

## SUMMARY

## A la mémoire

du Prof. Dr. Adam Fischer

Redacteur en chef du „Lud“ (Peuple) secrétaire de „La Société ethnographique“, professeur d'ethnographie et d'ethnologie a l'université de Jean Casimir a Lwów, membre de l'Administration centrale de la „Commission internationale des Arts Populaires“ et de beaucoup d'autres sociétés scientifiques et d'utilité publique en Pologne.

Le 22 decembre 1943, mourut prématurément à Lwów, le prof. Adam Fischer, né en 1889 à Przemyśl.

La cause de sa mort était l'épuisement général occasionné par les temps si durs depuis l'éclat de la guerre en 1939, ainsi que le manque de nourriture et même la famine, supplée aux souffrances moraux pendant les années d'occupation allemande.

Malgré les temps durs et les conditions pénibles, le prof. Adam Fischer eu le talent de sauver du l'orage de la guerre — la plus grande partie de la bibliothèque et les archives entières de la „Société ethnographique“.

Gagnant son pain pendant ce temps, comme teneur de livres, dans un magasin de bois, il avait achevé une serie des travaux scientifiques et d'esquisses biographiques, commencés avant la guerre. A ce cycle appartient la monographie de Zorian Dołęga Chođakowski, le premier ethnographe polonais (imprimée dans le t. XXXVI du „Peuple“).

La productivité scientifique d'Adam Fischer contenait tous les domaines d'ethnographie et d'ethnologie. Elle comprenait aussi les problèmes d'histoire au point de vue de la civilisation. L'effet de son travail assidu contient plus de 160 positions bibliographique et plus de 700 articles, critiques et rapports. Parmi les grands travaux d'Adam Fischer, méritent une consideration spéciale, les monographies.

„Les usages funéraires du peuple polonais“ — étude comparée. Lwów. 1921.

„Les Ruthens“ ébauche ethnographique des Ruthens. Lwów. 1928.

„L'éthnographie Slave“

1. partie - Polabianie, Lwów. 1931.

2. partie - les Lusatiens. Lwów. — Warszawa, 1932.

„L'éthnographie de la Prusse ancienne“, Gótyń. 1937.

En anglais:

„A reconstruction of ancient Prussian Ethnography“ (Baltic and Scandinavian Countries, III. 441 — 449).

„The Cassubian Civilisation“. Part II, Cassubian and Polish Ethnography, a comparative Study, London, 1935, avec la préface de Bronisław Malinowski, prof. d'anthropologie à l'université de Londres.

Avec le prof. Adam Fischer la science polonaise a perdu non seulement un ethnographe éminent et un organisateur des travaux collectifs de première ordre, mais avant tout un Homme, dont le trait dominant c'était HUMANITAS.

**Joseph Gajek**

## In memory of an eminent Polish ethnologist

**Prof. Dr. Stanisław Poniąkowski**

Among the losses which Polish culture suffered through German extermination the destruction of what is called intelligentsia comes in the first place. One of the many victims of this hecatomb was the eminent Polish ethnologist Prof. St. Poniąkowski who died in a concentration camp in 1945.

He was arrested in his flat in Warsaw, in November 1942, detained for several months in the Pawiak prison, transferred to the hard work camp at Majdanek, finally, in the spring of 1944, he was sent off to a camp in Sudetenland. Here, after a half year's stay, he died in his 61st year at the end of January 1945, a few weeks only before the allied forces relieved the camp.

He was born on October 6th, 1884. After finishing his secondary school in Warsaw he studied from 1902—1905 mathematics, physics and technics at the Warsaw School of Politechnics. As the school strike and the boycott of Russian schools didn't allow him to continue these studies he completed his knowledge of languages, ancient and modern.

Political disturbances preventing further studies in his own country, he joined in 1906 the philosophical faculty at the Zurich University. Here he undertook the study of anthropology, his work being guided mainly by Martin, the anthropologist, the ethnologist Stoll and the prehistorian Heierli. In summer of 1911 he received a degree of a Philosophy Doctor with honours at the Zurich University.

Being back in Poland he begins in 1912/13 his scientific career as an assistant in the anthropological laboratory of the Warsaw Society of Sciences. Early in 1914 he established an ethnological laboratory dependant on the ethnographical collections of the Warsaw Industrial and Agricultural Museum. In May of 1914 the U. S. National Museum of Washington D. C. asked him to join the scientific expedition charged with anthropological and ethnographical studies in the Amurland, Eastern Siberia. The tribes on the lower Amur and on the Hungari were the particular object of his studies. The war stopped his work and he came back to Warsaw in the autumn of 1914.

When the Russians left Warsaw in 1915 the Central Social Committee and the Warsaw Society of Sciences charged him to take care of the library which was to be the University's. The University having been established he became this library's director. As this job did not leave him time enough for his scientific work, he resigned of his position in autumn of 1919 and undertook in the Anthropological Institute of the Warsaw Scientific Society to manage the technological division, also after it had grown into an independent institute.

In July 1920 he joined the army and took part in the campaign as private in the 3d cavalry wire company. After this brief war interruption he returned to his chair of ethno-

graphy which he had taken in 1916 at the Université libre of Warsaw. He remained its professor until in 1934 he was appointed professor extraordinary at the Warsaw (state) University.

In 1914 he became a collaborating member to the (Polish) Academy of Sciences, in 1915 actual member to the Warsaw Society, in 1915 active member to the Polish Orientalistic Society.

Since 1921 he publishes with prof. Stolyhwo the Archives of the Anthropological Sciences and is there chief editor in the ethnological section.

Besides popular articles, critics and translations which appeared in different periodicals he published 27 works, six of them in German, one in English, two in French.

He has left plenty of materials for further works and very rich card indexes. Two works are almost ready for print: the first about methods proper in ethnology for the study of creation investigated to its origins; the second about experiments taken during seances with Ossowiecki and concerning prehistorical cultures.

His fellow professors acknowledged him to be the best specialist in the field of general ethnology.

A historian of culture has left us who among his colleagues and students will always be remembered as a man of high interior culture, as a true Christian humanist. This is the greatest loss for our times which for culture's sake need creative minds so badly.

**Fr. Edward Bulanda S. J.**

## **The fifty years of the Ethnographical Society**

**by Prof. Dr. Jan Czekanowski**

On Nov. 22, 1945, at the 50th anniversary of its existence, the Ethnographical Society, after the war catastrophe, started anew its activity. The Lublin Catholic University was for this

time chosen as the Society's seat. The 21st general meeting was held there and decided to take up again the Society's scientific researches and publications. The programme accepted by the new board includes: the resuming of the publication „Lud“ (The People) counting 25 volumes printed before the war; of the „Prace Etnograficzne“ (Ethnographical Treatises) with 5 vol. printed up to now; moreover the publication of „Prace Etnologiczne“ (Ethnological Treatises) and the preparation of a new Polish ethnographical atlas.

On starting a new period of the Ethnographical Society's activity let's go back and see what it achieved till now.

As far back as 1891 Seweryn Udziela (1) had the idea of founding an Ethnographical Society, but it came to life only on Febr. 9, 1895. In the same year appears the 1st vol. of the „Lud“. At almost the same time all over Europe different ethnographical periodicals are founded like the „Zeitschrift des Vereins für Völkerkunde“ (1891), „Dania tidsskrift for folkemal og folkeminder“ (1890), „County Folklore“ (1890), „Bulletin de Folk-lore“ (1891) and others. Despite the lack of independence Polish science didn't allow itself to be left behind in that field. Although a teacher, first of all, has had the idea of founding an Ethnographical Society, he was supported with much favour and activity by Polish scientific circles. Antoni Kalina (2), Jan Karłowicz, Stefan Ramułt, Henryk Biegeleisen (3) were the pioneers who at once raised to a high level the new founded Society. The Ethnographical Society found a special support in the Lwów University and this collaboration gave good results mainly as for publications; it allowed the Society to survive many a crisis and difficulty.

The Society's first president and editor of the „Lud“, Antoni Kalina, a philologist of great merit, applied to the perio-

(1) Tadeusz Seweryn „Seweryn Udziela“ 24. XII. 1857 — 26. IX. 1937, „Lud“ XXV, p. 5 — 17. (2) J. Leciejewski, „Śp. Antoni Kalina“, „Lud“, vol. XII. (3) Józef Gajek, „H. Biegeleisen's ethnographical activity“, in the collective publication „H. Biegeleisen“, Lwów 1936.

dical a method and a strictness proper to philology. He set up the Society with iron energy and cared for its organization so well that during his presidency the Society reckoned 825 members. By his enthusiasm he afforded to stimulate the zeal of his friends, to arise the interest of the public, to secure the collaboration of scientists of different specialities. He sent about questionnaires in Polish and Ruthenian and lifted the periodical „Lud“ to a level corresponding to his eminent mentality. With A. Kalina's illness began the first difficulties of the Society.

The next president, Józef Kallenbach, professor of literature at the Lwów University, had not all the qualities of his great predecessor. As editor of the „Lud“ he filled it with too much literary stuff, so his five years long presidency wasn't very fortunate for the Society.

The same can be said of Adam Kryński, the third president, professor of Slav languages who wasn't able, either, to suggest new ideas to the Society, still young at that time. This gap, however, was filled by somebody else, since it was just the moment when the then very young Adam Fischer began his activity for the Society's sake. Although during the 33 years of his membership he always was the Society's secretary never its president, the Society owes him in the first place its greatest later achievements. Since Adam Fischer was elected the Society's secretary the president's functions became a mere honour as in fact the leadership was in the hands of the new secretary. He brought order into the Society's finances, he succeeded in publishing the „Lud“ regularly; this helped to exchange it with advantage. Being for long years the periodical's editor he raised it to a high scientific level and gathered a library. It so happened that the election of a new president became for the Society a matter of less importance. Nothing special can be said, either, about the new president, Wilhelm Bruchnalski, besides the fact that he let the periodical be filled with literary essays. These were, how-

ever, the years of the first world war, but the energetic secretary, despite various difficulties, succeeded in publishing the XXth vol. of the „Lud“ in the besieged and bombed city of Lwów. After this began the 19 years long presidency of Jan Czekanowski, professor of anthropology. He supported Adam Fischer's activity, guided him in his endeavour to obtain the right of lecturing and by so doing he helped the man of so much merit in the field of ethnography to become professor of ethnography and ethnology at the University of Lwów. In this period Adam Fischer set up vast scientific international relations, supplied the library with a great many of books, gave the „Lud“ a distinctly shaped physiognomy the essays and treatises holding on strictly to ethnographical and ethnological subjects; inasmuch method is concerned the historical and migrational was applied.

The Society's prosperous development was hampered by world war II. In the storm it brought about many of its eminent members were missed or lost their lives, among them the so very distinguished professor Adam Fischer who was, however, able to save the Society's whole archives and the bigger part of its library.

As soon as the conditions became favourable for starting anew the Society's activity, its former president, prof. Jan Czekanowski, got in touch with the living members of the Society and summoned them for the 21st general meeting on Nov. 22, 1945, this time to the Lublin Catholic University. The change of the Society's seat was voted. The members of the new board are: president, Kazimierz Moszyński, professor of ethnography and ethnology at the Jagiellon University (Kraków), the most eminent of the living Polish ethnologists, vicepresidents, Prof. Jan Czekanowski and Prof. Leon Halban; secretary, Prof. Józef Gajek.

After a six years break the pre-war activity was renewed and the Ethnographical Society entered a new 50 years period.

**Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski.**

Dec. 24. 1774 — Nov. 17. 1825

by Prof. Dr. Adam Fischer

The second part of the XVIIIth century brings about the downfall of ideals proper to early modern times. On this background there appears with much distinctness and beauty the figure of Adam Czarnocki, known by the pseudonym of Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski, the forerunner of studies in the prehistory of Slav peoples.

His youth, „proud and gloomy“, marked by the spell of Napoleon's name, was full of adventures. He spent it on roamings through the immense spaces of tsarist Russia and through his own country and brought thus to maturity his interest for ethnology. Herder, may be, has had his part here and also Rousseau who imagined prehistory to have been a period of the most perfect liberty and equality. These were, besides, the times of romanticism reaching for new spheres of feelings, the sphere, mainly, of what the people's experiences are. Such factors formed the tastes of the prisoner, the soldier, the exile. The need for reaching a synthesis and for setting limits to problems by way of comparisons placed on a large scale commanded a vast study considering the whole of the Slav area and dealing with problems as far as is concerned their extent in time and space. Thus had to be discovered whatever had been preserved from the ancient Slav world as well as the currents by which its life was moved. These interests owe their rise to chains of slavery and to the necessity these chains commanded to take refuge in merry and sunny times.

Even his first written work, without being based on large scale studies and researches, stresses the idea of Slav unity in prehistorical times. The conviction of this unity turns into evidence after the author had covered five (Russian) government districts from the Livish and Finnish coasts as far as Twer and

Moscow. It's here the following idea gets hold of him: „one has to go and to enter humbly the peasant's thatched house in various distant countrysides, one has to share his feasts, his games, his various adventures. There, in the smoke overclouding the heads, ancient rites may still take shape, old airs may be sung and among native dances names of ancient gods may be overheard.“ He sets himself about the research of these forgotten gods with obstinacy and passion, he takes delight in popular songs; his collection, reckoning exactly 1017 items, is in those times one of the largest and one, we must remember, the Russian science took advantage of as well as, though indirectly, writers of the size of Poushkin and Gogol.

The dynamics of his undertakings may be shown most distinctly by the plan he set at work on March 18, 1820 to gather materials by visiting Slav countries. The journey was planned to begin from the Neva, upwards to the Old Ladoga Lake and should continue through Great Novgorod, the Wolga, the Divna, the Dnieper, the Moskva, the Protva sources and then southwards to the farthest Taurique castle. It should guide him further through the Azov coastal country to the Don estuary, back northwards to the White Lake and the Northern Dvina, then through the Wolga and Kostroma to Tambow and eastwards as far as the Silver Bulgarians and the Oural Mountains. The next stage was to cover the area between the Lithuanian borderregion and Rajgród in the Kingdom of Poland. Stare Dorohy in the Bobruisk district, the estuaries of the Dniepr, the Dniestr, the Pruth and of the Danube, the latter inhabited by the Black Bulgarians. In the area thus traced he was to gather as well ethnographical materials as typonomastical and archeological.

He was able to visit only five government districts. Like his fellows, pioneers of a new scientific path, he gathered his materials with very much intuition and has founded, in fact, the science of Slav antiquities. Those most distinguished in this field, Lubor Niederle for instance, work in the limits of his conceptions. We must emphasize here the fact that Chodakowski's

method in working out typonomastical materials, being quite modern, is applied with much zeal till our days and is apt, even now, to bear many a bold hypothesis; those may be subject, alas, to many doubts and easy mistakes. Still more interesting is his originality in putting forward the supposition that culture, spiritual and social, preserves most durably traditions of bygone and ancient times. It's just on that way that modern ethnology tries to solve its most fundamental problems.

His publications weren't many, in all about seven essays and treatises. Papers left as manuscripts are, in return, too voluminous to have been possibly worked out by a single man. Just out of this arose his tragedy, the tragedy of a pioneer building new roads for future scientific generations and falling on that very road exhausted by a superhuman strain.

The moral judgment about Chodakowski must also be favourable. As Poland in those days lacked an institution able to support his huge plans, he was dependent, as for his financial means, on the scientific centre of St. Petersburg; he wrote, however, to his country man: „as I'm always longing for you, I never ought to have left you, but my honour requires that sacrifice that, I'd say, is boundless. To have parted with you gave me, for many a time, much sorrow and I felt the full pleasure of what it means to be in the bosom of one's own people“.

Carved all of a piece he didn't know compromises nor did he indulge in any deviations from the end proposed. To this he tended with zeal, dreading no sacrifices of his own self or of his people. There were mistakes in his works, there was a one-sided systematization. Nevertheless, even his first treatise, called a poem for the young generation, exercised a great influence on his contemporaries. Although the Vilna University reproached him the lack of a solid scientific preparation, his works had a more lasting value than many others whose authors possessed that preparation. Science, indeed, like the artistic genius, has an urgent need of new ideas, of a substance always new and living. Those alone may produce a rich seed and a manifold harvest.

## Methods for the study in origins of cultural creations in ethnology

by Prof. Dr. Stanisław Poniatowski

Among the papers which the late Prof. Stanisław Poniatowski proposed to complete and to publish, we find a detailed scheme for a large scale work entitled „Mahavrata“. This is the name of a great Hindu feast and the explanation of its origins is the author's starting point for the study of many other cultural creations. He begins, therefore, his Mahavrata by a methodological chapter pointing to the importance due to the question of origins of different cultural creations for other ethnological problems; he shows then how this particular question is to be solved.

- Chapter II: Main types of building and the pale building.
- Chapter III: Main types of burying and the burying on pales.
- Chapter IV: Technics of capital punishment as derived from burial ceremonies.
- Chapter V: Buildings derived from burial ceremonies and from clubs: 1. the altar, 2. the chapel, 3. the worship gate, 4. the temple, 5. the tavern.
- Chapter VI: Worship places connected with burials: 1. tomb and cemetery, 2. little squares, 3. crossroads and boundaries, 4. sacred woods and trees, 5. hills, 6. the bridge, the road beyond.
- Chapter VII: Mahavrata.
- Chapter VIII: Vraiya (burial masters and their differentiation).
- Chapter IX: Petty things derived from burials, burial masters and dead people: 1. hille bille, the drum, the bell, 2. the worship boat,

3. the worship car (hearse), 4. the puppet, 5. tomb monuments, 6. the dovecot, 7. painted eggs, 8. stilts.
- Chapter X: Gods derived from burials, burial masters and dead people.
- Chapter XI: Points in annual rites as derived from burials.
- Chapter XII: Points in the worship and magic of the sun and moon as derived from burials.
- Chapter XIII: Names derived from burials, burial masters and dead people: 1. materials, 2. links, 3. linguistic layers and cultural layers.
- Chapter XIV: Conclusions: 1. Critique in fundamental cultures, 2. Prospects of a new conception of cultural development.

## PART I: METHODS FOR THE STUDY IN ORIGINS OF CULTURAL CREATIONS IN ETHNOLOGY.

**Introduction.** The question as to how different cultural creations arose and developed was, till the beginnings of our century, the main point of interest. Lacking proper and universally applied methods modern ethnologists, however, took a different attitude on their behalf. Extreme stands were taken by functionalists and, on the other side, by followers of historicism.

Functionalists take interest in different cultural creations only as in components of major cultural complexes; they don't see any necessity to study the origins and the development of a single cultural creation by investigating the various forms it had in different cultures.

Representatives of the historical school looked on this problem in a different way. They understood the necessity to work out methods proper for solving the question of origins and development of single cultural creations. They started with



to explain those relations exactly. Not before we have conceived statically a complex of objects and relations, can we understand the dynamical processes arising between them.

**Objects.** Objects of humanistic sciences are either human societies as composed by groups and individuals or cultures particular to such societies and composed by cultural creations linked together into most various complexes. Hence the division into:

cultural objects:

creations,  
complexes of creations,  
cultures, i. e. creations linked together into larger units like cultures of tribes, peoples, territories;

social objects:

individuals,  
groups,  
societies, i. e. social groups linked together into larger units like tribes, peoples, nations.

The link between objects cultural and social is as tight as between statics and dynamics. Cultural objects owe their being to social objects only and can be understood only on their ground; social objects, inversely, can't exist without cultural ones.

**Structure, function, ideology.** Objects of physical sciences have only structures, those of biological sciences also functions connected with the structure; objects of humanistic sciences, and only theirs, have, moreover, ideologies, that is explanations and valuations of structures and functions. Thus the objects of humanistic sciences have the following properties:

a structure composed by elements forming a system;  
a function having a definite efficiency and finality;  
an ideology involving an explanation and valuation.

**Functionalists about function and ideology.** The great merit of functionalists consists in the stress they laid on the

importance due to functions and in the thorough study of the latter on the spot. Their ideas, however, aren't clear; they extend the meaning of the term „function“ understanding by it not only an act accomplished by the object but also its relation to the milieu and sometimes even its ideology.

**Graebner and W. Schmidt about function and ideology.**

The methodologists in the historical school didn't feel any need to define function strictly, nor did they write anything about ideology understood as a category equivalent to structure and function. Only the „direkte Interpretation“ corresponds in part to what author calls the object's ideology and what he says to be the explanation and valuation of structure and function not on the inquirer's part, however, but on that of people who bear the object or of the same object's social milieu.

The fact of not considering or not separating sufficiently structures, functions and ideologies is accountable for the neglecting of important differences between the main categories of objects.

**Cultural creations.** Despite the many works concerning the most varied cultural creations ethnologists didn't fix till now a general naming for them. Among many possible divisions one of the most widely spread is that which taking into account the main components of structures discerns: material, spiritual, organic and lingual creations. Inasmuch methodology is concerned, this division may be useful for researches which—owing to an insufficient knowledge of functions and ideologies particular to ancient creations — have to use mainly structures. The classification of cultural creations after functions and ideologies wasn't applied till now in ethnology, nor do I think such classifications to have major importance for the study of creations. For we must bear in mind that a creation's ideology and in part also its function is to be found outside the creation itself. Classification is served the best by structures as being less changeable and besides more open to strict research.

**Modifications, types, kinds.** Like creations themselves different forms of one and the same creation are still lacking a terminology accepted universally. To prevent confusions author calls

modifications: all the forms taken not only by a creation whatsoever but, generally speaking, by every ethnological object, inasmuch these forms differ from each other

by structure: structural modifications,  
by function: functional modifications,  
by ideology: ideological modifications;

types: main groups of modifications undergone by an object and possibly distinguished

by structure: structural types,  
by function: functional types,  
by ideology: ideological types;

kinds: groupings of modifications within the types and distinguished possibly

by structure: structural kinds,  
by function: functional kinds,  
by ideology: ideological kinds.

**Cultural units.** Every single cultural creation appears in practice always jointly with certain other creations which make possible or at least more easy either its structure or its ideology. Creations playing such an important role with reference to the creation studied are called by author complexes presupposed to that particular creation; he discerns therefore:

the creating complex,  
the collaborating complex,  
the supporting complex.

In all the above complexes we find  
a complex centre,  
a complex structure,  
a complex function,  
a complex ideology.

**Culture.** As one and the same cultural creation is the centre of at least three complexes presupposed to it, it can, for its own part, be the component of an indefinite number of complexes presupposed to other creations. A creation, therefore, presupposes other creations and, on the other hand, it is by itself presupposed to others; this fact explains the twofold relation of one creation to others, i. e. its dependence on and its role for other creations. These dependences and roles link together all cultural creations owned by a society into a unit which belongs to a higher rank than the complexes and is called culture.

Author doesn't oppose culture to civilisation as did former French writers. While cultural complexes satisfy only a certain group of human needs, culture, for its part, satisfies the whole of them. The structure proper to the culture of a human group can be felt with only if placed in a strictly limited lapse of time. If such structures are taken from different time periods, one may treat them like kinds and fix different structural types of cultures by comparing to each other structural kinds of different cultures. With the present state of ethnology this task is a very remote one.

The question as to how cultures ought to be divided is worked out as poorly as their typology. The historical school made a great progress in establishing the derived character of many cultures and in discovering, by way of analysis, fundamental cultures. As much as ethnological methods develop, there must come a correction in opinions concerning fundamental cultures, their number, their mutual relations. For the time being the most important thing is not the critique of fundamental cultures, a task not hard at all, but the analysis of methodological bases on which the reconstruction of these cultures has to rest. Bornemann's very valuable work may serve here as example.

**Social individuals.** It's not long since the study of single individuals was made an object of ethnology. The ethnologist, of course, can't take interest in every single individual of the

people studied, but to know the biographies of leading as well as of average representatives of such a people helps a deeper understanding of itself and of its culture.

The study of social individuals, as well as that of other objects, has to begin by learning their structure, function and ideology. An individual's structure consists in his knowledge of cultural and social objects and the skill of using them. His function is expressed by his cultural and social activity. As for ideology one has to consider the individual's ideology concerning himself as well as that his social milieu bears on his account.

**Social groups.** Just as every cultural creation belongs to different cultural complexes, every social individual belongs to different social groups. These groups are presupposed either to him or to other social individuals. There is an analogy between the division of complexes presupposed to cultural creations and the division of social groups presupposed to social individuals; thus we discern:

creating or forming groups, collaborating and supporting groups.

**The society.** All the social groups living together form an object of higher rank i. e. the society. The societies ethnology is interested in are tribes and peoples. Nations or civilised peoples fall within the scope of ethnology only as far as their popular character is concerned, not the national.

Lublin, Bobolanum.

**Fr. Edward Bulanda S. J.**

## **De l'importance des recherches ethno-sociologiques de la religiosité**

**du Prof. Dr. Leon Halban**

Dans cet travail il s'agit de:

1. constater la nécessité des recherches de la religiosité, s'il s'agit du temps passé, ainsi qu' au temps actuel.

Cette nécessité outre sa grande importance pour élargir et approfondir nôtre connaissance, comme l'avait déjà démontré clairement aux temps derniers — prof. Le Bras, possède aussi un côté purement pratique et actuel.

2. Sans l'orientation — même partiel dans l'état réel de la religiosité, et son influence aux domaines particulières de la vie, dans les différentes groupes sociales, -il est difficile de trouver une réponse à une serie des questions importantes.

Il est presque impossible déjà de trouver une réponse positive à cette question considérable, si la religiosité dans la société grandi, reste immuable ou diminue. Sans l'accomplissement des recherches nécessaires il est impossible de donner une réponse d'une valeur scientifique sur l'influence réel de la religion dans la vie individuel et social.

Ici se pose aussi la question si l'influence de la religion, admettant la religiosité identique, sur les différentes domaines de la vie, reste immuable, ou si cette influence selon les différentes conditions, se fortifie ou s'affaiblie.

A un môit il s'agit de constater, est-ce que la fonction social et individuel de la religion reste la même ou est-ce qu'elle subit des changements et pour quelles raisons?

3. La limitation des recherches sur les religions différentes, même a un fondament bien large, mais exclusivement au point de vue des religions officielles, et de la littérature théologique, est insuffisante.

Ceci ont démontrés d'ailleurs et des historiens éminents entre autres p. ex. un si profond connaisseur de la Révolution française, comme feu Aullard.

Des travaux pareilles -quoique leurs valeur est naturellement très importante et indispensable- ne sont pas suffisantes.

Ils ne démontrent pas, comment se presentent, les croyances religieuses dans les particulières groupes sociales et quelle est leurs influence réel sur la vie individuelle et commune.

4. Outre cela montrant la religion seulemet en son aspect

officiel on ne prête pas l'attention aux éléments des croyances inofficielles. Ces éléments désignés ordinairement comme superstitions sont de très différente nature et origine et jouent dans la vie un rôle important quoique non identique.

Ce problème „de superstition“ reste en relation étroite avec la question des influences sur les différentes parties des la vie social.

Une appréciation juste du rôle de l'élément religieux est impossible si on limite les recherches à l'enseignement officielle des diverses croyances sans avoir égard a cette religiosité accessoire.

La conduite des croyants dans leurs vie individuel et social reste souvent sous une influence sérieuse de cette religiosité inofficielle. Nous connaissons aussi bien dans le passé comme dans le présent des cas ou on peut parler de sa prépondérance.

5. Il est bien difficile dans nôtre cas d'arriver a une documentation nécessaire, même s'il s'agit du présent de la religiosité.

Ces difficultés grandissent quand il s'agit de l'histoire.

La statistique de la religion initiée récemment au XVIII siècle, malgré son grand progrès, ne peut pas nous aider dans les solutions des toutes les questions.

Il faut recourir aux sources bien divers.

Elles existent pour le passé dans les documents et le informations bien différentes et dans une quantité vraiment imposante.

Il s'agit seulement de les rassembler et d'utiliser.

Outre cela l'éthnographie actuel et ses riches matériaux nous rend des services vraiment considérables etc.

Ainsi donc s'il s'agit du passé et du présent, des recherches de la religiosité ont un champs de travail vraiment riche et intéressant, au point de vue pratique et théorique.

Si jusqu'au présent on n'a pas fait assez dans cette domaine, la faute retombe en grande partie sur le fait que longtemps nous manquions de données suffisantes.

Les informations que nous possédons aujourd' hui, dans une si grande quantité et qualité, nous ont ouvert les yeux sur beaucoup des problèmes méconnues auparavant et ont attirés notre attention sur beaucoup des questions autrefois non soupçonnées.

## Les sources de la g n se du l'art populaire

du Prof. Dr. Bożena Stelmachowska

La classification et l'appr ciation du l'art populaire, ainsi que la d finition du style populaire est en Pologne, la domaine des  thnographes et des historiens de l'art.

Parmi les historiens de l'art contemporains, les plus scrupuleux sont: Xawer Piwocki et Thad e Dobrowolski.

Tous les deux personnifient le point de vue subjectif, mais la diff rence est celle, que Dobrowolski prend la m thode des th stes imm diats tandis que Piwocki travaille avec la m thode exp rimentale.

Il faut aussi nommer Chwistek et sa m thode du primitivisme.

Parmi les  thnographes, Mieczysław Gładysz prend comme point du d part — la psychologie et ayant pour base de l'analyse, l'artiste populaire — fait des tableaux statistiques de valeur.

D'une mani re tr s  tendu et avec une grande p n trabilit  prend la question Thad e Seweryn qui  gard aux moments  sthetiques, psychologiques et sociales.

Jean Stanislas Bystron souligne la valeur  motionnelle de l'art populaire et montre la qualit  du primitivisme de cette art.

R sum nt les travaux th oretiques actuels des nos  thnographes, aussi que des historiens de l'art, on voit  videmment, que le probl me de l'art populaire, occupe vivement la science polonaise, qui p n tre tous ses domaines: la sculpture, la peinture et la graphique.

La psychologie de l'artiste populaire est étudiée méthodiquement.

Voulant établir la théorie complète de l'art populaire, nous prenons aussi l'architecture populaire, l'ornementation et l'ustensile cérémonial. Quand au système méthodique, la psychologie n'est pas notre unique objet de considération.

Pour théoriser le problème de l'art populaire, nous avons égard à la diversité de cette art, laquelle vient des matériels divers, ainsi que de l'évolution au point de vue du temps et de territoire.

La cérémonie et l'architecture ont en Pologne, un passé d'une ancienneté immémoriale.

La sculpture, la peinture et la graphique, montrent des réminiscences des styles historiques.

Le problème de l'art populaire exige des recherches sérieuses- historiques et génétiques et a côté des solutions esthétiques, aussi la considération du côté sociale.

L'art populaire est un produit collectif, quoique l'artiste populaire, introduit dans ses oeuvres ses propres conceptions créatrices. L'art populaire tend vers l'équilibre et l'apaisement, s'opposant à l'agitation et l'inconstance de la nature.

Les marques caractéristiques du style populaire sont: l'effort vers le typique, le traditionalisme d'ornement, une riche décoration, le fragmentarisme, la symétrie, la rythmisation et l'utilité magique. Le moment esthétique introduit la distinction entre l'artisan et l'artiste- car dans l'art populaire, ainsi que dans l'art officielle il y a des hommes inhabiles à côté des bien-doués.

L'analyse de la méthode du travail des observateurs de l'art populaire montre que pour apprécier l'oeuvre artistique du peuple, il faut prendre des règles des recherches scientifiques et les règles des recherches ethnographiques, sociales et psychologiques.

Ces appréciations peuvent souvent influencer le jugement artistique. Quand au domaine de genèse, les historiens de l'art peuvent rendre à l'ethnographie des services considérables.

Les ethnographes qui entreprennent l'analyse du problème de l'art populaire et du style populaire, doivent avoir non seulement des études approfondies de l'histoire de l'art, mais aussi des aptitudes personnelles, nécessaires pour donner un jugement d'autorité, dans les matières de l'art en général.

## . The animals — man's teachers

by Prof. Dr. Tadeusz Seweryn

To use materials supplied by nature is a proceeding not new in ethnology. It was limited, however, to the study of man himself, taken as a biological unit, or to the results given by crossing influences of the natural milieu.

The present treatise is an attempt for extending the scope of that proceeding on the animal world, for stating the existence of links between the acts of „the creatures' king“ and those of „his servants“, an attempt, therefore, to throw some light on the sources of several cultural phenomena.

The object studied here is hunting, an activity supplying on a large scale the need to keep the kind alive, tending to acquire food, clothes, lodging, to secure defence and the like. The problem dealt with has arisen from an observation and a reasoning as follows: if in many ways proper to man, e. g. in tracking, approaching, chasing, trapping, in tactics of fighting game and of defence against it, we recognize the ways of foxes, wolves, lynxes, hawks, falcons and the like, we may reconstruct man's primitive cultural work and conclude that animals have helped man in creating the hunting culture. Hunting being a part of man's technical culture, that part is not, therefore, a system of activities borne by his intelligence only, invented by him alone.

If we try to find the origins of different ways of satisfying man's physical needs, we come, by observing animals, on phe-

nomena we may consider as patterns of the first moves of man's analogous activities, the former being, no doubt, chronologically earlier than the latter. On this basis we form a new test for researches, the test of ancientness. Once we have fixed the pattern of human activities, we may, through that test, separate from the whole of material culture a system of forms bearing an animal character. Owing to materials supplied by nature and ethnology we are bound to see in some ways proper to animal instincts patterns ready for imitation and imitated by man. The bent to imitate (the reproducing instinct according to Colwin and Bagley) is highly developed with men living in a close contact with nature. It lets them take hold of these patterns at first by impulse, later on only by intention. In this way arose the skill in hunting and the first phenomena of culture. As man alone took advantage of these links, they were onesided and didn't allow of a symmetrical functionality.

Author doesn't endeavour to fix a development by grades, that is to prove that man's most ancient hunting forms consisted merely in a system of animal elements and that the system of forms invented exclusively by himself was subsequent to the former. For hunting is the crossing point of trends taken over and such as were borne to life by man's creative mind. Searching into the origins of hunting author reaches for the manifestations of instincts, for activities, therefore, emerging from bounds of consciousness. of historical time and of space.

In Chapter II „Skill primitive and acquired“ are treated the elements composing man's and the animal's hunting skill, the harmony existing between instinctive and intelligent activities, Wundt's hypothesis explaining the instinct by pre-memory, Watson's and Pawlow's theories (impulse chains), the sphere of the animal's aptitude taken as its specific properties, the individual aptitudes of animals, the apparatus of senses as a factor controlling instincts. In Chapter III „Struggle between man's sight and the animal's scent“ are discussed

the proportions of human and animal senses, the power of the animal's scent and the disadvantage of man, the apparatus of the human eye, the tracing of game by sight, samples of the lynx' and the hawk's ways of tracing, the construction on trees of gangways serving the hunter's purpose to avoid the reach of animal scent, the help, at last, drawn by man from dogs. Those compensated his deficiencies, worked along with him serving him by their scent.

In Chapter IV „Animal forms of hunting culture“ are compared matters supplied by nature with the ethnological ones. Thus is shown the similarity of animal and many human hunting methods. The following animal forms of hunting culture are treated separately: 1. the watching and the approaching, 2. the hunting with dogs, 3. the trap and the chasing by beaters, 4. the chasing into a precipice, unto ice, snow or marshes, 5. the sapping, 6. the encircling, 7. the hunting by lure, 8. the scaring away from hiding places, 9. the paralysing through fright, 10. the fighting tactics, 11. the use of mechanical weapons, 12. the carrying off of booty.

In Chapter V „A system of defence means“ following items are treated: The flight and the hiding. The simulation of being dead or wounded. Flight stratagems. The part played by the instinct of protecting the offspring. Guards in the animal world. Defensive attitudes of wolves and men. The shielding. Defence tactics of steppe bulls. The defence ring of boars. Defence stratagems of herons, pricks and needles used by hunters against hawks.

The material above can't be subordinated to any of the characteristic marks that P. W. Schmidt took such pains to work out for different cultural spheres. It can't be dealt with, either, by means of the historical apparatus believed in by F. Ratzel as to its universal possibilities and helpful only in detecting migrations, removals and cultural influences. One may see in its light how frail is the basis of A. Bastian's ideas about peoples living in determined geographical provinces and of his belief in the importance of in-

ventive talents proper to certain individuals and tribes. This material has nothing in common with realism availing itself of historicism and registering facts in a chronological order. It has, nevertheless, objective values important for ethnology if their character allows of explaining the most ancient substances of culture.

The results obtained by means of the test applied by author have, indeed, certain deficiencies as far as is concerned the biological way of seeing things (they give only matters general, typical, equivalent, specific, they view life as a unit and as subject to one general law) — they let us, nevertheless, understand the object studied, they have their specific weight and within the very narrow scope of our knowledge of primitive man they take the character of documents.

The representative of the historical school, F. Gräbner, disregarded attempts of interpreting ancient matters, even if the regularity of the facts interpreted was as obvious as a pattern. Science, however, couldn't exist without a certain amount of speculation about probability. If we make use of speculation in constructing supposed patterns of human activities, we may obtain a system of facts characterized by even historical probability.

### **The Kraków — Góral\*) — Border Region in the light of former and most recent ethnographical studies**

by **Roman Reinfuss**

In the introduction author discusses the borders of the Góral area as determined by W. Pol, S. Udziela, Fr. Bujak and M. Cholewa; a map is joined hereto (fig. 1). Differences existing between those authors make necessary a closer study of

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\*) Góral (pl. Górale — mountain folk) is the name given to that portion of the Polish people which lives on the northern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains.

the northern reach of the Góral. Materials are supplied by the most recent researches conducted on the spot in 1946 by the Ethnographical Museum of Kraków. Passing over to theoretical questions author endeavours to define the notion of an ethnographical group. An ethnographical group, he says, is a body of people living on a determined geographical territory, differing from their neighbours by certain cultural proprieties, conscious of these proprieties and, therefore, of their — the people's — belonging to that group. Following this definition author treats in the first Chapter the differences in the dressing of Góral and the foothills population. He determines then the borders of the Góral dress reach. In the second Chapter are treated differences in the popular building of the two neighbour groups, in the third the question of group consciousness and of the relations between groups along the border. In accord with the material above author makes the statement that the border region population have a group consciousness, they know their own name and that of their neighbours. In the relations between Góral and their neighbours an antagonism has been preserved till now that formerly was much sharper. The more disappears popular culture, the more dwindles away the group consciousness.

In the conclusion author points to the conformity existing between the reach of popular dressing and building and the group borders as indicated by the people themselves. On this basis is fixed the northern reach of the Góral area (fig. 7, II). To the north of this border lies an intermediate zone (fig. 7, III) which was formerly a purely Góral area. Owing to the Góral receding it was pervaded, however, with influences coming from their neighbours.

The existence of evident cultural peculiarities is followed, as a rule, by the rising of a group consciousness. Having put this principle author proposes that on areas being under a strong influence of town culture the border of ethnographical groups be fixed following either cultural differences or the reach of the group name itself.

## Les costumes nationaux de la contrée de Sącz (Soncz) du Mieczysław Czcibor Cholewa

Le terrain de la contrée de Sącz est habité par deux groupes ethnique polonais: „górska“ (les Gorales) et „lacka“ (les Lachis).

Du côté oriental ceux deux groupes avoisinent avec le groupe ethnique ruthin „Lemki“.

L'analyse du costume des Gorales et des Lachis, conduit au détachement des plus petits rassemblements, parmi lesquels on peut distinguer d'assez grandes différences: particulièrement, on détache jusqu'à six rassemblements suivants:

1. Łącko-kamienickie (de Łąck et Kamienica).
2. Obidzko-jazowskie (de Obida et Jazowsk).
3. Rytersko-piwniczańskie (de Rytro et Piwniczna).
4. Przysietnicko-barcickie (de Przysietnica et Barcice).
5. Nawojowskie.
6. Ptaszkowskie.

Ces six rassemblements aux limites particulières, que montre la carte jointe, composent l'ensemble d'un plus grand groupe ethnique, celui des Gorales de la contrée de Sącz et du bord du Poprad.

Quand au terrain des Lachis de la contrée de Sącz, on peut détacher deux rassemblements particuliers: ceux de Podegrodzie, Lukowica et Piszczow.

Les relations entre les Gorales et les Lachis—comme on peut observer souvent et sur d'autres exemples—sont pleines d'aversion et d'antagonisme réciproque.

Les Gorales reprochent aux Lachis le manque du caractère et de probité, et les Lachis reprochent aux Gorales leurs pauvreté et l'infériorité au point de vue de la culture.

La différence fondamentale qui s'impose en observant les costumes des Gorales et des Lachis est celle, que les premiers portent des pantalons chiffrés, des couvertures grossières („gunia“), et les chaussures de cuir (kierpce). Quand aux Lachis, ils portent des pantalons et des couvertures grossières (tout en

laine), seulement en hiver et au lieu de „kierpce“, ils emploient des bottes plus solides: „karbiaki“.

Très typique pour leurs costumes sont les casaquins et les pantalons bleu- foncés, dit „biękicia“. Ils portent aussi des „górnic“ en toile.

Les différences nommées parmi les rassemblements particuliers, ne sont pas seulement celles des costumes, mais se caractérisent aussi d'une multitude des détails d'ornementation.

Tous ceux costumes d'ailleurs ne sont pas constants, ils changent au cours de temps.

Ces changements s'accroissent particulièrement depuis 1860. Il s'agit surtout d'ornementation. A peu près depuis ce temps se manifeste la tendance de parer le costume des broderies, des ornements, et des boutons métalliques.

Ce procès des changements est accompagné par l'import des costumes tous faits et des produits culturels, fabriqués dans les grandes villes.

C'est la cause que dernièrement les beaux costumes typiques des Górale et des Lachis deviennent plus rares et le terrain est envahi par les produits à bon marché, confectionnés dans les villes.

## Étude sur l'ancienneté de quelques- uns des produits de la culture du peuple polonais

du Prof. Dr. Józef Kostrzewski

L'auteur voulait constater, jusqu'à quel temps touchent quelques- uns des produits de la culture matérielle actuel du peuple polonais.

On pourrait alors voir clair, que p. ex. les râteliers de bois (des. 2) les briquets doublement arqués de fer (des. 4. nr. 1—2) et en forme de chaînon (des. 4 nr. 3—4), les pétrins d'argile pour le grillage du blé (des. 6), „les bras“ pour les passes-cuil- lers (des. 5) des pelles de bois pour le pain, les moulins

à foulon à jambe (des. 8), les pilons doubles (des. 7), les battoirs en forme de pelle (des. 9), les roues radieux avec le moyeu (des. 10), les fuseaux de bois avec la travée d'argile (des. 13), les métiers à tisser horizontals, les pinces (des. 14), les chaussures de cuir (des. 15), les selles de bois garnies de cuir (des. 17), et les traîneaux, on peut trouver en Pologne encore vers le commencement de l'histoire.

Les autres produits ont une généalogie encore plus ancienne: p. ex. les socs de fer (des. 1), les faucilles avec les aiguillons pour le manche, les clefs crochus (des. 3), les briquets en barres (des. 4 nr. 5—6), et les seaux avec les douves (des. 12), étaient connus en Pologne depuis le II—III s. après J. Christ, quand aux moulins à bras et les ciseaux avec le saisissement circulaire (des. 16), — même avant J. Christ (depuis le dernier siècle).

Encore plus anciens sont les commencements de l'architecture „à angle“, très divulguée en Pologne, puis la connaissance de la martelage avec la bobèche et les filets des pêcheurs, trainés avec des ailes d'écorce, qui sont connus depuis le commencement de l'époque de fer. Quand au crochets pour les hameçons avec les crocs et les émousses -on les datent même de l'époque de bronze.

Les découvertes nouvelles peuvent évidemment, faire passer, encore plus en arrière, l'âge des différents phénomènes de notre culture matérielle, mais même aujourd' hui, nous savons que le gros des produits de la culture du peuple polonais, c'est l'héritage du passé pré-historique, souvent bien lointain.

## Les découvertes à Biskupin et la culture populaire actuel des Slaves

du Stefan Nosek

Cet travail est un essai sur les recherches comparatifs des quelques — unes des découvertes de la première époque de fer (700—400), faites à Biskupin, ancien sites de la culture

lusasienne, et les phénomènes semblables dans la culture populaire actuel des Slaves. L'accomplissement des recherches comparatifs complètes, n'est pas possible pour le moment, car les recherches à Biskupin ne sont pas finies ainsi que la culture actuel des Slaves n'est pas encore étudiée dans tous ses détails.

En rapport avec la découverte à Biskupin des restes des fortifications défensifs construites à „angle“, ainsi, que des restes des cabanes construites avec le système „sumikowo-łatkowym“ ainsi que des restes des cabanes aux façades larges, c'est à dire avec l'entrée dans le mur plus large, au double -interieur (le corridor et la pièce), et même souvent au triple -interieur (le corridor, la pièce et le bouge), -il est évident, que beaucoup des conceptions et des hypothèses de nos ethnographes et de nos préhistoriens, sont trop enclins, et doivent être réviser, à cause des découvertes nouvelles.

Par exemple la conception ethnographique, de l'apparition tardive du technique „sumikowo-łatkowa“ est fausse.

Il est difficile de soutenir l'opinion des préhistoriens, s'il s'agit, de la prépondérance dans l'architecture préhistorique de la technique „de pilier -et de tressé“. Injuste est aussi la supposition, que la plupart des cabanes préhistoriques, avaient des abris, que les cabanes étaient aux façades-étroites, enfin est faux le jugement qu'un typ de la maison, est lié avec une unique culture et que ce type dominait une longue période.

Difficile à soutenir est la typologie, introduite par les ethnographes, qui montre que le développement de l'intérieur de la cabane, commence d'un bâtiment primitif, à une seule pièce et conduit aux bâtiments plus larges.

Une série des exemples des cabanes préhistoriques (tabl. I — VI), de l'époque néolithique vers le début du moyen-âge, trouvées dans les différents terrains de la Pologne, nous montre, que de le commencement de l'époque de pierre, nous avons des cabanes amplement construites, côté des cabanes toutafait primitives.

Très souvent même les cabanes au l'intérieur largement construit, sont beaucoup plus anciennes, que les cabanes primitifs à une seule pièce.

Il est évident alors que la typologie actuel, peut nous aider seulement à ordonner les matériaux, mais ne donne rien à la chronologie des types des cabanes.

### III.

À Biskupin outre les constructions de bois, défensifs et habitables, outre les ustensiles, les instruments et les outils de bois, se sont aussi conservés des semences du blé et des plantes cultivés par l'homme, et aussi les semences et les fruits des plantes sauvages, mais ramasser et utiliser par l'homme.

Parmi les espèces du blé, les habitants de Biskupin, cultivaient: le millet, (*Paniculum miliaceum*), les froments divers (*Triticum dicoccum*, *Tr. spelta*, *Tr. Vulgare* i *Tr. compactum*), et l'orge (*Hordeum polystichum*).

On trouve pour la première fois le millet simple, au nord du Danube, au commencement de l'époque de fer, et depuis ce temps on le trouve en qualités de plus en plus considérables.

L'apparition du millet est probablement en rapport avec l'augmentation des influences illyriques, que montre d'ailleurs et d'autres trouvailles archéologiques.

Le millet simple est trouvé abondamment dans les découvertes aux premiers temps historiques (Gniezno, Santok, Opoie). Maintenant il est connu dans tout le pays Slave, sauf ses limites du nord.

Quand à une autre espèce du millet, dit „ber“ (*setaria italica*), cultivée auparavant par les Slaves, aujourd' hui, elle est presque inconnue.

Aux temps préhistoriques au nord du Danube, cette espèce n'était pas connue non plus.

L'apparition devait avoir lieu dans les temps historiques plus tardifs.

Quand aux froments: *Tr. diccicum* et *Spelta* ne sont pas connus aujourd' hui en Pologne.

On ne trouve pas non plus cetttes especes dans les découvertes aux premiers temps historiques.

Evidemment déjà aux premiers temps historiques la culture des cetttes especes, commençait a disparaître.

L'espece d'orge, trouvée à Biskupin, à cause de mauvais état de conservation ne peut pas être classée.

Probablement c'était l'orge de quatre-rangs (*H. vulgare*), aujourd' hui généralement cultivé.

On voit alors que cette espece d'orge était connue aux terrains polonais déjà au commencement de l'époque de fer.

Parmi les plantes siliquieuses, les habitants de Biskupin cultivaient la lentille (*Lens culinaris*), les pois (*Pisum sativum*) et la fève (*Vicia Faba*), qui sont repandus et cultivaient actuelement par tous les Slaves, sauf la lentille qui disparaît.

Du même est avec la culture des plantes oléagineuses comme: le pavot (*Papaver somniferum*), et le navet oleagineux (*Brassica Rapa*).

Pour la production de l'huile, on utilisait aussi: la cameline cultivée *Camelina sativa*, et la cournouille (*cornus sanguinea*).

Parmi les plantes fibreuses on cultivait le lin ordinaire (*Linum usitatisimum*).

Outre cela on cueillait et on utilisait les plantes sauvages, comme la persicaire (*poligonum*), *Chenopodium*, et l'arroche (*atriplex*).

On utilisait les pousses des ses plantes comme l'épinard, les feuilles comme salade, les fruits pour le produit de gruau, ou comme le supplément au farine.

Les soupes à la farine aigres on faisait d'accanthe (*Heraclium sphondilium*), et d'oseille (*Rumex*).

Tous ces plantes sont ou étaient utilisés il n'y a pas longtemps dans tous les pays Slaves.

Comme les plantes colorantes on utilisait à Biskupin comme d'ailleurs dans tous les pays Slaves, le caille — lait (*Ga-*

lium), qui donnait la couleur rouge, ainsi que le lilas noir et l'ébenier, qui donnaient les couleurs noir et bleu.

Les restes des plantes, trouvés à Biskupin, qui donnaient la couleur bleu, montrent que ce couleur était connu depuis longtemps, depuis la communauté des Slaves, car même le nom de cette couleur est commune à tous les Slaves. On voit alors que cette couleur n'était pas inventé dernièrement, comme disent quelques uns des ethnographes.

#### IV.

La comparaison des ceux plusieurs phénomènes de la culture matériel ainsi que d'autres — assemblés auparavant, nous permet de constater que la culture populaire des Slaves d'aujourd'hui, a un fondement bien ancien, archaïque et que cette culture est bien conservatrice.

### De l'un des signes magiques finlandais

du Sulo Haltsonen

Parmi les signes magiques utilisés en Finlande, le signe poligone, dit tursaansydän, et devenu très rare.

Son origine dérive de la svastica et il est l'un de plus intéressant, parmi les signes de ce genre.

Son nom le plus populaire est comme nous l'avons déjà dit- tursaansydän qui signifie „le coeur du Toursas“! Les autres noms comme: „turskansydän“, „korskansydän“ et „tapiokanta“ sont moins connus.

En Laponie finlandaise, on le nomme le dodécagone, car il ressemble à une figure à douze angles.

On trouve aussi le nom „jertta“, du mot suédois „hjärta“ (le „coeur“). Cet signe est répandu en Finlande dans les limites très bornées. On ne le trouve pas p. ex. en Finlande de sud.

En Finlande du nord, il est lié étroitement avec les signes magiques qui défendent les bâtiments, des forces mal dispo-

sées envers l'homme. K. A. Pfaler, le collectionneur des singularités ethnographiques, écrit que „Toursa“ — dans les traditions populaires — personnifit un être étrangement mystérieux.

Dans une partie du Finlande du nord, le peuple croit, que c'est une phoque au gueule en forme de croix, qui à impregnée son image sur beaucoup des vieux objets, arbres et bâtiments.

Ce signe est connu aux Lapons, qui lui donnent le nom de „tursaansydän“, ou „tursaanturpa“, que signifit „la gueule du Tourpa“! En effet, on trouve facilement ce signe sur les bâtiments.

Dans la paroisse Hyrynsalmi, d'après la rélation d'éthnologue évident Samuli Paulahariu, cet signe est gravé sur les portailles d'un grenier, ou on placé auparavant les morts.

Sur les même portailles est gravé le pentagone, et la date 1827. Ce bâtiment doit être encore plus ancien.

On rencontre ce signe aux mures des moulins, des greniers de moulin et sur des greniers en général.

Quelques chose de cette espèce est dessiné au coupole de l'église à Halsoua, qui datte de 1825.

Au Musée National de Helsinki on garde un morceau du pin, qui est pousé près de l'église au Nourmes.

Sur ce morceau on trouve la date 1829, ce signe rare et la figure du labyrinthe. Dans les notes d'un scrupuleux observateur des anciennetés, C. A. Guttlund, nous trouvons une mention de 1859, d'après lasquelle le même signe devait être gravé sur le roc de la paroisse Spantlahti.

Outre les ustensiles domestiques, on trouve ce signe gravé sur d'autres outils, comme: le métier à tisser, le rabot etc.

On le trouve sur la planchette a calandrer de 1695 d'Ala-Veteli.

Dans ce travail on a prit égard aux quelques exemples seulement de Finlande. La chose est bien caractéristique, qu' on trouve notre signe magique et en autres pays voisins,

comme P. ex. en Esthonie. D'ailleurs il est assez rare en ce pays. On le trouve p. ex, sur le hangar pour les filets des pêcheurs à Tostama, outre cela au Tonninvaka (coffre de Tonni), à Vandra.

Enfin, nous avons de courtes mentions de Tostama et Maaria - Magdaleena ou on nomme ce signe juudi -lukk, que signifie — la serrure juife.

On trouve aussi les traces de ce signe en Scandinavie, p. ex. à Dalekarlie on garde la planchette à calandrer, avec beaucoup des dessins de cette espèce. Ainsi, il est sur les anciens ornements suspendus, sur les pierres païens avec de runes, outre cela sur les fonts baptismaux danois.

Dans ce cas il porte le nom de „marteau de Torse“.

Comme le suppose Reinhold Mejborg dans ce pays on donne rarement a notre signe une qualité magique. Sa vraie patrie est donc le Nord.

Et quoique il est difficile encore de préciser la question, la thèse de Mejborg nous semble bien vraisemblable.

Dans „Kalevala“ paraît le monstre au nom de Toursas ou Toursa.

Beaucoup des observateurs s'occupent de l'éthymologie de cet mot. Dernièrement feu E. N. Setälä -le célèbre linguiste finois. Outre cela, il faut souligner, que d'après le grand ethnologue suédois Kaale Krohn, le „Hrugners hjarta“ suédois, (ou hjärta signifie le coeur) est simplement le nom de triangle. Son type quadrilatère est justement en finois „tursaansydän“. Ça montre, que „sydän“, -la deuxième partie du mot, (qui désigne aussi le coeur) est facile à expliquer.

A l'Esthonie ce signe est venu des pays du Nord, car les terrains, où on le trouve, c'est sont les terrains du bord de la mer.

Enfin quelle-que ne sont les conceptions, l'un est sur, que ce signe représente l'ancienne culture nordique.

Les rares traces et traditions, liés avec ce signe, montrent que ce signe était très répandu aux temps passés et que c'est seulement après qu'il sort d'usage.

Peut-être la cause de cet oubli, c'était un autre signe semblable, pentagone, aujourd'hui le plus répandu de tous les signes magiques.

Bibliographie: Sulo Haltsonen: Suomalaisista taikamerkeistä (über d. finnischen Zauberzeichen. Eine ethnografische Monographie). 1936. (Kansatieteellinen Arkisto II: 1).

(Helsinki).

## Regional ethnographical museums in Poland

by Maria Frankowska

There are three distinctly traced aims for which regional museums exist: scientific, social and educational. Their system, therefore, has to reflect the whole of popular culture of a definite region, its ethnical structure in time and space. Besides reflecting the region's culture ethnographical museums ought to demonstrate the region's function in a larger whole. Those aims can be reached, if the museum complies with the following requirements:

1. Instead of being a mechanical compilation of facts it must be a living image of the whole cultural structure.
2. Its contents must be such as to develop the taste for learning to know one's own country.
3. Its character must not be statical but dynamical.

A museum correctly organized, living and dynamical makes collections, conducts studies on the spot, works out monographies of territorial units, studies cultural facts, undertakes the drawing of maps, cares for exact inventories conformed with modern scientific requirements. Archives gathering pictures, drawings, maps, phonographical collections and a library with a properly managed bibliographical section are other factors helpful in carrying out the museum's plans.

To reach its social aim thus traced the museum must assemble all the active elements of the region, it must act on

the whole milieu and work along with social institutions and associations. Occasions for such a collaboration may be furnished by circular questionnaires. Other factors stimulating the museum's activities are ever changing shows giving people the opportunity of exhibiting their various specialities and interests. Every regional museum, therefore, must be directed by the slogan written on the entrance of the Basque Museum at Bayonne: Who enters here is at home.

The tasks assigned to a regional museum are accomplished by its acting on life itself, on handicraft, on popular art, literature, spectacles, on building even and decorative art. Other means to that end, besides the arranging of shows, consist in excursions, lectures, courses and publications. To work continuously with schools and youth is a further way of realizing educational purposes.

The most perfect form of museum work is a „skansen“ conceived as a working school.

A large scale activity of the regional museum must go along with the correct gathering of collections, their storing and inventorizing — all this smoothing the way for later work. The disposition of different exhibits in the museum must also be subject to special care so as to fulfil requirements not only professional but also esthetical and those referring to propaganda. This important matter brings us to the question as to how the museum is lodged. Wherever this may be, either in a building specially constructed for the museum or in one only adapted or in a „skansen“ it must have: exhibition halls, stores (also a library store), a library, archives, a black camera, a technical and scientific laboratory, a reading room, a club room even and a guest room.

A regional museum must demonstrate certain accomplished units, e. g. interiors of houses, farm buildings of a certain region and period. These are the means to arrange a „skansen“ reflecting in the best way the full image of a culture and making quite easy its knowledge.

The museum manager ought to have ethnographical studies and a museum practice. It is the best, if he comes from the region itself or knows at least thoroughly the milieu and the culture represented by the museum. The chief duties of a manager are: the making of collections, their preservation, cataloguing, exhibiting, storing; scientific researches, sending about of questionnaires, the survey of the museum's management and book keeping. Besides those many duties it must also be the manager's care to let the museum attain all the aims specified above. Having all these responsibilities he ought to be quite free in his decisions.

If the activity of the museum has to be efficient and on a high level it must have well trained and responsible employees. Up to now, unfortunately, neither England, nor France, nor America, have solved this problem, nor even Germany inspite of Friedlaender's system. Museologists are generally men who having finished their studies went through a museum practice and a special course. Special stress is laid upon practising in a bigger centre. The only possibility existing now in Poland of organizing museological courses is given by the chairs of ethnology and ethnography or by the Central Ethnographical Museum. The only place where such lectures and exercises are made is presently the Poznań University. To give the museologists a more thorough education special annual meetings are necessary. A very urgent matter is the working out of suitable museological manuals.

As the aims proposed may be attained only within a fixed budget, a museum can't work efficiently without fixed financial bases. This regards also custodians who shouldn't be engaged periodically under contracts made for a fixed time only. Such a way of proceeding doesn't allow people to take a real interest for their work or to make plans for a longer period.

The organization of museums all over the country requires the competencies of regional museums to be fixed as well as their dealings with the central museum. Regional museums keeping their own autonomy ought to help each other, define

the scope of their activity and forward the gathering and completing of materials. Regional ethnographical museums must be controlled by competent offices and linked into a common and free association.

The central ethnographical museum must be a reflected picture of the regional museums the latter being limited to their own region and taking into account only the necessary comparative moments. A central museum, thus conceived, will become for regional cells a centre of direction, information and training.

An efficient activity of regional museums is dependent on an exact definition of their territorial reaches. An attempt for such a regional division was made in 1933 by prof. Antoniewicz who set out a plan for a museum network:

I. Provincional museums in university towns. II. District museums with one or several sections. III. Subsidiary and local museums. Prof. Antoniewicz came to the conclusion that considering various division bases Poland ought to have 27 museal districts. Results reached up to now and changing ethnical conditions in after-war Poland command the following plan: a Central Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw, Ethnographical Museums in Kraków, Katowice, Poznań, Gdynia, Łódź and Lublin and Regional Museums for lesser regional groups: for the Podhalans in Zakopane, for the Lachs in Nowy Sącz and moreover in Żywiec and Cieszyn. For the groups of Central Poland in Sandomierz, Rzeszów or Przemyśl, in Kielce, Sieradz and Łęczyca, in Kalisz, Wieluń, Leszno, Łowicz, in Włocławek or Toruń, in Płock, Nowogród on the Narew and in Białystok.

Summing up what was said about the organization of regional museums we have to state that, first of all, conditions should be secured for the development of existing museums; new ones may be established gradually and collections gathered, for the time being, in bigger centres. The ethnographical division should determine the areas assigned to the activity of different regional museums.

## Wilh. Mühlmann „Methodik der Völkerkunde“

by Dr. Edward Bulanda

As ethnology, despite the large progress it made since Gräbner, is a science lacking any method, the author intends to fill this gap. He announces an original opinion concerning its history and reaches the conclusion there is no reason whatever to oppose, as scientists did till now, natural and historical sciences. Biology and history are an inseparable unit.

By ethnology he understands the study in whatever create not only primitive peoples but all those we call civilised living on the globe. The phenomena either of social and psychical contacts or of the ethnos group taken as a whole don't fall under the term culture, says the author.

According to the book's most fundamental assertion man's activity, his deeds and his creations can be conceived only as a structure intervoven with the mutual relations between him and his milieu. Thus we take as granted a definite formation for people as well as for their milieu; both are subordinated to each other in a proper way.

Ethnology is defined as a science concerned with functions depending and structures resting on man's relations to his historical milieu. This relation finds its highest historical form in the „ethnos“ — the people.

Every creation of human activity is considered from two points: the intentional refers to problems of ideology, finality and meaning particular to a given creation, form, expression of social life and activity; the functional point views the adaptive task inherent to activities, evolution and history. Author distinguishes functional unions of different order like society, culture, people. The last aim of ethnology consists in forming an „ethnos“ theory.

Following author the term „culture“ doesn't apply to material culture, called by author civilisatory equipment. The term cultural creation may conduct to the concept of an atomistic conglomerate of cultural phenomena. Author proposes

to use instead the word „cultural feature“ or „cultural phenomenon“.

In the second part he undertakes to trace the history of scientific ethnology. Here his originality appears in the choice of forerunners of modern ethnology. The greatest, he thinks, among ancient ethnologists is Poseidonios who found that „blood“ was the main source of differences between the civilization of barbarians and that of Mediterranean peoples. In the Middle Ages he didn't find anybody with any merits in the field of ethnology. The spirit of medieval christianity didn't allow to develop the understanding of or the interest for the religion of primitive peoples.

The decisive moment for ethnology comes, following Mühlmann, with the spiritual revolution brought about in Europe by the era of what he calls historicism. Because of the method applied in his studies he recognizes the French Jesuit Lafitau to be the founder of ethnological sociology and ethnological studies in religion; he sees in him the forerunner of two later theories: the cyclical course of cultures (Vico) and the second primitivity (Meiners). The first place in ethnology belonging till then to France is now taken by Germany. The names of J. R. Forster and George Forster his son, of Meiners and Herder mark a new epoch between 1787 and 1810. Author bears interest for Meiners rather and chiefly because of his opinions about races. He agrees, however, his properly ethnological works to be of no value. J. R. Forster is superior to Meiners in exactitude. He laid great stress on considering the milieu in ethnology. The romantic Herder holds his place in ethnology having discovered what marks the cultural work of the people. Mühlmann sees in Herder the founder of spiritual sciences as distinguished from the natural. Despite Herder's merits this partition of sciences meant a certain paralysis and delay in the development of ethnological thinking.

The link established by Edwards between the concepts of race and history was the proper starting point for the works of the Paris Ethnological Society. Gobineau's work

about „the inequality of human races“ was the last and, says the author, the most important result of these studies.

Darwin's discoveries which „marked a new epoch“, put in the foreground the anthropological sciences leaving ethnology behind. The ethnological material was nevertheless gathered in museums.

The highest summit is reached by ethnology with the appearance of Bastian's who made it independent of other sciences.

Darwin's theory helped ethnologists to establish the test of selection and of individual prominency among primitive peoples. E. Tylor is among ethnologists the real classic of evolutionism. The evolutionist idea was applied mainly to the sociological construction concerning the rise and development of matrimony and family (Bachofen). The young Frobenius expresses the same idea in a new form, when he treats societies like organic bodies.

Ratzel is taxed rather unfavourably. Mühlman reproaches him to disregard the biological moment in ethnology.

Author makes a show of originality by treating with contempt the school of history and culture. We explain this criticism „cum ira et studio“ by author's aversion for „clerical hands“ into which ethnology passed from Cologne to Vienna. He contends that Ratzel's and Gräbner's historicism, stamped in the style of the Viennese school, is in ethnology an epoch which has ended for ever. This assertion is too bold. Hardly two years after Mühlmann's book there appeared in Germany an ethnological description of Africa. It was drawn up by Baumann for colonial aims and based on the principle of cultural circles. Following Mühlmann we could deem the only legitimate way in ethnology was functionalism and the American theory of cultural areas.

The third part is systematical and based on the principle that the distinction between natural and spiritual sciences is a metaphor with no methodological importance. Dealing with the problem of objectivity he declares himself in favour

not only with Vaihinger's theory of fictitious objectivity but also, what doesn't seem adequate, with Heidegger's existential philosophy. Thus dwindles again the difference between ontology and cognition. Following Mühlmann's conception objectivity is not a state but a process involving the change of both the perceiving subject and the object perceived. We wouldn't expect a biological functionalist to have any sympathy for this life distant fictionism. Author finds his delight in dialectical paradoxes and in a way of thinking bare of all discipline.

He then endeavours to expound the methodical principles serving to reach the so called ethnological report. In so doing he marks the difference between understanding, explaining and causality. After these observations of a general nature referring to the theory of cognition Mühlmann gives us some practical tests for the choice of ethnological facts. He divides them in two categories. As ethnology, following his definition, is the science of the ethnos' historical life involving the study in the historical relation between human organism and the historical milieu, he distinguishes aspects of this historical life first as consciousness, then as activity. The first, called intentional, are selected by the ethnologist by means of the historical test of *w e i g h i n g i m p o r t a n c e*; in reaching the others, called functional data, the ethnologist uses the test of *r e i t e r a t i o n*.

At the beginning of all things stands the logos, the idea, the knowledge, the thought, the notion of things. These are precisely the intentional data which the ethnologist must investigate. He has to discover their centre, the spot of their utmost intensity. This is to be found with the leading individuals, those who are weighing factors. By the knowledge of this logos we just may understand the emotional value of an idea in a community's life and perceive the hierarchy of values particular to a given people.

We deem the test above subject to certain reservations. It is right in the form the author gives it, when we have to do

with an ideology predominant in a given time. But ethnologists must also ask whether such ideology is properly worked out by that people, whether it results from its traditions or is merely one imposed upon it. To know that, needs there'll be to use often the test of lacking weight and turn to classes the least influential in the current period.

The knowledge, the thought, the concept of worship, art, technics and the like are not to be identified with technic, worshipping or similar activities. For an ethnologist important are those which „reappear“ in different expressions of life.

Follows then a long paragraph concerning the formation of types; author exposes there with other words the same ideas which the historical and cultural school had about „cultural circles“.

In the following Chapters we are given detailed hints as to how ought to be gathered intentional data concerning different expressions of life like society, religion, economy, art etc. Many observations we find here are fine.

Author then deals in detail with functional data. Functions of ethnical life are divided into three groups: of first, second and third rate. The first refer to activities of individual persons; the second to those raised by customs, manners and institutions; the third are concerned with activities of the highest social form i. e. of the people.

In a distinct Chapter Mühlmann gives methodical notices for an ethnological study of historical changes. Another chapter deals with the psychology of peoples, the last one with tasks and aims of ethnology.

The book's chief merit consists in its being the first methodology of functional ethnology. Its way of thinking, however, isn't marked by strict discipline, unless we should call so a meticulous putting of things into different pigeonholes. Much patience too is required to have the book entirely read. Author shows at any rate a good deal of ethnological experience, he gives many fine hints, has gathered an abundant

ethnological material. Out of this he could have composed a good synthesis, if only he had stuck by the principle which having put forward he forgot: „wer nicht liebt, dem zeigt sich nichts“ (p. 210). He didn't try for instance to follow and to study closely the principles and methods of the historical and cultural school. Had he learned, understood and explained them, they'd have helped him to more discipline of thought.

Lublin, Bobolanum.

**Fr. Edward Bulanda S. J.**