de l'arbre et la condamnation à mort doit être référée à la fonction universellement connue de l'arbre comme intermédiaire symbolique entre les trois parties de l'univers. Ses racines font lien avec le monde souterrain, son tronc avec l'univers des hommes et ses branches en l'air avec le monde céleste. Faire monter quelqu'un tout en haut équivaut à l'exclure du monde humain (il se retrouve dans le monde céleste ou souterrain).

Il est intéressant d'observer que dans les récits où l'arbre prend peu d'initiatives, les personnages à la tête de l'action sont de leur côté très actifs. Nous rencontrons particulièrement souvent dans notre répertoire des protagonistes féminines, entreprenantes et hyperactives qui acceptent pour elles-mêmes des tâches d'habitude masculines, et les accomplissent avec succès. Ce comportement inhabituel et atypique s'explique par des circonstances contraignantes par exemple par l'absence de garçons dans la famille – et par la gravité des préjugés. (On sait en effet que dans la plupart des sociétés africaines traditionnelles – et notamment dans celles d'où viennent nos contes – l'action dans le monde extérieur appartient aux hommes et l'activité des femmes se déploie dans le domaine domestique.)

Dans les textes de la *deuxième catégorie* l'arbre a des caractéristiques exceptionnelles, merveilleuses. Il remplit clairement un rôle d'auxiliaire et de donateur, il joue un rôle protecteur, donne des conseils, écoute et réalise les souhaits du héros. La relation qui s'instaure entre l'arbre et le héros est presque une relation humaine.

Dans la *troisième sorte* de contes apparaît l'arbre qui offre refuge, rôle qu'il remplit aussi dans la vie réelle. Le plus souvent c'est de sa propre initiative que le protagoniste du récit s'enfuit du village en raison d'une souffrance ou d'une humiliation, mais il n'est pas rare qu'il en soit chassé à cause de ses penchants ou aspirations antisociaux. Que les raisons soient externes ou internes, le héros fait la rencontre de l'arbre en sortant de son environnement habituel – la plupart du temps à la lisière du village – ou dans la brousse des environs. Le sort de celui qui y cherche abri dépend de la gravité du conflit à l'origine de la crise. Souvent l'arbre n'offre qu'une protection provisoire, le temps que la situation s'éclaircisse, et dans ce cas son rôle est passif. Il arrive aussi qu'il apparaisse juste à l'endroit et au moment où le héros en a besoin. Dans tous les cas, quand le héros prend lui-même l'initiative et cherche de son gré refuge dans l'arbre, les membres de la communauté considèrent sa fuite comme une perte pour le groupe et essaient en conséquence

de le persuader de retourner parmi eux. Ils envoient un émissaire (ou même plusieurs) soigneusement choisi (s), pour qu'il(s) lui parle(nt) de façon à le convaincre. Il n'est pas rare que la communauté villageoise dans son ensemble commette une faute à l'égard du fugitif. Le dialogue entre la personne outragée qui se tient en haut de l'arbre et l'émissaire ou la délégation d'en bas, évoque l'importance de „la palabre” ainsi que la position symbolique et pratique de «l'arbre de village» dans la vie communautaire africaine. C'est sous son ombre que sont prises les décisions les plus importantes concernant le village. C'est là que se réunissent régulièrement les anciens du village et aux grandes occasions solennelles l'ensemble de la communauté.

Du point de vue structurel, les textes du corpus examiné peuvent être divisés en quatre grandes parties.

Dans la *première*, l'ordre existant a été perturbé, une mauvaise action a été accomplie dont la gravité varie d'un cas à l'autre. Il peut s'agir d'un méfait dont les conséquences ne peuvent être effacées que par la vengeance et dans le sang, mais un mariage en rupture avec les coutumes en vigueur peut également compter comme un acte dangereux et nuisible, de même que l'expression publique d'un désir, dont l'assouvissement constituerait la violation d'un interdit.

Dans tous les cas, cette première partie comprend tous les éléments à l'origine du conflit.

La *deuxième séquence* présente le héros (ou l'héroïne) qui, de sa propre volonté, par motivation personnelle ou par suite de circonstances contraignantes, s'éloigne de son environnement habituel. Dans les contes appartenant à la deuxième ou la troisième catégorie, la rencontre avec l'arbre se déroule sur la route entre «son propre monde, humain, culturel» et le monde extérieur, naturel.

Dans la *troisième séquence*, on assiste à la rencontre du héros et de son adversaire ou des alliés de ce dernier. Lors de la confrontation ou du règlement de comptes, le héros n'est jamais face à face en combat singulier avec l'antagoniste nuisible. Il a recours plutôt à une ruse, à des objets magiques, à des paroles efficaces (formules). Dans cette lutte sans combat, le rôle d'intermédiaire est indispensable et l'arbre le remplit sous différentes formes: comme outil servant à la fourberie du héros, comme agent au pouvoir magique, comme conseiller surnaturel ou simplement comme endroit rituel. C'est la séquence où l'on assiste à des explications, à des accords et accommodements entre les parties en présence. Enfin, c'est surtout lors de cette séquence que l'intervention de l'arbre fait chavirer le destin des protagonistes et le déroulement des événements prend un tournant.

Dans la *quatrième partie*, qui est en même temps la dernière étape, l'ordre se rétablit et le héros (ou héroïne) retourne ensuite dans sa propre communauté. Quant au malfaiteur, auteur d'un méfait grave (meurtre ou autre crime), il est puni de mort. Soit le héros l'élimine de ses propres mains soit, plus souvent encore, il a recours pour son châtement aux forces surnaturelles. Il n'est pas rare qu'à sa demande, l'arbre s'élève vers le ciel avec la personne coupable. Lorsque, au contraire, le retour à l'ordre se passe pacifiquement, les partis en conflit se mettent d'accord et le héros réintègre son village et sa famille. Dans un certain nombre de récits (troisième catégorie) dans lesquelles le héros ou l'héroïne court à l'arbre pour y trouver refuge, mais se montre incapable de renoncer à la réalisation d'un projet antisocial (par exemple au désir d'inceste), l'histoire se termine tragiquement, avec sa mort.

L'examen thématique du corpus montre que les conflits présentés font courir un danger à l'ordre traditionnel existant. Les histoires elles-mêmes s'organisent autour de trois grands thèmes: l'abus du pouvoir, l'absence de solidarité au sein de la famille ou plus largement du village, la violation des règles relatives au mariage. Les solutions émergent alors conformément aux lois coutumières, et la croyance accordée à l'efficacité justicière de l'arbre repose sur le consensus social. Si certains retournements de situation font penser dans nos récits au *deus ex machina* du théâtre classique, ici pareille intervention extraordinaire fait appel, selon le contexte, aux puissances surnaturelles, au pouvoir des morts ou enfin, au statut de sanctuaire de l'arbre.

*L'abus de pouvoir* est nécessairement pratiqué par des gens auxquels la victime et le héros - les deux peuvent se confondre - sont subordonnés. Il en est ainsi du chef de village jouissant d'une éminente position politique, ou du parent (père ou mère) présidant aux destinées de sa famille. La transgression du droit coutumier pèse lourdement non seulement sur la victime et ses proches, mais elle secoue toute la communauté.

*La rupture de solidarité et le mauvais comportement à l'égard de la famille* concernent en effet la communauté plus large aussi, qui se sent menacée dans ses valeurs fondamentales. La mentalité individualiste est en opposition irréconciliable avec le système des valeurs traditionnel en lui portant préjudice dans son essence.

*La violation des règles relatives au choix des conjoints* provoque également d'importants conflits et de grandes tensions. La relation d'attirance amoureuse ou sexuelle avec un esprit, un monstre ou un animal est en fait une variation de ce thème. La personne qui veut se marier avec un étranger - jeune fille ou un jeune garçon qui

choisit lui-même un partenaire – se retrouve au même titre en contradiction avec la loi que celle ou celui qui désire épouser une personne trop proche: frère ou sœur. La crise peut être résolue si la „personne irresponsable” quitte le partenaire inadéquat, c'est à dire, si l'on réussit à lui faire reprendre le droit chemin et s'accommoder d'un mariage obéissant aux normes.

Finalement, après avoir insisté sur l'aspect cohérent du corpus de textes réuni autour de la fonction justicière de l'arbre, on peut poser une question quelque peu paradoxale: l'arbre est-il un élément narratif fixe, c'est-à-dire non remplaçable, de ces contes? La réponse est négative, car dans des histoires semblables de part leur thème et leur structure, un autre agent pourrait remplir un rôle identique. Toutefois, comme dans ces contes étudiés sous l'angle de la fonction justicière, l'arbre est porteur de sens symboliques tellement variables qu'il serait difficile d'imaginer un autre „agent” capable de représenter simultanément tous ces contenus sémantiques.

## II.

### Résumés commentés des principaux contes de référence

**1. Conte limba.** (R. Finnegan, *Limba stories and storytelling*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967: 137-140)

*Malgré l'interdiction du chef de village, un homme vole une banane à l'intention de sa femme enceinte, qui en a envie. Son acte est découvert et le chef le condamne à mort. Sa femme se réfugie dans sa propre famille au village voisin, accouche d'une superbe petite fille, à qui elle racontera souvent l'histoire de son époux. Quand la fille grandit, elle décide de venger la mort de son père. Avant de partir, elle va chez un devin qui lui conseille d'emporter un couteau, un tissu blanc servant aux sacrifices et un grand panier.*

*La fille parcourt les villages voisins, l'un après l'autre, et annonce partout qu'elle épousera celui qui a accompli un acte hors du commun. Elle refuse plusieurs prétendants jusqu'à ce qu'elle tombe sur un homme qui se vante d'avoir tué un homme pour une banane. Elle l'accepte pour époux. La nuit de noces elle le transperce de son couteau, trempe de sang le tissu blanc et s'en va. Le lendemain les hommes du chef la poursuivent. Quand l'un d'entre eux la rejoint, la fille lui dit qu'on ne peut la tuer qu'avec la feuille d'un certain arbre. L'homme enlève ses vêtements, dépose son arme et monte dans l'arbre indiqué à la recherche de la feuille. Pendant ce temps la fille réunit les vêtements et l'arme de l'homme et lui dit qu'il doit mourir de honte. En retournant au village, elle raconte ce qu'elle a fait, présente le couteau et le tissu trempé de sang et on bat le tam-tam en son honneur.*

## COMMENTAIRE

L'arbre offre son aide pour mener jusqu'au bout l'entreprise de vengeance de l'héroïne. Pour ce qui est de la proposition de mariage faite par la fille, notons que, chez les Limba, ce sont traditionnellement les parents qui réglent le mariage de leur progéniture quand les partenaires en vue ne sont qu'enfants ; la dot de la mariée en constitue un élément important. Certes, des mariages libres (sans dot) peuvent avoir lieu aussi, dans des circonstances exceptionnelles. A la fin de son récit, le conteur ajoute que, en conséquence de l'acte héroïque de la fille, désormais une femme peut également se voir attribuer la chefferie. De fait, depuis le début des années 1960, on a l'habitude d'élire chez les Limba une femme spécialement chargée de gérer les affaires touchant aux femmes de la communauté.

**2. Conte limba** (R. Finnegan, *Limba stories and storytelling*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967: 157-162)

*Une sorcière isole sa fille du monde extérieur. Un jour, cette dernière, en âge de se marier, s'enfuit et contracte un mariage libre. La sorcière se déguise en jeune fille, part à la poursuite du couple dans le village du mari et essaie de tuer ce dernier en profitant de la nuit, mais en vain. Le lendemain elle annonce son retour au village et exprime le souhait que le gendre la raccompagne une partie du chemin. Quand ils arrivent au niveau de la brousse entourant le village, elle l'envoie en haut de l'arbre en prétextant qu'elle a envie de fruits. Mais sa fille, qui les a suivis en secret, interdit au mari de céder à la demande. La mère sorcière s'en va en pleurant.*

## COMMENTAIRE

L'arbre refuse d'aider la mère maléfique qui veut s'enchaîner sa fille à elle-même et refuse ainsi d'accepter que celle-ci accède à la condition de femme adulte. Avec l'aide de l'arbre, la fille est capable de protéger son mari et le droit des jeunes face à l'action abusive de son ascendante.

**3. Conte limba** (R. Finnegan, *Limba stories and storytelling*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967: 143-146)

*Un chasseur rencontre une belle jeune fille qu'il veut épouser. La fille accepte la proposition à condition qu'il l'accompagne ramasser des colas et que, auparavant, il enferme ses chiens dans l'enclos. Mais sans qu'elle le sache, le chasseur n'obéit pas. Quand ils arrivent à l'arbre de colas, la fille envoie le chasseur en haut et lui déclare qu'elle est un esprit et qu'elle va le tuer. Le chasseur demande la permission de faire ses prières à Dieu. Au lieu de cela, il appelle ses chiens qui, sur son ordre, tuent la fille-esprit. Le chasseur descend de l'arbre, va dans la maison de la fille-esprit, rassemble ses trésors et retourne dans son village.*



## COMMENTAIRE

Dans ce texte le héros ne s'occupe pas des affaires d'autrui. Il tombe presque victime de sa propre légèreté (il a également failli aux règles du mariage) et doit protéger sa propre vie. Le personnage maléfique (fille-esprit) dit expressément d'avoir envoyé sa victime en haut de l'arbre pour la faire mourir. Cette déclaration souligne la fonction « institutionnalisée » de l'arbre en tant que moyen de mise à mort.

**4. Conte limba** (R. Finnegan, *Limba stories and storytelling*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1967: 117-124)

*Une jeune fille a déjà décidé dans le ventre de sa mère de choisir elle-même son mari. Quand arrive le moment de se marier, elle refuse tous les prétendants, en disant que leur peau n'est pas assez lisse. Un monstre emprunte à des serpents des vêtements avec lesquels il se rend chez la fille. Il lui plaît et elle l'épouse sans qu'il soit question de compensations matrimoniales. Ils vont au village du mari. Sira, le monstre, rend entretemps les habits qu'il avait empruntés. La famille de la fille ne reçoit pas de nouvelles et son petit frère, accompagné de ses chiens, s'en va pour rendre visite à sa grande sœur. Le monstre veut tuer son beau-frère dans son sommeil, mais les chiens l'empêchent de s'approcher de lui. Le lendemain, il l'invite à cueillir du cola et lui enjoint de laisser ses chiens à la maison. Le garçon obéit, mais il demande en secret à sa sœur de lâcher les chiens quand elle l'entendra les appeler. Le monstre envoie son beau-frère en haut de l'arbre et lui apprend qu'il va mourir. En réponse, le garçon appelle ses chiens qui tuent le monstre. Le frère et la sœur retournent au village et la fille épouse l'homme que son frère lui choisit.*

## COMMENTAIRE

Le conteur homme conclut son récit par une sentence: une fille qui décide de son sort court à sa perte. Par conséquent elle doit toujours obéir aux membres mâles de la famille, même quand elle est l'aînée. Le jeune frère est impliqué dans le mariage de sa sœur aînée dans la mesure où la dot que sa famille reçoit (animal, argent) peut servir à ce qu'il se marie lui-même. Dans de très nombreux contes, on rencontre les chiens comme alliés et sauveurs de l'homme. En ce qui concerne la cueillette de cola, il faut rappeler que, chez les Limbas, c'est le premier cadeau qu'on offre à l'invité.

**5. Conte bambara.** (V. Görög-Karády & G. Meyer, *Contes bambara du Mali et du Sénégal Oriental*. Paris, ERA 246 du CNRS, 1974: 195-206)

*La mère d'un jeune homme tue l'une après l'autre les jeunes femmes que son fils ramène comme épouses à la maison. Un villageois, qui donne sa fille en mariage au fils de la mère-sor-*

cière, donne en secret des «poisons» à sa fille. Le jeune homme interdit à sa femme de quitter le village en compagnie de sa mère. Quand sa belle-mère lui ordonne d'aller cueillir du bois dans la forêt, la jeune femme n'ose pas s'opposer. La vieille femme allume du feu et veut y jeter sa belle-fille, mais celle-ci répand par terre les «poisons» reçus de son père qui font surgir un grand arbre dans lequel elle se réfugie. Elle pousse des cris de secours. Son mari arrive et voit que sa mère est en train d'abattre l'arbre avec une hache. Il tue sa mère avec sa lance et retourne au village avec sa femme.

## COMMENTAIRE

L'objet de la jalousie de la mère est son propre fils, qui doit défendre sa compagne contre elle. Selon le système de mariage virilocal, le jeune homme devrait vivre sous le même toit que sa femme et sa mère. Comme la mère abusive ne peut pas accepter cela, il faut la châtier de mort. Le meurtre de la mère est un motif très rare dans les contes d'Afrique de l'Ouest au point de ne pas apparaître du tout dans le répertoire de contes de plusieurs peuples voisins des Bambara. La fonction de l'arbre, surgissant miraculeusement grâce à un produit magique, est celle de refuge.

**7. Conte gola** (D.Westermann, Die Gola-Sprache in Liberia. Hamburg, L. Friedrichsen, 1921: 107-110)

*Un roi répudie une de ses épouses avec son fils et celle-ci se réfugie sous un arbre dans la brousse. L'arbre lui donne à manger, la pourvoit d'une maison et de serviteurs et lui promet que son fils sera roi. Celui-ci, avec l'aide des serviteurs, construit un palais et une ville. Des années plus tard, un autre fils du roi les attaque. Le roi envoie même ses épouses en renfort à ses côtés. Mais l'arbre donne encore des conseils à ses protégés: avec des bijoux, il faut attirer dans la ville les épouses du roi, pour que le roi reste seul. C'est ce qui arrive et les attaquants subissent des pertes. Abandonné, le roi meurt.*

## COMMENTAIRE

L'arbre secourable offre une aide matérielle et morale à ses protégés. Il a des attributs maternels (nourrit, protège) et paternels (il rend roi, conseille une ruse de guerre). On ne peut que conjecturer pourquoi le roi éloigne l'une de ses femmes et le fils qu'il a d'elle. Une raison possible : c'est le fils de la femme chassée (première épouse) qui aurait hérité du trône, alors que le roi aurait voulu comme héritier le fils issu de son épouse favorite. L'histoire rappelle des récits mythiques gréco-romains dans lesquels le fils chassé par son père survit en exil et connaît un sort meilleur. Le protecteur et le défenseur de l'enfant est souvent un animal. Ce motif, assez répandu en Afrique, rappelle la légende d'Œdipe.

**8. Conte du Dahomey** (P. Barreau, Contes et légendes du Dahomey. Namur, Lavignerie, 1948: 57-58)

*Une femme ne donne pas à manger au fils de sa coépouse. Un jour, l'enfant affamé trouve un pépin d'orange dans un champ et demande à Dieu qu'il en fasse pousser un arbre plein de fruits. Dieu accomplit son vœu et le garçon ne connaît plus la faim. Son demi-frère découvre le bel arbre et monte dessus. L'orphelin demande alors à l'arbre de s'élever avec le demi-frère vers le ciel. L'arbre accepte et le demi-frère disparaît dans le ciel.*

COMMENTAIRE

L'arbre merveilleux qui pousse à la demande de l'orphelin remplit des fonctions multiples (nourrit l'orphelin, lui obéit dans l'exécution de sa vengeance ).

**9. Conte bambara** (M. Travélé, Proverbes et contes bambara. Paris, Geuthner, 1923: 123-125)

*Un petit garçon perd son père et sa mère et les habitants du village le chassent. Il va dans la brousse, se cache dans le creux d'un baobab et commence à chanter. Sous l'effet de sa chanson il pleut partout, sauf dans son propre village où tous souffrent de soif. Un chasseur, qui passe à côté de l'arbre, entend sa chanson et raconte la nouvelle au village. Les villageois se rendent à l'arbre, demandent pardon à l'orphelin et le ramènent au village.*

COMMENTAIRE

La fonction d'intermédiaire de l'arbre est renforcée par sa situation topographique, entre le village et la brousse. L'enfant orphelin est tout à la fois héros et victime et son antagoniste est l'ensemble de la communauté villageoise. Pour comprendre le conte, il faut savoir que dans l'univers des croyances bambara, un enfant orphelin peut être considéré comme responsable de la mort de ses parents ( raison pour laquelle le village peut lui être hostile). L'arbre offre refuge au hors-la-loi et constitue le lieu de pardon et de réconciliation. Même si ce n'est pas dit, il est évident pour l'auditoire bambara que l'endroit est propice au déploiement des pouvoirs magiques attribués à la chanson de l'orphelin.

**10. Conte gouro** (L.Tauxier, Nègres gouro et gago (Côte d'Ivoire). Paris, Geuthner, 1932: 302 )

*De deux frères l'un est riche et avare, l'autre est si pauvre qu'il ne se nourrit que des fruits d'un arbre kia-iri (Blighia Sapida). En absence du pauvre, le frère riche monte dans l'arbre et mange de ses fruits. Quand le pauvre frère revient il voit ce qui s'est passé. Alors il ordonne à l'arbre de s'élever très loin en hauteur. L'épouse riche promet au pauvre deux bœufs pour le retour de son mari, mais il refuse la proposition. L'arbre monte au ciel avec le frère riche puis il se rabaisse tout seul.*

## COMMENTAIRE

La vie de paria du frère pauvre est mise en valeur par la consommation exclusive de la nourriture crue (et l'absence de l'épouse qui lui fasse la cuisine). La croyance que seuls les animaux peuvent à long terme subsister à partir d'aliments crus est largement répandue en Afrique. L'arbre est ici un allié actif du pauvre et sa montée au ciel témoigne de sa capacité d'administrer la mort.

**11. Conte abaluya** (G. Wagner „The Abaluya of Kavirondo” in *African Worlds*, Oxford, Oxford University Press 1954: 40)

*De deux sœurs, l'une n'accomplit aucune tâche ménagère, elle ne fait rien d'autre que modeler des marmites en argile. Furieuse, sa sœur cadette brise ses casseroles. La sœur offensée quitte le foyer, marche sans discontinuer pendant trois jours et arrive à un lac. Un arbre énorme vient de l'eau à sa rencontre, pour qu'elle puisse grimper dessus, et retourne dans l'eau. Les parents, les frères et sœurs de la fille arrivent et la supplient de rentrer avec eux, mais elle ne cède pas. Alors survient son amoureux qui lui demande la même chose et elle l'écoute. A son retour, personne ne l'oblige plus à accomplir de tâches ménagères.*

## COMMENTAIRE

L'arbre, offrant refuge à la jeune fille victime d'un conflit familial, a aussi des caractéristiques merveilleuses. Il se déplace et va au-devant de la victime. Son emplacement dans l'eau souligne sa fonction d'intermédiaire entre le monde des vivants et des morts.

**12. Conte songhay.** (Recueilli par G. Calame-Griaule. Manuscrit.)

*Une jeune fille annonce à sa famille qu'elle n'épousera que son frère. En réponse, on la chasse du village. Elle se réfugie sur un grand arbre et sa sœur aînée, partie à sa recherche, la retrouve. Sa famille arrive après et lui demande de descendre de l'arbre, mais elle redit qu'elle ne revient que si on laisse épouser son frère. Ce dernier lui demande de descendre et tous reprennent le chemin du village. En chemin, le frère prétend aller faire ses besoins et ne revient plus. La fille meurt au bout de trois jours.*

## COMMENTAIRE

La protagoniste féminine du conte remplit à la fois le rôle de héroïne, de coupable et d'une des victimes. Face au désir incestueux, fondamentalement anti-social, les initiatives de pacification restent sans résultat et le conte se termine sur une issue tragique.

**13. Conte hausa** (R.S. Rattray, *Hausa folklore, customs and proverbs*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, vol. 1. 1913: 274-282)

*Depuis sa tendre enfance, la fille du chef de village se comporte avec son frère aîné comme avec un prétendant potentiel au mariage. Elle ne l'appelle pas par son nom. Son frère décide de faire quelque chose. Un jour quand sa sœur cadette et ses amies se baignent dans le fleuve, il les suit, ramasse leurs vêtements pour se hisser avec eux sur l'arbre qui est au milieu du fleuve. Les filles, quand elles se retrouvent sans vêtements, fondent en larmes. De sa cachette, le frère dit qu'il leur ne rendra leurs vêtements qu'à la condition qu'elles l'appellent par son nom. Les amies cèdent, mais la cadette refuse par trois fois. L'eau, dans laquelle elle se trouve, monte dangereusement. Finalement, elle appelle son aîné de son nom et promet d'accepter le mari choisi par la famille.*

COMMENTAIRE

L'arbre est ici un instrument de ruse, il permet au frère aîné d'apprendre à sa sœur les règles fondamentales régissant le mariage: on ne peut se marier au sein de la famille. Les désirs incestueux entre frère et sœur se rencontrent également dans les mythes hausa.

**14. Conte kabyle** (W. Staude, „Le héros dévoué et son antagoniste”, *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, 1967: 179-182)

*Un garçon désire prendre sa sœur en mariage. La fille abandonne le village et se réfugie dans un arbre sur un rocher. Sa famille la recherche partout et quand ils la trouvent, lui demandent de retourner au village avec eux. La fille refuse. Pendant les adieux, le frère coupe l'une des mains de sa sœur qui tombe dans le nid d'un corbeau. La fille lui jette un mauvais sort: il souffrira des genoux, au point de ne plus pouvoir marcher, tant qu'elle n'aura pas récupéré sa main. Puis elle s'enfuit. Un homme l'épouse, elle a un enfant et un jour, quand elle lave le linge au bord du fleuve, un corbeau lui rapporte sa main. A la demande de son fils, elle décide de rendre visite à sa famille et leur dit ce qui lui est arrivé. Au moment où elle termine son histoire, les genoux de son frère guérissent.*

COMMENTAIRE

Dans cette version kabyle du conte ATh 712, la sœur, victime du désir incestueux de son frère, est mise à rude épreuve. Miraculeusement, son destin prend un tour meilleur. L'arbre joue le rôle de refuge.



## Noncommunication in folklore

*Knuuttila, Seppo*

The dialogue of the Enlightenment and the Romantic era produced a wealth of descriptions of mental states in which the interaction of nature and culture is manifest in specific experiences. Wonder, the sublime and melancholy, for example, all have one thing in common, and that is their power to render the person experiencing them speechless. According to Theodor W. Adorno, "the disinclination to talk about it (the category of natural and beauty, SK) is strongest where love of it survives. The 'How beautiful!' at the sight of a landscape insults its mute language and reduces its beauty" (1997, 69). The verbal admiration of a landscape would, by this logic, signify its examination more as a work of art than as part of nature, so that the unmediated idea of the experience vanishes. Two focal dimensions of noncommunication are articulated in the nature aesthetic emphasising the primacy of the sensory perception and experience: the mystery of explaining the experience and the protection of its authenticity.

### "Where angels fear to tread"

The anthropologist Gregory Bateson addressed the problems of noncommunication in a work entitled *Angels Fear. An Investigation into the Nature and Meaning of the Sacred* (1987; in Bantam edition *Towards an Epistemology of the Sacred*, 1988). The work was edited by Mary Catherine Bateson, herself a linguist, from her father's posthumous and to some extent unfinished texts. The articles in the book and the 'metalogues' devised by the editor put forward various contextual dimensions of noncommunication, such as sacredness, secrecy, silence, innocence, ignorance and taboo. Gregory Bateson writes that noncommunication of certain sorts is needed if we are to maintain the 'sacred'. Thus framed, the sacred is, as it were, a general warning sign. "For fools rush in where angels fear to tread," wrote Alexander Pope in his *Essay on Criticism* of 1711; and it is to this idea that the title of the Bateson's book refers. In debating the protective aspect of silence and what may, in certain cases, be the harmful effect of speaking out, Bateson

arrives at the conclusion that "There are, of course, people who see it as almost a duty to communicate information that will give pain; and sometimes such people have wisdom on their side. I am not concerned here to judge these cases, except to note that these people form a subspecies of those who rush in where angels fear to tread" (1988, 89).

The problems on noncommunication may, in addition to adopting the approaches of communication theory and the philosophy of life, also be framed cybernetically by asking, in the words of Bateson: "Are there perhaps processes in the working of all living systems such that, if news or information of these processes reaches other parts of the system, the working together of the whole will be paralysed or disrupted?". Maybe the main overall principle of noncommunication is nevertheless crystallised in the following sentence: "Communication is undesirable, not because of fear, but because communication would somehow alter the nature of ideas" (1988, 80).

Bateson's interpretation of noncommunication is not, therefore, founded on binary or digital oppositions. In other words, we are not dealing with a mechanical communication model in which every word that is uttered or written means leaving all other words unuttered or unwritten. Nor do the well-known propositions "you cannot not communicate" or "you cannot not behave" invalidate the noncommunication aspect. The main thing about these maxims is that people will always behave somehow - even when they are alone - and they cannot, in the company of others, help expressing themselves in some way or other, if not in spoken words then in gestures, facial expressions, the way they dress, their posture and even their absence.

Another crucial consideration from the point of view of noncommunication is that messages are transmitted analogically at a number of contextual levels and via different channels. Information can thus be directed, regulated, hidden, filtered, framed, reinforced. For example, an agreement between two people not to reveal a secret may be extremely meaningful at the level of their intercourse, whereas in some other context this same secret may have no communicative status whatsoever. The real secrets are the ones we never dreamt existed. (Ketola & al. 2002)

### Motifs and noncommunication

Matters assigned to the domain of noncommunication have in folkloristics usually been examined by means of comparative motif analysis. Hence a genre



has been taken as the reference for a motif - such as silence - and the plot (cause and consequence) as its meaning. What I am concerned with here is the way the noncommunication perspective is manifest in folklore both as discursive demands and conditions and as constructivist strategies.

There are well-known folktales explaining why a princess is not allowed to speak or laugh (AT 451, see Aarne & Thompson 1987), or a man to wash (or blow his nose) for three or seven or twelve years (AT 361); it is likewise made abundantly clear that the origin of supernatural powers must not be disclosed, either on pain of losing the said powers or, in the direst case, the owner's life (AT 670). The significant thing as far as noncommunication is concerned is that some channel for human communication is blocked off at the textual level of the tales, which then go on to describe what happens as a result. Technically speaking, this is a disturbance in the communication. Such narratives deliberately violate the phatic function of communication, which establishes and maintains contact, keeps the channels of communication open. Geoffrey N. Leech writes about "the metalinguistic 'Phatic Maxim', which may be provisionally formulated either in its negative form 'Avoid silence' or in its positive form 'Keep talking'" (1983, 141).

### *The mirror*

Important from the perspective of noncommunication are the implicit, unspoken premises (enthymema) that create gaps in the narrative and sometimes make it enigmatic. In addressing the relationship between anecdotes and their impact Ted Cohen (1983) gives an example of one of which he claims to be particularly fond.

*This anecdote is about an old couple living far away in a remote region, neither of which has ever seen a mirror. One day the man finds a piece of a mirror. He takes it up to his attic, carefully polishes it and gazes long into it. Finally he calls out, "Father!". During the weeks that follow he often goes up to the attic and spends many an hour there. His wife begins to get worried at the way he is behaving and to doubt his fidelity. One day while he is out she goes up to the attic and immediately spots the mirror. She gazes into it and goes back downstairs, muttering to herself, "What a relief. My old man would never fall for such a wrinkled old woman. She looks just like my mother."*

The implicit premise of this example, and the comic condition, is that the old couple do not know what they look like. The significant thing from the noncommunication perspective is, in turn, that neither says a word to the other about the mirror (or indeed about anything else in this text), but they speak themselves. "In

the process of autocommunication”, writes Yuri M. Lotman (1990, 29), “the actual person is reformed and this process is connected with a very wide range of cultural functions, ranging from the sense of individual existence which in some types of culture is essential, to self-discovery and auto-psychotherapy.” According to the narrative logic, on the other hand, the discussion the couple do not have is important as regards both the humorous effect and the preservation of their marriage. The communicative context is constructed out of the fact that both know of the mirror’s existence, but the man does not know that his wife knows. According to Bateson, “the letter that you do not write, the apology that you do not offer, the food that you do not put out for the cat - all these can be sufficient and effective messages because zero, in context, can be meaningful; and it is the recipient of the message who creates the context” (1980, 56).

### *Cross-species knowledge*

One of the things about secrets is that people do not mention them, and that they even conceal the fact that they know they exist. In the recent example the man revealed the secret in his conduct, even though he did not tell his wife why he kept going up to the attic. It is precisely this fatal dimension of noncommunication, the disclosure of the knowledge that a secret exists, that is to be the man’s downfall in the tale about the man who understood the language of animals (AT 670). The man was given the gift by a snake whose life he saved. But he only received the gift on condition that he did not reveal to anyone in any way, even by the way he behaved, that he could understand “what the animals say“. Otherwise he would lose the ability or even his life. But it so happened that once in his wife’s presence he laughed at what the animals were saying. His wife asked him what he was laughing at, and when he failed to reply, the existence of a secret was let out. He did not, however, say what this secret was. According to some versions, his wife died of curiosity. In one Finnish variant (of 1846) the man decides to reveal the secret and die. But at precisely that moment he hears a cock expressing its amazement at a man’s inability to keep one woman under his control when he, the cock, can command a whole hen house. “Then the man gets up from the bench and beats his wife. And so the secret was kept. And from then onwards they lived well.“

Bateson quotes a Bali version of this tale. In it the main character is the old folk hero Adji Darma, who cannot not communicate the fact that there is a secret, “and this is what he failed to do“. The key question of all conspiracy theories is similarly by nature ontological: is there a secret? Once the interrogator or torturer

discovers whether or not his victim knows the secret, everything is easier; the only thing to be gained from breaking the bones of the innocent is sadistic pleasure. Often secret and sacred are interwoven. Bateson writes:

*We find over and over again in different parts of the world and different epochs of religious thought a recurrent emphasis on the notion that discovery, invention, and knowledge in general must be regarded as dangerous.. Greek mythology proposes the danger of knowledge again and again, especially cross-sex knowledge, which is always fatal.* (1988, 80)

In her metalogue of secrets Mary Catherine Bateson is in agreement with her father that the theme of the importance of a secret pervades mythology from all sorts of cultures. But she regards the story of Adji Darma more as an example of misogyny. It simply makes the woman the fool who rushes in where angels fear to tread (1988, 83-84). And indeed, the men's secrets in European magic tales, legends and anecdotes often refer to success, wealth and power, while those of women are their sins (cf. AT 517; the boy who understands the language of birds reveals that the haughty princess is guilty of infanticide). Aili Nenola writes: "At issue is also what the tradition does not say, on what points it remains silent.. [Or] where were the father or brother or parish priest of the Swedish Magdalena while she lived for eight years in the forest, eating leaves and doing penance? The tradition does not mention their sins or punishment" (1998, 268).

Both narratives are in their own way also examples of the failure of noncommunication. By acting in a different way the men could possibly have safeguarded their secret. It is easy to imagine the discussions stimulated by such tales and asking, for example, why the man who could understand the language of animals simply did not lie to his wife or invent some excuse. The answer is quite simple: because then there would be no story.

### *The dirty man*

Conditional prohibitions are not confined exclusively to verbal behaviour: you can do anything so long as you do not eat of this tree, open this door, pick these flowers, drink from this spring, and so on. In tale type AT 361 the man makes a pact with the devil. He will receive an immense sum of money so long as he does not wash himself in any way for seven (or three) years. There are also some extra conditions: he must, for example, wear a bearskin that makes him "inhuman", an anomaly that does not fit into any category (see Douglas 1989). The dirt, stench and animal appearance which the man cannot hide or fail to communicate arouse repulsion and fear in others. There is nothing in the pact about what he is allowed to say. The texts do not, for example, mention whether or not he is allowed to tell people of his pact. This nevertheless seems to be an implicit premise; we know from other contexts, such as witch hunts, that an alliance with the devil is always

secret and that revealing it will always mean death in some form or another. But the "dirty man" - at least in the Grimm versions - begs people to pray for the salvation of his soul.

The turning point (*peripateia*) comes in the tale when "the dirty man" pays off the debts of an impoverished estate and in return is granted the youngest daughter as his wife; sometimes the sum of money is given only on condition that the girl kisses (or makes love to) the "dirty man", which she does out of love or respect for her father. When the prescribed number of years have passed, the dirty man reappears, now clean, handsome and rich, to claim the girl promised to him as his wife. Only then is it revealed to the bride and her envious sisters just what the man was protecting in failing to explain the causal relationship between his dirtiness (anomaly) and wealth. This tale is an example of how noncommunication can produce a desired result: the hero wins a fortune and a wife. The envious sisters hang themselves and the devil thus claims two souls instead of one. Evil gets its reward.

### *Silence and salvation*

The most frequently recurring aspect of noncommunication in folklore is keeping silence. According to Ruth Bottigheimer (1987, 52), speech and silence can be analysed in literary texts at five levels at least: the historical, narrative, textual, lexical and editorial. To this we may add that each level can also be examined from the noncommunication aspect and, for example, ask what potential messages remain uncommunicated at the various levels. I do not in this context wish to take a look at the narrative significance of silence, its textual distribution or gender differences, about which Bottigheimer (1986; 1987) in particular has written with such breadth and perception. Instead I wish to examine what is communicated and what is not by the silence in tales of the type *The Twelve Brothers*, AT 451 ("You must be dumb for seven years, and may not speak or laugh").

The plot of the tale consists of a chain of secrets and their revelation:

1. The queen tells her twelve sons of the king's decision that they must die if the next child to be born is a girl.
2. The mother reveals the same secret to the daughter, who sets off in search of her brothers, who have run away.
3. The youngest of the brothers hides his sister and only reveals the secret when the other brothers promise not to kill "the first woman they come across".
4. The girl picks twelve flowers, at which the brothers are turned into ravens (swans, wolves). An old woman tells the girl a secret means of turning her brothers back into humans: she must not speak or laugh for seven years.

5. The king finds the girl in the forest (in a tree) and proposes marriage to her, at which she nods her consent (she cannot not communicate). Her step-mother convinces everyone that the girl's dumbness is a sign of "evil power".

6. The girl, now the queen, is to be burnt to death as a witch. At the very last moment the seven years are up. Her brothers fly along and turn into humans again. They put the flames out and save their sister, who can now reveal the reason for her silence. The step-mother is burnt "so that evil may be banished from the world".

Each of the episodes of the tale is about life and death. The hiding motifs (the boys escape into the forest, the girl hides from her brothers until they agree not to kill her; the girl spends the time she must remain silent in the forest and a tree, where the king/the king's son finds her) are manifest as noncommunication in that the characters do not send out messages about themselves. Hiding in nature (cf. mimicry), is for many creatures a strategy and condition for survival.

When the girl in the tale picks the twelve flowers that for one reason or another represent the human lives of her brothers, the innocent unknowingly and unwittingly becomes guilty. And when the keeper of the secret, the old woman, tells her the conditions on which her brothers can be turned back into humans, the sister immediately believes her and is silent from that moment onwards. Then when the king (or prince) finds her, the tale begins to describe the problems caused by this dumbness at behavioural level and the suspicions it arouses. Only the main character and the listeners/readers know what the silence, noncommunication, is safeguarding and will ultimately atone for and save.

### Noncommunication as constructivist assessment

The frame for noncommunication in each of the example narratives is the relationships and borders between fundamental categories. In the first tale, framed as comic, the man believes he is looking at his dead father; in other words, he crosses the absolute existential border. This secret is not discovered by his wife even though she finds the mirror. The dirty man, on the other hand, is socially outlawed from the human category to an anomalous state in which he is threatened by animals and humans alike. The man who understands the language of animals has to hide an ability that permits the cognitive crossing of the borders between species. And in the last example the king's daughter unwittingly causes her brothers to be turned into non-humans. Each main character involuntarily operates to a greater or lesser degree in regions where even angels fear to tread. These are stories about "the need to limit or control knowledge or communication across species lines and across gender lines" (Bateson 1988, 84).

As a textual strategy, noncommunication demands that people are identified by their words and deeds. This is also emphasised by Eva Österberg in her article

about strategies of silence in Icelandic sagas: "People are identified through what they say and they are identified with their speech." This applies equally well to men and women. "When the important women - the powerful instigators of action - say something in the sagas, their speech is highly charged with meaning and potentially as dangerous as any man's." (1991, 15-16). Although female and male silence differ markedly from one another in tales, as Bottigheimer has pointed out, the breaking of agreements and promises, the revealing of secrets is dangerous to all involved.

The examples I have quoted here were, of course, chosen to prove my point, but as folklorists are well aware, they are not unique. Sources of folklore of different types and from different eras provide instructions and warnings not to intervene in the course of events, because otherwise their nature (idea) will change. In the network on belief systems, writes Mihály Hoppál (1998, 157), "each element - node - is in correlation with the other elements, even if through an intermediate element; this interrelation is the very reason why the mythological and/or belief systems are such long-lasting."

Noncommunication is not, therefore, a motif manifest in narratives but an intermediate, constructivist perspective from which it may be possible to read something "that has never been written". Textually, it can be examined as a narrative device which, by blocking the premises and protecting the ideas, constructs various ways of solving problems.

## References

- Aarne, Antti & Thompson, Stith 1987 (1961): *The Types of Folktale. A Classification and Bibliography*. Second Revision. FFC No.184. Helsinki.
- Adorno, Theodor, W. 1997 (1970): *Aesthetic Theory*. The Athlone Press. London.
- Bateson, Gregory 1980: *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. Flamingo. London.
- Bateson, Gregory – Bateson, Mary Catherine 1988: *Angels Fear: Towards an Epistemology of the Sacred*. Bantam Books. New York.
- Bottigheimer, Ruth, B. 1986: *Silenced Women in the Grimms' Tales: The "Fit" Between Fairy Tales and Society in Their Historical Context*. In Ruth B. Bottigheimer (ed.) *Fairy Tales and Society: Illusion, Allusion and Paradigm*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia.
- Bottigheimer, Ruth, B. 1987: *Grimms' Bad Girls & Bold Boys. The Moral & Social Vision of the Tales*. Yale University Press. New Haven and London.
- Cohen, Ted 1983: *Jokes*. In Eva Shaper (ed.) *Pleasure, Preference, and Value*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

- Douglas, Mary 1989: *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Ark Paperbacks / Routledge. London and New York.
- Hoppál, Mihály 1998: *Traces of Shamanism in Hungarian Folk Beliefs*. In Anna- Leena Siikala & Mihály Hoppál: *Studies on Shamanism*. *Ethnologica Uralica* 2. Finnish Anthropological Society. Helsinki. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
- Ketola, Kimmo, Knuuttila, Seppo, Mattila, Antti, Vesala, Kari Mikko 2002: *Puuttuvat viestit. Nonkommunikaatio inhimillisessä vuorovaikutuksessa* (The missing messages. Noncommunication in the human interaction). Gaudeamus. Helsinki.
- Leech, Geoffrey, N. 1983: *Principles of Pragmatics*. Longman. London and New York.
- Lotman, Yuri, M. 1990: *Autocommunication; 'I' and 'Other' as addressees*. In Yuri M. Lotman: *Universe of the Mind. A Semiotic theory of Culture*. I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd. London and New York.
- Nenola, Aili 1998: *On What Points Does the Song of Mary Magdalene Remain Silent?* In Satu Apo, Aili Nenola, Laura Stark-Arola (eds.) *Gender and Folklore. Perspectives on Finnish and Karelian Culture*. *Studia Fennica Folkloristica* 4. Finnish Literature Society. Helsinki.
- Österberg, Eva 1991, *Mentalities and Other Realities. Essays in Medieval and Early Modern Scandinavian History*. Lund University Press. Lund.





# On the Position of the Religious Legend of St. George in the Mental Universe of the Setu Woman

Ksenya Mürsepp

*Metsvahi, Merili*

## Introduction

We are living in the midst of stories.\* The ubiquity of narrative is obvious not only in the fact that novels, commercials, films and next-door ladies tell us tales, but also in that our ability to render sense to our surroundings and to maintain our identity is directly related to narrativity. It is easy to recognise a serial film or a fairy tale as a narrative. Identifying the narrative form of a contemporary legend or a rumour may prove somewhat more difficult. Yet the attempt to regard as narratives the stories that we ourselves inhabit and that shape our identity, may prove to be most difficult of all. After all, the history of our nation or our state<sup>1</sup> – as well as our private life histories<sup>2</sup> – are stories made possible only thanks to the narrator and his attitudes.

---

\*The present article has been prepared in the framework of project 4450 of the Estonian Science Foundation.

<sup>1</sup> It has been primarily philosophers of history (e.g., White 1980; Ricoeur 1980, 1991, 1994; Mink 1970) who have drawn attention to narrative as a means for ordering and ideating the knowledge and experiences acquired in society. Hayden White describes how reality acquires a meaning through narrative, in the following words: "The historical narrative /.../ reveals to us a world that is putatively "finished," done with, over, and yet not dissolved, not falling apart. In this world, reality wears the mask of meaning, the completeness and fullness of which we can only imagine, never experience." (1987: 21)

<sup>2</sup> The psychologist Jerome Bruner discusses narrative as a means for maintaining a person's identity: "To be in a viable culture is to be bound in a set of connecting stories, connecting even though the stories may not represent a consensus." (1995: 96). Since the structuring of history and man's self-conception within a particular culture are closely bound up (Geertz 1993: 389), students of the narrativity of historical discourse and of biographical discourse may exercise fruitful influence on each other.

Narrativity plays a significant role not only in our culture but is something profoundly characteristic of humankind as such. There has never been a society without narratives (Barthes 1988: 79). Hayden White has called narrative a meta-code, a human universal that enables us to transmit transcultural messages about the nature of a shared reality (1980: 6). Narrativity is directly connected to the human power of thinking about temporality (on the close link between narrativity and temporality see e.g. Ricoeur 1980). The ability to perceive one's duration in time and to think about time is universally characteristic of humans, regardless of what culture they happen to belong to. Probably Endel Tulving is right in his conjecture that the perception of temporality – that is, chronesthesia<sup>3</sup> – belongs among the most significant motivating forces in human culture (Tulving 2002: 279). We cannot speak about chronesthesia in animals or, to put it differently – animals lack episodic memory<sup>4</sup>.

Narratives circulating among the people in oral form have traditionally been the realm of folklorists. Folkloristics got its start when stories founded on a worldview different from that of the researchers came to be evaluated. And even though today we no longer cherish the romantic notions about the “soul of the people” (die Volksseele) deducible through such stories which characterised the early days of folkloristics, interest for them has survived among folklorists to this day. The more the narrator's mental world differs from our own, the more pleasure and food for thought we derive from his stories.

On February 17, 2001, my colleague Risto Järv and I paid our first visit to the Setu<sup>5</sup> woman Ksenya Mürsepp<sup>6</sup> who was then 90 years old. Seven years earlier Ksenya had moved from Petchory (Petseri)<sup>7</sup> to Tartu; before settling in Petchory,

<sup>3</sup> Chronesthesia is a neuro-cognitive ability expressed by an individual's awareness of his own and the others' existence as duration in time, enabling subjective cogitation about time (Tulving 2002: 264).

<sup>4</sup> “Episodic memory does exactly what other forms of memory do not and cannot do – it enables an individual to re-experience a past experience” (Tulving 2002: 235). On episodic memory see also Tulving 2002: 37; 230-236.

<sup>5</sup> The Setu are an Orthodox ethnic group in Southeast Estonia, while the rest of Estonia has traditionally been Lutheran.

<sup>6</sup> I want cordially to thank Ksenya Mürsepp and her grandchild Tatyana Kodas, through whom we learned to know Ksenya. It is rare luck to meet a narrator who not only knows perfectly her own culture and its different representations, but is also able to translate from one culture into another.

<sup>7</sup> Petchory is a town with about 15, 000 inhabitants, which before and after the two World Wars belonged to Russia, but in the inter-war period formed part of Estonia. A monastery founded in 1473 is still acting in Petchory, at present (EE 7: 281-282).

till the 1950-s, she had lived in the village of Kuurakõste, 3 km from Pankjavitsa (at present under the administration of Russia, about 1 km from the Pskov-Riga highway<sup>8</sup>), with a mixed Setu and Russian population. In Tartu, Ksenya lives with the family of her granddaughter in an apartment in the Soviet-era residential area Annelinn. Ksenya has a wonderful memory and good command of the tradition and she masters the rules of narrative creation. She has told us a number of fairy tales, jokes, legends, religious legends, memorates, anecdotes, and personal experience narratives, described customs and given us riddles; in addition to that, the few songs she has sung to us reveal that she also has good knowledge of the Estonian folk song *regilaul*<sup>9</sup>. In conversation Ksenya is very obliging and tries to give a thorough answer to every question; if she does not know the answer she, however, makes no attempt to conceal her ignorance (on such occasions she may say, for instance, “I don’t know this, but it should be in the holy books” or “I haven’t heard about that”). Yet the most common answer is lengthy and often in the form of narrative, even if the interviewer(s) have not expected it. Between Feb. 17, 2001 and June 20, 2002, we paid six visits to Ksenya<sup>10</sup> and on all these occasions she was very eager to tell us stories. Most of all she appreciates fictional stories – called “*jutusõq*” (fairy tales and longer jokes)<sup>11</sup> in the Setu language – which she narrates in a very fluent and expressive style. It has happened repeatedly that when we have finished the interview and are preparing to leave, Ksenya – although tired of story-telling – offers to tell us still another “*jutus*”, either to demonstrate how obliging she is or to keep us from leaving.

In the present paper I do not intend to discuss the fluently narrated stories belonging to Ksenya’s active repertoire, but will focus on the religious legend of St. George which she has narrated five times in response to our direct requests.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a great stone road ran at the place of the modern highway.

<sup>9</sup> This also includes the ability to improvise or create a new song out of elements pre-existent in the tradition. Because of her poor health she is no longer able to sing, but in her youth she has been precentor and the best singer in her village.

<sup>10</sup> I have visited her five times, with different companions (Risto Järv, Mari Sarv, Kristina Veidenbaum, and Andreas Kalkun).

<sup>11</sup> In the Setu folk genre system narratives are broadly divided into two categories: fictional narratives and narratives of things that have really happened. Truth value seems to be the most universal criterion for distinguishing narratives, being, according to William Bascom (1984: 19), characteristic of numerous societies.

<sup>12</sup> The legend texts will be presented in the Appendix. The fifth text version is missing, since the quality of the recording on minidisk was very poor due to technical shortcomings. In order to give a better overview, I have divided the texts into parts and numbered the parts according to their succession.

Ksenya never told the legend on her own initiative and extensively varied the text on each telling. These facts allow us to presume that our request created for the first time in Ksenya's life the situation where she had to tell this story which she had known for many years and heard on many occasions. Concerning most of her stories we asked Ksenya who she had heard them from. In case of fairy tales and jokes Ksenya is usually able to answer<sup>13</sup>; concerning the religious legend of St. George, however, she answered that she had not heard it from any one source, but it was told by many people (see App., II 4<sup>14</sup>). Accordingly, the knowledge of how St. George killed the dragon forms part of Ksenya's semantic knowledge, which she obviously had not yet had reason to put into words<sup>15</sup>.

To show how Ksenya succeeded in telling the legend, I shall next present the text of the legend recorded on our first visit on February 17, 2001. Since I am interested in the reasons for variation and in the role the legend plays in Ksenya's mental universe, I shall after the text briefly describe the textual surroundings of the legend. I shall also present an overview of the context of the legend on the second, third, and fourth telling.

### The Religious Legend of St. George and Its Textual Surroundings

*Risto: Is there also some fairy tale about a young fellow killing a big serpent or snake?*

*Ksenya: Ah, that one, that's not a fairy tale, that's a real thing that happened many hundred years ago.*

*Risto: So how did it happen?*

*Ksenya: That's in the monastery, at Petchory, there was a large carriage there. And there was a big snake. A big snake made underneath that carriage. And a queen in the carriage. She was... sure, now, she was not alive, was like... but the carriage was wooden, all right, and.*

<sup>13</sup> The most frequent reference on those occasions was to the name of Vassili from the neighbouring village – a man about 100 years old to whom Ksenya in her childhood used to go together with other children to listen to his stories. Ksenya is proud to have been the only child who remembered the stories. She remembered not only the fictional stories, the formulas for creating a folk song *regilaul*, and the riddles, but also all the stories supposed to have “really happened”. Ksenya has recalled how her relatives used to crack jokes, saying that there was no need for newspapers when Ksenya came to visit.

<sup>14</sup> Here and in the following, the Roman and Arabic numbers indicate the version of the legend (the Roman numbers) and its components (Arabic numbers) in the Appendix.

<sup>15</sup> The people's appreciation of fictional stories accounts for the fact that fairy tales and jokes are heavily over-represented in the Setu materials kept in the Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiiv (Estonian Folklore Archive), whereas legends and religious legends are under-represented (concerning this, see also Metsvahi 2001).

And the snake was also made of wood. With teeth and all, and the mouth wide open and. And that was of glass. The underside was of wood, like that, and a roof built over it. But this... these walls were of glass so you could see through them. Nobody was let in there, the door was closed. But no one was let in there. There...

That's what once has been. It's been many hundreds of years ago. I no longer remember. When I was told this, then I knew how many hundreds of years. In the old days, when I was young. But now I no longer remember. And it was so that each year they had to give a girl to that snake. It gobbled her down, that snake did. For the snake to swallow. And if it gets no girl, it beats all the water out of the sea and floods the town. But that town was someplace on the seashore there. Near the sea it was. And it came to pass... now how was it that it came to pass? It came to pass one king had to give up his own daughter. But how could a king want to give up his own daughter? And there in that picture, well, now, there on that carriage there was the girl, very beautiful, a princess and all. And then St. George took and... He trusted very much in God, a young man he was. And he always went around on a white horse. And he said that "Will you let me go and give battle to that snake!" But the king said that "I let thee, indeed, but so far... till now no-one has been able to beat that snake! So canst thou... hast thou the power? Perhaps it will first kill thee?" "That's no care of yours. If it kills, it kills... But I..."

And then he went and mounted his white horse and took a long sword, like that. So long, taller than him, an iron sword and a heavy one. And there came that snake or dragon out of the sea, the king's daughter to... And the king's daughter also was brought near there in the carriage. But he began to do battle. And down under that carriage it went. So it could just take the king's daughter from that carriage and gobble her up. But that St. George, he took and into its mouth with that sword! (For some reason, the verb in this sentence is missing.) And hit its mouth agape with that sword, and it could do nothing. And with that other sword, he hit it over the head. And with great trouble he hewed its head off. And that St. George, he beat that snake. And now that St. George is a holy icon in the church. In every church he is, his pictures. Like... he surely is not God, nothing like, but he's been made into a picture. A picture, an icon, a holy image. We said pühäne (holy image, icon), but the Russians said ikoona, that's how they said about it. So.

And in Värška, there's a church of St. George. And there that St. George, St. George, he's really big and beautiful there. And then, on St. George's Day... -- now when is it, St. George's Day -- on St. George's Day they hold a great service in Värška. Then they took that St. George, that great icon... It's so big, like that door there [...]

After asserting that there is an icon of St. George in every church, Ksenya goes on to speak about the church at Värška and about its icons of St. George, about St. George's Day and the procession. She also includes in that talk a descrip-

tion of St. George, resembling the short descriptions she gave when telling the legend, since here, too, she mentions the basic attributes of St. George: the white horse and the sword. The description is presented in the context of the procession, although actually the icon carried in the procession depicts St. George standing, not riding<sup>16</sup>: “Then they took that St. George. That large icon... That icon is as large as that door there, like that door... Such big, and with his white horse, and a sword like this, and so beautifully yellow all of them there... But such a smaller icon. And then those banners were taken, and then like a procession it went around the church at Värška.”

Then follows the sentence, “I’ve been there a couple of times,” with which the narrator explicitly confirms what could indirectly be deduced from the previous talk: if somebody is able to describe the size and colours of objects with such precision, the listeners will inevitably conclude that she has seen them with her own eyes. Conjuring up visual images in one’s mind’s eye helps both the narrator and the listeners to establish emotional contact with the narrative, since it produces experiential resources in the same way as perception of the surrounding world<sup>17</sup>. As the conversation goes on, Ksenya feels a need to explain why she has

<sup>16</sup> Vladimir Propp (1973) has distinguished two basic types of the icon of St. George according to whether St. George is depicted as standing or as sitting on a horse. The former type is static, the latter dynamic. Within the second type, Propp distinguishes three sub-types. The first sub-type depicts St. George on a horse, riding slowly. In front of him walks Yelizaveta, leading a tamed dragon on a tether. They are approaching a tower, on the higher reaches of which we can see Yelizaveta’s parents either on their own or accompanied by other people. This sub-type is inspired by a religious song according to which St. George did not kill the dragon at once but first tamed it in order to kill it after Yelizaveta’s parents had adopted Christianity. The second sub-type features neither buildings nor Yelizaveta’s parents, showing only St. George and the battle with the snake: St. George on a galloping horse thrusts the spear into the dragon’s gaping jaws. In the pictures of the third sub-type, St. George is sitting on a horse and hitting the snake with a spear, whereas Yelizaveta is holding the snake on a tether. Yelizaveta’s parents watch the scene from a tower. This sub-type is the product of a merging of the two first sub-types. The second principal type expresses the tastes of the common people, not of the aristocracy, and therefore the cult of this type of icons was even forbidden in Russia for some time; therefore, too, St. George slaying the dragon is not depicted on a single icon in any of the churches of the Kremlin, in Moscow. This prohibition also helps to explain why some icons of St. George (commissioned by the state) have a frame depicting St. George’s passion. Another attempt to make the popular images of the riding St. George more acceptable to the authorities consisted in adding an angel or a blessing hand into one of the upper corners. Neither a hand or an angel of that type are depicted on any icons of any other saint. Ksenya was certainly familiar with icons both of the first principal type and of the second sub-type of the second principal type. We cannot say with certainty whether she had also seen icons depicting the Tsar’s daughter. Perhaps we may warily conjecture that the said gathering of the princess’s relatives before they take her to the sea-side to be sacrificed to the dragon (in the 3<sup>rd</sup> text) may imply that Ksenya had also seen an icon depicting Yelizaveta’s parents standing in the tower. There is no icon of that type in the church at Värška.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. Braid (1996: 20) and McDowell (1982: 122) have pointed out that the narrator is capable of producing, in the mind of the listeners, new experiential resources similar to those we experience in going through the events of our personal lives. See also Metsvahi 2002: 124-125, and Metsvahi 2000: 54-57.

been to Väraska on St. George's Day only a couple of times. It appears that it was too far from her home village and about 14 km from her later home in Petchory. In the course of our further conversation she explains how St. George may intervene in the affairs of this world and have an influence on Ksenya's own life. To start with, a general explanation of the icon's beneficent effect on the needy is offered: "Whoever was ill, they all went there. And then, well, who prayed and had faith and wanted to recover, then – well, if they could not quite lift the holy image, at least they tried to lay a hand on it for a little while and just go and pray [...] Each person prayed in his own way, depending on what the trouble was and what he needed." Then follows the sentence, "And I, too, have done it," and the recent explanation is now opened up from a still more personal perspective. Ksenya tells us about how she, too, was ill and went to Väraska on St. George's Day in order to benefit from the icon's healing effect. The distance between the world of the narrative and the world of narrating is diminished by images efficiently producing experiential resources in the listeners ("Now there's a real crowd there! So many people... and all thronging to touch that holy image."). Yet Ksenya does not this time retell the story of her illness and recovery in full but passes from her own experience of icon-lifting straight to another subject connected with St. George's Day: "And then they baptise the water of St. George's Day. There are tubs like this set out and the water is baptised... with a cross." Next, there follows an explanation of the occasions when the baptised water is used. The most important use seems to be purification from the effects of an "evil eye" practised "even in our days". So far, the whole topic of St. George has unfolded without a single question from our part. Now I put a question as to whether there still are people who have an evil eye, to which Ksenya promptly answers "Yes," proving the statement by a long story based on personal reminiscence. Our further conversation is of no interest for the issue of St. George.

On our second visit (March 11, 2001), after the legend of St. George and the issues immediately connected to it in Ksenya's mind have been exhausted, the conversation continues along the lines set by Risto Järv's question, "Were those legends of the saints still told, then?" In response, Ksenya tells us about "Mikul" (St. Nicholas)<sup>18</sup>, a great sufferer and miracle-worker, who was very wise and helped

<sup>18</sup> Migul was one of the most popular saints among the Setu. According to Oskar Loorits, Migul (Nikolai, St. Nicholas) was far more popular among the Russian-speaking population of Estonia and Setumaa (that is, the Russians of Setumaa and the Old Believers) than St. George (Loorits 1955: 4–5). Loorits finds this fact surprising, since through the lives of the saints, calendars and other written and oral sources the legend of St. George spread very widely (1955: 12).



the people in many ways. Characterising Migul, Ksenya points out that instead of riding a horse, Migul went on foot with a staff in hand, establishing through this opposition a connection between the descriptions of St. George and St. Nicholas. In connection with Migul, Ksenya also narrates the story of the founding of St. Petersburg and mentions that in Pankjavitsa there was a church of Migul that was big and very beautiful both inside and outside. There also used to be a great congregation in Pankjavitsa in earlier times. Then Ksenya continues on the fate of churches. The topic of the Germans is introduced by the statement that they had taken away many icons; Ksenya follows it up with three personal experience narratives about young German soldiers who, during World War II, had been sent to their village for a couple of weeks of leave.

On our third visit (April 11, 2001) the conversation reaches the topic of St. George in a way different from the previous occasions. Before coming to the legend of St. George, we talk about monasteries – especially the Petchory monastery – and the life of monks in a monastery. Among other reasons for entering a monastery Ksenya mentions the possibility that the groom (or the bride) had been jilted. This is followed by an explanation of the premarital relations of young people in those days, which greatly differed from the modern situation. Among other things, the change of times is demonstrated by the fact that immediately before Ksenya moved away from Petchory, every monk actually had a woman friend. “Now it’s no longer a monastery, now you can’t even tell what it is,” Ksenya says, laughing. Since Ksenya lived right next to the monastery, she had good knowledge of the monks’ life and doings. To illustrate the fact that only when a monastery inmate was preparing to become priest did he have the right to marry, and that he was actually required to be married before he could be sent as priest to some village church, Ksenya tells us a personal recollection of a monk who wished to marry and become priest. She paints an easily imaginable picture of the comic episode: a monk, his long black habit flying in the wind, rushes off from the monastery towards the town in pursuit of a girl. Although on that particular occasion the girl escaped him and got back home, they were nevertheless wedded a couple of months later, and the St. Barbara church was crowded with people. After that, Ksenya tells us that the church had been full of big and beautiful icons, but the Germans had taken many of them, as well as a lot of gold. The description of the church’s gilded domes and spires is followed by my question about the image of the princess, which I shall discuss later on.



Below, I shall present in Ksenya's own words the story that was related after the legend on April 11:

*Well, I was taken ill, too. At that time, I was already in Petchory, I lived there. I was ill. And I, too, went to Värška. But the crowds there are so vast. . . Everybody pushing towards that holy image. . . some want to lift it, others just to touch. So I could but lay my hand on it for a while and walk a little way, holding it. But I got better. I found a doctor who understood what illness I had. Yeah, and then. . . Earlier I didn't know. Just felt it was hard to breathe and hard to breathe – but I had no idea what it was. Then that doctor, he found it out. That really was a wise doctor. Then he told me: "When is it that you find it hard to breathe, is it when you go uphill or when you go down?" I told him: "It is hard when I go up, easier when I go down." Then he told me it was cardiac asthma, that I must take care or it may affect the lungs, too, and then I would find it even more difficult to breathe. Then I had this – little case of white pills, about this long, very small pills, like. . . When I felt bad I put one under my tongue. And with these pills I got well. And now I live. You see how long. I wouldn't have believed I could live so long. And this life now, it's no longer good or fun to live. But, well, you have life in you, what can you do. I can't. . . You may put a heap of money in front of me and I shall starve upon that heap. I can't go shopping any more, to buy me food or do anything. Only if they bring it to me, then (she laughs) then I can. But I'm no good for anything. What's the use of such a person? (Merili laughs: Well, I can see what use there is. . .) You have breath, you have eyes, you have life (laughs). So. That's the way it is.*

*But nowadays. . . It's there nowadays, too. It's there on Good Friday. The image of Christ is brought from the monastery and put in the centre of the church, a chest like this, with Him inside – His image, of course. And flowers are put there and all, and people come like this to worship Him, believers do. And on Saturday they are in the church all night, too [..]*

To begin with, Ksenya here tells the story of her illness and recovery, briefly mentioned already during the first visit, as a personal experience narrative. Although the doctor and the pills have a role in her recovery, Ksenya connects all this with her visit to Värška. Secondly, the recovery is connected with the state of her health at the moment of narrating the story. Making use of apposite expressive phrases she assesses her present phase of life which in no way qualifies as full-blooded. But no matter how things stand with personal well-being, the annual repetition of calendar feasts will go on: the third part of the legend's follow-up consists of seasonable recollections which allow us to conclude that the resources found in Ksenya's mind help her to render meaning even to her present existence, limited as it is to an apartment in town.

On our visit of May 11, 2002, the subject of feasts is brought up by my question as to what feasts were the most important. The answer, “Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide,” is soon followed by Ksenya’s recollection of how Easter was celebrated in her youth, closing with the words that all this happened in the old days, nowadays there is a new priest in Pankjavitsa and Easter is celebrated in a different way. The comment comparing the old times to the present motivates Manni<sup>19</sup> (who so far has been basically in the role of a listener) to speak about the celebration of feasts in Setumaa, in our days, and she briefly describes the celebration of St. George’s Day in Värška church, where she had been just a week ago. Due to her poor hearing, Ksenya cannot hear Manni’s talk and when I (sitting much closer to Ksenya than Manni) sum it up to her in a few words she says that she, too, has twice been to Värška church on St. George’s Day. Then she reveals to us something that she hasn’t mentioned before – that once when she was ill an old man visited her in her dream, telling her to pray to St. George. That was why she went to St. George church in Värška on St. George’s Day. Next she describes the great multitude that had gathered at Värška on that day and mentions that most of the people had come from the Estonian side of the border. After that, she tells us about the Setu in Estonia and in Russia, about their comings and goings across the border, about the geographic location of the border and the barbed wire marking it. Wishing Ksenya to return to the topic of St. George, I tell her: “But will you again tell the story of St. George, of what happened to St. George?” To this request, she responds with the legend and then spontaneously, on her own initiative, relates about other saints (St. Nicholas, St. Barbara).

### The Extent and Backgrounds of Variation

As we can see from the table in the Appendix<sup>20</sup>, the variation is very extensive on the levels both of texture and of the structure of narrative. The only episodes included in each version are the ones that have determinative importance from the point of view of the action:

<sup>19</sup> Manni is Ksenya’s daughter, who together with her husband moved from Petseri to Tartu only a few years ago. Manni does not share flat with Ksenya, but she attended the recording séance on the second, fourth and fifth times.

<sup>20</sup> Obviously, the division of the narratives into components as presented in the Appendix is not the best possible one. I have not followed the principle that each cell should contain one episode or one cognitive unit, but have primarily attempted to achieve a presentation enabling easier comparison of the text versions. NB! The components presented in the table should be read in the order indicated by the Arabic numbers in order for the parts to follow each other in the right succession.

1. Every year a girl had to be given up to the snake/ dragon (I 5; II 7; III 5; IV 3);
2. There came the time when the king had to give up his daughter (I 9; II 8; III 6; IV 6);
3. St. George went/ began to fight with the dragon (I 17; II 13, 17; III 13; IV 11);
4. St. George thrust his sword/spear/club into the dragon's mouth and hewed with (another) sword its head off (I 19; II 20; III 20; IV 15).

Viewing the text of these episodes, we find no word-for-word repetitions, and even the repetitions of single words are rare (in case of the first recurring episode, for instance, all four texts share only "had to" and "each year", and in case of the second episode, only "it came", "the/that king", and "his [own] daughter"). We do, however, find such recurring expressions and words as are not connected to any particular episode but may turn up at different points in the story. An obligatory detail, for example, is the mentioning of a white horse in connection with St. George, either in St. George's own direct speech ("just give me first a white horse" in text II) or as a part of the action ("and then he mounted his white horse" in text I). Two levels are discernible in these texts, which we may call either the narrative type of text, describing events in time, and the descriptive type of text, describing phenomena in space (Siikala 1990: 23); or the chronological and non-chronological levels (cf. Ricoeur 1980: 178). Commonly, the descriptive type of text is used at the beginning and end of the legend to provide a bridge or an intermediate link<sup>21</sup> enabling to pass smoothly from Storyrealm to Taleworld<sup>22</sup> and back. But frequently descriptive parts are simply wedged in between the parts narrating the events.

In order to better understand the variation we must first keep in mind that there is no readymade story in the mind of the narrator, but only a structure and the techniques or rules for constructing a narrative upon the structure. We have identified the structure by finding out which episodes recur in the different versions; as for the rules and techniques for building up the narrative, I shall discuss them in the next subchapter under the name of narrating strategies. If we consider a good narrator's basic ability to be command of the rules of narrative construction, we can certainly say that Ksenya is a very good narrator. If we consider the narrator's important ability to be the power of taking into account the context and the specific interests of the audience, we can again say that Ksenya is a marvellous narrator. The extent of the variation is associated with both of Ksenya's above-men-

<sup>21</sup> Katharine Young has used the term "frame" in the same meaning.

<sup>22</sup> Here I am employing the terms Storyrealm and Taleworld, borrowed from Katharine Young (1987). Storyrealm is the world in which the narrative is told. Taleworld is the world in which the events described in the narrative take place.

tioned abilities. Thanks to her masterful control of narrating strategies she has great freedom of variation within them. Thanks to her flexible mind and willingness to keep in mind the listeners' interests, the legend versions narrated by her provide a brilliant illustration of how the particular narrating situation and the surrounding utterances determine the content and texture of a particular narrative.

Comparing and analysing the different legend variants we can first of all conclude that a very important role is played by the way we – the interviewers – approach the topic. On the first occasion, the question that leads up to the narrating of the legend sounds as follows: “Is there also some fairy tale about a young fellow killing a big snake or serpent?” And Ksenya starts her narrative with the words: “Ah, that one, that’s not a fairy tale, that’s a real thing that happened many hundred years ago.” Thus the question makes Ksenya feel the need to specify, before telling the story, its ontological status by pointing out the opposition inherent in the folk genre system: a fairy tale tells about fictional things, a legend about things that have really happened.<sup>23</sup> The ontological status is further confirmed through the description of the images displayed in the Petchory monastery (I 3) and Ksenya’s need to give reasons for her inability of locating in time the events of the legend (I 4). Only after that does Ksenya come to narrating the events; analysing the literation we notice that the question has also influenced the texture level. Since the question included the words “snake” and “serpent,” Ksenya recurrently uses precisely those two terms in her narrative (twice she says “big snake” exactly as the question put it); once she also uses the word “dragon” but accompanies it with the word “snake” (I 15: “That snake or dragon”).

On the second telling (March 11, 2001) the question leading to the narrating of the legend sounds, “Do you remember this story, how the young fellow went to kill the dragon?” (the Appendix also lists the second part of the question which, however, is of no significance here since it was uttered in a low voice and remained unheard). The word “d... dragon?” uttered during the pause of recalling indicates that this time, Ksenya picked up the word “dragon” from the question and used that as a retrieval cue. Success in recalling the tale is announced by the words “I probably told you about St. George?” – a question which simultaneously also implies that the most efficient word to help recall the particular tale would have been

<sup>23</sup> A fairy tale and a religious legend are discerned not only by the criterion of truth value but are also situated at the opposite extremes of the profane—sacral scale. Religious legends tell about the lives and miraculous works of the saints and as to their genre, they are close to etiological legends and myths. A fairy tale is opposed to those genres because the world of a fairy tale stands apart from reality.

“St. George”. But since, nevertheless, the word we used was “dragon,” Ksenya employs the traditional wording techniques in her command so that the dragon appears in the foreground more than in any other version. This can be concluded first by analysis of mere frequency of word use: if in text version I, the words “dragon”, “snake” or “serpent” have been used on 9 occasions, in version III on 12 and in version IV on 10 occasions, version II employs these words on 16 occasions (15 times “dragon” and once “snake”). Secondly, dramatic present is used in the dragon’s speech (II 9; II 16 – the dialogue between the dragon and St. George occurs only in this variant). Thirdly, Ksenya has added to the obligatory episodes several ones that emphasise the terrifying nature of the dragon: component II 17 implies the possibility of total destruction – if the dragon destroys all the “young folks” on the earth and new generations are no longer born, there is no chance for life to continue; II 21 constitutes a conclusive statement that from then on, the dragon never again came in search of the girls.

On the third telling (April 11, 2001) the request for the legend is made differently from the previous times. Since on our earlier visits Ksenya has given so colourful descriptions of the images displayed at the monastery of Petchory, she has produced through them new experiential resources in my mind which drive me to ask: “What was that big image? ... That big image of the king’s daughter or what was it that was kept in Petchory?” If on the first and second telling Ksenya described a carriage/ coach, the coach house with a glass wall, and the wooden image of the snake under the coach, mentioning the image of the queen<sup>24</sup> or the princess rather briefly, she now, on the third time, departs from my two questions about the image of the princess and describes it at greater length, this time also making mention of the white horse harnessed to the coach. A coach really is on display at Petchory monastery, standing in a small coach house with one wall made of glass<sup>25</sup>, and once there has also been (separately from the coach and for quite different reasons) the wooden image of a serpent<sup>26</sup>; but there never have been im-

<sup>24</sup> Apparently on the first telling, there still existed in some corner of Ksenya’s memory a trace of the coach’s connection with the Empress of Russia (see note 25) which was later erased by new associations.

<sup>25</sup> According to historical sources this is the coach that Empress Anna gave to Ignatius, appointed Archimandrite of Petseri by her ukase of June 11, 1732 (Tolstoi 1861: 110). The tourist booklet “Mööda Petserimaad” retells the version that Empress Anna used that coach herself to travel from Petseri to Kurland and later on gave the coach to the monastery (Laigna 1967: 16). Another version wide-spread among the people claims that the coach belonged to Empress Katharina II who travelled in it to Petseri, but since it began to snow while she stayed there, she changed onto a sledge and left the coach behind.

<sup>26</sup> Oral communication from Heiki Valk, of April 2001.

ages of a queen or a horse. The fact that on the third telling, Ksenya's description of the princess's image has become rather detailed, can be explained by quite a normal process of memory which Tulving calls "ecphory" and which consists in combining the (episodic) information of an engram with the semantic information of the retrieval cues (2002: 136). On this particular occasion, the retrieval cue is provided by my question posed because I had taken Ksenya's descriptions on the previous occasions for the literal truth and had not been able to see in them a means for producing an ostensive relationship<sup>27</sup>.

Another significant detail we notice in the analysis of the third legend version is the introduction of the subject of marriage. Unlike the previous versions, here the king offers his daughter to St. George in marriage. But St. George does not accept: "He said that "I need no wife! I don't..." He doesn't accept. And that St. George, he was not a married man. He was a bachelor." (III 22). How should we explain the introduction of that new subject into the legend text? The first possibility is to treat it as a good example to prove that the way a particular fairy tale actualises in a given situation is determined by its textual surroundings. On the same day Ksenya had told us that whereas cases of adultery were known among the Russians already before the war, it remained quite alien to the Setu at that time. As we saw earlier, in the description of the contextual surroundings of the legend version told on April 11, 2001, the issue of premarital behaviour between the sexes was also raised in connection with the monastery and the monks. Thus we can conclude that the subject of marriage came up in the legend text because unwittingly, Ksenya connected the utterances that preceded the legend telling with the unfolding of the events of the legend itself.

Secondly, it is also possible to connect the changes in the story with the fact that with each telling, a legend moves closer and closer to fairy tale in the folk genre system. This is proved by Ksenya's introduction on the fifth telling (June 20, 2002), before she goes on to the events of the legend: "But this was told as follows. This is like a fairy tale or, you know, a folktale." Compared to the first and second telling, a significant change has taken place. On the first telling it was us who requested a fairy tale<sup>28</sup> and Ksenya asserted that the tale is no fairy tale at all. On

<sup>27</sup> Producing new experiential resources in the listeners' mind primarily works through an ostensive relationship to the narrative, creating the impression among the audience that they are in the midst of the events of the Taleworld. The opposite of an ostensive relationship is a distanced relationship or perspective (see, e.g., McDowell 1982: 134).

<sup>28</sup> After all, the same story is also known in Setumaa as the fairy tale of the Dragon-Slayer (AT 300).



the second telling, the interviewer did not specify the genre in his question, but regardless of that Ksenya felt it necessary to emphasise that it was a true narrative, not a fictional one. On the fifth telling most of the questions are put by Andreas Kalkun, himself a native of Väraska, who interviews Ksenya in the Setu language. His question implies a legend rather than a fairy tale ("But how did that tale of St. George go? (This first question apparently remained unheard by Ksenya) What happened to St. George? How was it he killed that snake<sup>29</sup>?"), but now Ksenya herself states that it is a fairy tale<sup>30</sup>. The subject of marriage that crops up on the third, fourth and fifth telling also brings the narrative told by Ksenya closer to a fairy tale, yet does not quite allow to treat it as such. If it is not possible to identify the genre on the grounds of the narrative's truth value for the narrator, then we must turn to the story itself and see whether it tells about deeds undertaken with the aim of obtaining individual benefits or about some venture the outcome of which has collective significance<sup>31</sup> (cf. Meletinski 1982: 183, discussing the relationship between myth and fairy tale; however, the same criterion can be extended to cover legend). On the fifth telling Ksenya does, indeed, define the genre as fairy tale, but winds up the story as follows: "(the episode begins with St. George's answer to the king who after the dragon is slain, offers him his daughter in marriage) "I will not marry. I did not come to fight in order to gain a wife, I came to save the people." So. And so, too, she was not wed to St. George, and so he was called and is still called St. George." Thus, the tale of St. George has moved in the genre system to a position somewhere between a saint legend and a fairy tale, but since St. George still remains closely connected to icons, Väraska church and a deed beneficial to the whole community, Ksenya is not able to regard the tale about him as mere fiction and it will probably never acquire the status of "jutus" for her.

The version of the legend told on the fourth telling differs greatly from all other variants. The events of the legend are preceded by descriptions neither of the icons nor of the image of the princess, and the story reaches its culmination much faster than on the previous occasions. One of the reasons for this may be that more

<sup>29</sup> This time, Ksenya does not use in her narrative the word "snake" which was used in the question, but employs the word "dragon" throughout the legend.

<sup>30</sup> It is also noteworthy that Ksenya does not use the Setu genre name "jutus" but employs instead the term "fairy tale" adopted from the literary language, regardless of the fact that the interviewer speaks with her in the Setu language. Apparently it is still impossible for her to think of a saint legend as a "jutus" or a fictional story and she makes use of the literary word "muinasjutt" (fairy tale) in order to signify something between a religious legend and a fairy tale.

<sup>31</sup> In Meletinski's view, the opposition of individual versus collective is a more significant criterion for distinguishing myth from fairy tale than the opposition of sacred versus profane (1982: 183).

than a year has passed since the earlier tellings. But the shift of the tale on the genre scale must certainly be taken into account, too. Ksenya no longer describes the image of the princess nor feels the need to persuade the listeners that it is a true story as she did on the first and second telling. The components attempting to settle the time and space of the events and to determine the ontological status of the tale have been replaced by a characterisation of St. George (IV 20), who is described as a poor, exceedingly wise and deeply religious man fighting against evil (forces) and claiming a white horse as his only treasure. This change in the story allows us to presume that the narrator herself has begun to suspect the truth value of the tale, feeling it her duty now to assert that St. George did and does exist, that he did good works for the community and was faithful and pious. A certain role in the shift of genre is apparently also played by a remark from Ksenya's daughter Manni (who before the legend-telling said that she did not know the tale), made at the moment Ksenya is coming to IV 14 with her tale. "A snake with three heads..." she says. Ksenya hears Manni say something, pauses with her narrative and asks: "What?" Manni replies: "It was a snake with three heads that fought with St. George, wasn't it?" Manni's remark is followed by episode IV 15. Ksenya herself has never made mention of a snake with three heads; Manni's remark adds further flavour of fairy-tale to the story.

### Narrating Strategies and Mnemonic Processes

In order for a schematic knowledge of episodes obligatory from the point of view of a certain story to take the shape of a fully wrought-out fairy tale, certain narrating strategies must be used in the narrating situation. Two kinds of narrating strategies can be distinguished: those characteristic of traditional tale-telling in general, and those specific to a certain genre. The general strategies of traditional tale-telling are followed spontaneously. The same can be said about the possibilities offered by genre-specific rules – within their limits, too, the narrator moves unconsciously<sup>32</sup>.

Several narrating strategies serve the purpose of dissolving the borderline between the Storyrealm and the Taleworld<sup>33</sup> or, to put it in other words – attempt

<sup>32</sup> From the point of view of the tradition-bearer, genre-consciousness is generally of secondary importance (Honko 1989: 15). In her presentation, Ksenya employed the genre terms (borrowed from literary language) only because they enabled her to define the ontological status of her narrative.

<sup>33</sup> According to Taisto Raudalainen, such techniques are characteristic of traditional tale-telling in general (Raudalainen 2001b: 215-16).



to produce in the listeners an ostensive relation towards the narrative. One of these strategies, which Ksenya employs recurrently both in case of the legend of St. George and in other genres of folk narrative, is the use of direct speech<sup>34</sup>. This device has also been called “dramatic present” and a significant mnemotechnical role has been attributed to it (Raudalainen 2001a: 69—73).

A strategy that Ksenya makes more use of in telling the legend of St. George than in other folktales of her repertoire, is the frequent use of the descriptive type of text. Two different uses of the descriptive text type can be distinguished in the legends of St. George as told by Ksenya: longer descriptions of objects not connected to the events (e.g. I 3, II 3, III 1), and short descriptive passages forming part of the action (e.g. I 14, II 20, III 12, III 20). As I pointed out above, the descriptions of objects placed before and after the story itself can be treated as intermediate links enabling smooth passing from Storyrealm to the events of Taleworld. At the same time, these portions of text have a role in defining the ontological status of the events. The closer to fairy tale the story moves on the genre scale, the fewer should such descriptions become, since the association of the events with the icons or the image at Petchory monastery should get looser or disappear altogether. This is, in fact, to be noticed. On the first and second telling, when Ksenya starts by asserting that this is a true story and only then goes on to the events of the legend, she also offers descriptions of the relevant objects at the beginning of her story. On the fourth and fifth telling, however, there is no persuading the listeners in the truthfulness of the story, and the legend is told without any descriptive introduction.

However, the fifth variant retains the short descriptions within the story, which obviously have no tendency to disappear as the genre of the story changes. One of the reasons for this would probably be that Ksenya recalls the details of the story by means of her visual imagination, fed by the engram left by information she had encoded on viewing the icons of St. George. This statement can be proved by the fact that whereas in the fully developed legends of St. George and in variants of the fairy tale of the Dragon Slayer, kept in the Estonian Folklore Archive, the motive of decapitating the dragon with a sword is more widely spread, Ksenya in all her variants uses the motive of thrusting a spear/ sword/ club into the dragon's

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, the dialogue between the King and St. George, I 13. Direct dialogue at a crucial point in the story indeed seems to be an efficient means for stimulating the listeners to use their empathetic powers, all the more so because, in the interests of credibility, different registers of speech are used: the King addresses St. George by the singular form “thou”, whereas St. George turns to the King using the plural “you”.

throat, instead<sup>35</sup> (it's true in some variants she adds the decapitating motive to it, but it always occurs only after the hit into the throat). During the Tsarist period, icons depicting St. George on a white horse, thrusting his spear into the dragon's throat, were very popular in Setumaa<sup>36</sup> (Loorits 1959: 5).

It appears that the legend of St. George has not survived in Ksenya's memory only through a schematic knowledge, but a very significant role has been played also by visual images. Psychologists have pointed out that visual imagination has through all times played an important part as a mnemotechnical device (Baddeley 1990: 186). But in what relationship do visual images and the schematic knowledge of a narrative's structure stand to each other? The classic student of memory and founder of the scheme theory, Frederic C. Bartlett, holds that images are details picked out of the 'scheme' on the grounds of affectivity (as a factor stimulating recollection) (Bartlett 1995: 303). Thus, the narrative structure is like a guide leading us from one emotionally charged image to another. Or is it perhaps the images which first crop up in the mind and form the grounds for a new derivation of the structure?

D. A. McDonald who has interviewed good connoisseurs of the Gaelic tradition (1981) has emphasised the importance of visual imagination in folk tale narrating. He recalls asking one of his informants, "And now, yourself, when you were listening to a story like that, were you – in your mind – were you, as it were, seeing a picture of the thing or...?" The answer is quoted as follows: "/.../ It was just as if I saw how the thing was going on... Just as if I were drawing it on the wall there... You've got to see it as a picture in front of you or you can't remember it properly..." (McDonald 1981: 118). The quote does speak about the importance of imagination in narrating, yet it does not allow us to draw direct conclusions as to the role of visuality in mnemonic processes. Dealing with processes of mind that we are unable to make conscious, we as researchers should not take our lead from folk conceptions of those processes. Otherwise the mere fact that we can imagine the same things as we can see, may lead astray not only the narrator but also the researchers.<sup>37</sup> In fact, there is neither unchangeable matter nor ready, elaborated and

<sup>35</sup> The motif of a spear thrust into the throat is also common in the shorter legend texts and reports explaining the significance of St. George's Day, kept in the Estonian Folklore Archive (Hiimäe 1984: 19–20). The influence of visual media on the events of the legend has been emphasised by Hermann Bausinger (1980: 206). Mihály Hoppál (2000) has written about the survival of a very ancient Siberian motif in Hungarian heroic epics thanks to its visual presentation.

<sup>36</sup> A similar image of St. George, in the shape of the coat of arms of the Russian Empire, can also be found on old coins (Loorits 1959: 3) which form part of the Setu women's necklaces even nowadays. On coins and coats of arms displaying St. George, see also Braunfels-Esche (1976: 95; 103).

<sup>37</sup> Zenon Pylyshyn is one of the many researchers who consider the idea that memory exploits the visual system to be highly debatable (1973: 9).

detailed images in the contents of our memory which we might "see in our mind's eye" in the same way as we see the objects of the surrounding world. That the content of the images always results from an interpretation process, is also proved by how Ksenya constructs her image of the princess's statue by means of her own imagination and the engram left by her seeing the coach displayed at the Petchory monastery, and according to her purposes in a specific situation.

The fact that we are dealing with something different from a purely visual mnemonic system is also proved by the use of (meta)narrative strategies producing experiential resources that are not necessarily visualizable. In addition to the epithets "big" and "long"<sup>38</sup>, Ksenya, in her description of St. George's sword, also uses the epithets "heavy" and "iron" which make no reference to visuality in order to be brought into mind. On one occasion (II 11), Ksenya has even attempted to determine the exact weight of the sword (but in the end, she dared not do it).

The use of aesthetic and positive attributes ascribed to the legend protagonists can be viewed as a separate narrative strategy. In addition to encouraging the listeners to approach the narrative from an ostensive perspective, such attributes and epithets have a special significance for the Orthodox. According to the Orthodox confession, divine truth is "in mystic communion with beauty and goodness" (Pitirim, the Metropolitan, 1988: 63). On the first and third telling, Ksenya makes use of the aesthetic epithet ("(very) beautiful") in her characterisation of the king's daughter; on the fourth and fifth telling it occurs in the episode postulating that each year, "the best and most beautiful maiden" / "the richest and most beautiful daughter" had to be given up to the dragon. While on the last two tellings, the king's daughter is not characterised, the number of positive characteristics attributed to St. George grows with each telling. The reasons for this were briefly pointed out above and will be discussed in greater detail below.

### On the Position of the Saint Legend and of St. George in Ksenya's Mental Universe

The comparison of the five versions of the legend of St. George is enlightening not only in the sense that it casts light on the reasons of such variation as has its roots in the external circumstances and mnemonic processes, but also in the sense that it allows us to get some idea of the internal processes going on in the

<sup>38</sup> On the second telling, Ksenya brings her hands to help to give us an idea of the spear's size (II 3: "And then there was, well, such sword or what, like this... something like this in his hand, a spear. Leaning on the ground, and taller than him, that he killed the dragon with.").

narrator's mind and bringing about a shift of the narrative's position in her mental universe. For a researcher, such change of meaning signifies the narrative's shifting on the genre scale. The possibility to follow variation caused by genre shift offers a quite rare<sup>39</sup> but superb chance to discuss topics relevant for a folklorist.

On the first and second telling, as we saw above, Ksenya expressed in various ways her conviction that the legend of St. George describes events that have really happened. First, she asserted that it was not a fairy tale. Secondly, she added descriptive parts to the legend on her own initiative: when we requested the legend of St. George, she found it necessary first to describe the objects of the real world which were connected to St. George or to the events of the legend, and only then went on to the legend itself. Thirdly, she attempted to localise the events of Taleworld in space and time. Fourthly, on the second telling she made mention of holy books supposed to include the names both of the king and of his daughter.

In the narrative presented on the third telling, we can observe some changes.<sup>40</sup> Since my question itself postulates the existence of the coach and the princess's statue supposedly displayed at the monastery in Petchory, and I only ask Ksenya for the legend after the description of the coach and the statue have been given, we cannot be sure whether the description would have been offered spontaneously, too, before the story itself was told. Thus, we must rather draw conclusions concerning the narrative's shift of meaning through a comparison of the spontaneous utterances following the telling of the story. On the first telling, after reaching the solution (St. George's victory over the snake), Ksenya stated that now St. George was a saint in church, in every church, he was not God but images had been made of him. After that, she continued on her own initiative to describe the celebration of St. George's Day in Värška church. On the second telling, the story is followed by a short description of the carriage displayed at the Petchory monastery and by the statement that there is an icon of St. George in every Orthodox church. On the third telling, however, the solution of the story is followed by the King's proposal to wed his daughter to St. George (which was missing in the first and second version), after which there follows a characterisation of St. George: he was helper to many men, he helped [them]. It is noteworthy that on the previous tellings, Ksenya made no reference to St. George's role (except through the icon)

<sup>39</sup> So far the studies discussing narratives presented on several different occasions have concluded that the narrator's attitude towards the contents of the narrative remains unaltered through the years (Siikala 1990: 88—89).

<sup>40</sup> Among other things, the third variant lacks reference to the holy books, the statement that it is not a fairy tale, and the attempt to localise the events in time.

and offered no characterisation of him outside the story of dragon slaying. Further, Ksenya very briefly mentions the coach in Petchory monastery (which she had described, upon my request, before coming to the story itself), associating it this time (and for the first time) with the King and St. George. With some stretching of our good will, this, too, may be regarded as a sign of St. George's emergence to the foreground.

On the fourth telling, St. George definitely emerges to the foreground. The fourth and fifth tellings lack any descriptions of the coach or of the statue of the king's daughter; neither are other means serving to confirm the truthfulness of the story employed. The new focus of interest on St. George's person finds expression both story-internally and –externally. On the fourth telling, only St. George's speech is rendered in the dramatic present; on the fifth occasion it is reserved mostly for St. George (once the King also has his say). At the same time, the need to characterise St. George outside the story (as first observed on the third telling) has grown. The number of epithets given to St. George in the fourth version has grown, as compared to the third telling. The emphasis laid on St. George's significance outside the story's framework, the abbreviation of the story,<sup>41</sup> and the introductory observation (made on the fifth telling) that the legend of St. George is a "fairy tale" or a "folktale", demonstrate that the ontological status of the dragon slaying story has changed in Ksenya's mind. What are the causes for this change?

On the first and second tellings, before coming to the religious legend of St. George, Ksenya had told us fairy tales. Under such circumstances, it was particularly topical to make the opposition between a fairy tale and a true story before coming to the legend text. But Ksenya's semantic knowledge of the legend of St. George – unlike that of the fairy tales – had obviously never before been framed into words. Now – particularly after she had already told it more than once – it began more and more to remind her of a fairy tale. Of course the legend followed the typical scheme of a "tale of magic" from the very start (a mishap and its undoing); and in narrating it, Ksenya made use of wording techniques similar to those used in fairy tale telling, but at the beginning, the connection with the icons of St. George and the statue of the King's daughter helped render the story believable. Suspicions as to the reality of the events could arise from the interviewers' questioning: "Is there some fairy tale...?" and from a later analysis of their curiosity concerning the place where the events happened. When Ksenya noticed and tried

<sup>41</sup> If the narrator's attitude to the narrative remains unchanged, it is logical to expect the narrative to grow longer on each consecutive telling (see Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996: 187)

to make sense of the fact that the legend of St. George greatly differed from other (religious) legends known to her, the suspicions would have grown. The inclusion of the marriage motif into the story and Manni's mentioning the dragon's three heads further added to the story's semblance to a fairy tale, being as it were the last drops in the cup of credibility, which made the cup flow over and Ksenya could no longer be sure that the legend was telling about real events.

But if the legend's ontological status is no longer what it should be, it threatens to devalue St. George, too. In order to spare St. George from the devaluation, Ksenya begins more and more to emphasise that St. George was and is a real person (at the end of the fifth telling: “/.../ thus he was and is even nowadays called St. George”); to speak about his positive characteristics (see IV 20); and to draw the listeners' attention straightforwardly to St. George's ability to intervene in human life and help human beings (on the fourth telling, the tale of her dream; on the fifth telling, the observation, “If you are in trouble and pain, pray to St. George. Thus our people have been told.”) Because regardless of whether the dragon was actually fought in the way people tell about it, St. George certainly was a holy man “with faith in God” who fought against all evil and who will give help if he is prayed to. Ksenya has no doubt that St. George has really existed. After all, everyone can see St. George's icon in the church.

Here we have cause to say that in Orthodox culture, visuality has played a much more significant role than in Protestant culture. Andreas Kalkun has analysed the prayer texts of the great Setu chanter Anne Vabarna and has found that “Orthodoxy has not come to Anne through Christian narratives but rather through emotions, perceptions and pictures” (Kalkun 2001: 62). The same goes for Ksenya: the questionable status of one narrative is quite unable to call into question St. George's position in the eyes of an Orthodox believer. St. George still remains a great helper of people who has been “made into an icon”, who is inseparable from his white horse and who fights with a huge iron sword.<sup>42</sup>

Thus, it is not the semantic knowledge of the story of St. George's dragon slaying that has determinative importance for Ksenya, but visual images founded on information recorded in her episodic memory. Whereas a narrative's precondition is change and a narrative's basic axis is the axis of time (Annus 2002: 17), a

<sup>42</sup> Concerning Virgin Mary as she occurs in Anne Vabarna's prayer texts, Kalkun says: “The figure of Holy Mary as she has been heard of in narratives, is indeed overshadowed in Orthodox prayers by the visually seen Holy Mary whom Anne has encountered as three-handed in Petseri (on a certain icon at the monastery); as an old woman in Troitsa; and as a beautiful woman in Ilisaarje” (Kalkun 2001: 62)



picture attempts to capture the moment and to fix it. A narrative may tell about funny incidents from real life, fascinating fictional events and the imperfection of our world, but it is not a particularly efficient means for communicating divine truth. The unchanging and eternal divine truth is better communicated by icons depicting scenes that (in a certain sense) are perfect. If Ksenya had seen the meaning of St. George primarily in the narrative of dragon slaying, she would have cultivated it to greater perfection with each telling. Actually, however, we see the exact opposite: a remarkable extent of variation and nothing remotely resembling a fixation of narrative form.<sup>43</sup> As suspicions in the reality of the events deepened, traditional narrating strategies began to lose their importance and the story reached its solution quite quickly. It was no longer the aim to draw the listener into the Taleworld and to prolong his anticipation of the solution, but to give him the right idea about who St. George was.

It is St. George and not the story of dragon slaying that has a role to play in rendering sense to Ksenya's personal life. The narrative about Ksenya going to Väraska on St. George's Day and her subsequent recovery tells us of St. George's intervention in Ksenya's life. This narrative, too, tells about overcoming a mishap or solving a problem, but what we have here is not an abstract crisis heard of from the others, but communicates the events of Ksenya's personal life. Thanks to semantic religious knowledge, the mnemonic images grounded in episodic memory have become connectable, meaningful and communicable through the narrative. In the community that Ksenya used to be part of, the telling of such personal experience narratives seems to have been very common. These helped to confirm again and anew that if you were in trouble, St. George would help you. This semantic background knowledge, in its turn, enabled to render sense and significance to each particular occasion of encountering St. George through his image on the icon. Thus, there is a close connection between knowledge grounded in episodic and in semantic memory: without the emotionally charged moments associated with St. George, there would be no personal experience narratives; and without personal experience narratives, there would be no contacts with St. George charged with the feelings of gratitude and marvelling. The narrative can exist and manifest human(e)ness only thanks to the existence of values external to it.

*Translated by Triinu Pakk-Allmann*

<sup>43</sup> Fixed phrases or components of permanent verbalisation which help to remember and derive the story (Siikala 1997: 47; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996: 196) are practically non-existent in Ksenya's legend versions. It may be that Ksenya made an unconscious attempt to avoid the formal fixation of the narrative because this helped her seemingly to avoid the assimilation of St. George's legend with a fairy tale (which generally does not vary to such an extent).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Annus, Epp 2002. *Kuidas kirjutada aega*. Tallinn: Underi ja Tuglase Kirjanduskeskus.
- Baddeley, Alan 1990. *Human Memory. Theory and Practice*. Boston, London, Sydney, Toronto: Allyn and Bacon.
- Barthes, Roland 1988 (1977). *Image, Music, Text*. New York: The Noonday Press.
- Bartlett, sir Frederic C. 1995 (1932). *Remembering. A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bascom, William 1984 (1965). *The Forms of Folklore: Prose Narratives*. - Alan Dundes (ed.), *Sacred Narrative. Readings in the Theory of Myth*, 5-29. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Bausinger, Hermann 1980 (1968). *Formen der „Volkspoesie“*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag.
- Braid, Donald 1996. *Personal Narrative and Experiential Meaning*. - *Journal of American Folklore* 109 (431): 5-30.
- Braunfels-Esche, Sigrid 1976. *Sankt Georg. Legende. Verehrung. Symbol*. München: Verlag Georg D. W. Callway.
- Bruner, Jerome 1994. *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- EE 7 = *Eesti Entsüklopeedia 7*. Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus. 1994
- Geertz, Clifford 1993 (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays*. London: FontanaPress.
- Haavio, Martti 1959: *Pyhä Georgios ja käärmeet: Erään katolisperaisen loitsun tarkastelu*. - *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja* 39: 5-42.
- Hiiemäe, Mall 1984. *Eesti rahvakalender III*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
- Honko, Lauri 1989. *Folkloristic Theories of Genre*. - A.-L. Siikala (ed.), *Studies in Oral Narrative*, 13-28. *Studia Fennica* 33. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.
- Hoppál, Mihály 2000. *Mythic image and visual text*. - M. Vasenkari, P. Enges, A.-L. Siikala (eds.), *Telling, Remembering, Interpreting, Guessing*, 303-307. *Scripta Aboensis* 1. A Festschrift for Prof. Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj on her 60th Birthday 1st February 1999. Turku: The Department of Cultural Studies.
- Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Annikki 1996. *Narrative and Narrating. Variation in Juho Oksanen's Storytelling*. FF Communications 261. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.
- Kalkun, Andreas 2001. *Mõistus ja tunded. Protestantlik ja ortodoksne Anne Vabarna tekstides*. - *Klaasmäel. Pro Folkloristica VIII*. 45-65. Tartu.



- Laigna, K. 1967. *Mööda Petserimaad*. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat.
- Loorits, Oskar 1955. *Der heilige Georg in der russischen Volksüberlieferung Estlands*. Osteuropa -Institut an der freien Uni Berlin. Slavische Veröffentlichungen. Band 7. Berlin.
- MacDonald, D. A. 1981. *Some Aspects of Visual and Verbal Memory in Gaelic Storytelling*. – ARV. Scandinavian Yearbook of Folklore, 117-124.
- McDowell, John H. 1982. *Beyond Iconicity: Ostension in Kamsá Mythic Narrative*. – Journal of the Folklore Institute. Vol. 19 (1): 119–139.
- Meletinski, Je. M 1982. *A szó művészetének ősi forrásai*. – A művészet ősi formái. Budapest: Gondolat, 147-190.
- Metsvahi, Merili 2000. *Muistend kui tegelikkus*. – Maa-alused. Pro Folkloristica VII, 44–59. Tartu.
- Metsvahi, Merili 2001. *Contemporary Fieldwork and Archival Recordings*. – U. Wolf-Knuts and A. Kaivola-Bregenhøj (eds.), Pathways. Approaches to the Study and Teaching of Folklore, 99-108. NNF Publications 9. Åbo: Åbo Academi University.
- Metsvahi, Merili 2002. *Inimene ja narratiiv. Püha Jüri legendi näitel*. – Lemmeleht. Pro Folkloristica IX, 121-146. Tartu.
- Mink, Louis O. 1970. *History and Fiction as Modes of Comprehension*. – New Literary History. A Journal of Theory and Interpretation 1 (3): 541-558.
- Pitrim (the Metropolitan) 1988. *Kümme aastat vene õigeusu kirikut*. – Eesti Evangeelne Luterlik kirik. EELK Konsistooriumi väljaanne, 64–76.
- Прорп 1973 = Пропп, Владимир. *Змеборство Георгия в свете фольклора*. – Фольклор и этнография русского севера, 190–208. Ленинград: Наука (Zmeborstvo Georgija v svete folklor. Folklor i etnografia russkovo severa Leningrad: Nauka).
- Pylyshyn, Zenon W. 1973. *What the Mind's Eye Tells the Mind's Brain: a critique of mental imagery*. – Psychological Bulletin 80 (1): 1-24.
- Raudalainen, Taisto 2001a. *Traditsioonisidus elulooline jutustamine: mäluainese etno-poetiline tekstualiseerimine*. – Kultuur ja mälu. Konverentsi materjale. Studia Ethnologica Tartuensia 4. 59-78. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli etnoloogia õppetool.
- Raudalainen, Taisto 2001b. *Pärimusajaloo oneiro-poetiline dominant: unenägude ja ilmutuse rollist pärimussidusas eluloolises jutustamises*. – Paar sammukest XVIII, 211–246. Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1980. *Narrative Time*. – Critical Inquiry 7: 169–190.
- Ricoeur, Paul 1991. *Zeit und Erzählung*. Band III: Die erzählte Zeit. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag

- Ricoeur, Paul 1994. *Imagination in discourse and in action*. – G. Robinson, J. Rundell (eds.), *Rethinking Imagination. Culture and Creativity*, 118–135. London: Routledge.
- Siikala, Anna-Leena 1990. *Interpreting Oral Narrative*. FF Communications No. 245. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.
- Tolstoi 1861 = Святыни и древности Пскова. Сочинение графа М. Толставо Москва. Въ Университетской Типографии (*Graf Tolstoi, Svjatõni i drevnosti Pskova. Moskva, v Universitetskoi Tipografii*).
- Tulving, Endel 2002. *Mälu*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli kirjastus.
- White, Hayden 1980. *The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality*. – *Critical Inquiry* 7: 5–27.
- White, Hayden 1987. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Young, Katharine Galloway 1987. *Taleworlds and Storyrealms: The Phenomenology of Narrative*. Dordrecht: Nijhoff.

17.02.2001	11.03.2001	11.04.2001	11.05.2002
R: Is there also some fairy tale about a young fellow killing a big serpent or snake?	R: Do you remember this story, how the young fellow went to kill the dragon? Or George (in Estonian Jüri) or who it was?	M: But what was that large image? That large image of the princess that used to be in Petchory, or what image was it?	M: But tell us again that story of George, of St. George, the tale of what happened to him?
1. Ah, that one,	1. Ah, wait. Ah I probably told about George ? (R: Yeah)		1. Ah, now St. George, he...
2. This is not a fairy tale, that's a real thing that happened many hundred years ago.	2. That is not a fairy-tale. That's a real thing that happened long ago. I do not know, how many years ago it was. But it has been. It has been said that...		
4. That's what once has been. It's been many hundreds of years ago. I no longer remember. When I was told this, then I knew how many hundreds of years. In the old days, when I was young. But now I no longer remember.			
	4. It... the old people told that. Not only one told... There was many who told that.		
	5. That St. George... he was a king.		2. Well, they thought that St. George had been a man of great power, a strongman, too... He beat...

<p>3. (Risto: So how did it happen?) That's in the monastery, at Petchory, there was a large carriage there. And there was a big snake. A big snake made underneath that carriage. And a queen in the carriage. She was... sure, now, she was not alive, was like ... but the carriage was wooden, all right, and. And the snake was also made of wood. With teeth and all, and the mouth wide open and. The underside was of wood, like that, and a roof built over it. But this... these walls were of glass so you could see through them. Nobody was let in there, the door was closed. But no-one, was let in there. There...</p>	<p>22. And at the monastery there was, at the monastery of Petchory, there was a carriage built and a kind of house, of glass. But is it there now, Manni, or what? (Manni: yes) And there is the carriage then, and the princess (literally "the king's daughter") in the carriage. And that dragon, kind of big snake or what was it, under it. Of course that was made of wood. So: for looking. And that is at the monastery, at the monastery of Petchory.</p>	<p>1. Aaahh. But it's there now, too. There was a time when it was lost. That was the princess's image all right, it was. It was like... made of wood or what it was made of, I don't know that, either. Nobody was let in there. It was about so big now, or may-be bigger. About this wide, but taller perhaps. And there were those carriages there. And she sat in the carriage, and a white horse, a horse harnessed to it, and that dragon underneath the carriage, its head sticking out. Its tail coiled up like that, but the head was sticking out, the jaws agape, and the large teeth. Like this... and all painted, nice to look at.</p>	
		<p>24. Thus it is also shown there, near the king's carriage, that dragon with its jaws agape.</p> <p>2. Then for a time it was lost. Those... communists, they took it away. But then... may-be it was someone from the monastery, but they blamed it on the foreign country, that they robbed it thus... yes, they were robbing. But now my daughter tells me that it's back there again... That house too, it was torn down! But now the house has been made again and painted and. And the carriage and all are back again.</p>	

		3. (M: But was it the size of a human being? How big is it? Like a living woman?) A good-sized woman. Not a small one, a tall woman. Beautiful, too, that maiden.	
		4. (M: But tell us the story again.) What? (M: Tell us that story too, the story about that.) (coughing) Aah, that went like that.	
	6. But that dragon came across the water, was it a river or a sea, what was it. From there the dragon came.		
5. And it was so that each year they had to give a girl to that snake.	7. And that king always had to give away a girl, a maiden each year to that dragon.	5. To that dragon they had to give up one girl. But that dragon...	3. There was a rule like that. What was it like – they said “that dragon” but who knows? Each year they had to take the best and most beautiful maiden there to the seaside. For that dragon, they did.
6. It gobbled her down, that snake did. For the snake to swallow.		9. That the dragon... that it swallowed her or took her away to its own place, nobody could tell where that dragon took those girls that were given to it.	4. The dragon... they said it swallowed them.
			5. And till that time they always took them there.
7. And if it gets no girl, it beats all the water out of the sea and floods the town.	9. But otherwise, the dragon said, “I will beat all the water out of the sea, will flood the country..., this house or state or kingdom” or how was it.	7. Otherwise that dragon said, “I will beat all the water out of the sea, I will drown the people!”	
8. But that town was someplace on the seashore there. Near the sea it was.			
9. And it came to pass... now how was it that it came to pass? It came to pass one king had to give up his own daughter. But how could a king want to give up his own daughter?	8. And then one year it came to pass so that the king had to give his own daughter. But how? The king did not want to give his daughter away! And well, had to...	6. And then it came the king's... or was it a rich man... the rich man's daughter's turn it came, somehow. But how come, a king does not want to give up his own daughter, but give he must!	6. Then that great man or that king or... his daughter – it came his daughter's turn to be taken away.

ON THE POSITION OF THE RELIGIOUS LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

		8. And so it went. Well, all their folk were invited and... you know, to take the daughter to her death!	7. Well, all their folk and kinsmen they invited then, to see her off: that daughter whom they had to send to her death.
	10. Well, they all got into the carriage and took the princess ("the king's daughter"), too, to the seashore.		
10. And there in that picture, well, now, there on that carriage there was the girl, very beautiful, a princess and all.			
11. And then St. George took and...		10. But St. George, he went to protect her.	8. And there, St. George arrived, too.
12. He trusted very much in God, a young man he was. And he always went around on a white horse.			
13. And he said that "Will you let me go and give battle to that snake!" But the king said that "I let thee, indeed, but so far... till now no-one has been able to beat that snake! So canst thou... hast thou the power? Perhaps it will first kill thee?" "That's no care of yours. If it kills, it kills... But I..."	11. But George, he said then, that "I will go to fight with the dragon. You just give me a white horse, and" – I do not know how many, they did not say "pood" [old Russian weight, about 16,38 kg] in those days, but "kild" – how many poods did that sword weigh, which...		
		11. But the king said that "whosoever has the might to protect my daughter will receive the princess's hand in wedding."	
	12. And he was given all that he had asked for.		
14. And then he went and mounted his white horse and took a long sword, like that. So long, taller than him, an iron sword and a heavy one.			

		12. Well St. George, he mounted... On the white horse he went around on. And a big spear he had – well, it's all shown in the picture, on that icon there. A huge spear in his hand, like this,	
			9. And he said (that) to the kinsmen that, "Do not come near by, none of you, you stay away, let me go and give battle to that dragon! I will go, I will not give it the daughter!" That the daughter should stay on the shore...
17. But he began to fight then.	13. And went to fight. 18. And fell on the dragon...	13. and then he went to do battle with that dragon	11. And St. George, he went to fight the dragon.
	14. And the princess (the king's daughter) was riding in that coach, and that George then was in front of her on the horse. And he went ahead of them all and the princess came in the coach after him.		
		14. And there they all said, "Now it will beat George!" That the dragon is very strong. And up...	
15. And there came that snake or dragon out of the sea, the king's daughter to...	15. And the dragon came. Out of the water the dragon came and ... and the mouth wide open, so it could just take her and gulp down. 19. And the dragon opened its jaws wide to gobble up George, first.	15. But that dragon came so that... across the water. For its prey, you know. 19. And the dragon came, its jaws wide open.	
16. And the king's daughter also was brought near there in the carriage.		17. The girl was also brought near there.	10. Well, the daughter, too, stayed on the shore, at a distance.

ON THE POSITION OF THE RELIGIOUS LEGEND OF ST. GEORGE

		16. But that St. George, he won't let the girl.	
		18. Won't let the girl be eaten up!	
	16. But that St. George said that "We don't give her to you to swallow before you have tried your strength against me!" But the dragon said, "Who are you to think you can match me!"		
	17. But then George, he called on the Lord: "Lord God, help me fight that dragon! Or else it will slay all the young folks on the earth!"		
18. And down under that carriage it went. Like it might just take the king's daughter from that carriage and gobble her up.			
19. But that Saint George, he took and into its mouth with that sword. And hit its mouth agape with that sword, and it could do nothing. And with that other sword, he hit it over the head. And with great trouble he hewed its head off.	20. But that George with a large sword him into the mouth and with the other hand... he had another sword here on the hip, and took that and with that hewed the dragon's head off.	20. And then St. George thrust his spear into its mouth! Into its mouth, into its throat that spear! And then there was the sword, the huge sword. Well, it's in the picture, too: a big sword, that long, hanging on a belt on his hip. And with that sword he hewed the dragon's head off.	15. Yes, so it was called a dragon. And it had then... With a huge iron club he hit it in the mouth and slay that dragon, St. George, he did.
20. And that Saint George, he beat that snake.		21. And won it.	12. And he beat that dragon.
			16. And he won. Saved many people.
		22. Well, now, the king had said all right that... that... to St. George, that he would give him his daughter to wed. But St. George, he said that "I don't want a wife, at all! I don't..." He wouldn't take her. And he is not a married man, that St. George. He was a bachelor.	17. Now he wanted – that rich man – him to wed his daughter, to be her husband. But St. George said that "I will not wed her! I did not come to help in order to wed her, for her to take me as her husband."

	21. And the princess was not eaten by the dragon and the dragon never again came to claim... those girls.		13. And from that time on it all stopped, the sea never again began to claim living persons, the dragon never did.
21. And now that Saint George is a holy icon in the church. In every church he is, his pictures. Like... he surely is not God, nothing like, but he's been made into a picture. A picture, an icon, a holy image. We said pühane (holy image, icon), but the Russians said ikoona, that's how they said about it. So.	23. But the holy image of St. George is in every church, in every orthodox church it is, in every church by any what name. These are Jüri church (St. George's church), Varvaara church (St. Barbara church), Sörkamootsinika church, then there's Migula (St. Nicholas) church and... and on Whitsuntide Trooitska. And more often they have Russian names, may-be they were built in the Russian times, these churches, a greater part of them have Russian names. Now in Saaless'ah there is Troitska church.		18. (M: But was there no such image in Pankjavitsa? No image of St. George in Pankjavitsa?) But he is there in every church. In every church he is. He is and Nikul' is, Nicholas the Miracle-Worker. Nicholas is and Barbara is. And who were they? They were the greatest – the greatest in their faith in God, and who kept the laws of the Lord and through His laws won good victories.
		23. And he was a helper of many men, and he helped them and so it is.	20. But he was just a poor man. But very clever he was, and a holy, a believer and put his faith in God. And he had great power to win and he fought with those devils. And he beat those devils, so. That was St. George! And lol, that George – that George, he had no riches but his white horse, on his white horse he went around.



<p>22. And in Värška, there's a church of St. George. And there that George, St. George, he's really big and beautiful there. (And then, on St. George's Day... -- now when is it, St. George's Day – on St. George's Day they hold a great service in Värška. Then they took that St. George, that great icon... It's so big, like that door there...)</p>	<p>3. That, that is in Värška... That what... Värška belongs to Estonia, that does not belong to Russia. The church in Värška is dedicated to St. George. And there is a big holy image of George there, if they haven't sold it. Foreigners very much want those holy images... We called them "pühäseq" (holy images), but the Russians called them icons. They were bought. Is that one still there or not, I don't know. But when I went to that church of St. George in Värška, then it was there. On the right side and a big one, like this. And sitting on his white horse. And then there was, well, such sword or what, like this... something like this in his hand, a spear. Leaning on the ground, and taller than himself, that he killed the dragon with. And that George was, well, set up as a holy image or an icon or, well, how do you say.</p>		<p>14. But the dragon, that was – well, in the picture it is. In a picture of St. George it must be: the dragon with its jaws wide open, but St. George with a big iron stick, and with that stick...</p>
	<p>24. (R: But where did it all happen then, in Petchory or Värška or someplace else?) No, that was someplace else. There is not even sea in Petchory, not even water there. Somewhere there... I don't know where it was. Only the holy books know that. There! The common books, they don't know. The ones in the monastery, when you learn them, those books. Only those books, then, know where it was and what was the king called and what was his daughter called. Bu me... I... I don't know, the name was not said, they only said... said it was a king's daughter.</p>		<p>19. And it must be ... Maybe in the picture too, the holy image... In Petchory they sure have St. George on his white horse on the wall. And the big iron sword in his hand, the one that he fought with.</p>



## King Matthias as a popular hero in Central European folklore

*Kríza, Ildikó*

Historical folklore in Central Europe has common features and comprises a complex web of individual cases. King Matthias (ruled 1458-1490) was the most important ruler, who became a popular folklore hero in Central Europe. In his case the intertwining of oral tradition and written culture, and the folklorization of historical events could already be found 500 years ago. Latin chronicle and collection of anecdotes originated in the court of King Matthias. The motifs preserve both the elite culture and folklore. European humanism transformed the existing works to suit the given society, freely adapting the motifs. As a result, folklore associated with the name of the former Renaissance ruler can be found everywhere in his empire and outside its borders. The western limit of its geographical extension is around Leipzig; Matthias folklore is known along a line extending from Prague, through Vienna, Cracow and Lemberg, as far as Moldova, and it is found among all the peoples in the Carpathian Basin. It can be seen that the historical person of King Matthias appears as a folklore hero among the peoples of Central Eastern Europe.

The common history and geographical proximity of the peoples of the Danube region produced many phenomena which complement or, in cases, contradict each other, but the general observations can be really understood only through concrete studies. We need to know the historical sources and their relationship to international and national folklore.

The writings originating in the period of European humanism were later reshaped to suit the social demands of the given period. The sources were used with great freedom, giving special emphasis to some parts and leaving out others. This happened with the chronicle written by Antonio Bonfini in the time of King Matthias. The first Hungarian translator left out certain parts of the chronicle and elsewhere added legends from folklore to the historical data and with the passing

---

\*Paper presented in the XIIth Congress of ISFNR (International Society of Folk Narrative Research) in Göttingen in 1998.

of centuries these came to have the appearance of historical reality. A similar method was used by the poet Ambrus Göröcsöni. The 16th century author of a historical song simplified the historical events related to King Matthias. The data were moving away from the authentic sources and coming closer to the form and topic of oral literature. It is certainly true that the idealized image of King Matthias which can still be found in the folklore of the Hungarian and neighbouring peoples was consolidated in the 16th century.

I wish to stress, the Matthias tradition cannot be identified with a single genre. Research to date has shown that it appeared in many of genres, and among the most Danubian peoples.

An examination of the large number of sources reveals that the Matthias folklore does not have the same weight among the various ethnic groups with differing tradition and culture, and the system of motifs also differs. A particular element (e.g. the hero's birth, his election, death) may be the subject of epic song for one people, while elsewhere it figures in a legend or tale. The king in disguise is generally the hero of prose genres. Folkloristic research on the peoples of Central-Eastern Europe confirms that the Matthias tradition is found consistently. Already a century ago, Zenon Kuzelja, author of the first Matthias monograph recorded objectively the interrelations in the folk tradition of the region.

The interaction of oral and written culture is a constantly recurring question, especially in the case of the Matthias folklore. It is true for all peoples that the authentic records can be understood and interpreted in the system of oral tradition as a whole, while at the same time the individual motifs also show broad international links. With our present knowledge of the laws behind these phenomena, it is easy to explain why we find a historical song in the case of one people and a legend for another. We now know that in the 16th century, when the verse-chronicle was a characteristic genre, songs about King Matthias and his companions were sung in Hungarian too. Some of them were so popular that they were still sung two hundred years later and published again and again as cheap literature for sale at fairs, like broadside. Later, literature and oral poetry took different courses of development and the consequence of this can be followed in the differentiation of folklore.

Now I wish to detail the next topics of Matthias tradition expresses the local form of international folklore:

1. Matthias Corvinus as a sacral king
2. Matthias, the invincible hero
3. The heroes' marriage
4. The death of the hero

## 1) Matthias Corvinus as a sacral king

A recurring law can be observed in the portrayal of the hero in the historical songs and legends. Many similar features can be found in the portrayal of heroes in the folklore of peoples remote from each other in time and space. The common features are found in connection with the selection of the hero and his death. The Galician tales and Serb heroic epic explain the selection of Matthias as king by miraculous signs, in the same way as the Hungarian legends. The following mythical omens are found in his selection:

- an unknown hero will become the king;
- he has a special sign on his body;
- an iron table and golden bread predict his kingdom;
- the chosen one will have a dry branch putting out shoots;
- his crown is a divine gift (tossed into the air three times);
- a letter comes from the sky;
- a supernatural being (angel), bird brings the crown;
- the crown tossed into the air falls on the chosen head by divine decision;
- the lords accept the decision and fate against their intention.

The songs and legends in Central East Europe say the event such as: The banus of Buda (always Buda are mentioned) arrive for the election of the king in good time. The lords select a person among them as king. They toss the crown into the air first second and third time. The crown lands always on the head of Matthias instead of the candidate of lords. Matthias is removed from the place of the coronation, they push him into prison, but the crown lands again and again on the head of Matthias. The lords must accept him as a king, because the flying crown chooses the person by the wish of God.

In this case too, supernatural elements are intertwined with the written tradition, so there can be no doubt about Soerensen's conclusion that the Serb/Croatian songs preserved Hungarian tradition. At first the literature linked the miraculous background to Matthias' selection as king to Southern Slav folklore, but we know from the Slovakian, Ruthenian sources and Hungarian materials were collected with the same motif.

As research progressed, it was clearly demonstrated that folklore regarding the selection of the king, thought to be a Southern Slav characteristic, can be found among all ethnic groups in the Carpathian Basin. The legend on the origin of the Premysl family has a similar mythical aspects like the Matthias tradition.

According to the Premysl–Libussa tradition, the ploughman learned from miraculous signs that he would wear the crown. The miraculous omen, the sprouting of a whip handle stuck into the ground and the appearance of angels led the unknown plough-boy to take part in the election of the king, which brought him the glory predicted. In using the motif of the sprouting dry branch, Czech/Polish heraldry quite clearly shows the continued existence of a mediaeval legend.

The image formed of the unknown ploughman labourer who became ruler indicates commitment to the social hierarchy, in the same way as the 16th century chronicle was written. According to the legend Matthias' father was an illegitimate son of Sigismund von Luxemburg (emperor of Holy Roman empire in 1361–1437). According to authors who have analysed the hero types of historic legends, the two different mythical origins are in reality two variants of the same notion. Examination of the complex cultural links and the identification of similar motifs has produced many results, the details of which have been used by cultural history.

According to folk poetry, King Matthias is the chosen hero and his vocation is independent of the historical facts. The chosen ruler is expected to defend the interests of the poor in face of the nobility, and together with this to represent an idealized patriarchal society. The hero raised from anonymity to become king is a characteristic figure of myths, epic poetry and folk tales, what was detailed by Propp in his work on Morphology of Folk Tale. Dundes presumes that historical legend tradition creates heroes in this way over a long period of time.

## 2) Matthias, the invincible hero

Part of the creations on the life of Matthias can be ordered into a cycle, as shown by the Serb/Croatian songs. The second big unit in the cycle is King Matthias' heroic combat, that is, a presentation of the events which made him a hero. Most of the battles are struggles against the Turks, in some cases they are against Germans and more rarely against supernatural powers. The following motifs of heroic combat are found in the Matthias tradition:

- Matthias forms an alliance to defeat the enemy;
- unknown supernatural powers help Matthias;
- Matthias is first among the fighters;
- the king is helped in combat by a powerful knight;
- he has supernatural knowledge;
- he wins his freedom from foreign captivity through a trick/his beloved;
- the wealth of the defeated opponent passes to the king.

Heroic combat is a characteristic feature of epic poetry. The battle, struggle, duel is a recurring theme in the Serb/Croatian songs. Although in most cases the opponent is Turkish or German, it should be noted that emphasis of the ethnic identity of the opponent is not important. It is, however, important to magnify the strength of the opponent because his defeat increases Matthias' glory. The more fearsome the enemy, the greater the glory of the victor. The heroic battles culminate in heroic songs.

The verse-chronicle on the struggle against Vienna written in 1784 gives a glorious entry to the city, while they do not deny the bloody struggles of the battle of Hainburg, uses poetic formulas common in the 16th-17th centuries, and compares Matthias to heroes of ancient times who set an example in battle.

The figure of King Matthias as courageous scourge of the Turks was a general theme in the verse-chronicles. Ever since Bonfini the myth of the invincible ruler has existed in the common awareness, in folklore and in historiography, and his figure has been preserved in narratives that have nothing to do with the historical events.

Orality presented the presumed historical events with the appearance of authenticity, always adapting to the expectations customary in the given culture, supplemented with the necessary additions proclaiming the hero's virtues. The genre frame of the heroic battle varies; it was recounted in song, prose or cheap printed chronicles. What we find linked to the name of Matthias is the view of history taken by the given people, their ideas of their own struggles, human relations, conflict among the peoples and the idealized mode of overcoming problems.

### 3) The hero's marriage

According to the unwritten laws of folklore, an important part of the portrayal of a hero is the marriage, the struggle for the chosen girl, and the relationship of the marriage partners. This theme is almost entirely absent from Hungarian folklore, but the Serb, Croatian and Slovenian epic songs deal with the famous event in various ways. According to a *ženske pesme*, Matthias became the queen's third husband. In the eyes of a historian the theme is incomprehensible, but the contradiction can be resolved with a knowledge of Serb marriage customs. A number of variants of the relationship between Matthias freed from captivity and the sultan's daughter have survived. According to the song, King Matthias was taken captive by the Turks in battle. The sultan's daughter noticed him and felt sorry for him. She promised to free him if he married her. They bribe the guards and flee against her

father's will. In their flight they have their horses shod in reverse to mislead their pursuers. Later, they are protected in their flight by means of magic power.

The legend of the wife abducted in the husband's absence shows the indirect influence of the Greek epic of Digenis Achritas. Many parallels are known throughout Europe, in French, Spanish, Italian, German, Hungarian, Slovak and other folklore, in legends, heroic epics and ballads. The variant of the Serb heroic epic has survived in a Hungarian folk ballad and verse-chronicle.

#### 4) The death of Matthias

According to the laws of heroic epics, heroes can only die in heroic battle. Because of the historical facts, heroic epics do not deal with the death of King Matthias, but two Slovenian ballads nevertheless sing of his death. The collection made by Štrekelj in the 19th century contains creations still regarded as being among the most interesting pieces of Slovenian folklore and show the distinctive development of folk poetry. Data indicate that this ballad is not related to either the Serb, the Croatian or Hungarian tradition. It recounts how the unfaithful king lies on his deathbed. When asked by his sister, he admits that his lover's husband caused his fatal wounds in a secret duel. This is God's punishment for his infidelity.

The hero suffering punishment for seducing a married woman is a well known theme in folklore. Variants of the legend of Frederick Barbarossa are the closest to the Slovenian Matthias tradition.

Since according to the laws of folklore, the death of the historical hero is just as extraordinary as his birth, other data on the death of King Matthias are of special interest. His selection as king made it obvious that he became ruler against the will of the nobles and he continued to exercise power against the nobles, in defence of the poor. This was the cause of the fatal hostility to which he fell victim. The subject of the narratives in Ruthenian, Hungarian Romany and Croatian languages is trivially simple.

The death of King Matthias, who had mythical powers, was due to his opposition to God, as recounted in Slovenian folklore. Trusting in his abilities as a military leader, King Matthias turned against God. However, the invincible ruler became entangled in a combat with consequences that he could not foresee. God punished him and the forces of nature were unleashed during the battle. As Matthias fled the earth opened up in front of him and he entered a mountain cave where he still awaits the mythical signal to return. This narrative which belongs to the Kyffhäuser legend spread in Slovenia, but there are also Hungarian variants.



## Conclusions

Without entering into details of the rich theme, it can be said in summing up that the Matthias tradition of the Hungarian and the neighbouring peoples is not foreign to East and West European folklore, but it is nevertheless a folklore unit that can be set apart from it. The points of linkage and the characteristics of its separate development show the internal motivation of the different ethnic groups. Some of the mythical elements (e.g. selection of the king) are widely known, while the other branch (e.g. fatal death) became a theme of folklore in only a small region. The supranationality characteristic of the good king can be generally observed. Accordingly, all the ethnic groups in the Carpathian Basin believe that the historical person is one of their own. This attitude lived until it was transformed by official cultural policy and education strategy. The folklore data show that the good king is a person standing above the feudal hierarchy, and that is why his justice appears realistic. His deeds and appearance have a human touch and are always relevant to the social group or small community which keeps the narrative alive. However, the differences which can be observed and recorded in the folklore collections are always related to the link of the given ethnic group to oral tradition and to its historical development.

## References

- Aarne, Anti-Thompson, Stith: *The Types of the Folktale*. FFC. 184. Helsinki 1961. (AT)
- Bogdanova, L./Bojadzijeve, S./Kaufman, N.: *Blgarski narodni balladi I-II*. (Bulgarian Folk Ballads) Sofija 1993.
- Bogišić, Valtazar: *Narodne pjesme iz starijih najviše primorskih zapisa*. (Old Folk Songs from Literary Tradition in Primore Region) Beograd 1878.
- Burke, Peter: *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. London 1978. (Budapest 1991.)
- Camman, Alfred-Karasek, Alfred: *Volkserzählung der Karpatendeutschen I-II*. Marburg 1981.
- Dávid, András: *Mátyás király alakja a közép-európai folklórban*. (King Matthias in Central-European Folklore) In: *Helikon* 16 (1971), 308-321.
- Dundes, Alan: *The Hero Pattern and the Life of Jesus*. In: *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington 1980. 223-261.
- Eliade, Mircea: *The Myth of Eternal Return or Cosmos and History*. Princetom 1974. (Budapest 1993.)
- Ernyey, József: *A cseh heraldika magyar vonatkozású mondái*. (Czech Heraldry and Hungarian Legends) In: *Ethnographia* 17 (1906), 127-140.

- Faragó, József: *Két román népballada Mátyás királyról*. (Two Romanian Folk Ballads about King Matthias) In: *Helikon*, Cluj 4 (1997) 234-236.
- Gašpariková, Viera: *Katalóg slovenskej ľudovej prózy I-II*. (Catalogue of Slovak Folk Prose) Bratislava 1991.
- Grafenauer, Ivan: *Slovenske pripovedke o kralju Matjažu*. (Slovenian Legends about King Matthias) Ljubljana 1951.
- Grafenauer, Ivan: *Slovenske ljudske pesmi o Kralju Matjažu*. (Die slowenischen Volkslieder von König Matjaž) In: *Slovenski etnograf* 13 (1951), 189-240.
- Heller, Bernát: *A Mátyás-mondabeli vasasztal*. (Iron Table in Matthias-legends) In: *Ethnographia* 19 (1908), 269-271.
- Karadžić, Vuk Szt.: *Srpske narodne pjeseme I*. (Serbian Folk Songs) Beograd (1841) 1964.
- Katona, Imre: *Szilágyi és Hagymási* (Ballads about Szilágyi and Hagymási) In: *Folklór és Tradíció* 6 (1988) 131-144.
- Klanciczay, Tibor: *A keresztshad eszméje és a Mátyás-mítosz*. (The Image of Crusade and Matthias-myth) In: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*. 1975. 1-14.
- Komorovský, Jan: *Král Matej Korvin v ľudovej prozaickej*. (King Matthias Corvinus in Folk Prose) Bratislava 1957.
- Kríza, Ildikó: *Egy ismeretlen Mátyás-história a XVIII. századból*. (Unknown Matthias-history from 18. century) In: *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 96 (1992), 607-615.
- Kríza, Ildikó: *Mátyás-hagyomány az irodalom és folklór határán*. (Matthias Tradition between Literature and Folklore) In: *Ethnographia* 104 (1993), 581-590.
- Kríza, Ildikó: *A szlovén és magyar Mátyás-hagyomány kapcsolatai*. (Slovenian and Hungarian Relations of Matthias Tradition) In: *Folklór és Tradíció* 7 (1994), 212-221.
- Kríza, Ildikó: *Matthias Corvinus*. in: *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* Bd. 9. (1996), 415-420.
- Kríza, Ildikó: *The Good Leader According to the Hungarian Folklor* In: Petzoldt, Leander (ed.): *Folk Narrative and World View* Frankfurt/M Peter Lang Vlg. 1996. 419-425.
- Krstic, Branislav: *Indeks motiva narodnih pesema balkanskih slovena*. (Motif Index of Folk Songs of Balkan Slavs) Beograd 1984.
- Kumer, Zmaga – Mehar, Boris – Matičetov, Milko – Vodusek, Valens: *Slovenske ljudske pesmi I*. (Slovenian Folk Songs) Ljubljana 1970.
- Kurelać, Fran: *Jacke ili narodne pesme prostoga i neprostoga puka*. (Folk Songs in Written and Oral Tradition) Zagreb 1871.
- Kuzelja, Zenon: *Uhorskij korolj Matvij Korvin v slavjanskij ustnij slovesnosti*. (Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus in Slavic Oral Tradition) Lvov 1906.

- Kvideland, Reimund: *The Supranormal Dimension in Historical Legends* In: Petzoldt, Leander (ed): *Folk Narrative and World View* Frankfurt/M. Peter Lang Vlg. 1996. 433-442.
- Lintur, P.V.: *Tri zoloto slova*. (Three Golden Words. Ukrainian Folk Tales) Užgorod 1968.
- Lyrum, larum, lyrissimum* Leipzig, 1700.
- Matičeto, Milko: *Kral Matjaž v luci novega slovenskega gradiva in novih raziskavanj*. (König Matjaž im Lichte neuen slowenischen Stoffes und neuer Forschung) In: *Razprave* 2 (1958), 101-149.
- Müller, Friedrich: *Siebenbürgische Sagen*. Klausenburg 1857. (Göttingen 1981.)
- Perfeckij, Eugen: *Podkarpatské a haličkoruské tradice o králi Mátyášovi Corvinovi*. (Transcarpathian and Ruthenian Tradition about Matthias Corvinus) In: *Sbornik Filosofické Fakulty Univ. Komenského*. Bratislava 4 (1926), 3-55.
- Peuckert, William Eric: *Sage*. In: Stammler, W. (Hg) *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss* III. 1962. 1641-1676.
- Propp, Vladimir: *Morphology of the folktale* Texas 1968. (Budapest 1975.)
- Rees, Valery: *Hungary's Philosopher King Matthias Corvinus*. In: *History Today* 44. Nr. 10. (1994), 18-24.
- Stanko, Jenez: *Mátyás király és Alencsica*. (King Matthias and Alencsica) In: *A szlovén irodalom kistükre* (Mirror of Slovenian Literature) Budapest 1973, 34-40.
- Szekulics, Géza: *Beatrix királyné emléke a délszláv népköltészetben*. (Queen Beatrix in Yugoslavian Folk Poetry) In: *Századok* 1912. 607-613.
- Széman, István: *Mátyás király a magyarországi ruthén népmondában*. (King Matthias in Ruthenian Legends) In: *Ethnographia* 22 (1911), 236-240.
- Szendrey, Zsigmond: *Történeti népmondáink. Mátyás mondák*. (Historical Legends, Matthias Legends) In: *Ethnographia* 37 (1926), 81-86.
- Szövérfy, József: *History and Folk Tradition in Eastern Europe. Matthias Corvinus in Mirror of Hungarian and Slavic Folklore*. In: *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 5 (1968), 68-77.
- Teke, Zsuzsa: *Mátyás, a győzhetetlen király*. (Matthias, the Invincible King) Budapest 1990.
- Tillhagen, Carl-Herman: *Was ist eine Sage?* In: *Acta Ethnographica* 13 (1964), 9-17.
- Thompson, Stith: *Motif Index of Folk Literature I-VI*. Bloomington 1955/58. (Mot)
- Ujváry, Zoltán: *Mátyás király Gömörben*. (King Matthias in Gemer) Debrecen 1990.
- Varcholova, Nadezda: *Matvij Korvin u narodnij prozi Ukrainciv shidnoi slovač ini*. (Matthias Corvinus in Folk Prose of Ukrainian People in Shidnoi) In: *Naukovij zbirnik muzeju ukrainskoj kulturi u svidniku*. 1988. 141-161.

- Vrabely, Mihály: *Rutén népmondák Mátyás királyról.* (Ruthenian Folk Legend about King Matthias) In: *Ethnographia* 4 (1893), 164.
- Vries, Jan de: *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend.* London 1963.
- Vujičić, Stojan: *Székács József-Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic Szerb népdalok és hősrégék.* (Serbian Folk Songs and Legends by Sekac and Karadzic) Újvidék 1986.

## Farming Attitudes in Transition

*Kiss, Antal*

The political change of 1989 as the primary motivator of the transformation process does not function on the basis of identical motivations in an urban or in a rural environment. For the village farming has a determining role. The reason is the land-centred thinking of the peasantry that has been revived because of the political transition.<sup>1</sup>

The liquidation and transformation of the Farmers' Co-operative and the privatization all entailed the change of the peasants' work-system. The past, the value-system, the structure, the hierarchy and the prospects of the local society determine the direction of change, offering several alternatives from traditional strategies of production to modern farming. The new social groups emerging in the village society may become confronted with the accepted norms, especially when giving positive answers to external influences that differ from the model of change preferred by the local society (eg.: private entrepreneurs).

On the other hand the lands taken for family farming emphasize the role of the family as a work-organization. The determining factors of the developing farming strategies are the size of the land and the farming trend. New working teams and team-works come into being the frame-works of which are about to be established.

The essay aims to present some results of a revealing, descriptive research in process that investigates the influences of the political change on farming attitudes. The location of the research is some increasingly disadvantageous small villages of the Bihar region. In the followings I present the farming characteristics of the village Újiráz.

The aim of the essay:

- To map the impacts of the changes following the events of 1989 on farming.
- To show the farming attitudes of the present.
- To analyze the interrelatedness of the different strategies of life.

---

<sup>1</sup> Szabó, L. 1993: 148-150.

I attempt to grasp that change through the conflicts between the habits and mentalities creating the different strategies of farming. In other words I investigate the difference between the representatives of the "traditional value-system" and that of private entrepreneurs. This approach may lead to significant consequences because the way of coping with problem situations may indicate the changing trend of peasant farming. The village in the example calls our attention to the fact that during the research it is not enough to concentrate on the internal changes of the settlements concerned, but the determining external events should also be considered, since the particular strategies of adjustment of the region's settlements can only be compared while being fully aware of the forms of joining to macro-systems.<sup>2</sup>

Those family and peasant farms are considered to be traditional in which the farming activity is motivated by deeply rooted local customs and production is not market-oriented.

Those primarily market-oriented farming attitudes are considered to belong to private entrepreneurs where market demands and not traditional or other social interests take effect in the organization of work, in the time-table and in the use of money.

The essay is based on data collected by deep interviews during the summer of 1998. When choosing the informants with the help of local assistants I attempted to accumulate information from informants representing all the types of farming in the sample. I wish to describe and analyze the processes of the village on the basis of the collected material and the written sources.

The initial hypothesis was that the increasingly disadvantageous villages lying farthest away from the regional centre and having the smallest population are the remotest points of the urbanization process. The traditional elements of culture and forms of farming live the longest in the peripheral small settlements, because changes have hardly affected that region and the transformation after the political change can be followed there, from the most archaic forms.<sup>3</sup>

However, my researches, so far, have shown that the scale of adjustment is primarily determined by the villages' economic potential (where territorial and settlement conditions also come into play). That is why economic deprivation makes these small settlements incapable of living. Their social structure disintegrates, they become less capable of preserving their local culture than the larger

---

<sup>2</sup> Lammel, A. 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Andrásfalvy, B. 1980:55.

villages capable of integrating changes on the local level.<sup>4</sup> We cannot talk about corporal-like communities in the small settlements, neither. Individual strategies of adjustment come afore. This way the integration of the peasant society into the social, cultural whole is less to happen through the structure of the community.<sup>5</sup>

## 1. Characteristics of the external relationships influencing farming

### REGIONAL, AREAL CHARACTERISTICS

The chapter of Várad founded Újiráz in 1912. The 100 settler-families coming from Békés consisted of landless people working on the lands of the chapter as wage labourers. The chapter provided plough-lands, inlands and pastures of 4 and half acres in total for each family.<sup>6</sup>

Before World War I this land was the lowland part of County Békés, the agricultural products of which were to provide for the East-Bihar region. The regional centre was Nagyvárad. After the Trianon treaty and the border-shifts, the village was cut off from its natural markets and it lost all those cities and towns, the attraction-areas of which it belonged to. As a result, its cultural and economic relations have changed. The separation of the region was enhanced by the county-system created in 1949-50 and the outcome is that the southern part of County Hajdú-Bihar now does not belong to the attraction-area of any cities.<sup>7</sup> That also caused the pushing of Újiráz to the periphery of the county.<sup>8</sup> The moving of villagers capable of working to the cities and towns started simultaneously. A gradual tendency of ageing became characteristic of the village by today.<sup>9</sup>

### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EXTERNAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

The unskilled villagers are undesired investing agents for the capital investors who require competence. On the other hand the young, trained inhabitants leave the society of Újiráz, because the opportunities of the settlement do not meet their expectations formed during their training years, or there are not any suit-

<sup>4</sup> Kunt, E. 1987:13-15.

<sup>5</sup> Steward, J. 1955.

<sup>6</sup> Szekerczés, P. 1992:4.

<sup>7</sup> Keményfi, R. 1994:84-87.

<sup>8</sup> The chief town of the county is 80 kilometres away, while the nearest town lies 40 kilometres far. The chief town of County Békés is 50 kilometres far and the larger settlements are closer in Békés, too. Since public transport is organized county-wise, the villagers cannot go to the towns of Békés directly. This enhances separatedness and makes commuting more difficult.

<sup>9</sup> Süli-Zakar, I. 1996:11-29.

able works for them in the village. Hence these generations cannot help the local society's continuous adjustment to the changing conditions that would ensure the continuity of the village population's relationship with the macro-society. It is not only the village of Újiráz that the skilled people leave, but also often the "peasant existence" itself, only to become urban citizens. That weakens the remaining "peasant population", since the parents (who help the living of the young generations leaving the village with material goods) pump the remaining economic potential out of the village.<sup>10</sup>

The lack of adjustment is clearly presented in the relationship between the private enterprise and the market. The production technologies applied in the village today are not related to the modern methods keeping the market processes and environmentalism in view. At the present, farmers consider those intensive methods desirable that have environmental drawbacks but are characterized by the increased exploitation of the ground's fertility and by increased chemicalization. During the production of animal products they use obsolete technologies while observing low-level hygienic standards. This way they are unable to join to macro-economy, since they cannot meet the expectations of the market.

## 2. The influence of political change on local farming

### COMPENSATION

During the process of privatisation, the village has lost significant lands since the political change. The compensation-coupons were sold and non-local owners often took the compensation-lands during the sales and auctions.

Parts of the former chapter-estate were taken by the neighbouring settlements, Csökmő and Komádi. There are four factors that played very important roles in losing those lands.

### INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION.

The lack of information concerning privatisation was a general problem. It was a rumour told among the elder people that those who claimed back their lands would lose their pensions, and that refrained them from claiming their rights.

### THE LACK OF LAND-OWNING TRADITIONS

There are no traditions of private farming in the village. During the settlement such day-labourers arrived here who had worked as wage earners before

<sup>10</sup> An eclatant example of this general phenomenon can be seen in the neighbouring Magyar-homoróg, where the milking cows taken out from the collective are sold by the elder members to be butchered only to supply their children in the cities with money.



and who were given only small lands of a few acres to own. They were trained in cultivating the land but they had no experience in owning that too.

#### THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE COMPENSATION-LAWS.

It is characteristic of the "peasant" mentality that they do not claim other people's lands, having a strong ethics. They wanted to get back their own former possessions, but privatization was not supported by the compensation-laws.

#### THE CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE ORIGINATED IN HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS.

Újiráz is a Catholic island in a Protestant environment. Even at the time of its foundation the neighbouring villages (Csökmő, Komádi) protested against the village that would limit their claims to the land. That is why there has not been a harmonious relationship with the neighbouring settlements ever since, and why there has been several attempts for the liquidation and restraining of Újiráz. In 1947 they tried to deport the population claiming they were Slovaks, and from 1947 the common local government of Újiráz and Csökmő increased the marginalization of the village. These conditions made the villagers more cautious about external urges and a practice aiming to minimize risk was formed in them as well.

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE

The inhabitants of the village have never had an estate larger than a few acres, and by World War II only a few families could extend the 4 acres distributed at the start to 10-11 acres. Formerly they worked on the estate of the chapter, then the co-operative provided working opportunities for the inhabitants. The co-operative provided the continuity of the farming-organizing practice for the people of Újiráz have accustomed to communal production. Consequentially it is not the general archaic peasant mentality or attachment to the land that prevails here.

After the political change the formerly mentioned delaying attitude prevailed in relation to the liquidation of the co-operative.

Unlike in most of the neighbouring settlements, here the survival of the co-operative, here the survival of the co-operative was obvious, yet it could not preserve the dominant role it had fulfilled in the village's farming activity because it went through a significant transformation.

According to the co-operative-laws the lands that remained in the possession of the co-operative farm were to be distributed among the members. 14.67 golden crowns was the share of each member. Most of them left their lands in, and the

co-operative cultivates it and sells the produced crops. The 1000-hectares land of the pre-1990 era became 200 hectares smaller, but that is rented.

The present form is a provisional situation, since the owner-structure is not adequate. The decision that states that the co-operatives cannot possess lands will cut off the possibility of living and makes it inviable as well in the long run.

By their closing down the most important source of living of the village would dry up. The number of people working in the co-operative have decreased significantly by the present, only 10% of the inhabitants regard it to be the possibility and guarantee of a regular wage earning. (compared to the former 120 people only 78 works here now)

#### HOUSEHOLD-FARMING

Right after its foundation a special “system of double working” was developed in Újiráz. Its essence is that farming on the land received from the chapter provided for the living of the family, while the work on the estate provided for the monetary funds (such a method of production become general only in the ‘60s by the formation of household farms in the neighbouring villages). This resulted in the household farming of increased importance – compared to the neighbouring villages – typical of Újiráz, which was mainly characterized by producing chiefly animal products to the market. As a peculiarity: almost all the families raised animals.

In the socialist era such a form of farming have proven suitable to be followed using traditional instruments with the help of family resources and have proven to be suitable to do parallel with “money-earning”, pension-guaranteeing forms of activities which could be done in official workplaces.

The transformed market conditions after 1990 were not favourable for the functioning of household-farms.

The decrease of profitability has sorely affected farmers, since lower incomes do not make the acquisition of the desired prestige-goods possible.

New forms of farming have not replaced household farming, which became inviable. Household-farmers respond to the uncertain situation of the transitional era by the use of traditional techniques, waiting for calculable conditions that also mean the retaining of production and consumption.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Bíró – Gagy – Oláh 1994. I/33.

### 3. The types of farming in Újiráz

The scholarly literature investigating the present-day agricultural production of small farms carries out analyses according to different aspects. Leaning on József Kotics's summary I would like to present some characteristic approaches only to show the contemporary tendencies of investigation.<sup>12</sup>

Tibor Tóth divides the Hungarian counties into 2 groups according to the nature of the small farm production. He defines groups on the basis of the size of agricultural land per an agricultural wage earner and the size of tilled land per an agricultural resident.<sup>13</sup>

Imre Kovách took the types of farms as basis. Although he constructed his typology to household farming in the 80s, his grouping is still applicable to the present conditions. He distinguishes between the following forms of agricultural small-scale producing farms: traditional self-sufficient small-farm; productional peasant farms and the agricultural small-farms based on entrepreneurship.<sup>14</sup>

According to Magdolna Fehérváryné Nagy, the changes of the economic attitude of the peasantry can be outlined more exactly with the help of economy-specific investigations. On the basis of her researches in Gúta, she distinguishes between three types: the self-sufficient peasant farm based on the balance of agriculture and animal husbandry; that where animal husbandry is emphasized and the productional peasant farm characterized by the emphasis on crop-production.<sup>15</sup>

Burgerné Gimes Anna, Keszthelyiné Rédei Mária and Mrs. Salamin were also considered the relationship of agricultural small farms and the market as the basis of their investigation. They found four types: household or hobby farming; the self-sufficient, the seasonally producing and the regularly producing farms.<sup>16</sup>

According to the structure of products and the structure of branches, István Harcsa distinguishes between mono-cultural – building on the predominance of one branch – and mixed farms.<sup>17</sup>

On the basis of the relationship with the market, Zsolt Spéder distinguishes between market-oriented farms, farms that produce for the market as well, and self-supplying farms.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Kotics, J. 2001:113-126.

<sup>13</sup> Tóth, T. 1988:54.

<sup>14</sup> Kovách, I. 1988.

<sup>15</sup> Fehérváryné Nagy, M. 1990:43-65.

<sup>16</sup> Burgerné – Keszthelyiné – Salaminé 1990:2.

<sup>17</sup> Harcsa, I. 1994:24.

<sup>18</sup> Spéder, Zs. 1997:11.

To group the farming strategies of Újiráz, I took the categories of Imre Kovách concerning farming attitudes and farm-types, and the analysis of József Kotics as the bases of my classification.<sup>19</sup>

As the refusal of the new entrepreneur-attitude posits conflict-situations into the centre, I distinguish between forms corresponding with the “traditional” farming habitude and forms differing from that. This way I split the farming strategies of Újiráz in two groups. The 2-2 sub-groups in the types accepted and non-preferred by the local community cover the local attitudes.

#### FARMING STRATEGIES ACCEPTED BY THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

##### *1./1. Farming attitude unaffected by the market*

Those self-supplying small-farms belong here which function as part of the household working according to the traditional conduct. Their aim is to produce the missing food-products. The conduct and order of production laid in the traditions determine farming based on experience. Partially disabled elder people and those giving up household farming belong here.

##### *1./2. Farming strategies affected by the market*

According Pál Juhász, members of farms set for the permanent duality of first and second economy behave as wage labourers in the first economy and as entrepreneurs in the second.<sup>20</sup> Such a practice never goes beyond the traditional framework: besides the job ensuring a safe income and a living, it aims to acquire material and status-heightening goods. Income from the second economy serves to ensure the family prestige and its position in the village society. On the other hand, the demands on the security of „standing on more feet”, the minimalization of risk are also typical of this group producing for the market in a traditional framework. In the background of this farming attitude there is such a form of farming organized for producing for the market, which strives for self-sufficiency concerning some of the food-products – similarly to the traditional peasant farming. They stick to the traditionally functioning techniques of production and products that they are able to produce with the help of their traditional expertise. The owner and his family do most of the physical work. However, in time of need they can ask for the help of their relatives, the members of the co-operative or can hire wage labourers.

<sup>19</sup> Kovách, I. 1988:91-93.; Kotics, J. 2001:109-153.

<sup>20</sup> Juhász, P. 1976.

Some of the young people use traditional instruments to cultivate lands of 1-2 acres besides their full-time jobs. They buy 1 or 2 horses and use them for the smaller work-phases (to plough the spaces during the hoeing, to deliver the products to the house). But those part-operations more difficult to carry out (eg.: ploughing) were done almost exclusively by rented machines.

There are some who have their lands cultivated by the co-operative or by an agricultural entrepreneur. They produce the fodder-plants necessary for household-farming this way. The market-affected farming attitude is not that much sale-oriented to have its economic strategy and attitude change. Their market-orientedness is very much diverse, some of them sell only the product-surplus produced during household farming, while for others the aim is to produce for the market in order to acquire those goods elevating living standards. The deteriorating economic conditions make the production mood decreasing. People are less and less likely to be occupied with swine raising, milk-production and raising store cattle. Commuters and members of the co-operative belong to the gradually diminishing group of household farmers. Since such a farming attitude is only paying together with other sources of income, the decrease of official working opportunities meant the diminishing significance of that attitude in Újiráz compared to earlier conditions.

#### FARMING STRATEGIES NOT PREFERRED BY THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

##### *2./1. Market-oriented farming attitude*

This farming attitude is chiefly based on the earlier small-scale producing attitude. It is peculiar because of the searching-for-the-right-way attitude during its development, so the change is preceded by an era of endeavouring inside the given traditional framework. It is very often because of the failures inside the traditional framework that the individual is forced to change.

The duality of the market-oriented entrepreneur attitude and traditional conduct is an important characteristic of the full-time farming activity, the primary source of income for the household. They decide according to market prospects, but their mentality does affect their economic conduct. They have agricultural skills, because this farming attitude is mostly characteristic of entrepreneurs formerly working as mid-directors of the co-operatives. Because of the historical precedents, the family estate serving as the basis of the farm is rather small in this village (9-10 hectares). That should force entrepreneurs to co-operate, but at the present that only works on the level of relatives. The owner and the family attempt

to do most of the physical work by themselves. In time of need though they can count on the help of the relatives or they can hire wagedworkers.

They are not familiar with the whole of the process of production and they do not check the whole of it, yet their production is dependent on profitableness. If market conditions desire, they are willing to change the products or the breeds. They do not stick to the crop-producing traditions of the region unconditionally. They are aware that they cannot have an insight in the macro-economic processes, they cannot affect the market, but they do not defend themselves with delaying, instead, they try to adapt.

### *2./2. Market-centred entrepreneur attitude*

According to József Kotics's statement<sup>21</sup> the modernization, motorization of the farm and the intensive commodity production chiefly characterize the enterprises of agrarian specialists. This statement is true in the case of Újiráz as well. The market-centred entrepreneur attitude is represented by a single proprietor, the former president of the co-operative. The farmer, who considers himself a "constrained entrepreneur", cultivates a land of 70 hectares. He started private farming with the help of the family. He attempts to develop the enterprise by taking credits. Since he already had certain bases at the start (eg.: the equipment park), this covered the credits taken. That helped him through the difficult times. He has always been attempting to modernize the farm. He is well aware of the fact that for a farm capable of living he has to invest, and that can only be done by repayable accommodations. His use of money is completely characteristic of that of entrepreneurs. He has a perfect insight into the whole of the processes of production and marketing. Among the present economic conditions other entrepreneurs cannot follow him.

Private farming requires a basically different approach to farming: the continuous search for the emerging opportunities and their immediate seizing, maximally mobilizing the available energies, experiences, and relationships. A certain amount of over-insurance is also required. The individual is forced to concentrate the reserves. A different moral basis is assumed than that of the employees of the co-operative.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Kotics, József 2001:145.

<sup>22</sup> Bíró, A. Z. – Gagyí, J. – Oláh, S. 1994. I./29.

#### 4. Presenting and analysing the relationship between the different life-strategies.

##### REASONS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF REJECTING NEW FARMING STRATEGIES

It is not the production process but the local relation-system that is important for the peasant family farm, as a social unit.<sup>23</sup> That explains the emphasized role of the household in the value-system of the village society. The official workplace is often remote, giving no chance for the local community to keep the individual under control. On the other hand household farming is carried out in the space of the village inside the family framework, providing the public necessary for judging the individual. Private entrepreneurs also work in the space of the settlement, forcing the public opinion of the village to increasingly face with their farming mentality diverging from the accepted norms. The local population experience it every day that the aim of these entrepreneurs is not to cover the needs of the family or the acquisition of the desirable goods of prestige, but to make profit. In order to do that, they take material risks, having a different approach toward farming, toward working. This opposes the general peasant mentality. While trying to adapt to the market requirements, they cannot escape confrontation with the traditional value-system. It is Pierre Bourdieu who shows the reasons of indisposition towards entrepreneurs. The traditional way prevails as long as it is considered not the best possible but the only possible way to follow.<sup>24</sup>

Naturally, representatives of the traditional value-system also experience the inviability of the usual farming strategies, and it becomes apparent in the problematic situation of the co-operative and the household farms, yet they do not try to adapt, but are delaying. This tactical-like behaviour is manifested in the retardation of production. The income lost because of the cautious, risk-evading economic activity is compensated by reducing consumption and by an economical life-style.<sup>25</sup>

Of course, when investigating reactions we can only talk about versions accepted by the majority, because the village society is not homogeneous. It seems statable that the local opinion supports such attitudes the most that require the least change.

<sup>23</sup> A. Gergely A. – Cséfalvay Z. – Lichtenstein J. 1990.

<sup>24</sup> Bourdieu, P. 1978: 333.

<sup>25</sup> Bíró A. Z. – Gagyí J. – Oláh S. 1994. I./29.

The rejection of the diverging attitude is manifested in activities and speech situations as well. The depreciation of entrepreneurs' private property is presented in symbolic attitudes too.

In verbal communication the people of Újiráz react with the under-evaluation of the expertise necessary for enterprising, while they emphasise the importance of hard, physical work. Many of them declare that in an uncertain economic situation only those individuals are able to succeed who employ profiteering, dishonest means and this way they become dishonest themselves.<sup>26</sup>

The purpose of such behaviour is to withhold local people from the uncertain attitude, diverging from the traditional.<sup>27</sup>

#### ENTREPRENEURS RELATION TO TRADITIONAL FARMING

The private entrepreneurs' opinion can be grasped on the basis of their image in their own eyes and by their relationships with the most important groups in the life of the village.

According to their judgement even among the hard-working inhabitants with family resources only those could be successful entrepreneurs who started it in the right moment, after the political change. Many emphasize exigency and the uncertain nature of the new kind of form of farming as the evocators of the change. Accentuating pressure indicates that entrepreneurs feel it to be important to justify their attitude diverging from traditional life-strategies. They attempt to give an explanation to the opposing public opinion about the necessity of their decision. On the other hand, they consider their survival a success in the new situation and that provides a moral ground for them to criticize the communal life-strategies that became inviable or difficult to follow among the new conditions.

They regard their role in the village life as important from the aspect of raising the economic potential of the local community. This aspect emphasizes the importance of the predominance of the individual in the relationship of the individual and the community, which is beneficial for the local population.

Since political decisions following the political change have directed the entrepreneurs to the way they chose they expect economic support (favourable

<sup>26</sup> Communal sanctioning is also manifested in that general view according to which the former president of the co-operative, who is also the owner of the biggest agrarian enterprise, could only reach results through damaging the community. Many people believed that as the head of the co-operative he used his power and influence to carry out his own aims. His expertise as the explanation for his efficient production is not accepted.

<sup>27</sup> Bíró A. Z. – Gagyí J. – Oláh S. 1994. I./33.



decisions of credit-politics) and moral support too from the government, because these are necessary to their perpetuance and development. On the level of the settlement they expect the local government to provide the background, since that is gate to the national politics functioning as "an external, upper element".<sup>28</sup> Private entrepreneurs regard the lack of local government supports (accommodations) as rejections. For them political change would become realized only with a change of approach in the daily routine, since that would legitimate their different conduct.

They explain the villagers' rejection with envy and with the fact that in Újiráz there have never been families with significant land properties and the people of the village are afraid that some of them would emerge from them by becoming richer than the others.

According to my experiences, the entrepreneurs compare their farming strategies to co-operative farming. While wording their opinions they do not criticize persons, but the deficiencies of collective farming and the unexplored opportunities of that are opposed to the advantages of private enterprises they represent. Since co-operative farming has traditions in the settlement, a fair amount of the inhabitants are interested in co-operative farming in some way, that is why conflict is manifested in the different approaches of the members of the co-operative and those of the private farmers. Entrepreneurs consider the members' personal approaches to work as the main problem of co-operative farming. They believe that the reasons of facile working morals and work-intensity are rooted in the fact that most of the co-operative workers were socialized for a wageworker-mentality from childhood.

They collect their information about co-operative farming during their everyday activities in the village space. During farming they can watch the production of the co-operative as easily as the co-operative workers could watch their farming. On the other hand, many of the entrepreneurs fulfilled leading posts in the Co-operative Farm of the past era. As they had the opportunity to influence the processes of team farming (probably that is why they watch it that much), they can see the differences, because they know both kinds of farming. In their opinion the present leadership of the co-operative could do something for the appreciation of the private property of entrepreneurs, since it is the leader's task to shape the view of the members.

In the relationship of the Co-operative and the entrepreneurs it is a peculiar circumstance that several entrepreneurs have interests in the co-operative.

---

<sup>28</sup> Wolf, Eric 1966.

Difficulties of the co-operative mean the opportunity for co-operation for some entrepreneurs despite the conflicts. That phenomenon indicates that their relationship is more motivated by economic interests than by emotions or passion.

According to the owner of the biggest enterprise of Újiráz, the co-operative has an essential role in the village, because the inhabitants cannot live on their 3-hectare lands separately. He believes that the future of the settlement is not the strategy, the private enterprise he represents, but such a working-organization unit functioning in a co-operative structure that could provide work for 2-3 members of each of the families in Újiráz.

The group of private entrepreneurs is not homogeneous, conflicts occur among them as well. Co-operation, solidarity characterizes entrepreneurs linked with ties of kindred.

### Summary

A peculiar form of farming based on the co-operative and the household has been developed in Újiráz during the 80 years since its foundation. The historical background of the village defined its nature. The settlement starting to develop dynamically first lost its "key-settlement", Nagyvárád, then it was pushed to the periphery of the region.<sup>29</sup>

By the political change the two economic pillars – the Co-operative and household farming - were impaired. At the same time a new form of farming appeared that had had no precedent. By applying strategies differing from the norms of the village the private farmers had to face with the rejection of the community. Household farmers who depend a lot on the external markets perform a traditionally peasant way of defensive behaviour against the unfavourable external influences, the strategy of the retardation of production and of reducing consumption, and pushing those reacting positively to the external influences positively to the periphery. Rejection was often manifested not openly but in symbolic forms. The changes of living standards also determine the relationships of the inhabitants of the settlement, because in graver economic situations conflicts are always sharper. The closed, inviable state of the ageing settlement also makes the adaptation to the transformed market conditions more difficult. The migration of the lively, young generations impedes the possibility of a gradual transition and that makes the community to react with disintegration, not with adaptation to the new situation.

---

<sup>29</sup> Süli-Zakar, I. 1996:22.

On the basis of the researches I believe that private enterprise is not the offspring of the household farming becoming inviable, but it is basically a different form of farming, the development conditions of which have been created by the present, as the household farming should not disappear necessarily, only it has to go through some kind of a transition to become capable of perpetuating.

Through the economic transitions of Újiráz one moment of a process can be seen. Its actors are not bad or good, positive or negative, only their attitudes are motivated by different life-strategies.

My information contain only the surface layer, maybe the main directions, of the interactions between individuals. The exploration of deeper motivations is a task for further investigations, where I intend to pay attention to a network of relations determined by relative ties, religion, origin, sex and age unexpressed during everyday speech-acts that remains mostly invisible for external observers.

## References

- A. Gergely András – Cséfalvy Zoltán – Lichtenstein József 1990 *Nagyvisnyó (Kontinuitás és változás az életmódban, gazdálkodásban és tradíciókban)* In: *Életmód és tradíció* 5. Szerk.: Paládi Kovács Attila Bp. MTA Néprajzi kutatócsoport
- Andrásfalvy Bertalan 1980 *Népi kultúra - Népi társadalom*. Budapest. Akadémia kiadó. 55.
- Bíró A. Zoltán-Gagyai József-Oláh Sándor 1994 *Gazdálkodási gyakorlat a Székelyföldön*. Antropológiai Műhely 4. Bukarest
- Bíró A. Zoltán-Gagyai József-Oláh Sándor 1994 *Szocialista urbanizáció a hetvenes nyolcvanas években. Az átmeneti életformákban működő stabilizációs stratégiák vizsgálata a Csíki medencében*. In: *Antropológiai Műhely* 5. Bukarest
- Bourdieu Pierre 1978 *A társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek újratemelődése*. Budapest. Gondolat kiadó.
- Burgerné Gimes Anna – Keszthelyiné Rédei Mária – Salami Pálné 1990 *A mezőgazdasági kistermelők háztartásainak jövedelmei és kiadásai*. *Gazdálkodás* XXXIV. 6. szám 1-12.
- Enyedi György 1996 *Regionális folyamatok Magyarországon*. (Ember. Település. Régió) Budapest
- Fehérváryné Nagy Magdolna 1990 *Adalékok a Vály-völgy hagyományos gazdálkodásához*. In: *Gömör néprajza* XXIV. Debrecen. 43-65.
- Harcza István 1994 *Paraszt gazdaságok, mezőgazdasági vállalkozók*. Társadalomstatisztikai füzetek 3. KSH Budapest.
- Hoppál Mihály 1970 *Egy falu kommunikációs rendszere*. Budapest

- Juhász Pál 1976 *Adalékok a háztáji és kistermelő gazdaságok elemzéséhez*. Budapest. Szövetkezeti Kutatóintézet
- Karácsony János 1912 *Újiráz története* in: Tiszántúl, XII./1. 15-16.
- Keményfi Róbert 1994 *Etno-geográfiai vizsgálatok két magyar-román faluban*. (Folklór és Etnográfia) Debrecen
- Kotics József 2001 *Gazdálkodói mentalitás és paraszti polgárosodás. Egy régióvizsgálat tanulságai*. In: Mások tekintetében. A Kulturális és Vizuális Antropológiai Tanszék könyvei 4. Miskolci Egyetem. 109-153.
- Kovács Imre 1988 *Termelők és vállalkozók. Mezőgazdasági kistermelők a magyar társadalomban*. Rétegződés-modell vizsgálat IX. Budapest.
- Krüger Aladár 1912 *Újiráz (Emlékezés a falu telepítésének történetére a halottak napja előtt)* In: Tiszántúl, XII./1. 13-14.
- Kunt Ernő 1987 *Az utolsó átváltozás*. Budapest. Gondolat.
- Lammel Annamária 1984 *Kontinuitás, átrétegződés, akkulturáció*. In: Hoppál-Szecskő: Életmód. Modellek és minták.
- Sárkány Mihály 1978 *A gazdaság átalakulása*. In: Varsány. Szerk.: Bodrogi Tibor Bp.
- Silverman, Sydel 1983 *A parasztság-tanulmányok alakulása az antropológiában: a paraszt fogalma és a kultúra fogalma*. Ethnographia XCIV. 89-105.
- Spéder Zsolt 1997 *Háztartások egy kistérségben*. Szociológiai szemle 1.sz. 5-37.
- Steward, Julian 1955 *Theory of Culture Change*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana
- Süli-Zakar István 1996 *Bihar: Tájak és települések*. In: Bihari Diéta I. 11-29.
- Szabó László 1993 *Társadalomnéprajz*. Debrecen. 148-150.
- Szekerczés Pál 1992 *Szülfalunk Újiráz*. In: Újirázi emlékfüzetek I. Budapest.
- Tóth Tibor 1988 *A magyar mezőgazdaság struktúrája az 1930-as években*. Budapest. Akadémiai kiadó. 54.
- Wolf, Eric 1966 *Kinship, Friendship, and Patron-Client Relations in Complex Societies*. ASA Monograph 4. London

## Approaching Shamanism and Worldview

*Voigt, Vilmos*

*Leete, Art*

*Niemi, Jarkko*

*Mägi, Kaur*

*Toulouze, Eva*

*Gilberg, Rolf*

*Szabó, Csaba*

*Wienker-Piepho, Sabine*

*Helve, Helena*



## Sky maps as world maps

*On the history of world view concepts*

*Voigt, Vilmos*

Both in Hungarian and international folklore research the topic of world view was very often mentioned. However, some simple questions (e.g. what kind of “maps” on earth and sky etc. we know from the tradition), have been neglected. In my short paper I try to show, how interesting is the problem of “World view maps”, as soon, as we come closer to the historical data. I can here but deal with one sub-chapter of the wide topic: in which way the astronomical maps refer to our earthly world view. We can easily realize that the same problem should be investigated in various cultures, from Stone Age to Australian or Polynesian aborigines, from Babylon to the Maya calendars etc. Folklorists have collected long lists of “star names” and data on “heavenly lore” among various peoples, including Hungarians too. But, because of the limits of my paper’s length, here I will concentrate on one more precise and smaller subject: historical sky maps in the early modern European Tradition. And, just at the introduction to my paper I have to confess, because of printing difficulties I was not able to reproduce here a rich choice of illustrations. Maps and globes on the sky are superb production of printing, painting mechanical-engineering and constructing. It would be very difficult to reproduce here the fabulous multicolour maps, usually of considerable size, and quite naturally in three dimensions: making thus very difficult a good reproduction in our recent journals. I have tried still, to refer to some other publications, where interested reader would find more illustrative material.<sup>1</sup>

Astronomical (more precisely cosmographical) maps (and other forms or charts, globes etc.) are superb indicators of world view and its development. Notions like “above” and “below”, “center”, versus “periphery” or even “sphere”, “hemisphere” can be derived from those charts. As for the traditional European World view, from Ancient Greece to the Renaissance the so called Ptolemaic

<sup>1</sup> Because I am referring to well known books and facts. I will give detailed source references only when necessary. Klinghammer (1998) was available to me after completing my present paper. It gives a concise bibliography, focused on the history of mapping.

system was dominant: the Earth was the center or fixed point of the Universe, around which the heavenly bodies (stars, planets and of course both Sun and Moon) moved. A new system, the so called Heliocentric system was first time fully presented by Nicolaus Copernicus (his major work *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* was printed in Nuremberg 1543). According to his theory the planets revolve around the Sun, and the turning of the Earth on its axis accounts for the apparent rising and setting of the stars in the sky. The same idea was expressed by Johannes Kepler in his most important book *Harmonices Mundi* (1619), which was criticized but admired and silently accepted as a theorem by Galileo Galilei in his *Dialogi sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo* (1632). The century between Copernicus and Galileo was often characterized as one of the decisive changes in world model paradigms in Europe. Not only the titles of some major publications, but the tone and style of these show clearly the aim to give not only a strictly astronomic or mathematic study, but to find a universal (sometimes metaphoric) key for understanding the whole world system.<sup>2</sup>

Astronomical and cosmographical maps of the 16th and 17th centuries reflect the changing world models. Epistemological studies in astronomy, physics, philosophy or cartography often deal with those maps, stressing the importance of these in shaping old or new models.<sup>3</sup> However, according to my best knowledge, no serious attempt was made to interpret the maps within the framework of semiotics. Since "actual" maps of the countries and stars may be more or less accurate, I think the semiotical aspects in the investigation of those are more obvious, if we deal with them as clearly arbitrary sign systems. That is the reason I choose constellation maps for my present analysis.

Stars (and constellations) can be represented in a form of a globe. The Greek philosopher, Anaximander (6th century B.C.), who was perhaps the first scholar known to us who spoke about the theoretical framework of such representation. Eudoxus of Cnidos (408-355 B.C.), a pupil of Plato, one of the most famous astronomers in 5th century B.C. argued for a global spheric world model, with the

<sup>2</sup> A few of the latest Hungarian books on the topic: Gazda – Marik (1982), Herrmann (1981), Simonyi (1986), Stegena (1981) etc. The best known books, usually referred to by Hungarian cartographers: Becker 1986, Brandt 1993, Egger 1970, Fauser 1973, Harley – Woodward 1987, Harms 1962, Harvey 1980, Meine 1982, Muris – Saarmann 1961.

<sup>3</sup> See the data in any of the handbooks of the history of mapping. E.g. Kretschmer et al. 1986. Vol. I. 293-301, etc. For further details see: Dreyer 1953, Dijksterhuis 1961. etc., with further references. On the different aspects of the topics see, e.g. Bagrow 1964, Brown 1932, Leithauser 1958, Stevenson 1921, Taton – Wilson 1989, Warner 1971. etc.





1. Atlas Farnese (Naples)

sun, moon, the five known planets are “fixed” and at the same time are “moving” within that sphere. The great astronomer, Hipparchus (worked 146–127 B. C.) studied already the correspondences of planetary signs with the human and geographic features of the earth. The famous marble sculpture “Atlas Farnese” (the only copy existing today is in *Museo Nazionale* in Naples from the 1st-2nd centuries B.C., follows an earlier version from the 3rd century B. C.) shows a figure of a giant holding a 68 cm wide sky-globe. (fig. 1.)

From ancient Rome we have less evidences of global representations of the sky, but from Byzantium, and from the Middle Ages in West Europe there are numerous references to such globes. There are a dozen medieval Arabic sky-globes known to us. The oldest one among the is kept at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris (a small one, 18 cm diameter, made by an unknown master about 1080 A.D.). The end of the 15th century marked a new start to the golden age of such celestial globes. Nicolaus Cusanus (Nicholaus of Cues) made a small globe (17 cm diameter) 1440 in Nuremberg (today it can be seen at the *Kusanus-Museum* in Kues) with 44 stars on it. The diameter of the globes from the 1480s is usually 40-50 cm. The famous sky-globe by Gerard Mercator (1551) was a parallel to his earth-globe. All the globes presented the constellations by their recognized forms and names. (figs. 2-3.)

An early attempt was made by the Dutch theologian, P. Plancius 1598 to introduce new constellation figures: partly drawn from the Bible, partly of exotic animals, as e.g. giraffe, unicorn etc. The illustrations were cut by Jodocus Hondius, who soon took over all the properties of the world famous Mercator map drawings. Dutch explorers just before that time had made the first good map of the constellations of the southern hemisphere, thus Plancius could aim at a general figural reshaping of the constellations. The most famous globe of this type was made by Wilhelmus Janssonius Blaeu (1571-1638), founder of the most famous



2. Celestial globe by Johannes Stöffler – 1495.  
(Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum)



3. Celestial globe by Jost Bürgi – 1592.  
(Astronomisch-Physikalisches Kabinett der  
Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, Kassel)

institution in old cartography, *Officina Blaviana*, 1603 (diameter cm 34), with stars of the southern hemisphere as well. Blaeu (who was a student of the world famous astronomer Tycho de Brahe) in his larger globe (1616, diameter 68 cm) made a perfect world model, directly influenced, according to many historians, by the then rediscovered *Atlas Farnese* sculpture. Later, in a Baroque style, new attempts were made to reshape the constellations with figures of the coats of arms of the European ruling dynasties, or with scenes from the Bible.

Another method for charting the sky was by flat maps, first drawn and later printed. Maps were better known and accepted than globes, because it was easier to produce a two-dimensional chart than a spherical globe. For maps (and globes) a common list of stars in always needed. The first major list, with names and constellation figures used in our days is usually attributed to the Alexandrian astronomer, Ptolemy (2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.), known by the title of its Arabic and Latin translations, *Almagest*, which contains data for about 48 constellations. European scholars continued to enlarge, correct and publish it until the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century, when Tycho de Brahe's new, updated list of northern hemisphere constellations appeared (1600). For the southern hemisphere two Dutch astronomers, P.D. Keyser and F. De Houtman compiled the first general list of stars (1595-1597). For

centuries these lists served for the astronomical maps, until new, completed data were collected only then and by then modern astronomical instruments.

Names and figures for the stars are well known from all cultures of the world: for example 36 stars for Enlil, Anu and Ea from Mesopotamia, or the constellation pictures at the Hathor-Temple in Old Egypt. Greek and Roman authors refer to various stars and naming of the constellations. The highly developed Arabic (and in general Moslim) astronomy gave names to many bright stars. There is no doubt that medieval Europe had names for most of the visible stars. Astrology contributed much to the complicated naming system and tried to “decipher” the influence of most of the heavenly bodies upon the earthly beings.<sup>4</sup>

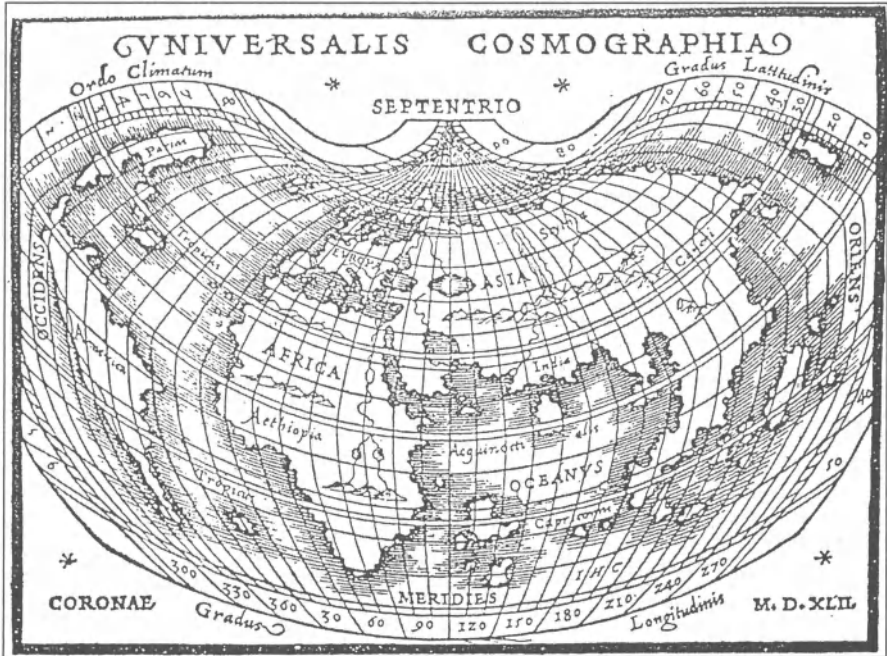
It is surprising how late the current constellation scheme was accepted in Europe - most probably in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A century later, the first printed star maps (first of all the so called ecliptic planiglobes by Johannes Stabius and Conrad Heifogel 1515 Nuremberg) with the woodcut constellation figures drawn by Albrecht Dürer served to fix our visual image of the heaven. (fig. 4.)



4. The Northern Hemisphere Constellations from the Planiglobe by Stabius and Heifogel, woodcut by Albrecht Dürer (1515)

<sup>4</sup> On astrology a separate study is needed. The major work on the ideological and philosophical problems of world models is still the ten bulky volumes of Duhem (1913 – 1959). A very interesting, somehow differently oriented book, with rich bibliography of otherwise inaccessible publications: Szónyi 1998.

Following these developments comes the work of others: Johannes Honterus, a Saxonian scholar from Transylvania, who first published his *Rudimenta Cosmographica* in 1541 (1542 published in Basle) (fig. 5.), the German cartographer Petrus Apianus and his *Images Syderum Coelestium* (Ingolstadt, 1536), followed by his chief work *Astronomicum Caesareum* (Ingolstadt, 1540), the Italian, Alessandro Piccolomini with his *De la Sfero del Mondo e Delle Stelle Fisse* (first published in 1540 with many subsequent reprints and French editions).



5. World map by Johannes Honterus (1542)

The most complete description was published by Johannes Bayer (Augsburg 1603, *Uranometria omnium asterismorum...* and various later editions), with 51 constellation figures, including also a fairly accurate description of the southern hemisphere. German, and French and English astronomers of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century added much to the picture of the sky.

One of the most important and perhaps the most beautiful star map was made by the Dutch mathematician and geographer, Andreas Cellarius (working between 1656 and 1702). His publication *Harmonia macrocosmica seu Atlas universalis et novus* (first published in Amsterdam 1660, then in various reprints until 1708) is an individual variant of cosmographic descriptions. He followed the German

scholar, Julius Schiller (died 1627) in attributing Biblical motifs to the stars and constellations.

Johannes Hevelius, John Seller and the famous English astrograph, John Flamsteed followed the same way. A curiosity is the *Coelum Heraldicum* by the German Erhard Weigel (published in Jena 1688), associating the constellations with actual European rulers' coats of arms. By the time of the Enlightenment and French revolution, suggestion for new nomenclatures of the stars came into light. However, this time period is sadly out of the confines of the present survey.<sup>5</sup>

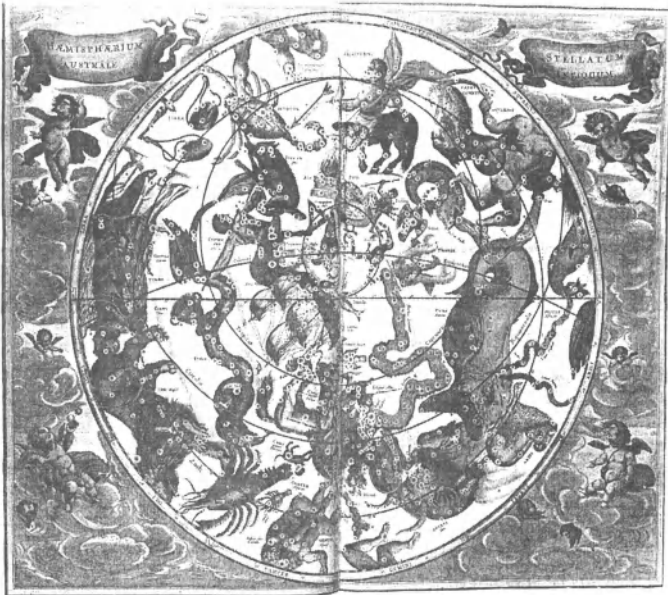
The splendid illustrations in Cellarius work serve different purposes.<sup>6</sup> He gives very elaborate illustrations both for the Ptolemaic and the Copernican system, and explains in other illustrations the Zodiac and the phases of the moon. For constellations he offers three different ideological transcriptions. In two maps (*Hemisphaerium stellatum boreale antiquum* and *Hemisphaerium stellatum australe antiquum*) (figs. 6-7.) he draws the well known constellations, mostly from "Greco-Roman mythologizing" tradition; however, these are arranged from east to west - the opposite direction, to which we are accustomed today - and with some old names for some constellations. More important for him was to present a Christian map of the constellations (again in two maps: *Coeli stellati Christiani Haemisphaerium posterius* and *Coeli stellati Christiani haemisphaerium prius* (figs. 8-9.), which depict Old Testament and New Testament scenes, and figures from the history of the church). Noah's Ark, cithar-playing King David, the Magi, apostles and archangels, St. Helena with the Holy Cross, Pope Sylvester and St. Benedictus occur among other ecclesiastical motifs. A third interpretation is by projecting the stars' sphere onto the earthly globe. *Hemisphaerii borealis coeli et terrae sphaerica scenographia* unites the constellations of the northern hemisphere with the outlines of the continents. *Haemisphaerium scenographicum australe coeli stellati et terrae* (figs 10-11.) unites the Constellations of the southern hemisphere with the continents of America and a very large space for "Terra Australis Incognita". Two very accurate "political" maps, with boundaries of states and territories follow that: *Haemisphaerium stellatum boreale cum subiecto haemisphaerio terrestri* (for northern continents and constellations) and *Haemisphaerium*

<sup>5</sup> There is a long list of publications devoted to the history of sciences before and during French revolution. A summarizing collective volume, with summaries of previous researches is Rashed (ed.) 1988. A historical overview of changes in world view from Copernicus to the French Revolution: Saine 1987.

<sup>6</sup> For illustrations here I used the 1990 edition of the illustrations of Cellarius from a copy kept at the Hungarian National Library (Széchenyi Library): Patay 1990. See also Skelton 1952., Barron 1989.



6. Cellarius (1660): the northern celestial hemisphere with the constellations known from the "old" tradition



7. Cellarius (1660): the southern celestial hemisphere with the constellations known from the "old" tradition





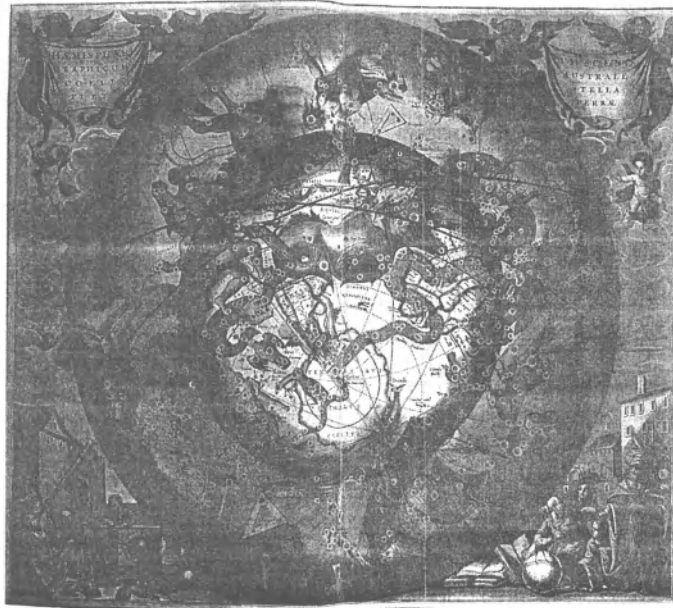
8. Cellarius (after Julius Schiller): Biblical representation of the constellations. (Collection Jonathan Potter, Ltd.)



9. Cellarius (1660): The "other" (southern) hemisphere with Christian representations

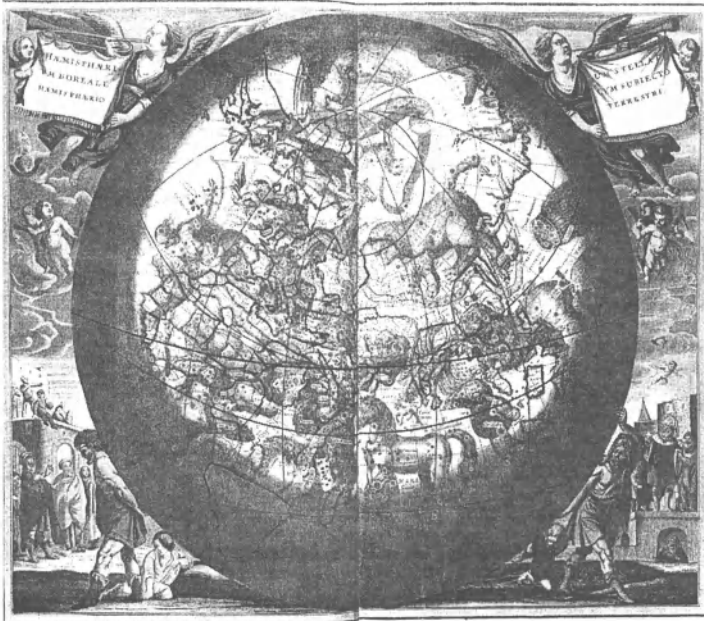


10. Cellarius: northern hemisphere with the outlines of the continents



11. Cellarius: southern hemisphere with the outlines of the continents





12. Cellarius: northern hemisphere projected onto the actual boundaries of states



13. Cellarius: southern hemisphere projected onto the Earth

*stellatum australe aequali sphaerarum proportione* (attempting the same for the southern hemisphere and continents) (figs. 12-13.).

The ideology of Cellarius' attempt is clear and direct. The sky is a map of the earth, and terrestrial geography is represented by the constellations. and if we propose Greek and Roman myths for explaining the curious shapes of the constellations, we should also christianize the figures of the sky-map. It is very important for us that in the same work we meet three "interpretations" of the same star distributions: an Ancient (pagan, Greco-Roman), a modern (Christian) and a secular (geographic) vocabulary. It is like a translation of the same message in three different languages. It might be difficult to imagine a better sample for the famous definition of signs : *aliquid stat pro aliquo*. In the case of geographical maps the items exist in fact and are explorable, visible for the actual visitors. If in old maps Paris (or Rome) has a singular shape, seas and islands are spread by a special proportion, then visitors or cartographers can check the maps. The stars are far, and in fact nobody can imagine that they represent small or big she-bears (Ursa minor, Ursa major), the poetic horse (Pegasus) or the dragon-killing hero (Perseus and Andromeda) . All those figures and names are but signs.

The pragmatic aspect of constellation signs is a well known phenomenon: they are maps for identifying stars and groups of stars, important for travelling, especially for navigation. It is not by chance that the same theories were made for terrestrial and celestial cartography, and that the famous cartographers of both domains were the same too.

It is easy to characterize the syntactic aspect of constellation signs. Single persons, with simple acts (pouring water, stretching a bow with an arrow etc.) are dominant among the visual representations. The very different brightness of the stars seems to be of secondary importance. Bright stars are placed on unimportant spots of the pictures, and uneven representation between symmetrical picture parts (e.g. in *Cancer*, *Scorpius*, *Libra* etc.) are very common. The syntax of the stars is not similar to that of human constructions, like houses or machines, where all the details must serve the practical purpose. It is more akin to fantasy pictures or poems, where any given next moment has a firm tie with the previous one, but still it remains unpredictable, how and what comes next.

For the semantic aspects the threefold mapping (Ancient, Christian, geographical) is of great importance. It becomes self evident that there is no single decipherment, no unique meaning of the stars: we always face alternatives in attributing semantics to any utterance. The three semantic interpretations conflict and coincide with one another. And because the stars are finally useless, far away and silent, there is no way to demonstrate which interpretation is more valid or

more fallible. This is again a difference from geographic maps, where in principle there could be achieved by actual improvement a “better” semantics.

Behind of this kind of “primary” interpretation of the astronomical maps, there lies in them another dimension of semiosis.

The double title of Cellarius’ work (*Harmonia macrocosmica seu Atlas universalis et novus*) refers to both dimensions. The map is at the same time a “primary” picture (named here by symbolic denomination as *Atlas*, from the giant in Classical mythology compelled to support the heavens on his shoulders, and known at least since the famous *Atlas Farnese* in European astronomic tradition, and on a “secondary” level it depicts the “Harmony of the Macrocosm”. The harmony of the universe is another a very old and widespread notion, known already as the Ptolemaic system, often labelled as the “Harmony of the Spheres”. Pythagoreanism (with its ideas on the transmigration of the belief in numbers as the ultimate elements of the universe), the theological symbolism of the heaven throughout the Middle Ages and even musicology have frequently used the “harmonical” code of the universe. (fig. 14.) There are various ways for shaping a “harmonical system of the world”. A founder of modern solmization (*solfeggio*), Bartolomeus Ramus (Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja), Professor at the universities in Salamanca and Bologna, in his work *De musica practica* (written 1472, published 1482) combines “mundus et musica” in a world map.<sup>7</sup> (fig. 15.) The famous German humanist Agrippa von Nettesheim in his summarizing work *De occulta philosophia sive de magia* (1531-1533) refers to music in a constant and elaborated symbolic language. Kepler’s *Harmonices Mundi* (1619) is a summary of centuries’ old trends in physics, astronomy, mathematics, musicology and theology,<sup>8</sup> in the book he gives the musical notes of Jupiter, Mars and Mercury and that of the music of the spheres<sup>9</sup> (fig. 16.) and we must not forget that he never revoked his early, astrological work *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (1596) either.

Thus we can easily demonstrate that astronomical maps present a “secondary modelling system” too.<sup>10</sup> Even modern works of art show the same method of thinking. (fig. 17.)

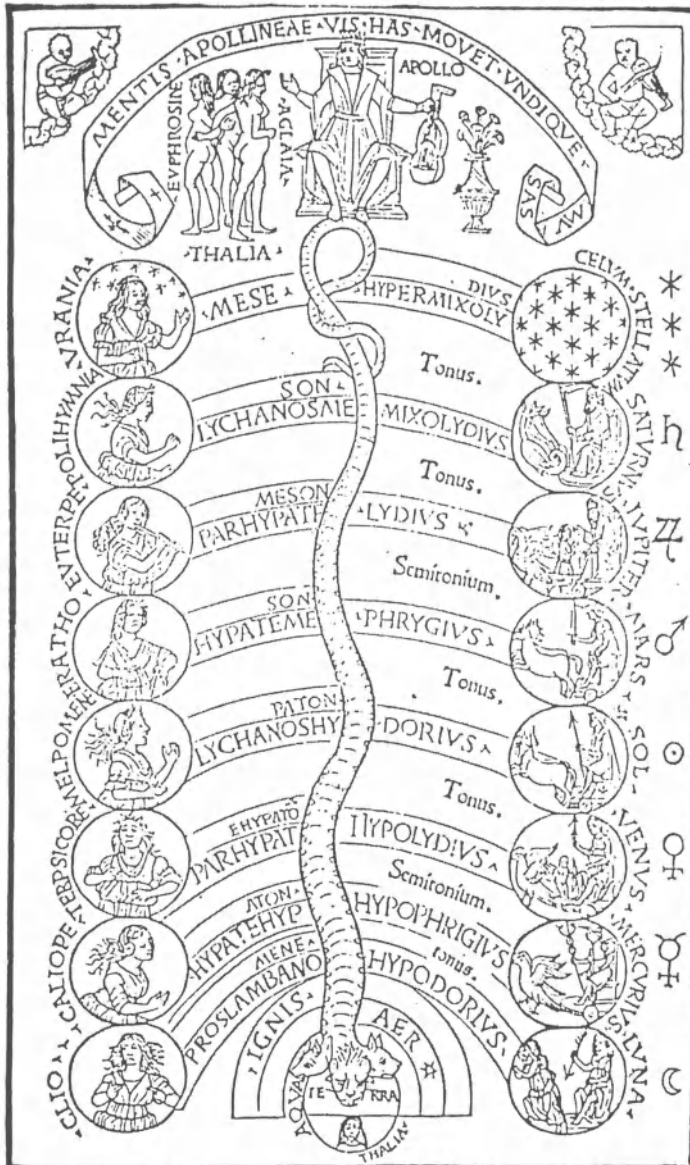
<sup>7</sup> See Bessler – Gülke 1973. 124 – 125.. Abb. 63.

<sup>8</sup> See from a musicological point of view: Harburger 1925, Dickreiter 1973 etc.

<sup>9</sup> On the music of the spheres properly, there are various interesting publications. See, among the latest ones: Schavernoch 1981, Proust 1990 and James 1993.

<sup>10</sup> Some general questions of time, harmony and stars were raised in a fantastic book by de Santillana and Von Dechend. For the details of art history of the astronomy see several books, first of all, Mazal 1993. – A beautiful book, with some illustrations, of course from Cellarius: Cornelius 1997. Because of the limits of my paper, I was unable to deal here with some of the interesting problems along the above mentioned lines. My paper is in fact a shortened and selected version of a longer study.

PRACTICA MUSICE FRANCHINI GAFORI LAVDENSIS.



14. The harmonious union of the Muses, strings, modes and planets. (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Ser. nov. 12745, fol. 64v.)



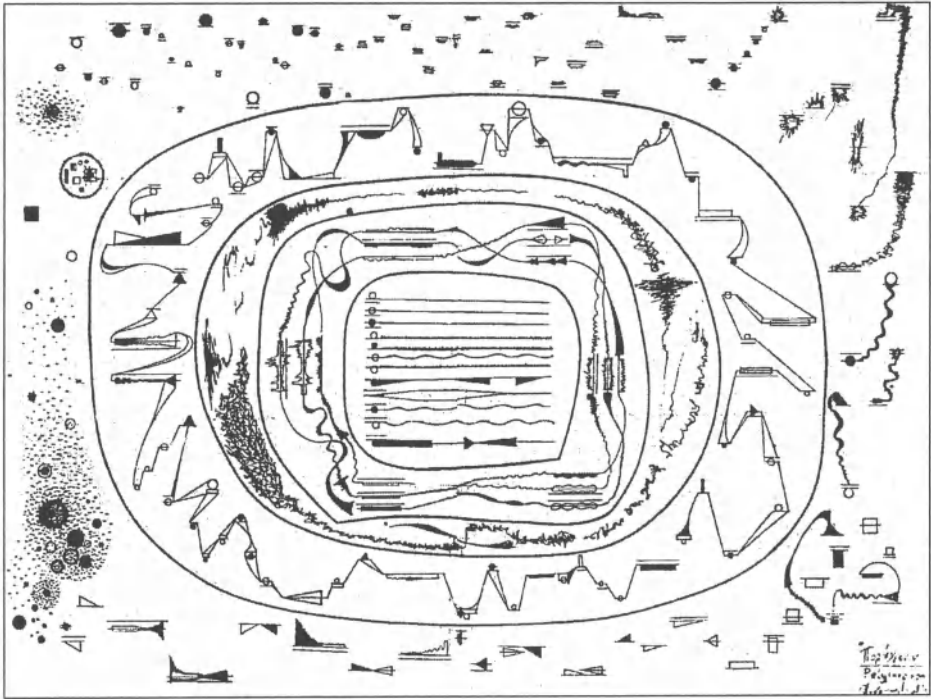
15. Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja: musical notes of a canon for four voices, with figures of winds, representing the four cardinal points. (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Ms. Banco Rari 229: fol. CIII.b.)

Perihelii ♀ septimum subdupla, seu 128 <sup>va</sup>	3.	0
Aphelii ♀ sextum subdupla, seu 64 <sup>ta</sup>	2.	34—
Perihelii ♀ quintum subdupla, seu 32 <sup>da</sup>	3.	3.+
Aphelii Veneris quintum subdupla, seu 32 <sup>da</sup>	2.	58—
Perihelii Terrae quintum subdupla, seu 32 <sup>da</sup>	1.	55—
Aphelii Terrae quintum subdupla, seu 32 <sup>da</sup>	1.	47—
Perihelii Martis quartum subdupla, seu 16 <sup>ma</sup>	2.	23—
Aphelii Martis tertium subdupla, seu 8 <sup>va</sup>	3.	17—
Perihelium Jovis subdupla	2.	45
Aphelium Jovis subdupla	2.	15
Perihelium Saturni	2.	15
Aphelium Saturni	1.	46

Saturnus      Jupiter      Mars ferè      Terra

Venus      Mercurius      Hic locum habet etiam )

16. Kepler's system of the movements by the planets and notes of the "music of spheres".  
 (The last one is that of the Moon.)



*re* *b* *des* *a*

*re* *d* *a*

*mi* *b* *es* *a*

*mi* *e* *a*

*do* *c* *e*

*si* *h* *a*

*si* *b* *a* *la*

*do* *f* *a*

*re* *fi* *fa*

*re* *ges* *sol* *b*

*re* *g* *sol*

*re* *as* *la* *b*

**Pitch—symbols**  
(playable in any octave)  
indicating  
note constellations.  
These symbols can  
also be combined with  
the other symbols.

**Associative symbols**

- • = ppp < ff and short (• • • • •)
- ◊ = pp < ff > pp [duration according to visual estimate] (◊)
- ▲ = pp < ff (duration according to visual estimate) (▲)
- ▬ = pp and long (like portato) (▬)
- | = ff and short (like portato) (|)
- ◄ ► = ff > pp < ff (◄ ►)
- ○ = Change in sound colour (without pitch determination) (○ ○)
- ◻ = Change in sound colour (poco a poco) (without pitch determination) (◻)
- ☀ = A tone rich in harmonics (☀ ☀ ☀)
- ~ = vibrato (~ ~ ~)
- ⋯ = tremolo, flutter tongue. (⋯)

17. Anestis Logothetis: Polychromia. Sky map like musical notes, using the composer's own musical graphic system



Three final remarks should be made, as pointers for further, thorough research.

1. We have said at several times that “a sign” does not exist – only “systems of signs” are conceivable. For astronomical charts a very elaborate and special grammar was needed, more complicated than that of the geographical maps. For constellations, groups of stars were bound together, and in attempts to describe the movement of the heavenly bodies, it was necessary to develop a very sophisticated mathematical-geometrical system. One of the most industrious “sign systems” was made for the stars.

2. If we understand properly the notion of “sign system” it must be of the same level of logical complexity when we create a *significans* for the *significatum*. In maps of the heaven we must introduce the same complexity as it is found in geographical maps. Only a whole world could serve as a sign for another world. When Cellarius uses in a series of his maps the term *scenographia*, or the expression “*aequali proportione*” he refers to that world model quality of the maps. In a provocative short sentence we could say that the only perfect sign system for the world is a celestial global map projected upon the geographical global map. The “harmony of the macrocosm” is due to the logical equivalence between world model *A* and world model *B*. It is not so often that we can see a perfect world model, a perfect sign system of the world. Some astronomical maps fulfil that criterion.

3. Mapping and systems of the universe are common topics in any general study of the signs. It would be most important to outline e. g. a Peircian astronomical semiotics. Everybody, who is familiar with such seminal papers of Peirce, as, for example, *The Fixation of Belief* (1877), mentioning as the most for the semiotics important “early scientists”: Copernicus, Tycho de Brahe, Kepler, Galileo, would agree with this. However, in my present paper I could not deal properly with that question. But I wanted to mention its importance still!

## Literature

- BAGROW, Leo 1964. *History of Cartography*. (Edited by R. A. SKELTON.)  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press – London: C. A. Watts
- BARRON, Roderick 1989 *Decorative Maps*. London: Bracken
- BECKER, Werner 1968 *Vom alten Bild der Welt*. Leipzig. Koehler and Amelang.
- BESSELER, Heinrich – GÜLKE, Peter 1973 *Schriftbild der mehrstimmigen Musik*.  
Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik (Musikgeschichte in Bildern –  
Band III. Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance – Lieferung 5.)



- BRANDT, Alexander 1993 *Globen auf ausgewählten Gemälden des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: (Freundeskreis für Cartographica, 7. Heft.)
- BROWN, B. J. W. 1932 *Astronomical Atlases, Maps and Charts. An Historical and General Guide*. London: Search Publishing Company (Reprinted: 1968)
- CORNELIUS, Geoffrey 1997 *The Starlore Handbook*. New York: Duncan Baird. (Hungarian translation: *Csillagképek kézikönyve*. 1999: Budapest: Magyar Könyvklub)
- DICKREITER, M. 1973 *Der Musiktheoretiker Johannes Kepler*. Bern: Francke
- DIJKSTERHUIS, Eduard J. 1961 *The Mechanization of the World Picture*. Oxford: Clarendon (In German, Italian editions too.)
- DREYER, J. L. E. 1953 *A History of Astronomy from Thales to Kepler*. Revised with a Foreword by W. H. STAHL. New York: Dover (Original edition: 1906)
- DUHEM, Pierre 1913-1931 *Le système du monde. Histoire des doctrines cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic*. Paris : Hermann
- EGGER, Gerhart (hrsg.) 1969 *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Wien: Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst
- FAUSER, Alois 1973 *Kulturgeschichte des Globus*. München: Schuler
- Ifj. GAZDA István – MARIK József 1982 *Csillagásztörténeti ABC* (Introduction to History of Astronomy). Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó
- HARBURGER, Walter 1925 *Johannes Keplers kosmische Harmonie*. Leipzig: Insel (Reprint – Frankfurt am Main: Insel)
- HARLEY, J. B. – WOODWARD, D. dir. 1987 *The History of Cartography. Vol. I. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*. Chicago – London: University of Chicago Press.
- HARMS, Hans 1962 *Künstler des Kartenbildes*. Oldenburg: E. Völker
- HARVEY, P. D. A. 1980 *The History of Topographical Maps. Symbols, Pictures and Surveys*. London: Thames and Hudson
- HERRMANN, Dieter B. 1981 *Az égbolt felfedezői*. Budapest: Gondolat (Hungarian translation of his German book: *Entdecker des Himmels*. (1978) Leipzig – Jena – Berlin : Urania)
- JAMES, Jamie 1993 *The Music of the Spheres. Music, Science, and the Natural Order of the Universe*. New York: Grove
- KLINGHAMMER, István 1998 *A föld- és éggömbök története* (History of Terrestrial and Celestial Globes). Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó
- KRETSCHMER, Ingrid – DÖRFLINGER, Johannes – WAWRIK, Franz (bearbeitet von) 1986 *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Kartographie*. Band 1. A (= Die

- Kartographie and ihre Randgebiete. Enzyklopädie.* Redigiert und herausgegeben von Erik ARNBERGER. Band C/1). Wien: Franz Deuticke
- LEITHÄUSER, Joachim G. 1958 *Mappae Mundi. Die geistige Eroberung der Welt.* Berlin: Safari
- MAZAL, Otto 1993 *Die Sternenwelt des Mittelalters.* Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt
- MEINE, Karl-Heinz 1982 *Mond- und Marsgloben.* Wien: Internationale Coronelli Gesellschaft
- MURIS, Oswald – SAARMANN, Gert 1961 *Der Globus im Wandel der Zeiten.* Berlin: Columbus
- PATAY Klára 1990 *Csillagtérképek 1990 (Star Maps 1990).* Budapest: Képzőművészeti Kiadó
- PROUST, Dominique 1990 *L'harmonie des sphères.* Croissy – Baubourg: Devry
- RASHED, Roshi (ed.) 1988 *Sciences à l'époque de la Révolution française.* Paris: A. Blanchard
- SAINE, Thomas P. 1987 *Von der Kopernikanischen bis zur französischen Revolution.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt
- de SANTILLANA, Giorgio – von DECHEND, Hertha 1995 *Hamlet malma. Értkezés a mítoszokról és az idő szerkezetéről.* Budapest: Pontifex (=Hamlet's Mill. *An essay on myth and the frame of time.* Originally – 1959. Boston: Gambit. [In new, updated and enlarged versions, too.]
- SCHAVERNOCH, Hans 1981 *Die Harmonie der Sphären. Die Geschichte der Idee des Welteinklangs und der Seeleneinstimmung.* Freiburg – München: Karl Albert
- SIMONYI, Károly 1986 *A fizika kultúrtörténete (Culture History of Physics).* Budapest: Gondolat (3rd, enlarged edition, also in other languages)
- SKELTON, Raleigh Ashlin 1952 *Decorative Printed Maps of the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries.* London: Staples (reprinted: 1965)
- STEGENA Lajos 1981 *Térképtörténet (History of Maps).* Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó
- STEVENSON, Edward Cuther 1921 *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes. Their History and Construction.* Vol. I-II. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Reprint: New York – London, 1971)
- SZŐNYI György Endre 1988 *“Exaltatio” és Hatalom. Keresztény mágia és okkult szimbolizmus egy angol mágus műveiben (“Exaltation” and Power. Christian Magic and Occult Symbolism in the Works of John Dee).* Szeged: JATE Press

- TATON, René – WILSON, Curtis ( ed. ) 1989 *Planetary Astronomy from the Renaissance to the Rise of Astrophysics. Part A. : Tycho Brahe to Newton.* (The General History of Astronomy – General Editor: Michael HOSKIN – Volume 2.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- WARNER, Deborah Jean 1971 *The Sky Explored. Celestial cartography 1500-1971.* New York – Amsterdam: A. R. Liss (Reprint – Amsterdam: 1979. A. R. Liss)



# Mother of Mothers: Notes About the Shamanhood Among the Southern Mansis

*Leete, Art*

This article consists of two parts.<sup>1</sup> The first part is based on the information told and written by Anna Konkova, the Mansi storyteller and writer. The second half of this article includes few interpretations on the Konda Mansis' shamanhood.

I obtained the data about Ivyr village Mother of Mothers mainly from interviews with Anna Mitrofanovna Konkova (Granny Anne), born in 1916, whom I and my friends have interviewed several times during the period from 1991 to 1996<sup>2</sup>. Valuable information about her granny Okol and the other Mother of Mothers of the Ivyr village, Aprasinya is also available in the novel by Anna Konkova (Sazonov & Konkova 1990).

Granny Anne was born in the Ivyr village on the Konda River. She worked as teacher since 1937. She also had some skills of predicting destiny, obtained, obviously, from her grandmother Okol.

The Mother of Mothers was a spiritual leader of Ivyr village Mansis on the Konda River until the end of the WW II. She performed different kind of social missions – fortune-telling, healing, storytelling, leader of village women etc. The main characters about whom it was possible to get information, are Okol and Aprasinya, the Mothers of Mothers that Anna Konkova described both in her novel and in our interviews. Okol is the grandmother of Anna and Aprasinya was the Mother of Mothers before Okol in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Mother of Mothers was a powerful female leader on the Ivyr village Mansis community and many of her features allow us to interpret her actions as shaman's ones. But a number of other characteristics make us realize that she was not a shaman according to strict, classical ideas about shamanism. At the same time the Mother of Mothers can be accepted as the borderline character of sha-

<sup>1</sup> The article is completed by the support from the Estonian Science Foundation's grant no. 5057.

<sup>2</sup> Once the conversation was carried out with Dr. Anzori Barkalaja, Esta Allas and Andrus Laansalu and once with Dr. Triinu Ojamaa. Twice I have made interviews alone.

manhood, at least partly accepted as such by the natives and also by the scientific discourse.

### Anna Konkova's Notes about the Mother of Mothers of the Mansis in the Ivyr village on the Konda River

I had a granny. She lived many years, more than a hundred. She was buried only in the 1945. She was the Mother of Mothers. They chose as the Mother of Mothers a woman, who is not very young but not very old either.

Granny knew a lot of things but she didn't know anything bad. She knew good things, all good things. She could heal. She was responsible for children in the village. She thought them how to take less and to preserve more. She reared children this way. She helped the parents and was also involved in the rearing process. This was a highly serious responsibility to be the Mother of Mothers. She was our story-teller, also. She knew a lot of riddles. She was kind of wise woman, I would say: clairvoyant.

I tell you what happened during the war-time<sup>3</sup>. The village women came to visit us and some of them were confident that the Germans would arrive and take us, also. But the granny, who was then blind already and didn't get up from the bed any more, told one moment:

"Do not ever tell this by yourself and give the message to anyone talking like you: the Germans will remember us, they will pay and they would burn themselves out. The Germans will regret that they attacked our country."

This is what my granny told.

Next time another woman, Maria Maksimovna (she died last year<sup>4</sup>), arrived and asked (she was lisping):

"Granny! Granny! Tell me, tell me! How is my Petya? How is my Petya? Will he survive? Will he arrive? What will his life be like?"

That Petya drank, he was a Russian. He drank continuously, without a break. His wife wanted that when her husband arrives, will he drink in the same way? But my granny told:

"No, he will not drink as before. You will live well."

And so it was. Pyotr Andreyevich Kalashnikov arrived and did not start drinking again. He lived with his wife many years and died as teetotaler. You know, my granny could somehow foresee things.

<sup>3</sup> Anne Konkova means the WW II.

<sup>4</sup> This interview is made in 1991, so Maria Maksimovna died in 1990.

I tell you the following story.

I sent two brothers, my uncle and husband, the father of my children, to the front. Once I made something to eat for my children and granny at the kitchen. And she started from nothing and finished with nothing. I entered the room with the tray in my hands and she said:

“Anne, we told you that you must marry the other one that will not be killed. The other one will survive.”

I do not care! I have two kids and my husband will be killed? You know, I do not remember how I reached the edge of the table. I do not understand until nowadays what I experienced. But she knew that it is my husband who will be killed and not anybody else. And, really, that was it. My husband stayed throughout the war near Leningrad, on the Way of Life<sup>5</sup>. And he was killed there.

My granny was this kind of clairvoyant. Before her there was someone who taught her. That who was before my granny knew both good and bad things. She knew the bad things but I do not know these. But she knew something bad. She gave everything to my granny but my granny took only good things. She did not take bad issues. Why? Because that woman who knew both, good and evil things, afterwards, when she was supposed to die in very old age, she could until they did not take away the gable-boards from the house. She will cry. She will call Death. But Death will go away from her and laugh at her. And the Earth will not take her into her embrace, either. The Earth does not accept her. She must transmit everything to another woman. My granny took from her this and that. But granny did not take the evil.

[For to become the Mother of Mothers] it's necessary to go to the forest during the first spring thunder, to sit down and to [move up and down] with a knife. You must take a knife, cover yourself by the kerchief and sit under one tree and another and so under seven trees. So the first spring she went in the forest during the first thunder. In the second spring she must go, in the third and so until the seventh. And then the Earth... She, the Earth, is very wise. We hold that

<sup>5</sup> Way of Life – way over the Lake Ladoga that was the only connecting line between Leningrad and other not conquered territories of the USSR during the Leningrad blockade in WW II between September, 1941 and March, 1945. Through this way the food and other goods (also military ammunition and weapons) were provided to the inhabitants and defenders of Leningrad. 300000 soldiers of the Red Army arrived at Leningrad through the Way of Life, also. Part of the inhabitants of Leningrad and equipment of the factories were evacuated through the Way of Life, also. The transportation was organized by tracks over the frozen lake during winters and by ships during navigation periods. (Karamzin 1972: 458-459)

the Land is very wise. Our ancestress, the Earth, is very wise. Trees are also very wise... Trees transmit to her all knowledge that they have in their big and small boughs, twigs and annual rings of growths. And afterwards she must just sit down and ask:

“How must it be?”

Then she throws the kerchief away and tells - it must be done this way.

The older woman transmitted this knowledge to my granny.

At once my daughter was preparing for an exam. Where she can run for help? She runs to granny. She wants to know, how she will pass the exam? How can she succeed? Granny sits down for a moment, covers herself with a kerchief. Then she throws it away and tells:

“Why did you come? Everything is fine, you will get “five”. You must go and revise the subject once again. You are going to get “five”.

But my granny... I had little kids and I wanted to find out, who will become who? How will be my life? And my granny said that so we should live, so would be with my daughter, so will happen to my son. This was my life and my destiny until I shall die. She was such a crone.

She sent me [to the forest] too. But I had studied physics at school, I understood everything:

“No, granny, what are you talking about? The thunder will hit the tree and kill me! No, I will not go there!”

And so I did not go, not a single time. Because I was so scared. And I did not use this kind of prediction, I did not understand this. I did not want to go, I was afraid. I was afraid and that is it. Oh, I cannot even imagine this... I do not even go to the street when there is a thunder. If there is an awful thunder, then I think that I would be killed. I cannot even think of running to the forest. But she ran. Everywhere the heaven was falling down, everything is beating, thunder and lightning everywhere. But she went and sat under the seven trees. This is not for my character. Only a very brave woman can do this. But a coward like me...

(EA 234, Leete 1991: 67-70; Leete 1993)

She was skilled in a bloodletting. She boiled the jawbone of a pike a little bit. Then she bound it to a stick and punctured, let the blood. If there is a big fire inside the patient, high temperature, you must let the blood. But before then puncture, Granny boiled water with whisks, currant leaves and especially – fir. So, all this must be boiled she washed the patient with it. We never saw any wounds or scratches. It fixed the wounds quickly. Body recovered immediately.



She also healed by putting her hands upon. We were fishers and had a lot of opistrokhoz, the liver was frequently ill. My Granny healed by putting upon her hot palms and by fish oil.

(EA 234, Leete 1991: 71)

Women lived under the leadership of my Granny, the Mother of Mothers. Women were united through her. The head of the village told her that this and that must be done. Only Granny negotiated with him, only she had the right to do this.

(EA 234, Leete 1991: 74)

[The customary laws were transmitted] by fairy-tales and... But what we had the Mother of Mothers for? She taught young mothers and this was then handed over to their daughters. Fathers taught their sons. Everybody tried to preserve rather than take out of the forest.

(EA 234, Leete 1991: 86)

Pol Volne Yonkyp – the month when you must pick up the lingonberries. We had the strict rule: only from the 1st of September. The people had an unofficial contest. Everybody was whipped out from the village. Oooh! The young and the old went to their lingonberries' pinewoods. Every time I was with my granny, she did not enter the pinewoods with footwear. She took her footwear off on the trail and said:

“Into this pinewoods you must go barefoot.”

(EA 234, Leete 1992: 200)

Aprasinya saved many inhabitants of the Ivyr village. They called her now the Mother of Mothers, the mother of everybody in the village. The Mother of Mothers took powerfully under her supervision every woman in the village. All the important problems of women were discussed with Aprasinya.

(Sazonov & Konkova 1990: 81)

After finishing her housework, the Mother of Mothers walked through the village and went to young wives, when their husbands were not home. She checked carefully the house of the young couple and noticed everything: dirty and ragged bed, unwashed dishes with a dry fish scale and fish bones, chewed bones left in the corner and ragged clothes on the wooden hook. She scolded the lazy and negligent wives. She slapped in the face a sleepy young wife who had a crying dirty baby in a cradle.

(Sazonov & Konkova 1990: 155)

Aprasinya, the Mother of Mothers, the powerful, strict, fearless Aprasinya, who achieved the magical secrets of the green forest...

(Sazonov & Konkova 1990: 163)

## Notes About the Shamanhood Among the Southern Mansis

Russian scholar of literature Vyacheslav Ogryzko writes about the Ivyr village Mansis that, beginning from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, they did not have any shamans (Ogryzko 1998:301). But Ogryzko takes this statement obviously from Anna Konkova's novel (Sazonov & Konkova 1990: 21) and thus relies too uncritically in the statement on a fictional character<sup>6</sup>. I will discuss briefly this question about the existence of the shamans among the Southern Mansis .

The functions of the Mother of Mothers included healing, fortune telling, knowing of local folklore, guarding the social rules, teaching of the Ivyr village children and being the leader of the village women's community.

When we interpret shamanism in a broad sense, it is possible to define the role of Mother of Mothers of the Ivyr village as a shaman's role. According to Mihály Hoppál's categorization, it is possible that "the shaman's most significant characteristic is the ability to journey into other worlds and to engage in ecstatic communication" (Hoppál 2000: 7). In connection with the Mother of Mothers, it is not clear about the shaman's journey but Anne's descriptions show that the skills of ecstatic communication existed among the Southern Mansis.

Another important characteristic of shamanism "is that shamans always offer their power and skill to the service of some social mission" (Hoppál 2000:10). This information also fits in the case with the Mother of Mothers. She was the knower of fortunes and the spiritual leader (for women of the village) that are two roles from six possible ones, listed by Dr. Hoppál (2000: 10).

"Classical" feature of the shamanism is also that the neophyte must go to the forest (or another remote area) to obtain the knowledge during the initiation. But we can find only a few features of the "classical" complex of shamanism among the Ivyr villagers.

So, the Mother of Mothers of the Ivyr village among Southern Mansis exemplifies a borderline phenomenon of "classical" shamanism. But if we take shaman-

<sup>6</sup> "We, the people of the Konda River, don't have shamans," told Miron and started to smoke a pipe. "Probably, they left if the priests cut down and burnt our gods" (Sazonov & Konkova 1990: 21). Compare: "Okol, as Aprasinya, is the shamaness, too, but a different one" (Sazonov & Konkova 1990: 189).

ism as “complex and diverse phenomenon” (Walker 2001: 36), or as something that only reflects the anthropologist’s viewpoint (see Narby 1998) we do not even face any problems with definition or categorization here. The Mother of Mothers fulfilled some of the most essential criteria of a shaman.

One particular problem I want to discuss here is the idea that emerges in connection with the Mother of Mothers, Okol. Namely the moment in the Granny Anne’s description when Okol predicts that Anne’s husband will die at war. This means that there is an idea about certain connection between remote subjects. It seems to be a very interesting shamanistic idea. I can give a number of parallels to this kind of spiritual connection.

For example, in 1996, the Forest Nenets Yuri Vella dedicated one reindeer from his herd to the President of Russian Federation. The situation got intriguing when Boris Yeltsin felt ill. Yuri Vella told about this:

“If President fell ill very seriously, we sacrificed the first offspring of the President’s reindeer to our gods and we prayed for President’s health. After some time the President started to regain his health. This can be just a coincidence. But our worldview is constructed so that if this kind of coincidences happen, we will to believe in this even more” (Novikova 1999: 19)

Yuri Vella explained the spiritual connection between the reindeer and the President of Russia in the following way:

“At one moment I thought, I dreamed, that between President and the reindeer there must be this kind of contact. I wanted that this connection had an impact on President. The reindeer has a positive impact on people. But if President cannot protect my pastures, my land, then I must kill my reindeer. The first one whom I kill will be the President’s reindeer. Because in this situation the President does not have a right to this reindeer. But I hope that this will not happen and our lands will be ours. If everything goes well, quite soon the President’s reindeer will have offspring and the President will then have three reindeer” (Novikova 1999: 19).

Similar ideas about this sort of remote spiritual connection can be found among the Nanay. According to researcher Tatyana Bulgakova, Nanay shamans had certain opinions about the influence of shamanic actions to people who may not be involved in performance of the shaman:

“As far as both Gara, who had just returned from Moscow, and Maria Petrovna, who had not yet travelled anywhere, were alive, the latter discussed Gara’s trip in this way: “Gara took her drum to Moscow without a purpose. The master of the

drum (spirit) wants to heal, so that people would then feed it. The master of the drum thought to profit from this. But they gave him neither work nor sacrifice!" So Maria Petrovna decided that a disappointed spirit choose a victim on his own. He chose a chief of the Communist Party Leonid Brezhnev, who died exactly during those days when Gara was in Moscow. "On the way back," continues Maria Petrovna, "it was the same. It was the travel in vain with no work and no gain. So in Daerge (where Gara lived) he chose the old man Innokenty as a victim. After Gara came, Innokenty died." According to Chapaka's opinion, shamanic spirits could leave their masters alone only if they would be successful in turning their trips into big rituals and in involving in it all the onlookers" (Bulgakova 2001: 18).

The third example could be the information about the uprising of the Khanty and Nenets peoples against the Soviets during the 1930s known as Kazym War. According to available data, participants of the uprising had quite strange political slogan. During the Kazym War the natives declared: "We conquer Beryozovo and Moscow will capitulate by itself!" (Leete 1996: 400) This information can be a result of an official Soviet propaganda against the indigenous groups. Purpose of this slogan could be to show that the natives were underdeveloped and they were not able to estimate the real situation in the big politics. But this could also be a real idea of the indigenous groups that they may have kind of spiritual influence on Moscow.

All these three examples demonstrate that indigenous people with shamanistic worldview can take very seriously this remote spiritual contact between subjects. When we look at these stories one by one those seem really wear but in comparative perspective they become more truthful. And this is also the case with Okol, the Mother of Mothers of the Ivyr village. She felt real connection with familiar peoples in remote territories and could follow their fortune.

In conclusion to this short paper I would note that the phenomenon of the Mother of Mothers disappeared in the Ivyr village after World War II. The Ivyr village itself has burnt down, also. So all information about this interesting character can be found from the memories of old people and to some extent in the Anna Konkova's novel. Because of the time gap between the present time and the real phenomenon it is hard to estimate "how" shamanic was the role of the Mother of Mother in Ivyr village. Not a shaman in a strict classical sense but very impressive spiritual character, anyway, the Mother of Mothers played an extremely important role in the Ivyr village Mansis community until World War II. But in more tolerant and contemporary scientific views, the Mother of Mothers can also be considered a

shamaness.<sup>7</sup> At least, we see here several elements of “classical” shamanism (comp. Eliade 2000: 20-22). We can see that the Mother of Mothers is not a shamaness from the native point of view but she is a shamaness for the shamanistic research discourse. The case with the Mother of Mothers indicates also the important role of a female leader in the Ob-Ugrian communities.

## References

EA = Ethnographic Archives of the Estonian National Museum:

- 234, Leete, Art. *Teateid mansidest*. Tartu 1991. lk. 56-104. (Information about the Mansis. Tartu 1991. pp. 56-104.)
- 234, Leete, Art. *Teatmeid hantidest ja mansidest*. Tjumeni oblast, Handi-Mansi AR, Hantõ-Mansiisk, Surguti rajoon, Berjozovo rajoon. Kogutud juuli-oktoober 1992. a. Tartu. lk. 108-232. (Information about the Khanties and the Mansis. Tyumen oblast, Khanty-Mansiysk AO, Khanty-Mansiysk, Surgut rayon, Beryozovo rayon. Collected from July to October, 1992. Tartu. pp. 108-232.)
- Bulgakova, Tatyana 2001. *Shaman on the Stage* (Shamanism and Northern Identity).- Cultural Identity of Arctic Peoples. Arctic Studies 5. Pro Ethnologia 11. Publications of Estonian National Museum. Tartu. pp. 9-24.
- Eliade 2000 = Eliade, Mircea. Shamanizm. Arhaicheskiie tehniki ekstaza. “Sofia”.
- Hoppál, Mihály 2000. *Shaman Traditions in Transition*. International Society for Shamanistic Research. Budapest.
- Karamzin 1972 = Karamzin, G. B. “Doroga zhizni”:- Bol’shaia Sovetskaia Enciklopediia. Tom 8. Gl. red. A. M. Prohorov. Moskva. Izdatel’stvo “Sovetskaia Enciklopediia”. 1972. s. 458-459.
- Leete, Art 1993. *Tädi Anest*. - Hiis. Tõleti ajakiri. Nr. 6. Kevad 10206, Nõo. lk. 29-31.
- Leete, Art 1996. *Märkmeid Kazõmi sõjast*- Akadeemia. Tartu 1996. nr. 2. lk. 392-405.
- Narby, Jeremy 1998. *The Cosmic Serpent*, DNA and the Origins of Knowledge. New York: Tarcher/Putnam.
- Novikova 1999 = *Новикова, Наталья*. Олень президента.- Труд. 12. февраля 1999 г. с. 19.

<sup>7</sup> Even Mircea Eliade stressed (using Gondatti’s notes) that the Mansi people had female shamans (Eliade 2000: 28).

- Ogryzko 1998 = *Ogryzko, Vyacheslav Vyacheslavovich*. Pisateli i literatory malochislennyh narodov Severa i Dal'nego Vostoka. Biobibliograficheskii spravochnik. Chast' 1, A-N. Moskva, Koncern "Literaturnaia Rossiia" 1998.
- Sazonov & Konkova 1990 = Sazonov, Gennadii, Anna Kon'kova. *I lun medlitel'nyh potok... Roman-skazaniie*. Sverdlovsk, Sredne-Ural'skoie knizhnoie izdatel'stvo 1990.
- Walker, Marilyn 2001. *The Language of Shamans and the Metaphysics of Language: Emerging Paradigms in Shamanic Studies*.- Shaman. Vol. 9. No. 1. Spring. Molnar & Kelemen Oriental Publishers, Szeged. pp. 35-59.

## "You are of *the kind* of kin, are you?"

*Reflections of the animistic world view in the oral folklore  
of the modern day Kanin Nenetses*

*Niemi, Jarkko*

The following is a brief account of my visit to the most Western European Nenetses in Kanin Peninsula on the White Sea coast in Russia in March 2002. On that trip, my mission was to gather information about the present state of the song culture particularly among the Kanin Nenetses, who usually are reported being the most Russified of the territorial Nenets groups, even only among the European Nenetses. The reasons for this are obvious, only regarding their geographic position and the ensuing obvious turns in their history of contacts with the Russians and Komis. This alleged Russification is also reflected in the present state of the song culture of Kanin Nenetses, about the survival of which I have heard only very pessimistic views this far.

The route of my travel was: Archangel'sk – Pinega/Kuloy – Mezen' – Nes'. First, we visited some of the most southern winter camps of two reindeer herders' brigades in the woods of Pinega/Kuloy area, after which we proceeded to Nes', the central village of the Kanin reindeer herders. At that time of year the peninsula north from Nes' was actually quite empty of people, because all the brigades of the reindeer herders were still at their winter camps in the south. I was a part of a three-member team to the village of Nes'. From Nes', my colleagues<sup>1</sup> continued to the Timan tundra, as I stayed in Nes', in order to be able to gather information about the songs of the Kanin Nenetses. According to my preliminary inquiries, practically all the few possible singers were supposed to be found in Nes', and that seemed to be the case.

As cultural change and death of local traditions are usually quite complex processes, I was intrigued to find out from the ethnomusicological point of view, what is the situation of living, stichic song language, actualized freely and crea-

<sup>1</sup> The president of the association of the European Nenetses "Yasaway", Vlad Peskov (whom I am very grateful for getting me a border zone visa in Archangel'sk) and the journalist from a Nar'yan-Mar newspaper "Nyar'yana Windyer", Aleksandr Leont'ev.

tively in performance. Why? Because from the point of view of my ethnomusical frame of reference of metrical research, the analysis of documented live performance is the only relevant indicator in finding out, how the traditions are alive. If an oral tradition is creatively alive, there are performers who can create folkloristic texts with their experience of the local esthetic rules, with their performance technique and with their individual creative mind to realize their skills in performance. The tradition can also be in an iterative phase, where there are performers, who are only able to repeat, without their own linguistic, stichic and idiosyncratic competence of the text in question. In Nenets case, it is even possible to evaluate the metrical quality of a performance in a larger context, when we begin to have by now relevant analyses of larger corpuses of data available (cf. Niemi 1998, 97–100; 324–325).

The most excited expectations were directed towards the most threatened song genres, like shamanistic and individual songs. However, I orientated very much to the trip with modest expectations. There are several factors, which, unfortunately, have had unfavorable effects on the modern time history of the European Nenetses and thus also to the Kanin Nenetses. In principle, no fieldwork is required to find out the average vigour of the song culture, because a preliminary guess can be inferred from the available information about the distribution of the speakers of Nenets in different regions. This is because full and creative competence in language is the most relevant prerequisite of a creative performance of a song, especially in the northern song cultures, where solistic singing without the accompaniment of any musical instruments dominates musical expression almost without an exception.

From the point of view of song culture, the case of the Kanin Nenetses is especially interesting, because of their distinct melodic style, in the otherwise quite monolithic song style map of the Nenetses. It is only in Kanin singing style that the melodies make dramatic leaps to the limits of a singer's tonal range, whereas in all the other Nenets regions the tonal range tends to be more restricted, corresponding even the intonational range of ordinary speech. Also some details of the material culture of the Kanin Nenetses (Khomich 1995, 143 et passim), or propositions about the two-component origin (archeological Arctic cultures + later stratum of the Samoyeds) (Vasil'ev 1979, 46–60) in the ethnic history of the Nenets groups motivate thoughts of the origin of the Kanin Nenetses not fully converging to the other Nenets groups. Regarding the song style, unfortunately no larger conclusions were possible this far, because of the simple lack of relevant research material from Kanin.



## The historical circumstances of the Kanin Nenetses

One of the factors having an effect on the history of the Kanin Nenetses was perhaps the spreading of the missionary work among the European Nenetses. After several campaigns, beginning from the late 16th century, the general governor of Archangel'sk urged a new, comprehensive missionary campaign among the natives of European north at the beginning of the 19th century. To this period dates also the missionary work of archimandrite Veniamin of Archangel'sk, whose missionaries gained questionable reputation for systematically destroying the most important sacrificial places of the European Nenetses during 1825–1830, of which the island of Waigach was the main target. To gain the stable foothold, churches were built in strategic places. Thus, one of the three first churches in European north was built in the village of Nes' in 1830–1831, for guarding the spiritual progress of the Kanin Nenetses. (see e. g. Evsyugin 1979, 90–95.)

Eventually, the formal conversion was reported having happened without much drama. One of the reasons, particularly among the European Nenetses is geography and the history of the Russian colonisation in the Kanin, Timan and Pechora areas. The Russian Pomori settled along the Viena Sea coast from the end of the 17th century, until the beginning of the 19th century, right at and next to the Kanin Nenets territories. They expanded from the direction of Archangel'sk to Mezen', Pinega, Pustozersk, Ust'-Tsyl'ma and Izhma. The Kanin and Timan villages like Mгла, Nes', Vizhas, Oma, Snopa, Pyosha or Indiga had a considerable Russian (or Komi) population right at the beginning of their history (e.g. Evsyugin 1979, 105). The local Nenetses engaged in extensive contacts with the Russians considerably early. This paved effectively the way also for the gradual adoption of elements of their worldview.

Another indisputable factor was the economy. A widely cited (Khomich 1995, 5; Evsyugin 1979, 13) episode about the first mention of "Samoyeds" in the Novgorod chronicle is how the "Pechorans" were obliged to give in fur as taxes already in the 11th century (1096). However, "Pechorans" and "Samoyeds" were not exactly paralleled although mentioned in a very close context (Likhachëv 1994, 144). Still, the northern peoples were not recognized any other way except as fur-givers. The Novgorodians did not have any systematic need to intervene in the way of life of the northern people any other way, or to occupy their territories. A more systematic policy of exploitation of the native north began only after the lands of Novgorod were annexed to Moscow tsardom in 1478 (see Hosking 2001, 86). From the Moscow period the northern natives were in a more controlled po-

sition. First, it was the immediate interest of the government to know exactly, how many able tax-payers there are in the north and second, to prevent them revolting – which they, after all, did, up to the Soviet times. This way, the colonisation proceeded from building of military strongholds (Pustozersk on Pechora in 1499) and encouraged by them, to the appearing of settlers' villages (Ust'-Tsylemskaya, Izhemsкая). This process of colonization proceeded to Siberian north with understandable delay. The central stronghold of arctic Western Siberia, the fortress of Mangazeya, was built only 100 years after Pustozersk, because the Muscovites had to fight the Tatars first in order to conquer Siberia.

Thus, the Nenets nomads on the European side may have preserved the basic system of the traditional economy, but the language situation is more troubled, the more west they live. For example, the traditional material culture of the Kanin Nenetses has survived surprisingly well, with some obvious adaptations of the modern world<sup>2</sup>, but the full mastery of language, not to speak about the songs has characterized the cultural competence of exceptionally few of the representatives of the oldest generation. Sociolinguistic Russification is reflected also in the family names of the Kanin Nenetses. While the Siberian Nenets groups have well retained their traditional family names that link them to their old tribal formations, the European Nenetses – Kanin, Timan and Malaya Zemlya Nenetses have adopted Russian names or Russified name forms quite early. Especially in Kanin, the early dissolving of the tribal formations accelerated this change. Thus, some of the Kanin families still remember their Nenets names, but the correspondence of the current Russian names to the previous Nenets ones is not straightforward. Of the Kanin family names, for example Ardeev corresponds to the Nenets family of We"lyi and Bobrikov to Syadey. Other Kanin families, like Kanyukov or Latyshev seem to be Russified forms of original Nenets family names. (See further, Vasil'ev, 1979, 134–139.)

Concerning the survival of the song traditions of the Kanin Nenetses, on the basis of information I could gather during my trip there was that a little amount of Nenets individual songs – also in Kanin – have survived to the present. Having at least some examples of the songs in performance, and discussions about the contexts of the songs, it is possible to draw some basic conclusions at least on the realization of the metrical level. Otherwise, the overall picture regarding the survival of the local oral traditions was quite pessimistic, as reported so many times

<sup>2</sup> For example, the nomadic reindeer-herders particularly in Kanin have taken an arched tent in use instead of the traditional conical hut, *mya*". The tent is called only in Russian form as "palatka". Palatkas have been in use for some last 30–40 years.

before (see e. g. Vasil'ev 1977, 4; 40–41; 55 et passim). However, there were singers, who still mastered their art and could perform even lengthy narrative songs. However, true individual songs were regrettably rarer. Some singers, whom I asked individual songs, just replied that "they were never interested" about individual songs or as "they don't drink, they don't master the songs either". It is obvious that replies of this kind must not be thought as exhaustive and satisfactory from the point of view of true existence of competence in individual songs, but interpreted together with the data of known language situation they do not give very encouraging an impression about the present state of the Nenets song culture in Kanin.

### The Nenets individual songs

The general concept of a Nenets song – an individual song in particular – is *syo*. Etymologically it can be traced to a Uralic word root \**sóye-* 'throat', 'voice'. This etymology offers a plausible interpretation for the relevant meanings of *syo*. Defined as 'throat' or 'voice', it is at the same time 'my throat' or 'my voice' – or, as I believe, "my breathing", in fact, "my breathe-soul". This semantic interpretation has come up repeatedly in my discussions with Nenets masters of song or folklore, but proving it would be a subject of special fieldwork.

However, in many Nenets areas, the individual song is referred to with the verb 'to be drunk', *yabyes'*. According to my fieldwork, the most western Nenetses (from Kanin to Malaya Zemlya) speak about *yabye"ma* (*xints*) when referring to an individual song. However, at least in Kanin, the mere word *xints* can be used while referring to a sung tale. In addition, the Taimyr Nenetses along the mouth of Enisey speak about *yabye sho*, a drunk song when referring to a song of individual character (see Niemi 1999).

As Pushkarëva (1990, 85) also notes, individual songs are usually performed when drunk. That is very true, but the performance situation is not exhaustively explained by alcohol. The Nenets expression *yábyé* (*yábyés'*) 'to be drunk' can be etymologically linked to the word *yáb* 'happiness', 'luck', 'health' (Lehtisalo 1956, 101). It is not known, whether the Nenetses have used this expression in connection with some kind of state of relaxation, prior to the introduction of alcohol in the North, but it was adopted to characterize the state created with the use of alcohol. As such, alcohol was introduced in the North already by the Muscovy penetration there and by the establishment of trade connections, perhaps beginning from the late 15th century, but most probably by the time of the Muscovy conquest

of Siberia in the late 16th century (cf. Hosking 2001, 11 about the plausible history of appearance of vodka in mid-fifteenth century Russia).

There are strict rules for the performance of one's individual song. The composer of an individual song tends to sing it in solitude and maybe in the presence of the closest relatives, but not willingly to other people, especially to non-relatives. On the other hand, it is considered insulting to sing or to reveal songs of one's close relatives to strangers. These rules can be evaded, if the performer can be sure that the owner of the song does not hear her/his song performed by somebody else. In singing somebody else's song, the name of the author of the song has to be announced although usually it occurs in the song text anyway. As discussed above, owing to the individual nature of the song, another performer creates in fact another song, an interpretation or variant of the song, like imitating a written autograph. In any case, with the author's name being incorporated every time the song is performed, it can survive long after its author has gone.

The individual song functions also as a medium to describe and contemplate one's individual experiences, it can serve as a soother in long, solitary journeys in hard weather. On the other hand, the singing of someone else's song (in public) is a kind of social statement, an interpretation, through which the singer describes the owner of the song. Thus, in a way, individual songs function as an archive or map of social relationships.

The present status of the few individual songs I could hear and document is well reflected in the discussion we had with the singers. Either they did not remember them at all, or if they did there where no social rules whatsoever attached to the songs. All the songs were created and sung in the past, in the 1930's–1950's; and they were only memorized up to the present day in the heads of the last singers.

However, the individual songs do seem to continue their existence, even after their "classic mode of being" with the function of almost ritual importance and an aura of sacredness, as the expression of self-being, which was not allowed for anybody to be uttered in every public circumstance. After these norms were slackened, the individual songs transformed gradually from an authored into an anonymous form of existence. This seems to be the situation in Kanin, where I expected not to meet any singers at all.

### The singing folk artists of the Nenetses

The village of Nes' at the root of the Kanin Peninsula, March the seventh. The moment of spring is still far away, harsh, frosty wind is blowing outside, and the snowdrifts are high. We are sitting in a house with Elizaveta Ardeeva, one of

the best known singers among the Kanin Nenetses. We are talking about Nenets individual songs, authored name-songs about the life and deeds of concrete individual persons. By the discussion with Elizaveta Ardeeva, it turned out that individual songs were not completely disappeared. She had mostly fable songs or other types of narratives (*xints(à)*) in her repertoire, but as we talked about the existence of individual songs during the days of our meetings, it turned out that she was also able to memorize several songs of the individual type.

She has adopted the role of the interpreter of the songs of the Kanin Nenetses for already a long time ago, as a stage performer. This way, her repertoire is a part of the folklorised discourse, together with the manners of stage performance and performance costumes, the design of which is based on the traditional festive costumes of the Kanin Nenets women. During this week of March, our sessions proved that she was able to memorize and perform her versions these songs, using her productive knowledge and experience of the stichic meter.

Among the Nenetses, there are several outstanding artists of her kind, who still remember their traditional art, like Elena Susoy and Gennadiy Puyko among the Yamal Nenetses, Lyubov' Nenyang (d. 1996) among the Yenisey Nenetses and Polina Turutina among the Pur river Forest Nenetses, to mention only a few. Their mastery of art bases to their capacity and experience of producing versions of songs, using the traditional stichic way of expression, which can be testified with metric analysis.

The individual songs open a gateway to the lives of yesterday people

The individual songs are a form of traditional expression, which can open a gateway into the past of, say, 50–70 years ago. In the following example, Elizaveta Ardeeva memorized a song of a representative of the family of Bobrikov. Thematically, this song was about clairvoyance, seeing things beforehand, in the dramatic wartime context of 1941–1942:

*Bobrikov' yabye"ma*<sup>3</sup>

- |                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Nyar(a) papowkowi(xe)y, | Three younger brothers, |
| 2. nyar Pob(ey)ryikey ey,  | three Bobrikovs,        |
| 3. syenyadayow senyow      | a long time ago         |
| 4. arka woy(ey)naney.      | (went) to the big war.  |

<sup>3</sup> I thank separately here Maria Barmich, a native of Kanin, the head of the cathedra of Uralic languages in the Institute of the Northern Peoples of the Herzen Institute in St. Petersburg, for the most competent possible help with these texts and translations.

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 5. Nyar(a) nyemyey yawe(xe)y    | Three fiancees (left),                 |
| 6. oka nyudyow yagow,           | some children,                         |
| 7. nyudya wadowbyidow,          | to raise the children,                 |
| 8. sawa bokowanow,              | very well,                             |
| 9. manya yexey(ya)waney         | without me                             |
| 10. Odagarey nyaney ey(e).      | in the village of Nes'.                |
| 11. Elowey hangumey             | I shall die soon                       |
| 12. yedyakayey xelacyiyey.      | to great agony.                        |
| 13. Sobalyow(a)yenawiy ey(ya),  | Sobolev                                |
| 14. kadakayow tyidow?           | how to leave (slaughter) the reindeer? |
| 15. Nyana nyuney(ye) nyudyow,   | Very small children,                   |
| 16. nyana nyuney ngokow,        | quite much of the small ones,          |
| 17. mat(a) sawow nyuwey(ye)     | six precious child,                    |
| 18. kadawadownggudow.           | will they survive(?).                  |
| 19. Pida yexey(ya)warow,        | Well, you,                             |
| 20. tot'(a) syidyow(a) nyarey,  | each one having two brothers,          |
| 21. oka nyudyow yagow.          | and not much children.                 |
| 22. Sulyeyow(a)yenawi(xi)y,     | My Sulyeyowna-wife,                    |
| 23. nyadagonowkerow,            | you will help her,                     |
| 24. nyara nyemyey yawiy.        | help the three fiancees.               |
| 25. Tyet(a) Powa(ye)ryeki(xe)y, | The four Bobrikovs,                    |
| 26. nyana okow(a)yewow,         | we are many,                           |
| 27. amga xosowewoxow?           | what (destiny) are we looking for?     |
| 28. Towiyey(ye) ngewanow(a),    | As we returned,                        |
| 29. pyelyatow tangow,           | half of us returned                    |
| 30. pyelyaka (gow)...           | and half of us...                      |

Notwithstanding difficulties in interpreting some of the lines, the message of these songs is quite well composed. During the Second World War (the Soviet "Great Patriotic War" of 1941–1944), Kanin Nenetses were sent to the Carelian front in the North, as sharpshooters or in the conveyance, with reindeer sledges. As such, the destinies of the European Nenetses in the war would require a separate study. The separate episodes I have heard tend to repeat the same sad plot of uncertainty: the Nenets soldiers were gathered from the tundra to an unknown destination with a varying degree of basic training. Usually, the Nenetses at the best

had only an elementary command of Russian. Information about soldiers killed in action reached their families only after several years, in some cases – "never".

This song opened the following discussion. In the situation of discussion, I chose a strategy for following and commenting on Elizaveta Ardeeva in the same discourse, because I did not want to intervene her telling with ethnographically or historically more argumented replies in order to keep the discourse open. In general, I wanted to structure and view this kind of discussion from the point of view of discourse, because I was more interested to know how she talks about some facts of the tradition (like things related to the animistic worldview), than to evaluate this discussion on factual terms. In some cases, I suggested alternative possibilities for some of her information, based on my experiences of similar themes among other Nenets groups. Before, during and after the conversation I tried to keep her as well informed as I could of what I "know", either basing to literature or my field work in other areas:

EA: (The singer) advises his wife here. There were three wives, when the three Bobrikov brothers were sent from Nes' in 1941 and he (the singer) was left for the next spring of 1942. The singer was sent from Shoyna, after the opening of the spring navigation. They were transported with steam ships. Well, he sings that "I have this Suleyowna (wife), what will happen to her, when she has six children and they are all so young?"

This man sings that "there are many of us, Bobrikovs. Half of us survive the war but half of us will die, they won't return. Those who will return, they must help each other and the families of those men who won't return." It happened so that the singer was one of the Bobrikovs who didn't return. He didn't return to his six children, he died in the war. Then also the youngest brother died. Two came back, two died. Somehow he saw forward, when he said that two will return and two will die.

JN: He saw forward? But what it is, not everyone can see forward?

EA: Who knows what it is? Maybe it was just a hunch... After all, he did not mention the names of who will return and who will die.

JN: Well. By the way, have you heard that you usually had people here, who... know things forward?

EA: Well, there have been people like that...

JN: Among the Siberian Forest Nenetses, I met this kind of a special person, the likes of who were said to know things beforehand, in their dreams. They were said to travel in their dreams, perhaps to a different world. However, they were not



called shamans, but dreamseers...

EA: Well, I see also...

JN: Really?

EA: Yes. Sometimes when I see (in a dream) somebody, a brother, or a sister, somebody will appear... not necessarily this person, but a hunch of him...

JN: So that you will know beforehand, what will happen?

EA: Beforehand. I see in a dream and then I tell. There was this case. An old man died. We were living at that time in the village of Kiya, for the first years (after the war, at the end of the 1940's) and... this old man lived in Bugrenitsa, beyond the river Shoyna. He used to live there during the winter, hunting the sea animals on the shore, and polar foxes on the land, things like that. He lived there in his own peace. But then, before his death, he got sick and his wife transported him to Kiya. We had horses then... They, however, used to have dogs...

JN: You mean sledge dogs<sup>4</sup>?

EA: Yes, they had special sledge dogs. She drove him in a dog sledge to Kiya, where he had relatives. He still lived there for some time, but then he died. Well, after a person has died, neighbours are invited to the funeral. Well, we also arrived and... usually the funeral guests stay there (at the place of the funeral) and spend the night there, with the deceased. It was a small room like this, the coffin was placed on small chairs, and the body was there. So we also slept in that room with our family and beside us there were two old women sleeping.

I sleep and this old man appears for me in my dream. As if he rose from his coffin and said: - Don't be afraid - as if he said to me - don't be afraid, I won't touch anybody. It is not much I need. And then, as if pointing from his coffin towards the table, he says: - they didn't give me any water. I wish they gave me some water... It's all I need.

Well, then one of these old women woke up – as I also, because it was already morning and time to wake up anyway – and says: ...well you are of the kind of kin, are you, what did you see in your dream? I replied to the old woman: – Yes, I saw, of course I saw when this old man raises from the coffin and asks for water...

JN: Wait a minute... "of the kind of kin"?

EA: Well, the of the kin of the knowing... the ones who know. And I said – triumphantly – that I saw, of course I saw when the old man raised from his coffin to wander around and ask for water.

<sup>4</sup> Among the European Nenetses, dog sledges are reported having been in use especially in the extreme north (the islands of Kolguev and Novaya Zemlya), in the circumstances, where there is not enough lichen available for keeping reindeer in the same pasture area for longer periods.



JN: Well, was he given water, then?

AE: Well, after that this old woman went to look for the men who had washed this old man, Ivan. She found them and asked: – Did you also wash his head? Why didn't you ask me to give you a comb, then? The other man replies that "I washed his head all right. . . well, or not exactly, I just held his head on my knees to prevent it soaking, while we washed him."

There you are! This is clear, says the old woman, that's what he was asking for! You didn't wash his head. Then they went and washed the head of the deceased old man. The old woman says to me: "what did I tell you, you are of the kin of the knowing ones!"

JN: Well, how about that! So did you actually have any knowing persons in your family?

AE: Well, my grandmother was a knower.

JN: A-ha. . . How did they, then, call her?

AE: A *tádyebya* ('shaman').

JN: Well, a *tádyebya*?

AE: Yes.

JN: And a female one. . .

AE: Yes, my grandmother, Malan'ya Petrovna was a *tádyebya*. She was, after her husband, also a *We"lyi* (the old Nenets family name of the Ardeevs), born in the Bol'shaya Zemlya tundra.

Thus, it was not actually her kin, as it was from her grandfather's wife's Bol'shaya Zemlya kin that were "the knowing ones". It is a very plausible possibility that the last persons among the Kanin Nenetses having shamanistic skills were actually originally not from there, but brought there because of the traditional exogamic norms of marriage. Still, reports of actual female *tádyebyas* are rarer although there were them (Evsyugin 1979, 33). It is more probable, though, that her grandmother has been only a knowing one, a specialist of the traditional animistic worldview, perhaps of kin of shamans, though.

### Traces of shamanistic songs among the Kanin Nenetses?

From the point of reference of my research orientation, proving a song as shamanistic (see: Niemi 1998, 72–77) requires relevant and reliable information about the performance context of the candidate song, an argued possibility of identifying the song generically and also proofs from the metric structural

analysis of the song. Unfortunately, all these criteria are hard to fulfill among the European Nenetses, due to lack of information about the performance context or unambiguity of the generic context (e. g. a song may have been transformed from a nearly obsolete genre into an existing one). In the few cases of proofs of shamanistic songs among the European Nenetses, the only available criteria are the occurrences of the "shamanistic" tetrameter (usually realized as an octosyllabic line) in the songs (Niemi 1998, 74–76), instead of the "secular" trimeter (realized as a hexasyllabic line).

Unfortunately, this far we could not go this time. The closest we got was, when on 11 March, Elizaveta Ardeeva remembered a song of the individual type about two duelling female shamans. I quote our discussion:

EA: This is a yabye"ma.

JN: About these two women, how they shamanized...?

EA: A-ha. They measured their strength against each other, which one of them was more powerful. They put their own sons, two Yilyeykas at stake. She had a Yilyeyka and the other had a Yilyeyka.

JN: But nevertheless we call this song yabye"ma?

EA: Yes, yabye"ma. She sung the song when she was drunk.

JN: All right. So it is, after all, again a yabye"ma of a concrete person...

EA: Both they... these old women... were shamans. They wanted to waste... well, wanted to know who is stronger; they wanted to waste the other one's son until death.

JN: All right... Is it known where this song was sung, here on the Kanin tundra, or...?

EA: On the Kanin tundra, yes. It is purely a Kanin one, it was sung here... After all, these people drove very rarely to the Mezen' side, not to speak about Pinega...

JN: The people who sang this particular song?

EA: Yes, they are mostly people from Kanin.

JN: Is it possible to know the names of the people in this song... or whose song this is?

EA: The other old woman, she was Paraska. She was Paraska and the other one... she was called by a nickname... She was the wife of Yakun'ka, so she was called Yakunyikha. Her Russian name was Anna, but everybody called her Yakunyikha, for some reason.

JN: Do you know her family name?

EA: They were Latyshevs. The others were Tal'kovs. Paraska was Tal'kova and Yakunyikha – Latysheva.

JN: Interesting. Whose song it was, then. They surely did not sing it together, did they?

EA: No, Yakunyikha wants to show to the other one. She was in another camp. She was called there for help, a woman has got ill, and Yakunyikha was called there to cure her. Then she sings and asks, "where is your shamaness Paraska? Why is she not here to cure the ill woman? They said that Paraska always took pride in how she cured people, and took reindeer as a reward for curing people. Now where she is, if it is true that she could cure people? She did nothing to cure this woman."

As if Paraska could not cure this woman. Yakunyikha says: let us have a duel with Paraska and see which one of us is stronger, she has a son called Yilyeyka and I have a son called Yilyeyka.

Yakunyikha' yabye"ma

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. masy(e)ti tadyebyow(a) ngey,                              | Shamanesses are talking,                    |
| 2. Paras(a)ka tadyebyow(a) ngey,                             | Paraska is a shamaness,                     |
| 3. Paras(a)ka tadyebyow(a) ngey,                             | Paraska is a shamaness,                     |
| 4. soyam(an)dawe nyeryow(a) ngey,                            | a seer-woman.                               |
| 5. nyeryabow(a)konow mengow(a) ngey,                         | (untranslated line)                         |
| 6. Paras(a)ka tadyebyow(a) ngey,                             | Paraska is a shamaness,                     |
| 7. ti pereytsyatey(ya) ngey,                                 | guards the reindeer,                        |
| 8. manya yexeynaney(ya) ngey,                                | without me.                                 |
| 9. ti manyesyey(ya)timey(ya) ngey,                           | I also look after the reindeer,             |
| 10. per(a)nyisyeytimey(ya) ngey,                             | I guard them.                               |
| 11. Paras(a)ka tadyebyow(a) ngey,                            | Paraska is a shamaness,                     |
| 12. pida(ngaya) ngilyey(ya)kadow(a) ngey,                    | she is a ngileka [ <i>an evil spirit</i> ], |
| 13. manyabow(a) ngilyey(ya)kawey(ya) ngey                    | but I am also a ngileka.                    |
| 14. syidn... tida... syidyabow(a) nyunyey<br>yedey(ya) ngey, | Each one of us has a son.                   |
| 15. xor(a)panyi xoreykuyey(ya) ngey,                         | Let us try,                                 |
| 16. xinyangey(ya)' (ngey) we...                              | which one of us...                          |
| 17. xinyangey(ya) ngeyey wa'lyow(a) ngey,                    | which one of us is smarter.                 |
| 18. manya yexeywaney(ya) ngey,                               | Without me,                                 |
| 19. syidya(ngeya) nyudyow nuywey(ya) ngey,                   | two little sons,                            |
| 20. pyi(ngeya) yerow pyiney(ya) ngey,                        | are afraid at midnight,                     |

21. yalya(ngeya) yerow pyiney(ya) ngey,           are afraid at noon,  
 22. Paras(a)ka tadyebyow(a) ngey,           Paraska-shamaness,  
 23. nyudyabow(a) xanow xayow(a) ngey,       do not touch the young ones!  
 24. nyudyabow(a) yagow nyongey(ya) ngey.   There are no young children!<sup>6</sup>

EA: She says, as if she won Paraska, she defeated her and took her son. She, Yakunyikha won Paraska, she was stronger.

JN: Well, what happened "concretely" to the sons?

EA: Well, Yakunyikha had two sons and she says that she is guarding them day and night, so that Paraska could not, so to say, "shoot her evil arrows to them".

This is also a song I just heard sung, these things happened before my time, before my appearing to the earth... This was very long ago. At that time, people were altogether dark... Who just could do something special... that's how they were, then... There was no consensus among them. The rich reindeer-herders communicated with each other, like a separate power and the poor communicated with the other poor...

Eventually, this song is sung in the form of an individual song. The metrical basic form is typically trimetric (hexasyllabic) although it is realized in rhythmical form (see the line-medial supplementary syllables (ngeya) in parentheses), which some times remind of the octosyllabic line. However, as there are no initial/medial exclamatory code lines (consisting only of supplementary, non-lexical syllables) and an emphasized caesura in the middle of the line, this realization of the trimetric "secular" form is very typical among the European Nenetses (west of Pechora).

## Epilogue

Thus, the trip described here could be considered as an expected disappointment regarding the evidence of the survival of the shamanistic traditions among the Kanin Nenetses. They seem to be present only in literature (Castrén 1967, 135–136, 139–140; Evsyugin 1979, 25–34; Vasil'ev 1977, 80–82). However, considered as a probe to the existence of the utmost rare documents of the songs of the Kanin Nenetses in general, the total corpus of all songs recorded during this trip was some 1300 lines of sung oral tradition, documented in performance, which gives some consolation to the most pessimistic views of the survival of song tradition among the Kanin Nenetses.

<sup>6</sup> She tries to keep them safe from the other shamaness also by denying their existence.

I shall conclude this report with an event at the beginning of our trip. It seems that although perhaps obsolete or unseen, we were surrounded from many sides with traces of the animistic practices. As, Evsyugin reminds us, with the words of a Nenets man from the Warandey tundra:

”On the land of the Kanin, the Koz’ma’s Wood (Koz’min perelesok), near the village of Syomzha, was considered as a sacred place. The wood was about 10 versts<sup>7</sup> long and half a verst wide. It consisted of small spruce and birch. In the wood there were one hundred wooden idols of different sizes. Of them, 20 were big ones, with rounded heads, reminding human heads. The trees were decorated with colourful cloths and pendants.

Many Nenetses, who were passing through Koz’ma’s Wood, cut a small spruce and took it with them to carry it in their sacred sledge all the time, together with their domestic idols. There were legends about the wood. According to one of them, a group of Russian fishermen, headed by Koz’ma, drove to a lake through that sacred place. They laughed at the idols and decorations that hung from the trees. All of a sudden, their horses refused to proceed any further and they stood at their places, until the fishermen made an oath to respect this sacrificial place of the Nenetses. Koz’ma was the first to hang his coloured belt as a symbol of requesting reconciliation. After that, the Nenetses started to call the place as Koz’ma’s Wood. Originally it was called Xarw Pod (‘[The path into the] Larch Thicket’).” (Evsyugin 1979, 24)

To our surprise, Koz’ma’s Wood was still there. Driving four persons with one motor sledge with an extra sledge for some 100 kilometers along the Mezen’ tundra, we had to make frequent stops. Fortunately, our timing was right: the last rays of full sunshine lighted the frosty trees of Koz’ma’s Wood as we stopped there. No idols were seen anymore, but the birches near the sledge path were abundantly decorated by travellers. There were colourful cloths, umbrellas, cigarettes, coffee pots, children’s dolls, plastic bags, coins, reindeer antlers attached to the trees – various things that passing travellers had with them to sacrifice. We made our sacrifice there, too. Curiously enough, it happened to be our driver, a Russian hunter, and an experienced master of the territory, who seemed to take the stop very seriously. No wonder, since Koz’ma’s Wood was believed to be a very powerful place not only by the Nenetses, but also by Russians (see: Vasil’ev 1977, 83). However, the path to the snowy, frosty and darkening tundra seemed to be wide open after our sacrifices. As we drove on, the wonderfully coloured sunset

---

<sup>7</sup> The traditional Russian measure of length, 1066,8 m.

provided us yet a view to the Viena Coast and the Syomzha Bay, until the darkness of the night surrounded us, however, to be lit by the colourful play of the northern lights.

## Literature

- Castrén, M. A. 1967. *Tutkimusmatkoilla Pohjolassa*, transl. by A. J. Joki. Porvoo-Helsinki: WSOY.
- Evsyugin, A. D. 1979. *Nentsy arkhangel'skikh tundr*. Arkhangel'sk: Severo-zapadnoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo.
- Hosking, Geoffrey 2001. *Russia and the Russians from earliest times to 2001*. London: Penguin Books.
- Khomich, L. V. 1995. *Nentsy – ocherki traditsionnoy kul'tury*. Sankt-Peterburg: Russkiy dvor.
- Lehtisalo, Toivo 1956. *Juraksamojedisches Wörterbuch*. Lexica Societatis Finno-Ugricae XIII. Helsinki: Société Finno-Ugricae.
- Likhachëv, D. S. (interpr.) 1994. *Nestorin kronikka* [Povest' vremennykh let], transl. in Finnish Marja-Leena Jaakkola. Porvoo-Helsinki-Juva: WSOY.
- Niemi, Jarkko 1998. *The Nenets Songs – A structural analysis of text and melody*. Acta Universitatis Tamperensis 591. Tampere: University of Tampere.
- Niemi, Jarkko 1999. *Nyenëi Nyenyangi' sho" — Songs of the Real Nenyang: Songs of the Taimyr Nenets performed by Lyubov' Prokop'evna Nenyang*. Tutkivi 20. Tampere: University of Tampere.
- Pushkarëva, E. T. 1990. *Lichnye pesni nentsev. Sovremennoye finno-ugrovedeniye – opyt i problemy*, eds. O. M. Fishman, E. A. Ryabinin & I. V. Dubov. Leningrad: Muzei Etnografii narodov SSSR, 81–85.
- Vasil'ev, V. I. 1977. *Poluostrov Kanin*. V. I. Vasil'ev & L. N. Geydenreykh: *Tundra kaninskaya*. Moskva: Mysl', 1-108.
- Vasil'ev, V. I. 1979. *Problemy formirovaniya severo-samodiysskikh narodnostey*. Moskva: Nauka.

## On Forest Nenets Shaman Songs

*Mägi, Kaur – Toulouze, Eva*

Very little has been written about Forest Nenets shamanism and beliefs in general. Few data have been collected at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More extensive research has unfortunately been started only in the Post-Soviet period: systematic persecution against shamans<sup>1</sup> since the early 1930-ies and the subsequent penetration of materialistic beliefs, transmitted by all the institutional levels of society (school, army, collective and state farms system) have led indeed to very deep changes in the Forest Nenets' worldview and beliefs<sup>2</sup>. Shamanic practice has been particularly affected by these events: we have no reports about the present existence of performing shamans, either in our own extensive fieldwork in two Forest Nenets areas – the Agan river and the lake Num-to –, or in any literature about this people. While questioned, informants use to mention concrete people who were shamans and are now deceased, but add that nowadays there are no real shamans. In the Agan river basin, we have been told about living or lately deceased Khanty shamans<sup>3</sup>, but remembrances of Nenets shamans are much older and faded<sup>4</sup>. This is certainly not enough to pretend that shamans do not exist at all in the Forest Nenets areas<sup>5</sup>, but it allows us undoubtedly to suggest that even if shaman practice may still be found, it is but marginal.

<sup>1</sup> There are many references about the ideological war against shamanism (Suslov 1931 is one of the most complete articles on the subject) and knowledge about repressions in Western Siberia. Nevertheless few authors give more concrete information about the latter than Sokolova (Sokolova 1992 : 147).

<sup>2</sup> This article deals in particular with Forest Nenets culture. These phenomena are of course not specific to the Forest Nenets: all the so-called small peoples of Siberia have more or less gone through the same historical evolution and deep changes have been noticed anywhere. Many studies have been dedicated to these items, but this is the first attempt to sum up what we know about Forest Nenets shamanic tradition.

<sup>3</sup> As, in the Trom-yugan region, Ivan Stepanovich Sopochnin (deceased in the early 1990-ies), and his kinsman Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochnin, born in 1954 (Kerezsi 1995 : 40).

<sup>4</sup> We have been told about a shaman who was called Yancha: he was the father of Pavel Yanchevich Ayvaseda, who died in the mid 1990-ies. There is thus a generation gap between Khanty and Nenets shamans in the Agan region.

<sup>5</sup> We have no concrete experience at the moment about the third great Forest Nenets area, the upper course of the Pur river.

The goal of this article is to sum up our present knowledge about Forest Nenets shamanism and to organise these data around concrete texts of shamanic and ritual songs collected in 2000. The 20. century published material does not present any text connected with shamanic practice, although published texts certainly do not cover the whole of collected data. An interesting article presenting Forest Nenets dream songs, which are actually connected with shamanic practice, has been published in 2001 by Jarkko Niemi (Niemi 2001). Our texts are certainly not spectacular, neither have they been recorded during real shamanic practice. But we have nothing better to start from.

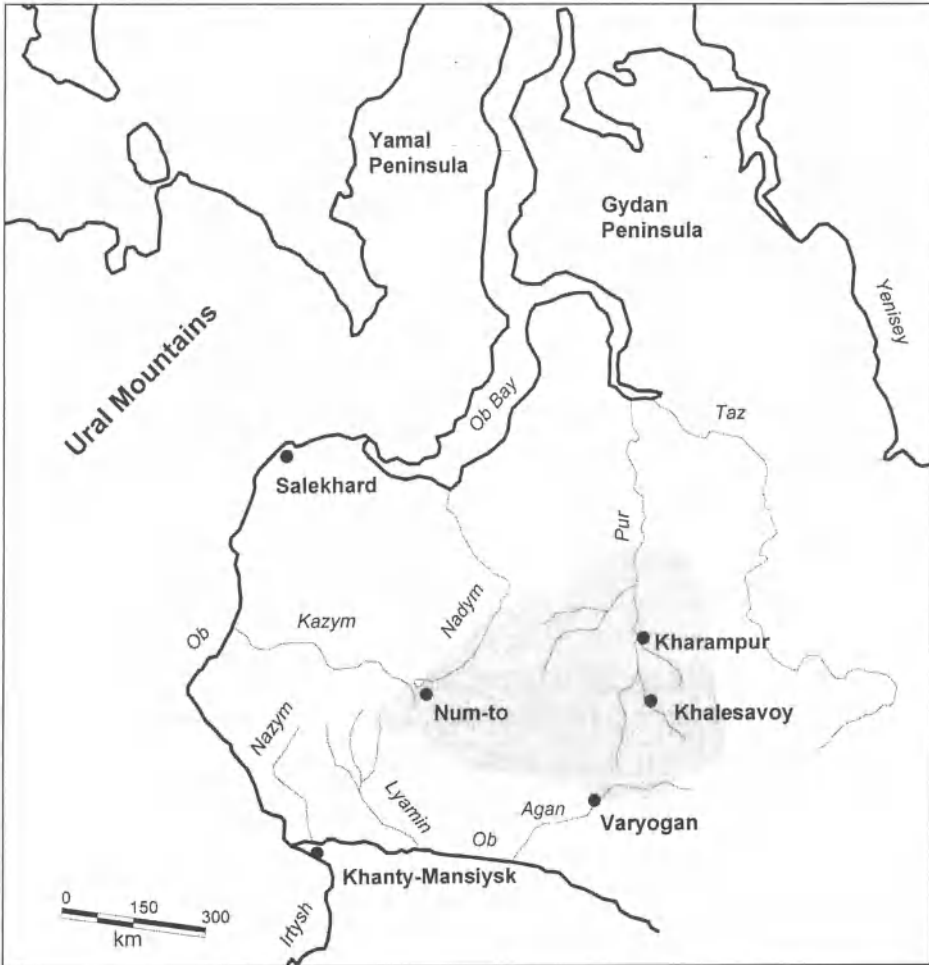
It must nonetheless be mentioned that if Forest Nenets data are very poor, this is not the case for Tundra Nenets material. Tundra Nenets shamanism has been thoroughly studied<sup>6</sup> and there is no lack of illustrative texts and historical background (Hoppál 2000). The Forest Nenets are undoubtedly thoroughly connected with the Tundra Nenets, like two branches of the same people<sup>7</sup>. Is this enough to consider that Tundra Nenets data about shamanism are valid also for Forest Nenets? Toivo Lehtisalo comments both Tundra and Forest Nenets information about beliefs in the same study without structural distinction (Lehtisalo 1924). L. Homich, in her basic monograph about the Nenets, dedicates more than 15 pages to Nenets shamanism, but without mentioning the Forest Nenets at all (Homich 1995 : 230-246). In a former study, she noticed that the few data available about Forest Nenets correspond to what is known about the Tundra Nenets (Homich 1972 : 208).

We would like to be more prudent. The first reason is that despite the closeness of Tundra and Forest Nenets cultures, there are many fields in which analogy may not be applied. The differences between the languages are of such importance than contemporary scholars chose to treat them as separate languages and not as dialects, although their common origin is easy to identify. The Forest Nenets way of life differs considerably from the Tundra Nenets' because of the different character of their ecosystem. As far as we know, the folklore of the Forest Nenets presents some particular features and some peculiar developments (Mägi, Toulouze 2002);

<sup>6</sup> Also from the point of view of textual analysis: the metric of Tundra Nenets shaman songs has been in detail analysed by Hajdú (Hajdú 1978).

<sup>7</sup> Forest Nenets distinguish the other peoples by specific terms. The term used for Russians is *éusa*, which is also used for other "western" people, except the Komis, who are called *£%sma*; it may be supposed that the term *kæei*, used nowadays for the Khantys, referred formerly also to other non-Nenets peoples: Selkups are called for example *tõsam kæei*. But Tundra Nenets are not *kæei*: they are called *ðiëõê*, 'people of the other country'.





the Forest Nenets are aware of having borrowed the Tundra Nenets folklore items (narratives and songs), they mention the fact, and true enough it happens that the name of some characters are very clearly of Tundra Nenets origin. Direct analogies do not work automatically in other cultural areas. Therefore we shall not consider as an understatement that both forms have been thoroughly identical.

We shall start from the existant Forest Nenets materials, comparing them to the very few indications from the past and only in a second stage with what we know about other peoples.

### 1. About Forest Nenets shamanism in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

The main researcher on Forest Nenets in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is undoubtedly Toivo Lehtisalo. The Finnish scholar spent some time in 1914 in the Forest Nenets area, where he recorded not only the comparatively few folklore texts we find in his collection (Lehtisalo 1947 : 70-72, 79-86, 101-104, 132-147, 343-344, 406-420, 546- 548, 604-607) but also a huge amount of linguistic data which are to be found in his extensive Nenets dictionary, which includes Forest Nenets as well as Tundra Nenets lexical forms (Lehtisalo 1956). One of his main informants was a man from the Ngahany clan called Kallyat, whom he met in summer 1914 (Lehtisalo 1947 : X). As far as we know, Kallyat was already an old man when he got acquainted the Finnish linguist and agreed to answer his questions and practically to teach him his tongue. Lehtisalo learned very much from Kallyat: many examples from his dictionary have been heard from him and many of the data included in his *Nenets Mythology* (Lehtisalo 1924) have the same source. Kallyat was a shaman and he considered Lehtisalo as a shaman as well, i.e. as a colleague; we know that Lehtisalo could have been initiated to his shamanic knowledge. But Kallyat required 50 roubles, asserting that it is not allowed to teach shamanic knowledge for free; Lehtisalo considered that he was not allowed to spend in this way the money given him as a scholarship, but he managed to gather nonetheless some information, by convincing Kallyat that if he would just speak Russian, the Nenets gods would not understand (Lehtisalo 1959 : 154).

These data are extensively referred to in Lehtisalo's *Nenets mythology*. In this study, a whole chapter is dedicated to what the Finnish researcher calls "the enchanters" (*Die Zauberer*, Lehtisalo 1924 : 145 and following), where he mentions Forest as well as Tundra Nenets shamans. According to the Forest Nenets, the shaman is the one who knows the origin of things (Lehtisalo 1924 : 165).

There is another fairly unknown researcher who had the opportunity of participate to a shamanic séance: Raisa Mitusova, after a previous pilot expedition (Mitusova 1927), spent one year among the Agan Forest Nenets and she dedicated an article to her experience (Mitusova 1929). Unfortunately, as Homich notices, her article is nowadays a “bibliographic rarity”. We have nevertheless some excerpts in Homich’s article dedicated to the Forest Nenets (Homich 1972): the Russian ethnographer quotes entirely the parts describing the shamanic séance (Homich 1972 : 209-210). As Mitusova reports, her arrival was followed by a séance whose aim was to ask the spirits whether she was to be accepted or rejected. The shaman was an elder man, rather shabby, whom she had by chance given presents at her first meeting with the elder. During the seance, the spirits informed the shaman that Mitusova was a great healer, and this approval simplified considerably her work during her sojourn in Siberia. We shall present later more in detail some elements of this seance. Anyhow, this is all we have to insert present data into an historical perspective.

## 2. About Kallyat and his songs

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kallyat was probably quite well known as a shaman. Nowadays Nenets tell legends about him. We asked one of his descendants, who is also a member of the Ngahany clan, to tell us who Kallyat was. Our informant, called Tatva, is a 43-years old Forest Nenets from the Num-to area, who is blind (as Kallyat was at the end of his life), and therefore has lived all his life in a Nenets environment, without school either army, and has a very deep knowledge of his people’s traditions.

He told us some legends about Kallyat. One of them is about how he became a shaman:

*“When Kallyat was a young man, he hunted wild reindeer. Once in the spring, he walked for a long time, he didn’t see any animal. On one lake, he got a grebe. He thought: “since I have nothing else to eat, I shall boil this grebe for dinner”. He made a fire in his camp, which was set on the shore of a subterranean river. Suddenly, he heard someone coming from the other side of the river. He looked at the person who came towards him, and the thought: “Hereabout, I have never seen this kind of man, he looks strange to me”. The stranger said: “Haha, Kallyat, you went hunting. . .” So he knew Kallyat’s name. He carried a bottle of vodka. They sat down and started to drink. They drank for some time, and Kallyat got drunk. Then the stranger said: “Kallyat, when you grow up, you shall be a great shaman and you will live a long life”. They drank, sung and embraced each other. Suddenly, the stranger said: “Look at me!” Kallyat*

looked at him. The stranger's face was weird, distended. The stranger said: "You will experience thrice misfortune in your life". Kallyat got scared and thought: "This is no common man, I must hold distance with him". And he moved over. He fell asleep. When he woke up, it was about noon. No man was in sight. The pot was still on hanging over the fireplace, but the fire was extinguished. He looked to the other side of the fireplace: there was a cedar looking like a man who holds a bottle in his hand.

Kallyat went back home and told the others what had happened to him. Later on, his kinsmen looked after the place where he had camped and they saw that the grass was trampled as if two men had been there. And there was also the cedar looking like a man. Kallyat lived further on. Before this event, he hadn't felt any shaman powers. After this, he became a shaman. During his life, he had three wives, and all of them died. These were the three misfortunes forecasted by the stranger. The man who had visited Kallyat was probably some kind of forest spirit, but nobody knows whether he was good or bad"<sup>8</sup>.

The way Kallyat became a shaman reminds closely the experience of the two Khanty shamans mentioned by Ágnes Kerezi: "Both of them were chosed as shamans in most ordinary conditions, while they were hunting or during a longer trip, while there were no other persons around, when they were alone in the nature. When they talk about this event, they describe the nature around them and the weather and the hunting circumstances most realistically. Both confirmed that they did not expect the appearance of the supernatural being and there were no sign announcing it" (Kerezi 1995 : 40). It is interesting to notice the stronger similarity of this story with the Khanty shaman's ones, while Tundra Nenets data seem to emphasize hereditary transmission of shamanic power and earlier appearance of signs from childhood (Homich 1981 : 8-9).

After Kallyat became a shaman, he had the opportunity of competing with other shamans:

"Once Kallyat was in a town. He drank and met a Khanty shaman. It was probably a Khanty from the Kazym River. The Khanty said: "Let us compete to see which of us is the stronger shaman. Kallyat answered: "I have no great power, just a little bit". The Khanty took seven knives; he heated them on the fire and plunged six of them into his throat. But he didn't manage to plunge the last one. Kallyat heated also seven knives on the fire and plunged them all into his throat. So Kallyat was the winner".

The shaman plunging knives in his flesh is a recurrent theme in literature about the Nenets, starting from Richard Johnson's report in the XVIe century

<sup>8</sup> This and the following legends have been referred by Tatva in Yuri Vella's winter camp on the river Tyuutyakha (in the Agan region), on October 10., 2000.

(Hoppál 2000 : 116). The following report is from our fieldwork in the Agan region in 2000<sup>9</sup>. The Nenets Awahylu (50) (whose father Vahalyuma was saved as a child by a shaman) remembers having seen in his childhood a man plunging a knife into his flesh and pulling it out without any visible wound. He commented further on that this was a common way for weaker shamans to show their abilities. Homich's comment is somehow different, as she asserts that this kind of practice was characteristic not of weak, but of the strongest of shamans (Homich 1981 : 13).

There are still some interesting episodes from Kallyat's life, and some of them are connected with songs.

*"Once in summer Kallyat was again looking for something to do. Once he saw a stork and its young woming towards him. He asked them: "How long will you live in this world?" The stork answered: "We shall live as long as the sons of this place's gods, as long as the sons of this place's heavens will." The stork started singing:*

*ka'at kaλuηēkijnaws*

*ka'at mantī*

*šātaʔt d'iliwsuta*

*kaλu d'ātmaj*

*hūmta wātāš*

*kaλu taλam ma*

*čūki numuʔ hū*

*čūki kāhuʔ hū*

*pūjtunη kačitunη*

*husāš kān*

*maj kānηaj*

*tajna kānηaj*

*čiki ka'at kaλuηēkijnaws*

**Kallyat's stork song (Tatva)**

Kallyat says:

"How much longer will you live."

The stork walked,  
taking his child by the hand.

The stork said:

"The child of these heavenly beings,  
the child of these gods,  
their noses, their nails  
when they end,  
we will die,  
then we will die."

That is Kallyat's stork song.

*Kallyat said: "Yes, it seems that you will live long indeed, I think I should come with you." People do not say that Kallyat went with the stork, we just don't know whether he went or not. "*

*"The once again, I don't know whether it happened before or after the meeting with the stork, in the autumn Kallyat met six grebes. The grebes asked him: "Will you come with us? You could very well come, but you have bad clothes. They are not waterproof. We have good clothes, given by the heavenly father." Kallyat threw his malitsa<sup>10</sup> into the water and it remained there,*

<sup>9</sup> Referred during his visit to Yuri Vella's winter camp on the Tyuytyakha River, on October, 16. 2000.

<sup>10</sup> Malitsa: a typical men's cloth like a long anorak worn with a belt.

floating on the surface. Kallyat flew away with the grebes to warmer countries where he spent the winter. He came back in the spring. His relatives had found nothing but his malitsa, they didn't know whether he was dead or alive. In the spring Kallyat showed up.

*ka'at kālikātēkinaws*

*ma'tli ma'tli pa'dal*

*pa'dal pa'dal*

*wa'ptuη mānštu? mānštu?*

*ka'at tūd'in*

*ši?wimtiηä*

*nānana? nānana? tūd'in*

*ma'tli pa'dal*

*wa'ptuη mānštu?*

*tohoma? tōmīn ηi'd'īši?*

*ηai'la pani'dūt hāηulīnηa?*

*ma'na? num nšana?*

*tāmī pani'dūna?*

*wi'kāt wi'kāt manī'la*

*hī'ηulī ni? ηa?*

*ka'at čiki wāta namtaš*

*kōraj malta malta*

*wi't mōηata*

*la'pha'ata*

*ka'taš ka'maj*

*ši?wimtiηä ka'at pala'aj*

*dūpa? d'aha'na*

*ka'at d'āi'la*

*ka'at mantī*

*či*

*This is his song, he sang it while he flew away with the grebes.*

### **Kallyat's grebe song (Tatva)**

Only six, only six grebes,  
grebes, grebes,

Say, beginning to speak:  
“Kallyat, come and be the  
seventh!

Come, come with us!”

Only three grebes  
start to speak, saying:  
“If only you would come with us,  
your clothes are rotting.

Our clothes,  
given by heaven, by our father  
repel water,  
they are not rotted.”

Kallyat, hearing this talk  
threw his leather malitsa  
into the water,  
cast it in.

[Into the water it] fell, and floated.

Kallyat flapped his wings as the seventh.

In a warm lands

Kallyat goes,

Kallyat says...

That's all.

Songs accompany thus two of the main episodes of Kallyat's life. The interpretation of these songs is ambiguous: as a matter of fact they may be interpreted in two different ways. Tatva considers them as shaman songs: the stork and the grebe are at this point the spirits helping the shaman. In the grebe song's texts, the birds call Kallyat to come with them, to become one of them, to identify him to them by acquiring of some of their attributes. We may notice that the original

number of the grebes is six, “only six” as emphasized in the text, which means, as seven is a positive and often sacred number, that one more is needed. And the one who completes the set is the shaman.

Nevertheless, other interpretations are possible. Most of shaman songs may be characterised as personal songs<sup>11</sup> as well: they are not spread on a regional basis, they are not used by other people practising the same craft, they are thoroughly individual. Each shaman has his or her own songs. The specific characteristic of the shaman’s personal song is its function during the shamanic performance. “Each spirit lives in a specific place and the ways leading to them are also different. Therefore, according to Kallyat, the enchanters have different songs depending on the spirit they want to summon. Also the god of the heaven has his song. Forest Nenets shamans do not address more than one spirit at a time, because they may be mixed up and that would not do any good” (Lehtisalo 1924: 161).

Kallyat’s songs may also be interpreted as more trivial personal songs. According to Tatva, his intercourse with Lehtisalo was not one-sided: if he learned a lot about Forest Nenets culture and language by listening to Kallyat, the latter was also curious of the Finn’s country, of its culture and way of life. According to an oral report, he used to tell the other Nenets what he had heard from Lehtisalo about Finland and the West in the form of a mental travel as a migrating bird. These songs could also be the introduction to this kind of tales. It is also to be noticed that flying as a bird is a recurrent theme in Forest Nenets worldview: we have collected in the Agan region the remembrance about an elder man, who disappeared for two months. When he came back, he explained that he had gone to the Pur River region under the guise of a grebe<sup>12</sup>.

Still these songs do not have all the features of personal songs. Their text presents the action from an external point of view: the person used is the third, not the first. They do not have either some features characterising the shaman song, which, according to Helimski, is allocutive and not narrative (Helimski 1989:247), And their contents are not very ordinary, either as a shaman song<sup>13</sup> either as a personal song: the birds are not presented explicitly as helping spirits,

<sup>11</sup> Personal songs are one of the main “genres” in Nenets musical tradition (as well as by other small peoples of Siberia) : each person has a personal tune which usually while consuming alcohol he or she performs with words adapted to the circumstance. The words may vary, the tune is directly connected with its « owner » (Mägi, Ojamaa 2002 : 178, Toulouze 2002 : 94).

<sup>12</sup> Tatina, village of Varyogan (Agan region), September 2. 2000.

<sup>13</sup> If comparing to Tundra Nenets material.

there is no reference at all to the “other world”, the scope of the trip in the grebe’s song is totally absent.

Finally Tatva reports a legend about the last years of Kallyat’s life:

*“Kallyat got old. At that time, there was another shaman, from the Nichu clan. He was a shaman with an evil power. Kallyat was a shaman with a positiv power. Once the Nichu shaman said: “Let us compete to see who is a stronger shaman!” They competed in dream. The Nichu shaman threw dust into Kallyat’s eyes and therefore Kallyat went blind. Once this same Nichu and his wife visited Kallyat. Kallyat understood that it was the same man who had caused his infirmity and said in low voice: “If he, who made me blind, should come here, I would not show any mercy to him”. Nichu said to his wife: “Let us go away, Kallyat’s words are somehow bad”. They went away. During their journey, they arrived upon a cedar grove. When they went by, Kallyat had already been there with the help of his powers and had put there a magical self-shooting trap. An invisible arrow was shot; Nichu felt pain in his heart and collapsed dead. He was buried in that cedar grove. The place exists still nowadays, somewhere on the shore of the River Lyamin. After that Kallyat still lived some time, then he died too”.*

The same kind of fight between shamans, with the use of invisible self-shooting arrows, is mentioned by Kerezsi as common by the Eastern Khantys (Kerezsi 1995 : 48).

### 3. About the fly agaric songs and their functions

Fly agaric use is often mentioned in connection with Siberian shamanism. The consumption of fly agaric is supposed to help the shaman getting into the necessary trance, during which he communicates with the spirits and gets answers to his questions. This is how Munkácsi presents Vogul data about fly agaric: “To achieve the ecstatic state necessary for the shaman to begin his shamanic activity, Vogul shamans generally use *Amanita muscaria* ‘fly agaric’. (...) The mushroom produces shamanic ecstasy and enhances the performances of the shaman (...) There are male and female varieties, which are used by men and women, respectively.” (Munkácsi<sup>14</sup> 1995 : 181). Fly agaric has certainly been used also by the Forest Nenets. We have collected the texts of three fly agaric songs, and shall present hereafter two of these “vipi”-songs. The name of this mushroom in Nenets is « vipi », and this word is abundantly repeated throughout the songs.

But how did the Forest Nenets use fly agaric and who dit it? Was it indeed an attribute of the shaman practice?

<sup>14</sup> Munkácsi’s data about the Voguls have been collected during his fieldwork in Siberia in 1888-1889.



According to one tradition the shaman used to sing these songs during the performance, standing on one leg and imitating thus the external aspect of the mushroom<sup>15</sup>. Maret Saar asserts – but without mentioning any source – that by the Forest Nenets only “sacral persons” used fly agaric (Saar 1990 : 503). As the other shaman’s songs, « vipi »-songs as well are personal songs: each of them is connected to the concrete name of a concrete person.

Still we have contradictory information about the use of fly agaric: on the one hand, we may assume that fly agaric was a common accessory of Forest Nenets shamanic practice as in their neighbour’s. Tatva connects it expressly to Khanty shamanism. In specialised literature, we find confirmation of his assertion. Barkalaja comments the use of fly agaric by the Khantys, observing that if wrongly used, it may bring no results or be dangerous, even mortal, to its user (Barkalaja 1996:100). He mentions a shamanic seance in 1994 during which one shaman used fly agaric, but without any results. He commented that “the mushroom’s spirit might possess someone else” (Barkalaja 1998 : 62). On the eastern Khanty river of Vasyugan, there is a special category of shamans using fly agaric in order to have visions about the future (Lukina 1978 : 118). Anyhow shamans not using fly agaric were considered as more powerful than those who did (Barkalaja 1996:101).

The main arguments in favour of this hypotheses are both Lehtisalo’s and Mitusova’s reports.

Lehtisalo’s comments about fly agaric use concern the Forest Nenets as he got information from Kallyat. According to him, Forest Nenets shamans knew the use of fly agaric. They used it dried and washed. Only those were allowed to eat them who knew the origin of the plant. Those who did not see correctly the spirits of the mushroom may die or go mad. Usually shamans ate two and a half agarics. The shaman saw a number of human-shaped spirits corresponding to the number of mushrooms. Half a mushroom represents half a spirit. They start to run, following the sun on its way from sunset to sunrise and the shaman runs after them. He could not keep pace but the half spirit runned more slowly and looked constantly behind as if waiting for his other half<sup>16</sup>. All is dark and the shaman does not see anything. The spirits disclosed what the shaman wanted to know during this journey (Lehtisalo 1924:165).

<sup>15</sup> Oral information by Triinu Ojamaa.

<sup>16</sup> In this report there is a theme reminding us of the above-mentioned grebe song: it is the shaman seen as completing the spirit’s group – six grebes + 1, half a spirit waiting for his other half running after him.

Mitusova describes the seance she attended in 1928: “On his clothes, Payata [the shaman] put on a long white calico shirt that reached his knees. He sat down and started to chew tobacco with bits of fly agaric. At the same time other Nenets brought the drum and started to warm it. It seemed to be an ordinary Nenets drum - rather big, and the strut used by the shaman to hold it supported chains to which small bells were suspended. The shaman’s face reddened, his eyes became vague. He sipped some water, probably in order to strengthen the effect of the fly agaric, but perhaps only to quench his thirst. Because of the fire, it was very warm in the *tchum*<sup>17</sup>. He started by beating softly the drum. The blows got stronger and stronger. And Payata started to sing. He called his spirit-protector, in order to get assistance from him in his fight against the illness sent by the evil spirits. His way “to the other worlds” was apparently hard, the shaman sweated profusely. He stood up and started walking around the fire, beating the drum with all his strength. His eyes were closed; dribble appeared at the corner of his mouth, all his body was shaken. All the men started to shout “Ou ! Ou ! Ou !”. This shout, the strikes on the drum, the jungling of the bells mixed in a deafening noise. For a long time Payata jumped around the fire. The people sitting in the *tchum* chased the evil spirits away by shouting “Ou ! Ou ! Ou !”, in order to protect the soul of the shaman. Finally the shaman collapsed with a groan beating himself in a nerve crisis. The other Nenets lifted him seven times on the fire while one of the men went on beating the drum. When they put him back at his place, Payata regained consciousness and continued the *séance*” (Homich 1972 : 209).

On the other hand, Tatva has expressed two contradictory opinions: according to one of them<sup>18</sup>, “*vipi*” was connected with shamanic practice by the Khantys, but not by the Nenets. Everybody could eat fly agaric and get “drugged”, but the visions given by the mushroom did not allow the consumer to help anybody else: he could get messages for him, see events of his own future, but did not get revelations about somebody else’s illness or the way to solve it. This was the peculiar function of the proficient shaman, who did not need this means to get into trance and to communicate with the spirits. This opinion is interesting: as Tatva is a younger man, who most probably did not have personal experience of shamanic practice, it may reflect a certain development in Forest Nenets shamanism. This possibility is mentioned also by Saar: the Estonian mycologist mentions the individual or collective use of fly agaric in order to obtain “a pleasant psychic state”

<sup>17</sup> Russian word for the conical tent in Western and Central Siberia.

<sup>18</sup> Oral information to Kaur Mägi, Num-to, October 2001.

(Saar 1990 : 513). True enough, she does not explicitly mention to which ethnic group this information refers, but we may assume it concerns the Khantys, for her field work was achieved by the Yugan Khantys.

Somehow his assertion is confirmed by another informant, the Nenets poet Yuri Vella, who comments thus the use of fly agaric: "The fly agaric song is sung when fly agaric is eaten. That is done when a person feels the need to attain the condition occasioned by the use of fly agaric. This need is felt when someone falls ill and the shaman is not nearby, yet it is necessary to perform supernatural procedures. Anyone can do this to a certain extent, by the way, even without fly agaric, if he is able to concentrate. Fly agaric helps a person to concentrate more quickly and effectively on his/her inner self" (Mägi, Ojamaa, Toulouze 2002). According to this assertion, fly agaric is used when "the shaman is not nearby", therefore we can assume that it is not an attribute of the shamans, but of lower categories, who have not the necessary spiritual strength to concentrate by their own means<sup>19</sup>. As a matter of fact, Mitusova does not give any indication of the category Payata belonged to, either of his strength. We cannot exclude that the Nenets she visited had no stronger shaman. But they had to face an unknown problem, the coming of a Russian ethnographer who intended to sojourn with them; and they had to find a proper answer. This is of course merely a hypothesis allowing conciliating Mitusova's account of fly agaric use with other data concerning the Nenets as a whole and the Forest Nenets in particular.

As a matter of fact Homich does not mention at all fly agarics in her global presentation of Nenets shamanism (Homich 1995 : 230-246). It is interesting to notice that also other scholars presenting Nenets shamanism omit to mention the use of this mushroom (Basilov 1997). This is to be emphasised, because during the Soviet period all kind of materialistic explanations about shamanism were most welcome (following earlier Bogoraz-Tan's pathological explanations, Bogoraz 1910). Nevertheless, Homich assumes that fly agaric could play a certain role, although it was not common among the Nenets: "There are interesting data showing that Forest Nenets shamans used stimulating means, the fly agaric (...) As far as the Nenets, and especially the Tundra Nenets, are concerned, the use of fly agaric was not typical. They did not use either alcoholic beverages before the séances"

<sup>19</sup> This deduction corresponds to Mircea Eliade's assertion about the use of fly agaric by the Uralic peoples of Central Russia and of Siberia as a "vulgar substitute for 'pure' trance" (Eliade 1974 : 401). Maret Saar also mentions this principle and emphasises that shamans using fly agaric were less respected than those who did not need the help of the mushroom: this information comes from oral information given by the Russian scholar Simchenko (Saar 1990 : 504).

(Homich 1981 : 29-30). Probably the Forest Nenets data she quotes (without precise indications) are no more than the above-mentioned report by Mitusova. Anyhow, in the same article, Homich explains the shaman's trance not by the use of hallucinogen mushrooms, but by other reasons: "The shaman's ecstasy was due to a complex set of factors: special training and teaching, a system of representations acquired from childhood, the development of fantasy, the conditions of the séance etc." (Homich 1981 : 38). Thus, we must consider the use of fly agaric by the Nenets shamans as marginal. Mitusova's example comes from the Agan river, where Forest Nenets are clearly a minority population and certainly were particularly such when Mitusova visited them, as most of the Forest Nenets migrations either from the Pur region or from Num-to took place in the 1930-ies. Many authors have presented descriptions of Tundra Nenets shamanic séances, most of them from the 1920-1930 (for example Yevladov 1992 : 122-126) and in none fly agarics are mentioned. We may explain the presence of fly agaric by the Forest Nenets by Khanty influence, as Khanty are dominant in the Agan area. Probably geographical factors are also essential, as the availability of the fly agaric, which is mostly a forest mushroom.

Anyhow, as soon as 1981, Homich explains the shaman's trance not by the use of hallucinogen mushroom, but by other reasons : "The shaman's ecstasy was due to a complex set of factors : special training and teaching, a system of representations acquired from childhood, the development of fantasy, the conditions of the séance etc." (Homich 1981:38). Lar, who does not either mention the use of fly agaric, emphasises the importance of the drum as a means of communication with the spirits (Lar 1994 : 99).

Homich, following Mitusova, observes that Forest Nenets shamanism differs considerably from Khanty shamanism on one basic point: as by the Tundra Nenets, "not everybody was able to be a shaman" (Homich 1972 : 210). Although we have no data about how shamans learned their skills (Homich 1972 : 209), "[Forest Nenets] shamans were distinguished by different steps of skills (Mitusova met also "small" shamans, who had very low authority)" (Homich 1972 : 210) : besides the categories of "good" and "evil" shamans, many authors mention the existence of "strong" and "weak" shamans (Homich 1981 : 13). This gradation of shamans according to their power may explain Tatva's assertion: only "smaller" shamans used fly agaric, strong shamans able to cure and to predict did not need this means to fulfil their tasks. We find a possible confirmation of this hypothesis in Hajdú's observation, that readers of dreams were the lowest category of shamans: the basic

word for shamans (TN/*tād'ibe*, FN/*tāčipá*) was not used for them, they were called *jüttišämmī nieššēä* (Nj) “Zauberer, der nur aus dem Traur wahrsagt” or *jüttiřtas nieššēä* (Nj) “Zauberer, der nur aus dem Traur wahrsagt”, according to Lehtisalo’s dictionary (Hajdú 1960 : 59). It is interesting to notice, though Hajdú does not comment this fact, that the linguistic forms presented by him come from the Forest Nenets area and are clearly Forest Nenets dialectal forms. The translation is also not absolutely correct, for *ńšaŋ/ńša* in Forest Nenets does not mean “sorcerer”, but just “person, human being”. Therefore this expression is quite simple.

But in October 2000, in a conversation with Yuri Vella recorded in Tartu’s Literary Museum, Tatva commented his performance of fly agaric songs expressing a contradictory position. When answering to Yuri Vella’s question about the number of mushrooms to be eaten, he asserted that occasionally people ate three agarics, but seven (as in the songs he performed) was the maximum they could eat. Only the strongest shamans were able to ingest up to ten. The matter is that to each musherom corresponds one spirit. If you call many spirits, it is much more difficult to control them, they may mislead you and even cause your death. This assertion seems to indicate that Forest Nenets shamans, and even the strongest ones, did really use fly agarics. But this does not mean that this use was regular or compulsory. Further on, we do not know the real reason of fly agaric use, as nothing is said about that nor in the songs neither in the comments.

In our collection we have recorded three fly agaric songs: two of them come from the Num-to region and one from the Agan basin. One of them – presented below – belongs to Allyu Vylla (Num-to), but we do not know for sure whether he was considered as a shaman or not. Another song’s owner is Myty Pyak (Num-to) who was a shaman, as well as Yancha (Agan). But they had not the reputation of being strong shamans.

*wē?la al'u wīpiēkinaws*

*še?ew wīpiēie*

*še?ew wīpiēie*

*ηίλί čahaŋ pad'ílāla?*

*čolaj tađa*

*šihilčiči? dātmj*

*ňahaλ ηišuŋo?ta*

*čolaj tadaŋa*

*še?ew wīpiēie*

**Allyu Vylla’s fly agaric song (Tatva)**

Seven fly agaric girls,

seven fly agaric girls,

go farther in that direction!

I have a belt,

forged by the šihilhča,

It has three joins.

I have a belt.

Seven fly agaric girls,

*dāla? kuna*  
*šihilči? dātmj*  
*ηίλι čahaη pađilāla?*  
*kuķiηamj hāna mantj*  
*dīwsu'ta pū'tan*  
*ηaš'ki? tuλα? p'a'taηāta*  
*še'ew wīpīē'ie*  
*tun pakałat*  
*ałōλ ha?maj*  
*pēmaši tun nūłat*  
*tuhuna taλαηa*  
*tu'ta tuη nīi'a*  
*še'ew wīpīē'ie*  
*d'oholku?nī?iw*  
*tajna mantj, me*  
*ηamj dālahana*  
*tałam mantjāta?*  
*ηuruna ηaš'ki?*  
*nīi'ima? tałāš*

where is your land.  
 Made by the šihilhča.  
 Go farther in that direction.  
 Another time he says:  
 “The infants that remained after us,  
 children, add wood to your fire.”  
 Seven fly agaric girls  
 climbed into the fire.  
 Al'u was able,  
 he stood in the fire without his boots,  
 dances in the fire.  
 Above a burning fire  
 seven fly agaric girls  
 bewilder him.  
 Then he says, well:  
 “Some day  
 you will say:  
 Infants,  
 our grandfather was like that.”

The first interesting feature is that the owner of this song, as well as Myty in another one, call for seven fly agaric “girls”. Lehtisalo mentioned already the fly agaric spirit as beeing human-shaped<sup>20</sup> but he did not mention the gender of the spirits. According to Tatva, the mushroom spirits are usually young females. In our third “vipi”-song, the spirit is the “mother of fly-agarics”. The second interesting element is the number of the mushrooms – seven in both songs coming from Num-to, while in the third song the number is not explicit.

Allyu's song reminds of some particulars in Lehtisalo's report, as the running of the spirits in a precise direction, or the question about the origin of the mushrooms. We may also mention the importance of fire in this song, while standing in the fire is, according to Tatva, a recurrent theme in “vipi”-songs. Anyhow the contents of this song show that most probably Allyu was a shaman, whose song is directly connected with shamanic practice.

Anyhow, the active practice of shamanism, as mentioned previously, seems to be by the Forest Nenets deprived of present reality. This appears well in the

<sup>20</sup> So did Barkalaja about the Khanty fly agaric spirits, who were somehow similar to little men with sharp heads (Barkalaja 1996 : 100).

evolution of some songs connected to the fly agaric. We have a good example in our repertoire with a “vipi”-song being performed nowadays as humorous song: the performer imitates an old shaman, who used to fell asleep some times during the performance of his song. Yuri Vella has repeatedly performed this imitation in front of us, adding though that he did not see the old shaman himself, but had seen him imitated by another Nenets. This shows already some distance between the performer in 1999 and 2000 and its model.

*Mother of fly agaric.../sigh, snoring/*

*Mother of fly agaric, I here present my mother's song.*

*Mother of fly agaric, I here present my mother's song. Carrying my children, carrying them (holding hands) here I climb under the tent's cloth... /snoring/*

*So that my children may see one day, day, I will take them out, out (=save them).*

*On one foot, foot, I begin to sing. /Speech/ Tomorrow, tomorrow I can see /speech, snoring / Well, then he apparently fell asleep again.*

We tried to sum up what we know about Forest Nenets shamanism in connection with songs and we must recognise that the existent material is quite thin. From the quantitative point of view, we have at our disposal three «vipi»-songs and two quite questionable shaman songs. As we have come to the conclusion that probably the use of fly agaric, though well-known and existent, was not a norm in proper shamanic practice, we may assume that more persons that real powerful shamans were addicted to fly-agaric consumption and performed these songs, explaining thus that these have been transmitted more easily than true shaman songs. The two possible shaman songs we presented seem, compared with the examples we have from Tundra Nenets shaman songs (Homich 1981 : 39-41; Lehtisalo 1924 : 167), much more simple and fragmentary : if they were really performed by Kallyat during a shamanic séance, they were probably much longer and detailed. Anyhow they have been preserved upon a form that allows a functional shift and permits them to be received nowadays as personal songs.

## References

- Barkalaja 1996 – Barkalaja Anzori – *Handi rahvausundist ja selle seostest vene õigeusu ja teadusliku mõtlemisega* – MA Thesis in Folklore (manuscript), Tartu University, Tartu 1996.
- Barkalaja 1998 – Barkalaja Anzori – “On the Sacrificial Ritual of the Pim River Khanty in December 1995” – Pro Ethnologia 5, Arctic Studies I.(ed. Art Leete) – Tartu 1998 – pp. 57-68.



- Eliade 1974 – Eliade Mircea – *Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Bollingen Series LXXVI. Princeton University Press 1974
- Hajdú 1960 – Hajdú Péter – “*A szamojéd sámánok kategóriáiról*” - Nyelvtudományi Közlemények – 1960, LXII - S. 51-71 .
- Hajdú 1978 – Hajdú Péter – “*The Nenets Shaman Song and its Text*” – Shamanism in Siberia (eds. V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál) – Budapest 1978 – pp. 355-372.
- Helimski 1989 – Хелимский, Е.А. – “*Тлубинно-фонологический изосиллабизм ненецкого стиха*” – Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne 82 – Helsinki 1982 – pp. 223-268.
- Homich 1972 – Хомич, Л.В. – “*Некоторые особенности хозяйства и культуры лесных ненцев*” – Охотники, собиратели, рыболовы – Ленинград 1972 – стр.199-214.
- Homich 1981<sup>21</sup> – Хомич, Л.В. – “*Шаманы у ненцев*” – Проблемы истории общественного сознания аборигенов Сибири (по материалам второй половины XIX – начала XX вв) – Ленинград 1981 – стр. 5-41.
- Homich 1995 – Хомич, Л.В. – *Ненцы. Очерки традиционной культуры* – Санкт-Петербург 1995.
- Hoppál 2000 – Hoppál, Mihály – “*Shamanhood among the Nenets*” – Studies on Mythology and Uralic Shamanism. Ethnologica Uralica 4. Budapest. pp. 115-130.
- Kerezi 1995 – Кережи А. – “*Особенности восточно-хантыйского шаманизма в наши дни*” – Народы Сибири – Москва 1995 – стр. 38-53.
- Lar 1994 – Лар, Л.А. – “*Основные черты современной религии ненцев*” – Народы Северо-Западной Сибири вып.1– Томск 1994 – стр. 92-100.
- Lehtisalo 1924 – Lehtisalo, T. – *Entwurf einer Mythologie der Jurak-Samoyeden* – MSFou 53 – Helsinki 1924.
- Lehtisalo 1947 – Lehtisalo, T. – *Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung*, MSFOu XC – Helsinki 1947.
- Lehtisalo 1956 – Lehtisalo T. – *Juraksamojedisches Wörterbuch*, Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae 13 – Helsinki 1956.
- Lehtisalo 1959 – Lehtisalo T. – *Tundralta ja taigasta*. Muistelmia puolen vuosisadan takaa – Helsinki 1959.
- Lukina 1978 – Лукина, Н.В. – “*Об особенностях культуры отдельных групп хантов*” – Этнокультурная история населения Сибири – Томск 1978 - стр. 114-119.

<sup>21</sup> Extensive excerpts from this article are presented and rearranged in Homich 1995.



- Mägi, Ojamaa 2002 – Mägi Kaur, Ojamaa Triin – “*Neli metsaneenetsi laulu: lingvistiline ja muusikaline tasand*” – *Fenno-ugristica* 24 – Tartu 2002 – lk. 175-200.
- Mägi, Ojamaa, Toulouze 2002<sup>22</sup> – Mägi Kaur, Ojamaa Triinu, Toulouze Eva – *Discovering Siberia : Songs of the Forest Nenets. Songs of the Finno-Ugric peoples* 1 – Estonian Literary Museum 2002 (expected).
- Mägi, Toulouze 2002 – Mägi Kaur, Toulouze Eva – “*Laulu ja proosa seostes metsaneenetsi narratiivides*” – *Mäetagused* 2002 (expected).
- Mitusova 1927 – Митусова Р. – “*На далеком севере. (Экспедиция в Надымский край и на р. Тром-Юган)*” – *Уральское Краеведение. Орган краеведческой и научно-исследовательской работы Урала.* – Свердловск 1927 – стр. 66-69.
- Mitusova 1929 – Митусова Р. – “*Год среди лесного народа*” – *Вокруг света* – 1929, нн 9-15.
- Munkácsi 1995 – Munkácsi, Bernát – “*Aspects of Vogul Religion*” – *Vogul Folklore* (eds. O. von Sadvosky and M. Hoppál) – Budapest 1995.
- Niemi 2001 – Niemi Jarkko – “*Dream Songs of the Forest Nenets*” – *Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic* (ed. Juha Pentikäinen) – Budapest 2001 – pp. 135-147.
- Saar 1990 – Saar, Maret – “*Punane kärbseseen animistlik-šamanistlikes kultuurides*” – *Akadeemia* 1990/3 – lk. 502-526.
- Sokolova 1992 – Соколова, З. П. – “*Еще раз об изучении обско-угорского шаманизма*” – *Ранние формы религии народов Сибири* – Санкт-Петербург 1992 – стр. 145-149.
- Toulouze 2002 – Toulouze Eva – “*Les Nenètses des forêts et leur patrimoine oral : un aperçu général*” – *Boréales* N° 82 2002 – pp. 89-98.

<sup>22</sup> The quotations are from the booklet of the CD.



## Kyo – The Shaman who knew too much!

*Rolf Gilberg*

### Shamans

Before the Greenlanders were converted into Christianity they imagined their surroundings as being alive. The West Greenlanders became christianised during the 1700 years, the East Greenlanders in late 1800 years, and the North Greenlanders (Inughuit or Polar-Eskimos) between 1912 and 1934. Not everything was instant visible, but that did not make them less real. Everything was alive, not only human beings, animals, and plants, but also features as the sea, the mountains, and all other items in nature. Everything had a spirit (“soul”), which the Eskimos called “inua”. This the Eskimo believed to look like an invisible human being, but smaller. Thus the inua was ascribed human qualities. This way a spirit could be happy, or angry. By crossing the unwritten rules for correct behavior one could offend the spirits, who would revenge itself on the person in question. For moderate protection one would carry amulets, but in more serious cases one would have to ask the shaman for help. An amulet is a device which attracts good powers and repel bad and evil forces.

A shaman – angakok in Eskimo – is a human being, woman or man, using a special technique and trapping, assisted by controlled helping spirits. Through soul journey in the state of ecstasy the shaman gets into direct contact with the supernatural forces, which might speak through the shaman, at his will, to his people. The shaman is the connection between this world and other worlds. In principle anyone can become a shaman, but it is a dangerously, and risky way of life with many taboos to keep, so only the few who actually felt a vocation, would dare to start on an education to become a shaman.

In Greenland the shaman did not have a special outfit or trapping as known for instance from Siberia, but they looked and was dressed like anyone else. Some European researcher have the opinion that only mentally ill persons would become shamans. That is a very wrong idea. On the contrary shaman are recutet

among intelligent people, because the person must have mental surplus in order to help the members of his people, who has problems.

For the common person, shamans may sound and act strange, but this is only due to the limitation of univers known to the common person. Human beings who travel and crosses bonderies throughout the many worlds of the univers, will of course be looked upon as odd and different of people, who only know a smaller part of the world.

Usually the shaman was a protector of the society, where he lived, and the person who would make sure that traditions recieved from the ancestores were given to the upgrowing generations. Now and then the power and influence the shaman gained would go to his head. Such evil shamans would use their powers for own profit. If such a self orientated shaman became an abomination and the society felt threaten, society had to protect it self. The most common solution was to send the evel shaman on a oneway ticket to a far away world. This is the story of such a shaman.

### A public problem was cleared

In the 1860's and 1870's among the Inughuit (the Polar-Eskimos) lived a married couple, Avatannguaq and his wife Tulugalik, who both had suprenatural abilities. Both was feared as powerful shamans, who might cause death and evil. When the fear towards these two powerful persons grew to large, the Polar-Eskimo society persuaded two of the foreigner (immigrants from Canada) Qillarsuaq and Panigpak together with one of their own, Iggianguaq, who was married to one of the foreigners, to kill Avatannguaq.

The Polar-Eskimo author Ulloriaq (1985:64-68) gives a very dramatic and detailed account of the killing. There was a big fight. Because Qillarsuaq also was a great shaman, he was chosen to finish off Avatannguaq, which he did. Qillarsuaq cut the dead body into many pieces. The three men did not want to place the body in a grave until next day, because there might still be some power left in him, but the next day the body had vanished and was nowhere to be found.

After the death of Avatannguaq the widow Tulugalik and her daughter, Kulapak, moved to Kiatak (Northumberland Island). Kulapak died as a very old person around 1921-1922. She was mother to the great shaman Qaanngaaq

Peary has an interesting note about this murder, mostly however, I think he got the information wrong. It was very uncommon for the Inughuit to make tattooes on their bodies. Thus Peary found it interesting that Kyo was one of the



From left: Kavsaluk with her two children, the boy Inuteq in front, and the daughter Naduk in the hood, beside her husband Ulloriaq. Next to them another couple: Itukusuk and his wife Akutak. Photo by Thomas Thomsen, July 1909, at Uummanaq in the Thule District, North Greenland. Courtesy of the National Museum of Denmark.

few natives among the Inughuit who had seen tattooed people of the west. Peary never learned the Inughuit language very well, so he might have misunderstood something. On the other side Kyo might have bragged about his doings to impress Peary.

“As a boy, accompanying his father upon a polar bear hunt which led them to the western shores of Smith Sound, he saw his father killed in a struggle with a party of the tattooed men. Years after, as a young man, he had the pleasure of killing his father’s murderer, and then, by some chance which I [Peary] never could quite clear, the wife of this murdered man, with her young son, became a resident of the Whale Sound region [Inughuit Land]. That son, now grown to be a stalwart young man, is the only one in the tribe whom the great angakok fears, and it is quite possible that he may have already paid the debt of the blood feud at his hands.” (Peary 1904:77-78).

It is correct that Qillarsuaq was from the west (Arctic Bay, Baffin Island), and it is not known if he was tattooed, but it was common that Eskimos in Canada had tattoos. Qillarsuaq came to land of the Inughuit in the 1860s. He stayed about a decade and died many years later on the way back of illness and old age. Panipak died in 1929, but nothing is known about Iggiannguarsuaq. (Ulloriaq 1985)

Avatannguaq and Tulugalik had beside the daughter Kulapak also two sons: Kajorapaluk and Eqovaq. Kajorapaluk also became a shaman. It was not from foreigners he got his ability. He seems to use his powers as negative as his father did, and ended up with a similar fate. Maybe the society got the idea to solve the problem with Kajorapaluk, remembering what had happened to his father.

In the Fall of 1901 the detested shaman Kajorapaluk was murdered. He had a bad habit of telling the death of others. Nobody wanted to hear that. People were tired of him because he "stole the souls". It was not common to kill other persons in the Inughuit society. But the public opinion had for a long time decided that Kajorapaluk was an abomination to the society.

The Danish Literary Greenland Expedition (1902-1904) with Ludwig Mylius-Erichsen as leader and the painter Harald Moltke and Knud Rasmussen as members, spent 8 months in 1903 among the Inughuit. Knud Rasmussen, only 24 years old, later turned into a famous polar explorer. This expedition gave the Inughuit the name: the Polar-Eskimo.

Mylius-Erichsen wrote afterwards in a rapport (now in the Danish National Archive): "Just before our arrival to the Cape York area, where the Polar-Eskimos live, had a shaman forced so much power over his tribe members, that he was killed by a conspiracy against him. The tribe members could no longer control his doings as he always blamed the spirits for the problems.

As a shaman he was constantly fighting these spirits on behalf of and for the good of his fellow citizens. But for this work he demanded as a kind of payment favours from the people. These favours had become of such a load that he was no longer tolerated. Among other things he tried to steal wives for own use. He often succeeded in doing so as he would otherwise call on the spirits to use their evil power on the husband, and have the spirits to rob the souls of the people in question."

At that time Christianity had not yet arrived among the Inughuit, but other things from the White Man had. Diseases had cut heavily on the society, so there were only 40% women. Thus it was difficult to get a wife for the men.

Ulloriaq (Uvdloriaq) who about ten years later was among the first to be baptised, told then, that he and Masaitsiaq had shot the hated shaman Kajorapaluk. First Masaitsiaq shot him, but only wounded him, then Ulloriaq was forced to shoot to kill, and had shot him in the head.

Eqovaq, Kajorapaluk's brother lived further to the North. Ulloriaq asked Mylius-Erichsen to take the life from Eqovaq, when the expedition arrived up there. Ulloriaq told the White Men that Eqovaq wants to shoot him. Ulloriaq could not anticipate Eqovaq, as Ulloriaq dared no longer kill any, because he is an orphan and without any close relatives to support him. (Mylius-Erichsen 1906:221).

Kajorapaluk had a bad personality and was a bad sport, who always insulted others around him. But the real reason which caused his death was that he always was lying and cheated others in relating to hunting. He could for fun create fear among people on the settlement by giving a false warning against poor hunting, and cause the people to starve. Now and then he would tell that he had seen belugas or walrosses certain places, but it always turned out to be false alarm. Slowly all his bad doings became too much for the Inughuit, and the public opinion decided on it would be best if his was no longer present. (Steenby 1910:336).

Knud Rasmussen (1915:28) tells that even it was considered good for the society that Masaitsiaq had been in on the killing of Kajorapaluk, Masaitsiaq decided at least for some years to keep a low profile in the outskirts of the Inughuit land. He took as his wife Qiajuk, Kajorapaluk's widow. They got a daughter, Sinarujuk in 1904.

In 1905 Masaitsiaq and his little family joined together with Uisakavsak at the settlement on Cape Seddon in the Melville Bay in order to get further away from the mainstream in the Polar-Eskimo society. That was exactly the same reason why Uisakavsak had settled at Tuttulissuaq, the settlement at Cape Seddon, which was known for its splendid hunting grounds.

Uisakavsak had visited New York City (1897-1898), but nobody among the Polar-Eskimos believed him, when he told about what he experienced and he was named "The Great Liar" (Gilberg 1970, 1994).

## Kyo

August 1891 an American expedition arrived in the land of the Inughuit. The Americans wanted to learn about survival and the way of life in order at a later time to be able to travel to the North Pole. The expedition built a house for the

winter at the foothills of Redcliffe Mountain. The leader of the expedition was the navy lieutenant Robert Edwin Peary.

The first Inughuit-family to be friends with the Americans was Eqovaq [Ikwa] and his wife Manik [Mani]. They settled at the headquarter and became the link to the rest of the Polar-Eskimo people. A couple of month later Eqovaq showed up with his brother, Kajoralpaluk [Kyoahpadu], who also settled there. Several of the American expedition members has written about him, who they called Kyo as Kajoralpaluk was too difficult to pronounce or to remember. The quotations tells as much about the Americans as about Kajoralpaluk.

"Tuesday, November 17, 1891" Mrs. Peary wrote (1893:80). "This morning Eqovaq [Ikwa] introduced a rather clean-looking native from Ummannak [Omanooy],. His name is Kajoralpaluk [Kioppadu]."

"Kyoahpádu, Ikwa's brother, we called "Kyo" for short, and I", Peary wrote (1898(1):164), "nicknamed him "Father Tom", who made himself very useful about the house, sweeping the floor and putting things in order. He often remarked that he wished to go home with us when we returned, but he changed his mind before summer.

"Father Tom", on the whole the most remarkable native we met, deserves more a passing word. He at once became a fixture at Red Cliff House. Active and willing, eager to be of service, readily understanding us when other natives failed to comprehend, he soon worked his way into our good grace. He took upon himself the care of the large room, sprang for the broom whenever he saw the least dust or litter, and told the other natives they must not bring dirt into the palace of the "Great White Man". He said his brother's igloo was uncomfortable for him because it was so small. Moreover his brother talked too much, and his verbosity was a weariness to the flesh. So Kyo asked if he might sleep on our floor, and I accordingly gave him a couple of blankets and let him curl himself up at night in a corner of the big room. In the morning he would carefully fold his blankets and deposit them in an empty box outside."

Peary (1904:69-71) was surprised to discover that Kyo was the first native, who did not like to be photographed. He hesitated to appear in the expedition house, so Dr. Cook had to go outside and persuade him.

"Once in the house, he seemed to regard the preparations for taking his picture - that is, placing the screen and the chair and bringing out the cameras - much as a condemned man would view the building of the scaffold; and when he was finally seated in the chair before the strange instruments, and was told to fix



his eyes on me as I removed the caps from the cameras, his teeth chattered in spite of his best efforts to assume an air of braggadocio. The word “tima,” which told him that the operation was over, seemed to relieve him of a great weight of fear. Yet the great angakok (shaman), as we afterward knew him to be, never lost the idea that those strange machines which had glared at him for an instant in the dazzling blaze of the flashlight had placed him, soul and body, forever in my power.”

“Wednesday, December 2, 1891: Kyo come in occasionally and scrape some of the skins after they have been chewed. Kyo especially tries to make himself useful. He presents rather a comical appearance in his bearskin nanookies and blue guernsey given him by one of the boys. Every time he sees any shavings or other trash on the floor he seizes the broom, made by him out of wings of eider-ducks, and sweeps it up.” (J. Peary 1893:86). Another member of the expedition was Dr. Frederick Alfred Cook, who wrote a small note on Kajorapaluk. This is not published but is found in the family archive:

“Kajorapaluk [Ky-ap-od-du] was gifted with a very keen brain, with a boy’s desire to get to the bottom of things. He retained this searching inclination to the end of his days. In his family there was some Indian blood, but he was in type and habits of life an Eskimo of the highest order of intelligence. As a boy Kyo had sought to be the most noted representation of his tribe, but what could he do to rate himself into prominence. The tribe had no need of a chief, nor any use for money, wealth, and leadership, therefore were barred as attainments. Every youth must become an expert hunter and prove his ability by getting a bear with a spear, before he can get a wife. Kyo got his bear and got his wife, but then his trouble began in quite the usual way. Good wives do not fit into an over-ambitious career, for Kyo was aimy to be the master of his kind.

Our first acquaintance with Kyo began in 1891 when he was about 35 years old. He was 5 feet 3 inches (158 cm), about two inches (5 cm) higher than the average, an evenly developed well shaped body, with almost super-human strength in game test of muscular power. Short fingers, skort toes, short nose and a compact body, such is the Eskimo advantage in conserving heat and energy - in a very cold climate; brown piercing eyes, long black hair and a golden skin. In his general physical make up he was a typical represent of his race at its best, but his head was longer, his face more expressive and his usable intelligence was greatly in advance of his kind.

Kyo wanted to become a shaman, te become the highest of the high angakok (shaman) of the religious dominans now became his dominating desire. To learn

he must spend much time with older shamans. This called for travel, study, and experiments. Thus he became a non-producer and was much away from home. His wife left him to find another man that could provide for her.

After several years of lonely wandering, suffering famine, and studied the way of life in order to gain a deeper insight. One day he exposed himself to the society as a shaman with support from Turnahuchsua of the land and Kokoya of the sea, with a sliding contract that included all other spirits of heaven and earth. And to his credit it must be said that he firmly believed in his calling and also had the faculty of making others believe in his sincerity." (F. A. Cook private notes).

### Kyo fell in love

Kyo slept contentedly upon the floor at Peary's headquarter Redcliffe House, until one day from the north a widow Qiajuk [Klayu] with her three daughters (Inatdliaq, Qiajúnguaq, Tukúmínguaq), the husband and father, Nasaitorlluarsuk having but recently been dragged under the sea ice by a walrus and drowned. They staid only a few days, but that was long enough for Kyo to become enamoured of the widow. One star-lit December noon (Dec. 21, 1891) Kyo followed the widow traveling further south. She was about 7 years younger than Kyo who was born around 1856.

Kyo borrowed two dogs from Peary and indicated that he might be back after ten "sinnipahs" (sleeps). Sleep was a measure for time thus a 'day' was the amount of time between two 'sleeps'. During the 4 months of non sun shine in the dark season, it was impossible to talk about 'day'. The time difference between two 'sleeps' would be different from person to person and dependent of landscape and weather.

Not until March Kyo returned together with Qiajuk and the children. She was now his wife and the family settled near Redcliffe House, and staid there until the expedition left in August 1892.

While Kyo was gone the Americans heard some remarkable stories about him from the natives who visited. Few spoke well about him. By most he was hated and feared. "It was said that he had murdered a man and that he had twice been a widower, having killed his wives; also that he was an angakok (shaman) of great power." (Peary 1898(1)166).

He was not the same man after his return, and at times Peary felt slightly suspicious of him, especially in regard to tampering with Peary's dogs, and Peary even made up his mind that if, in disregard to Peary's command Kyo should at-

tempt to harness up one of Peary's finest teams of dogs for a journey south, Peary would shoot him. Luckily for Kyo it never came to this.

However, Peary soon found that "Kyo was subject to fits of insane anger, and on one or two occasions had stabbed his wife while in these fits. In one of his fits he threatened to kill his wife Qiajuk and her grown daughter Tukuminguaq [Tooky], so when Kyo was out kayaking the wife and daughter ran away. It took Kyo two weeks to find them and were reunited with them. (Peary 1904:76-77).

Kyo wanted to go along to America

At Redcliffe House, May 26, 1892: Kyo was dressed in a pair of woven trousers, a blue flannel shirt, and a pair of suspenders given him by Matthew Henson, and Robert Peary's old grey felt hat, which Mrs Peary gave him a couple days earlier, and which he hesitated to take, because, he said, it was not hers to give, and Peary would accuse him of stealing it. Mrs. Peary wrote (1893:154):

"He looked precisely like an Indian as he stood there, busy putting up his tent. He is filled with the idea of going to America. Every night he comes for a magazine to look at after he has gone to bed, as he has seen some of the expedition members do. When he gets to America he will learn how to read, and then he won't have to select books with pictures. Whatever he sees he wants to know if he will see it on America. He tells that he is an Angekok (shaman), and that he always cures the people. They never die where he is, and he can make them do just as he chooses. His wife does not seem to care to go to America, so for the last few days he has borrowed two or three magazines to take into his house, where for three or four hours at a stretch he has sat with his wife in front of him and the book between them, swaying himself from side to side, and singing a monotonous sort of tune at the top of his voice. In this way, the other natives assured, he worked a spell over the wife, and she willingly consented to go with him."

In July some of the expedition members began to carry guns, because hearing bits and pieces of Eskimo talk made them believe that Kyo would hame them. Kyo was frightened that the Americans were carrying revolvers, especially after he discovered a window had been opened. Kyo took a long talk with Dr. Cook, and said, that he "might shoot others, but the bullet would not hurt him; that the "kokoya" (evil spirit) was kind to him, and he would never die. But if the White Man killed the Inughuits the Kokoyah would, at Kyo's command, destroy their vessel, and they would all die." (J. Peary 1893:169). At last peace was made, however.

The shaman's predictions do not come true. During the period where Peary and Astrup crossed the inland icecap of North Greenland Kyo indulged in frequent seances, during which he came in spirit upon the inland icecap. When recovering from his trance he would tell Mrs. Peary how far away to the North the expedition was. Later he would tell that he had seen only one person staggering weakly homeward, and that the man was not her husband. Well, both Peary and Astrup returned tired but in good constitution.

### Kyo calls on his spirits

Astrup attended some of Kyo's performances. Astrup tells (1895:28) that Kajoralpaluk [Kayapaddu] was a respected shaman with a smile, a heavy body, and had a hearty face. He only needed to add sunglasses to look like a good old-fashioned priest. Maybe that is the reason Peary nicknamed him "Father Tom".

When Kyo had his spiritual ceremonies the light from the blubber lamps was subdued so much that participants barely could see each other. Kyo took the gutskin-covered drum in one hand and the drumstick of bone in the other and began to drum and sing. In the beginning he sang in a soft voice, but later it grew more and more agitated. He thrashed his body in huge curves from right to left, letting his long hair flow wild in the air, while his face expressed as he was in pain all over.

After a couple of hours like that his sweat pouring down his body. He pressed his hands toward his forehead. He cried, he pitied himself, and would suddenly start a demonic noisy laughter. And after all that he at last managed to get one or several invisible helping spirits to be present. Then his voice would change often as he at one point would be himself and at other would let the spirit talk through him. He became more and more noisy and managed at last to bring the audience in such an excited and nervous mood that all were trembling and shaking at the same time some of the older ones began to pitifully match Kyo.

Was the purpose to exorcise illness or to save a dying, Kyo could go on for hours like that as he would give up unless the sick died or grew better. In the first case he told that saving the sick was impossible even before start as some hostile spirits had stolen the soul of the sick. In the other case his reputation would grow a lot.

### Kyo's last stand

In 1901 a ship wrecked with a dead crew onboard on the shores of Cape York in the southern part of the land of the Inughuit. The natives took as much as pos-

sible off the ship as the tide might send the ship to sea again, which actually happened. Especially wood was taken as wood is very rare in the area. The Inughuit were not resistant to the sickness which killed the ship crew. Fast the disease infected the settlements around Cape York. During the winter most of the local people died. Less than ten survived. Among them was Ulloriaq who found in one of the houses a mother and children. With them he made a family.

When the sea ice was strong enough the coming winter the survivors decided to find other human beings further to the north. The first settlement they reached was Issuvissooq. There lived the great shaman Kajorapaluk - alone, because no one wanted to share a settlement together with him. Nobody liked him due to his hot-tempered manners. He was filled by envy and angry threats.

When the survivors arrived to Kyo's settlement, he scornfully welcomed them. He wanted from the look at their poor condition to know what had happened. They told about the illness which killed too many people, and about the problems in getting food, when everyone was ill.

Kyo was totally without feelings or awe for the dead. He began to shout about that he had caused the disease to appear. He had conjured the illness to attack the two settlements at Cape York, because the settlers had denied him access to the place, even he also wanted to barter with them passing white whalers, which usually took place in late July. He told that the illness was revenge for their evil against him. And he began to sing a shaman song in which he promised that similar accidents and disasters which he made hit on the two southern settlements, he now would transfer to catch in on people at the next two northern settlements, because these settlers also made him angry.

The poor survivors who just barely escaped all the calamity became stoned by fear as they realised that they had family staying at these two settlements. With shiver they imagined the suffering a spreading disease would bring.

Without warning Masaitsak, the oldest of the three surviving men from the south, jumped forward Kyo, shouting that he should not force the illness any place else. Then he swung his axe and tried to hit Kyo's head. But Kyo was alert and stepped aside, so the axe only went deep in his shoulder where it got stuck. Kyo grasped the shaft of the axe trying to get it out and at the same time sang a conjuration. The three men became afraid that he should heal himself using his special powers, and then exorcise lots of disasters upon them for revenge. Ulloriaq took his lance and plunged into the chest of Kyo, who collapsed and became a very silent person.

“You hit streight into my heart,” Kyo whispered, “but take care of your own heart and those of your family. Exactly on that spot disaster will hit you all.” And then he was dead.

The southern survivors left the place and settled among people in the north whom they saved for the awful disease.

Two years later Ulloriaq’s brother climbed a birdmountain. It was slippy, he fel down and landed on his own hand in which he had a knife, which was forced into his body stopping at his heart causing an instent death. Kyo’s prophecy began to come true.

Still years passed. Ulloriaq managed to get a gun from the White Men as paymewnt for work. One day cleaning the gun, a shot was fired through the tent wall. Short after he discovered he had shot his oldest son in the heart.

In 1909 Ussarqak, the last relative of Ulloriaq, arrived together with the Christian missionaries from Westgreenland, where had been visiting for a couple of years and had been baptised and married to a Westgreenlandic girl. The Inughuit began to hear about a altrenativ to the way of the shaman. The priest tried to make them believe that his belief was the stronger, but the Inughuit had the wisdom from their ansestors, which often had given them help in the fight against the forces of nature. Ulloriaq was, however, curious, so he settled close to the priest. One day when returning from a hunt in kayak Ussarqak had an accident with his gun and managed to send a bullet into his own heart. He just lost his wife due to illness, so maybe it was no accident after all.

Now Ulloriaq was alone together with his children and without any support from relatives. If Kyo’s prophecy should still haunt him, he or his children would be next to die. He talked to his wife Kavsaauluk, He talked to old people at the settlement. He talked to the priest. Next year (1912) Ulloriaq and Kavsaauluk was among the first 4 copules to be baptised.

Ulloriaq had the idea that being Christen, the evil power of the old religion would no longer be able to touch him, and he still lived for a decade, dying at an age of 46 years.

## Kyo – the shaman

From eyewitnesses like the Americans and narative like Fruechen, Kyo appear to be an absolute person who at time put his own worth and his own ideas above those of the society surrounding him, a very non-Eskimo way of thinking. He acted on the borderline of the rules and normes of the society. That a skiful

and clever shaman might due. This would take more elegance and understanding and concern for the people who the shaman needed to help than Kyo could come up with. Kyo was too self-centred to manage in a good way among other human beings. He was dazzled by his own belief in him self. He ignored the signals the surrounding world tried to send him. Thus, seen from a Inughuit point of view, it was a natural thing to kill him, when he one more time would inflict suffering, sorrow, and leave voids on his follow citizens. Beside that he had already made him self not liked by spreading lots of bad news.

Kajorapaluk played with fire, and got not only burned the fingers, but his whole body and life. The people give the shaman his respect and add to his power. When the shaman loose the support from his people, he looses the purpos for acting on behalf af the people, and the is no longer need for him. The shaman is always an individualist, but can only survive along with the people, not against it.

## Rerferences

- Astrup, Eivind (1875): *Bland Nordpolens Naboer*. 319 p. (Kristiania: H. Aschehoug & Co's Forlag).
- Cook, Frederick Albert (no year): *Remarcable Phases of Savage Intelligence Is the Eskimo the Paleolitic Man of Europe*. Ky-op-ab-du. 5 p. (unpublished).
- Diebtisch-Peary, Josephine (1893): *My Arctic Journal. A Year Among Ice Fields and Eskimos*. 240 p. (New York: The Contemporary Publishing Company).
- Freuchen, Peter (1990): *Var det naturens hævn?* Tidsskriftet Grønland, 37(8-9):225-234 (Copenhagen: Danish Greenland Society).
- Gilberg, Rolf (1970): *Uisåkvabsak, 'The Big Liar'*.Folk, 11/12:83-95 (Copenhagen: Danish Ethnographical Society).
- Gilberg, Rolf(1984): *Missionen iblandt inughuit*. Den grønlandske Kirkesag, 120:8-27 (Copenhagen).
- Gilberg, Rolf(1994): *Mennesket Minik*. 680 p. (Espergaerde: ILBE).
- Mylius-Erichsen, Ludvig & Harald Moltke (1906): Grønland. 285 p. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal)
- Peary, Robert Edwin (1898): *Northward over the "Great Ice"*. 520 p. & 625 p. (New York: Frederick A. Strokes Company).
- Peary, Robert Edwin (1904): *Snowland Folk*. 97 p. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company).
- Peary, Robert Edwin (1907): *Nearest the Pole*. 411 p. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company).

- Rasmussen, Knud (1908): *People of the Polar North*. 358 p. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co, ltd).
- Rasmussen, Knud (1915): *Foran Dagens Øje*. 199 p. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal).
- Rasmussen, Knud (1925): *Myter og Sagn fra Grønland: Kap York-Distrikt og Nordgrønland*. 3:1-340 p. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal).
- Rasmussen, Knud (1945): *I Bjørnejægerens og Andemanernes Land*. 196 p. (Copenhagen: Gyldendal).
- Steensby, Hans Peter (1910): *Contribution to the Ethnology and Anthropogeography of the Polar Eskimo*. *Meddelelser om Grønland*, 34(7):253-406 (Copenhagen).
- Ulloriaq, Inutersuaq (1985): *Beretningen om Qillarsuaq og hans lange rejse fra Canada til Nordgrønland i 1860'erne*. 240 p. (Copenhagen: Danish Greenland Society).



## Shaman's drumming as a kind of indirect hypnosis

*Mészáros, István – Szabó, Csaba – Takács, András*

The important characteristics of the hypnotic state are the particular changes in subjective experiences. The most important changes are the enhanced imagery and imagination, the availability of visual memories of the past, the subsidence of the planning function and the reduction in reality testing. The other important characteristic of the hypnotic state is an increased suggestibility (Hilgard 1977). Physiological changes also were found; there were changes in the EEG activity during hypnosis (Crawford, Mészáros, Szabó 1988). Hypnosis is usually induced via relaxation or imagination, but a similar state can be induced through increasing activity (Bányai, Hilgard, 1976). Hypnosis can also be induced in indirect ways, where hypnotic processes are controlled in a more subtle way. Indirect hypnoses are frequently based on associative strategies, where the subjects are given thoughts, which serve as base in guiding their associations. Inner processes can be directed such an indirect way. Sometimes confusion or a paradox communication technique is used in inducing trance. Imagery processes play important role in indirect hypnosis, and it is thought that the state of trance is equal with the state of being absorbed in something.

In shaman trance we find many similar changes to subjective experiences. The ancient belief system of the inhabitants of Siberia and Inner-Asia is called shamanism by the literature of ethnography (Hoppál 1994). The central figure is the shaman who mediates between the human and the spiritual world. One of his main characteristics is that he reaches an altered state of consciousness which helps him wrestle successfully with problems.

The shaman cosmology divides the Universe into three spheres: the Upper-, Middle-, and Underworld. The upper- and underworld are the spiritual spheres, where the Gods, the Spirits and Ghosts live. In a state of trance the shaman makes his journey into these worlds. His main instrument in inducing trance is his drum. Before using it, the shaman warms it up - or as he says, to wake it up - at the fire and then, like a good horse, it flies his owner into the underworld. During the

rite, the shaman enters into trance by beating his drum, and visits the world of the Ghosts. The neoshamanism of our days use many elements of the ancient rites. During exercises subjects listen to drums and make journeys into the underworld for self-knowledge or healing (Harner 1980).

Studies on shamanism usually focus on the behaviour and trance of shamans and do not pay much attention to the mental process which occur in the participants during the rite. Vilmos Diószegi (1962. pp. 95.) reporting a shaman rite, mentions how deeply the people who are present get involved in the rite, how they follow the shaman in his journey and how they become more sensitive to suggestions. According to the observation of the ethnographer these men were in a trancelike state. In an experiment it was found, that subjects who were more susceptible for hypnosis showed greater changes in their subjective experiences while listening to monotonous drumming (Maurer, Kumar, Woodside, Pekala 1997). This latter result supports the notion that shaman trance and hypnotic phenomena have common components.

In the recent experiment under artificial laboratory conditions we examined how similar the changes were while listening to a monotonous drumming to the changes in a normal hypnotic state. We measured how the subjects hypnotic susceptibility affected their involvement into subjective experiences.

## Methods

### SUBJECTS

29 university students volunteered to participate in the experiment, 22 females and 7 males. None of them had any experience of hypnosis. They were told that the experiment would be a shaman journey. They were given no money and no credit point for their participation. They participated in the experiment individually.

### PROCEDURE

The experiments were made in a laboratory in nearly total darkness in order that the subjects would not be disturbed by the light. They were asked to sit in an armchair, close their eyes, and listen to a monotonous drumming on a tape. The rhythm of the drumming was 210 per minute and was recorded from a synthesizer. Subjects were asked to take an imaginary journey to the Underworld while listening to the drums. The instructions and the rhythm of drumming were in

accordance with Harner's (1980) proposals. The journey lasted for 30 minutes but after 15 minutes into the journey, the subjects' suggestibility was measured by giving them the test suggestion of the Stanford Hypnotic Susceptibility Scale form "B" (SHSS/B, Weitzenhoffer, Hilgard 1959).

The instruction was the following:

*"Imagine a hole in the earth, that you've seen sometime in your life. This may be a childhood memory or something, you've seen last week or today. Any kind of passage leading down is fine - it may be a den, a cave, a hole in a tree-trunk, a spring or a swamp, anything. It may be a hole made by man. The important thing that it is comfortable for you and that you can imagine. For a while you look at the hole without entering, observe all details..."*

*When the drumming begins, you imagine this hole, enter and begin your journey. Through this entrance go downwards in the tunnel. In the beginning the tunnel may be dark and dim, normally it will slope gradually but it may become steep. Sometimes it seems to be ribbed and there are frequent bends. There're persons who pass through the tunnel without perceiving it. Sometimes one finds a stone-wall or other obstacles in it. In this case walk around or find a hole in it to pass through. If you don't succeed, come back and try again. You must not make too much effort during your journey, you'll achieve success effortlessly if you relax. The most important thing in the journey is the moderation, not making too much or too little effort. At the end of the tunnel you'll reach the somewhere. Observe the sight, make a tour and notice all its characteristics. Discover everything, until I call you back. At this moment come back through the tunnel, the way you went down. Bring nothing with you from there! This is only a voyage of discovery." (Harner, 1997. pp. 57.)*

After this the drumming began.

## Measurements

### SUBJECTIVE INVOLVEMENT

Subjects rated their subjective involvement. They rated the depth of their journey on a 10 point scale, where "0" means that they remained on the surface and "10" was the deepest possible point of the underworld.

### SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCES

For exploring subjective experiences, subjects were interviewed, further the Phenomenology of Consciousness Inventory (Pekala 1985) was used, which have several subscale concerning experiences.

## SUGGESTIBILITY DURING THE JOURNEY

After 15 minutes drumming the suggestibility was tested. While the drumming was continuing and the subjects followed their journey in the underworld, the 3-12 test suggestions of the SHSS/B were given them.

After the amnesia and post hypnotic suggestion they were told to start back to the entrance of the underworld.

The instruction was this:

*“The drumming will be finished soon. Look for the way back.”*

After this the drumming gradually faded, subjects finished their imaginary journey and opened their eyes. In accordance with the hypnotic susceptibility test, this was followed by the posthypnotic suggestion and amnesia probe. After this subjects were interviewed for further examination.

## HYPNOTIC SUSCEPTIBILITY

Measurement of the subjects' hypnotic susceptibility was made one week later in another room. The SHSS "A" version was used (Weitzenhoffer, Hilgard 1959).

## Results

There were notable differences in the subjective involvement. The average depth in the underworld was 6,03  $sd=2,45$ . One subject reached the “10”, this was the deepest point of the underworld and the least deep point was 2. The subjects involvement correlated moderately with their hypnotic susceptibility. The higher one's hypnotic susceptibility score was the deeper level one reached in the underworld ( $r=0,55$   $p<0,05$ ). The relationship between the involvement and hypnotic susceptibility was moderate, which means that low susceptibility subjects may experience deep involvement too. This phenomena can be observed during indirect hypnosis.

Subjects reported that their subjective experiences was that the rhythm the speed and the direction of the journey was controlled by the drumming. “Here the music is who governs and not me.” said one of the subjects.

Some subjects felt that they would have liked to look around, but the drum did not let them do so, and they were driven away. “The drum is the horse of the shaman,” because this flies him into the underworld, say the people of shaman, this notion was supported by our results.

In subjective experiences during the journey lots of movements and dances could be found. There was one person, who showed spontaneous movement, like a dance while sitting in the armchair, during his journey according to the rhythm of the drumming. This movement became more and more intensive, at first only his hands and legs were moving but later this movement spread over his whole body.

Several subjects reported, that they felt their body image changed, e.g. they became little, so they could go through narrow places between the roots. Sometimes they felt, that they could fly easily. Their perception of time was changed too. It was difficult to esteem the lengths of time spent in the underworld. There was who perceived 3 hours, and other perceived 5 minutes only. The PCI results affirmed these changes.

The indicator of trance was the regression of subjects after coming back from the underworld. During the interview they "forgot to speak". They had difficulties in finding the proper words, and their sentences were grammatically wrong. This phenomena disappeared at the end of the reports only.

The comparison of suggestibility during the shaman journey and the hypnosis was made by counting the sum of the test points of the suggestions equivalent in the two situation (they were the 3-12. SHSS suggestions), and these sums were compared with a paired "t"-test. There was no significant difference between the scores of suggestibility (suggestibility in shaman journey: mean=5,86 sd=2,58; in hypnosis: mean=5,71 sd=2,52 t=0,64 df=27). Results show, that subjects while listening to the drumming become as susceptible for suggestion as they become after the hypnosis induction. The suggestibility scores correlated significantly ( $r=0,89$ ;  $p<0,001$ ) in hypnosis and during the journey.

## Discussion

In the experiment subjects listened to shaman drumming while they made an imaginary journey into the underworld. According to a quite indirectly worded instruction, they went on their own way in the underworld. They entered differently, went on different ways, and experienced different things.

Results show changes in this situation similar to those in a hypnotic state. Subjective involvement correlated significantly with hypnotic susceptibility. The correlation between the hypnotic susceptibility and subjective involvement was not too high, which means, among others that low hypnotic susceptibility subjects can experience relatively deep involvement. This phenomena can be observed frequently during indirect hypnosis.

During the “journey” subjects became susceptible to suggestion to the same extent, as if they were in hypnosis. It was found in some experiments that the subjects performance in suggestibility tests was not affected by the style of the induction. Suggestibility was the same following the standard direct and the indirect style induction.

Several subjects reported, that direction and speed of journey in the underworld was governed by the drum. Possibly, drumming, a continuous stimulus evoked associations. There were some similar components in the reports, e.g. dancing, fire, but every one of them basically went on his or her own way in the underworld basically. Subjects reported, that they could not stop, or change the way, because they felt, that the drum did not let them to do so. Although, every one of them went on his own way, there was one similar thing in the journeys. All subjects, coming back from the journey, felt that they met very important personal experiences.

All these characteristics indicate, that the journey, made in the underworld while listening to drumming, have similar results in experiences and mechanisms to those we met in indirect hypnosis.

## References

- Bányai, É., Hilgard, E. R. (1976): *A Comparison of Active-Alert Hypnotic Induction with Traditional Relaxation Induction*. Journal of Abnormal Psychology. 85., 218-224.
- Crawford, H. J., Mészáros, I., Szabó, Cs. 1988. *EEG Activation of Low and High Hipnotizables During Waking and Hypnosis: Math and Imaginal Task*. In: Waxman, D., Pedersen, D., Wilkie, I., Mellett, P. (eds.) 1988. Hypnosis: The 4 th. European Congress at Oxford. Whurr Publishers, London and New Jersey.
- Diószegi, V. (1962): *Sámánizmus*, Budapest, Gondolat.
- Diószegi, V. (1967): *A pogány magyarok hitvilága*, Budapest, Akadémia.
- Harner, M. (1980): *The Way of The Shaman*. Harper & Row, Publishers. New York.
- Harner, M. (1997): *A sámán útja*, Budapest, Édesvíz (Hungarian translation).
- Hilgard, E. R. (1977.) *Divided consciousness. Multiple Controls in Human Thought and Action*. John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Hoppál, M. (1994): *Sámánok. Lelkek és jelképek*, Budapest, Helikon.
- Kirsch, I., Council, J. R. (1992): *Situational and Personality Correlates of Hypnotic Responsiveness*. In.: Fromm, E., Nash, M. R. (1992): *Contemporary Hypnosis Research*. The Guilford Press. New York, London.

- Maurer, R. L. Sr., Kumar, V. K., Woodside, L., Pekala, R. J. (1997): *Phenomenological experience in response to monotonous drumming and hypnotizability*. American Journal of Clinical Hypnosis. Oct. 40 (2): 130-145.
- Mitchell, G. P., Lundy, R. M. (1986): *The Effects of Relaxation and Imagery Inductions on Response to Suggestions*. The International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis. 34., 2. 98-109.
- Morgan, A. H., Johnson, D. L., and Hilgard, E. R. (1974): *The stability of hypnotic susceptibility: A longitudinal study*. International Journal of Clinical and Experimental Hypnosis, 22, 249-257.
- Weitzenhoffer, A. M. & Hilgard, E. R. (1959). *Stanford Hypnotic Susceptibility Scale, Forms A and B*. Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologists.





## Narrating and Urban Shamanism

*post-modern self representations of urban shamans and their storytelling*

*Wienker-Piepho, Sabine*

Mihály Hoppál and I met first in Budapest in 1988. It was the unforgettable time of European changes and our ISFNR-Congress was overshadowed by the later collapse of the socialist countries. He – and his friend Juha Pentikäinen took me along to the “Heroes’ funeral” – and never ever shall I forget the silence among thousands of people who joined this celebration. This was not only the beginning of a new political era but also one of a solid friendship among two scholars from quite different disciplines. Me – so far a narratologist with a limited knowledge mainly in Maerchen (fairy tales) and folk songs, in legends maybe and a little bit in more modern genres of folklore, and him: one of the most distinguished representatives of Shamanistic research in the world.

In the beginning we did not seem to have much in common. German traditional folktales, do not show many shamanistic traces. With one exception, however: this was a Grimm-tale named “Machandelboom” (KHM 47/AaTh 720) in low German<sup>1</sup> contains - maybe – shamanistic elements. Several studies, among them Belgrader’s dissertation from 1980 have elaborated its possible relation to shamanistic roots and in the 90s the German expert for Maerchen-and Shamanism, Heino Gehrts continued this discussion<sup>2</sup>. Hoppál, however, did not know the tale – therefore, it seemed to be a marginal question also for me, which I put aside for a long time.

However, some three or four years after Budapest, in the Black Forest, close to my hometown Freiburg i.Br., I happened to attend some esoteric “workshops” –

---

<sup>1</sup> In English this story is known under its Title „Juniper-Tree“ – which means “Wacholder” and is an incorrect translation, for Machandel is dialect for “Almond-tree”, a tree with a different connotation.

<sup>2</sup> Gehrts (1913 – 1998) organized a Congreß by the EMG (European Maerchen Society) in Bad Karlshafen in 1983 under the motto “Schamanentum”. Cf. also his study: Das Märchen und das Opfer. Untersuchungen zum europäischen Brüdermärchen. Bonn: Bouvier 2/1995. Review: in MSP (Märchenspiegel) 2/95

as they were called in those days, presented a paper on this experience on the Innsbruck-ISFNR-Congress in the year of 1992 and have published this as a much discussed article in *FABULA*<sup>3</sup>. I did not expect the topic would haunt me longer, but it did: after one year, Mihály Hoppál invited me to come along to another esoteric seminar organized by Urban Shamans, as they labelled themselves – high in the Alpes above Kaprun/Austria, not far from the large water reservoir. And since Hoppál has repeatedly encouraged his colleagues to study the new, the “urban shamanisme among city dwellers” (Hoppál: “These new manifestations must be examined”)<sup>4</sup>, I should like to take another glimpse on their get-togethers and on their narratings.

Many features of this Austrian shaman-“seminar” were familiar to me, since I have experienced -as described in *FABULA* - almost the same facets and structures in the Blackforest meetings years before. There were even the same practises, for in Kaprun also certain spiritual techniques for attaining a state of transcendence (hyperventilation, drums and dancing, as well as hallucinogenic drugs etc.) were applied in order to prepare the participants for their meditative soul-journeys to the land beyond the beyond, however: in this case the shaman drums – almost perfect and much admired imitations of “originals” made by specialized craftsmen in Vienna - played the dominant role. When the participants, the “shamans” returned from that beyond, the narrating began – just as in the Blackforest.

And again I was fascinated by the idea (which is not new<sup>5</sup>) that these narratives in many respects approximate to our traditional folk-tales (Maerchen, mostly – among the ordinary tales - to the magic-or wondertales AT 300-749 – with regard to motifs, structure and general tone of the discourse). On the other hand urban shamans’ narratives resemble to legends, especially because of the storytellers’ claim to truth<sup>6</sup>.

In shamanistic as well as in other esoteric sessions late-modern frustration over modern society with its alienation and its futile quest for genuine individuality seems to be the bond of the gatherings, therefore the contexts are almost

<sup>3</sup> Sabine Wienker-Piepho: Junkfood for the soul. Magic storytelling during esoteric workshops in Germany. In: *Fabula* 34, 1993, 225-237

<sup>4</sup> Mihály Hoppál: *Shaman Traditions in Transition*. International Society for Shamanistic Research, Budapest 2000, p. 94

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Peter Assion: Zur Kritik einer parapsychologischen Volkskunde. In: *ZfVkd* 71 (1975) II, pp 161-180

<sup>6</sup> Besides, the gatherings corroborated also my first impressions of the genre-aspect: jocular genres do not occur in these modern town-shaman’s narratives. No jokes, no pranks and the like! In short, humour in esoteric narration would be contraproductive.

congruent – and so is the outlining structure of the group, its psychodynamic hierarchy for instance. Both formations like to have a “professional” leader, the so-called “coach”, as the English-German “newspeak” has it. His position is firmly established. One may generalize: as with many sects, an authoritarian principle of leadership makes itself felt in esoteric workshops<sup>7</sup>. In urban-shaman seminars, however, the coach is not the shaman, who does e.g. the journey for the others. It is just the opposite: while all the others are shamans he functions more or less as a hermeneutic listener. Like the psychotherapist he promises the narrator that he will take his story seriously in spite of (or because of) its illogical and often incomprehensible character. Supported by the group, the coach confirms that there is a narrative truth or a mythic validity in the narrator’s tale<sup>8</sup>. For him and for the other clients these stories are “gateways to inner space” as their nomenclature has it. Thus storytelling from the psychodynamic point of view not only functions as a outlet, that is “...setting free the subconscious potential of positive energies”, but serves moreover as a stabilizing element in the restoration of autonomy in our modern, emotionless, scientific and all-too technical late modern society. But, how is this storytelling done in detail?

In order to deepen my research I decided to do a follow-up study in the Blackforest again, now with another accent: shamanism. For in the meantime shamanism became fashionable also in the Blackforest, it was just “in”. Several shaman-workshops were offered in the period between my Kaprun-experiments and 1996, when I participated for the last time. In spite of their relatively high charge (up to 250 € for one weekend, including a macrobiotic diet), I subscribed for four of them in total.

As far as I could see, there is no such a thing as a specific epistemology. Every individual workshop may thus differ in many respects from any other. However, the tutors (coaches) of the several “schools” almost entirely opt for the narrations as one of the most important organizing elements of a successful workshop.

When in the summer of 1987, I had attended my first workshop under the heading Farewell to Father I had learned that there are impressive networkings behind such meetings. My first one e.g. was organized by the so-called Forum

<sup>7</sup> Cf. again Peter Assion: *Der Soziale Gehalt aktueller Frömmigkeitsformen. Zur religiösen Volkskunde der Gegenwart.* In: Hess. Bl. f. Volkskunde und Kulturforschung NF 14/5 (1982/83) pp. 5-17 (= Materialien zur Volkskultur 1).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Frederick Wyatt: *The Narrative in Psychoanalysis: Psychoanalytic Notes on Storytelling, Listening and Interpreting.* In: *Narrative Psychology. The Storied Nature of Human Conduct*, ed. Theodore R. SARBIN, Praeger Special Studies, Praeger Scientific, New York/Westport CT/London (after 1985), pp.193-210.

International, which, in its own publicity claims ‘to make plausible the sciences, myths, religions, technologies and traditions in their mutual complementarity’. Its international seminars and congresses in Alpbach (Austria), Crete and even Freiburg were attended by an panel of VIPs, among them the Dalai Lama, Jorge Louis Borges, the science-fiction author Ursula Le Guin, the philosopher Feyerabend, the New-Age physicist Friedjof Capra and the late Mircea Eliade, along with other remarkable personalities. This splendour has a bit degenerated, but the VIP-glamour still attracts many people.

All workshops, including my later shaman-meetings, took place on isolated farms in the Black Forest mountains. The places are alleged to be located in an area of good geodetic influences (no earth rays but good, so-called “ley lines”<sup>9</sup>, declared free of iron nails etc., having already been investigated by geomants by means of a pendulum<sup>10</sup>). The sites are also suited to dowsing. In short, there existed an optimal biosphere and good vibrations, as their jargon would have it. The participants again ranged in age from 16 to 60, among them again more women than men – women speaking about their “matriarchy” in the German way of political correctness. As before, these “shamans” came from different social strata, mostly the lower and upper middle classes (businessmen, managers, teachers, housewives). Some were obviously physically ill. That is to say, they suffered not only from “ecstasy deprivation” but also from very real pains. Many thus took the workshop to be their last hope.

The shaman’s main equipment is the drum – and by means of several drums the spiritual proceedings began in the afternoon. Several mysterious manoeuvres were applied to help clients pass from one state of being into another, that is to say, into a trance. Sitting on cushions on the floor, the drumming began after an initial meditative silence with closed eyes (followed by a drums-music-mantra-murmuring-sequence). This lasted for about 40 up to 60 minutes. Then the voyage began and those who felt in trance had to describe his or her’s experiences during the journey into another world and its apparitions. The magic storytelling started.

At my first session I had collected a hairdresser’s story (from Freiburg, aged 32) and would like to quote it again;

<sup>9</sup>Cruciades of power-lines (Kraftadern); cf. the periodical “The Ley Hunter” *The Journal of Geomancy and Earth Mysteries*, Penzance (England) 115 (1991). Cf. also: Gertrud Kühnel: *Heilige Stätten, Orte der Kraft*. In: *Schweizer Volkskunde* 79/5 Basel (1989), pp. 65-74 (She refers to Alfred Watkins, who detected ley-lines first, and gives a definition of Geomancy (both p. 66).

<sup>10</sup>“Mental radiaesthesia” was the technical term for the preceding pendulum-exercises.

*“Guided by a rainbow, I flew across the valley in order to meet once again the dragon, my friend of the year before, who was living under the wall of the dam in the artificial Schluchsee. I was flabbergasted when I realized he had changed the colour of his scaled wings. They turned from a shimmering green into a metallic gold-and-blue. At first I thought, it wasn’t the same dragon. But when I addressed him by his name Orgon (German pronunciation)<sup>11</sup>, he swished his tail and invited me to join him on a visit to an initiation ceremony on an island in Lake Balaton in Hungary. I was scared because I had no identity card or passport, but then I realized the custom-officers might not check a man on a dragon (shy laughter). In a jiffy Orgon was in Hungary. I saw many people, or beings who looked like people, gathering around a circle of stones, sacred stones of course, in front of a huge mountain. They smiled. They ate something; bones lay around. They invited me to join the meal, but I refused. Then they kindly encouraged me to touch a stone. I tried and it was icy cold in spite of the sunshine. Orgon meanwhile mutated into a small kind of animal with legs and arms instead of legs and wings, and I mutated into a bird, when all of a sudden the mountain opened and we all moved inside through a long, narrow-gauged tunnel...” and so on. (extract from an aide memoire; the duration was about 10 minutes, S.W.-P).*

This narrated “*vision-quest*” (the English-German terminology obviously serves to enhance the niveau) was not interrupted<sup>12</sup>. The others listened eagerly and mute, sometimes nodding. Similar tales followed. As today one can find much literature on shamanism in many esoteric stores, which name themselves for instance “Healers, Shamans and Magic”<sup>13</sup>, some of the participants obviously had certain ideas about shamanistic elements, as bones, flying, birds, trees, death and rebirthing etc. Their stories all dealt with these elements

A male student (computer sciences, about 21 years old) was a good storyteller. Silently and with calm eyes and a clear vision he reported what he had experi-

<sup>11</sup>He had obviously adapted Reich for his own purposes. The Orgon theory was mainly developed by Wilhelm Reich in: *Der Krebs. Entdeckung des Orgon*, vol. 2, Cologne (1974); cf. also Ina-Maria Greverus and Gisela Weltz (eds.) *Notizen/Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie*, Universität Frankfurt a. M. vol. 33 (1990) pp.9-30 (see esp. 13ff). and 155ff.: *Kryptoerotische Variationen: “Nach Reichist Orgon die mit Sexualität identifizierte Urenergie. Auf dessen Hochschätzung des Orgasmus...und die Hingabe an die Bioenergie baute Rajjneesh, insbesondere unter Hinzuziehung des Tantrismus”* (p.157).

<sup>12</sup> My presence - and this is extremely important for these contexts - did not irritate the others as an outsider, because I did clandestine participant observation or better “*observant participation*” (cf. Michael Pye: *Participation, Observation and Reflection: an endless Method*. In: Veikko Anttonen & Nils G. Holm: *Ethnography is a Heavy Rire. Studies of Comparative Religion in Honor of Juha Pentikäinen (Festschrift Pentikäinen)* Åbo 2000, 64-79, here 67.

<sup>13</sup> For instance in Augsburg, close to the old Fuggerei. Invited by Augsburg University in 2002, M.Hoppal participated in a conference on *Narrating between the Cultures* and was delighted by this prove for international fake- or pseudo-shamanism.

enced during his journey with a huge black bird as his animal helper. Others, e.g. an old disabled lady in a wheel chair spoke as if under hypnosis. She told of her disguise in rags, while – “in fact” – she was a princess who had to lead “the sick” to a land of eternal health. One “shaman” intruded himself as a “music healer in old indigenous traditions”, a 50 year old tradesman, who was the proprietor of an expensive drum and wearing a phantastic costume of rags and feathers, told the story of his flight which led him to “a land behind the sun”. Others told about soulbirds, and huge trees that reached the sky, so they got in touch with heaven, and one participant, who spoke of himself als a “healer” (“Heiler”- the old German term for “medical doctor”) told about a “revival from bones”. Most of these narrations, therefore, not only equalled traditional Maerchen again, but also those of the Maerchen which incorporate – maybe – shamanistic elements or “survivals” (v.i.).

As I tried to demonstrate in an earlier study on parts of our post-modern society being obsessive by arcaisms, by the prehistoric past, by “authenticity” (everything that is archaic is true, is supposed to be “good”)<sup>14</sup>, I could find again these traces in shamanistic workshops in the Black Forest. In that article I investigated the present Märchen- or storytelling-scene and have linked its inclination to “survivals from very ancient times” (Andrew Lang)<sup>15</sup> with modern, urban shamanism with these words:

„Ein anderer, derzeit in der Märchenszene auch wieder hochgeschätzter Anknüpfungspunkt für Atavismen ist der Schamanismus, der ebenfalls in vage Vorzeiten zurückzuweisen scheint. Tatsächlich ist es nicht allzu schwierig, schamanische Elemente und entsprechende rituelle Grundmuster, etwa Initiationen, in den Märchen zu erkennen. Dazu gehören etwa das Motiv der Wiederbelebung aus Knochen, das der sog. “external Soul”, die Jenseitsreise, welche der ekstatischen Schamanenfahrt entsprechen würde, die schamanische Dreistaffelung des Weltbildes, das Seelentier, meist ein Vogel, oder auch den Weltenbaum, der bis in

<sup>14</sup> Sabine Wienker-Piepho: Von „Urmüttern“ und „Megalithmärchen“: Urzeitrezeption und Archaismusbesessenheit in der neueren Märchenpflege. In: Vorgeschichtliches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg (Hg.): Frauenbilder – Frauenrollen. Frauenforschung in den Altertums- und Kulturwissenschaften? Symposion des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars der Philipps-Universität Marburg v. 30.-31. Okt. 1998 (Kleine Schriften 49, Redaktion: Bernhard Schroth) Marburg 1999, S. 63-74

<sup>15</sup> Andrew Lang was one of the representatives of a school which saw fairy tales as „survivals from a very ancient time“, quotation following Dietz-Rüdiger Moser: Art. “Altersbestimmung des Märchens” in Encyclopedia of Maerchen (Enzyklopädie des Märchens) I (1977) col. 407-419

den Himmel reicht - man denke an das in England besonders populäre Märchen von "Jack and the Beanstalk" oder das von dem Maler Philipp Otto Runge an die Brüder Grimm gesandte, sehr grausame und fremdartig anmutende Märchen vom "Machandelboom" (Juniper Tree) das fast alle schamanischen Elemente zu enthalten scheint. Diese Richtung hat in der Märchenforschung ebenfalls lange Traditionen, sie beginnen bei Propp, Saintyves, Eliade und Findeisen, und setzen sich fort bei Heino Gehrts (v.s.) und dem jungen Schweizer Ethnologen Kurt Derungs<sup>16</sup>, der im Märchen nun allerdings nicht nur schamanische, sondern auch "vorschamanische matriachale Relikte" sieht, womit er ganz im Trend der von Frauen dominierten "Märchenszene" liegen dürfte..“ (Wienker-Piepho ibd. 1999:7)

The connection between the former scientific approach and the workshop-scenery seems to be evident. Following Hans Naumann's often critically discussed idea on "Sinkendes" (or "gesunkenes") Kulturgut" (Sinking Cultural Goods) we may call this cultural phenomenon a "sinking good of science" – connected with what is called "Rücklauf" (return flow, reciprocity) in our discipline and this is not just arbitrarily done: most of the participants of "my" shaman-workshops obviously have had "prepared" themselves for the weekend in reading books about shamanism and shamans. Several new Castaneda's writings, which are still a mega-hit in nonacademic contexts in Germany. One of the participants even took Hoppál's own book on Schamanen und Schamanismus<sup>17</sup>, which appeared with many pictures in German language in the Pattloch-Verlag for a relatively moderate price. . .

In one of the sociological bestsellers of the last decade Gerhard Schulze outlines the post-modern subculture of such "new-inwardness-workshops" by its milieu. Schulze's coinage "Selbstverwirklichungsmilieu" ("selfrealization-milieu")<sup>18</sup> has penetrated several disciplines and was received also in European Ethnology and Folkloristics. In fact, this term was haertily welcomed, for its neutrality on one and for its critical connotation on the other hand. In many facets, I am attempted to say, the post-modern search for identity in "archaic tales from prehistoric times" – by means of the texts narrated at Maerchen-workshops<sup>19</sup> as well as

<sup>16</sup> Kurt Derungs (Hg.): Keltische Frauen und Göttinnen. Matriachale Spuren bei Kelten, Pikten und Schotten. Bern: edition Amalia (1995).

<sup>17</sup> Mihály Hoppál: Schamanen und Schamanismus. Augsburg: Pattloch (1994).

<sup>18</sup> Gerhard Schulze: Die Erlebnisgesellschaft: Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart. Frankfurt a. M.: Campus (6. Aufl. 1996).

<sup>19</sup> I have described (and analyzed) this milieu meticulously in „Märchen und Esoterik. Die neue magisch-spirituelle Märchenwelle. In: Das selbstverständliche Wunder. Die Welt im Spiegel des Märchens, Hg.: Evangelische Akademie Baden, Herrenalber Forum 17 (1996) 51-77



at urban shaman's – workshops might be attributed to this very alternative milieu. An esoteric shaman-workshop seems to be the ideal new locus for escapists, where the ideological homelessness can be forgotten among "other shamans". While the churches with their wellknown "traditional narratives" are empty (I do not think so much of more or less passive liturgic texts, but mainly of the form of Confession in Catholic contexts) are empty, the "workshops" which offer confessions in the form of those postmodern narratives (in spite of their extremely high attendance fees) are overcrowded. It is not easy to characterize this new genre with old terms. What kind of texts can we find in these workshops? Are these oral texts subtexts, hyper- or meta texts, or is it just a certain kind of intertextuality? In her contribution to the Pentikäinen-Festschrift, Helena Helve raises this same question, however not so much under linguistic or the "shamanic" point of view, when she asks: "Do we live in a postmodern world, in which people construct their own postmodern narratives, suited to their own situations"<sup>20</sup>

Again, we should take Hoppál own words into account, even if he did not think so much of the urban shamans that meet on Back-Forest esoteric workshops and somewhere in the Austrian Alps: "...these young shamans of today are not genuine, but even so, these new manifestations must be examined"<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Helena Helve: The Implications of Postmodernism for World View Research. In: Veikko Anttonen & Nils G. Holm: Ethography is a Heavy Rite. Studies of Comparative Religion In Honor of Juha Pentikäinen. Religionsvetenskapliga skrifter No. 47, Åbo (2000) 101-123, here 120.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. again his book „Shaman Traditions in Transition, Budapest (2000), here p. 94.



# New Spiritualities, Gender Differences and Belief Systems

*Helve, Helena*

The visible world was generated.  
The workings of water and fire,  
Life and death,  
The myriad kalpas, and  
The light of primordial yang were initiated.  
The two principles of yin and yang  
Used them to carve out the three realms.  
The holy sages mounted them,  
To attain union with the transcendent.  
The five sacred peaks hold them,  
And are thereby filled with spiritual power.  
All things possessing them have life breath (ch'i).

*(Saso 1978, 201)*

## Introduction

The above text is from the Ling-pao Five Talismans liturgy. It involves a world view with the Taoist sense of value and way of structuring knowledge. The earliest religion in China was shamanism, a world view in which this physical world is but one of the two worlds. The other, the more significant world, is the spiritual one. The shaman is someone who in a trance could pass between the two worlds. They could change their shapes and become the totem animals through which they could move into and out of the spirit world. This world with its systems of beliefs has been among the interests of Mihály Hoppál. He has done field work widely, mostly in the East, among people who have old shamanistic traditions and beliefs (see, e.g., Hoppál 1985). His approaches have been ethnohermeneutics (see Hoppál 1992) and ethnosemiotics (see Hoppál 1996). He has, for example, investigated animism, which still plays a very important role in the shamanism of Northern Siberian peoples. Mihály Hoppál has also written about different concepts of the soul, the different types of shamanistic spirit helpers, and the forms

of their representation..He has been interested in what kind of symbols they play with and what kind of roles they play. His answers to these questions have given us a deeper understanding of shamanism. Mihály Hoppál has shown us, moreover, that shamanism is involved in the cult of the dead, of ancestors and mountains, and in rituals of animal sacrifice. The deepest meaning of the world view and belief system of animism in Siberian shamanism is in its interpretation of the balance between man and nature.

Mihály Hoppál's academic work has been in a different world than my own. I have been engaged in research involving Western young people since 1976. My doctoral thesis, "Nuorten maailmankuva" (The World View of Young People, 1987; published in English by *Annales Academia Scientiarum Fennica* 1993) was based on a 10-year longitudinal study on young people born in Helsinki area in 1965 and 1968. The shaping of world views of the same 41 girls and 31 boys was observed in 1976, 1982-3, 1984-5 and later in 1989-90, 1992-93 and 1996-7. Comparative data was collected in 1989-90, 1992-3 and 1995-6 in the Helsinki area and in some rural localities. The sample included 107 upper secondary school pupils, 52 vocational school pupils, 27 university or other students, plus 54 working young people. In 1995-96 457 young people were investigated (see Appendix 1). My material is composed of questionnaires, attitude scales, individual and group interviews and psychological tests. Some interviews were video-taped. The results were analyzed using multivariate statistical methods and qualitative content analysis. Different methods for the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data were used to complement each other.

My study among contemporary young people has involved entirely different research methods and approaches than Mihály Hoppál's research, yet even so, we have shared an interest in people's belief systems and world views. In this article, therefore, I shall refer to the results of my empirical research into world views (see Helve 1993b, 14-24; Hoppál 1982, 129; Penner 2000, 61-62) and values (see Helve 1993a; and 2002, Chapter 1) to examine both the "new spirituality" and gender differences in world views and belief systems.

In the world views and values of young people these days we find a "spirituality" which in some respects comes close to the shamanistic belief systems. I use the term "spirituality" here in the sense of an individual faith, which in this case arises within secular societies where organized religions are unpopular and where people are searching for more spiritual content in their lives. Since there are many alternative forms of such "spirituality" I prefer to use the plural form, "spirituali-

ties.” The primary spirituality that I am referring to here is related to a specific world view, which I found evidence of in my empirical follow-up study. This new type of world view, the Green, is not like traditional religious paradigms based on a religious authority, such as the Bible, the Koran, the Veda, the Tripitaka, etc.; or on ecstatic religious experiences of contact with the supernatural, referred to as God, the spirits of the deceased or extraterrestrial visitors. The Green world view has (environmental) beliefs about the world, mankind, and existence according to which, e.g., animals could have the same status and rights as people (animal rights vs. human rights). This world view can turn human spirituality and experiences of the natural world into a rapt mystery, with a romanticism that seems excessive at times. For example, in Finland we have had the so called “fox girls” who liberated thousands of captive foxes from fur farms because they believe that foxes should have the same sort of basic right to liberty as people. (Unfortunately many of these foxes died of starvation and exposure as a result, but that’s another story.) This world view promotes a relationship with the natural world of forests, lakes and animals, and concern for environmental questions with spiritual nuances. (For a more detailed analysis see Helve 2001, cf. Hoppál 1985.)

In any case this is a secular world view, which has own beliefs, attitudes and values, not based on science or religion, but on a spiritual dimension within human nature – within one’s own (ecological and environmental) moral and values, doctrines and rituals – integrating oneself with the natural world holistically (not scientifically, as do those of the scientific world view) (Whaling 1987, 8). This kind of spirituality is in many respects comparable with the new spiritualities and New Age phenomena. Paul Heelas for example (1996, 41; Woodhead & Heelas 2000, 112) has, instead of using the term “New Age”, referred to “spiritualities of life,” which to my mind means giving some kind of spiritual values to life itself. Susumo Shimazono (1999, 121-122) as well has coined the alternative terms of “World of the Spiritual” and “New Spirituality Movements and Culture” (NSMC) to be used in place of New Age. To these authors spirituality means that people have a direct experience of the sacred (for more see Cousin 1987, 306 –335).

### The Rise of New Spiritualities.

Changes in Western industrial societies have led to a religious revival. The Vietnam War gave rise to a counter culture. Young people’s rebellion against the Vietnam War was the beginning of many new religious movements. These same young people also rebelled against the materialism of modern culture. The new

spirituality movements and cultures such as the “New Age” inspired them with ideals of spontaneity, love and freedom. This also led to a certain commercialization and personal disorganization associated with drug use, yet, ironically, this movement still rejected materialism (Glock and Bellah 1976, Tipton 1984). From this point on a large number of new religious movements, cultures and spiritualities have been springing up in the USA and Western Europe, where mainstream churches in particular have lost members. Especially young people have been interested in new cults and sects (Bruce 1996, 169).

A generation later, the changes in societies after the collapse of communism have led to a feeling that we are at a turning point in history. Radical changes which have taken place have resulted in the break up of the modernist paradigm of Marxism and centralized economic planning in formerly communist countries. However, there is also a strong modernist backlash against post-modernism (Jencks 1996, 477). For example, many physicists do not want to accept the uncertainty principle, chaos theory and other manifestations of post-modern theories. Still there is no denying that recent developments – from ecological crises such as the greenhouse effect right up to the recent terrorist attacks – have been signaling a shift in our epistemological structures: in what we accept as grounds for knowledge and in the way we understand the world. This is leading to an emphasis on the continuity of nature and reconsideration of the nature of science. It does not mean complete skepticism and an end to all master narratives and beliefs (cf. Lyotard’s (1996) “meta-narrative”). It supports relative absolutism and the idea that truth propositions are time- and context-sensitive. This also signals a change many people’s values; a greater openness to the transcendental.

It is still worth remembering, however, that all of these changes are taking place within what is still a very secular society. Secularization refers to the process whereby religion loses its influence over the various spheres of social life. The rise of modern science and industry seriously affected the significance of religion, which has become less of a central force in social life than it was prior to the modern age. In Western countries today more emphasis is being put on individualistic beliefs than on collective values. This is especially true among young people (Helve 1993a). Durkheim’s theory of the importance of ceremony and ritual in binding the members of groups together no longer seems to be relevant (Durkheim 1912, 1995; also see Hamilton 1995, 97-109 and Idinopulos & Wilson 2002).

Has science replaced these collective structures? Have humanist social values such as freedom or equality and social cooperation replaced the old religious

moral values? Are these new values fostered by civil religions (cf. Bellah 1976)? As has been noted, civil rituals often replace and take over the functions of religious ones (see Lawson & McCauley 1990, 165; Pye 1972, 78-80). Such symbols as the flag and the national anthem at athletic events are examples of such new civil rituals. For example, in 1995 the Finnish national ice hockey team won the world championship and within an hour hundreds of young people gathered in Helsinki waving Finnish flags. To indulge in a bit of understatement, this powerfully reaffirmed the Finnish national identity. Whether such an activity is really some kind of civil religion in this context, however, is still debatable.

The case is also unclear when we speak of NSMCs. Even if they have similar symbols and practices with traditional religions, their meaning for young people may not be the same as for traditional believers (cf. Helve 1986, 1989, 1991, and 1993b). The beliefs and values of young people may reflect some phenomena of new spirituality movements and cultures. Their values are more post-modern than those of their parents and older generations, who picked up their values from the traditional religions and ideologies (Helve 2001, 191-218; Inglehart 1997). Young people are more free to choose different values according to the situations in which they find themselves.

In the first part of this paper the concepts of 'New Spirituality', 'belief' and 'disbelief' and their connections to belief systems, world views and values will be discussed. I will also discuss the socialization of belief systems and world views. The second part analyses an empirical case study of the belief systems, attitudes and values of young Finns, representing a European Union country with a Nordic welfare system, highly developed new technology networks, and largely post-materialistic values (see Inglehart 1997, 151). I will try to show the ongoing changes and gender differences in the beliefs and values of young people. Part three discusses how the hidden assumptions of the 'new spiritualities' shape not only concepts of religious belief but also value systems and world views.

## Part 1. The New Spirituality Movements and Cultures

The concept of NSMCs is used loosely to describe a wide range of beliefs and practices. These movements' philosophy is rooted in ancient traditions, sometimes based on mystical experiences, each within a different context. It is not widely realized that the first encounters with these spiritual and magical traditions actually took place much more than a century ago (Heelas 1996, 41-42). New spirituality movements such as the "New Age" selectively combine aspects of many traditions

to create a new multicultural mixture with aspects of Eastern religions, Western esotericism with psychological components, and some tribal cultures (mainly native American; African cultures are almost absent, as are Muslim cultures).<sup>1</sup> All in all, "New Age" represents a whole cornucopia of beliefs and rituals; an undefined sort of religion, claiming vague connections with Christianity and the major faiths of the East, as well as an occasional dab of pantheism and sorcery.

The greatest growth in these movements has been in the United States. This is not surprising, as they are based there on an already existing but dormant religious/philosophical movement that had peaked in the nineteenth century, when Oriental religions and the European occult tradition had a great impact on the intellectual elite of America (Rogge 1997).<sup>2</sup>

### The Concepts of "Belief" and "Disbelief"

We are speaking of "belief" and "disbelief" here in a religious context (regarding disbelief see, e.g., Deconchy 1991, 14). In our western culture we are used to thinking in dichotomies such as "belief" and "disbelief." We tend to think of belief as having a cognitive component, but there is a non-cognitive component as well (see Parsons 1971, 207-245; and Connolly 1980). This distinguishes religion from philosophy and science, both of which are purely intellectual disciplines. In a religious world view there is a contrast between the transcendent or supernatural and the natural. Most expressions of religious belief are not subject to what we call empirical verification. It is very difficult to scientifically measure religious belief or disbelief or some kind of religious experience. Individuals have a need to maintain stable relationships between the elements of cognition, feeling and behavior.

In sociological terms religiosity has often been seen as a dependent variable which correlates with such variables as age, sex, family background, and membership in a group (Brown 1987, 5). It is thought to be caused by predictable psychological factors. This, however, neglects the effects of religious experience itself, which are very difficult to evaluate scientifically.

Identifying religious variables is neither an easy nor straightforward process. The measuring of religious beliefs, attitudes, feelings and experiences has

---

<sup>1</sup> This issue has been discussed more widely in the article "Globalisation or Westernization? New Age as a Contemporary Transnational Culture" by Liselotte Frisk (2001, 31-41).

<sup>2</sup> One of the American psychologists of the time was William James (1842-1910) who called for a serious study of paranormal phenomena. He played a leading part in the founding, in 1885, of the American Society for Psychical Research. A noteworthy event was also the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893.

been undertaken in studies of the psychology of religion, comprised of gathering statistical data, e.g., on church attendance, or observing relevant behavior, such as prayer habits. Several alternative techniques, such as focused interviews, have also been applied to the study of religions and ideologies. Models of religiosity have been constructed with reference to combinations of these different forms of religious expression (for more on methods of measuring religiosity, see Brown 1987, 48-73). Multi-dimensional measures of religiosity have become generally accepted since being religious involves different kinds of behavior which are measurable as dimensions (cf. Glock & Stark 1966; Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi 1975, 5). Religion has also been operationalized as a personal value: e.g., W. A. Scott gives a list of 12 values which, besides religion, included intellectualism, kindness, social skills, creativity, independence and self-control (Scott 1965; Wulff 1991, 586-591).

In the study of young people's religious belief systems we must first discover their formal or internal cognitive structure which filters their perception of the world and daily life. In other words we have to investigate their world views. Belief systems involve different variables representing beliefs, to which they can adhere with more or less clear awareness, and disbeliefs, which they know about and understand but cannot accept (cf. Rokeach 1960; Deconchy 1991, 14). Religious beliefs are part of larger historically and culturally marked belief systems (Deconchy 1991, 14). For example behind young people's religious life there is a wide range of beliefs, disbeliefs, and traditions coming from Christianity, pre-Christian cultures and other world philosophies and religions (e.g., Eastern religions and NSMCs) which we can collectively refer to as a belief system.

### Theories Explaining the Socialization of Beliefs

My study research findings are interpreted in the light of the cognitive development theory (Piaget 1929, 1932; Piaget and Inhelder 1947, 1966; see also Rogoff 1990, Lee & Gupta 1995), social learning theory (Bandura 1977 and Mischel 1968) and socialization theory (Bronfenbrenner 1979 and Bronfenbrenner and Mahoney 1975). Young people's cognitive belief systems arise through socialization from the home, church, mass media, and other social institutions. This includes beliefs about humanity and nature, the world and life, death, the supernatural, space and time, and society. Together these make up one's world view (Dundes 1971, 102; Jones 1972, 79; Kearney 1975 and Löfgren 1981).

Social learning theory emphasizes the importance of other significant people who serve as role models of appropriate behavior. Young people's and children's



beliefs are formed in social communities and their ways of interpreting the world are shaped by the shared images of their parents and other people around them. Children and young people conceptualize the world in different ways at different stages of their growth, according to their level of cognitive development. Infancy, childhood and adolescence are each characterized by the development of basic abilities to think and learn; by shaping beliefs, attitudes and values and by preparing the young person for separation from the home and family. A commitment to the beliefs, values and cultural themes of religion means that as people grow and develop they can still hold on to both public and private values (cf. Brake 1985, 10).

In the past two hundred years scientific theories and findings, e.g. about evolution, have changed many factors of the commonly accepted world view. That in the Bible which was earlier taken to be literally true has been largely reinterpreted in ways significantly different from traditional religious beliefs which took the stories in Genesis as the starting point of history.

Different theoretical formulations dealing with the socialization process and human development throughout life present varied perspectives on the link between parental religious patterns and adolescent and adult religiosity (e.g., Fowler 1981). It is implicit that world views established in childhood may be expected to persist in later life. Those who develop a religious world view, for example, will tend to maintain such a world view when they are adults. What is unclear is at what age such a view begins to stabilize and to what extent there is departure from it at later ages. The significance of family background factors both in establishing the world view and maintaining it also need to be discovered.

## Part 2. Changes in the Beliefs and Values of Young People

Comparative studies on changes in people's values have been greatly influenced in recent decades by the empirical work and theory of Ronald Inglehart (1977, 1990, 1997 and 1998). He argues that advanced Western countries are experiencing a change in values from materialism to post-materialism and that young people are in the vanguard of this trend. He builds his theory on Abraham Maslow's theory of human needs (1954), which argues that when primary physical, survival and security needs are satisfied, needs of belonging, of self-fulfillment, intellectual and aesthetic needs, which he defines as "post-materialist needs", become more important. In his socialization hypothesis, value systems tend to be relatively stable throughout adolescence and adulthood. Inglehart's theory has



been criticized, however, and it seems that the post-materialistic value system might not be a coherent one.

Another question is whether the post-materialistic value system is related to spirituality and secular religious movements' and religions' values; or whether there are any coherent value orientations behind these.

The theoretical starting point of my empirical research project was the assumption that the evolution of post-industrial society has caused, and will presumably continue to cause, numerous changes that are first seen in young people. A three-phase study (1989, 1992-93 and 1995-96) of the attitudes and values of young Finns from urban Helsinki and rural Ostrobothnia (Helve 1993a and c; 1995b; 1996a and b; 2001; see also Appendix 1) suggested that the following three main attitude dimensions could be constructed:

Humanistic beliefs and values included such humanist ideas as respecting the beliefs of conscientious objectors; readiness to tolerate a reduction in one's own standard of living in order to reduce pollution and environmental problems; concern for the unemployed, sick, disabled and other disadvantaged groups; and the belief that the standard of living is so high that better care should be taken of the underprivileged in society. Such views show that the attitude structure of those who fall under this category stems from a Christian humanist set of values. Further evidence of this is a positive attitude towards foreigners arriving in the country and an unselfish willingness to increase foreign development aid irrespective of needs at home. The construction of a fifth nuclear reactor is not considered worthwhile, and there is little faith that science and technology will be able to solve the majority of today's problems. This belief system is also comprised of attitudes demonstrating a critical stance towards science, technology and continuous economic growth. The attitudes incorporated in this belief system may be regarded as progressive. They include attitudes to be found in the ideologies of, e.g., the Green movement, Christian social action groups and the political Left. Many of these attitudes were already fashionable in the 1960s and 70s (cf. Tipton 1984).

Comparing the humanistic belief system in the first phase of the study (1989) the position that development aid to foreign countries should be increased even if there are people in need of help in Finland was lower in the second and third phases of the study, when the Finnish economy (measured by per capita GDP) was no longer the third highest in the world (after Japan and Switzerland) but had slipped way down the rank. Unemployment rates for young people had grown rapidly. In the second phase (1992) when the economic crisis was deepest, the

growth in the popularity of the beliefs that "Science and technology are beginning to control people instead of serving them," and "Economic growth is not the only possible basis for continuous social welfare," could be interpreted to show that there were more young people who were critical towards science and technology, believing that they have not helped the world (e.g., because they are creating environmental problems) and that more young people were seeking other solutions than economic growth as the basis of a good life.

In the third phase (1995-96) the beliefs that "The construction of a fifth nuclear power plant should not be supported" and "Science and technology are beginning to control people instead of serving them" had reached new heights. The critiques towards science and technology had grown among young humanists. Also the attitude towards developing economic welfare had become increasingly critical.

Young people's changed set of values and beliefs reflected the then current economic recession. The humanist youth's willingness to sacrifice their standard of living in order to solve environmental and pollution problems increased. More young people also subscribed to the notion that science and technology are becoming the master instead of the servant of human beings. For humanists the economic recession signified the need for a more critical look at the foundations of welfare for humankind. They believed that welfare could not depend solely on economic progress. It was also clearer to them that the progress of science and technology had not helped solve ecological problems or inequities in the distribution of income in society.

The Individualistic belief system represented highly pessimistic attitudes concerning traditional party politics. Attitudes based on an individualistic set of values expressed no personal interest in public political matters. This does not mean that at the personal and private level they are not interested in political matters (cf. Biorcio et al., 1995, 35-36). Throughout all phases of the study their most common belief was that, "People's opinions don't have much influence on social and political decisions." According to this thinking, an individual cannot have faith in the fundamental political institutions of society, since they have no regard for the opinions of the ordinary citizen. No political party stands for matters of importance to them. Such values presumably imply that a person can trust only in himself or herself, because the institutions of society are far removed from him or her. It can also be assumed that those displaying attitudes belonging to this

category are modern, critical young people who have not inherited the values and attitudes of traditional ideologies.

This individualistic attitude structure was manifested in an increasingly critical view of society which spread during the 1990s. The political cynicism and pessimism of individualists towards parties and party politics has increased in the wake of economic difficulties. They felt that parties had drifted away from the problems of ordinary people, and as a result, people have to cultivate individual happiness and navigate through life without political/societal systems.

The Traditionalistic belief system was comprised of traditional Finnish attitudes, behind which lies a conservative attitude structure. Examples include a desire to prevent depopulation of the countryside, belief that abusers of social benefits – idlers and “spongers” – have it too easy in Finland, and a high regard for the Finnish “fatherland” that is manifested in the belief that one is fortunate and privileged to be a Finn. This nationalistic attitude was most common in the 1995-96 study. In addition, the attitudes towards foreigners had become stronger. These attitudes are evidently those of young people for whom the fatherland, religion, honesty and industry still constituted important values.

Comparing the value systems of young Finns with the framework of Inglehart’s scarcity and socialization hypothesis (1990, 68), the latter seems to be interesting, but also too over-simplified to explain the young Finns’ value systems. The attitudes and values of the majority of the young people studied here were contradictory and disorganized. Our research showed that the attitudes and values of most of the young people in our sample were not anchored in any political, religious, or other ideological belief systems. They were free to choose their beliefs, values and attitudes. They questioned the key commitments of the traditional ideologies. In this sense they seemed to be truly “post-modern”. Maybe a new kind of ideology is coming into being; maybe not. Anyway, there seems to be space here for new spiritual phenomena (cf. Roof 1993).

## Gender Differences

A yet further study of the beliefs, values and attitudes of young people shows that even in Finland girls/young women and boys/young men have different beliefs, attitudes and values towards life and society (Helve 2001, 201-218). Education has had some effect on these attitudes. This study found that those whose values most stressed gender equality in working life, for example, were girls who had been to upper secondary school. They wanted a woman to be their boss and in their opin-

ion it is equally important for a woman to go to work as for a man. In their mind men and women both need to earn money and take care of the home and the family. They believed that there should be more women bosses in important jobs, and it is very important to live according to one's conscience. They would not mind if their children went to school where half of the children were of another race. These were Humanist-Egalitarians in their beliefs, attitudes and values.

The most "Traditionalist – Conservative" values were found among secondary school boys, and most urban girls were against these values. These values were reflected by agreement with conservative statements such as, "Couples who have children should not divorce," "Marriage is for life," and, "Young people today don't respect traditional values enough." They supported the political position, "Our country needs strong leaders who can restore order and discipline and the respect for values."

"Environmentalist – Greens" stressed ecological values and were mostly female upper-secondary school students. In their opinion the development of economic welfare should not be taken any further. Nuclear energy should be given up even if it would result in a decrease in the standard of living. They believed that the continued rise in economic well-being increases mental illness and that science and technology are beginning to control people instead of serving them. They were willing to lower their standard of living in order to decrease pollution and environmental problems. They also believed that, "Even young people can promote world peace by participating in peace work."

This study also identified a new group of values: the "Global – Internationalists". Those belonging to this value system believed that if more foreign people came to Finland these contacts would be mutually beneficial. In their opinion it was not a privilege to be Finnish and "East, West, home is best," is an obsolete phrase.

With respect to gender differences girls valued humanism and equality more than boys, and boys in turn valued technology and economic welfare more than girls. Girls more than boys valued environmental issues, especially urban secondary school girls. Boys valued technology and science more than girls, especially urban secondary school boys. Urban vocational school girls were the most politically passive. They were critical of traditional politics, citing Green values as an alternative to technological and economic values. On the other end of the spectrum from the International-Globalists were "Racists", most of whom were boys who studied in vocational or business schools and colleges. The most humanistic values were

found among secondary school girls. In general rural young people valued family values more than urban young people.

Several studies have demonstrated that girls and boys perceive the world in different ways (Dahlgren 1977; Helve 1993b and 1996; Rauste-von Wright, Kauri and Niemi 1975). For girls the formation of both identity and perception of the world is effected by the framework of their gender. Many cultures regard "soft" values as being feminine. The different values associated with the gender stereotypes created by a patriarchal society are evident. School, peer groups and commercial mass entertainment convey sexual stereotypes which guide the viewpoints held by young people and manifest themselves in matters such as their career choices.

The Finnish study showed that girls were not as aware of party politics as boys. For many of them politicians were, "fat old men who lie to people." This critical stance taken by many girls heralds the birth of a new type of political culture. Girls held attitudes which were more global than those held by boys. They were more willing to increase aid to developing countries, they were more willing to accept refugees and they were also more critical than boys with respect to the capacity of science and technology to solve the problems of our era. Most but not all of the girls expressed humanistic values. The space within which girls can move has expanded, and it has provided them with the possibility of being either "soft" or "hard". Girls' perceptions of the world seem to be more varied and open than those of boys.

Collective consciousness of such things as the kinds of role expectations which are directed towards women arises within a social context. The situation experienced by mothers, sisters, and girl friends, for instance, indirectly provide girls with information about the essence and role of being a woman. Various theories of cultural influence claim that the media have a great influence on their audience. They create beliefs, attitudes and values according to which people interpret the world. The differences in girls' and boys' values and attitudes cannot be explained as simply biological. (The only personality difference that can be shown to have biological roots, perhaps, is the level of aggressive activity.) Parents and society tend to respond to girls differently than to boys. These differences and social influences have to be considered. One social explanation is in terms of the divergent socialization of girls and boys. Another explanation is in terms of gender roles and culture.

In the following tables some examples of variables of religious identification in the data from the 1995-96 comparative study (N=457) are given:

	Yes, like the Church teaches	Yes, but not the way the church teaches	I can't say	No
Girls	44.4%	29.1%	18.8%	7.7%
Boys	25.8%	23.5%	34.8%	15.9%
Average	35.1%	26.4%	26.8%	11.7%

Table 1: Do you believe in God?

	At least once a month	A couple of times a year	Once a year	Less often than once a year	Never
Girls	0.4%	36.3%	24.2%	18.8%	20.3%
Boys	3.9%	13.6%	18.0%	27.2%	37.3%
Average	2.2%	24.8%	21.1%	23.1%	28.8%

Table 2: Not counting weddings, funerals and baptisms, how often do you go to church?

	Regularly every day	A couple of times a month	Less often than once a month	Only in an extreme situation	Never
Girls	27.9%	27.0%	7.5%	26.1%	11.5%
Boys	9.4%	10.3%	8.5%	31.3%	40.5%
Average	18.7%	18.7%	8.0%	28.6%	26.0%

Table 3. Do you pray?

Finnish girls seem to be more religious as measured by their belief in God (like the church teaches or not the way the church teaches, table 1), going to church (table 2) and praying (table 3). The following tables show how interested Finnish boys and girls were in “New Age” phenomena (table 4) and in beliefs in unidentified flying objects (UFOs) (table 5). A larger percentage of the boys (72.3%, vs. 55.3% of girls) said that they were not at all interested in “New Age” phenomena. Larger percentage of the boys (37.7%), said that they believe in unidentified flying objects (UFOs) than the girls (27.6%). However a larger percentage of the boys (32.5%) did not believe in them than of the girls (28.9). (Tables 4 and 5.)

	Very interested	Interested	Can't say	Not very interested	Not at all interested
Girls	1.3%	6.2%	17.7%	19.5%	55.3%
Boys	2.7%	1.4%	8.0%	15.6%	72.3%
Average	2.0%	3.7%	12.9%	17.6%	63.8%

Table 4. How interested are you in “New Age” phenomena?

	Yes	Don't know	No
<b>Girls</b>	27.6%	43.5%	28.9%
<b>Boys</b>	37.7%	29.8%	32.5%
<b>Average</b>	32.7%	36.6%	30.7%

Table 5. Do you believe in unidentified objects (UFOs)?

These findings describe the situation during Finland's transition to a post-industrial society. Advances in science and technology continue to reinforce trends towards forms of humanism that exclude the concept of transcendence and see all knowledge as resting upon science. But science has not succeeded in providing the young people of a post-industrial society with powerful ideological themes.

In summary we can say that the spiritual resources typical of contemporary young people contain a religious core consisting of individual human rights, self-fulfillment and individual expression, combined with the recognition of social interdependence, the continuation of networks of kinship and friendship, and a non-dogmatic, private "open world view" and belief system based mostly on Christian values and traditions. In many respects these are also valid for personal spirituality, individualism and experience-orientation.

### Part 3. Discussion

The mass media has a significant meaning for the beliefs, attitudes and values of modern and especially post-modern people. Undoubtedly mass media influence the values of young people more than they do those of older generations. This too is difficult to measure scientifically. Traditional values are becoming blurred in the younger generation. Through the mass media teenagers become aware of foreign countries and their problems. Many already think globally. (cf. Featherstone 1990, Featherstone et al. 1995, Rothstein 2001). Environmental issues are seen as world wide problems and each individual is understood to be part of the global ecosystem.<sup>3</sup>

Although the mass media are controlled by the ruling establishment, they do bring about changes in values. On the one hand they uphold traditional values, while on the other they stimulate the development of new, critical values, particu-

<sup>3</sup> As globalization has rapidly expanded it has become a target for opposition and criticism. The terrorist attacks in New York and Washington on September 11, 2001 showed how vulnerable the integrated, open world is. In a tragic way the terrorist attacks have dramatically influenced and increased the challenges of globalization, in relation both to security and to equal opportunities to participate in the global economy.



larly among young people. There no longer seems to be a consensus on cardinal values.

There was a difference in values and beliefs between the sexes. Girls viewed the achievements of science and technology more cautiously. They were also doubtful about the value of continuous economic growth. Their values were more non-materialistic than those of boys, and they were not as willing to uphold the existing social structure. These differences show the different ways men and women interpret the world.

As the result of conditions of economic recession facing most young people in Finland in 1990s, the physical body has become one of the main venues where control can be exerted. At a time when most young people can “manage“ little else, the body can still be “managed.” It also becomes the primary vehicle for the achievement of pleasure. The growth of body-building, anorexia, the interest in new spiritualities with notions of achieving “higher” states of awareness and fulfillment through meditation or “trancing”, the use of drugs (such as “ecstasy”) and other forms of amusement are related to this absorption in one’s own body (cf. Pine1997, 162-166).

Religious interests seem to follow a certain pattern of gender roles and gender-related areas of specialization. The Christian religion in its symbolism is a male affair: God is the Father, and Jesus took the human shape of a man. Woman was created from a rib taken from a man (cf. Anderson and Hopkins 1991). Yet while the official positions of Christian churches are dominated by men, the majority of those in the pews have been women. Now that Finnish girls are encouraged to see themselves as equal to men and independent from them, the roles and images offered to them by the patriarchal religion are in conflict with their own positive self image. Parapsychology and esoteric knowledge are male dominated, whereas faith healing and mystical spirituality tend to be female pursuits (Bruce 1996, 219). Other things spiritual pursuits, however, are more gender-neutral. For example the life style of some “New Age” travelers may attract young people to rave cultures. The nomadic life, riding in caravans and old buses from one musical festival to another, has a definite appeal to young people of both sexes.

Generally speaking though, religious beliefs appeal more to young women than to young men (cf. table 4). Females of all ages are more religious than males. Women are more likely than men to describe themselves as religious, to be church-affiliated, to pray frequently, to feel close to God, etc. (Weiss-Ozorak 1996,17). It seems likely that their experience of religion is different from that of men. Recent



work suggests that women and men experience God and faith differently. For women the emphasis seems to be on a personal relationship with a loving God and with others in the religious community (Anderson and Hopkins 1991; Weiss-Ozorak 1996, 18). These distinctions have been seen in different roles and socialization patterns of women and men, who then develop different views of morality. Women emphasize care and connectedness as the greatest moral good, while men emphasize independence and objectivity (Gilligan 1982).

It can be assumed that young people who have lived through childhood and adolescence in physical security place greater emphasis on post-materialist and spiritual values, as well as on values concerned with the quality of life, than their parents' (and grandparents') generation, which grew up in the period of post-war hardship. Post-materialist values go particularly well with young people's social criticism. They are represented by a range of alternative movements (e.g., Greenpeace, Amnesty International, animal rights, feminism, the "New Age" and other NSMCs) that are popular among the young, and the new secular ideologies underlying them. Few of the young people in this study were actively involved in either official or unofficial religious or political organizations. The majority seemed to have abandoned traditional religion. The same has been seen in their relationship to traditional politics. An alternative to the conventional religious or political world view would appear to be the "Green" concept of the world (cf. Helve 1996a). Young people's values are no longer built around "grand narratives". Some young people are, however, seeking to replace the post-modern absence of values with a new system of values that might be termed hypermodern. On the other hand, there is also evidence of a return to pre-modern values built around harmony with nature (cf. the shamanistic system of beliefs, Hoppál 1985).

Judging from what sort of people are attracted to new spirituality ideas, it is obvious that it is strongest in those parts of Europe and America where Christianity and other traditional religions are weakest. The new spirituality movements also appeal to women much more than to men, as women tend to focus more on religious activities in general and also some new secular religion ideas (seeing the roles they offer as corresponding to the ideas of feminism). In particular, e.g. the "New Age" in general has appealed more to younger generations than to older ones because the younger generations have seen it as a counter culture. Assessing the significance of new spiritualities and secular religions, we may conclude that its counter-cultural influence is certainly very small (Bruce 1996, 222). Beyond the changes that have taken place in the people who have become personally involved

in these, there may have also been important changes in the general cultural climate.

In summary, new spiritualities and secular religions cannot aspire to promote radical and specific change, yet with their environmentalism and holistic approach to the world, some of their ideas are being accepted into the cultural mainstream. They can be seen as the embodiment of individualism through their questioning of authority and orthodoxy. In a rapidly changing world where the old narratives of the past have died, people, especially young people, are actively seeking new ways to integrate themselves into the new world order of technology, materialism and information. New spiritualities can provide alternative paths to find meaning in life, and a holistic frame of reference, especially for young people who have not found answers in the cold phase of the last decade of materialism, technology and science.

### Some Closing Muses

Already Durkheim was searching for a new secular religion by trying to identify key aspects of the sacred, and this still provides the basis for identifying problems with the idea of secular religion today. For example Michael Maffesoli, one of the more interesting neo-Durkheimian writers, in *The Time of the Tribes* (1996) sees a re-enchantment of the world according to some kind of idea of a semi-sacred realm. His concern is with the pluralism of the sacred. There has been a deconstruction of history, but not the development of a shared social and moral identity remembrance. This, I believe, is the challenge that both those in Siberia with (neo)shamanistic belief systems and the quasi-religiously ecology conscious girls we have here in Finland each try to face in their own creative ways. Especially in the latter example of ad hoc secular religion, hope in God doesn't exist. There is thus a need to renew and revive some sense of the sacred in order to keep and relish hope for the future among a people who have no hope. Hope has been referred to as "the memory of the future," and it is only by "remembering" that which has not necessarily ever been, and by building identities through sharing those "memories" with each other, that the spiritual seekers of our time can find the hope that they need. In Ostrobothnia as in Siberia, this involves trusting one's primitive instincts, seeking harmony with one's immediate natural environment and hoping for the best.

Appendix 1. The phases and methods of the research:

1989	Phase 1. 16-19 year olds Methods	123 girls, 117 boys (n= 240) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Questionnaires</li> <li>• Word association and complete-the-sentence tests</li> <li>• Individual and group-focused interviews (videotaped)</li> <li>• Attitude scales</li> </ul>
1992-3	Phase 2. Follow-up study 19-22 year olds Methods	93 girls, 72 boys (n=165) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Questionnaires</li> <li>• Word association and complete-the-sentence tests</li> <li>• Attitude scales</li> </ul>
1995-6	Phase 3. Comparative study 16-19 year olds Methods	228 female, 229 male (n=457) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Questionnaires</li> <li>• Word association and complete-the-sentence tests</li> <li>• Attitude scales</li> </ul>

References

- Anderson, S., Hopkins, P. (1991). *The feminine face of God*. New York: Baltam Books.
- Argyle, M., Beit-Hallahmi, B. (1975). *The social psychology of religion*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bandura, A. (1977) *Social learning theory*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Barker, E. (1989). *New religious movements. A practical introduction*. London: HMSO Publications.
- Beard, R.M. (1971). *Piagetin kehityopsykologia (An outline of Piaget's developmental psychology)*. Tammi: Helsinki.
- Bellah, R. (1976). *The new religious consciousness*. California: Berkeley University of California Press.
- Biorcio, R., Cavalli, A. and Segatti, P. (1995). Cultural change and political orientation among European youth. In S. Huebner-Funk, L. Chisholm, M. du Bois-Raymond and B. Sellin (Eds.), *The puzzle of integration. European Yearbook on Youth Policy and Research*, (vol. 1.), 33-47. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Brake, M. (1985). *Comparative youth culture*. London: Routledge&Kegan Paul.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) *The ecology of human development. Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge: Harward University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. - Mahoney, M.A. (1975) *Influences on human development*. Hinsdale. Illinois. USA: The Dryden Press.

- Brown, L.B. (1987). *The psychology of religious belief*. London: Academic Press.
- Bruce, S. (1996). *Religion in the modern world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Connolly, J. R. (1980). *Dimensions of belief and unbelief*. Washington, D.C.: University Press America.
- Dahlgren, A. 1977. *Två världar. Om skillnader mellan unga kvinnors och unga mäns verklighetssyn*. Lund: GWC Gleerup.
- Cousin, E. (1987). Spirituality in Today's World. In Whaling, F. (ed.). 1987. *Religion in Today's World*. Edinburg: T & T Clark.
- Deconchy, J.P. (1991). Religious belief systems: Their ideological representations and practical constrains. In the *International journal for the psychology of religion*, vol. 1, (1), 5-21.
- Dundes, A. (1971) Folk ideas as units of worldview. *Journal of American folklore no.331*: Austin.
- Durkheim, E. (1995). *The elementary forms of religious life*. New York: The Free Press.
- Featherstone, M. (eds.) (1990). *Global culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Featherstone, M., Lash, S., Robertson, R. (eds.) (1995) *Global modernities*. London: Sage Publications.
- Fowler, J. W. (1981) *Stages of faith. The psychology of human development and the question for meaning*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge: MA, Harvard University Press.
- Glock, L. Y., Bellah, R. (1976). *The new religious consciousness*. California: Berkeley University of California Press.
- Hamilton, M. (1995). *The sociology of religion*. Routledge: London & New York.
- Heelas, P. (1996). *The New Age movement*. USA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Helve, H. (1986). "Youth culture". In *Transition rites, cosmic, social and individual order* (pp. 227-235). Ed. Ugo Bianchi. Roma: "L'erma" di Breitschneider.
- Helve, H. (1989). Mythical dimensions of world view: A case study in Finland, 227-235. Uralic mythology and folklore. *Ethnologica Uralica 1*. (eds. M. Hoppál and J. Pentikäinen). Budapest - Helsinki: Hungarian Academy of Science - SKS.
- Helve, H. (1991). The formation of religious attitudes and world views: A longitudinal study of young Finns. *Social compass 38(4)*, 1991, 373-392. London: Sage Publications.
- Helve, H. (1993a). *Nuoret humanistit, individualistit ja traditionalistit*. Suomen Nuorisoyhteistyö Allianssi ry. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

- Helve, H (1993b). *The world view of young people: a longitudinal study of Finnish youth living in a suburb of metropolitan Helsinki*. Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, ser. B, Tom.267. Helsinki.
- Helve, H., (1994). The development of religious belief systems from childhood to adulthood. In J. Corveleyn and D. Hutsebaut (Eds.), *Belief and unbelief: Psychological perspectives*. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Helve, H. (1995a). The formation of a world view and the religious socialization of young people. A longitudinal study among Finnish youth. *JET, Journal of Empirical Theology*, 8,2, 39-57.
- Helve, H. (1995b). Religion, world views and gender ideology. *Temenos*, 31, 77-92. Turku: Åbo Akademie University Printing Press.
- Helve, H. (1996a). "Ystävämme kettu" ja uusi maailmankuva. Näin nuoret. Näkökulmia nuoruuden kulttuureihin. L. Suurpää & P. Aaltojärvi (toim.). *Tietolipas* 143, 74-94. Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura. Pieksämäki.
- Helve, H. (1996b). Les jeunes finnois et la religion. *Agora* 4, 101-110. Paris.
- Helve, H. (2001). Reflexivity and Changes in Attitudes and Value Structures. In H. Helve and C. Wallace (Eds.) *Youth, Citizenship and Empowerment*. England: Ashgate.
- Helve, H. (2002). *Arvot, muutos ja nuoret*. Helsinki: University Press.
- Hoppál, M. (1982) *Belief Systems, Worldview and Mythology*. Congressus quartus internationalis fennopugristarium 1975. Pars IV 1981. Budapest.
- Hoppál, M. (1985). Shamanism: an Archaic and/ or Recent System of Beliefs. *Ural-Altaischer Jahrbücher*. 57: 21-140.
- Hoppál, M. ((1992). Ethnohermeneutics in theory of tradition. *Folklore Processed*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 141-152.
- Hoppál, M. (1996). *Ethnosemiotics*. Wien.
- Hoppál, M. (2000). Animal Sacrifice among the Buryat (pp. 247-261). In *Ethnography is a Heavy Rite. Studies of Comparative religion in Honor of Juha Pentikäinen*. Åbo: Religionvetenskapliga skrifter No 47.
- Idinopulos, T. A. and Wilson B. C. (eds) (2002) *Reappraising Durkheim for the Study and Teaching of Religion Today*. The Netherlands: Brill.
- Inglehart, R., (1977). *The silent revolution: Changing values and political styles among Western publics*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture shift in advanced industrial society*. Oxford: Princeton University Press.

- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and Postmodernization. Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Inglehart, R. (1998). *Clash of Civilizations or Global Cultural Modernization? Empirical Evidence from 61 Societies*. Unpublished paper presented at the 1998 meeting of the International Sociological Association, Montreal, August 27 - 31, 1998.
- Jencks, C. (1996). *The death of modern architecture*. From What is post-modernism?, 469-480. In *From modernism to post-modernism. An anthology* edited by Lawrence Cahoon. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Jones, W.T. (1972). "World views: Their nature and their function". *Current Anthropology*. Vol.13, 79-89. Glasgow: The Wenner-Green Foundation for Anthropological Research.
- Kearney, M. (1975). "World view theory and study". *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol.4, 247-270. Palo Alto: Annual Reviews Inc.
- Lawson, E. T., McCauley R. N. (1990). *Rethinking religion - connecting cognition and culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Liotard, J-F. (1986). *The post-modern condition. A report on knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Maslow, A. H. (1970) (2nd Ed; 1<sup>st</sup> 1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Maffesoli, M. (1996) *The Time of the Tribes*. London: Sage.
- Miller, W.W. (2002) Secularism and the Sacred: Is There Really Something Called "Secular Religion"?, 27-44. In Idinopulos, T. A. and Wilson B. C. (eds) (2002) *Reappraising Durkheim for the Study and Teaching of Religion Today*. The Netherlands: Brill.
- Mischel, W. (1968). *Personality and assesment*. New York: Wiley.
- Parsons, T. (1971). Belief, unbelief and disbelief, 207-245. In *The culture of unbelief*. Studies and proceedings from the first international symposium on belief held at Rome, March 22-27, 1969. Ed. by Rocco Caporale and Antonio Grumelli. With a foreword by Peter Berger. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Penner H. H. (2000) Interpretation (pp. 57 – 71). In Braun W. and McCutcheon R. T. *Guide to the Study of Religion*. London and New Yourk: Cassel.
- Piaget, J. (1929) *The Child's conception of the world*. Humanities Press: London.
- Piaget, J. (1932) *The language and thought of the child*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Piaget, J.-Inhelder, B. (1947) Diagnosis of mental operations and theory of the intelligence. *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 51.
- Pine, M. (1997). Technologies of the self, 158-166. In *Youth in society* (eds. J. Roche and S. Tucker). London: Sage Publications.
- Pye, M. (1972). *Comparative Religion. An Introduction through Source Materials*. Newton Abbot (England UK) / New York (David and Charles / Harper and Row)
- Rauste-von Wright, M. (1975) *Nuorison ihmis- ja maailmankuva III*. Nuorten käsitys maailmasta ("Young People's image and the world III. Young people's views of the world"). Studies of the University of Turku, Department of psychology, 19.
- Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rokeach, M. (1960). *The open and the closed mind: Investigations into the nature of belief systems and personality systems*. New York: Basic Books.
- Rothstein, M. (2001). *New Age Religion and Globalization*. Aarhus Univ. Press.
- Saso, M. (1978). *The Teachings of Taoistic Master Chuang*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Shimazono, S. (1999). New Age Movement or New Spirituality Movements and Cultures. *Social Compass* 46:2.
- Scott, W. A. (1965). *Values and organizations: A study of fraternities and sororities*. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Tipton, S. (1984). *Getting saved from the sixties: Moral meaning in conversion and cultural change*. Berkeley University of California Press.
- Whaling, F. (ed.). (1987). *Religion in Today's World*. Edinburg: T & T Clark.
- Weiss-Ozorak, E. (1996). The Power but not the glory: How women empower themselves through religion, *Journal for the scientific study of religion*, vol. 35, no. 1, 17.
- Woodhead, L. & Heelas, P. (2000). *Religion in Modern Times. An Interpretive Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Wulff, D. M. (1991). *Psychology of religion: classic and contemporary views*. USA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Internet reference:

Rogge Michael, *The Roots of the New Age Movement*.

<http://www.xs4all.nl/~wichm/newage3.html> (18. 7. 1997.)

Michael Rogge <http://www.s4all.nl/~wichm/index.html>

(Latest revision: 3 July 1997).

Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica 12-13,  
♦ Műveltség és Hagyomány XXX-XXXI. ♦ An International Festschrift to commemorate the 60<sup>th</sup> birthday of MIHÁLY HOPPÁL ♦ Edited by ELEK BARTHA and VEIKKO ANTONEN ♦ Postal address: Department of Ethnography – University of Debrecen, 4010 Debrecen, P.O.B. 16. Hungary ♦ Design and typography by CSABA DALLOS ♦ Font face Lapidary ♦ Printed by KAPITÁLIS Kft, Debrecen ♦ ISSN 0139–0600 Ethnographica et Folkloristica Carpathica ♦ ISSN 0580–3594 Műveltség és Hagyomány