

RESUMÉ

MORPHOLOGIE DU CONTE POPULAIRE

La base de toutes les études sur le conte populaire consiste dans une systématique correcte de tous les matériaux qui entrent dans le domaine de ses études. Cette systématique correspond à une bibliographie raisonnée dans les études littéraires. Mais cela ne se laisse faire qu'à condition, que la systématique soit précédée par une autre opération très compliquée et qui semble lui être postérieure, savoir: par la morphologie du conte. Sans cette opération la systématique s'empêtrerait dans des difficultés sans issue et ses résultats seraient loin d'être corrects. Cette paradoxale situation méthodologique n'est que le résultat du caractère tout spécifique du conte populaire, caractère qui le fait distinguer d'autres oeuvres d'art de la parole, disons des oeuvres littéraires.

La base de la systématique des contes populaires c'est leur division en divers sujets enregistrés par la folkloristique actuelle et dont la liste fut dressée par Aarne-Thompson dans son oeuvre «Types of the Folk-tale» (1928). On sait cependant, que les sujets se composent d'unités plus petites, nommées motifs qui apparaissent aussi bien dans les sujets, qu'indépendamment. Thompson a fait preuve d'avoir bien compris leur grande importance, en donnant un essai phénoménal de leur classement dans son énorme travail «Motive-Index of Folk-Literature» (1932—5). La première opération du morphologue, et en conséquence celle aussi du systématisateur de contes populaires, est d'établir une délimitation entre le sujet et le motif et de faire ressortir les motifs particuliers dans les bornes du sujet. Cette délimitation jette en même temps dans beaucoup de cas une lumière caractéristique sur le procès de for-

mation d'un grand nombre de contes, surtout quand les sujets donnés ne sont qu'une somme totale de quelques motifs successifs, liés entre eux chronologiquement et causalement, p. ex. dans les «contes où figurent les animaux» (fables).

Les grandes difficultés des études morphologiques se présentent cependant seulement alors, — et ce sont des cas très fréquents, surtout dans les «contes de fées» —, quand les mêmes motifs apparaissent dans divers sujets et amènent de très graves conséquences pour la naissance et la vie de contes, ainsi que, naturellement, pour leur systématique. J'appelle ces motifs «motifs de jonction», car ils constituent des plate-formes entre des groupes entiers de contes et deviennent une source de leurs affinités inattendues, de leur liaisons et de leurs transformations. Ce sont des motifs identiques ou au moins analogues à ceux qu'on rencontre dans les contes de contenu différent. Tel est p. ex. le motif des «animaux reconnaissants» qui tirent le héros de toute sorte d'embarras, qui, au moment du danger, le secourent, lui sauvent la vie ou la lui restituent. Le motif du «gobelet glissé furtivement» peut servir comme un autre exemple: il apparaît dans la Bible, dans la vie d'Ésope, dans la légende de Compostelle et dans la «byline» russe des 40 pèlerins.

L'existence des motifs de jonction fait naître de nouvelles fables grâce à l'entrelacement de divers sujets qui ont le même motif de jonction; de deux contes qu'on pourrait déterminer schématiquement par des formules: D'AbC et MbN peut naître un nouveau conte AbN, car deux différentes situations sont liées par leur membre commun b, qui est précisément un motif de jonction. Grâce à ceci, les contes à construction composée, aussi bien que ceux à construction de cadre, sont un fait tout à fait normal; dans le premier cas, grâce à l'existence du motif de jonction, deux contes indépendants A, B, donneront naissance à une nouvelle création A—B, — dans le second cas c'est dans le cercle du conte C qu'un autre conte pourra se développer, de sorte que nous aurons une composition nouvelle C—D—C. C'est seulement après avoir scrupuleusement discerné toutes ces possibilités à l'aide de l'analyse morphologique, qu'on pourra réaliser la classification de la

variante donnée ou du groupe de variantes du conte et enregistrer le phénomène étudié dans le cadre du système international universellement accepté et, par conséquent, faciliter aux prochaines études d'être scientifiquement correctes.

Ce procédé doit avoir pour résultat la constatation de l'identité des variantes données et la détermination des relations qui existent entre elles. Mais voici qu'une nouvelle difficulté se pose ici, et l'une des plus essentielles. La pratique folkloristique prouve que, grâce à l'existence des motifs de jonction et grâce à d'autres facteurs qui évoquent la vie du conte, il y a, à côté des variantes indubitablement identiques, une grande quantité d'autres d'une identité problématique laquelle ne se laisse déterminer qu'à l'aide de longues et pénibles études spéciales de caractère génétique ou historique. Qu'est-ce que la systématique doit en faire? Il me semble, qu'à l'exception d'un certain nombre de cas, où l'identité a subi un si considérable effacement, qu'elle pourrait être découverte seulement à l'aide d'une étude toute spéciale, c'est une question plutôt simple.

Le systématisateur qui connaît l'existence des motifs de jonction et celle des difficultés qui leur sont propres, les étudie toujours sur le fond de la composition; il approfondit et tâche de découvrir leurs fonctions de construction, — et dans la construction même il prête une attention particulière à la succession stable des motifs dans le sujet donné, aux relations causales qui les unissent, enfin à leur clarté. S'il observe bien les facteurs nommés ci-dessus, il ne commettra pas de faute et il s'acquittera d'une manière précise de ses fonctions de systématisateur. Son but sera atteint surtout, si une connaissance approfondie de la morphologie du conte lui permet de discerner clairement le prologue qui, ordinairement, n'est qu'un supplément mécanique, du corps organique du conte. Du reste, une description exacte des composantes du conte qui n'entrent pas dans, le système, constituera la voie, d'après laquelle la réalisation d'une classification correcte se laissera toujours accomplir, pourvu que l'élément pris pour base ait une clarté suffisante et qu'il soit un motif exactement précisé.

J. Krzyżanowski

METHODS OF ETHNOLOGY

Introduction

A. Need, object and division of ethnology:

1. Ethnology as a separate science has her own methods,
2. On products of culture and people-spreaders of culture on the base of critically examined material,
3. Following methods of critical examination of material,
 - Following methods of examination of products i. e. general ethnology,
 - Following methods of products of the people i. e. methods of ethnography.

B. Development of ethnological methods:

1. Conditioning factors:
 - a) philosophical currents,
 - b) development of same ethnology and closely related sciences.
2. Principal stages of this development up to the present time.
 - a) psychologism:
 - idealistic,
 - materialistic (natural),
 - sociological,
 - freudism,
 - functionalism.
 - b) historism:
 - antropogeographical,
 - English diffusionism,
 - continental historism.
 - c) directions physico-historical: ologenic and statistic.

Lecture

I. Methods of criticism of material:

- A. Collection of material in the area.
- B. Worth of direct material.
- C. Access to gathered material.
- D. Criticism of indirect material.

II. Methods of examination of products:

A. Characteristic of products by analysis:

1. Settling of components and grade of composition of products,
2. Settling of reacting relations between components,
3. Settling of reacting relation between components and varieties and surroundings.

B. Elucidation by way of analysis of results obtained by the above mentioned analysis:

1. Of development. Formation of varieties under the influence of changes supervening in surroundings,
2. of genesis of the product i. e. the union of its components under various influences which allowed the given product to play its part solely in its primary surroundings.

III. Methods of the study of the people:

A. Characteristic of a people by way of analysis:

1. the composition of its culture,
2. varieties of its culture,
3. relation of its culture to surroundings.

B. Elucidation by way of synthesis:

1. of the development of a people i. e. the formation of its varieties in time and space under the influence of changes in the surroundings,

2. genesis of a people i. e. the uniting of given cultural components in given surrounding in a certain time and in a given group of human beings which played its part in its last surroundings.

Closing

- A. Theory and methodological practice.
- B. Appreciation of results of research.
- C. Principal shortcomings in ethnological methodology and prospects of further development.

II. ETHNOLOGICAL FACTS AND METHODS OF EXAMINING THEM

Introduction

Facts and methods of their examination

Till the beginning of the present century there lasted a period of unmethodical scientific study in the domain of ethnology. Later on, ethnological facts began to be explained with methods applied to other sciences, and lastly after this first stage — ethnological facts were treated in a new manner specially created for this purpose.

The second period of the development of ethnology dates from a wide manifestation of the historical trend in which a special method was systematically devised for the elucidation of facts subjected to ethnological study. There appeared new methodics prepared by Fr. Graebner, W. Schmidt and Mühlmann. Since the last war there is a heightened polemical controversy between opposite methodological trends and its outcome are studies with a historical treatment given to the former ethnological methods: Pinard, de la Boullaye, Radin, Lowie, Bornemann. We fail to find the necessary method for the elucidation of many ethnological facts in the works of Graebner, Schmidt, Bulch and Mühlmann. One of those facts is the genesis of the cultural product which till

now has been either omitted or superficially treated in all methodological studies. These gaps are quite evident when one puts in regard the system of facts with the system of ethnological methods. This is the aim of the present study.

I. Outline of the system of Ethnological facts (cf. the preceding Nr. of «The People» p. 112 nn.)

1. Remarks touching the division of facts

The division of facts, the relation of facts to their surroundings, the changes in the relation of facts to their surroundings and the changes in the products themselves correspond with the categories of facts divided by sociologues. The social statics distinguished by them corresponded with the two first above mentioned facts, and the social dynamics with the two following ones.

It is quite right to distinguish social processus from cultural ones as the objects of culture are different from the social ones. Znaniecki divides the sociological facts in social acts, social relations, social individuals and social groups. Our division is about the same after having eliminated the cultural objects and introduced the people into the social groups.

2. Division of ethnological facts

The criterium of this division is to be found in the manner of transmitting cultural objects from generation to generation. The character of social objects depends on it. There are two ways of transmitting culture: the older one is solely oral teaching, hence tradition, and the later one is based on a higher form of writing. Thence the division of cultures and people in uncivilised (without writing) and civilised (with writing). Ethnology deals with the first and the second are the object of humanistic and social sciences which are older than ethnology. Ethnological researches reach also the pre-civilised stages of civilised people and also the objects of culture transmitted by tradition and cultural unions with social

groups. More on the ethnological topic: Poniatowski St. «The aims and object of Ethnology» 1922, Archives of anthropological studies v. II, Nr. 2.

3. *Sociological facts and domain of sociology*

Separately from ethnological and historical facts touching concrete cultural and social objects, we give the name of sociological facts, in the exact sense, to all the common and recurring traits of these objects as well as to the processus they undergo. On this basis are built the theories of culture, of social groups etc.

II. General methods of establishing ethnological facts

The above mentioned four separate categories of ethnological facts are very unevenly accessible to the ethnologue. Most easily accessible are ethnological objects, in the first place their structure. It is more difficult to fix the functions of those objects and even more difficult to penetrate their ideology, because they are often made comprehensible only when a thorough knowledge of a whole culture and of a whole corresponding people has been gained. It is even more arduous to examine the dependance of objects on their surroundings and the part played by these objects as regards their surroundings. Here is a wide outlook on a whole people and on their whole culture unquestionably necessary. This explains the great importance of collecting exactly and fully all the possible ethnological material and of examining it before it serves for the explanation of facts.

Dependently on this whether the material is gathered directly from the land area, or whether it derives from narratives, we obtain the following division: We adopt for a basis Graebner's method of establishing facts taken up by Schmidt and we enlarge and alter the whole in the following manner:

Division of the methods of settling ethnological facts.

I. Criticism of direct material:

A. Collection on the spot:

1. Qualifications of the researcher,
2. Technique of work.

B. Making the collected material accessible:

1. Storing,
2. Publishing.

C. Worth of collected material:

1. genuineness,
2. ethnographical localization,
3. chronological localization,
4. grade of individuality,
5. sufficiency of cognizance:
of structure — function — ideology — dependancy of
surroundings — part played for surroundings.

II. Criticism of indirect material (descriptions):

1. Criticism of author, his qualifications — relation to the
place of research.
2. Criticism of text.

The adding of a chapter on methods of interpreting facts does not seem necessary as such an interpretation is the outcome of the elucidation of facts and should be taken in regard to particular methods applied to singular categories of ethnological facts.

III. Singular categories of facts and methods of their examination

Dependently on the methodological trend various categories of ethnological facts have awakened a very unequal interest and this has influenced the development of the method of their elucidation. In the meantime all categories of ethnological facts are closely correlated. This is why a complete ethnological method must contain the methods of probing and elucidating all the six categories of objects: cultural objects, unions of cultural objects,

culture, social unities, social groups, societies (peoples). The methods of elucidating the afore-said categories should be preceded by general knowledge, i. e. by the theory of each of these categories.

The ways of classifying each of the afore-said six categories can be various; for example the objects can be characterised:

- 1) on the basis of their proprieties,
- 2) on the basis of their part in various types of unions,
- 3) on the basis of their belonging to various types of culture,
- 4) on the basis of the various relations of different types of units to them,
- 5) on the basis of various social groups to them,
- 6) on the basis of various societies.

The more important classification should suffice for the present. Other researches must be left to the future seekers.

1. Objects of culture and methods of their examination.

I. A. Objects of culture

1) **Definition of object:** an object of social origin i. e. which is indebted for its descendance to an individual, a group, or a whole society (people) and socially reacting on an individual, a group, or a whole society.

2) *The division of objects:*

is possibly various but widely applied is based on the principal groups of human needs i. e.: material — spiritual — organization and language.

3) *Traits of objects:*

a) **structure:**

generally speaking one must discern the elements and their relations, structural modifications and here for the fixing of a terminology we admit changes which vary with their components when the set remains the same, and types which are different, first of all because of their set, but which may also have different components.

singularly:

1-0 material products:

their elements collected material from geographical surrounding.

The set is the outcome of an intertwining of those elements by the technical work which gives a form.

Modifications are the outcome of a number of elements of the material of these elements, of the technical work, and the intertwining of these elements.

2-0 spiritual products:

their elements create spiritual experience.

Their whole is formed by the alinement of these experiences in time and space and this makes the style of the product.

Modification are the outcome of:
the quantity of elements,
the quality of experiences and of the style.

3-0 social products:

their elements operate on the material of the relations between individuals or social groups.

The set is due to the stable or temporary relations of these elements between themselves, which are the social norm,
modifications are the outcome of the number of elements and their relations.

b) function:

one must generally distinguish the produce and the aim,
functional modifications,

treating in detail:

material products:

productiveness (working) a certain part of the material product works, the rest help, for example: the blade of the knife and the handle.

The aim depends on the quantity of working elements (for example when the roof of a bus is used for transporting baggage),

modifications depend on the two preceding.

spiritual products:

their produce depends on the intensity of the experiences which they have occasioned,

the aim is the greater the more varied are the occasioned experiences,

the modifications of the productiveness and of the aim go together,

social products:

the produce and the aim go together in them,

the social norm is not subjected to modifications; lapses from the norm are not modifications.

c) *ideology*:

one must largely discern:

the principle of the product,

the valuation of the product,

the differences in probing or valuation give varieties, respectively types of modifications.

treating in detail:

material products:

the probing consists in the knowledge of their structure and their function,

the valuation in the judgement of their produce and the ends of their function,

modifications depend on the above said differences.

spiritual products:

the probing depends on the knowledge of the psychology given surroundings in which the vital experience takes place,

the valuation depends on the judgment of the degree of intensity and variety of vital experience occasioned by the product,

modifications depend on differences between the afore said.

products of organization:

the probing depends on the knowledge of relations between individuals or social groups,
 the valuation depends on the produce and the ends of given whole of relations,
 no modifications occur here.

4) *Dependance of products and of their modifications on their surroundings.*

A. On the cultural surroundings:

1. on other cultural products:
 which are necessary to it
 store products,
 sustaining products,
 to which it is necessary
 stored products,
 sustained products,
2. on cultural sets:
 facilitating sets,
 needing sets,
3. on culture:
 producing cultures,
 assimilating cultures,

B. On the social surroundings:

1. On the social individuals
 active in relation to the product
 passive in relation to the product
2. On social groups
 active in relation to wholes facilitating, needing,
 passive in relation to the above-said.
3. On people diffusing productive and assimilating culture.

C. On racial surroundings

The structures of products are mostly conditioned by morphological traits,
 their functions by physiological traits and their psychic racial,
 ideologies by the psychic trend of their racial ground.

D. On geographical surroundings

either directly through supplied material, either through other products.

5) *Part played by products in surroundings* (need of terms: objects influential, objects influenced, scopes of influence).

A. On cultural surroundings

1. on other cultural products:

part played positively, attraction of one by another part played negatively, one excludes the other.

2. on cultural arrangements: part played positive part played negative.

On culture: part played positive — negative.

B. On social surroundings:

1. on social individuals: are life-possibilities heightened or lowered?

2. on social groups: is their interior cohesion strengthened?

3. on society.

C. On racial surroundings:

1. on individuals:

the influence of the product on their health, development and productiveness,

2. on the racial basis of social groups and on the whole society through processes of selection.

D. On geographical surroundings:

changes brought by the product: orographic, hydrographic, floristic, faunistic.

6) *Changes in same products.*

- a) genesis:
 - cause: aimed — aimless
 - course: inner — cultural combination
 - inter — cultural combination
 - inter — cultural derivation
- b) growth and decline:
 - structure — function — ideology
- c) decay as result of changes in surrounding.

7) *Location of product and its modifications.*

In time and space.

Mixing processus: contact and migration.

Location: permanent and unstable.

I. B. Methods of examining cultural products.

1. Preliminary remarks:

The aim of the examination is to fix and elucidate the static and dynamic of the product from its genesis to the last stage of its development.

The last stages of development usually serve as base of researches. It is on the background of the whole development that one can make the immediate material subjected to examination comprehensible. What is given indirectly is to be found in the union between the examined product and its surroundings.

2. The collection and criticism of material as regards statics and dynamics according to methods of settling ethnological facts.

3. Treatment of material:

- a) analysis of topological object,
- b) analysis of conditional object,
- c) analysis of the influence of the object on its surroundings,
- e) elucidation of the genesis of the object by the settling of the conditions of surroundings for the oldest type of object; verification of this elucidation by other objects

of same hypothetical surroundings as the examined object.

II. Cultural sets and methods of examination.

1. Definition of sets: group of cultural objects bound by interdependency.
 2. Division of sets:
 - a) productive sets,
 - b) concomitant sets,
 - c) sustaining sets.
 3. Traits of cultural wholes:
 - a) structure, function and ideology. The structure is formed by the composing products, the function is the compelling necessity for another object (use of product), the ideology is expressed by the understanding of its whole value.
 - b) the ideology of cultural sets was rather indifferent to searchers till the present time, because the masses lack a distinct ideology of cultural sets, which goes only with prominent individuals.
 4. Dependence of cultural sets on surroundings and their changes:
 - a) On the cultural surroundings,
 - b) On the social surroundings,
 - c) On the racial surroundings,
 - d) On the geographical.
 5. Part played by the sets and its change in relation to:
 - a) the cultural surroundings, objects, sets ,
 - b) social surrounding — individuals-groups, peoples,
 - c) racial surrounding,
 - d) geographical surrounding.
 6. Changes in the cultural sets themselves:
 - a) genesis, b) development and decline, c) disappearance.
 7. Location of cultural set and its modifications.
- Methods of examining cultural sets vide I. B. above.

II. A. Culture and methods of examining them.

1. Definition of cultures

total of cultural sets necessary to the independent life of larger human groupments and transmitted inside their boundaries from generation to generation.

2. Division of cultures:

cultures of people,

cultures of epochs,

cultures of areas: geographical, linguistic, economic, religious, political etc.

3. Distinctive marks of culture:

structure — cultural wholes with various categories of needs,

function — compelling necessity of all its wholes to satisfy the totality of the needs of life of an autonomous groupment,

ideology — the valuation of the whole of cultural sets by those who benefit by them (a certain predominant in a given culture can be mentioned).

4. Dependence of culture on surroundings and its changes:

a) on cultural surroundings i. e. other cultures;

b) on the social surroundings:

1. on individuals: the examination of social individuals ought to be analogical to the examination of cultural products. One must gain knowledge of a series of singular social individuals of a certain people to be able to fix their principle types and varieties. Classification cannot be based on their psychic traits but on their social trends, and since an individual is social thanks to the culture he possesses, then to each distinctive cultural product correspond parallel types of social individuals. For example: to various types of scythes correspond various types of mowers. An individual can be a combination of several social types and if one of them

is predominant the result is that this type subjects the others. Thus there are distinct types with the marked predominance of one:

- a) men of action, managers — marked characters,
 - b) men passively receptive — imitators.
2. Social groups are organizations of individuals and facilitate the creation, the sustenance and the consumption of products to higher individuals.
 3. Societies are organizations of social groups enabling the work of these groups.

It is sheer nonsense to say that a social group as society is a creator, respectively a consumer of culture. It is an error of totalism. Only individuals create and consume.

- c) on the racial surroundings;
- d) on the geographical surroundings.

III. B. Method of examining cultures.

Remark of the publisher. As regards this part, the author has left only three questions.

He begins by the function and says:

The free function, free, because directed by feeling, as to its aim — changing

as to its produce — dependent on the sense of duty

Ideology — changing, dependent on wisdom, moral or immoral, the law observed or transgressed.

Structure — changing, dependent on the will, directing the individual according to conscience.

St. Poniatowski

THE PRIMITIVENESS OF BUSHMAN CULTURE

The Bushmen represent a highly archaic racial type; they may well be one of the most ancient human races. This statement is supported by observations taken from the four aspects of man in which his appearance and activity find their clear and natural

expressions. They give evidence that Bushmen stature, culture, way of thinking and speaking are very primitive, probably the most primitive of all existing human tribes.

The height of the Bushmen averages 4 ft. 7 in. (men) and 4 ft. 5 in. (women). Their skin is of a light yellowish-brown hue, and wrinkled, this being apparently due to the irregular conditions of feeding in the steppe. On the rare occasions when food is plentiful (especially in the rainy season) the Bushmen will gorge himself, so that the skin on his swollen belly becomes smooth, but when the food supply fails he will be on the brink of starvation for month on end, and his skin will become wrinkled again. His hair is scanty, his hands and feet small and delicate, his legs very short in comparison with his long trunk, and yet these legs can stand extraordinary hardships. He can run for miles and miles, pursuing game without pausing for breath, until the animal breaks down from sheer exhaustion. His body is very supple: in his buttocks he generally has a store of fat. This feature is particularly prominent in the women and is known as *steatopygy*. The face is pearly square in front, the eyes are small, unsteady and slanting, the lower part of the ear-lobe is grown together with the head and almost adjoins the jaw. The lips are narrow, their colour approaches that of the rest of the face, the nose is flat and broad, the chin very little developed.

Outside of South West Africa, Bushmen inhabit parts of Angola and of the Kalahari desert.

The chief dress of the Bushmen is a kind of triangular leather apron or a narrow belt with a few leather thongs hanging down in front like a very small apron. The women wear a leather belt to which two small aprons are fastened, one in front and the other at the back. Apart from that they often wear a leather covering round the shoulders, and this is called *karos*. The children are, as a rule, quite naked, and infants are carried in the above-mentioned *karos* on the mother's back. They generally wear nothing on their heads, but the women usually adorn themselves with little chainlets of shells, of ostrich eggs, strung on a thread and attached to the hair. Round the neck they wear similar chainlets

or a kind of necklace made of little pieces of leather, seeds, or glass-beads. These are supposed to be amulets. The women also wear round their necks a sort of powder-bag, made of the shell of a small tortoise, in which they keep the so-called bukhu, a kind of powder made chiefly of the pulverised herb lareb, while the men hang a pipe round their necks. On the arms or legs (below the knees) they sometimes wear rings of leather, grass, or iron. For hunting the Bushman puts on sandals of gemsbok leather, which enable him to run long distances without sinking into the sand, and partly also protect his feet against thorns and sharp flints. At times of famine the Bushmen eat both their leather carosses and their sandals.

The Bushman hardly ever indulges in the luxury of a wash or a bath. He simply does not feel the need. Water is much too precious to be wasted like that. But the women will often powder themselves, smear themselves with fat, or with red or brown paint, to embellish themselves. In some districts the men will scatter ashes on their bodies before hunting, presumably in order to render themselves inconspicuous on the grey background of the steppe and so escape the observation of the animals they are going to hunt. But it may also be done for magical purposes. Bushmen with scars on their faces, or with one little finger cut off, are also met with. The scars, on the face are in some cases an embellishment, in others a tribal mark, or a distinction for prowess in hunting. The cutting off of the little finger is practised for purposes of ridding a patient of disease, which is supposed to flow out together with the blood. Apart from that, these practises may have a magical significance.

The dwelling of the Bushman is a quadrangular or semi-circular shed, sort of chalet or very primitive hut. The entrance opening is always to leeward, changing with the direction of the wind. Near the entrance the Bushman kindles the fire. All the inhabitants gather round it to warm themselves during the nights, which are often bitterly cold.

A Bushman commune counts about 50—100 persons, who generally constitute a family group, with a chief. On the whole

there are no great differences in the rights of the two sexes, the work of the men and of the women being of about the same value. Thus the Bushman social life has features both of patriarchy and of matriarchy.

At present monogamy is, for economic reasons, the usual form of marriage among the Bushman tribes. In former times, however, when game was more plentiful in the steppe, polygamy was practised to a greater extent. In spite of great mutual affection in the Bushman families, the women sometimes have to kill their new-borns, because there is no food for them.

Whatever someone makes or wins for himself is his property. The Bushman has a very accurate sense of fairness and right. Manslaughter, adultery, theft, robbing of wells, transgressing the boundaries of the communal area are severely punished, sometimes with death.

Bows and poisoned arrows are the weapons of the Bushman. Besides the bow, they also use javelins, knives, and a wooden club called kirri.

The hut of a deceased person is burned down, and the dead man is buried on that spot, wrapped in his karos.

The earliest religion of the Bushmen seems to have been the cult of the moon, which heavenly body they worship with dances lasting all night and with some sort of prayers. Every tribe has, as a rule, its magician or wizard.

The language of the Bushmen is remarkable for the frequent occurrence of smacking sounds called clicks.

Their life and ways of thinking may best be illustrated by short narratives literally translated from the tales as told by natives belonging to different Bushman tribes, and collected by several linguists (Th. Hahn, C. Meinhof, D. F. Bleek, R. Stopa). The following narratives are given in Polish versions in this paper:

How we live in the Steppe (two different versions).

Famine.

Hunting the Jackal.

Making an Apron.

The Lion, the Jackal and the Ostrich.

The Moon and the Hare.

The Division of the Earth.

Two of the narratives, *vz.* Building a Hut and Girl's Initiation are provided with the original Bushman text and the inter-linear Polish translation, showing perhaps most clearly in literal terms and arrangement of words the primitive structure of Bushman thought and language.

Roman Stopa

DWELLINGS OF THE YAKOOTS

Oorasa, kalyman, yourta, or balagan, elbelen, are according to Sieroszewski the names of various types of Yakoot dwellings. Oorasa is probably a booriat word, balagan is persian. Yourta is of touranian origin and means place of dwelling: yourt or sourt. Kalyman or golema may be derived from the toungooze. A purely Yakoot name for dwelling is: jeejay.

All the dwellings of the Yakoots have flooring. It seems none of them use clefts, caves or dugouts. For construction they use: wood, bark (especially birch), skins, webs, earth, dung, mess, hay, tree-roots and branches. In the Kolinas ooloose sometimes snow-huts are being erected, but not for long. Bricks are known but only used for fire-places. The oorassa is the oldest and most typical type of Yakoot dwellings and is a round cabin from 6.5—9.5 m. high with a diameter of 4.5—6.5 m. measured at the base. The frame-work is formed by four posts with their thinner ends joined under an angle of 60 degrees. On top of the frame-work are placed four horizontal planks forming a rectangular frame on which repose the thin bands of the roof construction. Oorassa roofing consists of broad stripes of birch-bark first boiled in milk, then sewn together with horse-hair and adorned with many-coloured desings. In the interior of the Oorassa there is a fire-place and along the walls are placed the couches. The Oorassa of old have nearly disappeared. In the North where there is difficulty of getting birch-bark and the frost is severe, turf is used to cover the Oorassa. Each is the dark and dirty kaliman. The wealthy

protect themselves from the falling filth by placing birch-bark or tanned skins under the turf. Nowadays the Yakoots live in a Yoorta which is also called balangan or balagan (see pictures 4, 5, 6, 7).

The frame-work consists of four posts 20 cm. thick and 1 m. 30 cm.—1 m. 70 cm. high. These posts are driven into the earth deeper than 60 cm. and in a square with 6.5—9.5 m. of distance between each of them is placed the South-East post for which the Yakoots have a special reverence as it is the abode of the Yoorta-Spirit. At the end of the posts, in longitudinal incisions, are fixed the beams which form the roof sloping East and West.

The beam is greased with butter, koomiz or horse blood. On the frame-work of the roof is first placed wood, thin and round semi-circular shingles, on which comes: moss, hay, bark and mould. The logs which form the walls are set somewhat inclined and are like a truncated pyramid sloping at an angle of 70 degrees. The Yoorta generally has 2—3 windows to the East and South, a 30 cm. big square. In the Summer these apertures are closed with moss, paper, fish-bladder, or horse-hair net and in the winter with thick ice-panes. The door aperture is closed with thick planks covered with oxen-hide.

The exterior of the Yoorta is covered with cow-dung and mould. All round is an earthen dyke 90 cm. high, 30—50 cm. broad. Inside the Yoorta along the walls there are 4—8 permanently fixed settees, and each of them has a special destination.

In the middle of the Yoorta is the fire-place which has the form of a square trunk made of thick logs, 60—80 cm. filled with clay. From there leads a conduit to the chimney and a slanting smoke-escape. It is made of long and thin wands covered with clay inside and outside. The Yakoots give great attention to fire-places. When travelling, the Yakoots protect themselves from the severe climate by making a protecting wall of sticks and branches

lightly intertwined. It is the elbelen or haltan, just one single sort of shield which is placed so as to protect from the wind. 2) The most ancient form of Yakoot dwelling is the Yourassa which appertains to horse-breeding culture.

In the Northern regions to which the Yakoots had been driven, the Yourassa did not give sufficient protection from the cold, this is why it began to be covered with turf and took the name of kaliman. As the new country was very inconvenient for horse-breeding, because of the lack of vast meadows and steppes and on the other hand very good for oxen which could contentedly graze on smaller expanses, the Yakoots abandoned horse-breeding for oxen. This led to the preparing of provisions of hay and also to the building of shelters for the oxen, a foresight which enabled to pass long and severe winters.

The kaliman was changed into a Yourta, because the top part which proved unnecessary, was abolished. At the same time the aperture through which the heat escaped was stopped, and the space to be heated became smaller without inconvenience to the inhabitants of the dwelling. The perpendicular and the inclined walls, also the perpendicular arrangement of logs make the difference between the Yourta and the dwellings of other Siberian people. The division of the Yourta into the right-hand-side part i. e. reserved to males, or East part, and the left part, the West, or women's part, shows clearly that this type of dwelling was the outcome of two cultures i. e. the patriarchal pastoral culture of the breeders of horned cattle and horses, worshipers of the sun and fire, with the custom to turn towards the East when offering a sacrifice, and the patriarchal-agricultural which had adopted the turning towards the West when offering sacrifices.

Other domains of Yakoot culture also demonstrate the same mixing of the patriarchal pastoral culture with the patriarchal agricultural one, for example religion, mythology and agricultural activities.

Teofil Chodzidlo

THE HELLENIC CUSTOM OF WEARING ONE SHOE ONLY

Ancient authors frequently mention the custom of wearing only one shoe; this custom is common to heroes and peoples. We may quote as a principal representative of heroes Iason (Pindar *Pyth.* 470 sqq.), Perseus (Artemidor. *Oncirokrit.* IV 63), Lykurgus (*Antholog. Palat.* XVI 127); besides them peoples such as the Aitolos (Euripides *Meleagr.* fgm. 534, Nauck. *Aristot.* fgm. 71, *Rosc. Schol.* in *Pind. Pyth.* 4, 70), the Plataeans (*Thukyd.* *Hist.* III 22); according to Macrobius (*Saturn.* V 18, 13 sqq.) Vergil (*Aen.* VII 689) transferred this custom to the Anagnini, a people of ancient Italy.

The explanations of this custom are restricted usually to Iason and his personal adventures. As Apollonios of Rhodus tells (*Argon.* I 7 sqq.) Iason crossing the river Anauros lost one shoe in its waters. Ps. Pherekydes changed this interpretation saying that Iason took off his shoes before wading across the river, and after crossing it put on only one shoe, because he hurried to the sacrifice. This interpretation is remarkable; as monumental tradition shows, the offering person has often only his right foot shod. Katharine Esdaile ('Ο ἀρ' ἐστίζε. Two statues of a boy celebrating the Eleusinian mysteries [*Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXIX 1909, 1–5]) gathered together after W. Amelung (*Skulpturen des Vatik. Mus.* II No 393) all the monuments which indeed show the offering Perseus wearing only one shoe; Miss Esdaile sees in these young ephebs of the Eleusinian mysteries 'boys from the hearth' (ἐ ἀρ' ἐστίζε): and as to the custom, «parallels prove that the baring of one foot had a definite religious meaning and was especially connected with the cult of chthonian goddesses». Friedrich Hauser (*Die Statue der 'Schutzflehenden' im Palazzo Barberini* [*Jahreshefte des Österreich. Archäolog. Instituts in Wien* XVI 1913, 57–77]) recognises Pythia in the woman wearing only one shoe on account of her pathetic face. W. Amelung explained this custom in a separate study (*Atti della Pontificia Accademia di archeologia* 1905/6 123 sqq.), and concluded that one bare foot ensures to the man or woman a magic contact with the earth and

therefore secures vital power and victory: this interpretation was accepted by L. Levy (*Die Schuhsymbolik im jüdischen Ritus, Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* LXII 1918, 185 sqq.) and Jungbauer (*Schuh, Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, Berlin 1935, VII 1308). Sir James Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, London 1911, III 311) supposes «that the intention of going with one shoe on and one shoe off is to restrain and to set at liberty, to bind and unbind... to rid the man himself of magical restraint» etc. O. Gruppe (*Griechische Mythologie u. Religionsgeschichte*, München 1906, II 912 adn. 7) according to J. Bachofen (*Das Mutterrecht*, Basel 1858, 159) thinks it to be a religious ceremony: to offer a votive shoe and consequently to walk with one shoe. All these interpretations are very insufficient especially Wilhelm Kroll (*Unum exuta pedem' — ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung* [Glotta XXV 1936, 152—158]) took care to evidence it. Nothing can better illustrate the helplessness of all hypothesis than the symbolic commentary of Jean Brunel (*Iason monokrépis* [Revue Archéologique 1934, IV 34—43]) who — contrary to all ancient authorities — affirms that king Pelias handed his one shoe to Iason in sign of restoring him his kingdom.

Therefore we endeavour to find the proper rationale of this custom which no doubt had its practical function in the life of the people. Iason is characterised by Pindar as a strange warrior: the ancient commentaries specify it by saying that this sort of warrior's custom belongs to the Aitolos. As the ancient in primitive times always fought barefooted, we have to require a special function for the use of the shoe on the right foot. This function we find in the fact that the Aitolos fought — as all ancient peoples did — *manibus pedibusque* and therefore protected the right foot which mainly took part in the battle, in the same manner as e. g. the boxer protects his hands by putting on gloves.

Zofia Ganszyniec

RICHARD BERWIŃSKI

Richard Berwiński played an important part in the history of ethnography and ethnology. His principal work: «Studies on popular literature from the standpoint of historical criticism» published in 1854 must be considered as the first Polish work on ethnography; a mile-stone between ancient and modern views not only on literature but on the whole popular culture. He was not sufficiently apprized at the time, especially by the rueful romantics whose illusions as regards the essence of popular culture had been swept away by his book. It is only in the time of Karłowicz and thanks to the eulogy of Rostafiński that he met with full recognition.

But a proper monography is still missing, and the object of the present lecture is to fill this gap.

Richard Berwiński born in 1819 was educated in Great Poland surroundings. He went to a lower school in Leszno. For a time he was completing his education in Poznań, mostly in the Raczyński Library. He passed his bachelor's examination in Wrocław and was a student of the University in this town.

In the life et work of Berwiński there are four distinct periods. In the first: (1836--1840) the author was in close relations with the Editor's office of the: «People's friend» and influenced by romantic opinions as regards the people. He made several poetical transcriptions of popular legends and fairytales; mostly literary popular productions.

His most important work in this period was: «The Goplo Goddess», and the works which appeared in a collection published under the title of popular culture.

His warm pro-slav sympathies were characteristic at this time. The second period (1841--1846) created a bond between Berwiński et Poznań with the Editor's office of the: «Literary Weekly», the Polish Democratic Society, with social and political workers, for instance with E. Dembowski et H. Kamiński author of a profound work: «Philosophy of Material Economy» (Poznań 1843-45).

In this time Berwiński indulged in political polemics which we find expressed in his poems especially in the verse: «Mice Tower». The man of letters had become a belligerent politician. As an emissary under orders to foment an insurrection against Russia he was arrested in the year 1845 in Tarnów by the Austrian authorities. It is there he lived through the bitter and painful disillusion which were the outcome of the atrocious Galician massacres. Extradition soon followed. He was given up by Austria to the Prussian Government, sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, and started to work scientifically behind the bars of the Berlin Moabit-prison.

The third period (1846—1854) was begun by his work on popular culture. The revolution in Berlin opened his prison.

Besides his scientific work on a favourite theme, Berwiński took an eager part in the happenings of the time. The failure of the revolution, the futile manifestations of the Slav Congress in Prague made him seriously ill. As Member of the Prussian Parliament in the years 1852—1854 he defended Polish rights under German occupation. It was then he finished his work on popular literature, the master-work of this life. The book was published in Poznań in 1854. In this work Berwiński settled the methods of researches on popular literature and drew attention on the necessity of conscientious copy of texts of comparative studies. The results of this work prove that there are few genuinely aboriginal motives, same as in the literature of other peoples.

The whole popular creation is a result of the migration of various themes and motives and an important part is played by the church, by the tracks of pilgrimages, of trade et also by the influence of higher social classes. He settled also that the popular literary creation lacks original traits and does not reach far back into the past ages. One can well understand how shocked were the romantic writers of the time, especially Lucian Siemiński, by the result of Berwiński's researches.

The fourth and last period of Berwiński's life falls in the years 1854—1879. He resigned his seat in Parliament, his projected marriage with the Countess Wollowicz was broken off and he

emigrated never to return to Poland. He spent a certain time in Paris on his way to Stamboul and following the advice of Mickiewicz enlisted in the Sultan's Cossacks under the command of Czaykowski Sadyk-Bashaw. It was an illusion of the time that the war in the Crimea would open new political prospects to the Poles, but the Parisian Congress soon dispelled this hope.

Residing abroad Berwiński took no active part in the insurrection of 1863, and this very nearly broke his heart. After the collapse of France in 1870/71 and with the growth of Russian and German influences, Turkey disbanded the military formation of the: «Sultan's Cossacks».

Berwiński remained in Constantinople bereft of means of life without possibility of return to Poland, and often exposed to starvation.

In the year 1874 a fire broke out in the hotel where he was staying and his manuscripts were destroyed.

Two works: «Rome and Constantinople», and «Materials for the Ethnographies of Serbia et Bulgaria», were thus lost.

Exhausted by the hardships of his life Berwiński died in misery in a suburban French hospital.

On his death-bed he had the consolation of being assisted by Father Lawrynowicz, the same priest who was present at the death of Adam Mickiewicz.

A. Fischer

STUDY ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL RUTHENIA OF SZLACHTOWA ON THE BASIS OF CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

I. West of the Poprad there are four villages surrounded on three sides by wide mountain-ranges and forming on the north side of the Carpathians a Ruthenian island which lies furthest west and is named by the author: «Ruthenia of Szlachtowa». The inhabitants of Szlachtowa form a separate ethnographical group which from the point of view of culture approaches the Ruthenian population inhabiting several Spisz (Zips) villages, but on the

other side is quite different from the Ruthenian Lemko's settled east of the Poprad. Between the Ruthenians of Szlachtowa and the Polish population of the neighbouring Szczawnica there is always a very ancient antagonism.

II. The provenance of the Ruthenian settlement in the nearest neighbourhood of Szczawnica is till now far from clear. Not earlier than in the XVI century we find in the historical sources the name of Szlachtowa and latest, because not sooner than in the XVIII century, the names of Biała and Czarna Woda. It is highly probable that the Ruthenian element penetrated here on the wave of the Wallachian-Ruthenian inroad of settlers between the XIV and XV centuries.

The land structure of the Ruthenia of Szlachtowa is based on the model formed by the mediaeval colonisation under the so called «German law». All the four villages have a regular field structure primarily based on the three-field system of agriculture. They are different from the typical regular field structure in thus far, that in the fields which join the rural dwellings, the plots of the singular owners touch the dwellings. It is a transient form between the regular field structure and the so-called forest-field-structure.

Besides the cultivated land in the neighbourhood of the village the inhabitants of Ruthenia of Szlachtowa possess numerous clearings strewn among the forests which cover the near mountains. They are used as pastures, meadows and tilled fields, and jointly with this, there develops on them the system of half pastoral, half agricultural season-settlement.

III. The houses in Ruthenia of Szlachtowa are built of wood on angle, covered with planks or wooden tills. The poorest ones show the type of one construction settlement, where the inhabited part and economical part are found under one roof. There are also two-construction habitations and a separate farm house habitation and sometimes a many buildings farm in which the cottage, the stable, the barn and other constructions form a closed square with an entrance gate to the yard.

IV. The Ruthenians of Szlachtowa formerly found means of living mainly as shepherds (sheep, oxen), at present principally in agriculture. The inhabitants of the four villages mentioned endeavour to cover the shortage of means of living, by various additional occupations like the manufacture of wooden boxes or the mending of cracked pots with wire. The wire-netters of Biala Woda now reach Warsaw, Poznań and Bytom and formerly used to go as far as Lwow, Kiev or Czerniowce.

V. The Ruthenian mountaineers garb in the neighbourhood of Szlachtowa for males and females alike, is mostly of home made white linen or flax or of some other white woolen stuff. Only a few factory materials: ornaments, boots and hats were bought in the mountain towns. The popular garb of the Ruthenians of Szlachtowa is very primitive as regards cut and ornament.

VI. Lastly the author examines the problems of the chronology and of the provenance of singular cultural elements in Ruthenia of Szlachtowa. To the group of phenomena typologically oldest he counts the solitary, dispersed settlements, found in forest-clearings, habitable constructions built on angle covered with a roof quadruply inclined made of planks or wood-tiles and composed of only one room and one primitive antechamber. As regards clothing: a man's shirt with the longitudinal «poncho» cut, woolen trousers with a typical side-flap, above the right grouch, a long woolen «hunia» i. e. a man's cloak, a sheep-skin cap covered with cloth, the linen wraps which women put on their shoulders, and in farming the blazing of bushes and the one-field system of agriculture, which is found also in the forest-clearings.

Numerous Spisz influences are stratified over older cultural layers. They penetrated jointly with the contacts between the Ruthenians of Szlachtowa and their brethren inhabiting the country south of the Carpathians and also reached the Slovaks. One should place here, as belonging to these influences, the form of the roof (doubly inclined with eaves and surmounted by a small semicircular rooflet), painted clothes-chests, the form and the

manner of adorning men's hats and in the garb of the women their headgear, the ornaments of the shirt, the skirts called: «kanafaska» made of linen or cotton material, weaved in perpendicular red stripes, white with blue lines, fur jackets richly ornamented with inlayings and top-boots. Polish influences are chronologically the latest. Primarily, as regards material culture there was no difference between the Ruthenians of Szlachtowa and the Polish mountaineers of the neighbouring Szczawnica. It is only when there appeared regional differences in the garb of the Szczawnica mountaineers that the influence of this garb began to act on the neighbouring Ruthenian population, especially on the youth of the nearest village i. e. Szczawnica.

The author tries to reconstruct the process of differentiation of the cultural group of Ruthenians of Szlachtowa. Layers of foreign influence begin to fall upon the more or less uniform cultural back-ground composed without greater differences of the whole of the Carpathians. The area of the upper Dunajec is in the orbit of Spisz influences, which results in the appearance of certain cultural differences spreading on the territory of the Polish Spisz, the mountaineers of Pieniny and Szczawnica, the Ruthenia of Szlachtowa and the east (peak of Podhale). In time the area delineated here divides under the influence of a further development into two meridian parts, the west part whose popular culture continues to develop under the influence of cultural waves coming from Spisz and Podhale, and the eastern one comprising only the mountaineers of Szczawnica and the Ruthenians of Szlachtowa, who remain isolated and keep without change a certain whole of ancient culture.

With the cultural differentiation of the Szczawnica mountaineers which happened between the XIV and XX centuries and even later, the Ruthenia of Szlachtowa remained the unique area with certain marked traits of culture which have been changed or forgotten elsewhere.

R. Reinfuss

GREATPOLAND'S POPULAR CULTURE ACCORDING TO GERMAN PLANS

In the year 1943 under German occupation there appeared in Poznań a book under the title: «Die Sagen der Deutschen im Warthenland». It came from the publishing Library: «Volkspolitisches Institut» and belonged to the series of «Abteilung Deutsche Volkskunde».

Dr. Edmund Mudrak was the editor, the work was by Professor Lutz Mackensen, two German scientists, teaching shorthand in Poznań at the University of the Reich, for thus had been the Polish University transformed under German occupation.

It is a book which among many others, for example the works of Dr. Walter Geisler Professor of Geography at the same University, Dr. Charles-Ernest Koehne historian of art and artist-painter and others bent on proving scientifically the far-reaching influence of German culture in Polish lands, unmasks the aims and ways of German cultural planning on territories subjected to German administration.

Great-Poland, the oldest province of the Polish State was named by the Germans: Varta-Land. They began to exterminate the Polish population and to fill the new Varta-Land with German colonists, re-emigrees from the East borders of Poland, from the Baltic provinces, from Russia, Bukowina and Bessarabia. These groups of transplanted people were to form the new German tribe in Great-Poland. A cultural planning was to be made for this tribe by German ethnographs: Mudrak and Mackensen, while Geisler was busy with geography, among other subjects with the theory of landscape, and the art-historians were preparing the architectural picture of the land. Help was given by the museums, where items were being collected for this same purpose. The German ethnographs were interested in legends and folklore because they considered this part of the spiritual culture of the people as an important spiritual asset, an element binding together the disseminated groups of colonists.

The collection of legends formed by the people and reintroduced in the occupied territories was in the opinion of Mudrak the best element to deal with in starting a renaissance of popular culture. The book under the title: «Sagen der Deutschen im Warthenland» has thus a double aspect. From the point of view of science it is an addition to ethnographical geography through its localisation of legends in a closed territory and from a practical point of view it is a work of popularization. In the midst of his labours Mackensen stumbled on unforeseen difficulties as he was unable to conciliate the two objects in view.

His work is not based exclusively on local researches, but mostly on bibliography. For practical reasons Mackensen made in the text he used arbitrary corrections and his selection was also guided by a program made beforehand. Mackensen advanced the theory that the purely German spiritual material collected by him had no foreign infiltrations and at the same time drew attention in his commentaries on the influence of the surroundings reacting on the spiritual tenors at the moment of its birth.

As the collection comprises not only the sagas of the autochtones but also of new-comers from the Baltic sea and the Black Sea, from the steppe and the agricultural areas each with a different grade of civilisation, the variety of culture is no less apparent.

The object of the edition proved decisive. The authors and the protector of their book the Gauhauptmann who wrote an introduction, expressed the hope that the collected material would vivify the people and prove an important element in the cultural planning made for the Varta-Land.

Mackensen divided his book into three parts: I. Man and Death, II. Man and Supernatural Powers, III. Man and History, and put stress on the threads of death and demonology and legends with a historical tincture.

The motive of death dominates the book as the Part I takes up the half of it with a good hundred tales. In the following parts this same motive recurs with alterations. The last part, treating of German heroes is rather short and only contains a score

of legends Frederician and Josephinian which have the character of barrack-anecdotes.

The aura of all these legends is unpleasant. Horror and terror give the dominant note, with a lack of the proper legendary popular strain of romance and poetry. To the foreground come only the brutal instincts of man mostly the desire of vengeance. The phenomena of death or demonology terrorize human psychology and the details of the tale are so bereft of aesthetical feeling that the reading brings discouragement. Mackensen has shorn his texts of all religious feeling. He mentions this in his introduction and proves it at the end of his commentaries. He has thus deprived many legends of the proper trait of magic trend of thought. The whole thing is sinister and breeds depression.

The book is illustrated with drawings and vignettes. One can see among others, headless monsters, skeletons, hanged wretches, tortured bodies and dead corpses. Truly the gallery of a morbid imagination.

As the work of the German ethnographs Mudrak and Mackensen was destined to play the part of an element in the cultural planning for Great-Poland, it is highly characteristic and remains a document of the cultural activity of true Hitlerians.

Bożena Stelmachowska

ETHNOGRAPHICAL ICONOGRAPHY

This is the beginning of a work of greater length which will appear periodically in the «PEOPLE», during several years.

Ethnographical iconography contains polish material which gives historical documentation to ethnographical facts with the help of old engravings, drawings, pictures, embroideries and the like.

To this material are also added photographs used for the documentation of rarer ethnographical specimens in polish museums and also unusual ethnographical motives in village surroundings.

Iconography does not present a systematically arranged material according to set problems.

All this is accidental and provisionally collected at haphazard, but will be put in some order by the index placed at the end of the 20-th sheaf of the iconography. The list of things in the two first contains the following items:

- 1) Drawing of a child. XVI century engraving on wood.
- 2) A seven-headed horned dragon XV c. engr. on wood.
- 3) A cannibal tent engr. on wood.
- 4) Samoyëds XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 5) A dragon-stone XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 6) A fox caught by the leg in an archaic beam-trap. In polish «stempitsa» XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 7) Radish female *Raphanus sativus* XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 8) Loretto-bell XX c. engr. on wood.
- 9) Sinner's death XIX c. engr. on wood.
- 10) Four beasts on map of the world. engr. on wood.
- 11) The magnet XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 12) Hunter's net out-spread XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 13) Lapis agapetosm or achales (gagatek-amber) XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 14) Devil expelled out of man XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 15) Harvest XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 16) Dragon sun-obtruding XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 17) Men stinking-lipped XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 18) Demon scared XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 19) Amber XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 20) Frog-stone XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 21) *Inula Helenium* magic root XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 22) Costumes of Gdansk fisher-women XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 23) Tartar wives XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 24) Birds glued and lifted trap XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 25) Leviathan and Mother of God XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 26) Descent to hell XVI c. engr. on wood.
- 27) Sabbath of witches XVI c. engr. on wood.

- 28) Flight of witches to Bald-hill XVII c. engr. on wood.
- 29) Black Mass XVII c. engr. on wood.
- 30) Our Lady's tears (*Spirantes spiralis*, plant) photography of year 1939.
- 31) Four-in-hand XIX c. engr. on wood.

Thaddaeus Seweryn