

Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte

**Mitteilungen des SFB
„Differenz und Integration“ 6:**

Segmentation und Komplementarität
Organisatorische, ökonomische und kulturelle Aspekte
der Interaktion von Nomaden und Sesshaften

14/ 2004

Herausgeber

Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum
der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg



Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte

**Mitteilungen des SFB
„Differenz und Integration“ 6:**

Segmentation und Komplementarität
Organisatorische, ökonomische und kulturelle Aspekte
der Interaktion von Nomaden und Sesshaften

14/ 2004

Herausgeber

Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum
der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg



Herausgeber:
Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum
der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg
Mühlweg 15
06114 Halle
Tel.: 0345-55-24081, Fax: 55-27299
schoenig@owz.uni-halle.de
www.owz.uni-halle.de

Diese Arbeit ist im Sonderforschungsbereich 586 „Differenz und Integration“ an den Universitäten Halle-Wittenberg und Leipzig entstanden und wurde auf seine Veranlassung unter Verwendung der ihm von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zur Verfügung gestellten Mittel gedruckt.

Die OWH erscheinen unregelmäßig.

Umschlag unter Verwendung des Wappens der Stadt Halle
mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Stadtverwaltung

© OWZ Halle/Saale 2004

Die Reihe und alle in ihr enthaltenen Beiträge sind urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist unzulässig und strafbar. Das gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen jeder Art, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung in elektronische Systeme.

Druck: Druckhaus Schütze GmbH, Fiete-Schulze-Str. 6, 06116 Halle (Saale).

Printed in Germany

ISSN 1617-2469



Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte

Heft 14/2004

Mitteilungen des SFB „Differenz und Integration“ 6: Segmentation und Komplementarität

Herausgegeben im Auftrag des SFB von Bernhard Streck

Inhalt

Vorwort		V
Teil I. Politische Organisation		1
Christian Sigrist	Segmentary Societies: The Evolution and Actual Relevance of an Interdisciplinary Conception	3
Michael E. Meeker	Magritte on the Bedouins: <i>Ce n'est pas une société segmentaire</i>	33
Hélène Claudot-Hawad	Neither Segmentary, nor Centralized: the Socio- political Organisation of a Nomadic Society (Tuaregs) beyond Categories	57
Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov	The Roma – a Nation Without a State? Historical Background and Contemporary Tendencies	71

Teil II. Wirtschaftliche Komplementarität	101
Florian Stammeler	The Commoditisation of Reindeer Herding in Post Soviet Russia: Herders, Antlers and Traders in Yamal 105
Maren Bellwinkel-Schempp	Globaler Handel und lokaler Vertrieb: Zum Borsten- und Bürstenhandel in Indien und Europa 123
Thomas Brüggemann	<i>Nundinae</i> als Bindeglied zwischen römi- scher Administration und indigenen Gesell- schaften im antiken Nordafrika 157
Lozanka Peycheva, Ventsislav Dimov	The Gypsy Music and Gypsy Musicians' Market in Bulgaria 189
Autoren	207

Vorwort

In der ersten Phase seines Bestehens konnte der SFB „Differenz und Integration“ fünf Kolloquien durchführen, zu denen Experten aus dem In- und Ausland über bestimmte Aspekte der Gesamtfragestellung sprachen. Dies waren 1. „Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung“, 2. „Militär und Staatlichkeit“, 3. „Segmentäre und zentralisierte Gesellschaften“, 4. „Erinnerung und Konstruktion“, 5. „Tausch und Arbeitsteilung“. Die Kolloquien 3 und 5 fanden in Leipzig statt, und der Herausgeber dieses Bandes war mit ihrer Realisierung in besonderem Maße betraut. Deswegen finden sich die Beiträge dieser beiden Kolloquien – in einer Auswahl – hier zusammen, ohne dass damit schon eine besondere Verbindung der beiden Themenkomplexe zum Ausdruck gebracht werden sollte. Vielmehr bekam dieser Band der „Mitteilungen des SFB“ dadurch zwei eigenständige Teile, die auch gesondert eingeleitet werden.

Der Herausgeber dankt an dieser Stelle allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die bei der Vorbereitung und Durchführung der beiden Kolloquien mitgemacht haben, ganz besonders aber auch den Leiterinnen der Leipziger Geschäftsstelle des SFB, Frau Nadine Adam und Frau Ute Terletzki, für ihren infrastrukturellen Beistand sowie den studentischen Hilfskräften Frau Eva Hamann, Herrn Philipp Schlosser und Herrn Florian von Bothmer, die zu beiden Anlässen ein hohes Maß an Einsatzfreude gezeigt haben. Nicht zuletzt gilt aber mein besonderer Dank Frau Hanne Schöning, die trotz der Arbeitsspitze gegen Ende der 1. Förderphase die Produktion des Bandes in ihr dichtes Programm mitaufnehmen konnte, und wiederum Ute Terletzki, die die Redaktion und Textgestaltung bis zum Ende in ihren begabten Händen hielt.

Leipzig, November 2003

Bernhard Streck



Teil I. Politische Organisation

Die Diskussionen im SFB-Bereich „Beutekrieg und Staatlichkeit“ haben ebenso wie das Kolloquium „Militär und Staatlichkeit“ immer wieder deutlich gemacht, dass das Verhältnis zwischen nomadischen und sesshaften Bevölkerungsgruppen zu einem guten Teil das zwischen Staat und Nichtstaat ist. Diese Dichotomie hat aber nun in der Ethnologie eine traditionsreiche Bearbeitung erfahren, die schon am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts den Begriff der segmentären Organisation generierte. Sie erschien den Klassikern als eine „natürliche“ Regulierung des Zusammenlebens, bevor bestimmte Gesellschaften den Sprung zur staatlichen Verfasstheit wagten. Fortan existierten beide Formen der Vergesellschaftung nebeneinander, auch wenn ihre strukturelle Unverträglichkeit immer wieder zu Spannungen und Gewalt führte.

Das Konzept der segmentären Ordnung fand in den westeuropäischen Debatten mit ihrem Hintergrund von bürgerlicher Emanzipation und Demokratiebewegung bereitwilligere Aufnahme als in den zentral- und osteuropäischen Traditionen, wo man sich ein geregeltes Miteinander ohne Zentralinstanz nur schwer vorstellen konnte. Es brauchte die Erschütterungen des 2. Weltkriegs, damit der Gedanke einer „regulierten Anarchie“ denkbar werden konnte. Christian Sigrist, der als Nestor der anti-autoritären Ethnologie im folgenden das erste Wort hat, leistete damals Pionierarbeit. Ironischerweise erkannte genau 1967, im Jahr der Erscheinung der *Regulierten Anarchie*, Emrys Peters das segmentäre Denken der Beduinen als Ideologie. Michael Meeker wird im zweiten Beitrag diese Ernüchterung im westlichen Diskurs nachzeichnen und damit auch etwas Carl Schmitt rehabilitieren, der in der neuen Debatte um die Staatsentstehung nicht mehr gehört wurde.

Die beiden anderen Aufsätze wurden für die Empiriker reserviert: Zunächst macht Hélène Claudot-Hawad am gut bekannten Beispiel der Tuareg deutlich, dass mit dem groben Raster aus Segmentation und Zentralisierung eine komplexe Soziallandschaft wie die der Sahara-Noma-

den nur unzulänglich beschrieben werden kann. In genuin ethnologischer Weise fragt sie nach den Kategorien, die im Tuareg-Denken selbst für die verschiedenen Förderierungspotenziale verwendet werden. Diese „Folk models“ orientieren sich an Verwandtschaft, Körper, Zeltkonstruktion u.ä., sind also eher hierarchisch und komplementär als von „Gleichheitsnormen“ durchdrungen. Das Gerechtigkeitsgefühl scheint bei den Tuareg dann aber im schicksalhaften Auf- bzw. Abstieg bedient zu werden; sie erleben in einer massiv stratifizierten Gesellschaft auch eine vertikale Mobilität.

Das letzte Beispiel, die traditionsreichen Versuche zur Selbstorganisation bei Zigeunergruppen, belegt zwar wieder nicht die Faktizität einer segmentären Verfassung, wohl aber die ubiquitäre Wirksamkeit des segmentären Prinzips. Und dieses lebt von Konkurrenz und Innovation. Auf dem Balkan besaßen viele Zigeuner schon lange die Bürgerrechte, im 19. Jahrhundert aber wollten manche „Romanestan“, später wurde es in Indien als Herkunftsland gesucht, während wieder andere „die Nation ohne Staat“ ausriefen. Elena Marushiakova und Vesselin Popov sprechen angesichts des gegenwärtig boomenden Marktes von Heils- und Hilfskonzepten von der Idee weniger als Ziel denn als Instrument der Gefolgschaftsbildung und warnen vor Interventionen von außen.

Das Vertrauen in das selbstregulierende Kräftespiel machte die Entdeckung nichtzentralisierter Gesellschaften erst möglich. Der Typus wurde bei sesshaften wie bei nomadisierenden Gruppen gefunden, doch weniger als isolierte und autonome Verfassung, als vielmehr im Sinne einer Kontrastregel. Die aber setzt geteilten Raum voraus, zumindest genaue Kenntnis des Nachbarn einschließlich der Vor- und Nachteile seiner politischen Verfassung. In diesem Sinne gibt es in jeder zusammengesetzten Soziallandschaft Tendenzen zum Eigenbrötlertum, oft verbunden mit hoher Mobilität, und Tendenzen zur Integration und Differenzierung, die Voraussetzungen für Stratifikation, Stadt und Staat.

Segmentary Societies: The Evolution and Actual Relevance of an Interdisciplinary Conception

Christian Sigrist

1. The evolution of the conception in a colonial context and its sociological and anthropological roots

In the first year of the Second World War Meyer Fortes and Edward Evans-Pritchard published a reader on *African Political Systems* (APS) as an attempt to bring into focus one of the major problems of “*African sociology*” (1940: VII): This epistemic designation appears to be remarkable. The editors could have named it as well: African ethnology. The deviation from academic routine corresponded on the one hand to the epistemological orientation of the “British School” of social anthropology. On the other hand, it ostentatively elevated African societies on the same cognitive level as “advanced” industrial societies paying tribute to rising sensitivity among African intellectuals. And thirdly, the title reflects acute political concerns of colonial policy, particularly in the field of indirect rule. The authors drew attention to the contradictory results of British interventions in the domain of indirect rule in different types of societies. Whereas non-centralised societies were exposed to a process of centralisation by the introduction of chieftainship, in the centralised ones the power of traditional chiefs was diminished.

The editors establish two groups of political systems: Stateless societies and primitive states. The second group is analytically subdivided first into small-scale societies, bands, where the political structure and kinship organisation are completely fused. This type is left outside the scope of APS. Instead the authors concentrate on societies with a “segmentary system of

permanent, unilateral descent groups,¹ which we call the lineage system. Only the latter establish corporate units with political functions” (6).

Societies corresponding to these criteria have been labelled by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard as segmentary. Here I see a crucial problem of sociological terminology which is evident if we return to the start of the evolution of this conception. The concept of the segmentary society was coined by Emile Durkheim in 1893, in his first opus magnum *De la division du travail social*. After having established two major forms of solidarity, “mécanique” and “organique” in an evolutionist sequence he identified the social type marked by the first form of solidarité as “société segmentaire”. The protoplasme social of this evolution is the “horde”, the spring of all types (149).

The combination of hordes is called clans by Durkheim; the term *société segmentaire* is attributed to the *association de clans*:

“Non disons de ces sociétés qu’elles sont segmentaires, pour indiquer qu’elles sont formées par la répétition d’agréats semblables entre eux, analogues aux anneaux de l’annelé, et de cet agrégat élémentaire qu’il est un clan, parce que ce mot en exprime bien la nature mixte, à la fois familiale et politique” (150).

In this context Durkheim uses the term “organisation politico-familiale” (151). It is obvious that the editors of *APS* are excluding exactly the original “segmentary society” from their conception.

Before continuing my focal argument I have to mention the specification of the notion which Durkheim developed 1894/95 in the *Règles de la méthode sociologique*. Classifying the isolated horde as a theoretical construct he identifies the reunion of hordes as a clan (*ibid.*, 83), which constitutes the segment of an inclusive society, the clan being prior to the formation of families. On this base he differentiates “sociétés polysegmentaires simples” constituted by the mere alignment of clans, indicating as examples: some Iroquois groups and the Australians. On the next evolutionary level emerge the “sociétés polysegmentaires simplement composées”, exemplified by the “confédération iroquoise”.

¹ In the following text abbreviated as UDG. – There have been written many critical comments or even refutations of the *APS* conception. Since I treated most of them, already in my *Regulierte Anarchie* in 1967 and in the third edition of my book I concentrate my criticism on the problem of the missing adequate reference to Durkheim.

The next type is labelled “sociétés polysegmentaires doublement composées qui résultent de la juxtaposition ou fusion de plusieurs sociétés polysegmentaires simplement composées. Telles sont la cité, agrégat de tribus qui sont elles-mêmes des agrégats de curias qui à leur tour se résolvent en gentes ou clans et la tribu germanique...” (84).

It is obvious that Durkheim follows the evolutionist theory of Lewis H. Morgan. Marcel Mauss used Durkheim’s segmentary terminology only rarely, and then mainly in the variant “polysegmentaires”. It is astonishing that Meyer Fortes and Evans-Pritchard do not make any reference to this classic foundation of sociological theory. Can we just explain this by a shortage of paper allotments during war time? I think rather that they did not want to be associated with Durkheim’s evolutionist bias. Only in 1956 Evans-Pritchard mentions Durkheim twice in his *Nuer Religion*. But it remains highly problematic that their use of the term segmentary society misses profoundly the intention of its original creator.

It is evident, that Fortes and Evans-Pritchard utilised the term segmentary society on the foundations laid by Durkheim but not obeying his rather pedantic classification. It is not because of the historical priority that I try this epistemological regression. The organisational patterns of segmentary society play a focal role in Durkheim’s sociological theory. First, in the evolutionary perspective: as “protoplasm social”, the basic pattern of sociality, as a spring of different social types. The kind of solidarity attached to the segmentary society does not totally vanish in the course of history though its importance is shrinking in favour of organic solidarity as an effect of the growing division of labour. Nevertheless, segmentary patterns like the emboîtements (interlockings) of homogeneous territorial segments in hierarchical pyramids endure until today. Those territorial patterns have not only an integrative function as in the case of subdivisions of a state, they may have a divisive one as in the case of “internal” or external frontiers.

The conception of mechanical solidarity exhibits a certain affinity to Ibn Khaldun’s ‘*asabiyyah*’ analysed in his *muqaddima*² though I should say that Ibn Khaldun is arguing much more sociologically, whereas Durkheim’s understanding of mechanical solidarity is obscured by prejudicial psychological assumptions on “primitive man”. The affinity exists too

² Ibn Chaldun, *muqaddima*.



concerning the corresponding social types. The rural population, particularly the nomads, are segmentary whereas the city is defined as a network of divided economic tasks which of course does not exclude the division of labour between city and country side.

I do not want to elaborate my criticism too largely but I cannot but hint to the astonishing fact that neither in *APS* nor in the corresponding monographs published by the editors any bibliographical annotation is made paying tribute to Durkheim's theoretical foundation. This gap can only partially be explained by Evans-Pritchard's later harsh and even scornful criticism of the "Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse" which is on the other side mitigated by his article on the Durkheimian³ school of the *Année Sociologique*.

It was only in 1954 that J. Barnes made a reference to Durkheim's terminology: "The published studies of segmentary political systems have taken a long way on from Durkheim's first introduction of the term 'segmentaire' some fifty years ago" (1954: 211). This annex to his *Politics in a Changing Society*, a book devoted to a centralised society, discerned "Seven Types of Segmentation" and observed: "It is now clear that segmentation is a social process occurring widely both in primitive states and in stateless societies" (*ibid.*). In the same year Edmund R. Leach wrote on the "regrouping of segmentary elements" among the Kachin (1954: 87). In 1956, Aidan W. Southall in his famous monograph *Alur Society* not only quoted Durkheim's definition of "segmentary society" (*id.*, 86 n. 19) but developed his own conception of "segmentary structure" and "segmentary system".

Finally in 1958, the editors of *Tribes without Rulers*, Middleton and Tait make a reference to Durkheim's book of 1893 in a foot note (8 n. 1) where they try to stress the difference of their usage of "segmentary". But this is indicated, in a way which is not convincing; the more so since they do not consider Durkheim's precisions in the "*Règles*".

It is understandable that the editors of *APS* did not want to use Durkheim's circumstantial terminology which would have obliged them to use the term of polysegmentary societies. The problem is not the formal simplification of the term but the restriction of its meaning.

³ Cf. Evans-Pritchard, *History of Anthropological Thought*.

Adam Kuper pronounced in 1973 a decisive ethnographic as well as political implication of the *APS* typology: "The editors particularly emphasized the segmentary lineage system, one effect of African Political Systems was to divert attention from the many stateless political systems in Africa which were not organised in terms of kinship or lineage" (1973: 109).

The typology of *APS* cannot be maintained. But this statement does not deny the validity of the classical studies. We are neither obliged to follow slavishly Durkheim's specifications. So we should continue to label societies like Tallensi, Nuer and Tiv as segmentary societies or more precisely as segmentary lineage societies according to the terminology proposed by Middleton and Tait in *Tribes without Rulers* (1958).

My proposal does not change the established however disputed terminological labelling of societies like Nuer and Tallensi. But it enlarges the content of the core concept. That means we have to reopen the conception "downwards", including societies not framed by UDG and even to the low integrative level of bands. We should remember that Lewis Henry Morgan analysed the processes of composition and decomposition of social units among the Iroquois by using the term of bands. I do not think that it is advisable to limit the term segmentary society to a certain "stage" of production.

By this proposition we follow the critical option for the de-regionalisation of the *APS*-conception. It is only logical that by this decision we can include the anthropological analysis of Lewis Henry Morgan, of course without adopting his falsified evolutionist hypotheses. Since his paradigmatic North America example, the Iroquois "nations", have been marked by an emphasis on gender equivalence/ equality of the sexes this "opening" strengthens the emphasis on the egalitarian profile of segmentary societies which in the *APS* sample is rather weak in this respect.

The decisive criterion in defining segmentary societies is the absence of a political centre which we define by executive power commanding the use of physical power by way of delegation.⁴ So segmentary society must not be confounded even with "inchoate states" (Claessen and Skálnik).

⁴ Cf. Weber, „Zentralgewalt“, in: *id.*, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, 613f., and Geiger, „Zentralinstanz“, in: *id.*, *Vorstudien zu einer Soziologie des Rechts*, *passim*.

In his contribution to *APS* Evans-Pritchard wrote a remarkable sentence on the Nuer: "their construction is representative of East-Africa and (...) it provides us with an extreme political type" (1940: 271). He sharpens this profile by using the term of "anarchic kinship state" (*ibid.*).

These quotations may illustrate the degree of consciousness of the political implications of the analysis that he and Meyer Fortes realised.

As a typical specimen of the conception of segmentary societies I might present Fortes' short structural analysis of the Tallensi in his *Dynamics of clanship among the Tallensi* (1945): "Among the Tallensi there is no single person or body of persons vested with supreme executive and administrative authority over the whole of Taleland. Government is laterally distributed amongst all the corporate units that make up the society, instead of being vertically distributed as in pyramidal societies. All the corporate units are (...) politically equal; all are segments of the same structural order" (231). This conception includes further implications: "the corporate units that compose Tale society are not a casual agglomerate of discrete bodies, but are socially articulated and interconnected with one another; and they are thus interrelated in a segmentary series." (*ibid.*)

The actual interest in the UDG based segmentary society was founded in the identification of societies which were comparable in territorial and demographic size to "primitive states" which were submitted to indirect rule.

The *APS*-editors' intention was to demonstrate the integrative capacities of chiefless, noncentralised structures, essentially framed by UDG which were correlated directly or by crosscutting-mechanisms to territorial segments.

The internal order of these societies is regulated by the principle of equivalence of genealogical segments. Structural equivalence implies political equality. This structural order should be adequately appreciated by the colonial administration by avoiding the uniform treatment of centralised and segmentary societies.

It is inherent in the constituent structures and the functional mechanisms that this social order can best be demonstrated by the complex of processes subsumed under the conceptions of segmentation and segmentary dynamics.

The editors of *APS* analyse segmentary societies under two linked aspects: as social structures and as social processes, we can even say as segmentary processes.

Social structures are conceived as genealogical charters and as corporate groups. These social structures are reproduced by segmentary processes, i.e. segmentation by ramification, fusion and fission.

As I remarked in my "*Regulierte Anarchie*" (1967) it is crucial to identify the absence of a central power which might stop or divert segmentation.

Middleton and Tait resumed in 1958 the specific traits of segmentary societies:

"The term 'segmentary' has been used in reference to several types of social systems, but the essential features are the 'nesting' attribute of segmentary series and the characteristic of being in a state of continual segmentation and complementary opposition." (1958: 7)

Social cooperation as social conflict are determined to a large extent by the genealogical status of individuals as members of corporate groups. Segmentary opposition of genealogical segments is determined by the genealogical distance of the individuals involved. The range of jural and political conflicts is regulated by the principle of structural equivalence: in the end there is a confrontation of two blocks of equal strength. Under particular circumstances there arises a constellation where a genealogical group can act as go-between.

The segmentary relativity of conflict may best be illustrated by a Pashtun poem: "It is the highest delight in a man's life to lie side by side with his cousin (*tr bur*) with whom he has had much trouble, in the same bunker and to snipe at the common enemy." This view is not restricted to individuals but extends to the segmentary cooperation and confrontation of whole segments and even peoples.

2. A short note on the relevance of Morgan's contribution

Already in 1878 in *Ancient Society*, Louis Henry Morgan had applied the term "segmentation" on American Indians: "The large number of independent tribes into which they had fallen by the natural process of segmentation, is the striking characteristic of their condition" (*id.*, 102). On the following page he speaks of "perpetual segmentation". In his *Division du travail social* (1893) Durkheim refers himself particularly to the pages 62–

122 of *Ancient Society*, where the term segmentation has been used (1893: 150 n. 1). To me a direct terminological influence appears as evident.

It was unfortunate that Lewis Henry Morgan's contribution to political anthropology⁵ was neglected by Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes because of his evolutionist dogmatism.⁶ Otherwise the agnatic bias could have been avoided and the theories of egalitarianism in segmentary societies much better illustrated because of gender equality among tribes like the Iroquois. Those Iroquois societies studied by Morgan should be considered as the matrilinear counterparts of the patrilinear UDG based societies which were presented as prototypes of segmentary societies in *APS*.

Morgan's characterisation of the social system and the basic values of the Iroquois corresponds closely to the profile of the segmentary societies presented in *APS*. This assertion can be demonstrated by the perception of Iroquois "gentile institutions" in Morgan's *Ancient Society*: "Their governments were essentially democratic because the principles on which the gens, phratry and tribe were organised were democratical. This last proportion, though contrary to received opinions, is historically important" (1878: 67).

These institutions were based on principles which had been realised many epochs ago before they were proclaimed as principles of the *révolution des citoyens*:

"All the members of an Iroquois gens were personally free, and they were equal in privileges and in personal rights, the sachem and chiefs claiming no superiority; and they were a brotherhood bound by the ties of kin. Liberty, equality and fraternity, though never formulated, were cardinal principles of the gens." (*ibid.*, 85)

Morgan underlines the absence of permanent central authorities which must not be obscured by aspects of titulations notwithstanding the representation of some Iroquois tribes by their sachems:

"In the language of some of the early writers they have been designated as kings, which is simply a caricature. The Indian tribes had not advanced far enough in a knowledge of government to develop the idea of a chief

⁵ I am well conscious of the paradox to apply this term in the context of Morgan's Iroquois studies.

⁶ This statement is valid notwithstanding Fortes' later publication *Kinship and the social order. The Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan*. It is important to note that his Morgan Lectures treat primarily kinship and not political organisation. On the other hand, it seems significant that Evans-Pritchard did not devote a chapter to Morgan in his *History of Anthropological Thought*.

executive magistrate. The Iroquois tribe recognised no head – chief, and the confederacy no executive officer. The elective tenure of the office of chief and the liability of the person to disposition, settle the character of the office.” (*ibid.*, 119)

To resume this part on the origin and evolution of the conception of segmentary societies we should subscribe to this “negative distinction” of non-centralised societies. Grosso modo we have two main types of societies: segmentary and centralised societies.

The solution proposed by *APS* to subsume segmentary societies of their definition with other non-centralised societies under the term of acephalous societies is not recommendable due to the colonial bias of this term: early assertions by missionaries and other writers that the African continent was populated by literally “acephalous” beings should exclude the analytic use of this word. A valid typology of segmentary societies is yet missing.⁷

Returning to Morgan’s evaluation of the Iroquois political system I am obliged to hint at the above mentioned evolutionist bias of this important researcher. First he claims: “Political society was still impossible from want of advancement” (*ibid.*, 120). This quotation demonstrates the merging of the terms of evolution and progress.

Analytically Morgan’s terminology is based on a restricted meaning of “politics”:

“It is impossible to found a political society or a state upon gentes. A state must rest upon territory and not upon persons, upon township as the unit of a political system, and not upon the gens which is the unit of a social system.” (121) Thomas Wagner’s dissertation *Irokesen und Demokratie* (2003) shows to the contrary that the Iroquois “nations” deployed high political competence in their “forest diplomacy” with the white settlers’ organisations; beyond this their discussions with important “politicians” had a considerable impact on the debates of the Constitution of the United States to be created.

At least, Morgan does not base his statement on racist prejudices: “The Iroquois were a rigorous and intelligent people, with a brain approaching in volume the Aryan average.” (149)

⁷ As a consequence I myself negate my own typology of acephalous societies which follows Eisenstadt’s proposal (Sigrist, *Regulierte Anarchie*, 59).

Nevertheless, in spite of his open-mindedness concerning the virtues of the Iroquois, Morgan was convinced that the Iroquois had no alternative option than the assimilation to the dominant society. Philanthropic engagement was just aiming at alleviating this painful process.

3. *The emergence of centralised societies*

In contrast to Morgan's evolutionist conception of "political society" Evans-Pritchard and Meyer Fortes do not deny the political quality of segmentary societies thereby contributing essentially to the evolution of comparative political anthropology.

They differ from Morgan by their criticism of the evolutionist alleged incapability of segmentary societies to evolve centralised political institutions. Their line of argumentation is functionalist: segmentary societies do not evolve hierarchical political institutions because they do not "need" them. At the same time they are documenting the mechanisms preventing the centralisation of "anarchic" societies which in 1999 the German sociologists Haude and Wagner⁸ have subsumed under the term of "inhibiting and preventing institutions".

Certainly, Evans-Pritchard's and Meyer Fortes' studies on anarchic societies are not an anarchist project to verify political value fixations. For this you do not need so much empirical field work.

On the contrary: By the insights the monographs are providing we get a better understanding of the fundamental change inherent to political centralisation. Ex negativo we obtain essential contributions to theories on the state. Segmentary societies of the APS type have arrived on the emergence line of state. This is demonstrated e. g. by Southall's analysis of the segmentary state: a chiefly organised society like the Alur agglomerates a segmentary state by personal bonds with other ethnic groups.

The transformation of segmentary lineage societies can be realised in four steps:

First: internal centralisation, the formation of an executive power, a permanent chief.

Second: the integration of adjacent segmentary societies.

⁸ Haude/ Wagner, *Herrschaftsfreie Institutionen*.

Third: the territorial expansion by military means leading to subjugation of other ethnic groups by ethnic superposition.

Fourth: the inclusion of cities into the dominated area.

Certainly, this is only one scheme of state formation. A complex theory has to analyse above all the emergence of cities and their growth into hegemonial symmachies or veritable territorial states like Assyria. But at least for the early Greek cities of the 'dark centuries' we can assume that they were founded by phyle or federated phratries (Funke, 1992), sometimes forcing villagers into the *synoikismos* (Burckhardt, 2002: 43).

According to Harald Haarmann (2002) urbanisation took place in the regions north of the Black Sea without changing the egalitarian structures of the ethnic groups living there. What is even more interesting is the fact that scriptures evolved in the Danubian civilisations and can be dated around 5500 B.C. This implicates not only a revision of chronology, but also a fundamental break with the conventional identification of the origins of scriptures with centralised societies in Mesopotamia and in Egypt. At the same time these historical facts document the potential of segmentary societies even before they cross the centralisation line.

On the base of this analysis of segmentary societies the history of the last six thousand years appears as a "progressive" increase in the scale of centralisation. The breakdown of states and particularly of empires does not constitute a definite end of this process. Reductions of the degree of centralisation do occur, but up to now the total amount of centralisation has increased.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union did not totally abolish, only change the class character of economic centralisation; the centralisation of the republics constituting the former Soviet Union has been increasing. Above all the decay of economic and military power of the Russian core state has left only one super power on the globe. Without doubt this constitutes an enormous step in the hegemonical global centralisation. But there remain questions concerning the limits of this power expansion. At any rate, it is not adequate to label the precarious hegemony as an "Imperium". A parallel process goes on in the domain of capital which Karl Marx had labelled as the concentration and centralisation of capital; under the constellation of globalisation strong economic decision centres are absorbing and subordinating the less potent ones.

4. Concluding comments

My own contribution to the subject has been the critical reception of the studies on segmentary societies and of their theoretical approach and the presentation of the results to the German ethnologists and sociologists. Since nearly all schools of "Völkerkunde" and "Ethnologie" were tainted by colonialist and racist tendencies during the Third Reich the restauration of these disciplines was impregnated by naive or affected distance to politically relevant themes.⁹ So it incumbend to me, by formation a historian and sociologist, to try the ambitious project to present the results of the "British School" of social anthropology to the German scientific community. Having had no field research experience I could realise the project only due to the high quality of the monographs on segmentary societies.¹⁰

The authors of the basic monographs had started with motivational research orientations as I myself did later: explaining the "functioning" of anarchical societies and the origin of the state. But in the logic of their research process they objectivated their original interests to a large intent. The emphasis of research projects changed from comparative political anthropology to highly specialised debates on filiation, descent and genealogical structures.

For myself the elaboration of politically relevant mental attitudes and rituals became more important than the functionalist explanations. So it was not by chance that I published my book under the title *Regulierte Anarchie*¹¹ in the intention to use the discoveries of political anthropology as a potential for a non-Eurocentric theory of democracy.

Concluding this theoretical part, I should indicate a new perspective opened by Rüdiger Haude's proposition to analyse segmentary societies as fractal societies. Self-similarity, iteration and scale-invariance are particular traits of segmentary societies which not only permit the analytical reproduction of genealogies, but too of segmentation and segmentary dynamics (Haude/ Wagner 1999: 71–82). Wagner's contribution on anarchic patterns of settlement and architecture follows the same conception.

⁹ As exeptions I might mention W. E. Mühlmann, who unfortunately was hampered by his project of founding a sociological theory of race, but who analysed historical and actual nativistic and chiliastic movements and the younger members of the Institut für Soziologie und Ethnologie at Heidelberg (E. W. Müller, Lorenz Löffler e. g.).

¹⁰ Only later, in 1966/67, I did realise my own field researches in Afghanistan, particularly in the province of Paktia. After several short stages in Guiné-Bissau I directed in the years 1986–1989 an empirical project on different agrarian societies in the province of Quinara (Guiné-Bissau).

¹¹ A term created by Max Weber and later used by Evans-Pritchard.

Finally, segmentary societies constitute an excellent basis for studies on the functioning of autopoietic systems.

5. The non-disappearance and the actual relevance of segmentary societies

The speculations that segmentary societies will completely disappear in favour of more “progressive” ones have been refuted by the course of history. In a general way, we have to state that segmentary societies continue to function according to their structural principles even if they are juridically and administratively integrated in a colonial or post-colonial state. This statement does not underestimate the high vulnerability of these societies and the historical fact of multiple geno- or at least ethnocides, particularly in the Americas.

But on the other side we can prove that ignorance of the cultures of segmentary societies has paved the way to doom for many seemingly strong powers.

5.1 The case of Guiné-Bissau

The Guinean Coast was the first object of early European expansion. The Portuguese established their first “factory” in Cacheu and later at other easily accessible places of what finally was labelled as Guinea Portuguesa. The coast and its hinterland was among the most important slave hunting grounds and trading markets which formed the basis of the triangle trade.

The scientific exploration of Guiné-Bissau by Portuguese colonial writers was at a minimum level. On the cooperating ethnic groups, centralized societies like the Fula or Mandinga, there were at least published some monographs. But the main ethnic group, the Balante, a segmentary society, was not empirically studied by Portuguese scholars. It was just the Austrian Hugo Bernatzik who gave some ethnographic details on Balante in his *Aethiopien des Westens* (1933). The Balante together with peoples of the Bijagos Islands had maintained their resistance against the Portuguese up to the thirties of the last century. Even today access to Balante culture is highly difficult. There exists e. g. a lethal ban on the divulgation of the secrets of male initiation rites. This is all the more important as age-classes constitute the focal structure in the division of labour and attribution of social authority.

In a colony gravely neglected by the colonial power, the Balante, though being the most numerous ethnic group, were the most neglected. It was a creole agrarian engineer, Amílcar Cabral,¹² who discovered the high resistance potential of the chiefless Balante after having tried in vain to come to terms with the arrogant Fula chiefs. Cabral gained the confidence of the Balantes' allies, the Beafada. They are a matrilinear ethnic group who have been islamised by Mandinga imams. The Portuguese classified them as cooperative; but the Beafada turned the rifles handed over by the Portuguese against the colonial government (Febr. 1963). The Portuguese had not understood that the *corvées* imposed on the Beafadas were resented as a great humiliation by them; the labourers who were forced to construct a road had to organise food and beverage by their own families: a tremendous negligence which was so strongly resented that it can be interpreted as one of the important motivations to wage the armed struggle in 1963.

Amílcar Cabral was one of the few African leaders and at any rate the most important to use the insights achieved by the British anthropologists. In his analysis of the Guinean social structure (1975) he follows the sharp differentiation between chiefless and centralised societies which he equates with two different political types of societies: horizontal and vertical societies.

Cabral based his political and military strategy on this focal distinction. After first having been deceived by the selfish pretensions of chiefs ruling centralised and islamic societies he identified a higher degree of commitment to the cause of liberation from colonial rule among the chiefless segmentary societies. Particularly the Balante had already strongly resisted the slave raids in the early colonial phase; even among those who were captured there were many who preferred suicide to deportation; for this reason the prices paid for Balante slaves were particularly low.

That high resistance capacity joined with the technical and organisational qualifications of the urban cadres of the PAIGC was the basis of the victory over the Portuguese army, though the colonialists were heavily backed by Nato and South Africa, which finally led to the "pink revo-

¹² Amílcar Cabral (1924–1973) was the son of a Capverdian teacher and a Guinean mother. Though he accomplished his high school and university studies first in Cabo Verde and afterwards in Lisbon, he returned to his Guinean origins, first as an agronomist in the colonial service, finally breaking with the inflexible colonial power and turning himself into the founder of the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guiné and Cabo Verde).

lution” of 1974 and the total breakdown of Portuguese colonial domination in Africa and beyond this contributed to accelerate the doom of the Apartheid regime in South Africa.

In spite of their historical achievement the Balante continued to be “neglected” after the PAIGC’s final victory.¹³ The creoule cadres monopolised state power whereas the Balante who had been the main “physical force” (Amilcar Cabral) of the guerilla struggle had nearly no access to power positions; the development projects offered to them were failures; and above all the planned economy had nothing to offer to these highly productive paddy cultivators.¹⁴

In November 1980 there was a reaction to the mismanagement of the urban elite: the military hero of the anticolonial struggle, Bernardo “Nino” Vieira deposed President Luis Cabral and proclaimed himself President.¹⁵ He based his power mainly on an alliance with Mandinga and Fula officers and politicians. At the same time he prosecuted the protest movement among the Balante and insisted in 1986 on the execution of Paulo Correia, the most prominent Balante representative.

In 1998 President “Nino” Vieira whose popularity had considerably diminished was ousted by General Ansumane Mané who was able to repel the intervening Senegalese army who tried to reinstate their ally “Nino”. In 2000 Kumba Yala, the leader of the Balante protest movement, was elected President. This excentric politician enforced a “balantisation” of the army and the administration in general, in the end to the detriment of the Balante cause. The Balante have been following an ethnicist policy as compensation for their long lasting exclusion, which had undermined the hitherto achieved foundation of national unity and risking by this way a reversal by an alliance of the urban milieus and ethnic groups. This shows the negative effects of a lack of political experience at the state level. In 2002 Kumba Yala was deposed and the quarrels among the military are continuing.

This short account shows on the one hand the historical role segmentary societies can play and on the other hand their disadvantage in earning the fruits of their engagement.

¹³ The murder of Amilcar Cabral in 1973 certainly contributed to this fatal tendency.

¹⁴ Cf. Schiefer, *Guinea-Bissau*.

¹⁵ The resentments against the Capeverdean cadres was one of the potent motives, underlying this coup d’Etat.

Another highly interesting process in the milieu of segmentary societies occurred in this country. The already mentioned Beafada had made their peace with the Portuguese at the end of the colonial penetration of Guiné and in consequence the go-between the ethnic groups and the colonial administration, a traditional “regulo” gained political power. The ambivalent treatment which the Portuguese accorded to him was one reason for his family’s alienation from the colonialists. Finally the regulo’s sons turned the guns furnished by the Portuguese against them. The regulo, Bula Djassi, was held in great esteem by his tribesmen. But after his death in 1989, the assembly of the Beafada *homes grandes* decided, in accordance with his own close relatives, not to prolongate the institution of a regulo with attributes of central authority – an exemplary case of the reduction of power.¹⁶

5.2 The case of the Pashtuns

At least since Fredrik Barth’s famous publication on *Political leadership among Swat Pathans* (1959) it has been demonstrated that the theory of segmentary societies has been definitely deregionalised from its original ethno-geographic context. This holds true though those Yusufzai-Pashtuns who had migrated from the Kandahar region to the Swat Valley had superseded an autochthonous population who had to work for them on occupied lands.

The Pashtuns can be estimated to be among the numerically strongest segmentary societies in the world (about 8 Mio living in Afghanistan, considerably more in Pakistan) who have maintained their ethnic coherence inspite of the Durand Line imposed in 1893 by the British, a fateful act of ethnotomy.

The ethnogenesis of this macro-ethnic group has not been clarified. The same holds true of the division between nomads and sedentary peasants.

Suffice it to say, that a tribe formerly living mainly as nomads like the Ghilzai have been forced to turn more and more to a sedentary mode of

¹⁶ Besides the already mentioned Bernatzik’s Travel Report there are to be consulted: Cabral, *L’arme de la théorie*; Rudebeck, *Guiné-Bissau*; Sigris, “Sistemas políticos acéfalos e libertação nacional”; Handem Lima, *Nature et fonctionnement du pouvoir chez les balanta brassa*; Schiefer, *Guinea-Bissau*.

living.¹⁷ But even today the same tribe follows the two modes of rural life. Professional endogamous groups like the Dom are castes, which Durkheim had interpreted as a form of transition from the segmentary order to a functional order determined by the division of labour.

The Pashtuns perceive themselves as one *qawm* divided into several big patrilinear tribal groupings, linked by more or less fictitious genealogical ties which in general reflect at least topographical nearness. In principle, the tribes were not centralised, but represented by khans whereas the essential decisions were taken by *jirgahs*.

The normative code, the Pashtunwali, is based on the central value of *namuz*, honour, which is focussed on defending the honour of the women who at the same time are subjugated by a rigid patriarchal regime, which requires from men a high performance of ghaighat, bravery, to defend women, houses and land. At the same time the position of women among herdsmen is much better; they even use guns to protect the herds.

We have to consider Afghanistan as an "espace politique" (Jean-Louis Amselle, 1990). Considered in this perspective the segmentary societies constitute parts of a segmentary ensemble which includes cities, particularly a capital, peasants and herdsmen. Pashtun and Baluch are no isolated nomads but linked to other ethnic groups like Usbeks and Turkmen, whereas the Tajik do not constitute an ethnic entity but a highly heterogeneous language community favouring the trade centres. The nomads in turn, not only sell their products to urban and peasant populations but are among the main trading groups. Particularly, after the loss of large parts of their herds they changed to modern transportation vehicles (lorries, busses, taxis).

The Pashtuns share the egalitarian attitudes of segmentary societies. The levelling effects of envy can be illustrated by the concerns formulated by a teacher at the German Gewerbeschule at Khost. Having confirmed that at marriage ceremonies up to 200 persons are assembling and that the cooking activities rotate among several families he added that he himself could not participate in those meals because he feared being poisoned. Why?

¹⁷ The controversy on the Afghan claim of a Free Pashtunistan across the Durand Line as well as the modernisation project of the Afghan State have decisively contributed to this decline of nomadism.



“People are saying that he is our *tr bur*, he started as our peer, but now he is elevating himself above us.”¹⁸

Another more general phenomena of normative egalitarianism can be demonstrated by the architectonic norms: the walls of neighbouring kalas (peasant ‘castles’) must conform to a general height limit. Neighbouring kalas belong in general to cousins; an attempt to construct higher walls is considered as a “declaration of war”.

One of the major problem of Pashtun identity is the creeping process of loss of usage of Pashtu, particularly in the cities. This had led to confusing constellations during the royal era: on the one hand the Pashtun dynasty proclaimed a policy of promotion of the Pashtu language and culture; on the other hand the urbanised Pashtuns of the second generation had a rather bad Pashtu competence. It was well known that even the royal family conversed in Dari if they did not prefer to speak French.

In the end, Dari-speaking non-Pashtuns complained of Pashtun dominance whereas the tribal Pashtuns conceived themselves as neglected rurals.

In a broader context it seems to be useful to hint at a small but instructive article by Fredrik Barth (1972) in which he compares the sociopolitical patterns of Baluch with that of the Pashtuns. Whereas for these the model for the whole system is the group of brothers (*ibid.*, 460), for the Baluch the relationship between a father and his son is the dominant model. Barth exposes the structural guidelines of Pashtun politics as follows:

There exists “equality between council members” (*ibid.*, 461). Barth continues: “Pathan tribes are well able to act strongly in defence of shared, short-term interests or basic values or in the pursuit of gain, but generally fail to pursue more long-term strategies, or to reach agreement on compromises requiring joint-action” (*ibid.*).

These “egalitarian lineage councils” (*jirgahs*) correspond to a “tribal growth pattern... [which] might be called vegetative, based on natural increase (with a certain loss through individual emigration) and tending toward a ramifying, branching form where local growth is associated with rapid segmentation.” (*ibid.*, 461f.)

¹⁸ The interview was conducted in 1967.

The problem of individual Pashtuns is that they can belong to this social system only as long as they can maintain their fighting qualities, respectively that of other male members of their family. Among the Baluch there a hierarchy of chiefs up to sardars has evolved which permits belonging to the system without the continuous struggle for an honourable status. By this difference Barth tends to explain why in the "Pathan-Baluch boundary" Baluch tribes are able to absorb many Pashtuns who no longer can fulfil their male status obligations.

The paradox of Pashtuns is conditioned by their refusal to be commanded; but this does not exclude their readiness to command others. Pashtuns had already founded in earlier centuries empires in India, though of short duration. Finally, in the 18th century, first the Ghilzai were to found an Afghan monarchy under Mirwais Khan. After the Ghilzai's defeat against the Persian conqueror Nadir Shah, it was the Abdali who crowned Ahmed Shah Durrani in 1747 at Kandahar. He could extend his reign until Delhi. But this did not change the segmentary structures of the Afghan tribes included. The Durrani monarchy was in the tribal belt only a segmentary state.

The segmentary tension inside the Durrani dynasty which exceeded considerably normal family troubles in combination with the striving for independent policies by the Pashtun tribes were the final cause of the doom of the Empire founded by Ahmed Shah Durrani.

The British were aware of these internal segmentary processes. Using first the Sikh to destroy the Afghan monarchy in the Indus plains they afterwards even tried to annex the remaining Afghan emirate of Kabul to their Indian crown colony. After having even occupied the city of Kabul they suffered a horrible defeat in 1841/42. After the second Afghan-British war in 1878/79 they were able to establish a protectorate which was ended by the third war in 1919 successfully conducted by Shah Amanullah.

Amanullah's ambitious project of modernising Afghanistan by moulding it on European (Kemalist) patterns, became a failure: the violation of patriarchal traditions, the attempt to transform Afghanistan into a centralised state involving heavy expenditures and menacing the autonomy of the segmentary societies forced him in 1929 to flee from Kandahar into a permanent exile. It is true, that British agents supported the combined attacks of a Tajik band leader, mullahs and revolting tribes. But the "king-bandit" Bacha-e-Saquo was eliminated in his turn by the Durrani Nader

supported by the Pashtun tribes. These episodes demonstrate the force of the centripetal tribal forces and their military potential.

In the context of this contribution it would lead too far to give even an outline of the following political stagnation and the new attempt of modernisation under prince Daud, followed by the failure of the constitutional reforms under Premier Yussuf. But in view of actual relevance of segmentary societies it is focal to emphasise the enormous resistance potential which the Afghans as a nation deployed first against the usurpaters of the so-called Saur-Revolution of 27th April 1978 and with even more energy and readiness of sacrifice after the Soviet invasion (27th December 1979). In this national liberation struggle all the ethnic groups engaged themselves.¹⁹

The Afghans, particularly the Pashtuns and the Panjiri, were the first since World War II to inflict decisive defeats to the Soviet Army and so to destroy the image of superiority of the Soviet military. It is not just by chance that the retreat of the Soviet "contingent" and the fall of the Berlin Wall occurred in the same year of 1989.

In order to avoid misunderstandings it is important to note that many urban people emigrated and considerable parts joined the antisoviet resistance in the country. But the main burden of struggle was imposed on the rural populations whose villages were in some regions totally devastated whereas Kabul was only destroyed by the rivalry of the Mujaheddin parties after 1992.

For the role played by Pashtuns in the establishment of the Taliban regime and the ensuing developments which lead to the attacks of 11th September 2001 and the "war against terrorism" I am obliged to Ahmed Rashid *Taliban* (2000) refer to Said Musa Samimy's book *Afghanistan – Tragödie ohne Ende?* (2003).²⁰

¹⁹ Some restrictions in this respect could be noted among the Baluch, whereas the nomads because of the vulnerability of their herds tried to keep themselves out of the conflict.

²⁰ This part includes a lot of personal observations. On the Pashtunwali I wrote a concise empirical study in 1967 which was reprinted several times. Concerning the Pashtuns of the Pakistan side of the Durand Line consult besides Barth, *Political leadership*; *ibid.*, "Ethnic Processes"; Caroé, *Pathans*. For historical and general information on Afghanistan: Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*; Klimburg, *Afghanistan*; Bucherer-Dietschi/Jentsch, *Afghanistan*.

6. "Restudies" as important actualisations of classical monographs

Volker Riehl's three and a half years field work among the Tallensi in the 1980 and Sharon Hutchinson's several field stages among the Nuer in the 1980 and 1990 can be conceived as convincing validations of the "original" studies undertaken by Meyer Fortes respectively by Evans-Pritchard, at the same time completing ethnographic knowledge and analysing the changes undergone by the "prototype" segmentary societies during the last decades.

6.1 *The Tallensi*

Riehl integrated himself completely into a Tale family, actively participating in rites as well as in agricultural activities, and validated Meyer-Fortes' analysis in general, refuting the unfounded criticism of Jean-Louis Amselle²¹ by proving that the Paramount Chieftainship of the Namoo had been imposed on them by the British administration and that its ritual competences had been eliminated by the "Real Tale" after independence. In this respect he refutes Meyer Fortes' rather mystifying interpretation of the ritual complementarity of Paramount Chief and Earth Priest. The most valuable contribution of his dissertation on the Tallensi consists of a detailed analysis of the Great Festival (*golib*), including the first transcription and translation of the accompanying prayers and chants. This festival has become a great regional event at the same time reinforcing the consciousness of the Tallensi ethnic identity.

In a recently published concise article Riehl (2003) has elaborated the importance of amphyktionies like the *golib* for peaceful conflict regulation and fruitful cohesion.

He starts with a general commentary: "A lot of scholarly work has been done on the issue of misled ethnicity being the fatal starting point of the 'new conflicts' that have erupted over the past ten years, especially in many areas in Africa. However, it must also be recognized that the overwhelming majority of present intra- and interethnic relationships are of a peaceful and integrative nature. The 'appealing sensation of brutality' of the present day does at times alienate us from the 'tedious normality' of existing institutional techniques that constantly guarantee a renewal of peaceful integration. We will see that this dynamic procedure is more

²¹ Amselle, *Logiques métisses*, 106.



revolutionary than many of the picturesque pseudo-revolutionary names the contemporary 'freedom fighters' have embraced, be it 'Revolutionary Fronts' in Sierra Leone, 'Rally of Democratic Forces' in the D. R. Congo, and various 'Liberation Armies' in South Sudan... The centralised state and other similarly structured political institutions are war-producing agencies" (*ibid.*, 207f.).

For the Tallensi he can resume: "There has never been an extra-ethnic war in order to defeat, subordinate, or occupy a territory that lies outside their ancestral land" (*ibid.*, 208). Against the construction of academic literature on the "fatal impact ethnicity has on the recent escalation of warfare in the marginalised regions of the world" (*ibid.*, 209) he maintained that in reality "by far the majority of ethnic groups in Africa are not engaged in ethnic clashes and violent encounters" (*ibid.*). He continues: "the software for protected peace is founded in the practice of the semi-annual Great Festivals of the Tallensi... The social capital configured in the *golib* operates as 'glue' to strengthen the appeasing role of socially active participations even more effectively for sustainable conflict prevention" (*ibid.*). But he has to add: "The 'ethnic hardware', their acephalous political system and segmentary social structure may possibly be misused" (*ibid.*).

Riehl has to concede: "Ethnicity as such is *per se* never peaceful or conflict preventable because they react to external forces such as economic injustice and political pressures" (*ibid.*). This fact became evident in the "Northern Ghana Conflicts" of the 1980 and 1990 with some 20000 casualties. He tries to explain these conflicts by the fact that "all the violent Konkomba²² encounters with other ethnic groups since 1981 have been (with the exception of those against the acephalous B'moba) against so-called 'majority tribes' with colonially introduced chiefdoms vested with political powers and centralised land ownership" (*ibid.*).

Another case of the misuse of a segmentary society are the Acholi in Northern Uganda who after interventions of Paramount Chiefs were activated as a "war machine" by the "Holy Spirit Movement" under Alice Lakwena (*ibid.*, 217).

Riehl summarises: "It is not absence, but rather a weak formation of state institutions ('bad governance') – or even failed states – that lead to

²² A segmentary society not living far away from the Tallensi.

misuse of traditional techniques for violent encounters between ethnic groups or states" (*ibid.*).

The above mentioned disruptive interventions of Paramount Chiefs who represent continuing colonial institutions verify the importance of Evans-Pritchard's and Meyer Fortes' analysis of the paradoxical results of indirect rule in two different types of societies, referred at the beginning of my article.

6.2 *The Nuer*

Hutchinson's monograph *Nuer Dilemmas* presents a manifold and profound analysis of the deep changes the Nuer have undergone since Evans-Pritchard's field research in the 1930 which was restrained by the shortness of stage (11 months) and the considerably precarious situation under British rule. But Hutchinson's fascinating monograph demonstrates the validity of the basic results of Evans-Pritchard's monographs which facilitated their actualisation in reconstructing the dramatic changes after 1956, particularly aggravated during the war periods in Southern Sudan.

She opens her "orientations" with an unambiguous statement "The enduring disciplinary fame of the Nuer of Southern Sudan derives directly from the intellectual virtuosity of their original ethnographer, Sir Edward E. Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973)" (1996: 21).

The high esteem expressed by Hutchinson for Evans-Pritchard's research does not mean not to rectify evident errors as for instance his underestimated number of Nuer of that epoch whose population now accounts about 800 000 to 1 million (26).

One of her "principal objectives is to call into question the very idea of the Nuer as a unified ethnic identity" (*ibid.*, 29). In this context "one of the book's more general aims is to round out the excessively viricentric accounts of Evans-Pritchard in which the point of view of Nuer women was rarely considered or even inquired about" (*ibid.*).

Hutchinson particularly stresses the narrow basis of Evans-Pritchard's vision of social life among the Nuer which focussed particularly on senior members of aristocratic lineages. "Indeed, Evans-Pritchard's vision of Nuer life appears at time so unified as to preclude the possibility of ideological struggle among groups within it." (*ibid.*, 31)

These internal divisions aggravated by the regional wars are one of the guiding themes of this study which elaborates different political options and a high political sensibilisation among the Nuer.

The monograph deals with the various migrations leading to border countries like Eritrea on the one hand, work migration of Nuer men to construction sites at Khartoum on the other.

The author of *Nuer Dilemmas* elaborates a general frame for interpretation of the actual constellation of segmentary societies: vulnerability and resilience. The patterns of adaptation to the changing political systems are highly variable. They range from entering the ranks of administration and even of the armed executive of the Sudan government to those of the Southern rebellion government (SPLA).

Flight migrations, guerrilla warfare and changing alliances constitute a complex survival kit. In a large chapter on "Guns, warfare and the State" the researcher delivers a detailed overview of the changes following the generalised distribution of guns, particularly concerning homicides and the weakening of the position of the earth-chief on the one hand and the doubling of blood compensation for gun-homicides by the SPLA authorities.

It would lead too far to reproduce the richness of socio-economic analyses elaborated by Hutchinson in the second chapter on "Blood, Earth, and Cash: the Commodification of Nuer values" which investigates the far-reaching consequences of the growing importance of money and markets. In difference to the Turkana (cf. Best 1991) the Nuer are selling a part of their cattle to the slaughter house at Khartoum. Another but highly diversified impact on Nuer values and social careers has been exercised by the missions and the growing integration into educational institutions. Among the consequences the partial avoidance of male initiation rites and changes in leadership careers are of particular relevance.

In spite of growing christianisation the importance of prophets who had a leading role in the anti-colonial rebellions is enduring. Irrespective of social differentiation the ancient egalitarian values remain valid, as is documented by one of her interviews with one Juba politician: "We think that everyone should be equal..." (*ibid.*, 283).

At the end, the author complains not only about the deepening “culture of violence” (*ibid.*, 355) but also the fact that the emigrant Nuer have been reduced to “complete dependence on UN food distributions” (*ibid.*, 351).

Since it is impossible to exhaust the richness of this monograph which demonstrates the possibility to use the basic structural interpretation as a valid base for actualising sociological analysis I conclude this paragraph with Sharon Hutchinson’s dedication: “To all ‘black peoples’ of Sudan. May your continuing struggles for justice and equality unite and strengthen you.”

7. Amen

This contribution will be concluded by a short reference to a historically important case: pre-monarchical Israel. Since the end of the 1970 there have been published several books and articles subsuming the Jewish population of the pre-centralised phase under the concept of segmentary societies. Particularly German specialists of the Ancient Testament, Frank Crüsemann (1978) and Rainer Neu (1992), are to be mentioned here. Crüsemann’s *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. Die antiköniglichen Texte des Alten Testaments und der Kampf um den frühen israelitischen Staat* combined Max Weber’s Study *Das antike Judentum* (1963) with my own reception of the concept of segmentary society and arrived at the conclusion that the ethnogenesis of the Jewish people evolved in the structural forms of patrilinear segmentary societies. Let’s remind that already in 1893 Durkheim in his *Division du travail social* characterized the Jewish tribes as segmentary societies (1978, 154 n. 1). Rainer Albertz speaks of an “antiautoritäre Jahwe-Tradition” (1992: 175).

Moreover Crüsemann analysed in detail the egalitarian and anticentralistic mentality prevailing in these societies. The establishment of a permanent executive power was strongly rejected. And even during the monarchical era of David and Salomo there were strong criticisms and opposition movements which, advocated by prophets, cause aggravation during the rule of the following kings after the separation of the North (Israel) from the South (Juda). Recent analyses suggest even that David’s “kingdom” was no more than a military chieftainship controlling several villages around Jerusalem and that the elaborate picture of the magnificent palaces of Salomo’s monarchy praised in the first Book of Kings has been falsified by recent archaeological researches. This holds true even if one does not

follow the radical interpretation of the “minimalists” who even deny the historical existence of David and Salomo.²³

The egalitarian and antiauthoritarian traditions were founded in the “segmentary period” of the Jewish ethnogenesis and have persisted during the periods of exile.

Bibliography

- Ahmed, Akbar S.: *Millennium and Charisma among Pathans. A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*. London 1976.
- Albertz, Rainer: *Religionsgeschichte Israels*. Göttingen 1992.
- Amselle, Jean-Loup: *Logiques Metisses*. Paris 1999.
- Barnes, J.: *Seven types of segmentation*. Annex to *Politics in a changing society*. London 1954.
- Barth, Fredrik: *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*. London 1959.
- *Id.*: “Ethnic Processes on the Pathan-Baluch Boundary”, in: Gumperz, J./ Hymes, D. (eds.), *The ethnography of communication*. New York 1972, 454–464.
- Bernatzik, Hugo: *Aethiopien des Westens*. Vol. 1+2. Wien 1933.
- Best, Günter: „Bemerkungen zum modernen Viehraub in Ostafrika“, in: Scholz, F., *Nomaden. Mobile Viehhaltung*. Berlin 1991, 157–164.
- Bucherer-Dietschi, Paul/ Jentsch, Christoph: *Afghanistan. Ländermonographie*. Liestal 1982.
- Burckhardt, Jacob: *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*, KTA 1. Basel 1992.
- Cabral, Amilcar: *L’arme de la théorie*. Paris 1975.
- Caroe, Olaf: *The Pathans. 550 B.C.–A.D. 1957*. New York 1965.
- Claessen, Henri J. M./ Skalník, Peter (eds.): *The Early State*. Den Haag – Paris – New York 1978.
- Crüsemann, Frank: *Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. Die antiköniglichen Texte des Alten Testaments und der Kampf um den frühen israelitischen Staat*. Neukirchen 1978.
- Durkheim, Emile: *De la division du travail social*. Paris (1893) ¹⁰1978.

²³ Cf. Finkelstein/ Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed*.

- *Id.*: *Les règles de la méthode sociologique*. Paris (1894/95) ²³1987.
- Elphinstone, Mountstuart: *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary and India*. Vol. 1+2. London 1815.
- Evans-Pritchard, Edward: *The Nuer. A Description of the modes of livelihood and political institutions of a Nilotic people*. Oxford 1940.
- *Id.*: “The Nuer of the Southern Sudan”, in: Fortes, Meyer/ Evans-Pritchard, Edward (eds.), *African Political Systems (APS)*. London 1940, 272–296.
- *Id.*: *Kinship and marriage among the Nuer*. Oxford 1951.
- *Id.*: *Nuer Religion*. Oxford 1956.
- *Id.*: *A History of Anthropological Thought*. New York 1981.
- Finkelstein, Israel/ Silberman, Neil Asher: *The Bible Unearthed*. Glencoe 2001.
- Fortes, Meyer/ Evans-Pritchard, Edward (eds.): *African Political Systems (APS)*. London 1940.
- Fortes, Meyer/ Evans-Pritchard, Edward (eds.): *Introduction to African Political Systems (APS)*. London 1940.
- Fortes, Meyer: “The political system of the Tallensi of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast”, in: Fortes, Meyer/ Evans-Pritchard, Edward (eds.), *African Political Systems (APS)*. London 1940, 239–271.
- *Id.*: *The dynamics of clanship among the Tallensi*. London 1946.
- *Id.*: *The web of kinship among the Tallensi*. London 1949.
- *Id.*: *Kinship and the social order. The Legacy of Lewis Henry Morgan*. London 1969.
- Funke, Peter: „Stamm und Polis“, in: Bleicken, Joachim (Hrsg.), *Colloquium aus Anlass des 80. Geburtstages von Alfred Heuß*. Callmünz 1993, 29–48.
- Geiger, Theodor: *Vorstudien zu einer Soziologie des Rechts*. Kopenhagen 1947.
- Haarmann, Harald: *Geschichte der Schrift*. München 2002.
- Handem Lima, Diana: *Nature et fonctionnement du pouvoir chez les balanta brassa*. Bissau 1986.
- Haude, Rüdiger/ Wagner, Thomas: *Herrschaftsfreie Institutionen*. Baden-Baden 1999.



- Hutchinson, Sharon: *Nuer Dilemmas*. Berkeley – Los Angeles 1996.
- Ibn Chaldun: *muqaddima*. (Ausgewählte Abschnitte aus der *muqaddima*, übersetzt von Annemarie Schimmel). Tübingen 1951.
- Ibn Khaldun: v. Ibn Chaldun.
- Klimburg, Max: *Afghanistan*. Wien 1966.
- Kuper, Adam: *Anthropologists and Anthropology: The British School 1922–72*. London 1973.
- Leach, Edmund R.: *Political systems of Highland Burma. A study of Kachin social structure*. London 1954.
- Mauss, Marcel: *Œuvres*. 3 Volumes. Paris 1968, 1969, 1974.
- Middleton, J./ Tait, D.: *Introduction to Tribes Without Rulers*. London 1958.
- Morgan, Louis Henry: *Ancient Society*. New York 1878.
- *Id.*: *League of the HO-DE-NO-SAU-NEE or IROQUOIS*. Vol. 1+2. New York 1901.
- Müller, E. W.: *Der Begriff ‚Verwandtschaft‘ in der modernen Ethnosoziologie*. Berlin 1981.
- Neu, Rainer: *Von der Anarchie zum Staat*. Neukirchen 1992.
- Rashid, Ahmed: *Taliban. Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. Yale 2000.
- Riehl, Volker: *Natur und Gemeinschaft: Sozialanthropologische Untersuchungen zur Gleichheit bei den Tallensi in Nord-Ghana*. Frankfurt 1993.
- *Id.*: “The dynamics of peace: The role of the traditional festivals of the Tallensi in Northern Ghana in creating sustainable peace”, in: Kröger, Franz/ Meier, Barbara (eds.), *Ghana’s North*. Frankfurt 2003, 207–223.
- Rudebeck, Lars: *Guinea-Bissau. A study of political mobilisation*. Uppsala 1974.
- Samimy, Said Musa: *Afghanistan – Tragödie ohne Ende?* Bad Honnef 2003.
- Schiefer, Ulrich: *Von allen guten Geistern verlassen? Guinea-Bissau: Entwicklungspolitik und der Zusammenbruch afrikanischer Gesellschaften*. Hamburg 2002.
- Sigrist, Christian: *Regulierte Anarchie*. (Freiburg 1967) Hamburg³1994.

- *Id.*: “Sistemas políticos acéfalos e a luta de libertação nacional. O caso de Guiné-Bissau”, in: *Economia e Socialismo* 50. Lisboa 1980, 43–58.
- *Id.*: „Pashtunwali – das Stammesrecht der Pashtunen“, in: *Revolution in Iran und Afghanistan. Mardom nameh – Jahrbuch zur Geschichte und Gesellschaft des Mittleren Orients* (Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung). Frankfurt 1980, 264–279.
- *Id.*: „Der lange afghanische Krieg“, in: *Das Argument*, Nr. 157. Berlin 1986, 378–390.
- Southall, Aidan W.: *Alur society*. Cambridge 1956.
- Spain, James W.: *The Pathan Borderland*. Den Haag 1963.
- Steul, Willi: *Pashtunwali. Ein Ehrenkodex und seine rechtliche Relevanz*. Wiesbaden 1981.
- Wagner, Thomas: *Irokesen und Demokratie*. Münster 2003.
- Weber, Max: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. 2 Bände. Tübingen 1956.
- *Id.*: *Das Antike Judentum*. Tübingen 1963.

Magritte on the Bedouins: *Ce n'est pas une société segmentaire*

Michael E. Meeker

1. Segmentation and Representation

What is a segmentary society? This question cannot be answered by citing the example of a specific people, the Nuer, the northern Somalis, the Cyrenaican Bedouins, the Pakhtuns, or the Tallensi. It is a theoretical question that presupposes the possibility of formulating a pattern of thinking and acting. Theories of a segmentary society propose models for the formation and interaction of groupings in society. These models have the standing of ideal types.¹ They lack exact empirical referents. Segmentary theories do not perfectly account for political processes among any people on any occasion.

The example of a modern painting touches on the problem inherent in the relationship of theoretical models and their empirical referents. Consider one of the works of René Magritte (Fig. 1):

Figure 1

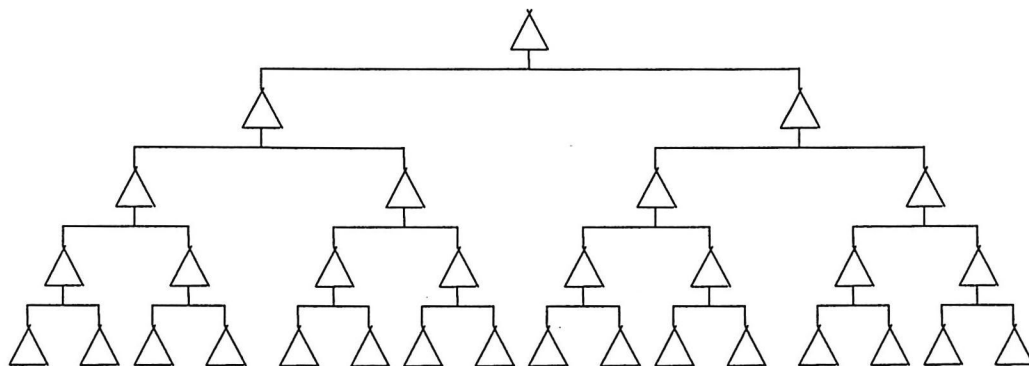


¹ See Talcott Parson's remarks on Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 71, 98, 200.

The text beneath the figure stimulates our awareness of representation as problematic. Simply put, the painting reminds us that the figure of the pipe is not the pipe itself. However, the quality of the figure, its realistic portrayal of the object, enhances the subversive effect of this reminder.² This picture of a pipe which is so much like a pipe appeals to our desire to forget the difference between sign and referent, while the text abruptly reminds us that our desire suppresses this difference. Such a lesson is a useful starting point for a review of anthropological theories of a segmentary society.

Almost all theories of a segmentary society include diagrams of genealogies representing lineages. These diagrams are used to illustrate the process of male groups combining and dividing in the course of conflicts and disputes. I will cite examples of such theories later in the paper. For the moment, let us begin with a kind of parody of these anthropological illustrations:

Figure 2



Ceci n'est pas une société segmentaire

The drawing in Figure 2 is a sign that conjures up a referent. The text beneath the drawing breaks this spell: "*Ceci n'est pas une société segmentaire*". We should keep in mind that models of a segmentary society are figures, not empirical descriptions of political processes. But going further, we should also keep in mind that the figures are vehicles of a desire that would suppress an awareness of the difference between model and world.

² See Foucault's comments on this painting, *Ceci n'est pas une pipe*.

Once this last issue is recognized, the question of theories of a segmentary society changes. Why were anthropologists so fascinated with models of political segmentation, if they were not strictly true? There is a simple answer to this question. Tribesmen were fascinated with models of political segmentation. So why then were tribesmen so fascinated with models of political segmentation, if they were not strictly true? The answer to this question is in no way a simple one. It raises the issue of representations as desire rather than description.

2. W. Robertson Smith and the Arab Genealogists

So far as I am aware, W. Robertson Smith is the first modern scholar to identify and describe a segmentary political system.³ This occurs in the opening passages of *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (1885) where he cites an indigenous account of tribal society in pre-Islamic Arabia:

“According to the theory of the Arab genealogists the [groupings of Arabian society] were all patriarchal tribes, formed, by subdivision of an original stock, on the system of kinship through male descents. A tribe was but a larger family; the tribal name was the name or nickname of the common ancestor. In the process of time it broke up into two or more tribes, each embracing the descendants of one of the great ancestor’s sons and taking its name from him. These tribes were again divided and subdivided on the same principle, and so at length that extreme state of division was reached which we find in the peninsula at the time of the prophet. Between a nation, a tribe, a sept or sub-tribe, and a family there is no difference, on this theory, except in size and distance from the common ancestor. As time rolls on the sons of a household become heads of separate families, the families grow into septs, and finally the septs become great tribes or even nations embracing several tribes.”⁴

Smith cites the Arab genealogists only to reject their views as fictions. He believed that the political structure of the tribes of Arabia during the pre-Islamic period was even less developed and more primitive than a

³ Dresch notes that Smith was himself indebted to both Arab and German scholarship on genealogies among the ancient Arabians, “Segmentation”, 53. Smith’s *Kinship and Marriage* may have influenced Durkheim and Mauss’ account of segmentation among the Australian Aborigines in *Primitive Classification*. See Beidelman on this question, “Review of Smith”. Smith’s *Kinship and Marriage* most certainly influenced Evans-Pritchard’s *The Nuer* and *The Sanusi*. Dresch cites both Beidelman and Evans-Pritchard to this effect, “Segmentation”, 52–55.

⁴ Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, 4.

segmentary society. He insisted on the overwhelming importance of the vengeance grouping (*hayy*), which he described as “the ultimate kindred group”. By comparison, all other groupings, both the households within the *hayy* as well as the lineages beyond the *hayy*, were fleeting and temporary, and so, of little importance. He dismissed the Arab genealogists’ account of a segmentary society as a literate ideology that served the purposes of a nascent state system. Caliph Omar I had introduced registers for the control of pensions. The Arab genealogists, working in the manner of bureaucrats, had deployed a patriarchal principle in order to rationalize the distribution of the spoils of imperial conquest.

By the 1930s, French and British ethnographers had determined that genealogical traditions representing lineages segments were to be found among many stateless peoples in the pastoral zones of Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Moreover, these peoples commonly viewed their genealogies and lineages as the basis of a political system. Genealogical traditions representing lineages segments were more ancient, more vernacular, more cherished, and more widespread than Smith had supposed.

Anthropologists therefore began to re-consider the question that Smith had addressed in *Kinship and Marriage*. Are genealogical traditions representing lineage segments an accurate description of a political system? Or are they little more than fictions? By and large, the response to these questions drifted toward a consensus. Many stateless peoples do have a segmentary political system, but genealogical traditions representing lineage segments do not accurately describe this segmentary political system. The ethnographic work of E. E. Evans-Pritchard is a case in point.

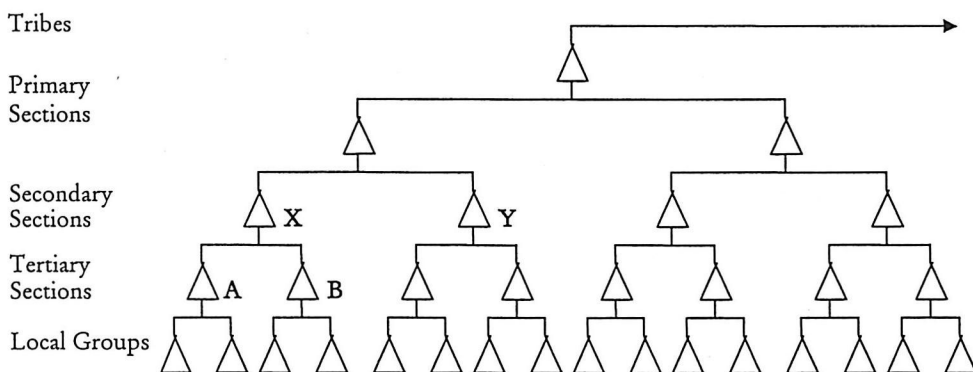
3. E. E. Evans-Pritchard: *The Classical Theory*

Evans-Pritchard was perhaps the first anthropologist to undertake a systematic study of the role of genealogies and lineages in order to develop an empirically based theory of a segmentary political system. In *The Nuer* (1940), he examines the political institutions of a pastoral people without centralized government. As he explains, the Nuer did not suffer from the anarchy of a Hobbesian state of nature. Instead, segmentary political institutions were the basis of a minimal but sufficient degree of stability and order.

Evans-Pritchard reached this conclusion by the following kind of argument. Segmentary political institutions provide that any conflict leads to a balanced opposition of two groupings. A small group always confronts a small group. A large group always confronts a large group. Since the two opposed groups are of comparable numbers and hence comparable force, they are obliged to negotiate their differences and make peace. This task is facilitated by outsiders to the tribal system who are ready and anxious to serve as neutral mediators. The mobilization of fighting groups is therefore the first move in a sequence of events that leads toward negotiation and settlement.

Evans-Pritchard cited the Nuer genealogies and lineages in order to explain the workings of the Nuer segmentary political system. A patrilineal genealogy defines a nested framework of lineage segments (see Fig. 3). When political conflicts occur, a pair of opposed lineage segments confront one another, but the specific lineage segments involved are relative to the conflict in question. The members of two lineage segments, A and B, might confront one another on the occasion of a conflict between their members. On the occasion of another conflict, however, their members might join together as lineage segment X to confront lineage segment Y.

Figure 3



The theory of a segmentary political system: Tertiary sections A and B might oppose one another on one occasion, then join together as a secondary section X to oppose secondary section Y on another occasion.

Interestingly, Evans-Pritchard did not see Nuer genealogies and lineages as the primary cause of their segmentary political system. Rather, political segmentation was a structural consequence of the circumstances of a primitive subsistence economy combined with the absence of an overarching centralized government. Furthermore, Evans-Pritchard did not even accept that Nuer genealogies and lineages accurately described the processes of their segmentary political system. The exact pattern of political segmentation was determined by material circumstances, such as the physical distance separating local groups and the frequency of everyday social interaction among local groups. In the final analysis, Nuer genealogies and lineages were but an abstract map of the political interactions of actual territorial groupings of mixed social composition. The genealogies and lineages illustrated the segmentary form of the fusion and fission of local groups, but they neither directly determined nor accurately described the actual political process of fusion and fission. In other words, Evans-Pritchard insisted on a difference between Nuer representations and Nuer interactions. He regarded the former as a fictional version of the latter. With regard to Fig. 3, he would have said in Magrittean French, "*Ce n'est pas la société segmentaire, mais il y a une société segmentaire*".

During the same year that his ethnographic study appeared, Evans-Pritchard joined with Meyer Fortes to generalize his theory of segmentary political institutions. In the introduction to *African Political Systems* (1940), they distinguished two broad types of political systems in Africa. There were societies with primitive state systems that featured the rudiments of centralized authority, administrative machinery, and judicial institutions. These societies were characterized by "sharp differences in rank, status, and wealth" (the Zulu, Ngwato, the Bemba, the Banyankole and the Kede). In contrast, there were other stateless societies where minimal governmental functions were fulfilled by segmentary political institutions. Among these peoples, genealogies and lineages were attributed a greater political significance, and social relations were more egalitarian than hierarchical (the Logoli, the Tallensi, and the Nuer).

Evans-Pritchard and Fortes had developed a theory of segmentary society and used it to describe the political systems of stateless peoples. In the remainder of this paper, I shall refer to it as the "classical theory".

4. Degeneration of the Classical Theory

In *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Evans-Pritchard brought the modern discussion of segmentary political institutions back to its starting point: the place of genealogies and lineages among tribal Arabic-speaking peoples. In Chap. II, "The Bedouin of Cyrenaica", he describes a segmentary political system as a reality, not a fiction, flatly contradicting Smith:

"The tribal system, typical of segmentary structures everywhere, is a system of balanced opposition between tribes and tribal sections from the largest to the smallest divisions, and there cannot therefore be any single authority in a tribe. Authority is distributed at every point of the tribal structure and political leadership is limited to situations in which a tribe or a segment of it acts corporately."⁵

In contrast with Evans-Pritchard's earlier studies, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* was primarily history and only secondarily ethnography.⁶ His description of the segmentary political system of the Cyrenaican Bedouins therefore lacks theoretical ethnographic explanations and examples. On the other hand, the brevity of the description – it consists of little more than three pages and two diagrams – indicates that the classical theory no longer required the support of either argument or evidence. The concepts of political segmentation and balanced opposition were understood and accepted. The logical implications of these concepts – that chiefly authority is distributed by lineage – could be simply asserted. That is to say, the classical theory was on the way to becoming a literate ideology of modern anthropology.

During the 1950s, the classical theory did indeed assume the status of dogma. Even the subtleties of the original analysis – the difference between segmentary representations and segmentary processes – slipped into the background. Anthropologists began to discuss genealogies and lineages as though they literally represented the actual groupings and processes of a segmentary political system. Anthropologists began to presume that any society with unilineal descent groups, whether matrilineal and patrilineal, had some kind of a segmentary political system.⁷

⁵ Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi*, 59.

⁶ He was drawing on his experience as a government administrator in the Cyrenaica district of Libya.

⁷ Lewis noted some of these excesses, "Problems in the Comparative Study". He reviews the usefulness of a segmentary lineage model as a universal model. He questions whether such a

At the time, the search for a stateless segmentary society seems to have held a fascination for anthropologists. Such a society would demonstrate that social equality and political order were possible without a state system. Hobbes was wrong. Rulers, courts, and police were artificial additions to a state of nature that consisted of an “ordered anarchy” not a war of all against all. These were appealing ideas for anyone of a Rousseauist or Bakunian inclination, and such dispositions were not uncommon during the 1960s. Toward the end of that decade, however, an ethnographer mounted a devastating attack on the classical theory, both its original formulation as well as its degenerate receptions.

5. Emrys Peters: *The Collapse of Classical Theory*

Emrys Peters could be described as a priest of the church of the classical theory. During the 1940s, he was a student of Evans-Pritchard at the University of Oxford. Toward the end of that decade, he carried out field work among the Bedouins of Cyrenaica with the express intention of elaborating the classical theory. In 1959, he published an influential article that sought to resolve a technical question raised by the classical theory.⁸ In 1967, however, this defender of the faith announced his apostasy:

“... the lineage model neither covers several important areas of social relationships nor enables an accurate prediction of events to be made.... For sociological purposes; this means that the lineage model, with all its theoretical presuppositions, must perforce be abandoned.”⁹

To make matters worse, this disavowal came in the company of a *tour de force* of ethnographic demonstration.

Peters began his attack by examining the Bedouin view of genealogies and lineages. The Bedouins did see themselves as a segmentary society. They did explain their genealogical traditions in terms of the fusion and fission of lineage segments. Peters referred to a diagram to summarize Bedouin commentary (see Fig. 4). According to the Bedouins, tribes made

model applies both to matrilineal and patrilineal descent systems. He questions whether genealogies and lineages always have the same meaning in different societies.

⁸ Peters explained how the generational depth of the tribal genealogies remained the same through time even though human reproduction implied that their generational depth should increase, “The Proliferation of Segments”. Note that the theory of the Arab genealogists, as cited by Smith, assumed that the genealogies, and so the structure of the tribes, did deepen as generation followed upon generation.

⁹ Peters, “Some Structural Aspects”, 261.

war against one another. Primary sections raided one another. Secondary sections feuded with one another. Tertiary sections exchanged blood money or exacted vengeance on one another.

Figure 4

Tribes	-----	War
Primary Sections	-----	Raiding
Secondary Sections	-----	Feud
Tertiary Sections	-----	Blood Money or Vengeance

Peters' diagram of Bedouin explanations of the interactions of lineage segments (Peters 1967).

Peters pointed out that the Bedouins were able to back up their explanations of lineage fusion and fission by citing instances of each type of interaction. They cited specific occurrences of wars between tribes, raiding between primary sections, feuds between secondary sections, and blood money and vengeance between tertiary sections. And yet, Peters insisted, these Bedouin explanations had to be considered a political ideology rather than a political reality:

"The [lineage] model, nevertheless, can only be a representation of what a particular people, the Bedouin, conceive of their social reality to be; it is a kind of ideology which enables them ... to understand their field of social relations, and to give particular relationships their *raison d'être*. But ... it would be a serious error to mistake such a folk model for sociological analysis. Such an error is difficult to avoid because the Bedouin ... are able to cite enough *bits and pieces of reality* to make their argument convincing. The flaw in [their] reasoning is seen when it can be shown that its consequences are absurd."¹⁰ [my italics]

Peters proceeded to demonstrate the practical impossibility of both the Bedouin model of lineage fusion and fission *and* the classical theory of balanced opposition. Both were incompatible with the everyday circum-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 270.

stances of camel-herding pastoral nomadism. This suggested that the classical theory had in fact arisen from indigenous polemics that appealed to “bits and pieces of reality”, even though the classical theory claimed to describe the empirical formation and interaction of political groupings.

Peters devoted the remainder of his article to a demonstration of the *marginal* significance of the Bedouin model of lineage fusion and fission. He pointed out that genealogies and lineages referred to a limited domain of Bedouin thinking and practice while most aspects of their social and political relations could be said to lay outside this limited domain. Indeed, the Bedouin model of lineage fusion and fission was inconsistent with the general character of affinal relationships, matrilineal ties, political authority, demographic variability, market centers, trade routes, petroleum development, state intervention, foreign occupation, world war, etc. Once the complexities of everyday life and the currents of world history were introduced into an account of Bedouin society and politics, the abstractness and impracticality of segmentary political representations were apparent.

Peters concluded by criticizing the way in which anthropologists had elevated segmentary representations (genealogies and lineages) into a dogma:

“The Bedouin conception of their social relationships in terms of a genealogical ordering of groups is a fact of their social life, and in relation to some problems it is an important fact. My objection to the use which has been made of a people’s ideology of their relationships is that it has been elevated from its status as component of social life to such a position of universal dominance in all sets of social relations that ‘every sociological problem’ ... ‘hinges on the lineage system’.”¹¹

This quote could be succinctly translated into Magritte’s French as follows: “*Il y a des représentations segmentaires, mais il n’y a pas une société segmentaire*”. So translated, Peter’s conclusion can be seen to revive a problem that the classical theory had sought to resolve.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 279. The phrase in single quotes is a citation of Fortes, *The Dynamics of Clanship*. Interestingly, Peters chose not to criticize Evans-Pritchard’s work on the Nuer or the Bedouins even though *The Nuer* and *The Sanusi* are cited in his bibliography.

6. *The Politics of tribalism*

Evans-Pritchard had explained genealogies and lineages as imperfect indigenous representations of an empirical pattern of social and political relationships. Peters had devastated this explanation by demonstrating that genealogies and lineages were inconsistent with the empirical pattern of social and political relationships. So why were the Bedouins so attached to genealogies and lineages?

Anthropologists were not alone in exaggerating the importance of segmentary representations. They had been aided and abetted by their Bedouin informants. As Peters pointed out, the Bedouins believed in their genealogies and lineages to the point of justifying them by specious arguments and evidence. When the Bedouins were thinking about genealogies and lineages, that is to say, they were thinking in terms of a reductive and totalizing ideology that blotted out the complexities of their social and political life.¹² In the course of distancing himself from the lineage model, Peters had demonstrated that segmentary representations were beliefs and passions that came to life *on certain occasions*. What can be said about these beliefs and passions as an aspect of the Bedouin way of life?

Genealogies and lineages refer to a peculiar kind of politics since they describe a framework for the formation and opposition of political groupings. What kind of politics is this? Given the segmentary character of the formation and opposition, it is as a peculiar politics of friends and enemies. Among any group of friends there is always a group of enemies, and among any group of enemies there is always a group of friends.¹³ This is indeed a distinctive politics that combines paranoia and benevolence in equal measures. Any friend can be an enemy, and any enemy can be a friend. It would be useful to give this politics a name, and a name is readily available. Such a politics of friends and enemies is appropriately called "tribalism".

Now, a name is oftentimes a way of essentializing the qualities of a people. In choosing the name "tribalism", however, I intend to identify a marginal, not an essential, Bedouin quality. As Peters demonstrated in his

¹² Peters does not insist on the point. Perhaps he found his Bedouin informants less bloody minded than his anthropological colleagues.

¹³ Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, argued for a concept of politics as a matter of friends and enemies in the context of European nationalism. This parallel between European and Bedouin thinking suggests that a politics of friends and enemies is an outlook that can grow or shrink, in any society, ranging from tribes to nations.

critique of the classical theory, the Cyrenaican Bedouin were only sometimes preoccupied with genealogies and lineages. So the name "tribalism" refers to one kind of political orientation for which the Bedouins of North Arabia had a certain propensity. And this political orientation can be contrasted with other kinds, such as dynasticism, Islamism, or nationalism, in which the Bedouins of North Arabia had been implicated at certain times and in certain places.¹⁴ On the other hand, mounted camel-herding nomadism was strongly correlated with a politics of tribalism, which is another way of saying that camel-herding Bedouins were especially fascinated with and attached to genealogies representing lineages. And it is well-known fact that the great camel-herding tribes of the steppes of the Middle East and North Africa always had the potential to become the protagonists of a politics of tribalism. Indeed, their engagements with dynasticism, Islamism, or nationalism always carried with it the possibility of a reversion to tribalism.¹⁵

These remarks suggest that Peters' critique of the classical theory needs further elaboration. The classical theory had derived the political systems of stateless peoples from constraints of geography, climate, and pastoralism. In effect, the classical theory tended to remove them from history in order to better situate them in nature.¹⁶ But the Bedouins were neither savages nor innocents. As the protagonists of a certain kind of politics, they were a people in and of history.

A few representatives of what we now call European Orientalism had seen the Bedouins in such terms during the decades before the emergence of social anthropology. Accordingly, their studies include both citations and descriptions of Bedouin convictions and sensibilities. Alois Musil's *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouin* is one of the most important

¹⁴ *The American Heritage Dictionary*, Boston 1992, defines tribalism as "2. A strong feeling of identity with and loyalty to one's tribe or group". This definition captures the importance of an individual's tie to a grouping even if entirely misses the issue of political segmentation. I considered "lineagism" and "segmentarism" as more fitting terms but discarded them as colorless neologisms.

¹⁵ It is interesting that tribalism, dynasticism, Islamism, and nationalism are each linked with their own distinctive legal traditions in the contemporary Middle East and North Africa. For a view of contemporary Bedouins in Jordan in terms of such political alternatives, see Shryock, "Tribes and the Print Trade" and *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination*.

¹⁶ This judgment is perhaps too extreme. Ibn Khaldun situated the Bedouin in nature, but he allowed for their entry into history, *The Muqaddimah*. This passage from nature to history occurred when a religious leader mobilized the tribes for conquest. Evans-Pritchard more or less follows this line of analysis in *The Sanusi*. He argues the Sanusi religious brotherhood provided the glue for mobilizing tribal sections against the Italians.

of these works. Peters' disavowal of the classical theory lent a new importance to this remarkable account of one of the great Bedouin tribes of North Arabia.

7. Alois Musil's *Ethnography of the Rwala Bedouins*

Manners and Customs resembles other descriptive ethnographies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁷ It lacks any theory or methodology. There is no development of an argument in relationship to a selected body of evidence. Rather it consists of a massive amount of information organized by topic in the fashion of an encyclopedia rather than a monograph. It includes lists and sketches pertaining to everyday life, social customs, worldview, and material culture, but also little treatises consisting of personal biographies of tribal leaders, accounts of inter-tribal conflict and warfare, and little histories of relationship of the tribes and states. But in one respect, *Manners and Customs* is exceptional as a descriptive ethnography. Musil consistently cites Bedouin poetry and narrative to illustrate his ethnographic descriptions. And in many places, he comments on the rules governing narrative and poetic composition, the relationships of narrative and poetic genres, as well as the social context of narrative and poetic recitations. In other words, he provides the outline of an ethnography of Bedouin speech forms.

Manners and Customs is arguably the most detailed account of the mounted camel-herding way of life in North Arabia that will ever be written. Musil had visited the camps of the Rwala Bedouins during the first years of the twentieth century. During the years following the Great War, the great Bedouin tribes of North Arabia gradually lost their political independence and abandoned mounted camel-herding nomadism. By the 1930s, it would have been impossible to duplicate his ethnographic investigations since so much of what he had seen and heard had vanished altogether. Ethnographers might still today recover collective memories and material objects of mounted camel-herding nomadism. They would have otherwise been unable to record the actual thoughts and actions of these peoples in the context of their pastoral way of life. In this last respect,

¹⁷ Musil's observations on the Bedouins of North Arabia also appear in some of his other publications. See Musil, *Arabia Petraea*; *id.*, *Arabia Deserta*, *id.*, *Northern Negd*; *id.*, *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*.

Musil's citations of poetry and narrative is a unique record of the epoch of mounted camel-herding nomadism.¹⁸

During the 1970s, I became interested in Musil's work on Bedouin poetry and narrative as a way of putting contemporary ethnographic practice to a test. At the time, many social and cultural anthropologists in Great Britain and the United States devoted little attention to the speaking subject. The only voice that appeared in most ethnographies was the voice of the ethnographer.¹⁹ One could reasonably suspect that most anthropological theories of social and cultural systems of the day depended on the suppression of indigenous verbal commentary. I saw Musil's work as a way of weighing the consequences of the omission of verbal material.²⁰

Like the Cyrenaican Bedouin, the Rwala Bedouin had genealogical traditions and lineage segments. They cited them in a reductive and totalizing manner.²¹ Nonetheless, Musil directed his attention to their stories and poems, which were reflective rather than dogmatic in character. What were the implications of the omission of this kind of verbal evidence from the classical theory of political segmentation? Would the stories and poems reveal more about the genealogies and lineages as marginal Bedouin beliefs? In the paragraphs that follow, I summarize my response to these questions in *Literature and Violence in North Arabia*.²²

¹⁸ Musil's addition of poetry and narrative to ethnographic description is rare but not unique. See also Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions*, which is also more in the tradition of European Orientalism than social anthropology (if I may be permitted such a distinction).

¹⁹ This generalization applies, for example, to Evans-Pritchard's elaboration of the classical theory in *The Nuer* and *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. At least one member of the first generation of social anthropologists did cite substantial amounts of verbal evidence. See Fortune's *Sorcerers of Dobu* and *Manus Religion*, brilliant ethnographies which had come to be regarded as eccentric. No doubt, there are other examples of earlier social anthropologists who documented and interpreted verbal material.

²⁰ This was my reception of the work of Lévi-Strauss on Amerindian mythologies, *La pensée sauvage* and *Le cru et le cuit*, which were belatedly appearing in English translation. Structuralism had brought representation into focus as an ethnographic object of analysis. And yet, structuralism was primarily concerned with mythology while Middle Eastern societies and cultures were historical in orientation. Accordingly, the Rwala stories and poems did not lend themselves to a conventional structuralist analysis. I eventually found a way around this problem after reading Derrida's *De la grammatologie*, in particular, the critique of Lévi-Strauss' "writing lesson", *Tristes Tropiques*.

²¹ See Montagne, *La civilisation*, for an account of genealogies and lineages in North Arabia.

²² I do not review here the re-orientation of anthropological studies that took place during the 1980s. See, for example, Dresch's *Tribes, Government, and History*, a study of chiefs and tribes in North Yemen and Caton's "Peaks of Yemen I summon", an ethnography of speech forms in North Yemen. See also Caton, "Power, Persuasion", and Dresch "Segmentation", both of whom emphasize the importance of segmentation as a kind of political language.

Musil describes a peculiar cultural condition among the Rwala Bedouin of his day: a poverty of myth and ritual.²³ There were neither religious officiants nor religious ceremonies among the Rwala Bedouins during the first years of the twentieth century. Even the most basic *rites de passage*, birth, marriage, and death, were strikingly undeveloped if not explicitly suppressed. At the same time, Musil presented his readers with a large body of artifacts of another kind: enunciations of named individuals who spoke as participant observers reporting the course of specific incidents, in prose or poetry. One could therefore revise the claim that the Rwala lacked myths and rituals since these stories and poems could be said to stand in the place of otherwise absent myths and rituals.²⁴ And yet, this revision is not altogether acceptable. The enunciations of named individuals were believed or disbelieved with reference to practical knowledge and verifiable information. This means that stories and poems claimed the status of empirical description of what was said and done during the course of events. They therefore challenged the very idea of myth and ritual as forms of sacred speech and action that lie beyond present needs and constraints.

Musil tells us that certain enunciations – stories and poems of raiding and warfare – received a special degree of respect and interest. Raiding and warfare were common among the mounted camel-herding nomads, but their significance was more a matter of their consequences than their frequency. The outcome of raids and wars had a direct bearing on the fate of individuals and groupings. The consequence of such encounters might be wealth or poverty, domination or subjugation, glory or disgrace, life or death, and so on. Accordingly, the reciters of stories and poems of raiding and warfare pondered existential questions. They considered how individuals spoke and acted, effectively or ineffectively, in the setting of conflicts that threatened the well-being of tribal world.

Different stories and poems of raiding and warfare attributed a different significance to the same individual speech and action during the same course of events. That is to say, the Bedouins looked for existential meanings in the course of events but discovered uncertainty rather than certain-

²³ Musil also notes that the Bedouin had begun to be better Muslims with the approach of the political crises accompanying the Great War. See Meeker, *Literature and Violence*, 23–24, 105–107, citing Musil. They had begun to perform the prayers whereas they had never done so just a few years earlier. This is an instance of what I have described as the rise and fall of a politics of tribalism, dynasticism, Islamism, and nationalism.

²⁴ This last observation would be similar to saying that the human sciences, from biology to history, are our myths and rituals.



ty. Once the problematic character of Bedouin political experience is recognized, the significance of genealogical traditions and lineage segments is clarified. These artifacts of tribalism may have been invoked dogmatically, but they were nonetheless interpretive figures, even as they were presented as being descriptive and empirical.

8. *The Political Economy of Figures of Political Segmentation*

Consider once again Fig. 2. Perhaps, no ethnographer ever recorded precisely such a genealogy representing lineages, which is why I described it as a parody.²⁵ Still, the anthropological illustration is a distillation of a way of thinking. One could say then that the anthropological illustration indicates the elementary structure of a genealogy representing lineages.²⁶ No political association is possible without a named individual, but each named individual cannot appear except through a political association. At the same time, all political associations are both radically integrative and disintegrative. Every fighting super-group divides into fighting sub-groups just as all fighting sub-groups unite into fighting super-groups. This means that the identity of each named individual is both confirmed and threatened by politics since names both “appear” and “disappear” on the occasion of conflict. The outer limits of this problematic of associations and individuals are as follows:

- 1) At the highest level, the name of an ancestor/ ancestress represents the solidarity of all male tribesmen as political actors.²⁷
- 2) At the lowest level, the names of each and every male tribesmen represents their independence as political actors.

The genealogy representing lineages is then a kind of *bricolage*.²⁸ It merges together contradictory values, associationalism and individualism, in such a way that they seem to be compatible rather than contradictory.

²⁵ The names that appear in empirical genealogies are not always the names of individuals. The bifurcations in empirical genealogies are not always binary.

²⁶ Here, I am shifting from a classical Weberian to a classical Lévi-Straussian mode of analysis. The reference to an elementary structure is borrowed of course from Lévi-Strauss, *Structures élémentaires*. Otherwise, the argument is a slight revision of Meeker, *Literature and Violence*, Part IV.

²⁷ Peters observes that an ancestress at the apex of the genealogy of all the tribes of the Cyrenaican Bedouins. He explains that a mother is a stronger symbol of unity than a father since the latter could have two wives (hence two sets of descendants) but the former would have only one husband (hence only one set of descendants).

²⁸ I use the term in the sense of radical structuralism, see Lévi-Strauss, *La pensée sauvage*.

What are the circumstances and experiences that lie behind such a figure? Certain well-known features of mounted camel-herding nomadism in North Arabia provide an answer to this question.

Consider the following list of the contrary attributes of mounted camel-herding nomadism in North Arabia. A minus sign precedes those attributes that intensify an interest in independence (individualism). A plus sign precedes those attributes that intensify an interest in solidarity (associationalism).

- (-) Independent group mobility: Mounted camel-herding nomadism involves the irregular movement of little communal groups far and wide over the landscape.
- (+) Extended group contacts: Because little communal groups move more or less independently on their own, they come into contact with a range of other little communal groups.
- (-) Camels as political instruments: Using camels as mounts, a small band of raiders can move scores of miles in less than a day. They are therefore able to strike at the little communal groups within an area of 5 to 10 thousand square kilometers. The Bedouin therefore have a strong individual interest in camel-raiding.
- (+) Camels as vulnerable social wealth: The constraints of camel-herding restrict involvement in any other economic activity such that they are an intense focus of economic interests. Camels are therefore an absolute necessity for the survival of human groups. The Bedouin have a strong communal interest in camel-protection.
- (-) Necessity of a politics of camel-raiding: Drought and disease constantly expose little communal groups to the total loss of their camel herds. Camel-raiding is an essential means for recovering from catastrophic losses of herds.²⁹
- (+) Necessity of a politics of camel-protection: It is the interest of every little communal group to have relationships and agreements with as many other little communal groups within as wide a range as possible.
- (-) Camel-raiding is exciting and interesting. A youth can make a name for himself by success in looting camels.

²⁹ Sweet, "Camel Raiding".

- (+) The loss of camels is economically devastating and spiritually demoralizing. An elder can make a name for himself by keeping the peace.

As the list illustrates, mounted camel-herding nomadism placed a premium on political solidarity even as it also placed a premium on political independence. For the camel-herding nomads, the landscape was populated with friends who might be enemies and enemies who might be friends. Genealogical traditions are then an impossible dream of the resolution of two contrary desires. They are a reductive and totalizing dogma that represses an irresolvable political dilemma.

By this measure, the stories and poems of raiding and warfare can be considered dream interpretations that explore the contradictions that underpin segmentary representations. The stories and poems of raiding and warfare expose hopes and fears that are implicit in segmentary representations. In this regard, they are reflections on the problematic relationship of associationalism and individualism.

For example, the stories and poems sometimes make reference to a creator divinity who has made both the material world and its human population. The material world underwrites the behavior of the human population. Proper forms of speech and action bring individuals together in peace and improper speech and action set them against one another in war. In the stories and poems, the course of events is related to demonstrate this lesson. The good enjoy prosperity through victory by the virtue of solidarity. The bad suffer poverty through defeat by the vice of dissension.

On the other hand, other stories and poems refer to the relationship of human passions and aggressive instruments as the basis of another kind of political morality. The human body is transformed by the use of mounts, swords, and guns so that it becomes a terrifying and irresistible force. These stories and poems argue that those who engage in bargaining and negotiating for an advantage face destruction while those who are ready to resort to fighting and conflict prove invincible.

I have chosen to mention two contrasting themes – one counseling peace and cooperation and the other counseling war and conflict – in order to illustrate how the stories and poems expand on figures of political segmentation. The creator divinity authorizes a proper individualism that insures a proper associationalism. In effect, the unifying ancestor of the genealogy appears in the form of a religious vision in the stories and

poems. The principle of solidarity is guaranteed by a divine material creation that validates the proper speech and action of individuals. On the other hand, the combination of passions and instruments means that physical force plays a key role in human relationships. Those who are ready to devote themselves to the use of aggressive instruments cannot be forced to submit to oppression and exploitation. The principle of independence is therefore inherent in a way of life that relies on mounts and weapons.

9. *Nomadic and Sedentary Society in Early Arabia*

These last remarks direct attention to the issue of "Difference and Integration," the theme of the SFB 586. The stories and poems collected by Musil demonstrate that the politics of tribalism among the Bedouins was of a broader scope than suggested by genealogies and lineages. The reductive and totalizing figures of political segmentation were only one dimension of a distinctive political outlook and commitment. The Bedouin could be dogmatic but they could also reflect on the course of events from the perspective of a political philosophy that addressed ethical questions.

If then the politics of tribalism had a reflective dimension, this means that it had communicative and adaptive potential. That is to say, it could move beyond the desert and steppe. Bedouins might abandon camel-herding to take up camel-transport. Bedouins might ally themselves with villages or towns. Bedouins might abandon pastoral nomadism and settle down on farms or oases. When they did so, they might find that a politics of tribalism had a marginal utility in their new circumstances. Given that interactions of nomadism and sedentarism are known to be a normal part of the history of Arabia, one would expect that these interactions featured two-way channels of philosophical and ethical communication.³⁰ This possibility seems all the more probable given that some of the themes of associationalism and individualism in the *Rwala* stories and poems bring to mind the Koranic message. The person is a construction of words and deeds. A perfect community is insured by the proper speech and action of its constituent individuals. Some persons refuse to embrace proper speech and actions and seek to sow dissension. Those who abide by proper speech

³⁰ Here I think it should be mentioned that the project on *Difference and Integration* includes a group that is examining the figure of the Bedouin in the Arabic literary tradition. By my understanding of this work, the Bedouin is oftentimes a positive figure in terms of moral qualities, such as simplicity, frankness, directness and determination.

and action are obliged to resist and oppose them. This suggests that the Koranic message features a problematic of the associationalism and individualism, otherwise so characteristic of the politics of tribalism.

More exactly, the Koranic message recomposes the relationship of associationalism and individualism in a way that challenges the politics of tribalism. This re-composition would have spread most effectively among townsmen, since its propositions were not supported by the material conditions of pastoral nomadism. To see the problem in this way is also to understand that mounted camel-herding nomadism provided essential resources for an Islamic exit from the tribal world. This does not mean that the Koran is somehow marked by a desert and steppe origin so much as it means that mounted camel-herding nomadism generated ethical problems and insights of universal significance.

The preceding comments might seem to depend on an anachronism. In *Literature and Violence in North Arabia*, I sought to demonstrate that Bedouin convictions and sensibilities, as documented by Alois Musil, were correlated with the structure of mounted camel-herding nomadism. I then suggested that the Rwala Bedouin of the nineteenth century resembled the Bedouin of the seventh century. This was a tempting notion since the speech forms of the Rwala Bedouin bring to mind the speech forms of early Islamic Arabia.

One could think of all kinds of objections to this argument. I will mention just two anachronisms:

- 1) The nineteenth century Bedouins had acquired pistols and rifles. The arrival of more dangerous weapons would have simultaneously intensified the advantages of political solidarity while the multiplying the avenues for aggressive action.
- 2) The reference to a creator divinity in Bedouin stories and poems during the nineteenth century could have been derived from the Koranic message rather than stand as a precursor to it.

These objections could be challenged by counter-arguments; however, they essentially raise matters of detail rather than substance.³¹ The ethnography of the Bedouins of North Arabia demonstrates a pattern of the long term (*longue durée*). Basic political problems that were inherent in

³¹ See Meeker, *Literature and Violence*; *id.*, "Heroic Poems and Anti-Heroic Stories"; *id.*, *The Pastoral Son*, for further discussion and examples of creator divinities among pastoral warriors.

mounted camel-herding nomadism were correlated with political values that were widely diffused among the people of Arabia. In my opinion, this is *prima facie* evidence of a Bedouin contribution to Arabian society and culture, and hence, by extension, to the history of world civilization. On this point, I have simply attempted to add a footnote to Ibn Khaldun.

Bibliography

- Beidelman, T. O.: "Review of *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*", in: *Anthropos* 63/64 (1968), 593–95.
- *Id.*: *W. Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion*. Chicago 1975.
- Caton, Steven C.: "Power, Persuasion, and Language: A Critique of the Segmentary Model in the Middle East", in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987), 77–102.
- *Id.*: "Peaks of Yemen I summon": *Poetry as Cultural Practice in a North Yemeni Tribe*. Berkeley 1990.
- Derrida, Jacques: *De la grammatologie*. Paris 1966.
- Dresch, Paul: "Segmentation: Its Roots in Arabia and its Flowering Elsewhere", in: *Cultural Anthropology* 3 (1988), 50–67.
- *Id.*: *Tribes, Government, and History in Yemen*. Oxford 1989.
- Durkheim, Emile/ Mauss, Marcel (Transl. Needham, Rodney): *Primitive Classification*. Chicago 1963 [1903].
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E.: *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford 1940.
- *Id.*: *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*. Oxford 1949.
- Fortes, M.: *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*. London 1945.
- Fortes, M./ Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (eds.): *African Political Systems*. London 1940.
- Fortune, Reo: *Sorcerers of Dobu: The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific*. London 1932.
- *Id.*: *Manus Religion: An Ethnological Study of the Manus Natives of the Admiralty Islands*. Philadelphia 1935.



- Foucault, Michel: *Ceci c'est pas une pipe: deux lettres et quatre dessins de René Magritte*. [Montpellier] 1973.
- Granqvist, Hilma Natalia: *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*. 3 vols. 1931–35 Helsingfors.
- Ibn Khaldun (Transl. Rosenthal, Franz) (ed. Dawood, N. J.): *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*. Princeton, N. J. 1969.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude: *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*. Paris 1949.
- *Id.*: *Tristes Tropiques*. Paris 1955.
- *Id.*: *La pensée sauvage*. Paris 1962.
- *Id.*: *Le cru et le cuit*. Paris 1964.
- Lewis, I. M.: "Problems in the Comparative Study of Unilineal Descent", in: Banton, Michael (ed.), *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology* (ASA Monographs 1). London 1965, 87–112
- Magritte, René: "Ceci n'est pas une pipe". Image taken from the website: www.postercheckout.com.
- Meeker, Michael E.: *Literature and Violence in North Arabia*. Cambridge 1979.
- *Id.*: "Heroic Poems and Anti-Heroic Stories in North Arabia: Literary Genres and the Relationship of Center and Periphery in the Near East", in: *Edebiyat* 2 (1988), 1–40.
- *Id.*: *The Pastoral Son and the Spirit of Pastoralism*. Madison 1989.
- Montagne, Robert: *La civilisation du désert: nomades d'Orient et d'Afrique*. Paris 1947.
- Musil, Alois: *Arabia Petraea*. Vol. 3: *Ethnographischer Reisebericht*. Vienna 1908.
- *Id.*: *Arabia Deserta*. (American Geographical Society: Oriental Explorations and Studies, 2). New York 1927.
- *Id.*: *Northern Negd*. (American Geographical Society: Oriental Explorations and Studies, 4). New York 1928.
- *Id.*: *Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*. (American Geographical Society: Oriental Explorations and Studies, 6). New York 1928.
- Peters, Emrys: "The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica", in: *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 89 (1959), 29–53.



- *Id.*: “Some Structural Aspects of the Feud among the Camel-Herding Bedouin of Cyrenaica”, in: *Africa: Journal of the Royal International African Institute* 37 (1967), 261–282.
- Shryock, Andrew: “Tribes and the Print Trade: Notes from the Margins of Literate Culture in Jordan”, in: *American Anthropologist* 98 (1996), 26–40.
- *Id.*: *Nationalism and the Genealogical Imagination: Oral History and Textual Authority in Tribal Jordan*. Berkeley 1997.
- Schmitt, Carl: *The Concept of the Political*. New Brunswick, N. J. 1976 [1932].
- Smith, W. Robertson: *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. Boston 1903 [1885].
- Sweet, Louise E.: “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouins: A Mechanism of Ecological Adaptation”, in: Sweet, Louise E. (ed.), *Peoples and Cultures of the Middle East*. Vol. 1: *Depth and Diversity*, New York 1970, 265–89.
- Weber, Max: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York 1958 [1904–1905, 1920].

Neither Segmentary, nor Centralized: the Sociopolitical Organisation of a Nomadic Society (Tuaregs) beyond Categories

Hélène Claudot-Hawad

The patterns of the Tuareg sociopolitical organisation combine several principles which are generally deemed incompatible in current anthropological theories. How can one capture realities which defeat classical analytical categories? The aim of this paper will be to describe and analyse the workings of the Tuareg political system in the early XXth century, its various manifestations and transformations during the anticolonial war.

The “Segmentary theory” – in the different ways it developed from its premises by Durkheim (1893) who spoke of “agrégats semblables entre eux, semblables aux anneaux de l’anneau”, to Fortes and Evans-Pritchard (1940) who systematised it, to authors like Gellner (1969) and Hart (1983) who focused on North – Africa, contains the general idea of the equality or the equilibrium between the different segments that form the group or the society as a whole. This type of social organisation, i. e. the segmentary lineage system, has often been opposed to hierarchical and centralized structures. This opposition has also been expressed as a gap between a kinship age and a political age of the human societies. This evolutionist vision is highly present in the early French literature concerning Africa and the Sahara, and continues to be influential today.

This explains why the question of the political structure of the Tuaregs was never really addressed during the colonial period. From the start, the Berber-speaking nomadic or semi-nomadic groups of Tuaregs were said to be anything but the embodiment of “civilisation”. And this all the more so as the Tuaregs had been particularly hostile to the first French incursions into their country and had dared, in 1881, to slaughter the mission led by Flatters.

As a result, all the colonial writings present the Tuaregs as a mixture of aggressive and pugnacious tribes, always waging wars with one another, ever ready to vent their instinctive tendencies, that is to steal, despoil the weaker ones of their belongings, in short to plunder. The theories of Berberic anarchy and the endemic uncontrolled character of the nomadic peoples merged and were both applied to the Tuareg case by observers of the first part of the XXth century.¹

Within this perspective, Captain Benhazera for instance explains in his book about the Kel Ahaggar published in 1908 (122) that “the writing of the history of the Tuaregs would amount to constantly telling stories of raids”, raids against their own tribes and against their neighbours: “Ecrire l’histoire des Touaregs se ramènerait à raconter une série de razzias continues entre eux et leurs voisins (les gens de l’Aïr, les Berabich, les Aoul-liminden, d’une part, les Chamba de l’autre.” And the author concludes : “It is impossible to make any sense out of this” (“On ne s’y reconnaît plus”).

On the other hand, the social hierarchy of the Tuaregs – which made a clear distinction between the nobility, the men of religion, the tributaries (often called by the French observers “vassals”), the artisans and the slaves – was often equated with European feudal models. Thus, the Tuaregs were also rejected as archaic men rooted in the past.

In the 1960’s, during the “Independence” years, the Tuaregs were divided into five different nation-states: Libya, Algeria, Niger, Mali, and the then Upper-Volta. But if we accept the rationale of the Colonial vision, that is the absence of any social or political unity among the Tuaregs, then this partition would not hold to be true and it would only add administrative divisions to disorganized groups that were already isolated.

Nowadays in the press or in various scientific journals comments regarding the Tuareg situation in the 1990’s – dealing with the movements of rebellion and the emergence of armed fronts in Mali and Niger – are not very different from the colonial representation of the Tuareg world. They allege that the revolt sprang from their isolation and their basic incapacity to really adapt to the modern world, the workings of which they cannot understand. These acts would be their last attempt to perpetuate the raids

¹ See on this point Claudot-Hawad 1990.

of yore, their last feudal reflex. Also, the repression waged against the Tuaregs is explained as “a backlash against their former enslavers”.²

Finally, it is also imagined that the Tuaregs have only recently discovered the concepts of “nation”, “revolution” or “territory” borrowed from modern states by western-educated Tuaregs who are thought to have been at the root of the present agitation.³

In such a context, it is indeed difficult to formulate the original question concerning the political organisation of the Tuaregs. Yet, this is a constantly recurring theme of the ethno-historical study of the Tuaregs during the colonial period. On the one hand, colonial documents saw no coherence in the facts which they reported about the Tuaregs: their approach to the war led by *Kawsen* (Kaosen, Kaocen) against the French invasion in 1915–18 is one obvious example. On the other hand, the Tuareg versions of the same event stressed a very strong internal coherence based on their political organisation.

Therefore, it is not surprising for any scholarly attention to infer that this political order was not built at the level of encampments or tribes as the French colonial postulate of Berberic anarchy wants it to be, but that it existed at the level of much larger political formations binding different confederations (*tegéhé*, *tighmawin*) and different tuareg political poles (each including also various “ethnic” and linguistic groups in their political definition).

To refer to the whole as well as to its various constitutive parts, the word *temust* is used. *Temust n imajaghen* means “The society or the nation of the Tuaregs”, a translation that is always a matter of passionate semantic polemic within the academic context which shares with the colonial perspective the idea that the Tuaregs never thought of themselves as an organised political entity and therefore cannot be considered as a community, a people or a nation.

The analysis of Tuareg political conceptions and their institutional aspects offers another insight into these realities. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Tuareg world appears structured into five great confederations: in the North-East the Kel Ajjer; in the North-West, the Kel Ahaggar, in the South-East the Kel Aïr, in the South-West the Kel

² For a detailed analysis about this literature, see Claudot-Hawad/ Hawad 1996, 13–36; Claudot-Hawad 2000a.

³ See for example Bourgeot/ Casajus 1993.



Tademmekkat; and between these powerful political poles there was a new formation: the Tagaraygarayt meaning “the middle” or the “go-between”, to be taken in a political rather than a geographical sense.

The Tuaregs use several registers to express their political relationships.

Kinship

The first register favours kinship concepts to determine the connection between the various units within the same genealogy. When the context is matrilinear, as it is for the Ahaggar, when two groups are said to be equal, they are presented as being “the children of two sisters”. On the other hand, “the children of a sister” will be set in opposition to “the children of a brother” to mean that the former are the rightful owners of power, titles, goods, etc. while the latter are excluded from these rights and possessions.

When there is a change in leadership, the genealogy is remodelled accordingly. For example, in the Kel Ahaggar confederation, the female ancestor called *Tin-Hinan* that is “the one (woman) of the tents”, is sometimes presented as the mother of the three noble tribes between which chieftancy passed round until the seventeenth century: Kel Ghela, Taytoq and Tégéhé Mellet. Other times she is presented as the mother only of the Kel Ghela, of those who had toppled the other tribes.

If at one point the right to command is confiscated by a group which keeps out the other aspiring parties, the latter will be considered either as the descent of a younger sister, or excluded from the genealogy.

Concurrently, the relationships between suzerains and tributaries can be interpreted as the relationship between older and younger branches.

Finally, the relationships of negative exchange – that is honor’s pillage according to very strict rules (Claudot-Hawad 1987) – that the Kel Ahaggar practiced for instance in the second part of the XIXth century with regard to the wealthy Iwellemmeden of the south-west – can also be translated into the language of kinship through the relationship between a nephew (*ag elet ma*, “son of the daughter of the mother”) and his maternal uncle (*aṇa*, literally *ag ma*: “son of the mother”). The matrilinear rule – which established the transmission of some undivided goods, of rights and of power between uncle and nephew – allows also this nephew to “pillage” whatever he needs from the belongings of his uncle.

Thus the relationships of pillages made according to the rules of honour (as opposed to other types of aggressive actions) that exist between these various confederations are incorporated into the social norm.

Among the Tuaregs, there are also some very interesting metaphorical ways of expressing political and social relationships.

The body

First, the society can be viewed metaphorically as a body, each part representing in its turn some kind of body in miniature, built according to the same structure as the bigger one.

The smallest social unit: *aghiwen*, “encampment”, is placed within *tawisit*, a term meaning both “tribe” and “wrist”; this unit itself finds its place within a confederation of tribes called *ettebel* in the Ahaggar: *ettebel* refers to the commanding drum, while in the Aïr, it is called *taghma* and means also “thigh”. At last, this unit is included in a *tégéhé*, a federation of confederations, a term meaning “hips”. The gathering of “hips” makes up *temust n imajaghen*, that is the Tuareg society at large, and this notion is associated with the anatomic image of the “chest”, which is the seat of identity (called *temusa* that has the same linguistic root as *temust*).

The tent

If the various levels of social and political articulations are expressed through body metaphors, the whole society is seen also as a tent. Each stake which makes up the frame of the tent is also perceived within a narrower perspective as a complete unity, built upon the same pattern as the bigger unit. In addition, the word *ehan*, which refers to the “home” (here a tent made of leather or mats), is used to define social units from the smaller unit – the nuclear family – to the larger one – the society at large and even the whole universe.

The tent represents a shelter and this image connotes other notions as well. For this shelter to exist, it needs a foundation, that is a space upon which it can be built. If this shelter is to last long, its foundations must constantly be strengthened. In other words, this means that the attributes that are necessary to establish a human group, whatever its size, are at the same time the territory and the resources used to “feed” it.

Thus, the sociological metaphor of the tent, in a very graphic and effective way, establishes a vital link between organized social units and access to the land and goods that are necessary for the survival of the group and all its constitutive parts.

In legal terms, these vital goods (called *akh iddaren*, the “living milk”) can be analysed as a matrimony that can neither be divided up nor alienated. Access to them is given to the members of the tent and is always temporary. These rights concern material possessions (herds, land, slaves, etc.) or symbolic ones (chieftaincy, suzerainty, status) that imply various dues.

Political models

But how is this shelter, representing the greater society tent, to be built? There are two different types of architecture. The first one is called *titek*, a term which refers to the screens made of matting and leather that help separate the tent into different parts. In the figurative sense, *titek* expresses the movement that pushes away and the gesture that rejects. Thus, this evocative image defines the hierarchy in which each social category is included according to its functions, and in which only a part of society has the political power. In this context, the same actions have different meanings depending upon the status of the protagonists. If the warrior’s code of honour, for example, is very strict for the noblemen, it is not the same for the other members of society who, up to a point, are not considered as being completely “responsible” for their behaviour.

The architectonic metaphor is further extended: it equates the suzerains and the central stake (*tamenkayt*) which supports the leather roof of the tent, surrounded by the side stakes which represent the dependants. The distribution of the tribes within the political territory of the federations reproduces the frame of the nomadic leather tent that is very widely used in the Ajjer, the Ahaggar and the Tadmekkat. This frame conveys the prominent roles of the leaders: not only their protective function but also its counterpart, that is their domination over the “weaker ones” who must pay them their tribute. Thus, all the goods that are necessary to the community are controlled and even distributed by the chief, *amenukal*, who, for example, manages the organisation of the territory, the distribution of the grazing areas and the sharing of the vassals’ dues. Within this context,

the role of the chief – and at least of a fraction of the lineage he represents – is associated with power and the advantages that go with it.

This system based on hierarchy is contrasted with another model defined in philosophical discourse as *igagan* meaning “vertebra”, “vaults” and “arches”. This refers to another architectural concept which eliminates all separations inside the tent as well as the central stake. *Igagan* are the wooden arches supported by the lateral stakes that make up the frame on which the roof of the shelter rests. This model corresponds to the tent made of mats which is used in the Aïr.

The Aïr went even further in this egalitarian conception of society by which all the stakes of the tent have similar functions. This model is made concrete in the political system of the *ighollan*. The various tribes that compose this organisation are placed on equal footing and they have given up tribute and status, even if in some other fields, such as history or culture, they sometimes “recall” the noble or vassal origin of their members.

One can easily understand that this system leaves no room for a chief who would be inclined to hold the power or supremacy over the others. Yet, one must note that it rests on two complementary institutions: the assembly and the chief-cum-arbiter, the latter incarnated by the man whom the French called the Agadez “Sultan”.⁴

The Kel Ahaggar

The Kel Ahaggar correspond to the first model of political organisation. The occupation of their territory is thus conveyed by the central place the leaders occupy while their clients and dependants are placed all around it like the lateral stakes of the tent.

At the beginning of the XXth century, the Kel Ahaggar constituted a *tégéhé*, that is, according to the body metaphor, the “hips” where the three confederations of tribes called *ettebel*, commanding drum, met: they were the Kel Ghela, Taytoq and Tégéhé Mellet. Each confederation was composed of different tribes (“wrists”) with non-egalitarian status: the suzerains (*ihaggaren*) and the tributaries (*imghad*).

⁴ For further discussion of the invention by the French colonial administration of such a political function among the Tuaregs, see Claudot-Hawad (1996) 2000a, chap. II.



Power was transmitted matrilineally. Those who were entitled to rule were called *kel ettebel*, “those of the drum”.

The chief of the whole confederation of the Kel Ahaggar was chosen solely from the Kel Ghela tribe and took the title of *amenukal* in contrast with the other chiefs of equivalent units (Tegéhé Mellet and Taytoq), called *amghar*, meaning “old man, wiseman” which applies to all men after a certain age.

The chief was elected by all the representatives of the tribes, including the dependants. In fact, the chief’s power was limited and mitigated by a consensus from the subjects. In the absence of coercive power which was the case, his arbitrage was only accepted in a fair trial.

All in all, chieftancy among the Tuaregs assigned as many duties as there were rights. The duty of “protection” was bound up both with economy and war. The collective assets belonging to each political unit had therefore to be distributed among those in need in case of famine or epizootic disease.

The hierarchy

A reading that singles out the integrative pattern of kinship shows every unit, emerging both at the tribe level and the tribes confederation level, as an ensemble of relatives organised matrilineally. As a result, the Kel Ghela, Taytoq and Tégehé Mellet are sometimes defined as the respective descendants of three sisters.

This equality in theory, however, expressed through the parental-lineage vision of the society, is counterbalanced by the political categories which on the contrary emphasise hierarchy by differentiating the nobles (*ihaggaren*), the tributaries (*imghad*), the religious (*ineslimen*, i. e. the “muslims”), the artisans (*inaden*) and the slaves (*iklan*).

Similarly, a deeper investigation into the genealogical Tuareg data shows that the “egalitarian” representation of clans – each of which is viewed as a group of uterine relatives with a common ancestor and who, by definition, should attain power and rights transmitted matrilineally – is some kind of mystification.

Indeed, the unilinear form of rules of social order, i. e. filiation, inheritance, the transmission of power, are juxtaposed by another principle, that of endogamy allowing for marriage between the members of the same line-



age. In other words, a man who holds the power through his mother, i. e. who is a “son of the drum” (*ag ettebel*), can marry the daughter of his mother’s sister – a classificatory “sister” – who will hand down chieftancy to her descendants. Such a marriage will result in mixing the categories of “son” and “nephew” in the next generation and will have apparently transmitted power patrilineally, whereas it is because power is passed down by his mother that the son of a chief will succeed his father.

Thus, endogamy combined with matrilinear determination of political rights offers the ideal way to model and reduce the group of potential successors and opens the way to hierarchy.

Among the Kel Ghela, the matrilinear nucleus in power for five generations corresponds to thirty four per cent of the tribe.⁵ This is a privileged endogamous group in which the marriage with a classificatory sister will be sought to keep the power within the lineage: those who rule set store by this type of marriage, they are also however ready to establish new marriage bonds outside their confederation in order to widen their political zones of influence.

A society in movement

What is most striking among the Tuaregs, in their political theory as well as their cosmogony, is their dynamic vision of the order of the world, the universe or society. Each state is seen as only one step leading to another step that will, exactly like in the nomadic cycle, eventually leads back to the initial steps.⁶

According to this theory, slaves are bound one day to become free men, tributaries to become suzerains, and suzerains to go back to where they had started. Social movement and changes are always underlying the social order that will always be temporary.

Some social rules illustrate this mobility in practice: a slave can change masters, a dependent tribe can choose another suzerain, thereby depriving worthless masters of their power. Also, when a slave has acquired the Tuareg culture, he must be given his freedom.

⁵ For a detailed analysis, see Claudot-Hawad 1986; *id.* 1987.

⁶ About this philosophy and its relations with the political and social institutional order, see Claudot-Hawad 1993d; *id.* 2000a.



So, two contradictory orientations influence the itinerary of each tent. The first one is to “put on weight” through the development of its various branches (through its descendents, the extension of its allies and clients). The second orientation is the tendency to become completely independent from the mother tent: that was for instance the case of the Kel Ahaggar when they became independent from the Kel Ajjer in the XVIIIth century.

The evolution of political power

In conclusion, let us stress that what the Tuaregs privileged politically was a confederal model. In this schema, the power of a chief was never coercive; it was based on the community’s wishes as expressed through consensus so that in fact the role of the chief was no more than that of an arbiter. It was the arbiter-chief’s responsibility to maintain the balance between the various equal units as well as the partnership between the different social categories. In the early twentieth century, the political decisions of the five great confederations and the relations between them could be coordinated by the correspondent assembly summoned each time it was deemed necessary (for wars, conflicts, peace agreements, etc.).

With the growing encroachment of the colonial forces within the Tuareg country, the attitude to be adopted on the political scene regarding the French occupation became of paramount importance. It was around this new problem that competition for power and rivalry between political candidates emerged.

In the Ahaggar, after the Tuaregs’ total defeat in Tit (1902), the party for peace with the occupying power, led by *Musa ag Amastan* (Kel Ghela) gained the upperhand while the party for resistance joined the Tuareg forces who fought on the side of the Ajjer or in the Fezzan, and then in 1916 with *Kawsen* in the Aïr.

A great number of tributary groups (*imghad*), such as the Dag Ghali, joined the resistance: this, once more, underlines their relative independence from the nominal chief of the confederation.

Because of the intervention of the colonial forces and their prevailing logic, the very nature of Tuareg power was transformed. Legitimacy was no longer a matter of being elected or being chosen by one’s subjects but rather a question of subservience to the colonial power. Many small local

chiefs, with the help of the colonial military forces, became arbitrary and despotic rulers (Claudot-Hawad 1990, 1993b, 1993c).

Henceforth, the mobility that characterized social hierarchy came to a stop. The links established between the various confederations were interrupted as well as the elaborate networks of political, social, economic and cultural relationships woven with the neighbouring societies.

The political and economic space of the Tuaregs shrank, was shattered and became petrified.

To conclude, the words pronounced in *tamajaght* language at the end of 1989 by Ghayshena welet Akedima, a political feminine figure of the Aïr, perfectly encapsulate the transformation of the Tuareg situation, passing from a broad and open collective identity to an isolated individualistic perception:

“Our space shrank from the ‘nation’ (*temust*) to the confederation (*taghma*), then to the tribe (*tawshit*), then to the encampment (*aghiwen*), then to the mat tent (*tamankayt*), and it is now nothing but the space left between the spoon and the mouth.”

Bibliography

- Benhazera, M.: *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*. Alger: Jourdan, 1908.
- Bernus, S./ Bonte, P./ Brock, L./ Claudot, H. (éds.): *Le Fils et le Neveu – Jeux et enjeux de la parenté touarègue*, Paris: Cambridge Uni. Press/ MSH, 1986.
- Bourgeot A./ Casajus, D.: “Les vertus de la démocratie”, in: *Le Monde des Débats*, Juillet–août 1993.
- Brock, L.: *The Tamejjirt: Kinship and Social History in a Tuareg Community*. Ph. D., Department. of Anthropology, Columbia University 1983.
- Claudot-Hawad, H.: “Analyse sémantique des termes de la parenté chez les Touaregs de l’Ahaggar”, in: *ROMM* (21), 1976, 67–84.
- *Id.*: *La sémantique au service de l’anthropologie. Recherche méthodologique et application à l’étude de la parenté chez les Touaregs de l’Ahaggar*. Paris: CNRS, 1982.



- *Id.*: “Parenté touarègue et informatique”, in: *Travaux du LAPMO*, Aix-en-Provence 1986, 173–187.
 - *Id.* (éd.): *Touaregs, exil et résistance*, Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1990.
 - *Id.*: “Histoire d’un enjeu politique: la vision évolutionniste des événements touaregs 1990–1992”, in: *Politique Africaine*, n° 50, 1993a.
 - *Id.*: “La coutume absente ou les métamorphoses contemporaines de la politique chez les Touaregs”, in: Claudot-Hawad, H. (éd.): *La politique dans l’histoire touarègue*, Aix-en-Provence: IREMAM 1993b, 67–86.
 - *Id.*: *Touaregs: Portrait en fragments*. Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1993c.
 - *Id.*: *Eperonner le monde... Nomadisme, cosmos et politique chez les Touaregs*, Edisud, Aix-en-Provence 2000a.
 - *Id.*: “Captif sauvage, esclave enfant, affranchi cousin... La mobilité statutaire chez les Touaregs”, in: Villasante-de Beauvais, M. (éd.): *Groupes serviles au Sahara*. Paris: CNRS, 2000b.
- Claudot-Hawad, H./ Hawad, M.: “Coups et contre-coups: l’honneur en jeu chez les Touaregs”, in: *Annuaire d’Afrique du Nord*, XXI, Paris: CNRS, 1982, 793–808.
- Claudot-Hawad, H./ Hawad, M.: “Le lait nourricier de la société ou la prolongation de soi chez les Touaregs”, in: Gast, M. (éd.): *Hériter en pays musulman*, Paris: CNRS 1987, 129–156.
- Claudot-Hawad, H./ Hawad, M. (éds.): *Touaregs: Voix solitaires sous l’horizon confisqué*. Paris: Ethnies, 1996.
- Durkheim, E.: *De la division du travail social*. Paris: PUF, (1893) 1978.
- Duveyrier, H.: *Les Touaregs du Nord*, Paris: Challamel Aîné, 1864.
- Fortes, M. & Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (eds.): *African Political Systems*. London: Oxford University Press, (1940) 1958.
- Gellner, E.: *Saints of the Atlas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- Hart, D. M.: *Dadda’ Atta and His Forty Grandsons: The Socio-political Organization of the Ait’ Atta od Southern Morocco*. Cambridge: Westview Press, 1983.

Hawad, M.: "Hachis touareg pour dîners officiels", in: *Libération*, 12/01/1993.

Villasante-de Beauvais, M. (ed.): *Groupes serviles au Sahara*, Paris: CNRS, 2000.



The Roma – a Nation Without a State?

Historical Background and Contemporary Tendencies

Elena Marushiakova & Vesselin Popov

For centuries after they came to Europe the Gypsies were subjected to various types of state policy. Gradually and relatively slowly ideas emerged in the Gypsy community about their place in the society where they are living and the potential for their development as a united community.

The Gypsies are internally segmented as a community and live in different countries with different social and political environments, nevertheless the idea of the unity of their community and its equality to the rest of the nations has emerged in modern times. This conceptual development is complex, multi-directional and influenced by various factors. The ideas are most often perceived under the “outside” influence of the social environment and the Gypsies often seek analogies with other nations.

Here we will make an overview of the main political ideas for development of the Gypsy community – from the first historical accounts till nowadays. In this point of view we cannot talk about a straightforward and one-directional evolution of one underlying paradigm, which gradually develops with time. This phenomenon is a long search and testing of many options, mutually crossing, complementing, combining and sometimes even contradicting one another.

1. Early Civil Right Movements

From a chronological point of view the first testimonies of Gypsy aspiration towards civil emancipation and equal status of their nation can be found in the 19th c. on the Balkans within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. The Balkan nations who were part of the Empire were beginning to form their ethnic and national states and national churches according to the established Christian Orthodox traditions. In 1868 the Bulgarian

newspaper *Macedonia*, published in Istanbul, printed "A letter to the editor" signed by an "Egyptian" (i. e. Gypsy). The author of the letter, Ilia Naumchev from Prilep (today a town in Macedonia) used arguments to plead for the right of the Gypsies as an ancient people to have religious worship in their own language and for the necessity of "making a society and taking care of education".¹

As a whole the logic of Gypsy community development, described in the letter of Ilia Naumchev repeated the pattern of development of the other Balkan nations in the 19th c. – creation of their own system of education, their own church with services in their own language, and eventually, without especially mentioning, the implied perspective of their own state. Whether these ideas were altogether realistic in view of the situation of the Gypsy community on the Balkans back then is another question. However, the emergence of such ideas was a fact, which could not be ignored. Ilia Naumchev himself became, at the end of his life, a clergyman in the Bulgarian Exarchate (an independent Bulgarian Orthodox Church in conditions of Ottoman Empire) and nowadays he is no longer remembered by anybody in his native town.

It was only normal that these ideas emerged on the Balkans where the Gypsies had lived for centuries within the borders of the Ottoman Empire and most of them were no longer nomads. The Gypsies were integrated in the Ottoman Empire with their own social and civil status, which was very similar to the status of other nations subjects of the Empire.² The Gypsies have had civil rights since the 15th c., unlike the Gypsies in Central and Western Europe who achieved this social status much later. That was why the development of the Gypsies, at least on the level of ideas, was very similar to the development of the other Balkan nations among who they lived.

Here it is good to give an example of the civil status of the Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire. In 1693 the Gypsy man Selim, son of Osman, a baker, addressed the court in Sarajevo asking to be exempt from paying "djizie" (a tax paid by the non-Muslims and the Muslim Gypsies). He submitted proof of behaving and living as a Muslim and paying all taxes as a

¹ Macedonia newspaper *Tsarigrad*, year I, Nr. 32, 8.8.1867, 3. The letter was published, translated into English and commented in: *Studii Romani*, vol. II.

² Marushiakova/ Popov, *Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire*.



Muslim. The court granted him the exemption.³ Of course, as it has been said many times, many of the problems in the Ottoman Empire were not caused by the existing laws, but by their practical implementation and it is an undisputed fact that back then the Gypsies (or at least some of them) possessed civil consciousness and ability to fight for their rights.

This point of view explains why the first Gypsy organizations in the first half of the 20th c. emerged exact in many Balkan countries. The Gypsies wanted to become equal citizens of the new ethnic and national states and their social environment without losing the specific characteristics of their community. This was the main strategic goal of the Gypsy organizations, which were founded on the Balkans back then.

The first manifestations of an organized Gypsy movement in Bulgaria were related to the new electoral law of 1901. It took away the electoral rights of some Gypsies (Muslims and nomads) which had been guaranteed in the constitution of 1879. The Gypsy congress, held in Sofia in 1905, and the protest campaign, which followed in the country, were directed against this discriminatory law.⁴

Various Gypsy organizations were established in the 20's and 30's of the 20th c. in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece. Some of them published their own periodicals. The first Gypsy organization in Rumania was established in 1926, other local organizations were also established, and in 1933 the *Asociatia Generala a Tiganilor din Rumania* (General Association of the Gypsies in Rumania) and the *Uniunii Generale a Romilor din Rumania* (General Union of the Roma in Rumania) were established. The newspapers *O Rom* (Roma), *Glasul Romilor* (Voice of the Roma), *Neamul Tiganesc* (Gypsy People) and *Timpul* (Times) were published in the 30's of the 20th c.⁵

In 1927 *The first Serbian-Gypsy association for mutual assistance in sickness and death* was founded in Yugoslavia, and in 1935 the *Association of Belgrade Gypsies for the Celebration of the Aunt Bibia* was established which published *Romano Lil* (Roma Newspaper) newspaper. In 1939 *Prosvetni klub Jugoslavske ciganske omladine* (The Educational Club of

³ *Ibid.*, 47–49.

⁴ Marushiakova/ Popov, *Gypsies (Roma) in Bulgaria*, 29–30.

⁵ Achim, *Tsigani*, 127–132.

Yugoslavian Gypsy Youth) was established which grew into *Omladina Jugoslavo-ciganska* (Yugoslavian-Gypsy Youth).⁶

In 1919 the Gypsy organisation *Istikbal* (The future) was founded in Bulgaria, existed several years and was resumed in 1931 as the *Mohammedan National and Educational Organization*, which published *Terbie* (Education) newspaper in 1933.⁷

In 1939 *Panhellenios Syllogos Ellinon Athinganon* (Pan Hellenic Cultural Association of the Greek Gypsies) was founded in Athens. Its main goal was to obtain Greek citizenship and Greek passports for the Gypsy immigrants to Greece from Asia Minor in the 20's of the 20th c.⁸

All Gypsy organizations on the Balkans were established independently of the respective country, without its support and their main goal often was to contradict the existing state policy.

A new phenomenon emerged in the newly created USSR – Gypsy organizations initiated by the state and functioning under the complete control of the state. In 1925 in Moscow an All-Russian Gypsy Union was founded and the following year the same union was founded in Belarus. Different Roma periodicals were published in the 20's and 30's of the 20th c. (*Romani Zoria* [Roma Daybreak], *Nevo Drom* [New Way]) and the famous *Romen* theater was organized.⁹ The Gypsy organizations in the countries of Eastern Europe after W. W. II and the establishment of the so-called “socialist system” were based on the same state-initiated and controlled principle.

The development of the organized Gypsy movement in Eastern Europe has so far been evaluated in a rather one-sided manner, mainly in the spirit of the cold war with an emphasis of the violation (real or alleged) of Gypsy human rights. It would not be far-fetched to say however that the state policies in Eastern Europe and the subordinate Gypsy organizations were key factors for the development of the Gypsy community and the implementation of new civil ideas in it, though this was far from the goals of the state policies. This is not a paradox and history has witnessed quite a few such processes.

⁶ Ackovic, *Istorija Informisanja*, 43–59.

⁷ Marushiakova/Popov, *Gypsies (Roma) in Bulgaria*, 30–31.

⁸ Liegeois, *Roma*, 251–252.

⁹ See: Streck, *Zigeuner des Schwarzmeergebietes*.

The policy in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, which stimulates and supports the development of the Gypsy community often is limited in duration and contradictory in implementation. It rapidly gives way to the established national patterns of attitude towards the Gypsies, in most of the cases the aim is their assimilation. Nevertheless, it is due to this policy (in spite of its strategic goals) combination with the overall political and social environment, that the Gypsies have been able to participate more or less equally in social life and develop further their civil consciousness.

The final results of these processes for the Gypsies of Central and Eastern Europe nowadays stand out clearly in contrast to the destiny of Gypsies all over the world. Here we see hundreds and even thousands of Gypsies with relatively good education and some with respectable professions – teachers, medical doctors, lawyers, members of the military and the police, journalists, artists, scientists... In the final analysis, it is due to the socialist era that a new “Gypsy elite” was created with new dimensions and values and radically different from the traditional “Gypsy” elite. Despite some weak points, this new elite, formed within a totalitarian system (including their children and grandchildren) now is an important factor in the overall development of the community though its members should not be considered as the only and leading representatives of the Gypsy community.

2. *The search for “Romanestan”*

A new and very important factor for the development of the Gypsy community emerged in the first half of the 20th c. In only a few decades the massive Gypsy waves of migration which began in the second half of the 19th c. from the lands of what today is Rumania, changed the picture of the Gypsy community scattered in different countries and continents all over the world. The community of Gypsy groups usually united under the name *Kalderash* or *Vlax/ Olah* [Wallachian] Rrom was formed in the then principalities of Wallachia and Moldova. Though they had the statute of slaves in the principalities, the forefathers of these Gypsy groups (the so-called *Leyash*) had actually been nomads for centuries. They paid an annual tax and were free to move from one place to another without limi-

tation,¹⁰ they also preserved their internal autonomous self-government and remained almost non-integrated in the social environment where they lived with no feeling of belonging to the place or country where they lived (often temporarily).

It is exactly among the representatives of this new wave of migration and especially the group of Kelderara settled in Poland, that the idea about a Gypsy state occurred for the first time in the 20's and 30's of the 20th c. This idea is related to the so called "Gypsy kings" from the dynasty (or rather family) Kwiek – Dimiter Kwiek, Gregor Kwiek, Michal I. Kwiek, Michal II. Kwiek, Jozef Kwiek, Bazil Kwiek, Janusz Kwiek, Rudolf Kwiek.¹¹

The institution of the so-called "Gypsy kings" (or rather an imitation of an institution for the sake of the surrounding population) is a phenomenon, which is well known in history. Since the Gypsies came to Western Europe in the 15th c. the historical sources noted their "king Sindel, the dukes Andrash, Mihali and Panuel", and other "princes of Little Egypt".¹² This is a case of presenting their leaders according to the general terminology in order to mislead the European rulers into granting privileges for the Gypsies. Later on, the institution of the "Gypsy kings" appeared in Polish Commonwealth in the 17th–18th c. It was most often headed by non-Gypsies who were responsible to the state for collecting taxes from the Gypsies.¹³ Probably it was under their influence that the *Shero rom* (head of the Roma) institution originated among the Polish Roma. The *Shero rom* institution still exists today and solves a number of problems in the group.

The Kwiek dynasty was something totally new in Gypsy history. It was closely related to the ideas about an independent state, *Romanestan* (land of the Roma). Initiatives were taken in search for territory for the state. In 1934 the newly elected Gypsy king Jozef Kwiek sent a delegation to the United Nations to ask for land in Southern Africa (namely Namibia) so the Gypsies could have their own state there. At the same time the "alternative" king Michal II Kwiek traveled to India in order to specify the

¹⁰ Kogalnitchan, *Skizze einer Geschichte der Zigeuner*; Serboianu, *Les Tsiganes*.

¹¹ Ficowski, *Cyganie*, 88–107.

¹² Colocci, *Gli Zingari*, 33–66, see here also included map showing the itineraries of King Sindel, Duke Mihali, Duke Andrash and Duke Panuel.

¹³ Ficowski, *Cyganie*, 46–59; for archival documents of nomination of Gypsy Kings in Polish Commonwealth see: Mroz, *Dzieje Cyganow*, 437–462.

location of the future Gypsy state (somewhere along the shores of the river Ganges). After his trip he began to support the idea that the state should be in Africa (namely Uganda) and traveled to Czechoslovakia and England to seek support for his idea. In 1936 the next king, heir to Joseph, Janusz Kwiek, sent a delegation to Mussolini asking for some land in Abyssinia (at that time occupied by Italy) where the Gypsies could have their own state.¹⁴

The birth of the idea about an independent Gypsy state was inspired by several factors stemming from the internal differences in the Gypsy community. It originated among the "new Gypsies" who scattered in many countries not too long ago, including the most respected group of the Kelderara. These groups are not tied to a specific country; they are scattered in various countries and often move from one country to another without breaking their kinship connections. They are searching for their place in the new modern society without being tied to a specific and already existing nation. Launching the Gypsy kings ideas increases their social prestige among the surrounding population, the authorities and the other Gypsy groups. It is only logical that the relatively numerous subgroups of Polska [Polish] Roma, more or less integrated in the Polish nation, show no interest in the idea about an independent Gypsy state, which is actively supported by some of the big Kelderara families in Hungary, France and Spain.¹⁵ We should not ignore the influence of the surrounding population on these processes. They might have also been influenced (as an example to follow) by the Zionist ideas for the creation of the State of Israel, which were especially popular in Poland at the time.¹⁶

It is a little known fact that the idea of an independent Gypsy state developed rapidly during W. W. II in Nazi Germany. It was supported by Heinrich Himmler who, using Robert Ritter's theory about the "pure" and "impure" (i. e. with non-Gypsy blood) Gypsies, was thinking of creating a little trial state of the "pure Gypsies" (as such were determined only 10% from the whole community). The place for the future state was designed to be in Burgenland, on the border between Austria and Hungary.¹⁷ This idea was not followed by any attempts for its practical implementation; it is only worth mentioning as a historical curiosity.

¹⁴ Ficowski, *Cyganie*, 101f.; Hancock, *We are the Romani peoples*, 117f.

¹⁵ Ficowski, *Cyganie*, 91–93.

¹⁶ Tipler, "From nomads", 61.

¹⁷ Hermann, "*Sinti und Roma*", 35.

The representatives of the Kwiek dynasty who emigrated to France after W. W. II carried on the idea of an independent Gypsy state. Michal Kwiek tried to found an experimental Gypsy village near Paris with its own autonomous self-government, supported by the French authorities. The former "great chancellor" Rudolph Kwiek proclaimed himself the Gypsy king in Paris in 1946 and later on changed his title to "president of the World Council of the Gypsies". In 1959 Lionel Rottaru from Rumania, an emigrant to France, proclaimed himself "Supreme head of the Gypsy people" with the title "Vaida Voevod" and founded the organization "World Gypsy Community". He demanded land near Lyon from the French government where to establish Gypsy villages, he wrote official letters to the UNO demanding territories in Somalia for the Gypsy state and he even issued passports of the future state in the 70's.¹⁸

3. Internationalization

A new type of international unity of the Gypsies from various countries was gradually shaping up in the 70's of 20th century. After W. W. II a number of Gypsy organizations emerged in Western Europe which were seeking ways for their unification and attracting Gypsy organizations from Eastern Europe. This unification took place during the First World Gypsy Congress in London in 1971. Studies on the issue usually say that the congress was attended by representatives of 14 countries,¹⁹ but the documents of the congress listed delegates from 8 countries, 2 out of which from Eastern Europe (Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia) and observers.²⁰ The first congress with chairman Slobodan Berberski (Yugoslavia) and secretary non-Gypsy Grattan Puxon (Great Britain) laid the foundations of the International Roma Union (IRU) and chose a flag and Gypsy anthem. The leading concept was the principle of "amaro Romano drom" (our Romani way) and the phrase "our state is everywhere where there are Roma because Romanestan is in our hearts".²¹

In the 70's the international Roma movement had very active relations with India. After the first world festival of Gypsy culture in Chandigarh in

¹⁸ Liegeois, *Roma*, 250; Hancock, *We are the Romani people*, 119f.; see also interview with Vaida Voevod III in: Ackovic, *Nacia smo*, 43–45.

¹⁹ According earlier information the congress was attended by representatives of 21 countries, see: Acton/ Klimova, "The Interantional Romani Union", 158.

²⁰ Kenrick, "The World Romani Congress", 107f.

²¹ Liegeois, *Roma*, 257; Ackovic, *Nacia smo*, 98–100.

1976, together with Gypsy representatives from 26 countries (as reported in respective studies, we however have some doubts about the accuracy of this data) a delegation from India attended the second world congress in Geneva in 1978. The congress declared that India was the “mother-country” of the Roma and began to work for the acceptance of IRU in world organizations. In 1997 IRU received consultation status in the UNO in the NGO category. A new leadership of IRU was elected with president Dr. Jan Cibula (immigrant from Czechoslovakia) and secretary Shaip Yusuf (Yugoslavia).²²

The next congress of IRU took place in Göttingen in 1981. It was attended by representatives from 22 countries (mostly from Western Europe, like the previous congresses). This was the only IRU congress, which was attended not only by Roma but by Sinti as well. Moreover, a Sinti representative (Romani Rose) entered the new leadership. Sait Balic (Yugoslavia) was the president, Romani Rose (Germany) was the vice-president and Rajko Djuric (Yugoslavia)²³ was secretary. After the congress the activities of IRU became practically non-existent until the end of the cold war and the changes in Eastern Europe after 1989. Only events took place, mostly in Yugoslavia, such as the big congress in Sarajevo in 1986, which was dedicated to Roma language and culture.

On the whole the development of IRU during this time and the predominant concepts about the future of the Roma were more or less influenced by various factors. The first congress of IRU was organized with the ardent support of civic active scholars and amateurs who were interested in Roma culture and history. Some of them (Grattan Puxon) even joined the leadership of the new organization, but were ousted at the subsequent congresses, others remained connected to the Roma movement, helping them in a different manner (as interpreters between the different Gypsy communities who speak different languages or dialects of Romanes). The second congress of IRU was organized with the support of Evangelical churches working among the Gypsies, the Pentecostal church in particular. Later on the different Evangelical churches lost interest in the world Romani movement though they are still active among the Gypsies. The third congress of IRU was organized by a non-governmental organization (The

²² Liegeois, *Roma*, 258.

²³ Relatively complete documentation of the 3rd congress of IRU is stored at SFB 586 “Differenz und Integration” office in Leipzig; see also: Rishi, “Report of the Third World”, 43–80.

Association for Threatened Peoples). This was the beginning of the influence of a powerful factor which grew with time – the NGO's, mostly (but not all) human rights ones, whose main target are the Gypsies.

All studies of the international Romani movement so far have ignored a little known factor – the influence of some state policies on a global scale, which exceed the respective state and seek international results. The first stages of development of the Romani movement were mostly influenced by the policy of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian delegations to the first three congresses were financed by the state and were the most numerous and most actives ones, which was the reason for the predominance of Yugoslavian Roma in IRU leadership. The president of the first world Gypsy congress was Slobodan Berberski, a hero in the anti-fascist resistance movement and member of the Central Committee of the Union of Yugoslavian Communists. Some participants in the first congress recall that one of the main tasks of the newly created world Roma organization was to spread the example of Yugoslavia all over the world as a model state in its Roma policy. The red colour on the Romani flag was proposed by Slobodan Berberski as symbol of communism²⁴ and was accepted at the beginning only conditional: "A red fire, wheel or thin stripe could be added in individual countries if desired."²⁵ Yugoslavia's support for the international Romani movement was constant and had many forms even influencing the contacts of the movement with India. In 1976 Prime minister Indira Ghandi received the Roma delegation to Chandigarh and the meeting was made possible through the channels of the Yugoslavian Foreign Ministry and the Movement of Independent States where India and Yugoslavia had leading positions.²⁶ The influence of Yugoslavia on the international Romani movement ended with the Fourth congress of IRU in Warsaw in 1990 which was suspected to have been unofficially financed by the Yugoslavian state (in any case until now, a clear answer to the question who had financed this congress is not available). The congress elected Rajko Djuric as its new president and Emil Scuka (Czechoslovakia) as its Secretary General.

²⁴ Ackovic, *Nacia smo*, 100.

²⁵ Kenrick, "The World", 105.

²⁶ Personal communications with the participants.

4. *The International Roma Union*

The fourth congress of IRU in Warsaw was an important stage in the development of the international Roma movement.²⁷ According different sources Roma representatives from 18, 20, 24 or 28 countries attended the congress.²⁸ An important presence was the great number of Roma from Eastern Europe. The majority of Roma live in Eastern Europe and during socialist times a new Roma elite was formed in these countries, more or less distant from the Roma in Western Europe. The influx of this fresh power gave new dimensions to the international Roma movement. After the congress the center of the Roma movement made a definite shift to Central and Eastern Europe and it was here, in the new environment after the end of the cold war and the disintegration of the so-called socialist system, that the fundamental ideas about the development of the Roma community were born and continued to develop.

Among the materials approved by the Fourth Congress of IRU of interest to us is the concept that the Roma are citizens of the countries they live in and at the same time they have to look for their own place in the future united Europe. The first part of this concept was determined by the relatively higher degree of social integration of the Gypsies in Central and Eastern Europe, while the second part is a response to the trends for future development of these countries and their aspiration to become part of the new Euro-Atlantic realia.

The process of searching for a place for the Gypsies in European integration saw the emergence of the concept of the Roma as a *trans[/border]-national minority*.²⁹ This concept was introduced for the first time at the meeting in Ostia near Rome (Italy) in 1991.³⁰ At that time a lot of hope for improving the social status of the Gypsies and solving their numerous problems in Central and Eastern Europe, which appeared or were aggravated as a result of the hard period of transition, was directed towards international law and the European institutions in particular. When the countries of Central and Eastern Europe joined the Framework Convention for national minorities and the Roma were given the status of national minority in most of the countries without any considerable positive

²⁷ From this period our source of information are personal observations and/ or conversations with the participants, see also: Rishi, "IV. World Romani", 3–15, 61.

²⁸ Liegeois, *Roma*, 259; Kenrick, *Historical Dictionary*, 182.

²⁹ Gheorghe/ Acton, "Citizens of the world and nowhere", 54–70.

³⁰ Proceedings from this meeting see: "Est e ovest"; *Roma, Gypsy, Travellers. East/ West*.

changes for them, their disappointment led them to seek new ideas for the development of the Roma community. The concept of the Roma as a “nation without a state” was a logical consequence of these developments.

The concept of the Roma as a nation without a state was suggested and developed in many articles by a non-Roma, Paolo Pietrosanti from Italy, an influential member of the Transradical party.³¹ He was co-opted in the IRU leadership (even though it was not very clear how this happens) as early as the mid 90's. After the fifth congress of IRU in July 2000 in Prague, this concept became the leading one. According the organisers the congress was attended by Roma from 39 countries, but in the *International Romani Union* Chapter, as accepted at the Congress, we read that the organisation consist from representatives of 21 countries (Chapter II, Article 3) and the elected parliament is composed by representatives of 32 countries (including Kosovo, perceived as a separate country). The new leaders of the organization were elected – president Emil Scuka (The Czech Republic) and secretary general Hristo Kyuchukov (Bulgaria).³²

The program of the future activities of the organization is dedicated to the concept of the Roma as a “nation without a state”. IRU presented itself officially as a leading institution representing the Roma nation before the international institutions, with all the attributes of the nation-state – parliament (legislative power), commissariat (executive power) and Supreme court (juridical power). The leaders of the new organization had the goal to make the position of IRU official before the international institutions, i. e. they were aspiring for the position of an equal member of the world organizations (UNO, UNESCO) and European institutions (The Council of Europe, EU).

All further activities of the IRU leadership were dedicated to this goal. They sign on the 4th of April 2001 “Memorandum of understanding and co-operation between IRU and Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs”, they met with the heads of state of the Czech Republic and Bulgaria, members of the governments of Italy and Yugoslavia, they attended the meeting of the leaders of the EU in Nice, they open IRU office (de-facto Transnational Radical Party office) in Brussels, they made official proposal to the Bulgarian president for preparation of joint projects of IRU and the

³¹ Pietrosanti, *Project for a non-territorial*.

³² Detailed account of this congress see: Acton/ Klimova, “The International”, 157–219.

Republic of Bulgaria (i. e. two equal sides) for solving the problems of the Roma.

The concept about the Roma as a nation without a state was not the only one of its kind in the 90's. New ideas entered the public space, some original and some less so. As a matter of fact, the IRU leadership was not so straightforward and rigorous in imposing the "nation without a state" concept. During a meeting with the Indian Minister of Culture in the spring of 2001 they asked for a statute of "people of Indian origin" to be granted to the Roma (the meaning of this from the point of view of international law is hardly understandable by anyone) and even a possibility to receive Indian passports was discussed. The IRU leadership was divided in this purpose – the president Emil Scuka categorically refused such possibility (with argumentation, that this could give reason to several countries to expulse Gypsies as "foreign citizens"), while the Secretary General Hristo Kyuchukov welcomed it. However, no official steps from Indian side followed and the issue was quickly forgotten.

Not all Gypsies lost the desire for an independent state. For example, in Poland in the beginning of the 90's many periodicals published the suggestion that Kaliningrad district (the former Königsberg) be given to the Gypsies for their own state. The Bulgarian press quoted Gypsy leaders saying that a Gypsy state can be created in Dobrudja, in the borderland between Rumania and Bulgaria. The Gypsy activist Nicolae Bobu in Rumania, who is also a lawyer, is suing the Rumanian state in order to make a legitimate Gypsy state from a small rural piece of land purchased by several Gypsy families. The representative of Bulgaria in the IRU Parliament after returning home from the congress in Prague, gave a press statement, that one of the decisions of the congress is to create a Roma state "between India and Egypt".³³

The most well formed concept is the position of a well-known Roma leader, the head of an international Roma organization, an alternative to IRU. In a number of unofficial comments he situated the future Roma state in Macedonia and outlined long-term strategies for the future geopolitical development of the Balkans. During the Kosovo crisis in 1999–2000 numerous rumors were circulating (unofficially) about the prepa-

³³ Romite shite praviat svoia darzhava [Roma will create their own state].

ration of para-military Roma forces “somewhere on the Balkans” (without any real basis).

In the last few years yet another idea about the future of the Roma has emerged – the suggestion to grant them the status of an aboriginal people so that they can preserve and develop their specific culture. When this idea was first heard in academic circles³⁴ the European Gypsies met it with dismay and regarded it as a bad joke. However, the idea has received unexpected support from overseas from Roma activists in the US and Latin America, mostly Kalderash and groups related to them, whose forefathers came to the new world 2–3 generations ago, united in the pan-American Romani Alliance *the Council of the Kumpanias and Organisations of the America* (SKOKRA). As a result, the suggestion to grant the Roma the status of “indigenous people” was included in the declaration “The Roma people: The other son of Pacha Mama – Mother Earth, Continental Meeting of the Roma people of Americas” at the meeting “The Forum of the Americas for Diversity and Plurality” in Quito at the 15th of March 2001.³⁵

5. *The NGO boom*

After 1989 the ideas about the future of the Gypsies were strongly influenced by outside factors which determined the main trends of its development. The “Roma issue” in Eastern Europe was the main topic of many foundations, all kinds of NGO (human rights at first and then NGO’s working in all spheres of life) and recently the programs of European institutions. The “new markets” for these structures in Eastern Europe, especially the clearly profitable “Roma niche” were developed rapidly and the so-called “Gypsy industry” became satiated. This has led to a number of ridiculous situations (e. g. the offer of funding is much higher as could be accumulated from existed NGO’s). This lead also to the emergence of quite a few “professional Roma” (on national and international level), whose solely educational and professional qualification is the Roma origin (often contested by other Roma) and proficiency in English, which appeared to be enough to earn their living as “experts” in NGO sector and in the European institutions.

³⁴ Klimova, “Romani Rights, Indigenous Rights”.

³⁵ http://movimientos.org/dhplural/foro-racismo/planf_en.phtml.



The "Gypsy industry" is based on two completely opposite and often intersecting and mutually complementing concepts about the Roma. On the one hand, the Roma are viewed as an underclass, a strongly marginalised and socially degraded community, which to a certain extent is socially inadequate (for example, some European programmes classify the Roma not together with other ethnic minorities, but together with disabled people, homosexuals, etc.) Sometimes in the past, and occasionally in the present this theory was and still is supported by some state policies in Central Europe (former Czechoslovakia, Hungary) and by some recent scholar works as well, which premised (quite speculative) on correlation between "poverty" and "ethnicity".³⁶ On the other hand stands the other concept of "Gypsy industry" with its typically exotic vision of the Roma and the popular theses about the specifics of the Roma community and its typical traditional ethnic culture, which makes them completely different from the non-Gypsies and makes them unable to participate equally in the life of the countries, where they are living.³⁷

The common element between the two theses (which, only at first glance, look absolute contradictional) is that both recognize the need for a specific approach towards the Gypsies, different from approach towards the members of the majority population and even from other minorities. Thus special programs and projects in order to work with them are needed. Otherwise, if the Roma are perceived as people like any other, a "normal" ethnic community like many such communities in Europe, or a differentiated part of the respective nation in whose country they live, the initiatives of the "Gypsy industry" (in its NGO or/ and Euro-bureaucrat parameters) will lose most of their targets.

The "Gypsy industry" has been more cautious as far as the "nation without a state" concept is concerned because of the ambitions of IRU (and other similar international Roma organisations) to become the legitimate representative of the Roma community and take control over all funding for the Roma in Eastern Europe. This excludes the role of the NGO as a go-between and deprives them of working space and created difficulties in front of European Programs (on first place with the logical question "who is the legitimate representative of the Roma community?").

³⁶ Emigh/ Fodor/ Szelenyi, "The Racialisation", 1–32; Ladanyi, "The Hungarian", 67–82. For polemic with this see: Stewart, "Deprivation, the Roma", 133–156.

³⁷ For the most recent example of this approach see: Braham & Braham "Romani Migrations and EU", 47–62.

An extremely important factor for promoting of the concept of the Roma as a “nation without a state”, was the state policy of Czech Republic and in particular the activities of the Czech Foreign Ministry. The Czech Republic provided most of the funding of the Fifth Congress of IRU in Prague. The congress was attended by the Czech Foreign Minister (and not representatives of the state institutions working on the problems of Czech Roma). Moreover, all further work of the IRU leadership was financed and assisted by the Czech Foreign Ministry. The visits of the president of IRU to many countries and his meetings with government officials (including presidents) were arranged along diplomatic channels.

This policy of the Czech Republic was in some extent logical. The Czech Gypsies were almost completely annihilated during W. W. II and now the Roma living there are immigrants from Slovakia, their children and grandchildren. After the separation between the Czech Republic and Slovakia these Roma are no longer historically bound to the Czech nation. A few years from now when the Czech Republic expects to become a full-fledged member of the EU, the Roma as an “European nation without a state” will be able to choose where to live in the new broader European boundaries (i. e. it was expected that they will leave Czech Republic and will prefer to live in more wealthy West European countries).

A document of the Czech Foreign Ministry, whose existence became known through unofficial channels, confirms these speculations. This document underlines “the Europeanisation of the Roma issue” as the main goal of the Czech policy regarding the Roma. It discusses in detail how to assist IRU and what are the respective duties of the Czech diplomats abroad, especially those in Central Europe, where they should convince the neighboring countries to adapt Czech model in regard to Roma problem.³⁸

After the election in 2002 and composing of a new government in the Czech Republic this state support of IRU ostensible ceased. The role of Czech Republic as a state which provide financial and lobby support for the Roma movement (but yet not only IRU) was taken by Finland. We could only speculate about the reasons for this policy of Finland, but not the last factor of significance is the fear from emigration of Gypsies from Eastern Europe (the cases of Roma asylum seekers from Slovakia in

³⁸ Sobotka, “They have a dream”.

Finland lead to rapid changes in the emigrational legislative there) as well as the wish to demonstrate successfulness of Finland's model of solving the Roma problems.

With the support of Finland, and under patronage of its President Ms. Tarja Halonen, after several meetings of Roma activists with representatives of European institutions, at the 1st of October 2002, the creation of the pan-European Roma Advisory Body at the Parliamentary assembly of Council of Europe – the European Roma Forum was officially recommended.³⁹ At the current stage this idea is in process of discussing and lobbying, without real results.

The question whether this development will continue in direction towards "Roma as a nation without a state" remains open. In the documents concerning establishment of European Roma Forum the notion "Roma nation" is not mentioned. The summarising description "Roma – different groups, similar experiences of discrimination" is used instead⁴⁰. It is not very likely that this could be a criteria on which a nation could be constituted, because of its vague character – lot of the social (and not ethnic ones) formations could be defined in this way. The hope of some Roma activists to receive official recognition of Roma as a nation without a state in the frames of European structures by attaching the European Roma Forum to the Parliamentary Assembly of Council of Europe is barely realistic.

It is indicative, that in the process of creation of European Roma Forum IRU gives up the leading position to the alternative international organisation Roma National Congress (RNC) leaded by Rudko Kawczynski (Lovara from Poland living in Germany). RNC was the organiser of alternative international "2nd World Roma Congress" in the polish town of Lodz in May 2002, claiming to be a follower of the 1st World Roma congress in 1937 organized by the Kwiek dynasty. RNC is insisting on the "right to cultural difference" and on "join the battle of the other 5000 indigenous peoples and hundred of thousands local traditional communities".⁴¹

The ideas of the Roma nation are constantly developed and sometimes are taking unexpected directions. New development in Roma movement

³⁹ The European Roma Forum.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ <http://www.romaworldcongress.org/indexeng.html>.

once again gives an evidence for this. The Romani Activists Network on Legal and Political Issues, a Belgian-based federation, offered own interpretation of notion “Roma nation”, limiting it only to the Romani population of the EU member states.⁴²

We saw similar approach recently, in the former Soviet Union. In January 2003 in Smolensk, Russia, the Association of Roma Communities of the Baltic Countries and the Commonwealth of Independent States “Amaro Drom” was created. The analysis of the programm documents of this new organisation⁴³ clearly shows, that the idea of Roma nation is the leading one, but this “nation” is understood in frames of the countries of the former Soviet Union, and its leading goals and aims are oriented towards this direction.

The congress in Smolensk once again confirms a clear tendency – ambition of “external factors” to determine (according their own interests) the directions in development of Roma movement. The congress in Smolensk was organised with the financial support of the network of Open Society foundations, which is limiting significantly their activities in Central and Eastern Europe and urgently seeks “new markets”. And it is merely natural that the first Welcome letter to the new created organisation was send by European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC – NGO created by the network of Open Society foundations): “The ERRC believes that the creation of the Association of Roma communities of the Baltic countries and the CIS is the first significant step towards a strong Roma rights movement in the CIS and the Baltic states”.⁴⁴

6. *Remaining problems*

So far we have presented only the evolution of ideas about the Roma nation and state, without discussing in detail how realistic each idea is and how likely it is to materialize. These are all important issues, however, it is much more important to decide how far they are a realistic reflection of the visions and desires of the diverse and internally heterogeneous Gypsy community.

The internal heterogeneity of the Gypsies is quite a serious factor in the Roma community. Some authors even ask the question how realistic is it

⁴² PER Report, *Roma and the Question*, 6f.

⁴³ <http://www.romanation.da.ru/>.

⁴⁴ <http://www.errc.com>.

to use the concept of community (let alone “nation”) for a group of people whose mother tongues are not only the various dialects of Romanes but also Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Spanish and others, and quite common are the groups with various preferred (i. e. public declared or even real experienced)⁴⁵ different, non-Gypsy ethnic identities. The nation is not only a congregation of groups of people with common origin, it also prerequisite quite a few other parameters and (not at least) the awareness of unity of the community. Sometimes the awareness of community unity in some regions may be absent altogether (or it may exist on lower levels) and the Gypsies may not be aware of the existence of bigger community subdivisions.

We can summarize by saying that the Gypsies as a community are rather a social construction united primarily by common historical origin and by the attitude of the surrounding population, who treat them as “Gypsies” (or other equivalent names). It is only as a consequence that other elements of a “real community” are built, especially intensive nowadays. This building, however is in its initial phase, in spite of the efforts of some international leaders to present it as a fulfilled process. The attempts to direct this development from “up to down” with support of various factors outside the community till now does not give any significant results in regards of Roma community itself.

Actually the idea of Roma nation is perceived predominantly as an instrument, not as an aim and that is why some Roma international activists are trying to consider different patterns of constructing this nation, dependant on the expected results. There is no agreement in regards of the fundamental question – should this idea direct the different Gypsy communities in the direction of unification (towards one unitary Roma nation) or Roma nation should be an open structure, an alliance of different communities bound together by common problems, caused by the attitudes of surrounding populations.⁴⁶ Shortly, for the international Roma strategists, it is not decided how should Gypsy communities develop – as “ethno-nation”, as “civic nation” or as “cultural nation”, that is why they are also looking for other variants, such as “political nation” or “cultural nation.”⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Marushiakova, *Identity Formation*.

⁴⁶ PER Report, *Roma and the Question*, 15f.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.



The Gypsies, whether they perceive their community as a real one or quasi-community, are not united even on the level of terminology. One of the main decisions of the First Congress supposedly was the official use of the name "Roma" for all Gypsies worldwide.⁴⁸ This is more or less wishful thinking on a global scale. A big headway has been made in public speaking in a number of countries (mostly in Europe) where it has become politically incorrect to use a name other than "Roma" (even when it is not a question of Roma). This name has been officially accepted by some (but not all) international institutions, again mostly in Europe. The Roma activists put a lot of efforts to endorse this appellation of the community, which also lead to some scandal and odd situations, e. g. at UN World Conference Against Racism in Durban, South Africa in summer 2001 the Roma delegates pressed the representatives of Scottish and Irish Travellers to declare themselves as Roma in order to be able to sign common declaration.

However, the non-Roma Gypsy communities usually reject the name "Roma" or accept it with compromise. For example, the official name in Germany is "Sinti und Roma" and the representatives of the Sinti have attended only the Göttingen congress out of all IRU congresses. Their attendance there was very pragmatic, it served to make legitimate in front of the German government the organization "Union of German Sinti and Roma" headed by Romani Rose as a representative of all Gypsies, which took an active part in the distribution of aid and compensation for Holocaust victims. Somewhat similar is the approach of representatives of the Spanish Kale and NGO's, who took part in the international Roma movement mostly in order to obtain access to different EU programs, but they were absent from the latest IRU congress in Prague. It is a curious fact that the international Roma movement includes some Kale representatives, while the Roma in Spain, the so-called "Hungaros" are never included in the process. Among the Roma themselves there is no unity regarding the terminology used. In Russia, for example, they prefer the name "Tsygane" [Gypsies], in Hungary there was an inter-group conflict about the name of the national radio – "Radio C" ("C" as in "Ciganyok") and not "Radio R" ("R" as in "Roma"), in Bulgaria the division is among common "Tsigani" [Gypsies] and Roma – in meaning "professional Roma", etc.

⁴⁸ However this decision was no fixed in any written document and is not reflected in articles, written of that time. Also the memories of participants in this congress differ, some argued that such decision was made, others deny it.

Similar is the situation with the “standardization” of Romanes, the language of the Roma, who are the main part of Gypsy communities. The language standardization was discussed already at the First Roma congress and it was a key point at the Warsaw Congress (where Marcel Korthiade passed a congress decision to use his own, special constructed for this purpose alphabet). The real results from the “standardization” until now are negligible. Romanes is being taught in very limited degree, mainly as additional subject in some countries in Eastern Europe. Only in Rumania the alphabet approved by Warsaw Congress is in use. Other countries use their own variations according to the local writing norms. Quite a few publications in Romanes appeared, although written with different alphabets (variations of Latin, Cyrillic and even Greek) and in different dialects, which are often incomprehensible by Roma from other communities or in other countries. In the limited circle of the so-called “international Roma” appeared something like “lingua franca” in oral form, which is a mixture of different dialects. This language is used at International meetings, but however this is only a beginning of development of real standardized, commonly accepted literary Roma language and the possible end of this process is in the vast future.

Probably the solely idea, which more or less unites the activists from the International Roma Movement is the Holocaust. From 70's onwards they constantly raised the issue of compensating the Gypsies as victims of W. W. II. and link their extermination during the Holocaust with the present persecution, and are using the history of Holocaust to strength the Roma identity and unity.⁴⁹ National historical mythology about the Gypsies/ Roma as “eternal victim” during their whole history is developed in the works of some Roma activists,⁵⁰ although as an ideological concept, it gained followers only in very limited circle of Gypsy intellectuals. Most discussions in the frames of international Roma movements however, are not about the ideological concept, but pragmatically about the compensation of victims and survivors of Holocaust, distribution of this money, and so on.

Shortly, the concept of the Roma as a “nation without a state” and IRU (or other international Roma organisation) as their official representative is well established only among a relatively restricted circle of the so-called

⁴⁹ Kapralski, “Identity”, 280.

⁵⁰ Hancock, *Pariah syndrome*.

“international Roma” activist in some countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The main problems facing any international Roma organisation are its legitimacy and representation. i. e. can its members be considered as representatives of the Roma from the countries they claim to represent. A relatively small number of Gypsies worldwide, including Eastern Europe, know about the existence of IRU, RNC or other similar organisations and its right to represent the Roma, and they are even less interested in its activities.

The people contesting the legitimacy of IRU and its right to represent the Roma use the argument that the congresses of the organization are constituted by the people who attend them, i. e. all who wish to attend and whose travel expenses are often funded by “external factors” (the state or a foundation). Actually, individuals, who grow up as Roma activists in middle of NGO sector are presented as leaders of the community on one hand, and on the other hand, democratically elected in their own countries representatives of the Roma, are usually absent from IRU. In the last few years many countries in Eastern Europe (Macedonia, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czech Republic and Latvia) have had dozens of Roma Parliament members (present or past), elected through Roma parties or in the mainstream political parties. There are also dozens and even hundreds of Roma in different levels of the local governments. Despite the many faults of the widely advertised “Roma self-government” in Hungary, it is based on democratic elections (representatives from Hungary did not attend the latest IRU congress in Prague).

Huge majority of these Roma representatives, who have somehow become legitimate, do not become part of the international Roma movement, which includes mostly activists of the NGO sector or as their opponents often call them “professional Roma” from the “Gypsy industry” area. They try to gain influence and positions among the Roma in their own countries through the international organizations.

In this respect the already mentioned Finland initiative to establish European Roma Forum in Strasbourg as a “representative body of Roma population in Europe” is indicative. In order to be transnational and national representative it should be composed as follows: Fifteen (15) delegates are nominated by the Roma National Congress; Fifteen (15) delegates are nominated by the International Romani Union; One (1) delegate is nominated from each confession and/ or pan-European tribe; One (1)

delegate is nominated from Romany political parties having elected representatives at the local, regional or national level and/ or elected Roma in mainstream political parties. Two (2) delegates (one male, one female) are nominated from Roma national non-governmental organisations and/ or umbrella NGO's from each member state having a population of Roma.⁵¹

We should not be surprised by the weak influence of the various concepts (described above) among the Gypsies on a global scale or among the Roma alone within Europe and North America. We have already talked about the heterogeneity of the Gypsy community, but there are other, maybe more powerful factors at play, determined by the social conditions in the countries where the Roma live, the positions they have in the respective society and most of all by the extent of integration in society.

In view of the above it would be sufficient to give only one example about the education of related Roma groups. The main principle of the Roma living in the US is to keep the young people away from school as long as possible in order not to have them lose their traditional ethnic culture and identity. They claim that they would agree to send their children to special schools for the Roma. The Roma of Eastern Europe are fighting against the actually segregated schools with predominantly Roma children and for equal education of Gypsy children in "normal" mixed schools. There was a campaign in the Czech Republic against sending Roma children to schools for the mentally retarded and in Bulgaria there is an ongoing process of desegregation of Gypsy schools based on the territorial principle.

From the point of view of social positions we see examples of total discrepancies between Gypsies from the East and Gypsies from the West. For example, in online discussions on the international Roma Internet networks during the Kosovo crisis, the Western Gypsies were unable to understand why the Roma in Kosovo and former Yugoslavia were so involved in a non-Roma war and how it concerned them until Gypsies became victims of the conflict and now the major part of them are refugees or displaced persons, without any real hope to return safely to their home places.

⁵¹ European Roma Forum.

We can outline two general patterns of the attitude of the Roma towards their place in society and the perspectives for their development (including a Roma nation without a state or even state-nation) – the Western and the Eastern pattern.

The Eastern pattern is predominant mostly in Eastern Europe where the Roma on the whole would like to be accepted and treated as an integral part of the respective nation among whom they live. The Roma in these countries have lived settled with the surrounding population for centuries, they consider themselves equal citizens of the respective nation-states and do not have any particular desire for national segregation. This is not an aspiration for voluntary assimilation, though some Roma have chosen to pursue this goal. The Roma (or at least the vast majority) would like to preserve and develop their ethnic culture but they do not feel the need to become a new “nation without a state”. It may sound strange but it is a fact that absolutely all Roma activists in Bulgaria do not wish to see the word “integration” used in state policy. They repeatedly stated in public: “we have lived in this country for centuries and we are integrated...”

The difference between the two models of attitudes of the Roma towards their place in the society reflect even if speaking about their origin. Recently, the supporters of the “Western” model started to revise Roma history. According the new interpretations Roma are from noble origin. They are inheritors of the Rajputs (“sons of princes”) warriors, who left India around 11th century.⁵² In contrary, the Gypsies in Eastern Europe in their historical search (most often on folklore level) always try to proof that Roma are very ancient local population, often their participation in creating of the specific state is stressed (i. e. they perceived themselves as part of the specific nation and want to proof this through means of the history).⁵³

As a matter of fact, the idea of Roma nation is perceived from the major part of Roma activists in Eastern Europe as a possibility to improve their situation in their own countries with the help of external factors, i. e. to recognize Roma as a nation without a state in order to became parts of respective nation in countries where they are living.

This Eastern pattern is based on an old historical tradition. It did not originate during the socialist era, though the socialist period had a consid-

⁵² Hancock, *We are the Romani people*, 6–16.

⁵³ Marushiakova, *Identity*; Marushiakova/ Popov, “Myth as process”.

erable contribution to its establishment. We would like to mention the fact that when the Fifth IRU Congress officially proposed the concept of the Roma as a “nation without a state”, the Roma from Greece reacted most violently. The media published a number of statements by Roma leaders and in the spring of 2001 a special declaration was accepted signed by Panhellenic Federation of Greek Roma Associations (who encompass “70 legitimate representatives of 19 Gypsy Associations from all over Greece”) who adamantly declared that they did not wish the Roma to be treated as a “nation without a state” or a “national minority”, since they are part of the Greek nation.⁵⁴ We can laugh at the fact that a non-Roma organization contradicted the declaration with a number of statements claiming that it was not representative of the Roma community of Greece and that the true representatives of the Roma community was the same human rights NGO.

The pattern of attitude of Western Roma towards their place in society and the perspectives of their development is most clearly expressed in Roma (mostly Kelderara and their related groups) whose forefathers emigrated to the respective countries two or three generations ago. They are not well integrated in the nation-states where they live (they change their residence quite often) and they are subjects rather than citizens of the countries. Unlike them, the local, “old-time” local Gypsies (Sinti, Manush, Romanitchells, Kale) are integrated to a certain extent (due to historical reasons their integration is much less compared to the Roma in Eastern Europe) and they do not particularly support the concept of a community outside the social structure (more specifically a nation without a state).

The idea to view the Roma as a very specific community with a special status (sometimes almost equal to the status of “indigenous population”) is mostly supported by various “external factors” in the international Roma movement. Among the Gypsy population this approach is mostly supported by the “professional Roma”, who have actively been working in the last few years for the “Gypsy industry” in the NGO sector and in European programs or who work to endorse certain state policies. It is often pointed out their opponents from Gypsy milieu, that among this category of Roma leaders many are emigrants, Roma from mixed origin or even persons whose ethnic origin is controversial. In other words, often

⁵⁴ Greek Roma Leaders Lash Out at International Romani Union: “No to the Demand for Recognition as Nation Without a State AIM Athens, August 6, 2000”. Information distributed by Greek Helsinki Monitor office@greekhelsinki.gr through their regular e-mail network list at 6th August 2000 and at 9th of May 2001.

this persons are marginal from point of view of the Gypsy community and leading motif of their activities is to receive a recognition in the middle of their Roma community.

It is hard to say what are the perspectives of the development of the Roma as a community in the context of rapid globalisation and it is equally hard to tell whether and when they will ever become a Roma “nation without a state”. Our opinion is that things should be left to follow their natural course of development. From a historical point of view “the export of a revolution”, or in a broader sense the imposition of ideas in the midst of a community which is not yet developed to the level necessary for their acceptance has always been unsuccessful with rather tragic consequences. The dozens examples of failure of the various “civilizing policies” are still visible today in many parts of the world and not only in the Third World.

It may sound paradoxical if we say that we feel that the real danger for the future of the Gypsies are not so much racism, the anti-Gypsy moods and actions, or the negative stereotypes, but the active interference and constant patronizing of people who love the Gypsies (or at least claim so) and in their desire to help them, they impose on the Gypsies patterns of development which they consider the best. This interference in the guise of social patronage, irrespective of the subjective intentions of its participants (idealistic or mercantile), in the long run only kills the natural mechanisms of community preservation, thus turning the community into a constant social customer of professional benefactors and finally killing the perspectives for its natural development. Nevertheless we would like to hope that the Gypsies will manage to pass through the Scilla of becoming marginal to society (leading to desocialising) and the Herbides of being an exotic attraction (leading to social segregation) and find the true ways for their normal development, lean predominantly on their own strength and on the internal resources of their community.

Bibliography

- Achim, V.: *Tigani in istoria Romaniei*. [Gypsies in the History of Romania] Bucuresti: Editura Enciclopedica, 1998.
- Ackovic, D.: *Istorija informisanja Roma u Jugoslavii 1935–94* [The history of informing of Roma in Yugoslavia 1935–94], Novi Sad: Romski

- kulturni klub-Belgrad/ Drustvo Vojvodine za jezik i knjizevnost Roma-
Novi Sad, 1994.
- Ackovic, D.: *Nacija smo a ne cigani* [We are Nation and not Gypsies], Bel-
grad: Rrominterpress, 2001.
- Acton, T./ Klimova, I.: "The International Romani Union. An East Euro-
pean answer to West European questions?", in: Guy, W. (ed.), *Between
Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. Hatfield:
University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001, 157–226.
- Braham, M. & Braham, M.: "Romani Migrations and EU Enlargement:
Reply to Critics and Some Epistemological Consideration for Policy
Making", in: *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 31, Number 1, March 2002, 47–
62.
- Colocci, A.: *Gli zingari. Storia di un popolo errante*. Torino, 1889.
- Crowe, D.: *A History of the Gypsies in Eastern Europe and Russia*. New
York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Emigh, R. J./ Fodor, E./ Szelenyi, I.: "The Racionalisation and Femini-
sation of Poverty?", in: Emigh, R./ Szelenyi, I. (eds.), *Poverty, Ethnici-
ty, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*. West-
port/ Connecticut/ London: Praeger, 2001, 1–32.
- Est e ovest a confronto sulle politiche regionali i locali verso i Rom. *Lacio
Drom*, 1992, an. 28, No. 1–2.
- Ficowski, J.: *Cyganie na polskich drogach*. [Gypsies on Polish Roads].
Kraków-Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1985.
- Gheorghe, N.: "Roma-Gypsy Ethnicity in Eastern Europe", in: *Social
research*, Vol. 58, No. 4, 1991.
- Gheorghe, N./ Acton, T.: "Citizens of the world and nowhere: Minority,
ethnic and human rights for Roma", in: Guy, W. (ed.), *Between Past
and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. Hatfield: Uni-
versity of Hertfordshire Press, 2001, 54–70.
- Hancock, I.: "The East European Roots of Romani Nationalism", in:
Crowe, D./ Kolsti, J. (eds.), *The Gypsies Eastern Europe*. Armonk, New
York, London: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1991, 133 – 150.
- Hancock, I.: *We are the Romani peoples*. Hatfield: University of Hertford-
shire Press, 2002.

- Hancock, I.: *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1987.
- Hermann, A.: „*Sinti und Roma*“. Von der Zigeunertragödie zur Politikomödie. Landau: Verlag Pfälzer Kunst, 1999.
- Kapralski, S.: "Identity Building and the Holocaust: Roma Political Nationalism", in: *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 25. No. 2, 1997, 269–283.
- Kenrick, D.S.: "The World Romani Congress", in: *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, III Ser., Vol. L, 1971, 3, 105–108.
- Kenrick, D./ Gillian Taylor, G.: *Historical Dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies)*. Lanham, Md. & London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998. (European Historical Dictionaries, No 27).
- Klimova, I.: Romani Rights, Indigenous Rights, and International Relations, paper presented at the Conference "Romani Studies in the New Millennium: Where do we go from here?" of University of Greenwich and University of Birmingham, 2000.
- Kogalnitchan, M. de: *Skizze einer Geschichte der Zigeuner ihrer Sitten und ihrer Sprache nebst einem kleinem Wörterbuche dieser Sprache, von Michael von Kogalnitchan. Aus dem französischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet von Fr. Casca*. Stuttgart, 1840.
- Ladanyi, J.: "The Hungarian Neoliberal State, Ethnic Classification, and the Creation of a Roma Underclass", in: Emigh, R./ Szelenyi, I. (eds.), *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*. Westport/ Connecticut/ London: Praeger, 2001, 67–82.
- Liegeois, J.-P.: *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1994.
- Marushiakova, E./ Popov, V.: *Gypsies (Roma) in Bulgaria*. Frankfurt am Main [et al.]: Peter Lang Verlag, 1997.
- Marushiakova, E./ Popov, V.: "Myth as process", in: Acton, T. (ed.), *Scholarship and the Gypsy struggle: Commitment in Romani studies*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2000, 71–83.
- Marushiakova, E./ Popov, V.: *Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2001.
- Marushiakova, E./ Popov, V.: "Historical evidence", in: Marushiakova, E./ Popov, V. (eds.), *Studii Romani*, vol. II, Sofia: Club' 90, 1995, 36–45.

- Marushiakova, E./ Heuss, H./ Boev, I./ Rychlik, J./ Ragaru, N./ Zemon, R./ Popov, V./ Friedman, V.: *Identity Formation among Minorities in the Balkans: The cases of Roms, Egyptians and Ashkali in Kosovo*. Sofia: Minority Studies Society Studii Romani, 2001.
- Michel, J./ Schilling, H.: „Integration oder eigene Kultur? Zur Interessenvertretung und politischen Bewegung von Zigeunern“, in: *Zigeuner und wir. Notizen*. Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie, Nr. 9, Okt. 1979, 195–222.
- Mirga, A./ George, N.: *The Roma in the Twenty-First Century: A Policy Paper*. Princeton: Project on Ethnic Relations, 1997.
- Mroz, L.: *Dzieje Cyganów-Romów w Rzeczypospolitej XV–XVIII* [History of Gypsies/ Roma in Polish Commonwealth 15th–18th cc.], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DIG, 2001.
- Münzel, M./ Streck, B. (Hrsg.): *Kumpania und Kontrolle. Moderne Behinderungen zigeunerischen Lebens*. Giessen: Focus, 1981.
- PER Report. *Roma and the Question of Self-determination: Fiction and Reality*. Princeton, N. J. 2003, 6f.
- Pietrosanti, Paolo: *Project for a non-territorial republic of the Roma nation*. Manuscript.
- Roma, Gypsy, Travellers. East/ West: Regional and Local Policies*. Dublin: Pavee Point Publications, 1997.
- Popp-Serboianu, C. P.: *Les Tsiganes: Histoire-Ethnographie-Linguistique-Grammaire-Dictionnaire*, Paris: Payot, 1930.
- Romite shte praviat svoia darzhava [Roma will made their own state]. 24 *chasa*, broi 210, 4 avg. 2000.
- Rishi, W. R.: “Report of the Third World Romani Congress, Göttingen (West Germany), May 15–21, 1981”, in: *Roma*, 1981, 6, 2–3, 43–80.
- Rishi, W. R.: “IV. World Romani Congress, Serock, Warsaw, Poland”, in: *Roma*, 1991, 33/34, 3–15, 61.
- Sobotka, E.: “They Have a Dream. The state of Roma affairs in the Czech Republic”, in: *Central Europe Review*, Vol. 3, No 18, 21 May 2001. (Internet version: <http://www.ce-review.org/01/18/sobotka18.htm>).
- Stewart, M.: “Deprivation, the Roma and “the underclass”, in: C. M. Hann (ed.), *Postsocialism, Ideals, Ideologies and Practices in Eurasia*. London/ New York: Routledge, 2002, 133–156.

Streck, Bernhard (Hrsg.) unter Mitwirkung von Jens Bengelsdorf, Fabian Jacobs, Cornelia Klippenstein, Elena Marushiakova, Udo Mischek, Vesselin Popov, Simone Willner: *Zigeuner des Schwarzmeergebietes. Eine Bibliographie*. Die Materialien des SFB „Differenz und Integration“, Heft II/ 2003.

The European Roma Forum. Final Report, including the recommendations of the informal Exploratory Group studying the setting-up of a pan-European Roma Advisory Body. Strasbourg, 1st October 2002: MG-S-ROM (2002) 19.

Tipler, Derek.: "From Nomads to Nation", in: *Midstream*, August–September, 1968, 61–70.

Teil II. Wirtschaftliche Komplementarität

Symbiotische Verhältnisse gelten in der Individualpsychologie als krankhaft, in der „Soziologie interethnischer Systeme“ (Mühlmann) sind sie die Regel. Die Verbindungen zwischen nomadischen und sesshaften, zwischen segmentären und zentralisierten, zwischen tribalen und etatistischen Teilen jenes Systemganzen, das sich der SFB als Beobachtungsgegenstand gewählt hat, bestehen in allererster Linie aus Tausch und Handel. Der Wirtschaftsverkehr führt nicht zur Nivellierung oder Homogenisierung der zusammengesetzten Soziallandschaft, sondern zu ihrer Perpetuierung, wobei es auch ökonomisch zu weiteren Differenzierungen kommen kann. Nomadische Gruppen, ob sie Nahrungsmittel produzieren oder nicht, werden gerne mit dem Begriff der Nischenwirtschaft in Verbindung gebracht. Sie drücken ein besonderes Komplementärverhältnis aus, das auf Traditionsgewerbe bzw. -wirtschaft hinweist, aber auch auf eine gewisse Geschlossenheit der Gruppe in einem sonst eher offenen Marktgeschehen. Ansonsten sind nischenwirtschaftende Nichtsesshafte oft erstaunlich beweglich und innovativ; sie beobachten den Markt, in den sie integriert sind, aufmerksam, eben auch weil sie ihre Differenz beibehalten wollen.

Florian Stammeler präsentiert im ersten Beitrag einen derartigen „hochmodernen“ Fall. Die Helikoptertechnik macht es möglich, den Ostasiaten, die an die Wirksamkeit des Extraktes von Rentiergeweihen glauben, das Wundermittel in bisher unbekannten Mengen zu liefern. Lieferanten aber sind die nordwestsibirischen Nentsi („Samojeden“), deren Tundra-Nomadismus sich damit eine neue Einkommensquelle erschlossen hat. Als Zwischenhändler treten aber keine ortsfremden Wucherer auf, sondern eigene Leute; die *community-sphere* wird durch die *market-sphere* nicht bedroht, schon gar nicht durch eine *cash-sphere*, da die Hubschrauber als Gegenwert für die Geweihe Fertigwaren bringen.

Eine eher altherwürdige Nische beschreibt Maren Bellwinkel-Schempp mit ihrem Borsten- und Bürsten-Beispiel. Hier sind wir mitten im Dienstleistungsnomadismus, Abteilung Wandergewerbe, Unterabteilung

Hausiererei. „Nomaden des Industriezeitalters“ nannte Gustav Schmoller die vielen Leute, die nach der Studie des Vereins für Sozialpolitik (1889–99) mit ihren Waren auf dem Rücken oder im Handkarren saisonweise in die Ferne zogen. Der Beitrag hält sich eng ans Borstenvieh als Leittier und eröffnet doch sehr heterogene Einblicke in die verachtete Schweinehaltung in Uttar Pradesh, die britische Kolonialpolitik, den Leipziger Borstenmarkt und die Hausiererndörfer des Erzgebirges, im Schwarzwald und in der Pfalz. Es ist ein Stück Weltwirtschaft, in dem sich auch die Weltpolitik abbildet, schließlich auch jener noch zu untersuchende Weg von der horizontalen zur vertikalen Mobilität.

Periphermärkte haben in Karl Polanyis Wirtschaftsgeschichte (*The great transformation* 1944) eine besondere Rolle gespielt im Sinne von Markt ohne Marktwirtschaft. Thomas Brüggemann zeigt am Beispiel der ländlichen Märkte des römischen Nordafrika, wie die Bauern und Hirten trotz zentralstaatlicher Kontrolle eigene Verkehrsformen aufrechterhalten konnten. Zwar schienen die „Märkte des 9. Tages“ (*nundinae*) auch der Rekrutierung von Tagelöhnern durch die Grundherren gedient zu haben, gleichzeitig waren sie vermutlich aber auch soziale Totalereignisse mit Volksfestcharakter, an denen sicher auch Schausteller und Wandergewerbetreibende teilnahmen, auch wenn die spärlichen Quellen darüber ganz schweigen.

Lozanka Peycheva und Ventsislav Dimov entführen uns im letzten Beitrag dieses Bandes genau in diese Welt der mobilen Unterhalter, am Beispiel der Zigeunermusiker im heutigen Bulgarien. Ihre Konzerthalle ist die Strasse, der Hinterhof, die Festwiese oder das Zirkuszelt. Diese transitorischen Bühnen halten die Künstler in Bewegung, sowohl geographisch wie metaphorisch. Die beiden Musikethnologen sehen im Durchwandern der Musikstile und Kulturprovinzen, für das Zigeunermusiker auf der ganzen Welt bekannt sind, eine Art „inneren Nomadismus“, der dem äußeren, d. h. der flexiblen Raumnutzung und Ressourcenerschließung, durchaus vergleichbar sei. Hinzu kommen neue Nischen wie die Touristenzentren an der Küste, harte Konkurrenz durch bulgarische, türkische oder vlachische Berufsmusiker, schließlich auch Bedrohungen durch moderne Diskurse, die z. B. für den traditionellen Barentanz kein Verständnis zeigen.

Wirtschaftsnischen sind keine Ruhezonen; sie müssen erschlossen, verteidigt und gegebenenfalls rechtzeitig aufgegeben werden. Dann muss

eine neue Nische besetzt werden, andernfalls zerbricht die prekäre Balance zwischen Differenz und Integration. Die westdeutschen Hausierererdörfer sind nach dem 2. Weltkrieg im Meer des allgemeinen Wohlstandes versunken. Gustav Schmoller müsste heute nach anderen „Nomaden der Moderne“ suchen. Vielleicht würde er sie in den Fernpendlern finden, die heute vielerorts Zentren und Peripherie verbinden. Sie tragen aber in der Regel keine Waren zum Verkauf mit sich, sondern allein ihre (ungelernte) Arbeitskraft. Viele Stammesgesellschaften zeigen heute diese eigentümliche Morphologie: Zu den Jahresfesten und Übergangsriten sind die Abstammungsgruppen und Hügelmenschen zusammen, ansonsten befinden sich besonders die Jungen und Männer auf Wanderarbeit. Oft folgen ihnen die jungen Frauen – aus unterschiedlichen Motiven. Zum Kindergebären und im Alter sind sie aber in der Regel wieder zu Hause. Die Zugehörigkeit dieses sich rapide verbreitenden Gesellschaftstypus zum heutigen Nomadismus wäre in der weiteren SFB-Arbeit noch zu klären.

The Commoditisation of Reindeer Herding in Post Soviet Russia: Herders, Antlers and Traders in Yamal

Florian Stammer

Velvet antlers, in Russian “*panty*”,¹ have a long tradition as a medicine in Asia. According to old Chinese sources, the extract of velvet antlers “reduces hot temperedness, dizziness, strengthens male kidneys and testicles, cures involuntary ejaculation of male semen during sexual intercourse with a ghost during the sleep” (quoted in Iudin 1993:3). This sounds like healing from the medieval idea *sacubus*, the female ghost lying on a sleeping man. Today many people in Asia believe in the mysterious qualities of velvet antler extract for male sexual performance and in its strengthening a person’s overall condition.

In this paper, I draw the connection between these “believers” as potential customers and the reindeer herders as the “producers” of this mysterious medicine, “*panty*”; in Siberia, who mostly are “non-believers”. I show that the growing importance of national and international trade in this commodity affects the way of life of the arctic reindeer nomads, and it affects how they react to their integration into a network of worldwide exchange. I argue that it is mainly because of the interest in this commodity, “*panty*”, that we can talk about what I call the globalisation of reindeer herding. I investigate the history and impact of this commodity, and my argument is that their increasing connection to world markets has not resulted in significant marginalisation of reindeer herding, nor did it turn upside down the other factors in reindeer herding, such as migration, meat production, and subsistence.

¹ Although being aware of the English meaning of this term, I would like to encourage the reader to accept this as the Russian “*terminus technicus*” throughout this contribution.

1. *Fresh velvet antlers: Historical-biological background*

Originally, “*panty*”, velvet fresh antlers, were not an invention of the North. Before Perestroika, the southeast Asian markets were satisfied mostly with raw material coming from New Zealand, and from poached animals of different origins. Within Russia, the most important source animal for this raw material are marals (*Cervus elaphus maral*) in the Altai mountains. Harvesting “*panty*” from marals we know from the early 1930s on. However, the quantity produced there was rather minimal (Iudin 1993:5).

The Soviet state planners had an ambiguous relation to this animal product. On the one hand, in the Russian Far East, state- or collective farms started in 1971 to produce reindeer “*panty*”, approximately 8 tons per year (Iudin 1993:6). In Soviet laboratories in Magadan and Yakutsk research had been carried out on proving the medicinal effects of “*panty*” extract, “on the basis of experience of Tibetan and Chinese traditional medicine” (Iudin 1993:5). This is true for both reindeer and for maral “*panty*”. The relevant ingredient in these fresh antlers is called “*pantocrine*”, and sometimes for reindeer “*rantarine*”. “*Panty*” from northern reindeer are identical in their ingredients with “*panty*” from other deer and marals, with the only difference being that they have half the saccharin of more southern antlers. “*Panty*” are rich in amino-acids and many other relevant elements, analysed in detail by Russian scholars (see Iudin 1993:63–69). Research about the medical effects still is very unsatisfactory. So far we know that giving pantocrine to mice over a long period results in an increase of testosterone, and of protein in their liver. We know that in humans their performance on an velo-ergometer increases when they consume “*pantocrine*” over a long period. (Iudin 1993:66). Research has also shown, according to Russian sources that “*panty*” indeed reduce sleeping problems, headaches and dizziness (Iudin 1993:73).

On the other hand, Soviet authorities were very sceptical about the “*panty*” trade. Their main argument was that selling “*panty*” to Chinese is sharlatanery, and the business was being done to cheat the Chinese people (Iudin 1993:6).

However, economic reforms in China created a greater demand for this kind of product, and perestroika in the Soviet Union permitted a establishment of extensive trade networks between South East Asian countries and Russia. It was only after perestroika that “*panty*” became significant as a



source of income for reindeer herders. In contemporary Russia, *panthrocrine* is sold as having similar effects as *Echinacea*, strengthening the overall condition of the human body.² Apart from medical preparations, in China and other Asian countries “*panty*” are also consumed as dried chips in expensive restaurants.

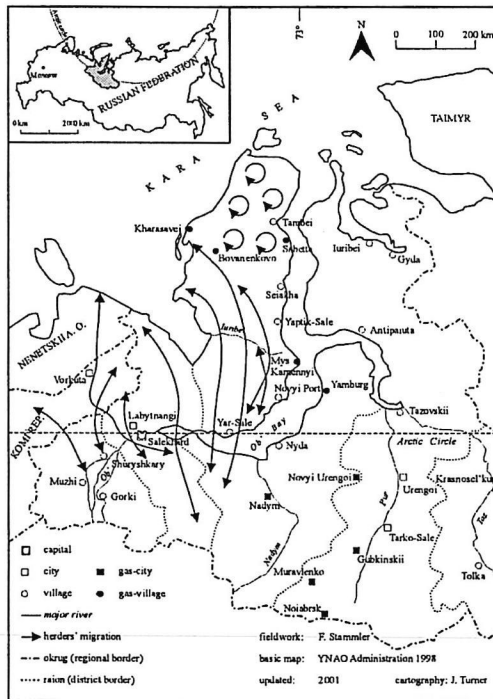
2. *The North as a producer of the raw material*

Harvesting velvet antlers from northern reindeer on a larger scale began rather late. Although the first Chinese bought reindeer “*panty*” as early as 1910 (Iudin 1993:62), real production only started in the 1970s, and this mostly in state farms in the far east of Russia, in rather small quantities.

The real boom began in the beginning of the 1990s, when the limits on entrepreneurial activities in the Soviet Union fell, and simultaneously the need for additional income increased because of the lack of state support. Since West Siberia was the only region in the former Soviet Union to experience growth of domestic reindeer after the end of the planned socialist economy, it was here where building up a velvet antler trade network was most promising.

The Yamal-Nenets Autonomous region, where I did my fieldwork, today has the world's biggest herds of domestic reindeer, counting 540000 animals all together. It is also the number one gas producing region in Russia. In comparison to the income from gas exports, the economic importance of reindeer herding is close to nothing. However, for the approximately 10000 mostly indigenous people directly occupied with herding reindeer on the tundra, this is their basic means of subsistence and their main means of income, as well as an important symbol of ethnic identity. All the reindeer herding is done in a highly mobile way, with herders performing extensive migrations varying from 100 to more than 1000 km a year. Whereas in Pre-Soviet and Soviet times, reindeer herding was done mainly for subsistence and for production of meat and transport, today many reindeer herders say that producing “*panty*” has become at least equally important for their income as producing meat. This changing economic orientation of the reindeer herders influences their day to day interactions with their animals, as I shall show below.

² See e. g. the instructions for use for “*cigapan*”, which can be purchased in pharmacies in Russia.



Map 1: The Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug, Northwest Siberia, Russia

3. Velvet antler production: an ethnographic account

Velvet antler ("panty") production is closely interlinked with the seasonal nomadic cycle of the reindeer herders:

In spring most reindeer herders migrate with their herds towards the summer pastures in the North of the Yamal peninsula (see map 1). This is the time when the antlers start to grow. Reindeer (*rangifer tarandus*) is the only animal where both of male and female reindeer grow antlers, and also bulls and castrated bulls. This makes reindeer, unlike other deer, an exploitable raw material for "pantocrine".

Depending on the weather and the quality of the pastures, the antlers reach their full size, up to 50 cm, towards the middle or the end of June. After this, for approximately 4 weeks, is the optimal time for cutting the fresh antlers off the deer. Usually, it is done a bit later than this ideal time suggests, from mid-July to mid-August.



Fig. 1: “*Panty*” of a private reindeer herder in North Yamal in their growing period, beginning of June.

The process of cutting the antlers is very time consuming, and turned the summer, from the rather calm season that it had been for reindeer and herders, to a sometimes very busy period: The deer have to be driven to a self-made corral in the tundra, and the “*panty*” animals have to be chosen and separated from the rest of the herd, either by lassoing them or by rounding them up in front of the nomadic camp. Most herders choose to cut antlers only from castrated bulls or those bulls that are not considered to have very good reproductive capacities. Reproductive bulls are considered to be weakened unnecessarily by “*panty*” cutting, and females should have their antlers because they will need them when competing for the best pastures in autumn and winter, and they should not be stressed too much since their main task is feeding the calves that usually are born 2–3 months before the “*panty*” harvest. The cutting itself is done jointly by several herders per deer, since one or two men have to keep the animal calm while one is sawing the antlers. Ideally, after the cut, the wound which is normally bleeding is treated with a bandage and iodine to stop bleeding and keep the wound clean.

The most important challenge in the whole process is getting the raw material for the commodity “*panty*” within the time schedule. The success of the whole production depends on the interaction between the reindeer herders and the enterprise collecting the cut antlers. The later “*panty*” are cut, the more bone they contain, which means a decrease in quality and a

reduction in the price. Therefore, the younger the antlers are, the better. Secondly, "*panty*" have to be collected as soon as possible after the cutting, in one or two days. Otherwise they begin to rot. This is why the 'producers' (i. e. reindeer herders) and the 'collectors' (i. e. traders) have to agree on an exact date for cutting and collecting the "*panty*".

I will give one example of a herding family where I stayed in the summer of 2001 to illustrate this process: Anniko and his family have a mid-size reindeer herd of slightly more than 1000 reindeer in North Yamal. In June, the antlers are already quite well developed, and they know that soon the helicopter will come. What the collecting enterprise normally does is to fly by helicopter to every reindeer herders camp preliminary to agreeing on an exact date for the collection of "*panty*". Imagine the local knowledge of the land possessed by those who direct the helicopters: They have to know where several hundred nomadic camps are situated in the tundra on any given day. So they fly to Anniko to ask him how many kg of "*panty*" he wants to cut this year. He answers 300 kg. Then Anniko chooses from the goods in the helicopter offered by the trader: fresh bread of the day, tea, tobacco, noodles, spices, newspapers, books, rubber boots, and other items. During this first flight, the enterprise brings to the tundra a variety of the most common goods, which reindeer herders normally buy. Anniko and all herders get these goods in advance, before having cut the antlers. The entrepreneur writes the price of the purchase in his account book, and when the "*panty*" are collected, he counterbalances the given "*panty*" (payment) against the sold goods, and sees whether there are debts or profits. The first visit of the trading helicopter is the occasion for the herders to order more or different goods. The entrepreneur writes down the order and the prices.

This first flight is necessary because most private camps are not connected by any means of telecommunication. Only through personal communication does an entrepreneur know what his customers would like to buy this summer, how many kg of "*panty*" they want to sell, and on exactly which date he will be able to collect the "*panty*". Cash at this stage does not play any role. The whole pricelist of goods is calculated in kg of "*panty*". During the first visit of the trader, no "*panty*" are collected, since they are not cut yet. This is the main purpose of the second helicopter flight one or two days after the reindeer herders have cut and packed the "*panty*" in linen sacs. Only then will Anniko know whether he sold more

or less "*panty*" then goods he got in advance. With the second flight, global culture enters the tundra. Before the "*panty*" are loaded on the helicopter, the herders get the goods that they ordered. Anniko got this time a spare piston for his snowmobile, batteries for his Chinese tape recorder, some tapes with recent Russian disco music for his sons, canvas for his *chum* (nomadic tent) and ammunition for his gun. Moreover, he got some more food since he has run short of bread and tea. Herders insist that the "*panty*" are weighed with scales before they are loaded on the helicopter, to avoid cheating, they say. Anniko sold 300 kg, which equals 2/3 of the price of a buran (snowmobile), of which he already has two that do not work very well.

Normally, Anniko does not know the actual price of the goods he ordered and purchased. He trusts the entrepreneurs, because he knows them, and they know him. They are his only interface to the outside world, because only they know how the herders migrate and where they stand during "*panty*" cutting time. If one entrepreneurs charges dishonest prices for Anniko, he will work with another one next year. This time it turned out that he took less products from the helicopter than he sold "*panty*", which means that the trading enterprise has a debt to Anniko. He can take goods equal to this sum in early winter when he migrates to the trading post. He thinks that in recent years "*panty*" has become as important as a means of income as meat. This is why he slaughtered less male reindeer, resulting in a slightly higher share of males in his herd, since he does not want to cut antlers from his females. The fact that many herders made similar husbandry decisions lately resulted in what Anniko's neighbour calls "the overcrowded tundra" (tundra perepolnilas'). Many young people think that living in the tundra as a reindeer herder, producing "*panty*" and meat, promises a better economic return than to live in the village with a badly paying job.

Once the "*panty*" are collected, Anniko and his family are happy, because at least for the rest of the summer they can live in peace until the slaughtering campaign begins in October. However, his son Nikolai mentions how the growing market competition over "*panty*" collection affects heavily their lives. In 2000, he says, during one month, eight helicopters flew to his camp in the tundra to ask for "*panty*". This is because different enterprises compete with each other for the velvet antlers of one and the same household and Anniko decided to give smaller

amounts of “*panty*” to each of these enterprises. Nikolai welcomes this development. He says in the best cases prices of goods get lower when more competition starts. Anniko, his father, however, complains about how much work it is, so that he and his wife do not succeed in repairing sledges, tent covers, clothes, harnesses and the like. In general, the summer has become too hectic, which is why they decided to give “*panty*” only to two enterprises next year.

4. How “*panty*” enter the global economy

Once the “*panty*” are collected, the entrepreneur flies them to his base village and puts them in a natural freezer, which is an underground ice chamber in the permafrost. Here, the “*panty*”, according to the rules, have to be kept frozen for 20 days. After this period, Anniko’s and other’s “*panty*” are shipped to one of three centers for processing “*panty*”. This is where the headquarters of the vertically integrated reindeer enterprises are located.

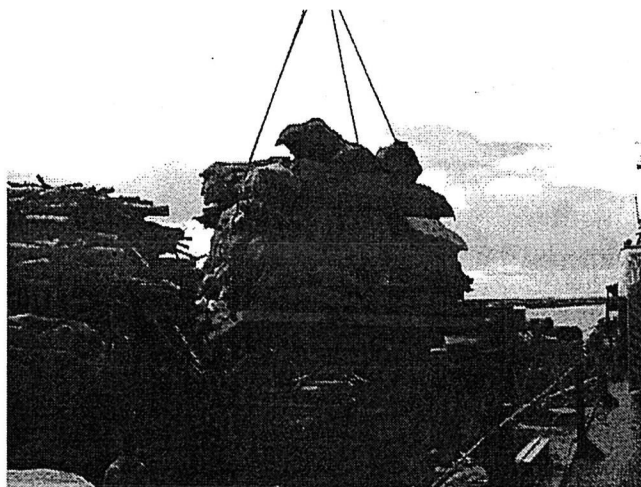


Fig. 2: In 2000, 30 Tons of “*panty*” are shipped from northern Yamal to the processing plants in the south.

When the “*panty*” arrive in the south, they can already be unfrozen, and have to be put for about four hours in a dry heating room of 70–72 degrees (Iudin 1993:71). Afterwards, they are put in a wind dryer for 24 hours. This process is repeated until the material is dry. In other cases, however,

the fresh frozen "*panty*" are shipped to Moscow for processing. There are numerous ways for this material to reach the destination market in East Asia.

When the "*panty*" are cut, a herder such as Anniko gets the equivalent of app. 150 Russian Rubles per kg, being 5 \$ (in 2002). Then, the collecting enterprise has several possibilities:

- shipping to Moscow as they are (frozen wagon/ container), getting a maximum of 30 \$ per kg from Chinese or Korean businessmen, who organise the drying and shipping to their home country;
- organising transport only to the village, and there selling it to the first middleman for 10–15 \$. This middleman organises transport by train to Moscow, and gets 30 \$ per kg from the Korean or Chinese trader;
- organising transport to the regional centre Salekhard, there drying and processing the "*panty*", and then selling it for 60 \$ per kg to an Asian trader who comes to Salekhard himself and organises transport directly to China. This is the way the first "*panty*" were traded in 1910. The Chinese came right to the place where the "*panty*" arrived from the tundra and bought them for cash.

The local trader can also organise the transport of the dry "*panty*" to Moscow and sell it to an Asian businessman there for 60 \$.

Both options "economise" middlemen and promise more profit, since the initially processed material is sold instead of the raw material. Therefore, recently a second "unofficial" drying facility opened in Salekhard.

I want to draw attention to the fact that cash money enters the antler business only after the material has been shipped to the centre in Salekhard. As soon as the "*panty*" leave the control of the collecting enterprise, the raw material becomes a commodity. In Moscow, the "*panty*" business is highly flexibly and unstable. The enterprise bringing "*panty*" to Moscow calls the phone number of a private house, normally where Koreans or Chinese live. He announces that he has a certain amount of "*panty*" to sell right on the spot. He gets a call back from a Korean or Chinese businessman, who then comes to meet him and pays for the "*panty*" right away in cash. This businessman normally does not disclose his identity, nor does he give his own phone number. He organises shipping to his home country, along unofficial trading routes in order to avoid problems with taxes and border guards (bribing increases the costs). In China or Korea he sells the "*panty*" again either as extract for medicine,

or chips for restaurants. Unfortunately, from the point when the “*panty*” arrive in Moscow, we know almost nothing about the further trade lines. These are dominated by mafiotic structures, which change very quickly.

5. *The nature of entrepreneurship in the “panty” business*

In this section I would like to look in a more abstract way at the categories of entrepreneurs in this business. I suggest that this is a case, where a new kind of native entrepreneurship develops, which engages in all trading areas of the business. Caroline Humphrey (1999) introduced a typology of post Soviet traders and entrepreneurs, which provides a good framework to understand how various people differ who make money from “*panty*”. Therefore I give a short summary of her main argument here: A general characteristic of trade in Post Soviet provincial Russia is the importance of what Humphrey called “trust networks” (1999:45). These imply that more important than official business relations are informal social contacts, often hidden from the outside world, between the partners of a trade relationship. Since “*panty*” trade works with very broad ranges of profit, and is mostly on the fringes of legality, these networks have a crucial impact on the “*panty*” economy. The common term in Yamal and elsewhere in Russia for traders is *kommersant*. The only over arching definition applicable everywhere in Russia is that “traders” are “those who aim to profit from middlemen activities involving goods and services” (Humphrey 1999:24). Humphrey (1999:38) thinks of *kommersanty* as “trader retailers”, who can afford transport, buy local products in the villages (or in the tundra) and sell vodka and other goods. These traders in Yamal make up only a small portion of the phenomenon which is referred to as *kommersant*. The main type of traders are defined as ‘shuttlers’ by Humphrey, non-locals traveling to foreign countries to bring in all kinds of products for sale (Humphrey 1999:19). The source of their profit is the price difference between the place where they obtain their products and where they sell them (*ibid.*:44). Additionally, Humphrey introduces four other categories of traders in Russia; the small scale resellers (*perekupshchiki*), (inside the borders); entrepreneurs (*predprinimateli*); brokers (former *snabzhentsi*), who have an intimate knowledge of the production and producers, having a rather modest profit range; and businesspeople, who can also invest in production, but are typically engaged in buying and selling waste, metals, cars and the like (Humphrey 1999:34–38).

Humphreys main point concerning all these categories is that traders controlling the market always come from outside the region, and have no interest in the region as such. Their only incentive for going there is the difference in prices between the places.

In Yamal, a kind of *kommersant* developed with the “*panty*” economy that does not fit with this pattern, but combines all of these categories into one, namely because these traders are local, they are indigenous, most of them have direct kinship ties to the tundra reindeer herders, and they are engaged in the “civil society of reindeer herders”. When I did fieldwork, there were 3–4 enterprises that controlled the Yamal “*panty*” economy completely. All their bosses are well educated Nentsy, having worked in the *sovkhos* headquarters in different position. The job of a leading zootechnician³, the person responsible for husbandry decisions and for the health of the reindeer herds is the ideal starting point for a career as a local *kommersant*. They were not satisfied by the poor performance of *sovkhozy* after *perestroika*, felt themselves overqualified for a job with few prospects. Having worked together with reindeer herders all their working life, in younger years spending entire seasons on the tundra with the herds, these people have all the knowledge required concerning quality of reindeer products and the organization of the nomads’ mobility. On the other hand, having worked in the *sovkhos* headquarters, they have also built up networks with markets in cities which are interested in reindeer products, offering goods in exchange. This is mainly why natives have the possibility to control the reindeer herding business.

For these peoples, the definition of a trader, implying that he is not engaged in production (Humphrey 1999:44) does not work. The border between ‘trader’ and ‘producer’ is not strict at all, and the bosses of these enterprises frequently are rich reindeer owners themselves. Equally blurry is the border between the barter and cash economy; in most cases cash enters at some stage between shipping the “*panty*” from the village to a processing facility and selling it to the next middleman. These traders are not outsiders, but have to be locals, because specific knowledge of the local

³ Sovkhoz is the state farm system introduced all over the Soviet Union in Agriculture. It was the primary institution in reindeer herding from the 1950s until the collapse of the Soviet Empire, and in some regions still functions very similar to its Soviet predecessor. The zootechnician used to be a very important figure in Soviet reindeer herding, having agricultural and veterinary education, being responsible for the health and migration routes of the herds. After the Soviet Union, the importance of these people was largely ignored, which resulted in their dissatisfaction. Therefore, many searched for alternative occupations.

producing market is necessary from the very beginning of the business. This knowledge serves as the key to enter this specific niche in the market. For entering it, the first resource is access to the transport infrastructure, which requires one to know the “lords of the transport”, e. g. the regional administration, the boss of the air cargo company, some leading pilots, and the owners of the kerosene supply. But even having obtained a means of transport, in the best case a helicopter, does not help a lot, if the trader does not know the migration routes of the herders, or the location of the slaughtering corrals in a specific region. In Anderson’s (2000) words, the entrepreneur working with reindeer herders has to “know the land”, otherwise he will not be able to find particular herders and their herds in the wide arctic tundra. This is why the trading pattern described by Humphrey ends at the gates to the tundra, in the villages.

This expertise which is needed for the “*panty*” business cannot be bought so easily with money, but is obtained more through building up friendships and “trust networks”. I remember a trader from Moscow coming to a reindeer herding village where I stayed, who wanted to make money in the “*panty*” business. With an arrogant approach he wanted to pay natives for giving him access to people who know the land, and the location of herders in “*panty*”-time. He was defeated, because nobody would agree to work with this capitalist even for good money. Russian and Nentsy both were proud of themselves, stressing their solidarity in the North, where at least in certain spheres networks of solidarity count more than a bunch of dollars.

The Yamal example shows that barter networks do not – as Humphrey pointed out (1999:45) – undermine trading, they are in contrary necessary for starting it. Having started in the mid 1990s, in the meantime the three major local reindeer entrepreneurs have developed into vertically integrated reindeer herding enterprises. They engage in all aspects of the business from owning the animals, sawing the fresh antlers, collecting them by helicopter, trading goods for antlers with the reindeer herders, freezing them, drying them, cutting them into chips, and taking them to Moscow where they sell them to Korean traders. They also organize the autumn slaughtering of animals, processing the meat, and selling it on the market. Conceptually, their asset is that they know both sides of the tundra/ city border, as well as that of the barter/ cash border. In an evolving market economy, which is characterized by a high number of middlemen in the

economic, chain from the producer to the consumer, such a vertical integration is highly exceptional. It allows the local enterprises to control the access to the tundra, building up a gate in the exchange relations between the tundra economy and the capitalist economy of 21st century Russia.

6. *The position of herders in the business*

Most models of world system or dependency theory assume that once the periphery starts to become integrated into the global economy, the population experiences marginalisation and exploitation (Meillassoux 1981: 110–115, Frank 1978, Wallerstein 1989). Indeed to exchange one kg of “*panty*” for 5 \$, when it is sold for 30 \$ or 60 \$ looks rather exploitative. However, it is still the herders themselves who decide with whom they will work. In a survey of 25 reindeer herding households in Yamal in 2000–2001, almost all answered that they feel free to choose of their trading partners for the “*panty*” business. Most of them act pragmatically, diversifying risks and working with all enterprises coming to collect “*panty*”. If they feel that the goods offered are not favourable for them, they will complain or they will not work with them the next year.

Reindeer herders show surprisingly little interest in obtaining cash for their “*panty*” or meat. They say in the tundra, there are no stores and shops anyway, and they feel more comfortable ordering things from knowledgeable people whom they trust, rather than leaving the tundra and their herds too often. Therefore the local vertically integrated enterprises exchange the cash that they receive for the “*panty*” for goods, which they then bring to the herders in helicopters. So cash is needed for an enterprise to purchase better and fresher goods, but not to start doing business with the reindeer herders. This challenges the assumption that barter is a major obstacle for the development of a market. On the contrary, many primary producers in this sphere (herders) will not even start selling their products for money.

Fitting to this cashless exchange is my observation that herders are inclined to work with relatives or neighbours engaged in this business. Apart from enterprises in villages, which are building up gates to access the tundra, we also have what has been called a “social boundary defence” (Cashdan 1983:49, Casimir 1992a) among the herders: Those who do not belong to the group are prohibited from doing the business with particular reindeer herders, even though they might have crossed the gate. Gudeman

(1998, 2001) has conceptualised this two fold notion of exchange as the “community” sphere and the “market” sphere. In both spheres goods are exchanged, but in the tundra, the “community” sphere is dominant, and pure market relations, let alone a cash economy, do not work. This does not mean that the herders do not gain wealth from this business. It only means that there is a clear notion of non-economic behaviour to be performed in order to get access to the community. Because of this difference between community and market, the border of which is the village, the tundra dwellers have not become the marginalized producers of a neo-liberal world economy that would be assumed by world system analysis. In Evers’ words (1996:169), the “*panty*” economy among Yamal reindeer herders shows a “hybridisation” of subsistence and the global economy. In this connection between the “global” and the “local”, we see the proof against a widespread evolutionary assumption that we have subsistence economies in “pre-modern” societies, whereas commodity exchange takes place in the global economy. Evers (1996) points out that both can occur in one society, and at the same time.

The income from this new commodity changes the economic world-view of the reindeer herders. From a market point of view, producing “*panty*” is much more profitable than producing meat, but still this new commodity has neither become the only, nor even the major economic activity of the reindeer herders.

One reason for this is the reputation of “*panty*” cutting among the Nentsy. Only a tiny minority of the herders interviewed claimed that cutting “*panty*” does not affect the health of the reindeer, as is stated in earlier literature (Iudin 1993). Although this did not prevent many from cutting, they were aware that the animals might become weaker from the cutting, which affects their transport capacity, they become more vulnerable to mosquitoes, and less competitive in fresh pastures. This leads according to herders to a certain loss of the physical quality of the herd. This possible negative effect on the reindeer is one reason for the bad reputation the “*panty*” production has among reindeer herders. The second, and possibly more important reason, is the perception of the “*panty*” business as a highly risky and an unreliable source of income. Reindeer herders have seen the first enterprises, one run by an Armenian and another by a Khanty businessman bankrupting, after they had given their product to the trader but had not yet received their goods in exchange. Therefore

many think it is better not to rely too much on income from this commodity. They would rather diversify their production towards producing both meat and "*panty*" simultaneously.

Extensively cutting "*panty*", year by year, enables them to obtain goods that had not entered the tundra before. Interestingly enough, these are mostly goods going beyond the basic needs, such as fresh bread, spices from Caucasus, fruits, and items for leisure times, tape recorders, music and the like, as well as expensive equipment such as snowmobiles. Income from "*panty*" enables the herders to increase their standard of living beyond the needs of survival. We have seen in Anniko's example that a household with a normal size herd can cut more than 200 kg of "*panty*" per year, which is half the price of a snowmobile. Some of them buy a snowmobile every second year, e. g. to equip their boys, just as snobbish German school children get a car for their "abitur" or their 18th birthday.

This clear cut difference between basic needs and non-essential needs allows us to conceptualise "*panty*" income as a sort of special purpose money, but not in the way of Hutchinson (1996), where a low prestige business such as carrying the excrements of the rich to the waste deposit generates only low prestige income that cannot be spent for "noble" purposes. It is more that even though income from "*panty*" is seen as unhealthy for the reindeer economy, it is used to improve the standard of living beyond the basic needs. I would compare this with the position of stock exchange incomes in some western settings. The "*panty*" market is also seen as hectic, unstable, and full of dishonest people, just as the stock exchange. Therefore people do not rely too heavily on this income for their everyday life. This is why the backbone of the reindeer economy in Yamal is still meat production, as it was during the last 100 years. Counting too much on "*panty*" income means investing in an unpredictable branch of the economy. This is one reason the old habits of reindeer herding do not change so rapidly. However, in spite its bad reputation, cutting "*panty*" is still seen as a legitimate source of income, and as Pine (2002:77) has pointed out for Poland "almost any means of obtaining it [money] is legitimate". Perhaps "*panty*" for the herders expresses best their quest for the incorporation of their nomadic economy into world capitalism without becoming detached from the social processes within their communities.

7. *Summary*

This contribution has illustrated the process of economic integration of a remote arctic community into an international trading network.

Drawing on ethnography of the developing velvet reindeer antler business between Korean or Chinese customers, Russian traders and Nentsy reindeer herders, I argued that market integration and commoditisation does not always have to be accompanied by a marginalisation of nomads or a change of social strata among them. On the background of recent world system studies I also show that the integration in the world economic system is not mutually exclusive with subsistence.

I argued that the Nentsy could succeed to organise their engagement with new commodities after 1990 by influencing the conditions for business with outsiders. This is done by controlling access to the place of production, the reindeer pastures of the West Siberian Tundra. Access is gained only through cooperation with one of the vertically integrated reindeer production enterprises that were established by native local traders. They organise the production of the raw material, the cutting, packing, storing, shipping and drying of 'velvet' reindeer antlers, before they sell it to Russian traders, who again sell it to some more or less reliable customers from China or Korea. In exchange for this material, Nentsy traders receive hard currency income, which enables them to provide a whole range of new imported products to the tundra. This is how reindeer herders get access to consumer goods of the global economy, such as Chinese tape recorders, American instant soups, ketchup, and Japanese snowmobiles or power stations.

I argued that in spite of the significant flow of commodities between the 'nomadic' and the 'sedentary' space, the borders between these two 'worlds' are still significant, and the reindeer herders still see their engagement with the commodity economy as supplementary to their subsistence and production of meat for local markets. The split between two items of economic exchange – antlers and meat – even is mirrored by a split of expenditures. Income from meat and fur production is spent to satisfy the basic needs, whereas income from the antler business is used for "luxury" goods not necessary for survival. This finding links to recent anthropological works about the meaning of money as an item of generalised exchange versus 'special purpose money' (see Pine 2002, Parry & Bloch 1989). Although the antler business has a somewhat bad reputation be-

cause it is thought to be bad for the health of the animals, the income gained from it is not stigmatised as 'dirty money' among reindeer herders. However, since they know that this is a business which involves many adventure capitalists and Mafiosi, herders know that they should not rely on it too much.

Ethnographic material from northwest Siberia allows us to understand the process of commoditisation in a nomadic community from the very beginning, since it started only in the 1990s. It provides fresh insights of how people in a seemingly remote community engage in global markets without sacrificing their distinguished culture based on nomadic herding of domestic reindeer. At the same time it is also an argument for the highly adaptive characteristics of a nomadic community. They are responding to transformations in the world around them by meeting the demands of a newly developed market, just as many other economic actors in the post-socialist period did with varying success.

Bibliography

- Anderson, D.: *Identity and ecology in Arctic Siberia: the number one reindeer brigade*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Cashdan, E. 1983: "Territoriality among human Foragers: Ecological Models and an application to four Bushman Groups", in: *Current Anthropology* 24, 47–66.
- Casimir, M.: "The Dimensions of Territoriality: An introduction", in: M. Casimir & A. Rao (eds.), *Mobility and Territoriality: Social and Spatial Boundaries among Foragers, Fishers, Pastoralists and Peripatetics*. Oxford: Berg, 1992, 1–26.
- Evers, H.-D.: "Globale Märkte und Transformation", in: H.-P. Müller (Hrsg.), *Weltsystem und kulturelles Erbe. Gliederung und Dynamik der Entwicklungsländer aus ethnologischer und soziologischer Sicht*. (Schriftenreihe des Ethnologischen Seminars der Universität Zürich.) Berlin: Reimer, 1996, 165–173.
- Frank, A. G.: *Dependent accumulation and underdevelopment*. London: Macmillan, 1978.

- Gudeman, S.: "Introduction", in: S. Gudeman (ed.), *Economic Anthropology*. (The International Library of Critical Writings in Economics.) Cheltenham UK/ Northampton USA: Edward Elgar, 1998, xi–xviii.
- Id.: *The Anthropology of Economy*. London: Blackwell, 2001.
- Humphrey, C.: "Traders, 'Disorder' and Citizenship Regimes in Provincial Russia", in: M. Burawoy & K. Verdery (eds.), *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of change in the postsocialist world*. Oxford/ Lanham (Maryland): Rowman & Littlefield, 1999, 19–52.
- Hutchinson, S.: *Nuer Dilemmas: coping with money, war and the state*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Iudin: *Panty i Antlery*. Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1993.
- Meillassoux, Claude: *Maidens, Meals and Money: Capitalism and the domestic Economy*. Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Parry, J. & M. Bloch.: *Money and the morality of exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Pine, F.: "Dealing with Money: Zlotys, Dollars and Other Currencies in the Polish Highlands", in: R. Mandel & C. Humphrey (eds.), *Markets and Moralities. Ethnographies of Postsocialism*. Oxford/ New York: Berg, 2002, 75–97.
- Wallerstein, E.: *The Modern World System 3: The second era of great expansion of the capitalist world economy: 1730–1840s*. New York: Academic Press, 1989.

Globaler Handel und lokaler Vertrieb: Zum Borsten- und Bürstenhandel in Indien und Europa

Maren Bellwinkel-Schempp

Wir leben in einer Weltwirtschaft, in der Güter und Dienstleistungen nach Kosten- und Nutzenkriterien global verfügbar geworden sind. Die wirtschaftlichen Verflechtungen sind durch die Revolution der Informationstechnologie so eng geworden, dass Standorte und Verkehrswege eine untergeordnete Rolle spielen. Es hat sich eine Arbeitsteilung in globalem Maßstab entwickelt, die aus dem Ungleichgewicht zwischen postkolonialen Gesellschaften und entwickelten Industrienationen neue Chancen und neue Schieflagen hat entstehen lassen, die an ältere Verwerfungen und Imaginationen anknüpfen, mit diesen aber nicht kongruent sind. Im Folgenden möchte ich zeigen,

1. wie sich durch unterentwickelte Verkehrswege und schwer zu erreichende Produktionsorte das Wandergewerbe für den Absatz von Bürstenwaren einen noch nicht entwickelten Markt erschloss;
2. wie durch die Entstehung eines Marktes für Borsten die kulturelle Wertigkeit des Naturprodukt Borste sozusagen ‚laisiert‘ wurde. An Hand der unberührbaren Borstenzurichter in Indien und der jüdischen Borstenhändler im Deutschen Reich sollen diese Veränderungen dargestellt werden;
3. wie durch das Verschwinden des Borstenmarktes und die Veränderung der Produktionstechniken Fragen der Ehre, Geltung und Identität neu gestellt und polyphon beantwortet werden.

Für die Darstellung werde ich mich vorsichtig in den Grenzbereich zwischen Ethnologie, Wirtschaftsgeschichte und Volkskunde hineinschieben, um die verschiedenen Fragen, die sich im Zusammenhang mit den

kulturellen Repräsentationen von Handwerk, Handel und Industrie stellen, beantworten zu können.

1. *Entwicklung der Bürstenmacherei*

Als Zunft Handwerk ist der Bürstenmacher ein Nachzügler des 16. Jahrhunderts,¹ der mit dem Korbmacher die niederen Ränge unter den Zünften einnahm, da mit seinem Produkt kein großer Reichtum zu erwerben war. Hinzu kam noch der Staub, der beim Einziehen der Borsten entstand, der Anlass für das Sprichwort „Der säuft wie ein Bürstenbinder“² gab und diesen Berufstand herabsetzte. Im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert wurde die Bürstenbinderei zum Haupterwerb verarmter ländlicher Bergregionen wie Erzgebirge, Schwarzwald und Pfälzer Wald. Damit trat die Heimarbeit in Konkurrenz zum Zunft Handwerk. Heimarbeit leistete die ganze Familie, Männer, Frauen und Kinder. Die Kenntnisse wurden von wandernde Handwerksburschen aus Frankreich in ihre Heimat zurückgebracht. So wird jedenfalls die Entstehung der Bürstenbinderei in Todtnau im Schwarzwald und in Ramberg in der Pfalz erklärt.³ Gleiches gilt für die Entstehung der Pinselmacherei in Bechhofen bei Nürnberg. Dieses Dorf liegt in einer landwirtschaftlich fruchtbaren Gegend. Die Pinselmacherei entstand als zusätzlicher Erwerb der Landbevölkerung.⁴

Auf das Erzgebirge bezogen heißt es allerdings: „Ohne Vorkenntnisse, ohne Lehrmeister, ohne geeignete Werkzeuge sollen sie begonnen haben. Der nahe Wald bot ihnen das Holz. Mit Axt und Messer wurden die Bretchen zugehackt und geschnitzt, mit geschmiedeten Nägeln die Bohrlöcher durchgeschlagen. Die rohen Borsten holten sie in der Umgebung zusammen, brachten sie auch von ihren Hausierreisen mit. Der Mann teilte sie auf in die Sorten und reinigte sie von Schmutz und Wolle mittels eines einfachen Kamms mit Handgriff. Weib und Kind besorgten das Einziehen. Schlicht-, Bäcker-, Müller-, Schuh- und Scheuerbürsten sind die ersten Artikel gewesen, die ihren ungeübten Fingern entsprungen sind. In der günstigen Jahreszeit wurden die Produkte ins Niederland getragen und verhausiert, das Hauptabsatzgebiet war in der Zeit des Zunftzwanges das platte Land.“⁵

¹ König, „Bürstenmacherei“, 530.

² Röhrich, *Sprichwörtliche Redensarten*, 283.

³ Dörflinger, *Idee*, 18, und Seemann, *Wandergewerbe*, 83.

⁴ Bock, *Pinselmacherort Bechhofen*, 44.

⁵ König, „Bürstenmacherei“, 557.

An den selben Standorten entwickelte sich seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts die Bürstenindustrie. Einzieh-, Stanz- und Abteilungsmaschinen hatten die Arbeitsvorgänge mechanisiert. Ebenfalls entstehen im Erzgebirge und im Schwarzwald Spezialmaschinenfabriken für die Bürstenherstellung. Doch blieben die Übergänge zwischen Handwerk, Heimarbeit, Verlagsarbeit und Industrie fließend.

Die in Heimarbeit produzierten Bürsten wurden überwiegend durch Hausieren vertrieben. Diese Art des Handels, die darauf beruhte, dass der Händler zum Käufer ging und ihm die Ware anbot, hatte vielfältige Formen. Im Erzgebirge wurde im Winter hergestellt und im Sommer wurden die Bürsten von den Männern verkauft.⁶ Es war ein saisonaler Handel, der über den Sommer verteilt sechs bis acht Reisen unterschiedlicher Dauer mit sich brachte. Es waren kürzere und längere Wege, die von den Hausierern zurückgelegt wurden, je nachdem, ob sie zu Fuß gingen, oder ob sie wie die Wildenauer ein Pferdefuhrwerk besaßen. Nach dem Bau der Eisenbahn nahmen viele Hausierer auch dieses Verkehrsmittel. Es wurde überwiegend in der näheren Umgebung verkauft, aber auch in Thüringen und Preußen.⁷



Abb. 1: Bürschtnma

⁶ Hausiererdörfer der Bürstenmacher waren Stützengrün, Schönheide, Neuheide, Rothenkirchen und Wildenau. Müller, „Dr' Büschtnma“, 702.

⁷ König, „Bürstenmacherei“, 561.

Die Hausierer hatten feste Absatzgebiete, die weitervererbt wurden. Sie entwickelten eine Berufsgruppen spezifische Tracht, einen Warenkorb, der sorgfältig drapiert war, formelhafte Ankündigungsrufe „Dr' Büschtnma is da“ und ein Repertoire an Sprüchen, Witzen und Anekdoten, die für die meist ländliche Umgebung hohen Unterhaltungswert hatte. Sie waren beliebt und angesehen und einige brachten es sogar zu Reichtum: „Aufgrund der Tatsache, dass die Bürstenhändler selbst produzierten und die Bürsten direkt an den Endverbraucher vertrieben, machten sie auch mit den einfachen Fertigungsmethoden von Hand ohne jegliche Maschinen recht gute Gewinne. Wer sein Geld zusammennahm und nicht durch die Kehle rinnen ließ, brachte es zu einem ganz ansehnlichen Vermögen.“⁸ Frauen und Kinder zogen Bürsten ein und unterbrachen diese Arbeit im Sommer nur für kurze Zeit, um Heidel- und Preiselbeeren sammeln, was einträglicher war als die Bürstenmacherei.⁹ Neben dem Hausierhandel mit Bürsten gab es im Erzgebirge noch das Dorf Satzung, deren Bewohner überwiegend dem Wandergewerbe nachgingen. Der Bürstenvertrieb war nicht so wichtig wie der Verkauf von Spitzen, Holzwaren, Bettfedern, Samen, aber auch der Verkauf von Gänsen und Pferden. Diese Waren wurden allerdings das ganze Jahr hindurch vertrieben.¹⁰

Im Schwarzwald gab es zwei Bürstenmacherdörfer, die unterschiedliche Traditionen und Verkaufsstrategien hatten. Lützenhardt (Kreis Freudenstadt) im nördlichen Schwarzwald hat eine eigene ethnische Tradition insofern, als im Jahre 1750 „allerlei fahrendes Volk, wie Schirm- und Kesselflicker, Zigeuner, Spielleute, Bürsten- und Besenbinder“ angesiedelt werden.¹¹ In Lützenhardt wurde das ganze Jahr über hausiert, von Männern wie Frauen gleichermaßen. Die Kinder blieben zu Hause und wurden von Verwandten oder einer Haushälterin versorgt.

Die Hausierer teilten sich in zwei Gruppen. Solche, die neben Bürsten noch andere Waren wie Korb- und Holzwaren, aber auch junge Schweine und Kurzwaren mitnahmen. Sie bereisten nur die unmittelbare Umgebung und blieben nur wenige Tage weg. Die besseren Hausierer nahmen nur Bürsten mit und vertrieben diese in den großen Städten Württembergs, Hohenzollerns und der Schweiz.¹² Die Hausierer aus Todtnau im südli-

⁸ Müller, „Dr' Büschtnma“, 702.

⁹ König, „Beerenhandel“, 291–303.

¹⁰ Kuntze, „Hausierhandel der Satzung“, 1–181.

¹¹ Wittich, „Bürstenbinder von Lützenhardt“, 311.

¹² Trüdinger, „Hausiergewerbe in Württemberg“, 158.



chen Schwarzwald hatten längere Verkaufswege. Sie reisten bis in die Schweiz, Österreich und Frankreich. Leider mussten sie aber Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts diese ausländischen Märkte aufgeben, weil diese Länder hohe Einfuhrzölle und einen Handelsgewerbeschein verlangten.¹³

Die Unternehmungslustigsten waren die Ramberger aus dem Pfälzer Wald, die sich in vier Gruppen aufteilten: Die nächste Umgebung in einem Radius von 60 bis 70 km wurde von den Frauen bereist. Das geschah zu Fuß oder später mit Bahn oder Bus. Diese Reisen fanden von Montag bis Samstag statt. Der Radius bis zu 300 km, in den Hunsrück, bis nach Bayern und Westfalen wurde im offenen Wagen zurückgelegt. Dies waren Fahrten, die bis zu vier Wochen dauerten. Frau und Mann fuhren zusammen, die Kinder blieben zu Hause. Die Fahrten im geschlossenen Wagen, die auch über eine Achsenfederung verfügten, waren das ganze Jahr über möglich und führten bis nach Belgien, Frankreich und die Niederlande.¹⁴ Sie kehrten nur zu den großen kirchlichen Feiertagen wie Weihnachten und Ostern und zur Kirchweih heim. Es gab auch einzelne Handelsreisende, die bis nach England und Südschweden kamen und sich ihre Ware nachschicken ließen. Sie waren mit der Bahn unterwegs.¹⁵

Durch das sprunghafte Anwachsen des Hausiergewerbes von etwa 1860 bis 1890 wurde das Wandergewerbe insofern zum Problem, weil die Abgrenzung zu anderem fahrenden Volk, zu Handwerksburschen, Bettlern, Vagabunden, die sinnigerweise auch ‚Kunden‘ genannt wurden, zu Saisonarbeitern, Erntehelfern und den vielen, die durch die industrielle Revolution entwurzelt wurden, immer schwieriger wurde.¹⁶ Diese Wanderarmen wurden zu Objekten ‚christlicher Liebestätigkeit‘, wie es damals hieß. In ‚Herbergen zu Heimat‘ und ‚Arbeiterkolonien‘ erhielten sie Brot und Unterkunft. Intention dieser Arbeitshäuser war es, sie vom Betteln und Vagabundieren abzuhalten und erneut in den Arbeitsprozess zu integrieren.¹⁷

Als diese Gemengelage immer bedrohlicher wurde, nahm sich der ‚Verein für Socialpolitik‘, ein Zusammenschluss führender bürgerlich-liberaler Nationalökonomien, in einer fünfbändigen empirischen Untersuchung der

¹³ Dörflinger, *Idee*, 43; Klingele, „Bürsten-Hausierhandel“, 299.

¹⁴ Seebach, *Altes Handwerk*, 87.

¹⁵ Informationen anlässlich eines Besuchs des Heimatmuseums in Ramberg am 4.3.2003.

¹⁶ Scheffler, „Vagabundenfrage“, 63.

¹⁷ Drude, „Christliche Wanderfürsorge“, 155.

Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland (1889–1899) an.¹⁸ Diese Untersuchungen konnten weitgehend den Vorwurf entkräften, dass Wandergewerbe würde dem unlauteren Wettbewerb Vorschuss leisten und sei nur ein Vorwand für die Bettelei.¹⁹

Als Wandergewerbetreibende reihte sich der Bürstenbinder in die große Schar der übers Land ziehenden Händler ein, die Naturalien, Hausrat, Arbeitsgerät, Kleidung, Samen, Bücher und Vieh verkauften.²⁰ Sie stammten wie die Bürstenmacher aus Dörfern, die über keinen ausreichenden Grundbesitz verfügten, deshalb keine Landwirtschaft betreiben konnten und folglich auf den Handel durch Hausieren angewiesen waren. Die Waren wurden überwiegend getragen, meist in sogenannten Kraxen und Kiepen, doch überwiegend über die Schulter gehängt.



Abb. 2: Margarethe Weigel

Die Hälfte der Hausierer waren Frauen, die übers Land zogen.²¹ Doch zeigen die zeitgenössischen Abbildungen nur männliche Hausierer, dem Familienbild des aufkommenden Bürgertums entsprechend, nach dem die Frau ins Haus gehörte. Bei den Bürstenmachern war der Anteil der weiblichen Wandergewerbetreibenden etwas geringer als im Hausierhandel allgemein, er lag bei etwa 25%.²² Den Frauen wird nachgesagt, im Absatz

¹⁸ Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*, Band 1–5 von 1898/1899.

¹⁹ Geissendörfer, „Hausiergewerbe in Elsaß-Lothringen“, 1–122.

²⁰ Glass, „Von Haus zu Haus“, 143.

²¹ Trüdinger, „Hausiergewerbe in Württemberg“, 134.

²² Seebach, „Altes Handwerk“, 88.

geschickter als die Männer gewesen zu sein. Sie waren anpassungsfähiger und konnten eher auf Mitleid hoffen. Sie halfen auch für ein Nachtlager in Küche und Haushalt mit. Die Hausiererinnen, so wird jedenfalls aus der Pfalz berichtet, wurden zum Essen eingeladen und bekamen Lebensmittel als unentgeltliches Zubrot.

Die Hausierer hatten einen festen Kundenstamm. Ihr Arbeitsgebiet war fest umrissen und hieß „Strich“.²³ Diese Striche wurden an die Kinder vererbt. Die gleichen Wanderwege und der feste Kundenstamm ist Anzeichen dafür, dass langandauernde Beziehungen zwischen Hausierer und Kunden bestanden. Gegenseitiger Nutzen und gewachsenes Vertrauen schob der Übervorteilung einen Riegel vor. Es wurde gute Ware zu einem realen Preis angeboten. Qualität und Preis waren in der bäuerlichen Landwirtschaft durchaus vergleichbar und regulierten Angebot und Absatz.²⁴

Hinzu kam, dass das Wandergewerbe obrigkeitsstaatlich genauestens kontrolliert wurde. Es gab im frühen 19. Jahrhundert Länder und Gemeinden, die Hausierhandel generell verboten. Wenn Wandergewerbe erlaubt war, dann wurden die Hausierer steuerlich veranlagt und standen unter polizeilicher Aufsicht. Sie musste einen Wandergewerbeschein beantragen, wobei peinlichst genau Alter, körperliche Beschaffenheit und Leumund notiert wurde. „Heute will man in dem Hausierer einen Menschen sehen, der das 25. Lebensjahr erreicht hat, der nicht ekelerregend aussieht, mit keinen ansteckenden Krankheiten behaftet ist und der vor allen Dingen nicht wegen eines Eigentums, resp. Brutalitätsdeliktes, wegen Hausfriedensbruchs, wegen Widerstandes gegen die Staatsgewalt oder wegen Übertretung von Sicherheitsmaßregeln gegen die Verbreitung ansteckender Krankheiten bestraft wurde. Als mindestes Strafmaß, das die Versagung des Wandergewerbescheines zur Folge haben kann, ist bekanntlich eine Freiheitsstrafe von einer Woche festgesetzt, und es müssen fünf Jahre seit der Verbüßung verflossen sein, wenn ein solcher auch einem Vorbestraften ausgestellt werden soll.“²⁵

Die Bürstenbinder versorgten bei schlecht entwickelten Absatzwegen eine ländliche Bevölkerung mit den notwendigen Waren des täglichen Gebrauchs, sie waren „Kulturvermittler“,²⁶ indem sie für Abwechslung,

²³ König, „Bürstenmacherei“, 543.

²⁴ Glass, „Von Haus zu Haus“, 160.

²⁵ Kiefer, „Hausiergewerbe in Fürth“, 186.

²⁶ Glass, „Von Haus zu Haus“, 161.



Unterhaltung und Neuigkeiten sorgten. Die positive Rolle der Wander-gewerbetreibenden wird auch von Gustav Schmoller in einem mittlerweile berühmt gewordenen Zitat aus dem Jahre 1870 hervorgehoben. Er stellte fest, dass sich der Hausierhandel zu einem reellen Kleingewerbe entwickelt hat: „Wo am meisten Verkehr und Industrie, wo der Kleinbesitz vertreten, wo die wirtschaftliche Kultur am höchsten ist, da finden wir die höchste Zahl derselben. (...) Das deutet darauf, daß es nicht sowohl die vagabundierenden, nomadenhaften, auf Diebstahl und Nichtsthun spekulierenden Hausierer, sondern die reellen, wahren wirtschaftlichen Bedürfnissen dienenden Auf- und Verkäufer sind, die zunehmen.“²⁷

Die hausierenden Bürstenbinder blieben fest in die Ökonomie ihres Dorfes und seiner Wirtschaftsweise integriert. Das saisonale Herumziehen führte nur bei den Todtnauer Bürstenbindern zur Gründung von Betrieben an anderen Standorten und damit zu einer Umsiedlung.²⁸ Ganze Familienverbände waren höchst selten unterwegs, die Arbeitsteilung zwischen Mann, Frau, Kindern und der Verwandtschaft war ausdifferenziert und unterschiedliche Einkommensquellen trugen zur Gesamtheit des Familieneinkommens bei. Auch wenn die Landwirtschaft in den Hausiererdörfern nicht viel einbrachte, so sicherte Haus und Hof, Vieh und Garten wenigstens die Subsistenz der Familie. Das Dorf war Kinderstube und Altersversorgung, Zuflucht in Zeiten der Krankheit, Invalidität und Arbeitslosigkeit. Es verhinderte zwar nicht die Armut, doch schützte es vor Verelendung.

War Heimarbeit und Hausierhandel für die Bürstenherstellung eine weit verbreitete Produktionsform und geläufiger Absatz, so wurden die Borsten ebenfalls durch den Hausierhandel vom Bauern, der selbst schlachtete, oder vom Metzger besorgt. Das geschah meist im Winter, weil um die Weihnachtszeit am meisten Schweine geschlachtet wurden. Der Borstenhandel und die Borstenzurichterei entwickelte sich in einem arbeitsteiligen Prozess. Ganze Dörfer wie z. B. Rothenkirchen im Erzgebirge widmeten sich der Beschaffung und dem Zurichten der Borsten. Doch war der Bedarf an Borsten schon seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert nicht mehr lokal zu decken. Das war zum einen durch den erhöhten Bedarf und eine entstehende Produktenvielfalt durch die industrielle Revolution bedingt. Die technische Nutzung von Bürsten, auch

²⁷ Schmoller, *Geschichte des deutschen Kleingewerbes*, nach Glass, „Von Haus zu Haus“, 153.

²⁸ Dörflinger, *Idee*, 69.

zum Reinigen von Maschinen, wurde immer wichtiger. Zum anderen mussten lokal nicht verfügbare Borstensorten aus anderen Ländern mit anderen Klimazonen importiert werden.

Hier wurde zunächst Russland wichtig. Es wird berichtet, dass schon im 16. Jahrhundert die Engländer aus Russland Borsten importierten.²⁹ „Im Dezember, Januar und Februar schlachtet der russische Bauer. Dann ist die Zeit des Borstenaufkaufs gekommen ... Der Hausschlächter nimmt das Häufchen Borste als etwas nahezu wertloses an sich und hebt es auf, bis der Hausierer kommt. Die Hausierer spielen in der Güterversorgung Russlands eine ganz andere Rolle als bei uns ... Die Städte sind weit und das Transportwesen unterentwickelt. Die Städte, wo die Manufakturisten sitzen, sind die Ausgangspunkte der Hausierer. Mit Pferd und Wagen oder einer Hucke auf dem Rücken durchziehen die letzteren ihr Gebiet, nicht allein verkaufend, sondern auch einkaufend: Hadern, Knochen, Roßschweife, Borsten etc. Der Handel ist überwiegend Tauschhandel: Geld gleicht nur etwaige Differenzen aus.“³⁰

Im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert wurde St. Petersburg zum größten Markt für russische Borsten, aber auch über Danzig und Königsberg wurden Bosten nach England und Amerika ausgeführt. Da England sehr viel früher als Deutschland zur Mastschweinehaltung übergegangen war, musste es Borsten vorwiegend importieren. England importierte aber auch Borsten aus seiner indischen Kronkolonie.³¹ Amerika musste ebenfalls auf überseeische Märkte ausweichen, doch bezogen sie aus geographischen Gründen ihre Borsten überwiegend aus China.³² Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde Leipzig im Rahmen seiner Messe zum bedeutendsten Handelsort für Borsten und Rosshaar und löste damit St. Petersburg ab.³³ Für den Import von Borsten aus China und Indien nach Deutschland wurden London und Hamburg wichtige Handelsstädte.

2. Borstenhandel mit Indien

Die indischen Borsten stammten aus Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. Dies war nicht allgemein bekannt, weil sie, ein Kuriosum, unter dem Markennamen

²⁹ Sauber, *Materialkunde für Bürsten- und Pinselmacher*, 17.

³⁰ König, „Bürstenmacherei“, 541.

³¹ Council, 176.

³² Wagman, *American Paint Brush Industry*, 2.

³³ „Leipzig als internationales Borstenzentrum“, 675.

„Kalkutta-Borste“ gehandelt wurden.³⁴ Diese Bezeichnung hat sich lange in deutschem Lehrmaterial gehalten. Das kam daher, dass Kalkutta zur frühen Kolonialzeit die größte Niederlassung der East India Company war und die meisten britischen Handelshäuser sich dort ansiedelten. In Kanpur und anderen Städten ‚up country‘, die flussaufwärts am Ganges gelegen waren, gründeten sie Niederlassungen. Bevor der Errichtung der Eisenbahn war Kalkutta auch der wichtigste Ausfuhrhafen. All dies deutet darauf hin, dass die indischen Borsten schon in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts über Kalkutta ausgeführt wurden, doch werden sie zum ersten Mal als Handelsprodukt im Jahre 1865 erwähnt.³⁵

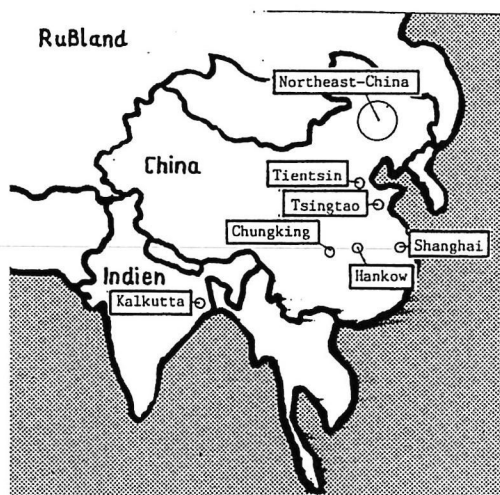


Abb. 3: Asiatische Borstenstädte

Kanpur ist die älteste Industriestadt Indiens, mit britischem Kapital erbaut und berühmt für seine Textil- und Lederindustrie. Kanpur wurde ‚Manchester of the East‘ genannt, mit seinen damals nach modernster englischer Technologie ausgestatteten Fabriken. Weniger bekannt ist, dass Kanpur auch zum Zentrum des Borstenhandels für ganz Indien wurde. Zwar gründeten die Engländer im Jahre 1896 die ‚Cawnpore Brush Factory‘³⁶, die wie die Textil- und Lederfabriken für den Bedarf der Britisch-

³⁴ Bock, *Bürsten und Pinsel*, 124.

³⁵ Yalland, *Boxwallabs*, 331.

³⁶ Nevill, *Cawnpore*, 82.

Indischen Armee produzierte.³⁷ Doch verbrauchte sie nur einen geringen Teil der in Kanpur hergestellten Borsten. Die meisten Borsten wurden nach England ausgeführt.

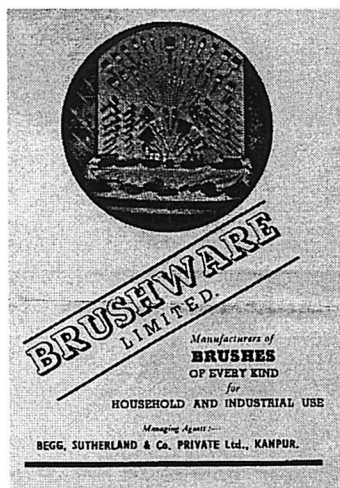


Abb. 4: Brushware

Uttar Pradesh ist der Bundesstaat Indiens mit den meisten Schweinen.³⁸ Da die Inder keine Bürsten und Pinseln gebrauchten, war für sie die Borsten ein wertloses Abfallprodukt, das zudem noch mit dem Odium der Unberührbarkeit behaftet war. Sie benutzen Bürsten weder zum Haare Kämmen noch zur Körperpflege. Ebenso wenig wurden Bürsten zum Waschen der Wäsche und auch nicht zum Weißen der Wände benutzt. Der Besen des verachteten und in der Kastenhierarchie ganz unten stehenden Strassenkehrers, wird aus Reisig zusammengesteckt. Für die Engländer hingegen und ihre aufstrebende Bürstenindustrie waren die Borsten allerdings ein wichtiges Besteckungsmaterial.

Die indischen Schweine sind hochbeinige Tiere, die, dem Wildschwein recht ähnlich, überwiegend schwarz oder grau sind. Sie verfügten über außergewöhnlich lange, dicke und steife Rückenborsten, die, wenn sie dem lebenden Tier ausgerupft werden, außerdem noch elastisch sind. Das hängt mit den klimatischen Bedingungen zusammen. Schweine werden zwar als

³⁷ Die Borsten hatten in der Frühzeit der Industrialisierung eine große Bedeutung, da sie an den beiden Enden des konisch zugeschnittenen Webschützen angebracht wurden, um beim Anhalten des Webschützen die Wucht des Aufpralls zu mindern.

³⁸ Sahukar, *Piggery India*, 71.

Tiere der gemäßigten Breiten bezeichnet, weil sie dort am häufigsten vorkommen, doch sind sie an Kälte und Hitze anpassungsfähig und kommen sowohl in Sibirien wie in den Tropen vor. In kälteren Regionen entwickeln Schweine ein feines Haarkleid, in tropischen Regionen dicke, stachelige Borsten.

Die Qualität und die Länge der Borste hängt außerdem vom Alter des Schweins ab.³⁹ Mastschweine können keine ausreichend langen Borsten entwickeln. Wichtig ist, Schweine vor extremer Kälte und extremer Hitze zu schützen. In gemäßigten Zonen geschah dies dadurch, dass man die Schweine winters im Stall unterbrachte. In heißen Ländern suchen die Schweine sich Kühlung in der Suhle. Die langen Rückenborsten eigneten sich deshalb besonders für Haarbürsten und sogenannte industrielle Bürsten. Auch als ‚Schusterborsten‘ zum Nähen von versteckten Nähten bei Schuhen und Kricketbällen waren sie sehr nachgesucht.



Abb. 5: Indische Schweine in Kanpur

Die Borsten waren deshalb mit dem Odium der Unberührbarkeit behaftet, weil sie vom Schwein stammen, das für Muslime und Kastenhindus gleichermaßen als unreines Tier gilt.⁴⁰ Da Schweine Schmutz, Abfälle und Fäkalien fressen, werden sie nur von Unberührbaren gehalten,⁴¹ die der kulturellen Stigmatisierung durch die brahmanischen Ideologie zufolge

³⁹ Sauber, *Materialkunde für Bürsten- und Pinselmacher*, 13.

⁴⁰ Harris, *Sacred Cow and Abominable Pig*, 68.

⁴¹ Außerdem von Adivasis und Christen, für die sie als besonderer Leckerbissen gelten. Sikhs und Parsen essen ebenfalls Schweinefleisch.

genau das gleiche tun wie die Schweine: Sie nehmen Unreinheiten auf. Traditionellerweise hatten die Unberührbaren solche Berufe inne, die mit Abfall, Schmutz, körperlicher Verunreinigung, Tod und Verwesung verbunden waren.⁴² Schweine wurden von allen Unberührbarenkasten gehalten.

Doch suchten sich die Engländer für das Schweineschlachten und Borstenzurichten die Khatik aus, die ihrer Meinung nach traditionellerweise etwas mit dem Schlachten zu tun hatten. Hier wurde aus der Kastenbezeichnung – *khatika* kommt aus dem Sanskrit und heißt schlachten und jagen – in der Kolonialzeit ein moderner Beruf.⁴³ In der älteren ethnographischen Literatur werden die Khatik als Ziegenmetzger und Gemüsehändler geführt.⁴⁴ Die Engländer brachten den Khatik das Schlachten und Borstenzurichten nach englischer Manier bei. In Kanpur allerdings bestanden die Khatik aus zwei Gruppen, von denen die eine Bauunternehmer und Maurer waren. Nur die andere Gruppe wurde zu Schweinemetzgern und Borstenmanufakteuren.

Die in Kanpur zugerichteten Borsten wurden nach London verschifft und dort vier mal im Jahr auf der Borstenauktion versteigert. Die Borstenauktion bestand seit 1870 und wurde von Auktionären, Handelshäusern, die mit tierischen Abfallprodukten auf eigene Rechnung handelten und Agenten betrieben, die Ware nur in Kommission nahmen.⁴⁵ Die Khatik hatten verschiedene Hürden zu nehmen, die durch die koloniale Wirtschaft bedingt waren, die sie aber dennoch zu reichen Männern werden ließen. Sie bekamen einen Vorschuss vom englischen Importeur, der eine Niederlassung in Indien hatte und über seine indischen Mittelsmänner mit den Borstenmanufakteuren verhandelte. Ein bestimmter Prozentsatz des auf der letzten Auktion erzielten Durchschnittspreises wurde ihnen ausbezahlt. Dadurch war es ihnen überhaupt erst möglich, die Ware zu verschiffen.

Wie entstand nun ein Markt für Borsten? Da alle Unberührbarenkasten Schweine hielten, war es ein leichtes, sie zur Borstenproduktion zu bewegen, die zumeist in zweimaligen sogenannten Ernten zur Sommer- und Wintermonsunzeit geschah. Den Schweinen wurden bei lebendigem Leib

⁴² Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*, 87.

⁴³ Singh, *Schedules Castes*, 726.

⁴⁴ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, 256.

⁴⁵ William, *Messrs*, v.



die Borsten ausgerissen.⁴⁶ Doch hatte diese Produktionsmethode den Vorteil, dass die Borsten eine höhere Elastizität aufwiesen als vom toten Schwein. Sie wurden gesammelt und einmal auf Wochenmärkten – sogenannten *bats* – angeboten, dann auf den großen im Winter stattfindenden Viehmärkten – *mela* – weiter verkauft. Viele Anbieter kamen auch persönlich nach Kanpur.

Das Zentrum der Borstenmanufakturen lag nicht sehr weit vom Bahnhof entfernt. Oft wurden die Verkäufer schon am Bahnhof von Agenten abgefangen und zu den jeweiligen Borstenmanufakturen geleitet. Bei erfolgreich abgeschlossenem Verkauf erhielten sie einen bestimmten Prozentsatz des Verkaufspreises. Die Borstenmanufakteure richteten die Borsten in ihren Fabriken zu. Dies geschah in Lohnarbeit, meist durch Angehörige anderer Unberührbarenkasten.⁴⁷ Nur einige wenige ärmere Khatik machten diese Arbeit selber. In Kanpur bildeten die Khatik die englische Arbeitsteilung in etwa ab. Neben Agenten und Borstenmanufakteuren gab es noch Borstenhändler, die nicht selbst zurichteten und nur mit der Ware handelten.



Abb. 6: Frauen beim Zurichten

⁴⁶ Diese Tierquälerei wurde mir von einem amerikanischen Borstenhändler mit Schauern erzählt. Gespräch anlässlich der ‚Interbrossa‘ am 25.4.1996 mit Howard Wagman aus Philadelphia, USA.

⁴⁷ Molund, *Kori*, 209.

Das Zurichten war ein langwieriger und arbeitsintensiver Prozess. Heutzutage wird nur noch auf spezielle Nachfrage hin zugerichtet. Die Rohware wird zunächst auf dem Waschbrett von den größten Unreinheiten befreit, eine Arbeit die von Frauen in der niedrigsten Lohnstufe übernommen wird. Dann werden die Borsten zusammengebunden und mehrere Stunden gekocht, auseinander gebreitet und anschließend auf dem Dach getrocknet. Danach werden sie durchgerieben, d. h. nach Kopf und Fahne – wie das mehrfach gespaltene Borstenende heißt – sortiert. Anschließend stößt man sie auf, damit alle Kopfenden auf einer Ebene liegen. Das Zupfen wird von Männern und Frauen durchgeführt. Erst dann können Borsten gleicher Länge und Ausrichtung zu einem Bündel zusammengefasst werden. Nur gut zugerichtete Bündel erzielten hohe Preise.

Obwohl der Borstenhandel bis in die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts zurückreicht, werden die Khatik erst um 1930 als Borstenmanufakteure schriftlich erwähnt. Das hängt mit dem Borstenboom dieser Jahre zusammen, der die englische Zivilverwaltung dazu brachte, die Borstenmanufakturen zu besteuern. Bei der Industrie- und Handelskammer waren in diesen Jahren allerdings nur vier Firmen registriert. Viele Khatik gingen weiterhin dem Gemüsehandel nach oder arbeiteten als Maurer und Bauunternehmer. Die Borstenmanufakturen waren eine *cottage industry* – eine Hausindustrie – und spielten deshalb im industriellen Kanpur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Doch machte der Borstenhandel die Khatik zu der reichsten und angesehensten Kaste unter den Unberührbaren.

Die reichsten Borstenmanufakteure wurden *chaudhuries* – Kastenälteste – genannt. Dieser Ehrentitel war aber nicht mit einem Amt verbunden, vielmehr gab es erhebliche ideologische Unterschiede zwischen ihnen. Makund Lal schloss sich der reformistischen Unberührbarenbewegung an, die für ein neues Selbstbewusstsein der Unberührbaren kämpfte und die sich gegen Kastendiskriminierung wandte. Der reichste Borstenmanufakteur Mithu Lal hingegen verstand sich als konservativer Hindu. Er krönte sich auch in den 40er Jahren selbst zum Borstenkönig von Indien, wie aus einer Photographie deutlich wird.



Abb. 7: „King of Bristles“

Die Khatik wurden von den Kastenhindus nicht als gleichberechtigt anerkannt, was sie aber wenig störte. Sie hatten durch den Borstenhandel ein neues Selbstbewusstsein entwickelt. Obwohl sie London nie gesehen hatten und mit der britischen Kolonialmacht nur indirekt in Kontakt kamen, bezogen sie ihre Identität aus dem Handel mit der kolonialen Metropole. Die Borste hatte als Ware das Odium der Unberührbarkeit abgestreift und war laisiert worden. Sie sehen sich als gleichberechtigten Geschäftsleuten und nicht als Unberührbare.

Weitreichende Veränderungen im Handel ergaben sich nach der Unabhängigkeit Indiens im Jahre 1947. Endlich wurde die „Kalkutta-Borste“ umgetauft und indische Borste genannt. Die englischen Handelshäuser zogen sich aus Indien zurück. Mehr und mehr Borsten wurden frei verkauft.⁴⁸ In den 60er Jahren wagten sich auch einige sprachgewandte Khatik ins Ausland, um ihre Ware direkt zu verkaufen. Die Isolation der Khatik durch die kolonialen Handelsbeziehungen war aufgebrochen. Dadurch wurde aber auch die Londoner Auktion obsolet, die 1969 ihre Pforten schloss. Die traditionsreichen englischen Maklerfirmen führten ihre Geschäfte als Handelsunternehmen weiter.

Zwischen 1950 und 1972 setzte ein Borstenboom ein. Der Boom war durch den Korea-Krieg verursacht, der ein amerikanisches Handelsembargo auf alle chinesischen Waren mit sich brachte. Die Amerikaner hatten für ihre Malerpinselindustrie hauptsächlich chinesische Borsten

⁴⁸ Bellwinkel-Schempp, „Khatik of Kanpur“, 187–206.

verwandt. Da ihnen jetzt dieser Markt verschlossen war, wichen sie auf den indischen Markt aus und kauften direkt in Kanpur Borsten ein. Auch das bedeutete eine große Aufwertung für die Khatik, da die amerikanischen Borstenhändler direkt mit ihnen verhandelten und ihnen dadurch Respekt erwiesen.

Erst nach den Öffnung des chinesischen Markts durch Richard Nixon im Jahre 1972 veränderte sich das Handelsglück für die Khatik in Kanpur. Die Chinesen konnten ein sehr viel größeres Volumen von Schweineborsten in unterschiedlichsten Qualitäten und niedrigeren Preisen anbieten, so dass die indischen Borsten nicht mehr gefragt waren. Daraufhin begannen die finanzkräftigeren Borstenmanufakturen, sich als Pinselmanufakteure zu versuchen. Sie verwandten für die Pinselherstellung sowohl einheimische Borsten als auch chinesische. Dadurch wurde das Zurichten der Borsten überflüssig. Die nicht so gut situierten Khatik wurden wieder Gemüsehändler. Eine Khatikfamilie ging seit 1980 dazu über, Schweinehaltung auf Kanpurs Müllhaufen zu betreiben, die überall am Straßenrand aufgeschüttet sind. Die Schweine vermehrten sich so stark, dass sie heutzutage 20 000 Tiere betragen und ein erhebliches öffentliches Ärgernis darstellen.⁴⁹ Sie werden als Schlachttiere zur Fleischversorgung gehalten.

Durch den Handel mit dem tierischen Abfallprodukt des verachteten Schweins war im Rahmen der kolonialen Wirtschaft ein Bedeutungswandel eingetreten. Nach den brahmanischen Reinheitsregeln trägt die Borste ein Odium, weil sie vom schmutzigen Schwein stammt. Durch den kolonialen Handel war die Borste als rituell unrein stigmatisierte Substanz in eine neutrale Ware verwandelt worden. Semantisch wurde diese Laisierung von den Khatik voll übernommen, indem sie ihre neue Tätigkeit als ‚bristle‘ bezeichneten, das englische Wort für Borste auf den Beruf des Borstenmanufakteurs ausdehnend. Die sie diskriminierenden Bezeichnungen Khatik benutzen sie nicht mehr. Als Kastenbezeichnung wie als Familiennamen haben sie den unspezifischen und sanskritisch klingenden Namen Sonkar⁵⁰ übernommen. Die Khatik verstehen sich als Geschäftsleute und lehnen alle Bezeichnungen, die auf ihren Unberührbarenstatus hinweisen, ab.

⁴⁹ *Id.*, „Borstenvieh und Schweinedreck“, 55.

⁵⁰ Ram, *Beyond Ambedkar*, 164.

3. Der Leipziger Borstenmarkt

Der koloniale Handel mit der indischen Borste war stark von historischen und politischen Begebenheiten beeinflusst. Das trifft auch auf die kontinentaleuropäische Entwicklung zu, die Leipzig nach der Reichsgründung 1871 zum führenden Borstenmarkt machte. „Gleich dem Rauchwarenhandel ist auch die Leipziger Borstenbranche aus der Jahrhunderte alten innigen Beziehung der Leipziger Messe zu Osteuropa hervorgegangen. Die wichtigsten Produktionsländer sind Rußland, China, Polen und Litauen Die gleichen russischen und polnischen Kaufleute, die die Leipziger Messe regelmäßig besuchten, um hier Rauchwaren zu verkaufen, brachten als anderen wichtigen Artikel auch Borsten mit Der Leipziger Borstenhandel ist mit dem Leipziger Rauchwarenhandel räumlich und teilweise auch wirtschaftlich eng verbunden, die Borstenhandlungen haben ihren Sitz am Brühl und in dessen Nachbarschaft.“⁵¹

Mit der Bezeichnung des Stammsitzes dieser Firmen ‚am Brühl‘ war dem Eingeweihten klar, dass es sich hierbei um jüdische Firmen handelte. Obwohl den Juden im Königreich Sachsen 300 Jahre lang das Zuzugsrecht verweigert worden war, durften sich einige wenige, unter ihnen der führende Rauchwaren- und Borstenhändler Marcus Harmelin, im Jahre 1830 auf dem Brühl in Leipzig niederlassen.⁵² In einer Würdigung der Firma zum 100jährigen Bestehen in der führenden Bürstenmacherzeitschrift der damaligen Zeit heißt es: „In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts widmete die Firma der Ausgestaltung des Borstenkommissionshandels besondere Aufmerksamkeit; es gelang ihr, Leipzig zum bedeutendsten Handelsplatz der Welt für russische Borsten zu machen und allein mehr als den dritten Teil dieses Umsatzes auf sich zu vereinigen: Auf ihr Betreiben beschloss der Rat der Stadt Leipzig am 31. Mai 1890, neben den bisherigen Borstenmessen noch zwei Spezialmärkte für Borsten abzuhalten.“⁵³, so dass fünfmal im Jahr Borsten gehandelt wurden. Borsten wurden in Fässern aus Russland importiert, eine übliche Verpackung, in der auch Bücher transportiert wurden.

⁵¹ „Leipzig als Borstenzentrum“, 765.

⁵² Harmelin, „Juden in der Leipziger Rauchwarenwirtschaft“, 249.

⁵³ „Hundert Jahre Marcus Harmelin“, 394.



Teil des Borstenlagers (1903)
 MAY MARCUS HARMELIN 66, SAMUEL POTTASCH 68, EMIL HAUPT 66, JOACHIM HARMELIN 66

Abb. 8: Firma Marcus Harmelin

Die führenden jüdischen Rauchwaren- und Borstenhändler stammten selbst aus Russland und Polen. Da in Russland der gesamte Handel, vom Hausierhandel bis zum Großhandel in jüdischen Händen lag,⁵⁴ waren die sprachgewandten und landeskundigen Leipziger jüdischen Borstenhändler allen anderen überlegen. So entwickelte sich der Borstenhandel auch in Großstädten wie Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Nürnberg, Hamburg, Straßburg und Paris zu einer überwiegend jüdischen Domäne. Dass Juden in einer Handelsparte fast ausschließlich vertreten waren, die zu einem Nischenbereich gehörte, war nicht überraschend, waren sie doch ebenfalls in der Abfallwirtschaft, im Woll- und Lederhandel überproportional vertreten.

Den Juden war es verboten, Schweinefleisch zu essen. Deshalb lag im Deutschen Reich der Kuhhandel überwiegend in jüdischen Händen, der Schweinehandel in christlichen.⁵⁵ Uns ist dieser Tatbestand immer noch in der negativen Konnotation des Ausdrucks ‚Kuhhandel‘ geläufig, unter dem man eine willentliche Übervorteilung des anderen und einen unfairen Kompromiss versteht. Was den Handel mit tierischen und pflanzlichen Besteckungsmaterialien betraf, so lag der Handel mit Pflanzenfasern ausschließlich in ‚christlichen‘ Händen, der Borsten- und Tierhaarhandel aber überwiegend in jüdischen.⁵⁶ Dies lässt sich durch die schon aufgezeigte

⁵⁴ Fuchs, „Jüdische Unternehmer“, 122.

⁵⁵ Richarz, „Viehhandel und Landjuden“, 73.

⁵⁶ Im Branchenverzeichnis der Stadt Hamburg der Jahre 1938, 1939 und 1940 waren die Firmen, die mit Pflanzenfasern und Borsten handelten, aufgeführt. Mit Hilfe von Herrn Werner Fenck, dessen Vater einer der führenden Rosshaarhändler gewesen war, gelang es mir, die Informationen über die Religionszugehörigkeit der Inhaber dieser Firmen herauszubekommen. Gespräch mit Herrn Fenck am 29.10.1997.

Entstehung aus dem russischen Landhandel erklären. Ebenso wenig wie bei der ‚Kalkutta-Borste‘ behinderten Ritualtabus den Borstenhandel. Die Verwandlung eines Produkts in eine Ware bewirkt eine Neutralisierung der kulturell/ rituellen Wertigkeiten. Sie wird nur noch nach dem Marktwert bemessen, sobald sie in den allgemeinen Austausch tritt.

Der große Einbruch geschah durch den Ersten Weltkrieg und die russische Revolution, die zunächst den Handel mit russischen Borsten empfindlich störte, weil aus Hungersnot die Schweine geschlachtet und aufgegessen wurden. Die sowjetische Regierung erlaubte nur noch eine strikte Kontingentierung russischer Borsten, die in den Zwischenkriegsjahren von der Firma Graubner abgewickelt wurde.⁵⁷ Sie waren Christen, die in der Nähe des Leipziger Hauptbahnhofs ihre Kommissionsräume hatten. Der Borstenhandel war so lukrativ geworden, dass auch Christen in diese Sparte gingen – so auch die Firma Hörz aus Stuttgart.⁵⁸

In der Zwischenkriegszeit wurden mit stagnierendem Import russischer Borsten die indischen und chinesischen Borsten immer wichtiger, die von ebenfalls jüdischen Handelshäusern in Hamburg teils über die Londoner Auktion, teils direkt importiert wurden. Auch im Rosshaarhandel bildeten sich überörtliche Konsortien, die von jüdischen Händlern dominiert waren, die aber christliche Juniorpartner mit in das Geschäft nahmen. Der entscheidende Einbruch für den jüdischen Borstenhandel kam durch Hitlers Machtergreifung und die damit verbundene Zwangsenteignung jüdischer Firmen, die bis zum Ende des Jahres 1938 abgeschlossen wurde.

4. Freiburg und der Reichsverband

Zum Abwickler dieses Prozesses machte sich Carl Grüb mit seinem ‚Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Bürstenindustrie‘.⁵⁹ Carl Grüb stammte aus dem südlichen Schwarzwald und war mit der Bürstenindustrie in Todtnau bestens vertraut. Im Jahre 1924 promovierte er in Heidelberg mit

⁵⁷ „Versteigerung russischer Borsten“, 216.

⁵⁸ Interview mit dem Seniorchef der Firma Hörz, Herrn Werner Hörz am 7.8.1997. Sie stammen aus dem Dorf Bonlanden, das Wandergewerbe betrieb.

⁵⁹ Es gab schon die seit 1881 in Leipzig erscheinende *Zeitschrift für Bürsten-, Pinsel- und Kammfabrikation und der einschlagenden Geschäftszweig* als Verbandsorgan der ebenfalls sich 1881 zusammenschließenden ‚Deutscher Arbeitgeber der Bürsten- und Pinselindustrie‘, die sich später in Verband ‚Deutscher Bürsten- und Pinselindustrieller‘ umbenannten. Das Handwerk hingegen gründete im Jahre 1897 eine eigene *‚Bürsten-, Pinsel- und Kammacher-Zeitung‘*, die in Altenburg/ Sachsen erschien.

einer Dissertation zum Thema ‚Die Deutsche Bürstenindustrie‘.⁶⁰ Carl Grüb machte es sich zur Aufgabe, die Bürstenmacherei vom Odium der Armut und Rückständigkeit zu befreien und in eine neue Zeit zu führen. Im Rahmen seiner Recherchen zu seiner Dissertation nahm er Kontakt zum Erzgebirge auf, die damals die schärfsten Konkurrenten der Schwarzwälder Bürstenindustrie waren. Auf eigene Kosten lud er die Konkurrenten in eine Biergastronomie nach München ein, wo sie „soffen wie die Bürstenbinder“.⁶¹ Der Erfolg stellte sich kurz danach ein, als Carl Grüb im Jahre 1925 die Unzahl von Arbeitgeberverbände, die nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg entstanden waren, zum ‚Reichsverband Deutscher Bürstenfabriken e.V., Sitz Freiburg‘, zusammenführte, dessen Geschäftsführer er wurde. Im Jahr drauf gründete er als Verbandsorgan den ‚Führer durch die Bürsten- und Pinselindustrie‘.



Abb. 9: Titelblatt des „Führers“

Als Führer der Bürstenindustrie war er seiner Zeit weit voraus. Er nahm durch seine Verbandsgründung die Gleichschaltung der Verbände vorweg. Die Machtergreifung Hitlers wird im ‚Führer‘ begeistert willkommen geheißen. Einziger Nachteil von Hitlers Machtergreifung war für ihn, dass er den Namen seines ‚Führers‘ wieder hergeben musste, der ab 1936 nur noch schlicht ‚Nachrichtenblatt‘ hieß. Zwei Führer durfte es in Nazi-Deutschland nicht geben.

⁶⁰ Er schloss sein Studium im Fach Volkswirtschaft und Philosophie mit dieser Dissertation ab.

⁶¹ Interview mit seinem Sohn Rainer Grüb am 24.7.1998.

Doch damit konnte Carl Grüb gut leben, weil ihm durch die Devisenbewirtschaftung und die Gleichschaltung der Verbände eine neue Machtfülle zufiel. Dem Reichsverband wurde kurzerhand noch die bis dahin sich sperrende Pinselindustrie zugeschlagen und das ganze als ‚Fachgruppe Bürsten- und Pinselindustrie Freiburg i. Br.‘ nahtlos in die Wirtschaftsgruppe Holzverarbeitende Industrie eingereiht. Carl Grüb blieb, was er war, und wurde als Fachgruppenleiter außerdem noch zur Vorprüfstelle für die Devisenbewirtschaftung ernannt. Nur musste die Fachgruppenleitung nach Berlin umziehen.

1938 macht sich Carl Grüb mit seinem Nachrichtenblatt zum Vermittler der von den Nazis eingeleiteten Zwangsverkäufe jüdischer Bürstenfabriken. Doch da die meisten jüdischen Firmen im Borstenhandel tätig waren, lief nur ein geringer Teil der Enteignungsmaßnahmen über seinen Schreibtisch. Carl Grüb schlägt in seinem Nachrichtenblatt keinen antisemitischen Ton an, mit den ‚Borstenjuden‘ – wie sie genannt wurden – war die deutsche Bürstenindustrie zu eng verbunden. Die sogenannten ‚Arisierungsmaßnahmen‘ wurden als ‚Überleitungsmaßnahmen‘ bezeichnet.

Nach Kriegsende knüpfte Carl Grüb da wieder an, wo er kriegsbedingt aufgehört hatte. Schon 1947 gab er sein Nachrichtenblatt wieder heraus und gründete 1960 die Internationale Messe für Spezialmaschinen und Rohstoffe für die Bürsten-, Pinsel-, und Farbrollerherstellung in Freiburg, kurz ‚Interbrossa‘ genannt. Sie wurde Nachfolgeorganisation der Leipziger Messe, die durch die Teilung Deutschlands und die Gründung der DDR praktisch zum Erliegen gekommen war. Doch war er als Führer der Deutschen Bürstenindustrie nicht mehr akzeptabel. Als Carl Grüb im Jahre 1969 starb, wurde seine Zeitschrift von seinen Söhnen als ‚Brossa-Press‘ weitergeführt. Bald stellten auch wieder die ausländischen Firmen auf der ‚Interbrossa‘ aus, mit ihnen die jüdischen Borstenhändler. Dem ‚Borstenjud‘ ist nichts passiert, war die lapidare Auskunft.⁶² Die Anwesenheit der Firmen Paul Marsh aus New York, Delbanco und Mayer, London – ehemals Hamburg und Nürnberg – sowie Paul Wagman aus Philadelphia scheinen dies zu bestätigen.⁶³

⁶² Anlässlich des Innungstreffens der Pinselmacher in Bechhofen am 12.4.1997 kam das Gespräch zufällig auf die ‚Borstenjud‘, die jüdischen Borstenhändler in Leipzig und Nürnberg. Ich konnte nachfragen, ob man wisse, was mit ihnen geschehen sei.

⁶³ Anlässlich der ‚Interbrossa‘ am 25.4.1996 konnte ich mit ihnen sprechen.



5. Lokale Antworten

Die Veränderungen im Borstenhandel sind auf globale wirtschaftliche und politische Faktoren zurückzuführen. Die Veränderung der Gebrauchskultur, die Entwicklung von Nylonborsten und vollautomatischen Einzugsmaschinen haben Bürstenhandwerk, -handel und -industrie grundlegend verändert.

Besen und Bürsten werden im Zeitalter des Staubsaugers nur noch wenig benutzt. Die Geschirrspülmaschine macht die Abwaschbürsten überflüssig, der Farbroller hat dem Deckenpinsel den Rang abgelassen. Bürstenpinsel werden nur noch zum Streichen der Fensterrahmen verwendet und auch das immer weniger, weil mehr und mehr Fenster Aluminium- und Kunststoffrahmen haben. Männer rasieren sich mit dem elektrischen Rasierapparat und nicht mehr ‚nass‘. Die Haarbürsten sind aus Kunststoff, pflegeleichte Materialien brauchen keine Kleiderbürsten. Schuhcreme wird mit dem Gummischwämmchen aufgetragen.

Die eigentliche Revolution hat sich im Gebrauch der Zahnbürste vollzogen. Sie ist der Marktrenner, deren Einführung schon im Kindergarten pädagogisch begleitet wird und die sowohl quantitativ wie qualitativ eine völlige Veränderung der Produktionstechnik durchgemacht hat. Das Besteckungsmaterial für Zahnbürsten sind Nylonfäden, die im Endlosverfahren hergestellt werden. Der Zahnbürstenkörper wird im Spritzgussverfahren hergestellt und kommt, zusammen mit der Klarsichtverpackung, aus einer Hand. Durch neue Mundhygienestandards ist die Zahnbürste zu einem Verbrauchsgut mit hohem Umsatz geworden.

Führend in der Bürstenspezialmaschinenherstellung ist die Firma Zahoransky aus Todtnau geworden. Sie stellt sowohl Spezialmaschinen im Formenbau für das Spritzgussverfahren für Bürstenkörper her als auch Zahnbürsten im vollautomatischen Produktionsverfahren. Sie hat gerade einen neuen Stammsitz in Todtnau Geschwend eingeweiht. Auch in Rothenkirchen im Erzgebirge hat sie eine Tochterfirma eröffnet.

Mit Vertretungen in 19 Ländern für Bürstenspezialmaschinen ist Zahoransky zum Branchenführer im Weltmaßstab geworden.⁶⁴ Die Gemeinde Todtnau wirbt für sich als Freizeit und Wintersportparadies. Zwar wird auf der Homepage die bescheidenen Anfänge als Dorf der Bürstenmacher

⁶⁴ Dörflinger/ Zahoransky, *100 Jahre Zahoransky*, 127.

erwähnt, doch wird diese Tradition nicht in die Darstellung der Gegenwart hineingenommen.⁶⁵

Das Bürstenmacherhandwerk wird als Ausbildungsberuf nur noch für Sehbehinderte weitergeführt. Nach der Veränderung der Ausbildungsordnung des Bürstenmacherhandwerks bedarf es nicht mehr des Meistertitels, um einen Bürstenmacherbetrieb zu führen.⁶⁶ Die Bürstenmachereinigung ist 1996 aufgelöst worden. Die einzige Berufsfachschule, die Meisterklassen anbietet, hat ihren Sitz in Bechhofen bei Nürnberg und bildet nur noch Pinselmacher aus. Wurde unter Carl Grüb bei der ‚Gleichschaltung‘ 1938 die Pinselindustrie der Bürstenindustrie ‚zugeschlagen‘, so ist es heute umgekehrt.

Das Primat hat die Pinselmacherei. Deutlich wird dies am 1995 gegründete ‚Deutsche Pinsel- und Bürstenmuseum‘, das sich als zentrales Museum der beiden Berufssparten versteht.⁶⁷ Die Bechhofener Museum ist ein Oszillationspunkt für die Identitätsfindung in der Gegenwart. Hatten die Straßen von Bechhofen in den 50er Jahren weder einen Straßenbelag noch einen Namen, so bringt das Pinselmuseum dem ‚Markt Bechhofen‘ wie das Dorf heute heißt, Ehre, Geltung und Ansehen.

Nach der ‚Wende‘ von 1989 bewährte sich Carl Grübs Einigungswerk der ‚Deutschen Bürstenindustrie‘ erneut. Sein Sohn Rainer knüpfte die Verbindungen wieder neu. Ihm habe ich es zu verdanken, dass ich anlässlich eines Besuchs herzlichen willkommen geheißen wurde, obwohl die ‚Wessis‘ zur damaligen Zeit in keinem guten Ruf standen.⁶⁸ Einer von ihnen hatte sich mit Treuhandgelder die traditionsreiche Firma Eduard Flemming unter den Nagel gerissen und 6 Mio. DM veruntreut.⁶⁹ Während der DDR-Zeit zu einem Riesenkombinat unter dem sinnigen Namen Flamingo aufgebläht, wurde nun versucht, den einzelnen Betrieben wieder

⁶⁵ Sehr zum Bedauern des Chronisten der Bürstenmacherei, Herrn Benno Dörflinger, hat Todtnau noch immer kein Heimatmuseum. Herr Dörflinger ist nicht nur Autor der Geschichte der Bürstenhandwerks in Todtnau, sondern er hat auch die Firmenchronik der Firma Zahoransky geschrieben. Er ist langjähriger Mitarbeiter der Firma Zahoransky und technischer Leiter der Versuchswerkstatt.

⁶⁶ Diese Informationen verdanke ich Herrn Stefan Scheffeltmann, Holzwirt und Berufsschullehrer an der Nikolauspflanz in Stuttgart, der mich seitdem ich mich der Bürstenmacherei zugewandt habe, mit seinem Fachwissen der Produktionstechniken und handwerksgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge begleitet. Gespräch am 8.6.2003.

⁶⁷ Es wurde fachkundig von einer Volkskundlerin eingerichtet.

⁶⁸ Vom 25.5.1997 bis 29.5.1997 kam ich in Schönheide, Hunsdöbel und Stützengrün mit Bürstenfabrikanten in Kontakt und konnte viele Gespräche führen und das Heimatmuseum besuchen.

⁶⁹ „Bürstenwerke ausgeplündert“, 4.

eine Selbständigkeit zu geben. Der kommissarische Leiter von Flamingo war auch, wie alle Bürstenfabrikanten, Mitglied im Schönheider Geschichtsverein, der sich als eine der ersten Taten die Akten von Schönheide aus dem Archiv in Aue zurückgeholt hatte. Ihre Heimatgeschichte wollten sie selber verwalten. Und eine Vergrößerung des Heimatmuseums war auch schon geplant.

Doch zurück nach Kanpur. Der Borstenhandel hatte den Khatik Ehre, Prestige und über das Produkt, die Borste vermittelt, auch eine Anbindung an die Weltwirtschaft gebracht. Davon waren sie jetzt trotz Globalisierung abgeschnitten und versanken in ihrer ‚lokalen Schweinerei‘. Doch Nawal Kishor suchte daraus einen Ausweg. Sein Vater Makund Lal war unter den reichen Borstenhändler der 30er Jahre der Progressive gewesen. Er hatte viel Wert auf eine gute Schulbildung seiner Kinder gelegt. Nawal Kishor war einer der wenigen, die fließend Englisch konnten. Belesen und interessiert an der Welt außerhalb Kanpurs, hätte er sich gerne dem Trend der 50er und 60er Jahre angeschlossen und wäre ins Ausland gereist. Doch damals lief sein Geschäft schlecht.

Jetzt als gestandener Geschäftsmann übergab er seine Pinselmanufaktur an Neffen und Sohn und gründete im Jahre 1997 eine Zeitschrift ‚Brushes, Hairs and Fibers‘. Davon hatte er immer geträumt. Er stellte einen Computerspezialisten und eine Sekretärin ein, kaufte sich einen Computer und trat mit der Welt über das Internet in Kontakt. Auf der Rückseite seines Blattes erschien die Annonce der Spezialmaschinenfabrik Zahoransky aus Todtnau im Schwarzwald, wodurch er seine Zeitschrift finanzierte. So knüpfte er wieder an die internationale Welt des Borstenhandels und der Bürstenindustrie an, die den Khatik verloren gegangen war.

Im April 2000 besuchte Nawal Kishor die ‚Interbrossa‘ in Freiburg. Er passte sich zunächst etwas unsicher in die polyglotte Welt der Geschäftsleute in ihren Nadelstreifenanzügen ein. Doch dann gewann er zunehmend an Selbstvertrauen. Er wurde zuvorkommend behandelt und freundlich Willkommen geheißen, alles für ihn neue Erfahrungen als Mensch zweiter Klasse. Zum ersten Mal sah ich ihn lachen. Er musste sein Gesicht nicht mehr auf unendlich stellen, um durchzukommen.

Auf der Messe hatte ich die Gelegenheit, alte Bekanntschaften zu erneuern. Die Erzgebirgischen Bürstenfabrikanten hatten eine ‚Bürschtebinderwerkstatt‘ aufgebaut. Sie präsentierten sich vor dem Bild ihres zukünftigen Heimatmuseums. Das Foto des Großvaters des heutigen Fabrikanten, der als Hausierer durch die Lande zog, hing im Großformat

daneben. Die Armut vergangener Zeiten, die Kargheit der früheren Lebensweisen verband die unterschiedlichen Pole und war auf dem internationalen Parkett auf einmal salonfähig geworden. Die Aneignung der Tradition und das Bekenntnis zu ihr wurden uns unter globalen Bedingungen selbstbewusst präsentiert.



Abb. 10: Ehepaar Müller, Inhaber von Mühle Pinsel vor der Fotografie des Heimatmuseums von Schönheide.

Die für mich erstaunlichste Begegnung war die mit Harald Blöchle aus dem Zigeunerndorf Lützenhardt im Schwarzwald. Heute ist die Bürstenmacherei aus Lützenhardt fast ganz verschwunden. Das Dorf ist zu einem bekannter Kur- und Erholungsort geworden. Harald Blöchle ist 10 Jahre lang als Lastkraftwagenfahrer durch alle Lande gezogen, bis er ganz ‚kaputt‘ war, wie er sagt.⁷⁰ Die nomadische Lebensweise bekam ihm nicht. Dann hat er in Lützenhardt in der Kurklinik seine zweite Frau kennengelernt und ist mit ihr nach Hannover gezogen, wo er eine Ausbildung zum Marktschreier gemacht hat. Er weiß, wie man verkauft. Mit Frau und Kindern nach Lützenhardt zurückgekehrt, besann er sich auf seinen Großvater, der Bürstenbinder war. Er begann Bürsten und Besen herzustellen. Es ist natürlich Naturware aus Holz, Borsten, Ziegenhaar und Rosshaar. Seine Frau half mit, lernte Jenisch, die lokale Zigeunersprache, und erledigt heute die Korrespondenz.

⁷⁰ Besuch am 30.10.2002 in Lützenhardt bei Harald Blöchle und seiner Frau Anette.

Doch wie die Bürsten an die Frau bringen? Er begann, so wie er es gelernt hatte, mit den lokalen Wochenmärkten, doch die Kurkliniken liegen näher. Auf Heimatabenden erzählt er von den Bürstenbindern, der Verfolgung der Zigeuner durch die Nazis und von seinem Produkt, den Bürsten. Er singt auch das Lied vom lustigen Bürstenmacher, der beim Hausieren so viel trinkt und das harte Leben von der leichten Seite nimmt. Die Produktinformation ist so überzeugend, dass die Kundinnen in seinen Laden strömen und ihm die Bürsten abkaufen. Inzwischen hat er auch eine CD mit seinen Liedern und mehrmalige Auftritte im Regionalfernsehen. Er träumt von einem Lützenhardter Bürstenmuseum. Bis es so weit ist, präsentiert er sich als eigenes Exponat.



Abb. 11: Herr Blöchle

6. Zusammenfassung

Der Verkauf von Bürsten im Wandergewerbe hat nicht nur eine ländliche Bevölkerung bei nicht erschlossenen Absatzwegen mit einem notwendigen Gebrauchsgut versorgt, sondern auch Informationen, Neuigkeiten, Fertigkeiten und Erfahrungen transportiert, die zu einer Integration ländlicher Gegenden in die Wirtschaft beigetragen haben. Die ‚Nomaden des Industriezeitalters‘, wie Gustav Schmoller sie bezeichnete, hatten gegenüber Bettlern, Vagabunden und ‚Kunden‘ einen schweren Stand. Sie mussten sich als ehrbare Bevölkerung im Gegensatz zu den unehrenhaften durchsetzen. Wandergewerbeschein, polizeiliche Verordnungen und Steuerveranlagung stellten behördliche Reglementierungen dar, die zusätzlich zu privaten wie öffentlichen Verboten des Hausierens den Absatz erschwerten.

An Hand des Borstenhandels habe ich die Bedeutungsveränderungen aufgezeigt, die der Transformationsprozess eines tierischen Abfallprodukts in eine Ware mit sich gebracht hat. Den Juden wie den Khatik aus Kanpur hat der Borstenhandel Reichtum, Ansehen, Geltung und Ehre eingebracht und ihr Selbstverständnis verändert. Die Juden Leipzigs sahen sich vor 1933 als voll integrierte Mitbürger an. Die Khatik betrachten sich als Geschäftsleute, die jenseits von ‚purity and pollution‘ mit einem durch den Handel laisierten Produkt arbeiten. Die englische Kolonialmacht hat durch den Borstenhandel zu einem semantischen Wandel beigetragen und damit das Schwein und seine Produkte neutralisiert. Doch bleiben die Khatik immer noch Dalits – wie heutzutage die Unberührbaren genannt werden. Da der Handel mit der Borste weggefallen ist, haben sie sich auf Schweinehaltung in der Stadt verlegt.

Ich habe außerdem zeigen können, wie stark die großen Borstenmessen von weltpolitischen Veränderungen abhängig waren. Im zaristischen Russland war St. Petersburg der führende europäische Borstenmarkt. Nach der Reichsgründung, die auch für die Juden die Gewerbefreiheit brachte, wurde Leipzig zur bedeutendsten Borstenmesse in Europa. Ausgelöst durch die russische Revolution versiegte das Borstenaufkommen aus Russland und andere Märkte mussten erschlossen werden.

So wurde die Londoner Auktion für chinesische und indische Borsten wichtig, die von großen Handelshäusern in Hamburg eingeführt wurden. Kanpur als indischer Borstenmarkt trat erst dann aus dem Schatten kolonialer Wirtschaft heraus, als durch den Korea-Krieg verursacht der chinesische Nachschub an Borsten versiegte. Die Borstenauktion in London brach als Folge davon zusammen. Übrig blieben die großen Handelshäuser in Hamburg, London und Philadelphia, die auch heute noch mit Borsten handeln.

Mit Carl Grüb trat ein ‚Führer‘ der Deutschen Bürstenindustrie auf den Plan, der geschickt die Gleichschaltung der nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftsplanung vorwegnehmend, die Bürstenindustrie einte. Durch die Teilung Deutschlands nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verlor die Leipziger Messe ihren internationalen Rang. Daraufhin gründete Carl Grüb mit der ‚Interbrossa‘ in Freiburg eine neue Messe von internationalem Zuschnitt. Die ‚Interbrossa‘ lebt besonders von der Ausstellung des Branchenführers im Spezialmaschinensektor Zahoransky, der im benachbarten Todtnau im Schwarzwald seinen Stammsitz hat.

Für die Weltfirma Zahoransky passt der Rekurs auf die ärmliche Vergangenheit und das Hausiererdasein nicht mehr ins Image, es wird abgestreift und nicht mehr aktualisiert. Nawal Kishor ist mutig und allein einen ähnlichen Weg gegangen. Er hat durch den Gebrauch der Informationstechnologie wieder an der globalen Wirtschaft anknüpfen können, von der er seit dem Erliegen des Borstenhandels abgeschnitten war und die ihm Ehre, Geltung und Anerkennung eingebracht hatte.

Eine Musealisierung setzt dann ein, wenn ein Handwerk oder ein Gewerbe zum Erliegen kommen. Doch werden Formen und Inhalte vergangenen Waren, Vertriebsformen und Herstellungsweisen strategisch akzentuiert. Das ‚Deutsche Pinsel- und Bürstenmuseum in Bechthofen‘ etabliert das Primat der Pinselindustrie über die Bürstenindustrie. Das Heimatmuseum in Schönheide dient als Ideologem einer sozialen Integration jenseits politischer Ideologien. Harald Blöchle und seine Frau gehen mit ihren Naturprodukten den Weg der Ethnisierung und Musealisierung. Sie exponieren sich als Jenische oder autochtone Zigeuner, um ihre Produkte absetzen zu können.

Summary

Global concerns and local itineraries: bristles and brushes in trade relations in India and Europe: Brushes and bristles became a cherished commodity in the 1870 in Europe, which was due to a variety of factors which were connected with the change of fashion and clothing as well as with major political changes – notably the foundation of the Deutsches Reich and the Subsequent Emancipation of the German Jews. As a concomitant of the fur trade, Leipzig became the European Centre of the bristle trade, after St. Petersburg lost its eminence after the Bolshevik Revolution. Bristle Trade was predominantly in Jewish hands – although the cultural matrix of Judaism considered the pig to be an unclean animal. Commerce went on the one hand against cultural notions of purity and pollution and on the other hand reinforced them. As a side line of colonial trade relations, the British in India taught bristle dressing to untouchables, which made Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh become the all India centre of bristle manufacturing. Manufacturing and industrial production went side by side, both at the lowest scale of income and prestige. Trading and hawking was done through itinerant traders, who joined the large army of paupers, vagrants, beggars, bards and gypsies who travelled through Europe during the uprooting

years of the industrial revolution, subject to registration, police orders, and Christian work culture in poor houses. Present day marketing strategies for brushes fall back upon the romanticism of ethnicity and manufacturing traditions. However, Kanpur's former bristle manufacturer join global economy as publisher as they have no more bristles to sell.

Literaturverzeichnis

- [ohne Verfasser]: „Bürstenwerke ausgeplündert. Chemnitzer Staatsanwalt zeigt wenig Interesse“, in: *Freie Presse*. Aue 24./25.5.1997.
- [ohne Verfasser]: „Leipzig als internationales Borstenzentrum“, in: *ZBPKf* 47,32 (1928), 675.
- [ohne Verfasser]: „Hundert Jahre Marcus Harmelin“, in: *ZBPKf* 49,15 (1930), 394.
- [ohne Verfasser]: „Versteigerung russischer Borsten in Leipzig“, in: *ZBPKf* 43 (1924), 184.
-
- Bellwinkel-Schempp, Maren: „The Khatik of Kanpur and the Bristle Trade. Towards an anthropology of man and beast“, in: *Sociological Bulletin* 47,2 (1998), 187–206.
- *Id.*: „Leipzig als Zentrum des Borstenhandels“, in: *Brossa-Press* 72,1 (1998), 66–74.
- *Id.*: „Borstenvieh und Schweinedreck – vom Nutzen des Schweins in der Industriestadt Kanpur“, in: *Internationales Asienforum* 34,1–2 (2003), 27–59.
-
- Bock, Ernst: *Vom Werden des Pinselmacherortes Bechhofen und des dort und in der Umgebung heimischen Handwerkszweiges*. Bechhofen 1969.
- *Id.*: *Bürsten und Pinsel. Die vielfältigen Erzeugnisse des Bürsten- und Pinselmachergewerbes und ihre wichtigsten Bestandteile*. Bechhofen 1983.
-
- Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (ed.): *A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products*. 1. New Delhi 1948.
- Crooke, William: *The Tribes and Castes of North Western India*. Calkutta 1896.
- Dörflinger, Benno: *Eine Idee setzt sich durch. Leodegar Thoma und das Todtnauer Bürstengewerbe*. Todtnau 1996.

- Dörflinger, Benno/ Zahoransky, Heinz: *100 Jahre Zahoransky 1902–2002. Das Jubiläumsbuch*. Todtnau 2002.
- Drude, Hartwig: „Christliche Wanderfürsorge oder die Vollstreckung der bürgerlichen Moral an den Armen“, in: Jürgen Scheffler (Hrsg.), *Bürger und Bettler. Materialien und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Nichtseßhaftenhilfe in der Diakonie. I. 1854 bis 1954. Vom Herbergswesen für wandernde Handwerksgelesen zur Nichtseßhaftenhilfe*. Bielefeld 1987, 153–157.
- Dumont, Louis: *Homo Hierarchicus. The Caste System and its Implications*. Chicago 1970.
- Fuchs, Konrad: „Jüdische Unternehmer im deutschen Groß- und Einzelhandel dargestellt an ausgewählten Beispielen“, in: Werner E. Mosse/ H. Pohl (Hrsg.), *Jüdische Unternehmer in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. (Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte. Beiheft 64.) Stuttgart 1992, 177–195.
- Geissenberger, Theodor: „Das Hausiergewerbe in Elsaß-Lothringen“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 4. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 80) Leipzig 1899, 1–122.
- Glass, Christian: „Von Haus zu Haus. Wanderhändler in Württemberg“, in: *Beiträge zur Württembergischen Volkskunde und Landesgeschichte*. 2. Tübingen 1987, 133–162.
- Grüb, Carl: *Die deutsche Bürstenindustrie*. Inauguraldissertation. Heidelberg 1924.
- Harmelin, Wilhelm: *Marcus Harmelin, Rauchwaren- und Borstenkommission Leipzig, 1830–1930. Zum Hundertjährigen Bestehen*. Leipzig 1930.
- Harmelin, Wilhelm: „Juden in der Leipziger Rauchwarenwirtschaft“, in: *Tradition. Für Firmengeschichte und Unternehmerbiographie* 11,2 (1966), 249–282.
- Harris, Marvin: *The Sacred Cow and the Abominable Pig. Riddles of food and culture*. New York 1985.
- Kiefer, Arthur: „Das Hausiergewerbe in Fürth“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 4. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 80) Leipzig 1899, 181–204.

- Klingele, Otto: „Der Bürsten-Hausierhandel der Bewohner der ehemaligen Thalvogtei Todtnau im badischen Schwarzwalde“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 4. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 80) Leipzig 1899, 295–304.
- König, Albin: „Die Bürstenmacherei in Leipzig und sächsischem Erzgebirge“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.): *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Handwerks in Deutschland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf seine Konkurrenzfähigkeit gegenüber der Großindustrie*. 6. Königreich Sachsen Teil 3. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 67) Leipzig 1897, 529–595.
- König, Albin: „Der Beerenhandel von Stützengrün und Rothenkirchen im sächsischen Erzgebirge“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 3. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 79) Leipzig 1899, 291–303.
- Kuntze, Kurt: „Der Hausierhandel der Satzunger (Sächsisches Erzgebirge)“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 3. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 79) Leipzig 1899, 1–181.
- Molund, Stefan: *First we are People... The Koris of Kanpur between Caste and Class*. Stockholm 1988.
- Müller, Hans Joachim: „Dr.‘ Bürschnma. Der Hausierhandel mit Bürstenwaren im erzgebirgisch-vogtländischen Raum“, in: *BROSSA-PRESS* 70,6 (1996), 701–705.
- Nevill, H. R.: *Cawnpore, a Gazetteer*. Allahabad 1909.
- Ram, Nandu: *Beyond Ambedkar*. New Delhi 1995.
- Richarz, Monika: „Viehhandel und Landjuden im 19. Jh.“, in: *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1990), 66–88.
- Röhrich, Lutz: *Das große Wörterbuch der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten*. I–II. Freiburg, Basel, Wien 1991–1992.
- Sahukar, Chandra Shekar: *Piggery India. Year Book 2000*. New Delhi 2000.
- Sauber, August: *Materialkunde für Bürsten- und Pinselmacher*. Altenburg 1925.
- Scheffler, Jürgen: „Die Vagabundenfrage. Arbeit statt Almosen. Herbergen zur Heimat, Wanderarbeitsstätten und Arbeitskolonien“, in: Künstler-

- haus Bethanien (Hrsg.), *Wohnsitz: Nirgendwo. Vom Leben und Überleben auf der Straße*. Berlin 1982, 59–70.
- Seebach, Helmut: *Altes Handwerk und Gewerbe in der Pfalz. Fahrende Handwerker, Wanderarbeiter und Hausierhändler in der Pfalz*. Mainz 1990.
- Singh, K. S.: *The Scheduled Castes. People of India. Anthropological Survey of India*. Delhi 1993.
- Stieda, Wilhelm (Hrsg.): *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 1–5. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 77–81) Leipzig 1898–1899.
- Trüdinger, Otto: „Das Hausiergewerbe in Württemberg“, in: Wilhelm Stieda (Hrsg.), *Untersuchungen über die Lage des Hausiergewerbes in Deutschland*. 4. (Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik 80) Leipzig 1899, 123–180.
- Wagmann, Howard M.: *Bristle and its Importance to the American Paint and Brush Industry. MBA thesis in Marketing*. Philadelphia 1952.
- William, Archibald: *Messrs. Edward Barber & Sons Centenary 1828–1928*. London 1928.
- Wittich, Engelbert: „Die Bürstenmacher von Lützenhardt“, in: ZBPKf 49,16 (1930), 311–312.
- Yalland, Zoe: *Boxwallahs. The British in Cawnpore. 1857–1901*. Wilby Hall 1994.

Abkürzungen:

ZBPKf = Zeitschrift für Bürsten-, Pinsel- und Kammfabrikation.

Nundinae als Bindeglied zwischen römischer Administration und indigenen Gesellschaften im antiken Nordafrika

Thomas Brüggemann

Das zentrale Kriterium, das einen städtischen von einem ruralen Markt unterschied, war dessen Dauerhaftigkeit – in allen anderen Hinsichten waren beide Erscheinungen funktionsgleich. Dieser Unterschied wurde im urbanen Kontext besonders in Form fester Gebäude, die den jeweiligen Marktplatz umgaben, sichtbar. Jedes dieser Gebäude war Ausdruck eines Bündels unterschiedlichster sozialer, administrativer, politischer oder religiöser Aufgaben, die auch jeder temporäre Markt auf dem Land gleichermaßen abzudecken hatte und auch diesen zu einem Ort nicht nur ökonomischen Austausches werden ließen.¹ Ein periodischer Markt, gleich, ob er ins städtische Marktgeschehen integriert wurde oder im Umland verblieb, war jedoch ein fundamental rurales, regional begrenztes, agrarisches Phänomen.² Die markantesten Charakteristika ländlicher *nundinae* standen so auch in krassem Gegensatz zu den Ausformungen eines permanenten städtischen Marktes. So waren ländliche Handelstreffen zunächst unabhängig von urban-administrativen Kontrollinstanzen, zudem zeichneten sie sich durch ihr vollständig integratives Prinzip, das eine Vielzahl zusätzlicher sozialer Funktionen gleichzeitig beinhaltete, die das Zusammenleben unterschiedlicher afrikanischer Stämme erst möglich werden ließen, aus, waren grundsätzlich zeitlich befristet und dienten prinzipiell dem Austausch von Waren und der Befriedigung kommunikativer Bedürfnisse indigener Ethnien.³ Als Kommunikationszentren erfüllten sie außerdem

¹ Zur politischen und sozialen Bedeutung permanenter Märkte auch in nordafrikanischen Städten Sechi, „Razionalizzazione“, 345ff.; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 51ff.; allgemein Drexhage [et al.], *Wirtschaft*, 105–108.

² Zur Terminologie ausführlich De Ligt, *Fairs*, 33–55; Frayn, *Markets*, 1–11.

³ Die Gestalt und der Verlauf größerer periodischer ‚Jahrmärkte‘ konnte von De Ligt, „Periodic Markets“, 391–416 beschrieben werden; *nundinae* standen wegen ihrer Periodizität und dem

die Aufgabe, den Stammesführern die regelmäßige Möglichkeit zu geben, politische oder soziale Konflikte auszutragen und zu beseitigen.⁴

Marktplätze, die im Umkreis der *fora* in Dörfern und Städten Nordafrikas zu Tage traten,⁵ sind problemlos an ihren standardisierten architektonischen Hinterlassenschaften zu identifizieren.⁶ Demgegenüber ist bei der Lokalisierung vermeintlicher oder tatsächlicher periodischer Markorte nachdrückliche Vorsicht geboten. Denn wie können Institutionen identifiziert werden, die derart ephemere gewesen sind, dass sie kaum topographische Zeugnisse aufwiesen, die ihre Existenz anzeigen könnten? Beinahe ausschließlich Funden lateinischer Inschriften, die häufig zur Legitimation an den ruralen Markorten errichtet worden sind, ist es zu danken, dass überhaupt Kenntnis solcher Erscheinungen überkommen ist.⁷ Kontrastiert man also rurale ‚Tage des Austausches‘ – Waren und/ oder Informationen – mit den rein kommerziellen Zielen urbaner Märkte, so fällt auf, dass erstere ausschließlich durch ihren ‚zeitlichen Rahmen‘ determiniert sind, was die lateinische Bezeichnung *nundinae* wiedergibt.⁸ Die Etymologie dieses Wortes, dass sich vermutlich zusammenschließt aus *novem* und *dies*, macht deutlich, dass es sich zunächst wohl auf jene Märkte beschränkte, die bei inklusiver Zählung an jedem 9. Tag abgehalten worden sind.⁹ Somit war also der neunte Tag zunächst lediglich der, der ausschließlich für den Handel der Bewohner des Umlandes einer Stadt

regelmäßigen Intervall, in dem sie stattfanden, im Gegensatz zu den *mercatus* der Städte, wie den *macella* oder *fora*; ausführlicher in diesem Zusammenhang zuletzt De Ligt, *Fairs*, bes. 35–39 und 48–55.

⁴ Hdt. I 37, 2; Luk. 11, 43; Ste. Croix: *Origins*, bes. Appendix 5, Some Athenian Laws Affecting the Agora, 399; Stanley, *Market Regulations*, 51f.

⁵ Allgemein zu *macella* auf urbanen *fora* bspw. De Ruyt, *Macellum*; zur Topographie jüngst Horster, *Bauinschriften*; Zimmer, *Locus*; Haensch, *Capita*, 276ff.; Niquet, *Monumenta*, 137ff.

⁶ Exemplarisch der Survey von Romanelli, „Topografia“, bes. Kap. 12 ‚Mercati‘, 146–152; Degraffi, „Mercato“, 27–70; Cagnat, „Marché“, 316–323; Chatelain, „Macellum“, 349–363; Thouvenot/ Lique, „Macellum“, 81–99 (bei Banansa); auch in anderen Teilen des Reiches war der permanente Markt eine übliche Erscheinung, wie bspw. Martín-Bueno: „Macellum“, 315–319, zeigen kann.

⁷ Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang exemplarisch CIL VIII 26482 = ILAfr 516; CIL VIII 26530 und 26533 = ILAfr 523 aus Thugga; CIL VIII 1406 und 14906 = ILS 6795 aus Thignica (Henchir ‘Ain Tūunga); CIL VIII 12353 aus Turca (Henchir bû-Scha); IRT 294 und 468 aus Leptis Magna; ILAfr 425 aus Utica für *tabernae*; Frayn, *Markets*, 133–144, bes. „Fairs and festivals“ und 1–11.

⁸ Vgl. zum archaischen Achttagess-*nundinum* Ernout/ Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s. v. *novem*, 447.

⁹ Ernout/ Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, s. v. *novem*, 447: „...adjectif composé de *novem* + *din* – ‚qui a lieu tous les neuf jours‘“; sie verstehen also das Substantiv *nundinae* als entstanden aus einer Redewendung wie bspw. *nundinae* (*feriae*); diese Herleitung ist jedoch längst nicht allgemein Konsens, wie schon Kroll, „*Nundinae*“, bes. Sp. 1467f., erweist; Nollé, „Marktrechte“, 93ff.; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 51ff.; Frayn: *Markets*, 1ff.

reserviert blieb, an dem also Bauern und Kaufleute vom Land in das am nächsten gelegene städtische Zentrum zogen, um sowohl ihre eigenen Güter zu verkaufen, aber natürlich auch, um ihren eigenen Bedarf an Produkten aus der Stadt zu decken sowie letztlich auch alle erforderlichen Informationen mit Einwohnern und Behörden auszutauschen.¹⁰ Selbstredend übertrugen die Römer mit ihrer Präsenz in Nordafrika auch ihre bereits dergestalt diversifizierte Terminologie auf alle Formen merkantiler Aktivitäten und Märkte, derer sie in der ‚neuen‘ Umgebung gewahr wurden. In diesem Zusammenhang wird es gerade wegen der Vielzahl solcher Inschriften ähnlichen Inhaltes wahrscheinlich, dieser Institution innerhalb der römischen Provinzverwaltung Afrikas eine immense Bedeutung zuzusprechen, wobei die Einführung des lateinischen Terminus *nundinae* und seiner Adaption durch die Afrikaner zur einheitlichen Bezeichnung ruraler periodischer Märkte zunächst nur als Indiz für den Import oder die Übertragung einer italischen Institution angesehen werden kann. Denn im Gegensatz zur italischen Situation war die afrikanische weitgehend erratisch mit einem variierenden Intervall zwischen zwölf und acht Tagen.¹¹ Obwohl das Prinzip der *nundinae* ein durchaus verbreitetes gewesen ist, war im Vergleich zu den Marktperioden in den übrigen Teilen des römischen Reiches das in den nordafrikanischen Provinzen vorherrschende Intervall nachgerade willkürlich zu nennen. Dennoch weist die zeitliche und räumliche Verteilung besonders auch wegen eben dieser erstaunlichen Übereinstimmung der Marktintervalle in ganz Nordafrika auf eine Institution hin, die offenkundig bereits als integrales, einigendes Moment und soziales ‚Rückgrat‘ afrikanisch-ruralen Lebens lange vor dem Erscheinen der Römer fungierte und auch deren Regierungszeit schließlich überdauern sollte – allerdings versehen mit einem römisch-lateinischen Etikett.¹²

Da diese Märkte im Hinterland nahezu die einzige Versammlungsmöglichkeit einer ansonsten weitgehend disparat siedelnden Bevölkerung darstellten, bildeten sie den zentralen Knoten in einem Kommunikationsnetzwerk, in dem *agrestes*, Einwohner von ländlichen Dörfern und pastorale Nomaden vereint waren. Natürlich wurde gerade deswegen jede

¹⁰ Varro *res rust.* II pr. 1–2 schreibt, dass „*itaque annum ita [maiores nostri] dividerunt, ut nonis diebus urbanas res usurparent, reliquis septem ut rura colerent*“; vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch Colum. *de re rust.* I pr. 18; Dion. Hal. *ant.* II 28, 3; Plin. *nat. hist.* XVIII 3, 13–14; Plut. *quaest. rom.* 42; Macrobian. *sat.* I 16, 28–36.

¹¹ Vgl. zu den unterschiedlichen Marktintervallen De Ligt, *Fairs*, 169ff.; Nollé, *Nundinas*, 88–151; Shaw, „Markets“, Tafeln 1–4.

¹² De Ligt, *Fairs*, 48ff.; Frayn, *Markets*, 1ff.; Shaw, „Markets“, 67ff.

regelmäßige rurale Markt-Versammlung von der Zentralmacht als potentiell subversiv beargwöhnt. Die ungeheure Zahl und Vielfältigkeit dieser Erscheinungen in den afrikanischen Provinzen bedeutete zudem für die Administration eine erhebliche Erschwernis bei ihrer Überwachung bzw. staatlichen ‚Vereinnahmung‘, wobei besonders das Moment der Kontrollierbarkeit als notwendige Bedingung eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle spielte.¹³ Ein Beleg für die Furcht in Politik und Gesetzgebung waren daher die rigiden Kontrollen sowie die Restriktionen, denen jede nicht-staatliche Vereinigung oder Versammlung reichsweit gegenüberstand. Ausgehend von latenter Skepsis gegenüber jeglicher Form von Menschenansammlungen wurden unter dem Rechtstitel der *collegia* pauschal sowohl feste Organisationen als auch temporäre Versammlungen subsumiert – somit gehörten also auch *nundinae* in diesen Kontext, weswegen es auch kaum überraschen dürfte, dass das Recht, periodische Märkte abhalten zu können, das *ius nundinandi*, nur von den allerhöchsten staatlichen Stellen gewährt wurde.¹⁴

Auch wenn bereits in vorrömischer Zeit im nordafrikanischen Hinterland Tausende rurale periodische Märkte existiert haben dürften, gibt es dennoch nur sehr wenige Anhaltspunkte bzw. Quellen aus der Epoche afrikanischer Königtümer, die über ihre Strukturierung näheren Aufschluss geben könnten. Ein singuläres Beispiel eines ausschließlich indigenen Marktes während der römischen Herrschaft in Afrika illustriert deren Funktionsweise wohl am authentischsten. In der von den Folgen römischer Besatzung weitgehend unberührt gebliebenen Region von Hassawana, die in den Hügelketten des von der römischen Zentralmacht militärisch und kulturell allenfalls virtuell kontrollierten Mejāna Plateaus unmittelbar westlich von Sitifis gelegen war,¹⁵ fand sich eine offenbar von

¹³ MacMullen, „Market-Days“, 333ff., der annimmt, dass nahezu dreiviertel des reichsweiten Handels über solche temporären Märkte abgewickelt worden sei, ist zuzustimmen; zudem ist davon auszugehen, dass solche Großgüter, deren landwirtschaftliche Produktion in erster Linie einseitig war, d. h. Oliven- oder Getreideanbau bzw. Viehzucht bestand, wesentlich auf die Abhaltung und das Vorhandensein ein solches Marktes angewiesen waren; vgl. daher bspw. für die möglichen Anrainer des unten ausführlich besprochenen *saltus Beguensis*: Atlas de Tunisie, bes. die Karten 21, „végétation“, 23, „sols“, 41, „agriculture“, 43, „l'élevage“, 51 „régions agricoles“; die zum größten Teil aus Steppe bestehende Höhenregion des *saltus Beguensis* ist heute im wesentlichen nur für Schafzucht und Olivenkultur nutzbar, was in der Antike kaum anders gewesen sein dürfte.

¹⁴ De Lig; *Fairs*, 48–53; Frayn, *Markets*, 1–11; Shaw, „Markets“, 48; Kehoe, *Economics*, 216.

¹⁵ Etwa 14 km nord-östlich von Bordj-bou-Argeridj; vgl. auch Fushöller, *Tunesien*, 433 Karte 36; vgl. nach wie vor auch Desanges, „Catalogue des tribus“, 66ff.; wie bereits erwähnt, handelt es sich bei den genannten Grenzsteinen aus der Nähe von El-Guerria um CIL VIII 8813 und 8814 = ILS 5960 EX INDVLGEN/ TIA IMP. CAES. HAD/ RIANI AVG. FINES/ ADSIGNATI

einheimischen Stämmen gesetzte lateinische Inschrift, die deren Markt(-ort) nach römischem Vorbild bezeichnete. Die Einheimischen beabsichtigten durch diese Anleihe bei der gegenüber der eigenen als weiterentwickelt empfundenen Kultur vermutlich die Aufwertung ihres Handelsplatzes.¹⁶ Generell kann man davon ausgehen, auch wenn die Inschrift kaum absolut zu datieren ist, dass die Verwendung der lateinischen Sprache in Verbindung mit der römischen Praxis einer Markttinschrift sicherlich eine vorseverische Setzung ausschließt.¹⁷ Die Inschrift lautet:

NVNDINA¹⁸/ ANNV(as) QVOD¹⁹/ PRAECEPT/ IOVIS²⁰ ET IV/ BA²¹ ET GENIVS VANISNESI/ QVOD PRECEPE/ RVNT DII INGI/ ROZOGLEZIM.²²

GENNTI [sic!] NVMDARVM/ PER C. PETRONI/ VM CELERVVM/ PROC. AVG. PRO/ [m(auretaniae) c]AES[ariensis]; zu Celer Thomasson, *Statthalter*, Bd. 2, 255; *id.*, *Fasti*, 201 Nr. 11; Celer war zunächst ausschließlich für die Vermessungen und Festlegung der Grenzlinie zwischen dem *territorium* der *civitas* Regiae (Arbal) und einem *saltus* bei er-Rahel 40km westlich von Regiae, CIL VIII 21663 = ILS 5963, zuständig; es scheint, dass er jedoch bald danach ähnliche Obliegenheiten auch in der Mejāna Ebene durchführte; die betroffenen Güter werden in erster Linie durch CIL VIII 8811, 20618 = ILS 5964, Borj Majāna, nahe Satūr gelegen, oder CIL VIII 8812 = ILS 5965, Meris, wiederum nahe Majāna gelegen, bezeichnet; vgl. demgegenüber für die kaiserlichen Landgüter, die vermutlich bereits in trajanischer und hadrianischer Zeit angelegt worden sind, also zur selben Zeit wie die Militärkolonie von Sitifis, Février, „Inscriptions inédites“, bes. 220ff.

¹⁶ Wie bspw. Schuller, „Recht als Leitbild für die Spätantike“, 1–13 zeigen kann.

¹⁷ Wahrscheinlicher ist demgegenüber, dass sie mindestens 100 Jahre nach dem in der Mejāna Ebene errichteten Landgut gesetzt wurde, da die Region ansonsten sehr wenige und eher qualitativ minderwertige epigraphische Zeugnisse aufweist, von denen CIL VIII 8831 bzw. 20631 aus Sertei aus dem Jahre 211 das früheste absolut zu datierende ist; ein Schriftvergleich bietet keine Anhaltspunkte, dass die indigene Markttinschrift vor 211 geschaffen worden ist.

¹⁸ Auf die Ergänzung NVNDIVA(s) von Shaw, „Markets“, 51, die der Zusammenführung von *nundinas annuas* dienen soll, kann zugunsten der ursprünglich gegebenen Form der Inschrift verzichtet werden, da NVNDINA in afrikanischem Kontext durchaus Parallelen findet, wie bspw. aus CIL VIII 8280 = 20077, Nollé, *Nundinas*, 132ff., ersichtlich wird.

¹⁹ Dass die Verfasser das Lateinische nur schlecht beherrschten, zeigt auch, dass das Relativpronomen hier nicht korrekt an das Bezugswort anschließt und auch Numerus und Genus falsch gewählt sind; obwohl mit *nundina*, wobei der Singular wie in CIL VIII 8280 = 20077 offenbar durchaus möglich war, oder *nundinae*, periodisch abgehaltene Wochenmärkte bezeichnet wurden, war hier wohl tatsächlich nur ein Jahrmarkt gemeint; vgl. De Ligt, *Fairs*, 62f.; Mitterauer, „Jahrmärkte“, 277.

²⁰ Obwohl der Text natürlich von nur mangelnden Lateinkenntnissen der Verfasser zeugt, ist jedoch die Form Iovis als Nominativ Singular epigraphisch gut belegt, vgl. bspw. ILS III, 1, 534.

²¹ Gemeint ist wohl Iuba II., 50 v. Chr. – 23 n. Chr.; vgl. hierzu bspw. auch Min. Felix Oct. XXIV 1, der bemerkt, dass „et perierante Proculo deus Romulus et Iuba Mauris volentibus deus est et divi ceteri reges“, sowie Lact. inst. div. I 15, 8, wenn er sagt, dass „hac scilicet ratione Romani Caesares suos consecraverunt et Mauri reges suos; privatim vero singuli populi gentis aut urbis suae conditores, seu viri fortitudine insignes erant seu feminae castitate mirabiles, summa veneratione coluerunt, ut Aegyptus Isidem, Mauri Iubam, Macedones Cabirum, Poeni Uraniam, Latini Faunum, Sabini Sancum, Romani Quirinum“; die Form ‚Iovis‘ als Nominativ Singular ist gut bezeugt, vgl. daher ILS III 1, 534; Coltelloni-Trannoy, *Juba II*, bes. 67–118.

²² Die von Nollé, *Nundinas*, 154f. vorgenommenen Ergänzungen VANISNE(n)SI(um) sowie INGIROZOGLE(n)ZI(um) sind, abgesehen natürlich von den grammatischen Endungen,

Besonders die scheinbare Kuriosität dieses Textes gilt es zu untersuchen, wobei zunächst davon auszugehen ist, dass es sich hier kaum um einen regelmäßigen Markt gehandelt habe dürfte, sondern die Intervalle vermutlich größer gewesen sind, da dieser Ort ja dem Einfluss der Römer und somit auch der Möglichkeit der Übertragung des italischen Marktzyklus entzogen war. Außerdem ist in diesem Falle darauf hinzuweisen, dass eine stringente Kontrolle dieses Handelsplatzes durch die Zentralverwaltung, deren Antrieb bekanntlich immer die Furcht vor dem vermeintlich ‚aufrührerischen‘ Potential solcher Stammesversammlungen gewesen ist, auch kaum erforderlich gewesen sein dürfte, haben doch die hier beteiligten Ethnien sozusagen freiwillig eine ‚Unterordnung‘ unter die römische Kultur vorgenommen. Ein solches Treffen ermöglichte optimal den Austausch zwischen Bewohnern von Gebirgsregionen und denen angrenzender Ebenen und verbindet diesen zudem mit einem von den beteiligten Stämmen gleichermaßen Verehrten ‚Heiligen‘. Signifikantes Merkmal dieser Marktproklamation, neben dem mäßigen Latein, ist das Fehlen jeden Hinweises, der das Einholen bzw. die Gewährung einer Genehmigung durch die römischen Behörden anzeigt. Denn wie der Text der Inschrift impliziert, war diese *nundina* die Umsetzung der Anweisungen der verehrten *genii loci*. Außer Iuppiter und Iuba werden nämlich der *genius* Vanisnesi und die *dii* Ingirozoglezim genannt,²³ so dass zunächst durchaus der Eindruck entstehen kann, dass diese Stämme durch die ausdrückliche Erwähnung von Iuppiter an der Spitze der an der Einrichtung beteiligten Götter sowie als *creator* des Marktes eine Konzession an die herrschende römische Zentralmacht bereit waren – und sich unterordneten.²⁴ Tatsäch-

kaum erforderlich; vgl. zum semitischen Ursprung der Endung „-im“ RE Suppl. III, 1918, Sp. 1239 ‚Ingirozoglezim‘; ablehnend zu den Konjekturen von Nollé auch De Ligt, *Fairs*, 62f. bes. Anm. 31; ähnlich Shaw, „Markets“, 50–53, der zudem auf einen Presbyter ‚*Vannidensis*‘ hinweist, der im 5. Jh. in einer Bischofsliste erscheint; der *genius* Vanisnesi ist allerdings hier der Geist eines Ortes und nicht der eines zweiten Stammes.

²³ Fentress, „*Dii mauri*“, 507–516.

²⁴ Zu Iuppiter als Schutzgott der *nundinae* bereits Plut. *quaest. Rom.* 42; Macrobius *Sat.* I 16, 30 sowie bspw. auch CIL III 3936 = 10820 = ILS 7116 des Jahres 238 aus Siscia in Oberpannonien, wo es heißt I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)/ N(undinario); zur Gleichsetzung der beiden Gottheiten Iuppiter und Saturn in Afrika bereits SAH, 233–236; in diesem Zusammenhang ebenfalls SAM 2, 310f. = CIL VIII 9195 des Jahres 259 aus Rapidum für die Identifikation von Saturn mit dem *numen* Iovis durch einen römischen Ritter, der Präfekt einer *gens Masat*[...] gewesen ist; außerdem SAM 2, 63 = CIL VIII 8246 = ILS 4477 aus Idicra (‘Aziz-ben-Tellis), einer Dedikation an gleich drei Erscheinungsformen des Saturn, nämlich Nutrix, Iuppiter und Tellus; schließlich auch SAM 2, 268 = CIL VIII 8434 (ähnlich auch CIL VIII 20340) des Jahres 234 aus Sitifis sowie CIL VIII 8432 und 8433, beide von 236; grundsätzlich zum afrikanischen Phänomen der Verschmelzung beider Gottheiten SAM 1, bes. 336 = CIL VIII 16523 = ILS 3006 (Henchir Rohban); SAM 1, 339 = CIL VIII 10624 = ILS 3005; SAM 1, 348f = RSAC

lich muss aber vor dem Hintergrund der intensiven Verehrung des Saturn durch indigene Stämme auch in der Region von Hassawana wohl eher davon ausgegangen werden, dass auch in dieser Inschrift eine Gleichsetzung von Iuppiter und Saturn vorliegt.²⁵ Nachdem die einheimischen Stämme damit also zunächst das Oberhaupt des afrikanischen Pantheon angerufen hatten, folgt der Name des Iuba, bei dem es sich mit erheblicher Wahrscheinlichkeit um die Apotheose Iuba II. gehandelt haben muss, der als einer der letzten indigenen Herrscher diesen Teil der Mauretania regierte. Beim folgenden *genius* Vanisnesi, also dem Geist des Vanisnesus, stellt sich die Frage, um wen oder was es sich dabei gehandelt haben könnte, wobei vermutlich lediglich der Name des Ortes, an dem der Markt stattfand, bezeichnet war. Denn die Verehrung solcher *genii loci* von Bergen, Quellen, Felsen, Höhlen und selbst Bäumen war ein weithin verbreitetes Phänomen afrikanischer Kultpraxis in der Antike.²⁶ Dennoch ist natürlich nicht gänzlich auszuschließen, dass mit diesem Namen auch ein Individuum bezeichnet wurde, bspw. ein heiliger Mann, der im Kontext des Marktes und zu dessen Schutz verehrt worden ist.²⁷ An letzter Stelle werden Götter mit dem exotischen Namen ‚Ingirozoglezim‘ angeführt, die außer in dieser Inschrift völlig unbekannt sind. Obschon man daher gewiss hinsichtlich ihrer Funktion und Rolle keineswegs absolute Aussagen treffen kann, implizieren Form und Art der Namensgebung durchaus Ähnlichkeit zu weiteren ausschließlich aus Afrika bekannten Gruppen von

55, 1923/ 24, 215f (Tébessa); SAM 1, 349 = ILAlg I. 3473 (Henchir Gûnfida); wobei jedoch darauf hinzuweisen ist, dass generell alle gleichsetzenden Identifikation von römischen Stiftern, alle synkretistischen jedoch grundsätzlich von Afrikanern vorgenommen worden sind; Desanges, „Permanence“, 181–196.

²⁵ Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang für das nahegelegene Hammâm-Guergûr vgl. SAM 2, 289, 95; für ‘Ain Rousa, SAM 2, 286f., 93 und das bereits erwähnte ‘Azziz-ben-Tellis; vgl. zudem Tayeb, „Inscription“, 301–312; in Nordafrika war auch die Gleichsetzung von Baal Hammon und Iuppiter verbreitet, wie CIL VIII 9018 = ILS 4428 aus Auzia in der Caesariensis zeigt [Pan]thea cornigeri sacris adiuncta Tonantis, [q]uae Libycis Maurisque simul venerabilis oris [his] etiam colitur te[rr]is, quam Iuppiter Hammon [inter] utrumque lat[us] m[e]diam cum dite severo [dext]er sede tegit; Vössing, *Schule*, 245ff.

²⁶ Zu solchen afrikanischen *genii loci* vgl. auch Toutain, *Cultes*, 40–43, am Beispiel von CIL VIII 9014; HAAN, Bd. 6, 132–135; Charles-Picard, *Religions*, 4f. und 24f.; einige inschriftliche Belege für solche *genii* seien hier nur exemplarisch genannt, so für einen Berg CIL VIII 17763 und 14588 = ILS 8723a aus Simitthus (Shemtû), CIL VIII 9180 aus Auzia, außerdem ohne Ort CIL VIII 21567 = ILS 9241 und AE 1948, 8; für einen Fluss CIL VIII 5884 = ILS 3906 = AE 1942/ 43, 31 aus Sila; für eine Quelle CIL VIII 8926 = ILS 3924 aus Saldae (Bejaïa); zudem siehe zu der Genese und Praxis von *numina* einzelner afrikanischer ruraler Marktorte auch Aug. *epp.* 16 und 17 aus dem Jahre 390.

²⁷ So ist bspw. für das Jahr 484 ein Presbyter des Namens ‚Vannidensis‘ aus der Liste der Bischöfe der Caesariensis bekannt, was Mesnage, *L’Afrique chrétienne*, 347 zeigt; Maier, „Épiscopat“, 237; RAA, 286, zur christlichen Basilika von Hassawana, Plan und Abb. 103.

Gottheiten – die *dii mauri*, *dii magifae*, *dii macni* bzw. die *dii gaetulorum* seien hier genannt –, dass es sich auch bei ihnen um eine Sorte ethnischer oder regionaler Götter gehandelt haben dürfte.²⁸

Den unmittelbaren Gegensatz zu tribalen Jahrmärkten wie dem von Hassawana bilden *nundinae*, die überwiegend in den Tiefebene des antiken Maghreb anzutreffen waren. Diese Märkte waren nämlich Elemente politischer Überwachung und ihre Integration in das reichsweit bestehende Netz des römisch-ökonomischen Systems stellte den deutlichsten Gegensatz zur *nundina* des *genius* Vanisnesi dar. Neben der indigenen Jahrmarkts-Inschrift aus Hassawana, die sich ja auch nicht auf einen zyklischen Markt bezieht, finden sich in Nordafrika im Zusammenhang mit *nundinae* nur noch epigraphische Belege für temporäre Märkte, die durch römische Großgrundbesitzer eingerichtet oder von Statthaltern Städten bewilligt worden sind.²⁹ Obwohl die Motivation, die unzählige nordafrikanische *domini* veranlasste, auf ihrem Besitz staatlich genehmigte Markttag abhalten zu dürfen, aus machtpolitischen Erwägungen gegenüber ihren nomadisierenden *coloni* und Landarbeitern oder aus eigenen ökonomischen Interessen durchaus nachvollziehbar ist, kann sie als Begründung für die disparate Vielzahl solcher Märkte in Nordafrika allein kaum ausreichen. Daher ist die Annahme, die kaiserliche Provinzverwaltung habe bevorzugt genau solche *nundinae* bewilligt und damit auch zu überwachen beabsichtigt, die in unmittelbarer oder auch nur mittelbarer Verbindung zu jenen großen Landgütern gestanden haben, die im Besitz der wohlhabenden und politisch einflussreichen Angehörigen der Reichs- oder kommunalen Elite gewesen sind. Diese Annahme erklärte zumindest das Monopol solcher Märkte gleichsam als Recht, *beneficium*, wichtiger kommunaler Kooperationen bzw. einzelner Großgrundbesitzer. Die früheste bislang bekannte solcher Inschrift, die einen periodischen Markt in Afrika ausweist, dokumentiert zugleich eines der mittlerweile bekanntesten Bei-

²⁸ Vgl. HAAN, Bd. 6, 1927, 135–138; Camps, „Massinissa“, 287; zu den *dii mauri* bereits Camps, „*Dii mauri*“, 233–260; zuletzt Fentress, „*Dii mauri*“, 507–516; *dii macni* erscheinen in CIL VIII 8023 = 19981 = ILS 4136 aus Rusicade; *dii magifae* schließlich kommen bspw. in CIL VIII 16749 = ILS 4493 = ILAlg I. 2977 aus Tinfadi (Henrich Mekides) vor.

²⁹ Die Kontrolle solcher Märkte lag ausschließlich in den Händen der Großgrundbesitzer, auf deren Land sie stattfanden; dass die Gewinnmöglichkeiten für die Betreiber oder Betreuer solcher Märkte immens gewesen sind, macht im 3. Jh. Cyp. *de laps.* deutlich, wenn er von „*episcopi plurimi*“ berichtet, „*quos et hortamento esse oportet ceteris et exemplo, divina procuracione contempta procuratores rerum saecularium fieri; derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes negotiationis quaestuosae nundinas aucupari*“; speziell hierzu auch Eck, „Christen im Reichsdienst“, bes. 456ff.; Teitler, „Managers“, 206–213.

spiele ruraler Handelstage Nordafrikas – *Senatus Consultum de nundinis saltus Beguensis*.³⁰ Ausgehend vom standardisierten Prozess der Bewilligung und Einrichtung eines periodischen Marktes auf privatem Besitz, stellte der Senator Lucilius Africanus, der hier ein großes Gut besaß, einen formalen Antrag an den Senat, dem an den Iden des Oktober 138 stattge-

³⁰ CIL VIII 270 = 11451 = Burns, *Fontes*, Bd. 7, 205, Nr. 61 = FIRA 1, Bd. 2, Nr. 47 = MARE, Nr. 96 = AE 1907, 17 = ILTun 396; die Inschrift wurde teilweise reproduziert bei Cagnat, *Cours*, Bd. 4 Tafel 12, 1; wegen ihrer erheblichen Bedeutung und Vollständigkeit soll die Inschrift hier komplett wiedergegeben werden: S(enatus) C(onsultum) DE NVNDINIS BEGVENSIS IN T(erritorio)/ CASINI. DESCRIPTVM ET RECOGNITVM EX LIBRO SEN/ TENTIARVM IN SENATV DICTARVM, KANI IVNI NIGRI, C(aii) POMPO/ NI CAMERINI CO(n)S(ulum), IN QVO SCRIPTA ERANT AFRICANI IVRA ET ID/ QVOD I(nfra) S(cryptum) EST. IDIBVS OCT(obribus) IN COMITIO<rum> IN CVRIA IVL(ia) SCRIBVND// ADFVERVNT Q. GARGILIVS Q. F. QVIR(ina tribu) ANTIQVS, TI. CL(audius) TI. F. PAL(atina tribu) SEVERVS, C. OPPIVS C. F. VEL(ina tribu) SEVERVS, C(aius) HERENNIVS C. F. PAL(atina tribu) CAECILIANVS, M. IVL(ius)/ M. F. QVIR(ina tribu) CLARVS, P. CASSIVS P. F. DEXTER Q(uaestor), P(ublius) NONIVS M. F. OVF(entina tribu) MAC/ RINVS Q(uaestor). IN SENATV FVERVNT CC[...]/ S(enatus) C(onsultum) PER DISCESSIONEM FACT(um)// QVOD P. CASSIVS SE/ CVNDVS, P. DELPHINVS PEREGRINVS ALFIVS ALEN/ NIVS MAXIMVS CVRTIVS VALERIANVS PROCVLVS M. NONIVS MCVI/ ANVS COSS. VERBA FECERVNT DESIDERIO AMICORVM LVCILI AFRICA/ NI C(larissimi) V(iri), QVI PETVNT EI PERMITTATVR IN PROVINCIA AFR(ica) REGIONE// BEGVENSI, TERRITORIO MVSVLAMIORVM, AD CASAS, NVNDINAS/ IIII NON(as) NOVEMBR(es) ET XII K(alendas) DECEMBR(es) EX EO OMNIBVS MENSIBVS/ IIII NON(as) ET XII K(alendas) SVI CVIVSQ(ue) MENSIS INSTITVERE HABERE, QVID/ FIERI PLACERET, DE EA RE ITA CENSVERVNT/ PERMITTENDVM LVCILIO AFRICANO C(larissimo) V(iro) IN PROVINCIA AFRIC(a)// REGIONE BEGVENSI, TERRITORIO MVSVLAMIORVM, AD CASAS/ NVNDINAE IIII NON(as) NOVEMBR(es) ET XII K(alendas) DECEMBR(es) SVI CVIVSQ(ue) MENSIS IN/ STITVERE ET HABERE EOQVE VICINIS ADVENISQ(ue) NVNDINANDI/ DVMTAXAT CAUSA COIRE CONVENIRE SINE INIVRIA ET IN// COMMODO CVIVSQVAM LICEAT. ACTVM IDIBVS OCTOBR(ibus)/ P. CASSIO SECVNDO, M. NONIO MCVIANO/ EODEM EXEMPLO/ DE EADEM RE DVAE TABELLAE SIGNATAE SVNT: SIGNATORES/ T. FL(avi) COMINI SCRIB(ae), C. IVLI FORTVNATI SCRIB(ae), M. CAESI HELVI/ EVHELPISTI, Q. METILI ONESIMI, C. IVLI PERIBLEPTI/ L. VERATI PHILEROTIS, T. FLAVI CRESCENTIS; ausführlich Merlin, „Observations“, 448–456, der auch über die Fundumstände der Steine durch V. Guérin im Jahre 1860 und deren Überführung in den Prado berichtet; man nimmt an, dass die Inschrift in der Spätantike zum Übergang vom 3. ins 4. Jh. nach mehr als 200 Jahren erneuert wurde – mit ihr vermutlich auch der *vicus* bzw. der Gebäudekomplex, so Wilmanns, „Saltus Beguensis“, 276; *saltus* ist nicht nur eine geographische Bezeichnung für ein mit Wald oder Sträuchern bestandenes Hügelland, sondern diente auch in der Amtssprache dazu, große Domänen zu benennen, die auch meist ein für extensive Viehhaltung geeignetes Gebiet umfassten; oft war ein so charakterisiertes Landgut in kaiserlichem Besitz, gelegentlich aber auch in Privatbesitz, hierzu Schulten, *Gutsherrschaften*, 17 und 25ff.; im vorliegenden Fall bezeichnet *saltus* sowohl die natürlichen Gegebenheiten des Gebietes als auch den Verwaltungsbezirk, *regio*, in dem die Domäne des Africanus lag; Toneatto, *Corpus agrimensorum Romanorum*, bes. 23 und 40ff.; dieses Gut kann zudem als Standardbeispiel nordafrikanischen Großgrundbesitzes gelten, wie Front. *de contr. agr.* nahelegt, wenn er sagt, dass „in Africa, ubi saltus non minores habent privati quam res publicae territoria. Quin immo multi saltus longe maiores sunt territorii. Habent autem in saltibus privati non exiguum populum plebeium et vicos circa villam in modum municipiorum“, zit. nach Blume, *Gromatici veteres*. Bd. 1, 53.

geben wurde.³¹ Allein der für die Errichtung des Marktes von Lucilius Africanus ausgewählte Ort machte eine Befassung des Senates zur Verleihung des *ius nundinandae* erforderlich, da Casae am Fuß einer Bergkette gelegen war, die sich von Südwesten nach Nordosten mitten durch das Gebiet zwischen Thala und Sufetula zog.³² Demnach lag die Ansiedlung Casae strategisch überaus günstig an der Außengrenze des Landgutes, damit also nicht nur direkt neben dem einzigen Pass, der durch zwei Gebirgsmassive verlief, sondern auch die kürzeste Verbindung zwischen den wichtigsten Städten der Region, Thala und Sufetula, bildete.³³ Wie der Name des Ortes bereits impliziert, Casae (Häuser), existierte vermutlich

³¹ Zeilen 5 bis 9; dass tatsächlich Teile des musulamischen Territoriums erst in nachtrajanischer Zeit an Africanus gefallen sind, oder dass seine Domäne überhaupt erst 138 eingerichtet wurde, wie Nollé, *Nundinas*, 104f. wegen der Nennung von *iura Africani*, die er als *iura possessiones* interpretiert, vermutet, ist wenig wahrscheinlich, vielmehr ist bereits Huvelin, *Essai*, 111f. zuzustimmen, der nämlich annimmt, dass Africanus für die Einrichtung des Marktes von *ad Casas* zunächst eine endgültige Lizenz, *iura Africani*, vom Senat hat erhalten müssen: „Des questions de cet ordre se posent à propos d'un passage assez obscur de sénatus-consulte de *nundinis saltus Beguensis*. Celui-ci rapporte en effet qu'avant de statuer sur la demande adressée par Lucilius Africanus, le Sénat a examiné les *iura* de ce dernier, tels qu'ils étaient contenus dans le *liber sententiarum in senatu dictarum*. Quels étaient ces *iura*? Sans doute des pièces prouvant que Lucilius était en droit obtenir des foires. Mais on en est réduit sur ce point aux conjectures“; die im SC erscheinende Flurbezeichnung *Beguensis* sowie die explizite Formulierung *in territorio Musulamiorum* indiziert, dass die Kolonensiedlung *ad Casas* sowohl bereits vor 138 existiert haben dürfte als auch, dass der *saltus* sowie dessen *nundinae* auch rechtlich im Gebiet der Musulamier lagen, das dem Stamm also formal auch nach 138 noch gehörte; wenn Whittaker, „Land“, 346 also der Annahme ist, dass die „inscription, [...] from the estate lands of the *saltus Beguensis* in southern Tunisia shows that, in spite of the defeat of the great Musulamii confederation in the first century A.D. careful provision was made in the second century A. D. to ensure control of a market and its location outside the lands of the settlement of Casae but in the territory of the Musulamii. This begins to look like the sort of marginal market site which could be expected where pastoralists meet farmers more or less right at the Kasserine pass that gives access to the Tunisian Dorsal“, so ist ihm Recht zu geben; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 195 mit Anm. 141; Drexhage [et al.], *Wirtschaft*, 84–95.

³² Dies war eine der am intensivsten von Nomaden auch in vorrömischer Zeit bereits frequentierten Wanderrouen, allerdings auch die einzige in dieser Region; dieser Umstand berechtigt auch zu der Annahme, dass es in der *regio Beguensis* bereits in vorrömischer Zeit indigene periodische Märkte gegeben hat; so vermutete auch bereits Wilmanns, „*Saltus Beguensis*“, 280f., dass „*fortasse iam inde a Tiberii temporibus Musulamii hoc loco nundinas agebant; earum autem ius tributum erat vel ipsi genti vel uni ex principibus eius. Tempore posteriore maior territorii pars in possessionem Lucilii Africani venit atque ita etiam in locos ubi nundinae agebantur. Emptione autem territorii Africano ius nundinarum non acquirebatur, id enim haudquaquam loco adhaeret, sed privilegio imperatoris senatusque reipublicae alicui hominive tribuitur*“.

³³ Die Marktanlage befand sich also in der Ebene von Fuschaena am Fuße eines Gebirges, das sich von Sufetula, Sbeitla, über Sufes, Sbiba, nach Norden erstreckt, exakt zwischen den beiden höchsten Bergen des Massivs, dem Djebel Semmama mit 1314 m und dem Djebel Tiouacha 1365 m, so Poinssot, *Tunisie*, s. v. *casae Beguenses*; zudem Tunisia, 1:50.000, Karte lxxvi für das Gebiet von Djebel Semmama; Gsell, *Atlas*, Karte 29 für Thala; Fushöller, *Tunesien*, 339, Karte 26; Shaw, „Markets“, Karte 2.

auch in vorrömischer Zeit hier eine kleinere indigene Siedlung.³⁴ Die Absicht des Africanus war wohl, die bestehende Infrastruktur zu nutzen und sie einfach durch weitere Marktbauten zu erweitern, um die Siedlung auch topographisch für die Umgebung sichtbar in den Rang eines lokalen Zentralortes zu erheben, der nunmehr darüber hinaus untrennbar Bestandteil seines Besitzes und somit seiner Verfügung geworden war.³⁵

Speziell im Falle des *saltus Beguensis* ist im Zusammenhang mit der Verleihung des *ius nundinandi* durch den Senat auf einige Aspekte besonders hinzuweisen. Zunächst fällt auf, dass inschriftlich ein relativ vollständiger Bericht des gesamten senatorischen Bewilligungsverfahrens gegeben ist, sogar verbunden mit dem entsprechenden Dekret im Wortlaut hat das in Stein gehauene Dokument Aufstellung am Markort gefunden. Ergänzend sind außerdem noch einige Vorsichtsklauseln hinzugefügt, was ebenso wie

³⁴ Casae, ähnlich den afrikanisch tribalen *mappalia*, bezeichnete tatsächlich eine Ansammlung einzelner Häuser, aus denen schließlich eine Siedlung entstehen konnte, so bereits Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, 322–344; Maier, „Épiscopat“, 123f.; die übliche Benennung des Ortes als Casae ist zu modifizieren, so dass in Zeilen 14 und 19 besser *ad Casas* zu schreiben wäre, d. h. der Markt findet in der ‚Umgebung von Casae‘ statt – ähnliche Bildungen wie *ad Turres*, *ad Aquas* oder *ad duo Flumina* sind in Afrika verbreitet, wie sich auch aus dem Index bei Salama, *Voies romaines*, 119f. ergibt; im römischen Nordafrika war auch der Name Casae allein für kleinere Ansiedlungen sehr verbreitet, dazu bereits Dessau, „Casae“, in: RE III/ 2, 1899, Sp. 1632f., hier bes. Nr. 4; in der Regel bezeichnet dieser Name Kolonensiedlungen auf größeren Domänen, so dass Schulten, *Gutsherrschaften*, 53f. hierzu feststellen kann, dass es „außer den Dörfern [...] die Höfe [gibt], die *casae* der Colonen. Casae ist bei den afrikanischen Ortsnamen sehr häufig [...]. Der Hauptort des *saltus Beguensis* heißt auch schlechthin Casae. Wie *vicus*, *castellum*, *villa* ist auch Casae für den ganzen Gutsbezirk gesagt worden“; vgl. auch Gsell, *Atlas*, Karte 27 Nr. 141 zu CIL VIII 4327 (El Mahder), wo von einem *ordo municipi Casensium* die Rede ist, den er mit einer Veteranensiedlung verbindet: „Le nom Casae atteste qu'il y eut d'abord un hameau en lieu, dont la population paraît avoir été formée en grand partie de vétérans“; Carlsen, *Vicili*, 121–142; De Neeve, *Colonus*, 119–174; jüngst auch zum Vergleich Mircović, „Military diplomas“, 365–376; auch Visy, „Towns“, 163–184.

³⁵ Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Ausführungen von Wilmanns: „Saltus Beguensis“, 271, der für dieses Vorgehen eines römischen Landherrn ein Vergleichsbeispiel aus Mursa in der Pannonia Inferior, CIL III 3288, anführt; außerdem berichtet er, die beiden Kalksteintafeln mit den Inschriften seien bei einem Gebäude aufgestellt gewesen, das er als „*ampla porticus quadrata ingentibus postibus fulta*“ beschreibt und vor dem er zudem „*fundamenta parva tabernarum*“ zu erkennen glaubte, so dass er wohl zurecht annahm, dass dieser Gebäudekomplex Handelszwecken gedient habe; da sich die Tafeln bei Auffinden noch *in situ* befanden, ist außerdem davon auszugehen, dass der Markt ebenfalls direkt hier stattfand; da die Reste von *ad Casas* nach Wilmanns nicht mehr untersucht worden sind, lässt sich mehr über den Ort kaum sagen, vgl. aber ausführlich zum Befund Wilmanns, „Saltus Beguensis“, 276; *ad Casas* war wohl tatsächlich das Zentrum des Gutes des Africanus, da es zu keinem Territorium einer Stadt gehörte; diese Annahme findet dadurch Bestätigung, dass im vorliegenden SC von der *regio Beguensis*, also einer autonomen Verwaltungseinheit, die Rede ist; hierzu Schulten, *Gutsherrschaften*, 2ff. und 32f.; darüber hinaus kann auch das Mausoleum als Indiz dafür angesehen werden, dass es sich bei *ad Casas* tatsächlich um den Zentralort des Gutes gehandelt hat, da dies vermutlich das Grab des Grundherrn ist; ähnlich bspw. wie im Falle des Iunius Faustinus Postumius, der sich nachweislich CIL VIII 11763 auf seinem Gut in der Nähe des *saltus Beguensis* bestatten ließ.

die Abbildung des kompletten Textes des Senatsbeschlusses in späteren Marktinschriften absolut unüblich gewesen ist.³⁶ Der Antrag und die Bewilligung des *ius nundinandi* erscheinen in dieser Region Afrikas ungewöhnlich spät im 2. Jh., denn einerseits war seit der militärischen Befriedung dieser Gegend inzwischen mehr als ein Jahrhundert vergangen, andererseits stellte auch den politischen, ökonomischen und sozialen Einfluss sowie die grundsätzliche Dominanz des Gutes des Africanus über die gesamte Region zu diesem Zeitpunkt niemand mehr ernstlich in Frage.³⁷ Möglicherweise ist tatsächlich ein Anhaltspunkt für sein Vorgehen in einer an sich in solchen Fällen nicht ungewöhnlichen Formulierung am Ende des Textes zu finden, wo es *eoque vicinis advenisq(ue) nundinandi dumtaxat causa coire convenire sine iniuria et incommodo cuiusquam liceat* heißt.³⁸ In der Marktinschrift wirkt dieses Anhängsel wie ein Fremdkörper, wenn explizit darauf hingewiesen wird, dass es Lucilius gestattet sein soll, Personen nur soweit zu erlauben, sich ohne Behinderungen und Einschränkungen versammeln zu dürfen, wie dies für das Abhalten und Funktionieren des Marktes und des damit einhergehenden Handelns unabweisbar notwendig blieb. Diese Bemerkung drückt unzweifelhaft die Ressentiments der Zentralverwaltung gegenüber den zwangsläufig an diesem Markt partizipierenden Musulamii aus, deren Zusammenrottung unmissverständlich ausgeschlossen sein sollte *sine iniuria et incommodo*, sobald es auch nur den geringsten Hinweis auf Unruhe gab.³⁹ So wurden

³⁶ Vgl. hierzu Roussel/ de Visscher, „Inscriptions“, 173–194; obwohl es sich hier zwar um eine offizielle municipale Inschrift handelt, kann nicht von einer exakten Parallele ausgegangen werden; Mommsen ging bspw. in Wilmanns, „Saltus Beguensis“, 284, davon aus, dass der einzige Grund für die beiden Kopien die Absicht des Africanus widerspiegele, die Fälschung seines *ius* zu verhindern bzw. dieses besonders deutlich zu fundamentieren.

³⁷ Zur Anlage dominanter Märkte, der Dominanz von ruralen Großgütern und dem kompetitiven Wechselspiel, dass diese in der Nähe urbaner Zentren beginnen müssen, auch De Ligt, „Nundinae“, 238–262.

³⁸ CIL VIII 270, Zeilen 22f., wobei *nundinandi* hier sowohl das Einkaufen als auch das Verkaufen von Waren bezeichnet haben dürfte.

³⁹ CIL VIII 270, Zeilen 23 und 24; die Formulierung *sine iniuria et incommodo cuiusquam* kann sowohl aktivisch – ‚ohne jemandem Unrecht oder Schaden zuzufügen‘ – oder passivisch – ‚ohne von jemandem Unrecht oder Schaden zu erleiden‘ – verstanden werden; aktivisch versteht diese Stelle bspw. M. Besnier, in: Daremberg/ Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Bd. 4, 122: „[...] autorisation est donnée à un grand propriétaire, nommé Lucilius Africanus, de créer des *nundinae* tous les mois, le quatrième jour avant les *nones* et le douzième avant les *kalendae*, et d’y convoquer voisins et étrangers, à condition seulement que les réunions ne causent aucun dommage à personne“, ebenso auch Gaudemet, „L’empire romain“, 228: „Il [Africanus] peut y convoquer voisins et étrangers et doit simplement s’engager à respecter l’ordre public“; ein passivisches Verständnis ergibt sich bspw. aus der Übersetzung von Johnson, *Ancient Roman statutes*, 250, in der Formulierung: „[...] and the neighbouring peoples and visitors shall be permitted to come together and to assemble for the sole purpose of holding

hier konkret auch die Marktleute denselben strengen staatlichen Kontrollen durch ein *ius coeundi* unterworfen, wie sie für *collegia* generell bereits Bestand hatten, mit Bestimmungen demnach, die das Versammlungsrecht auf festgelegte Orte und Zeiten reglementierten sowie den Versammlungszweck gesetzlich eng definierten und darüber hinausgehende oder dieser Definition nicht entsprechende Veranstaltungen kategorisch ausschlossen.⁴⁰ Auch bei genauerer Betrachtungen des senatorischen Umganges mit der Gewährung dieses konkreten Marktrechtes müssen noch zwei weitere Faktoren aufgegriffen werden. Zum einen muss die Präsenz des Marktes an einer strategisch sensiblen Stelle inmitten des muslimischen Territoriums Berücksichtigung bei der Beurteilung des Gesetzestextes finden und zum anderen die grundsätzlich auch in jener Zeit schon bekannte politische Rolle eines periodischen ruralen Marktes innerhalb des nordafrikanischen tribalen sozialen Gefüges. Also sahen sich Zentralmächte, wie schwierig es auch immer für externe Staaten gewesen sein mag, unter solchen Bedingungen die Extrapolation von Marktkontrolle im Dickicht indigener sozialer Systeme zu erreichen, nichtsdestotrotz gezwungen, kontinuierlich zu versuchen, diese potentiell gefährlichen Ereignisse, die

a market without injury or trouble from anyone“; aus einer aktivischen Interpretation ergibt sich, dass ein zunächst grundsätzlich weit gefasstes Versammlungsrecht im konkreten Fall eingeschränkt und an einen bestimmten Zweck sowie ein ebensolches Verhalten gebunden wird, um dessen Missbrauch auszuschließen – in dieser Hinsicht ist auch Dig. occ. II 12, 2 (Ulpian) zu verstehen, wo es explizit heißt: „*Item in eum, qui quid nundinarum nomine adversus communem utilitatem, acceperit, omni tempore ius dicitur*“; passivisch verstanden ergibt sich eine Garantie für alle Teilnehmer und vor allem Händler, dass ihre Waren sicher waren, denn dies war offenbar ein Problem auf spätantiken römischen Märkten, wie bspw. ein Edikt, Dig. occ. IV 60, 1, von Valentinian und Valens, das Händler vor der Beschlagnahme ihrer Waren schützen sollte, impliziert: „*Impp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. ad Probum pp. Qui exercendorum mercatum aut nundinarum licentiam vel veterum indulto vel nostra auctoritate mervuerunt, ita beneficio rescripti potiantur, ut nullum in mercatibus atque nundinis ex negotiarum mercibus convenient, vel in venaliis aut locorum temporali quaestu et commodo privata exactione sectentur, vel sub praetextu privati debiti aliquam ibidem concurrentibus molestiam possint inferre*“; vermutlich waren in der antiken Praxis tatsächlich immer beide Bedeutungen beabsichtigt, so dass es heute schwer ist, sich für eine der beiden Möglichkeiten entscheiden zu müssen.

⁴⁰ Waltzing, *Corporations professionnelles*. Bd 4, 581ff.; Duff, „*Collegia*“, 119–122; er nennt zudem 57 durchaus ähnliche Formulierungen in einem Dekret des Valentinian und Valens, wobei allerdings hier die Umsetzung der Anweisung im positiven Sinne ausdrücklich auf die Schultern des Grundbesitzers gelegt worden war, nämlich allen Teilnehmern die Partizipation zu gestatten und nicht wegen subjektiver Gründe zu versagen – „[...] *et commoneo privata exactione sectentur vel sub praetexta privati debiti aliquam ibidem concurrentibus molestiam possint inferre* [...]“; demgegenüber war die Warnung des SC in der Inschrift von Henchir Begwâr umgekehrt nicht dem Landherrn, sondern explizit den Marktleuten gewidmet, was soweit ging, dass suggeriert wird, Africanus habe sogar unter bestimmten Bedingungen das Recht, die indigenen Händler bei Zuwiderhandlung gewaltsam im staatlichen Sinne zu disziplinieren; Ausbüttel, *Vereine*, 16–33; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 95ff.

rasch zum Katalysator lokaler Machtkumulierung werden konnten, im Zaum zu halten.⁴¹

Wenn die römischen Behörden, kaum unbegründet, periodische rurale Märkte, an denen indigene Bevölkerungen Afrikas beteiligt waren, derart argwöhnisch begleiteten, die ‚Versammlungsfreiheit‘ mit Einschränkungen und Vorsichtsmaßnahmen belegten, muss sich zwangsläufig die Frage stellen, was dann überhaupt römische Gutsbesitzer veranlasste, Märkte zu beantragen und damit nach Lesart der Administration einen potentiellen Unruheherd zu etablieren. Nahe liegend ist natürlich die Annahme, dass Gewinnstreben der Landherren die negativen Aspekte überwog, wenn sie bspw. von den Händlern und Kaufleuten Gebühren für Transaktionen oder Standmieten verlangen konnten – für eine solche Praxis, die besonders von der älteren Forschung oft propagiert worden ist,⁴² gibt es allerdings keinen einzigen Beleg.⁴³ Hinzu kommt, dass durch die Bedingungen, die ein Edikt von Valentinian und Valens festschrieb (60er/ 70er Jahre des 4. Jh.s), jedem *privatus*, der das Recht zur Abhaltung von *mercatus* oder *nundinae* besaß, untersagt war, persönliche Profite aus Markttransaktionen, entweder eben durch Standmieten oder Umsatzbeteiligungen, zu erwirtschaften. Obwohl dieser kaiserliche Erlass erst sehr späten Datums ist, weisen doch Sprache und Duktus darauf hin, dass diese Erscheinungen nicht erst in der Spätantike aufgekommen sein dürften.⁴⁴ Natürlich indizieren derartige Gesetze, dass die in ihnen verbotene Praxis die Realität auf den Märkten der Domänen gewesen ist. Waren also direkte Profite aus Märkten damit zumindest legal ausgeschlossen, muss es andere Gründe für Landherren gegeben haben, das *ius nundinandae* erstrebenswert zu finden,⁴⁵ die immerhin so überzeugend gewesen sein müssen, dafür das Risi-

⁴¹ Mintz, „Peasant markets“, 112ff.; Silvermann, „Cyclic markets“, 31–36.

⁴² Exemplarisch seien für diese inzwischen kaum mehr haltbare Erklärung der Motivation römischer Gutsbesitzer, auf ihren Gütern unbedingt temporäre Märkte abhalten zu dürfen, Beaudoin, „Domaines“, 87ff., sowie Schulten, *Gutsherrschaften*, bes. 112–115, genannt.

⁴³ Banaji, *Change*, 84–87; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 173f. mit Anm. 72; Kehoe, *Economics*, 176ff. und 203f.

⁴⁴ Cod. Iust. IV 60, *de nundinis*, 1, *Impp. Valentinianus et Valens AA. ad Probum PP.*, aus den Jahren 368–375 – siehe zu diesem Probus (5) auch PLRE, 736; das Edikt bestimmt, dass „*Qui exercendorum mercatum aut nundinarum licentia vel veterum indulto vel nostra auctoritate meruerunt, ita beneficio rescripti potiantur, ut nullum in mercatibus atque nundinis ex negotiatorum mercibus conveniant, vel in venaliis aut locorum temporali quaestu et commodo privata exactione sectentur, vel sub praetextu privati debiti aliquem ibidem concurrentibus molestiam possint inferri*“; hierzu auch De Ligt, *Fairs*, 155–198; Sordi, *Ambrogio*, 9–18; Wiebe, *Valens*, 178–181.

⁴⁵ Da für den *saltus Beguensis* angenommen wird, dass die Tafeln mit der Verleihung des Marktrechtes um die Wende vom 3. zum 4. Jh. gefertigt worden sind, muss auch der Markt eine nahezu zweihundertjährige Kontinuität aufgewiesen haben, da das Aussetzen über längere Zeit zum

ko nomadischer Unruhen in Kauf nehmen zu wollen. Cato und andere aristokratische Autoren nach ihm legten Wert auf die völlige ökonomische und soziale Autonomie einer Domäne, betrachteten also ein Landgut als ideales ökonomisches Modell von hohem aristokratischen Sozialprestige.⁴⁶ Indem er auf seinem Gut einen periodischen Markt einrichtete, konnte der Landbesitzer davon ausgehen, dass aller Handel, der von seinen *coloni* betrieben wurde, einerseits seiner Kontrolle unterlag und andererseits ausschließlich innerhalb des sozioökonomischen Rahmens des Landgutes stattfand. Wie sich für beinahe alle in Nordafrika bislang nachweisbaren ruralen periodischen Märkte feststellen ließ, waren sie grundsätzlich immer an einer der Außengrenzen des zum Gut gehörenden Landes angelegt worden, so dass Austausch und Kontakt mit externen Handelsnetzen, also über wandernde Kaufleute und freie Händler,⁴⁷ zwar sichergestellt waren, die Einflussnahme und das Vordringen externer Elemente ins Innere des Gutsbesitzes aber gleichzeitig verhindert werden konnten. Darüber hinaus zog jeder Landherr, auf dessen Besitz *nundinae* stattfanden, daraus den Vorteil, dass diese, gewissermaßen als Nebenprodukt, immer auch die Funktion eines relativ unkomplizierten aber doch effektiven Marktes für billige indigene Arbeitskräfte, d. h. für landwirtschaftliche Tagelöhner und Saisonarbeiter, übernahmen. Denn gerade in den ländlichen Regionen Numidiens und Mauretaniens entstammen die Arbeitskräfte zumeist nomadisierenden Gesellschaften, die auf ihren alljährlichen Wanderungen speziell über diese Märkte zogen, um auf den Gütern ihre Dienste als Arbeiter anzubieten.⁴⁸ Auch ein römischer Großgrundbesitzer kann diesen Begleitumständen lokaler Märkte kaum gleichgültig gegenüber gestanden haben und wird gewiss die Gelegenheit, auf diesem Wege unproblematisch

Verlust des Marktrechtes führte; dies geht aus Dig. occ. L 11, 1 hervor, wo es dazu heißt „*modestinus libro tertio regularum: Nundinis impetratis a principe non utendo qui meruit decennii tempore usum amittit*“; zudem fällt auf, dass das Recht des Lucilius Africanus von 138 am Ende des 3. Jh.s. immer noch die Rechtsgrundlage der *nundinae* von *ad Casas* gewesen ist, so dass das Marktrecht wohl eher orts- als personengebunden war, da es sicher kaum so einfach vererb- oder übertragbar gewesen sein dürfte, wie Nollé, *Nundinas*, 108, annimmt.

⁴⁶ Cato *de agricult.* II 7; Colum. *de re rust.* XI 1, 23; Drexhage [et al.], *Wirtschaft*, 60–63; 90 und 139; Banaji, *Change*, hier bes. 114ff. und 190ff.; Finley, *Economy*, 109f.; Kula, *Economic Theory*, 50ff.; De Ligt, *Fairs*, bes. 165 mit Anm. 35 und 37; Rickman, *Corn*, 94–119.

⁴⁷ Für solche Personen waren die Verdienstmöglichkeiten dabei wohl derart groß, dass Cyprianus *de lapsis* VI sogar berichtet, dass „*episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet ceteris et exemplo, divina procuracione contempta procuratores rerum saecularium fieri; derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes negotiationis quaestuosa nundinas aucupari*“; vgl. dazu auch Eck, „Christen im Reichsdienst“, hier bes. 456f.; Teitler, „Managers“, 206–213.

⁴⁸ Vgl. Fogg, „The economic revolution“, 128; *id.*, „Organization“, 55.

an zusätzliche billige Arbeitskräfte zu gelangen, gerne wahrgenommen haben. Gleichwohl bedeutete die förmliche Belagerung von Markorten durch Massen arbeitsloser und hier auf Arbeit wartender indigener Afrikaner bspw. zur Erntezeit immer ein hohes Maß an Gewaltbereitschaft und Bedrohung sich plötzlich entladender sozialer Spannungen.⁴⁹ Auch die Rolle eines Gutes innerhalb des provinziellen Finanzsystems, sowohl hinsichtlich staatlicher Besteuerung als auch jener Abgaben, die der Guts- herr selbst kassierte, war für die Prosperität einer Domäne von nicht zu unterschätzender Bedeutung, wobei beide ‚Gebührenebenen‘ in einer symbiotischen Beziehung zueinander standen. Es existierten auf dem offenen nordafrikanischen Hinterland kaum urbane oder administrative Organisationsformen, so dass *de facto* die Steuereinzahlung nur über die Infrastruktur eines Landgutes möglich gewesen ist. Epigraphische Belege, die auf einem Gut in der Ebene von Guert-Guessès, im Südosten Algeriens,⁵⁰ am Zentralort der Domäne, an dem die *vectigalia locantur*, zu Tage getreten sind, können diese Annahme tatsächlich bestätigen.⁵¹ Wenn sich freilich das Gehöft eines Gutes selbst in Regionen befand, die gänzlich jede zivilisatorische Struktur vermissen ließen, repräsentierten ausschließlich institutionalisierte periodische Märkte administrative Einheiten und übernahmen gar urbane Funktionen.

Damit ist auch der wichtigste Grund, der Besatzungsmächte veranlasste, sich mit der Verwaltung und Überwachung ländlicher Märkte überhaupt zu befassen, offengelegt: War dies doch die einzige Möglichkeit, von nomadischen ‚Einwohnern‘ Steuern zu erheben.⁵² Es erscheint vor dem Hintergrund der durchaus vergleichbaren Situation der römischen Administration in der Antike vertretbar, ähnliche Motive und Vorgehensweisen im Umgang mit ruralen Märkten, die hauptsächlich von indigenen Noma-

⁴⁹ Hierzu die aufschlussreiche Parabel in Matth. C 20, 1, wo es heißt, dass der Gutsbesitzer „ὅστις ἐξῆλθεν ὅμα πρὸς μισθώσασθαι ἐργάτας εἰς τὸν ἀμπελῶνα αὐτοῦ“; Banaji, *Change*, 190–212; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 178–186.

⁵⁰ De Ligt, *Fairs*, 98ff.; Banaji, *Change*, 39–88; zur Region allgemein Fushöller, *Tunesien*, 475 Karte 38 und 485 Karte 38; Carlsen, *Vicili*, 154–165; Teitler, „Managers“, 206–213.

⁵¹ AE 1894, 84 = RSAC 28, 1893, 206; vgl. auch Gsell, „Exploration“, 470, Nr. 2; es handelte sich wahrscheinlich um Pachtgebühren; ähnlich auch CIL VIII 20578, zu der sich auch bereits Broughton, *Romanization*, 161f. äußert.

⁵² Während der französischen Besatzung in Nordafrika war dies üblich, vgl. hierzu Hill, „Traditional market authority“, 309f.; Mintz, „Peasant markets“, 120; traditionell war dies eine der bedeutendsten Funktionen ruraler Märkte, wie bspw. auch Ste. Hilaire, *L'élevage*, 202f. feststellt; zudem ähnlich schon Bernard/ Lacroix, *L'évolution du nomadisme*, 27 und bes. 209ff.; Depois, *Djebel Nefousa*, 164; Banaji, *Change*, 13ff.; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 77–83 mit Anm. 95 und 103; Sadr, *Nomadism*, 11ff.

denstämmen frequentiert wurden, anzunehmen, wobei es leider bislang kaum Quellenmaterial gibt, das eine direkte Verbindung von Steuererhebung und *nundinae* zweifelsfrei zuließe. Es existiert eine Inschrift, die bedauerlicherweise hinsichtlich ihrer ursprünglichen Provenienz nicht mehr zuzuordnen ist, die zwar die Einziehung von Steuern, *vectigalia*, und *nundinae* in einem Zusammenhang erwähnt, wegen ihres stark fragmentarischen Zustandes allerdings konkretere Aussagen über die Rolle periodischer Märkte bei der Besteuerung der indigenen Landbevölkerung nicht möglich werden.⁵³ Besser belegt sind demgegenüber die Verbindungen zwischen einem großen ländlichen Anwesen und dem römischen Steuersystem in Nordafrika, wie dies bspw. aus einer Inschrift, die auf dem Besitz des Munantius Flavianus, einem Angehörigen der munizipalen Aristokratie Cirtas, gefunden wurde, hervorgeht. So kam es in den 280er Jahren zu einem Antrag jenes Flavianus, der bei 'Ain Kerma südlich der Ebene von Constantina ein Landgut besaß, an den Legionslegaten.⁵⁴ Der Text der Inschrift impliziert, dass dem Landherrn bereits zuvor in den 260er Jahren durch Probus eine Steuerbefreiung gewährt worden war – was als indirekter Beweis für die ansonsten existente Besteuerung solcher Güter betrachtet werden darf. Darüber hinaus wird aus dem Text deutlich,

⁵³ CIL VIII 24609 = AE 1893, 56, die vermutlich aus Tunesien stammt, wo Comte Herisson auch die meisten anderen Blöcke seiner Sammlung zusammengetragen hatte, wobei die Nennung durchaus auch die Annahme der Tingitana möglich werden lässt; [6] LLL [10 / 4] PENSEA [9 / 3] NVS PRO<vinciales>? / PETVNT PROM[9] / SA VNA FOLLE<s> [7] // TRECENTA TRIG<inta> [4] / OCTAVIANVS PRO<curator>? / TABVL(is) PROVINC(iae) TI(ngitanae) [-] / TAT VECTIGALI LATE [-] / TIONE NVNDINA(s) // LATO FISCO A PROVINC(ialibus) / OCTO LIGNI PENSAS TRIA / OCTOGINTA QVATTVOR M<ilia> / PONDO QVINDECIM MILIA [-] / ---; vgl. bereits Heron de Villefosse, „Inscriptions africaines“, 214ff.; eine Abbildung, die vor allem den schlechten Erhaltungszustand dokumentiert, findet sich bei Marcillet-Jaubert, „Inscriptions latines“, hier 232; im Hinblick auf diese Inschrift konstatiert De Ligt, „*Nundinae*“, 238ff.; sowie *id.*, *Fairs*, 171f., dass die Einbindung ruraler periodischer Märkte in das provinziale bzw. kommunale Steuersystem durchaus zu Konflikten führen konnte; vgl. hierzu auch Callu, „*Pensa*“, 273–283, der sich auf AE 1980, 903 bezieht, die den hier in Rede stehenden Zusammenhang von Steuererhebung und ruralen Märkten bekräftigt.

⁵⁴ Shaw, „Markets“, Karte 3; Fushöller, *Tunesien*, 297, Karte 22, 2 und 313, Karte 23; die die Zeilen 5 bis 10 umschließende Formulierung *nundinas* [...] *celebrandas* bildet die Parallele zu *nundinas* [...] *habere*; dennoch macht dieser Begriff deutlich, dass schon im antiken Afrika, vergleichbar der heutigen Funktion temporärer Märkte, solche Märkte den Charakter von Volksfesten annehmen konnten, also auch zu Kommunikationszentren wurden und auch als solche gemeinhin bekannt waren; vgl. exemplarisch Lasch, „Marktwesen“, 778: „Eine Eigentümlichkeit allen Marktwesens waren die mit demselben verbundenen Volksvergnügungen. Dieselben waren je nach den besonderen Nationalsitten der Stämme, auch entsprechend der Kulturstufe verschieden“; in dieser Hinsicht auch De Ligt, *Fairs*, 225–229.

dass bei Emadaucapensis zweimal monatlich,⁵⁵ wie das üblich war in den afrikanischen Provinzen unter römischer Verwaltung, Markt gehalten wurde, nämlich jeweils am fünften Tag vor den *kalendae* sowie am fünften Tag vor den *idus*.⁵⁶ Der Markttort lag wiederum an einem strategischen Pass, der das Massiv des Djebel Tafrent auf der Höhe des Djebel Rherûr und des Djebel Rokbat al-Jamal durchstieß.⁵⁷ Genau diese Passstraße, die die semi-ariden Regionen im Süden und den Tell im Norden miteinander verband, gewährleistete fernerhin den ganzjährigen Zugang zur einzigen Wasserquelle der gesamten Region, von der das Gebiet seinen Namen erhalten hatte.⁵⁸ Der *vicus*, den Flavianus hier errichtete, diente wohl haupt-

⁵⁵ Zeilen 5 und 6, *nundinas* Emadaucapenses, machen deutlich, dass es sich um bereits bestehende Märkte handelte und nicht *nundinae* Emadaucapae *instituendae*; das Marktrecht hätte in der Numidia nämlich durch den Statthalter verliehen werden können, wie bspw. bei den *castellae* Tidditanorum und Mastarense geschehen; das Adjektiv impliziert den Ortsnamen Emadaucapa; ein eingefasster Platz war wohl der Ort des Marktes, Spuren städtischer Siedlungstätigkeit gibt es nicht, vgl. Gsell, *Atlas*, Karte 17, Nr. 384 „[...] vestiges d'un vaste enclos rectangulaire, en gros blocs calcaires“.

⁵⁶ Erstmals wurde die Inschrift, allerdings in einer falsch wiedergegebenen Version durch Cagnat, „Découvertes“, speziell 155, publiziert; die nach wie vor beste Kopie geht von A. Joly aus und wird zuerst korrekt von S. Gsell in BCTH 1903, 211ff. wiedergegeben; AE 1903, 243 wiederum gibt einen unkorrekten Text; zur Herkunft siehe auch Gsell, *Atlas*, Karte 17 (Region von Constantina), hier Nr. 384; der Fundort lag von Saint-Donat ausgehend etwa 20 km südöstlich von Tajanant; der korrekte Text lautet EX RESCIP/ TO DEI PROBI/ POSTVLAN/ TE MUN(atio) FLAVIA/ NO NVNDINAS/ EMADAVCA/ PENS(es) IMMVN/ <e>S, V KAL(endarum) ET/ III IDVM CELE/ BRANDAS, V(ir) P(erfectissimus)/ P(raeses) N(umidia), AVR(elius) DIOGENES, BENEFI/ CIVM DATVM SVP<l>ERE DIGNATVS E<st>; zudem Kolbe, *Statthalter*, hier 35, Anm. 2 und 4; da die Märkte am 5. Tag vor den Kalenden und am 3. Tag vor den Iden eines jeden Monats, d. h. am 11. bzw. 13. sowie am 27. bzw. 28. (Feb. 25.) stattfanden, ergibt sich die Situation, dass, wenn die *nundinae* der Antonia Saturnina des Nachbargutes in der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jhs. ebenfalls noch abgehalten worden wären – wofür es keinerlei Anhaltspunkte gibt, hierin ist De Ligt, *Fairs*, 192f. zuzustimmen – jeweils der erste Termin im Monat auf beiden Gütern zusammengefallen wäre; der Markt der Antonia dürfte wohl spätestens zur Mitte des 3. Jhs. nicht mehr stattgefunden haben, so dass später der des Munatius Flavianus ohne ‚Rücksichtnahme‘ gegründet werden konnte, so De Ligt *Fairs*, 194: „[...] the foothills of J. Rherur are not particularly conducive to direct communication between these two passes along the mountain ridge. Given this geographic setting for the *nundinae* of Munatius Flavius and Antonia Saturnina, we must wonder whether these periodic markets were really obvious candidates for membership of a single market cycle. They seem in fact to have been much better situated for integration with neighbouring periodic markets to their north and south than for integration with each other“; anders Shaw, „Markets“, 65, der hier einen gemeinsamen Zyklus beider Märkte annimmt.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Soyer, „Cadastrés“, Teil A, bes. Karte Algerien 1:50.000, Karte 119, Region von Saint-Donat; Feraud, „Monuments Celtiques“, bes. 118ff.; und *id.*: „Notice“, bes. 150ff.

⁵⁸ Die Steuerbefreiung der Märkte des Munatius belegt indirekt, dass es üblich war, auf den Warenumsatz oder andere Einkünfte von staatlicher Seite Steuern zu erheben; parallel auch CIL III 184, gallienisch, aus Baetocaece, Asia, ausführlich Nollé, *Nundinas*, 59–86; Marktsteuern werden in einer Konstitution des Konstantin von 320 auf die Klage von Veteranen, Cod. Theod. VIII 20, 2 = Cod. Iust. XII 46, 1, in der diese davon befreit werden *munera, quae vos contumaciter gravant* und auch Marktsteuer zu zahlen, genannt: „[...] in quibuscumque nundinis interfuerint, nulla ad venditionem proponenda dare debebunt“; ein *beneficium* war ein ‚nutz-

sächlich dazu, eine der am meisten frequentierten Routen des südlichen Numidien, die obendrein handelspolitisch nützlich zwei komplementäre Wirtschaftszonen verband, kontrollieren zu können. Frappant erscheint das Privileg der Steuerbefreiung (*nundinas* [...] *immunes*) das Munatius vom Kaiser erhalten hatte. Der Grund für diese Immunität kann deutlich werden, wenn man realisiert, dass 'Ain Kerma in der Tat nicht irgendwo lag, sondern wirklich an der Hauptstrecke, die sämtliche Nomadenstämme der Region in Ermangelung von Alternativen bei ihren Wanderungen zu den Sommerweiden nördlich des Djebel Tafrent zwangsläufig benutzen mussten. Indizien für die immense Bedeutung dieses Passes stellen die unzähligen vorrömischen Befunde entlang der Straße und in der Nähe der Quelle dar, die von der langen Tradition nomadischer Wanderungen zeugen.⁵⁹ Entspreche dies den Tatsachen, gäbe es Grund zu der Annahme, dass die *immunitas* in erster Linie wohl für den Handel mit Tieren, die

bares Recht', dass in der Regel vom Kaiser an Gemeinden, Gruppen oder Einzelpersonen verliehen wurde – meist handelte sich um unentgeltliche Nutzungsrechte öffentlichen Bodens oder eben, wie hier, um Abgabebefreiungen, *beneficium immunitas*, Th. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*. Bd. II.2, 1126ff.; die Verwendung von *sup(p)lere* in Zeile 12 drückt aus, dass der Statthalter die „Ausführungsbestimmungen erlassen“ konnte, d. h., sich um die Einzelheiten zu kümmern hatte, hier ist Mommsen, *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*. Berlin 1939. Bd. 5, 888: „*supplere* [...] *cetera, quae tendunt ad eandem utilitatem vel interpretatione vel arte iurisdictione*“ Recht zu geben; anders Kolbe, *Statthalter*, 38, der gegen alle übliche Verwendung des Wortes annimmt, der Statthalter habe nur eine Prüfung der rechtlichen Voraussetzungen vorzunehmen gehabt – diese ist allerdings wahrscheinlicher, *bevor* sich der Statthalter an den Kaiser wandte; vgl. auch Charbonnel/ Demougin, „Marché“, 563: „Le gouverneur, Aurelius Diogenes, qui apparaît à la fin de l'inscription, n'a pour rôle que d'entériner la décision impériale et de veiller à son respect par les agents du *fiscus*, de la même manière qu'il doit empêcher toutes autres exactions. Le texte mentionne d'ailleurs seulement, qu'il a bien voulu satisfaire au privilège accordé“.

⁵⁹ Hierzu Hitchner, „Image and reality“, 27–44; Mattingly, „Romano-libyan settlement“, 111–158; wobei jedoch die Gründe, die Munatius selbst veranlasst haben könnten, eine Steuerbefreiung für seine *nundinae* zu beantragen, weitgehend im Dunkeln bleiben; die von einer wirtschaftlichen Krise des Reiches im 3. Jh. ausgehende Annahme Nollés, *Nundinas*, 127, der einen Niedergang des „störanfälligen“ weiträumigen Handels unterstellt, der Munatius veranlasst habe, den kleinräumigen Handel anzukurbeln, jedenfalls vermag nicht zu überzeugen; eher ist wohl davon auszugehen, dass Munatius schlicht daran gelegen war, seinen erst einige Jahre zuvor eingerichteten Markt für möglicherweise bei anderen Märkten des Umlandes arrivierte Händler oder Konsumenten, auch Angehörige indigener Bevölkerungen, attraktiv zu machen und neue Personenkreise anzulocken – ein probates Mittel scheint hier die Steuerbefreiung; dass die Marktsteuern tatsächlich eine nennenswerte Belastung darstellten, wird nicht nur an der Veteranenkonstitution des Konstantin, Cod. Theod. VIII 20, 2 deutlich, sondern zeigt sich auch im Mittelalter, als die Steuerbefreiung zwingende Voraussetzung für Privatpersonen gewesen ist, eine königliche Erlaubnis zur Einrichtung eines Marktes überhaupt erst zu beantragen, mit dieser Einschätzung jedenfalls Prienne, *Mabomet*, 216f.; dass auch in der Antike bereits die Steuerbefreiung als Möglichkeit der ‚Werbung‘ für bestimmte Märkte wahrgenommen wurde, zeigt sehr deutlich IGR IV 144: Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐρασταὶ ἀφιγμένοι εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ ἀτέλειαν τὴν ἀγομένην ἐν Κυζικῷ, wo sogar ein Volksbeschluss der Gemeinde Kyzikos erwirkt wurde.

über den 'Ain Kerma Pass in den Norden Richtung Tell getrieben wurden, gegolten haben könnte. Durch eine im Süden der Region bei 'Ain Zraïa gefundene Gebührenliste weiß man mittlerweile, dass ganze Herden, die über die Märkte in der südlichen Grenzregion der Numidia getrieben wurden, als *pecora in nundinium* [sic!] *immunia* zum Verkauf angeboten wurden.⁶⁰ Es ist daher zulässig, anzunehmen, dass auch der Markt von 'Ain Kerma diese Tradition der Gebührenbefreiung für den Tierhandel pastoraler Nomaden auf ihrem Weg über Diana Veteranorum zu den Märkten im Norden fortgeführt hat. Die Situation des *vicus* Flavianus bei 'Ain Kerma impliziert somit also, dass alle afrikanischen *nundinae*, wenn sie nicht explizit befreit waren, in das provinziale römische Steuersystem integriert waren.⁶¹

Eine entscheidende Frage bleibt, was römische Großgrundbesitzer tatsächlich motiviert habe könnte, auf ihren Gütern *vici* mit *nundinae* einzurichten. Aspekte der Besteuerung, der Saisonarbeit sowie der administrativen Aufsicht auch überwiegend nicht-urbanisierter Regionen mit hohem Nomadenanteil sind zwar zuvor bereits als mögliche Ursachen geschildert worden, der zentrale Faktor der Beeinflussung der Entwicklung urbaner Strukturen selbst ist bislang noch unerwähnt geblieben. Denn durch der Etablierung eines Marktzyklus, der an eine Domäne gebunden war, beförderte der jeweilige Landbesitzer greifbares städtisches Wachstum, bzw., differenzierter formuliert, konnte er sicherstellen, dass jede Form urbanen Fortschritts auf seinem Land einzig und allein unter seiner Ägide stattfand, an einem Ort seiner Wahl und permanent abhängig vom Zentralort der Domäne, seinem Hauptsitz, verblieb. Denn eine der potentiellen Gefahren, denen römische *domini* ständig ausgesetzt waren, war das Entstehen oder die Entfaltung urbaner Gebilde gänzlich außerhalb oder in unmittelbarer Nähe des eigenen Besitzes, wobei diese Form der Ausbreitung unabhängiger organisatorischer Strukturen für die direkt an-

⁶⁰ CIL VIII 4508 aus Zraia, Zraï, 202; vgl. Darmon, „Zarai“, 6–23.

⁶¹ Charbonnel/ Demouglin, „Marché“, 559ff. haben dies bereits zutreffend gesehen; die Zollbefreiung sollte eine Doppelbesteuerung vermeiden, da wohl derselben Behörde, die die Zölle am *portus* von Zraï einzog, auch die Marktsteuern zukamen, so dass der *fiscus* in diesem Fall Nutznießer beider Steuern gewesen wäre; die Steuer war vermutlich beim Betreten des Marktplatzes zu entrichten und ging zu Lasten des Verkäufers, wie das durch *proponenda* in der Konstitution des Konstantin, Cod. Theod. VIII 20, 2, deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt; Heumann/ Seckel, *Handlexikon*, s.v. *proponenda*: „[...] *proponenda*“, für das Aufstellen (*proponere*) der Waren auf den Jahrmärkten zu entrichtende Abgaben, Marktsteuer“; De Ligt, *Fairs*, 121; Shaw, „Fear“, 42f. sieht wohl zu weitgehend eine „traditional immunity of pastoral nomads' animals“, da man AE 1903, 243 aus 'Aoin Kerma nicht ohne weiteres mit der Inschrift aus Zraï verbinden kann.

grenzende Domäne gewiss immer mit erheblichen sozioökonomischen Nachteilen verbunden gewesen wäre. Ein reales Beispiel für eine Situation dieser Art lässt sich aus einer Inschrift ableiten, in der, nahe 'Azziz-ben-Tellis, mglw. dem antiken Idicra, gefunden, ein *colonus* Suburburus als *defensor gentis* benannt wird. Vermutlich handelte es sich bei ihm um einen Repräsentanten, einen *patronus*, der im Namen seiner suburburischen Stammesgenossen, die auf einer Domäne in der Nähe arbeiteten, mit den lokalen Großgrundbesitzern die Konditionen aushandelte.⁶² Wenn es also indigenen Afrikanern tatsächlich gestattet gewesen wäre, frei und unabhängig eigene städtische Führungsgremien in ihren Niederlassungen zu formieren, dann hätten sie die Möglichkeit bekommen, sich gegen die Machtentfaltung und den Einfluss der Großgrundbesitzer oder ihrer Vertreter kollektiv so zur Wehr setzen zu können. Tatsächlich hemmte wohl die Existenz großer landwirtschaftlicher Betriebe die Stadtentwicklung erheblich, da die Errichtung periodischer Märkte die Autonomie eines Gutes noch weiter verstärkte und so erst recht das freie urbane Wachstum dominanter *vici* verhinderte. Es kann daher mit gewissem Recht vermutet werden, dass der kontinuierliche Erfolg und die große Zahl ruraler *nundinae* die zentralen Hindernisse für die Urbanisierung großer Landstriche gewesen sind, haben diese doch selbst wesentliche städtische Aufgaben zugewiesen bekommen. Noch bis zum Ende des 19. Jh.s bestand dieses *vacuum*, das sich zwischen den Großstädten auf der einen und den 'leeren' ländlichen Regionen auf der anderen Seite gebildet hatte, wobei indes diese 'Lücke' nie wirklich offen sichtbar geworden ist, wurde sie doch effektiv von dem dichten unsichtbaren Netzwerk zeitlicher Strukturen, das die ruralen periodischen Märkte über Nordafrika gezogen hatten, kompensiert.⁶³

⁶² CIL VIII 8270 = Poulle, in: RSAC 11, 1875, 417; vgl. auch A. Heron de Villefosse, in: RA 31, 1876, 213 zum Ort 'Azziz-ben-Tellis; der Text lautet D.M.S./ M(arco) AVR(elio) HONO/RATIANO CON/ CESSI FILIO, SVBVR/ BVRI COL(ono), DEC(urioni) COL(oniae)// TVTCENSIVM, DEFEN/ SORI GENTIS, VIRO/ FORTI AC FIDELISSI/ MO AVR(elius) MAXIMVS/ FRATER INCOM// PARABILI/ V(ixit) A(nnis) LIII; zur Lokalisierung vgl. Maier, „Épiscopat“, 220, wobei die Aufgaben, sozialen Funktionen und Rang eines *defensor gentis* denen eines römischen *defensor civitatis* sehr ähnlich gewesen sein müssen, so schon Seeck, „*Defensor civitatis*“, bes. Sp. 3365ff.

⁶³ In diesem Zusammenhang neuerlich Fogg, „The Suq“, 266; Mikesell, „Tribal markets“, 494–506; Troin, „Observations“; *id.*: „Marchés ruraux“.

Summary

As a specific means of economic redistribution and integration, the ancient periodic market can be conceived as a distal point on a spectrum of marketing institutions that ends in the permanent market place at the centre of the Mediterranean town. The periodic market, whether it eventually became embedded in an urban centre or remained in the open countryside, was a purely rural institution designated *nundinae* by the Romans. Its defining characteristics were the opposite of those of the urban market place: a crucial separation from urban centered institutions, a fully integrated, holistic structure that included diverse social functions, a freedom from formally imposed controls, a lack of permanency, and a predominance of non-formalist economic functions. The *nundinae* principally served the commodity exchange and communications needs of the countryside. When the Romans came to North Africa as landowners and administrators, they applied their distinctive terminology to the various types of marketing institutions they encountered in Africa. Latin inscriptions attesting the existence of *nundinae*, as opposed to *fora*, *macella* and *mercatus*, have been found throughout the countryside of the Maghrib, and it is primarily from this body of evidence that one can deduce something of the importance and function of this institution within the Roman provincial administrative system.

Abkürzungsverzeichnis:

Abkürzungen antiker Autoren und Werktitel sind aus „*Der Neue Pauly*“ (DNP) entnommen.

AE = L'Année Épigraphique

ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt

AntAfr = Antiquités Africaines

BAA = Bulletin d'Archéologie Algérienne

BCTH = Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

CRAI = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres

CT = Les Cahiers de Tunisie

EphEpigr = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*

FIRA = *Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiusiniani*

HAAN = St. Gsell: Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord. 8 Bde. Paris 1913–1929

IGR = *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*

IL Afr = Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie et Maroc)

IL Alg = Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie

ILS = *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*

IRT = The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania

ILTun = Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie

MARE = F. F. Abbot und A. C. Johnson: Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire. Princeton 1926

MEFRA = Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité

PLRE = Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire

QAL = Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia

RA = Revue Archéologique

RAA = St. Gsell: Recherches archéologiques en Algérie. Paris 1893

RAf = Revue Africaine

RE = Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften

RHD = Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger

RSAC = Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique de Constantine

SAH = M. Leglay: Saturne Africaine, Histoire. Paris 1966

SAM = M. Leglay: Saturne Africaine, Monuments. 2 Bde. Paris 1961

Bibliographie

Ausbüttel, F. M.: *Untersuchungen zu den Vereinen im Westen des römischen Reiches*. Kallmütz 1982.

Banaji, J.: *Agrarian Change in Late Antiquity. Gold, Labour and Aristocratic Dominance*. Oxford 2001.

- Beaudoin, E.: „Les grands domaines dans l'empire romain d'après des travaux récents“, in: *RHD* 22, 1898, 87ff.
- Benet, F.: „Explosive Markets. The Berber Highlands“, in: K. Polanyi/ C. M. Arensberg/ H. W. Pearson (eds.), *Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Economics in History and Theory*. Glencoe (Ill.) 1957, 188–217.
- *Id.*: „Weekly Markets. Their Importance for Research and Action“, in: J. G. Peristiany (ed.), *Contributions to Mediterranean Sociology*. Paris 1968, 163–166.
- Bernard, A./ N. Lacroix: *L'évolution du nomadisme en l'Afrique du Nord*. Algier 1906.
- Blume, F./ K. Lachmann/ Th. Mommsen/ A. Rodorff (Hrsg.): *Gromatici veteres. Die Schriften der römischen Feldmesser*. Berlin 1848 (unv. Nachdruck Hildesheim 1967).
- Broughton, T. R. S.: *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis*. Baltimore 1929.
- Burns, K. G. (Hrsg.): *Fontes iuris Romani antiqui, septium ed. O. Gradenwitz*. I–II. I: *Leges et negotia. Additamentum: Index et simulacra*. Tübingen 1909–1912.
- Cagnat, R. L. V.: *Cours d'épigraphique latine*. Paris ⁴1914 (unv. Nachdruck Rom 1976).
- *Id.*: „Découvertes épigraphiques des brigades topographiques de l'Algérie et de Tunisie en 1897“, in: *BCTH* 1903, 155–159.
- *Id.*: „Le marché des Cosinii à Duemila“, in: *CRAI* 1915, 316–323.
- Callu, J.-P.: „Pensa et follis sur une inscription d'Afrique“, in: *AntAfr* 15, 1980, 273–283.
- Camps, G.: „L'inscription de Béja et le problème de *Dii Mauri*“, in: *RAf* 97, 1954, 233–260.
- *Id.*: „Aux origines de la Berbérie. Massinissa ou les débuts de l'histoire“, in: *Libyca* 8, 1960, 279–287.
- Carlson, J.: *Vicili and Roman Estate Managers until 284*. Rom 1995.
- Charbonnel, N./ S. Demougin: „Un marché en Numidie au III^e siècle après J.-C.“, in: *RHD* 54, 1976, 559–568.
- Charles-Picard, G.: *Les religions de l'Afrique romain*. Paris 1954.

- Chatelain, L.: „Le macellum de Mactaris“, in: *MEFRA* 31, 1911, 349–363.
- Coltelloni-Trannoy, M.: *Le royaume de Maurétanie sous Juba II et Ptolémée. Études d'antiquités africaines* (25 av. J.-C. – 40 ap. J.-C.). Paris 1997.
- Daremberg, Ch./ E. Saglio (éds.): *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. 5 Bde. Paris 1896–1919 (unv. Nachdruck Graz 1969).
- Darmon, J. P.: „Notes sur le tarif de Zarái“, in: *CT* 12, 1964, 6–23.
- Degrassi, N.: „Il mercato romano di Leptis Magna (parte I)“, in: *QAL* 2, 1951, 27–70.
- De Ligt, L.: *Fairs and Markets in the Roman Empire*. Oxford 1993.
- *Id.*: „The *nundinae* of L. Bellicius Sollers“, in: Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg/ R. J. van der Speck/ H. C. Teitler/ H. T. Wallinga (eds.), *De agricultura. In memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve (1945–1990)*. Amsterdam 1993, 238–262.
- *Id.*/ P. W. de Neeve: „Ancient Periodic Markets, Festivals and Fairs“, in: *Athenaeum* 66, 1988, 391–416.
- De Neeve, P. W.: *Colonus. Private Farm-Tenancy in Roman Italy during the Republic and the Early Principate*. Amsterdam 1984.
- Depois, J.: *Le Djebel Nefousa*. Paris 1937.
- De Ruyt, Claire: *Macellum. Marché alimentaire des Romains*. Louvain-de-Neuve 1983.
- Desanges, J.: „Catalogue des tribus africaines de l'antiquité classique à l'ouest du Nil“, in: *Université de Dakar. Publications de la section d'histoire* 4, 1962, 66ff.
- *Id.*: „Permanence d'une structure indigène en marge de l'administration romaine. La Numidie traditionnelle“, in: J. Leclant/ M. Reddé (éds.), *Toujours Afrique apporte fait nouveau. Scripta Minora*. Paris 1999, 181–196.
- Drexhage, H. J./ H. Konen/ K. Ruffing (Hrsg.): *Die Wirtschaft des römischen Reiches (1.–3. Jahrhundert)*. Berlin 2002.
- Duff, P. W.: „*Collegia*. The *ius coeundi*“, in: *Personality in Roman Private Law*. Cambridge 1938, 95–128.
- Eck, W.: „Christen im höheren Reichsdienst im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert?“, in: *Chiron* 9, 1979, 449–464.

Ernout, A./ A. Meillet: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. Paris ⁴1959.

Fentress, Elizabeth W. B.: „*Dii mauri and dii patrū*“, in: *Latomus* 37/2, 1978, 507–516.

– *Ead.*: *Numidia and the Roman Army*. Oxford 1979.

Feraud, L.: „Monuments dits celtiques de la province de Constantine“, in: *RSAC* 8, 1864, 108–132.

– *Id.*: „Notice sur les Oulad-Abd-en-Nour“, in: *RSAC* 8, 1864, 134–295.

Fevrier, P.-A.: „Inscriptions inédites relatives aux domaines de la région de Sétif“, in: *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à A. Piganiol*. Paris 1966, 217–228.

Finley, M. I.: *The Ancient Economy*. Oxford ²1984.

– *Id.* (ed.): *Studies in Roman Property*. Oxford 1976.

Fogg, W.: „Beliefs and Practices at, or in Relation to, a Moroccan Tribal Market“, in: *Folklore* 51, 1940, 132–138.

– *Id.*: „Changes in the Layout, Characteristics and Function of a Moroccan Tribal Market Consequent on European Control“, in: *Man* 41, 1941, 104–108.

– *Id.*: „The Economic Revolution in the Countryside of French Morocco“, in: *Journal of the Royal African Society* 35, 1936, 123–129.

– *Id.*: „A Moroccan Tribal Shrine and its Relation to a Nearby Tribal Market“, in: *Man* 40, 1940, 100–104.

– *Id.*: „The Organization of a Moroccan Tribal Market“, in: *American Anthropologist* 44, 1942, 47–61.

– *Id.*: „The Suq. A Study in the Human Geography of Morocco“, in: *Geography* 17, 1932, 257–267.

– *Id.*: „Tribal Markets in Spanish Morocco“, in: *Journal of the Royal African Society* 38, 1939, 322–326.

Frayn, Jane M.: *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy*. London 1993.

Fushöller, D.: *Tunesien und Ostalgerien in der Römerzeit. Zur historischen Geographie des östlichen Atlasafrika vom Fall Karthagos bis auf Hadrians Limesbau*. Bonn 1979.

Gaudemet, J.: „L'empire romain, a-t-il connu les foires“, in: *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* 5, 1953, 228ff.

- Gsell, S./ H. Graillot: *Atlas archéologique de l'Algérie. Edition spéciale des cartes au 200.000 du service géographique de l'armée avec un texte explicatif*. Paris 1911 (unv. Nachdruck Osnabrück 1973).
- Id.: „Exploration archéologique dans le département de Constantine (Algérie). Ruines romaines au nord des Monts de Batna“, in: *MEFRA* 14, 1894, 501–602.
- Haensch, R.: *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz 1997.
- Heron de Villefosse, A.: „Inscriptions africaines au musée d'Autun“, in: *BSAF* 1892, 214ff.
- Heumann, H. G./ E. Seckel: *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*. Jena ⁶1926.
- Hill, P.: „Notes on Traditional Market Authority and Market Periodicity in West Africa“, in: *Journal of African History* 7, 1966, 295–311.
- Hitchner, R. B.: „Image and reality. The changing face of pastoralism in the tunisien high steppe“, in: J. Carlsen, P. Orsted/ J. E. Skydsgaard (eds.), *Landuse in the Roman Empire*. Rom 1997, 27–44.
- Hodder, B. W.: „Periodic and Daily Markets in West Africa“, in: C. Meillassoux (ed.), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*. London 1971, 347–358.
- Horster, Marietta: *Bauinschriften römischer Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu Inschriftenpraxis und Bautätigkeit im Westen des römischen Reiches*. Stuttgart 2001.
- Huvelin, P.: *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires*. Paris 1897.
- Johnson, A.: *Ancient Roman Statutes*. Austin 1961.
- Kehoe, D. P.: *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa*. Göttingen 1988.
- Kleinwächter, Claudia: *Platzanlagen nordafrikanischer Städte. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten Polyzentrismus in der Urbanistik der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz 2001.
- Kolbe, H. G.: *Die Statthalter Numidiens von Gallien bis Konstantin*. München 1962.
- Kroll, W.: „Nundinae“, in: *RE* XVII.2, 1937, Sp. 1467–1472.
- Kula, W.: *An Economic Theory of the Feudal System*. London 1977.

- Lasch, R.: „Das Marktwesen auf den primitiven Kulturstufen“, in: *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaften* 9, 1906, 778ff.
- Lepelley, C.: *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*. 2 Bde. Paris 1979–1981.
- MacMullen, R.: „Market-Days in the Roman Empire“, in: *Phoenix* 24, 1970, 333–341.
- Maier, J.-L.: „L'épiscopat de l'Afrique romaine, vandale et byzantine“, in: *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romano* 11, 1973, 237ff.
- Marcillet-Jaubert, J.: „Inscriptions latines d'Afrique du Nord au muse du Autun“, in: *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* NS 51.3, 1968, 226–232.
- Martín-Bueno, M.: „The *macellum* in the Economy of Cerasa“, in: *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4, 1992, 315–319.
- Mattingly, D. J.: „Romano-Libyan Settlement“, in: G. Barker (ed.), *Farming the Desert. The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey*. London 1996, 111–158.
- Merlin, A.: „Observations sur le texte du senatus consultum Beguense“, in: *CRAI* 1906, 448–456.
- Mesnager, J.: *L'Afrique chrétienne. Évêchés et ruines antiques d'après les manuscrits de Mgr. Toulette et les découvertes archéologiques les plus récentes*. Paris 1912.
- Mikesell, M.: „The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco (Examples of the ‚Northern Zone‘)“, in: *The Geographical Review* 48, 1958, 494–511.
- Mintz, S.: „Peasant Markets“, in: *Scientific American* 203, 1960, 112–122.
- Mircović, Miroslava: „Military Diplomas from Viminacium and the Settlement of Auxiliary Veterans“, in: G. Alföldy, B. Dobson/ W. Eck (Hrsg.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*. Stuttgart 2000, 365–376.
- Mitterauer, M.: „Jahrmärkte in der Nachfolge antiker Zentralorte“, in: *MIÖG* 75, 1967, 277–293.
- Mommsen, Th.: *Römisches Staatsrecht*. 3 Bde. Leipzig ³1887 (unv. Nachdruck Göttingen 1998).
- *Id.* (Hrsg.): *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae Romanae*. 5 Bde. Berlin 1903–1939 (überarb. Aufl., hrsg. v. Marianne Meinhart. Berlin 1979–1983).

- Niquet, Heike: *Monumenta virtutum titulique. Senatorische Selbstdarstellung im spätantiken Rom im Spiegel der epigraphischen Denkmäler*. Stuttgart 2000.
- Nollé, J.: „Marktrechte außerhalb der Stadt. Lokale Autonomie zwischen Statthalter und Zentralort“, in: W. Eck (Hrsg.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*. München 1999, 93–113.
- *Id.*: *Nundinas instituere et habere. Epigraphische Zeugnisse zur Einrichtung und Gestaltung von ländlichen Märkten in Afrika und der Provinz Asia*. Hildesheim 1982.
- Poinssot, L.: *Tunisie. Atlas historique, géographique, économique et touristique*. Paris 1936.
- Prienne, H.: *Mahomet und Karl der Große*. Frankfurt a.M. 1963.
- Rickman, G.: *The corn supply of ancient Rome*. Oxford 1996.
- Romanelli, P.: „Topografia e Archaeologia dell’Africa Romana“, in: *Enciclopedia Classica* 3/10, 1970, 146–152.
- Roussel, P./ F. de Visscher: „Les inscriptions du temple de Demeir“, in: *Syria* 23, 1942/43, 173–194.
- Sadr, K.: *The Development of Nomadism in Ancient Neareast Africa*. Philadelphia 1991.
- Salama, P.: *Les voies romaines de l’Afrique du Nord*. Algier 1951.
- Schuller, W.: „Das römische Recht als Leitbild für die Spätantike“, in: M. Vielberg/ J. Dummer (Hrsg.), *Wissenschaft als Leitbild*. Stuttgart 2003, 1–13.
- Schulten, A.: *Die römischen Gutsherrschaften. Eine agrarhistorische Untersuchung*. Weimar 1896.
- Sechi, Sabina: „Razionalizzazione degli spazi commerciali. Fora e macella nell’Africa Proconsularis“, in: *Africa Romana* 8, 1991, 345–63.
- Seeck, O.: „Defensor civitatis“, in: *RE* IV, 1901, Sp. 3365–3371.
- Shaw, B. D.: „Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk.’ The Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of Pastoral Nomads“, in: *Ancient Society* 13/14, 1982/83, 5–31.
- *Id.*: „Fear and Loathing. The Nomad Menace and Roman Africa“, in: C. M. Wells (éd.), *L’Afrique romaine. Les conférences Vanier 1980*. Ottawa 1981, 29–50.

- *Id.*: *Pastoralists, Peasants and Politics. The Nomad-Sedentarist Interactions in North Africa under the Roman Empire*. Unpubl. Diss. Cambridge 1978.
- *Id.*: „Rural Markets in North Africa and the Political Economy of the Roman Empire“, in: *AntAfr* 17, 1981, 37–83.
- *Id.*: „Soldiers and Society. The Army in Numidia“, in: *Opus* 2/1, 1983, 133–157.
- Silvermann, S. F.: „Some Cultural Correlates of Cyclic Markets“, in: F. V. Ray (ed.), *Intermediate Societies, Social mobility and Communication. Proceedings of the 1959 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*. Seattle 1959, 31–36.
- Smith, R. H. T.: „The Synchronization of Periodic Markets“, in: *International Geography* 1, 1972, 591ff.
- *Id.*: „West African Market-Places. Temporal Periodicity and Locational Spacing“, in: C. Meillassoux (ed.), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*. London 1971, 319–346.
- Sordi, Marta: *L'impero romano-cristiano al tempo di Ambrogio*. Mailand 2000.
- Soyer, Y.: „Les cadastres anciens de la région de Saint-Donat“, in: *AntAfr* 7, 1973, Teil A.
- Stanley, P. V.: *Ancient Greek Market Regulations and Controls*. Diss. Berkeley 1976.
- Ste Croix, G. E. M.: *The Origins of the Peloponnesian War*. London 1972.
- Ste Hilaire, G.: *L'élevage en Afrique du Nord*. Paris 1919.
- Tayeb, H./ A. Berthier: „Une inscription à Saturne d'Azziz-ben-Tellis et la formule sub iugum intravit“, in: *BAA* 4, 1970, 301–312.
- Teitler, H. C.: „Free-born estate managers in the graeco-roman world“, in: Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg/ R. J. van der Speck/ H. C. Teitler/ H. T. Wallinga (eds.): *De agricultura. In memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve (1945–1990)*. Amsterdam 1993, 206–213.
- Thomasson, B. E.: *Fasti africani. Senatorische und ritterliche Amtsträger in den römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian*. Stockholm 1996.
- *Id.*: *Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diokletian*. 2 Bde. Lund 1960.



- Thouvenot, R./ A. Liquet: „Le *macellum* (?) et les bâtiments voisins“, in: *PSAM* 9, 1951, 81–99.
- Toneatto, L.: *Tradition manuscrite et éditions modernes du corpus agrimensorum Romanorum in cadastres et espace rural. Approches et réalités antiques*. Paris 1983.
- Toutain, J.: *Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain*. Paris 1920.
- Troin, J. F.: „Marchés ruraux et influences urbaines dans l'arrière-pays de Rabat“, in: *Revue de Géographie du Maroc* 7, 1965, 71–75.
- *Id.*: „Observations sur les souks de la région d'Azrou et de Khenifra“, in: *Revue de Géographie du Maroc* 3/4, 1963, 109–120.
- Visy, Z.: „Towns, vici and villae. Late Roman Military Society on the Frontiers of the Province Valeria“, in: Th. S. Burns/ J. W. Eadie (eds.), *Urban and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*. Michigan 2001, 163–184.
- Vössing, K.: *Schule und Bildung im Nordafrika der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Brüssel 1997.
- Waltzing, J. P.: *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les romains depuis les origines jusqu'à la chute de l'empire d'occident*. 4 Bde. Paris 1895–1900 (unv. Nachdruck Bologna 1968).
- Whittaker, Ch. R.: „Land and Labour in North Africa“, in: *Klio* 60/2, 1978, 331–362.
- Wiebe, F.-J.: *Kaiser Valens und die heidnische Opposition*. Bonn 1995.
- Wilmanns, G.: „S. C. de *nundinis saltus Beguensis*“, in: *EphEpigr* 2, 1874, 271–281.
- Wirth, E.: „Zur Theorie periodischer Märkte aus der Sicht von Wirtschaftswissenschaften und Geographie“, in: *Erdkunde* 30/1, 1976, 10–15.
- Zimmer, G.: *Locus datus decreto decurionum. Zur Statuenaufstellung zweier afrikanischer Forumsanlagen*. München 1989.

The Gypsy Music and Gypsy Musicians' Market in Bulgaria

Lozanka Peycheva & Ventsislav Dimov

The problem of music and musicians' market has been a very important aspect of the functioning of Gypsy music in Bulgaria. It concerns both the folk and popular music that is performed by Gypsy professionals to serve the needs of different types of communities rural and urban, having versatile ethno-confessional profile (Bulgarians, Gypsies, Turks, Bulgarian Muslims, foreigners). The music played by professional Gypsy musicians has been a part of the rituality, festivity and entertainment of large audiences.

Doubtless, the professional life of Gypsy musicians does bear the characteristic features of nomadism owing to migration around the music as well as to migration to the customer. This is a migration from the musicians' home places to other regions and settlements demanding their services; from their homes in the Gypsy neighbourhoods to the house, square or restaurant whereat their audience is feasting; from the podium at the public house to the table of the customer whom they treat with a "personalized" piece so that they could get an extra tip called *parsa*. Hence, it can be stated, that unlike the performers of art music Gypsy musicians have no constant house that is frequented by a chosen audience. Their "house" and "stage" are the roads, the migration to different audiences. Created and developed on those roads, the music performed by the Gypsy musicians also has nomadic character – it is mobile (having a flexible repertoire always sensitive to the environment), adaptive (being oriented to the current demands) and vendible (it is offered to well-to-do customers who can afford the entertainment). The gypsy music is to a great extent freed from the conservative norms of the established musical traditions.

1. *The Gypsy Music*

Regardless to the territories they inhabit, the names they are called, the stereotypes applied to them by the host ethnic communities, the Gypsies have always been associated with music and the music gift. The music performed by professional Gypsy musicians can be called Gypsy as far as Gypsies produce it. In fact, this is hybrid music whose style, genre and repertoire are hard to define uniformly.

Starting from the 1850s one can paint several characteristic portraits of Bulgarian Gypsy music and Gypsy musicians.

In the 19th century, the Gypsies were professional musicians called *kemendjii* (kemanci< Turk. 'violinist') who played the rebeck or violin, *calgadji* (calgici< Turk. 'player, musician') who played in small orchestras combining local, Oriental and Western instruments and repertoire – very popular in the Balkan towns. As members of military bands, they used to play the zurnas and cattle drums during the Ottoman age. Later they started playing the brass instruments. Those 19th century musicians used to play Bulgarian folk music, Turkish, Balkan towns music, West-European light and military music. In contrast to population of other Gypsy groups they are usually described as well off, smart people, as travelling, inter-city musicians.

In the 20th century there were certain types of bands set up by Gypsy instrumentalists: *zurnaci* bands (comprising two/three zurnas and a *tapan* – drum); *calgaci* (comprising several different instruments: a violin, clarinet, *lauta* – a kind of cither, *tambura* – a mandolin, cymbal, *tapan*, and later accordion); brass bands; wedding orchestras. The latter occurred in the 1960s as a combination of acoustic and amplified instruments (clarinet, saxophone, accordion, electric guitar, synthesizer, percussion section).

The professional Gypsy musicians are nomads in their thinking as well – bearers of ancient and local folk traditions, all the while being open to the European music practice in the form of note literacy, music repertoire and functioning of the music itself. The melodies played by the professional Gypsy musicians are various in their origins and addresses: Bulgarian, Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Armenian, Serbian, Rumanian, Russian, West-European, part of the traditional Bulgarian, Balkan, Oriental, or later on the newer author, Western music, etc. In the second half of 20th century Gypsy musicians are authors and performers of the most popular and best-sold music in Bulgaria – the music of the wedding



orchestras, and in the 1990s defined as *ethnopop* music, called *calga* [Peycheva, 1999:21–22; Dimov, 2001:101, 116].

2. *The Community of Gypsy Musicians*

Traditionally the Gypsy musicians are typical service nomads but nowadays those in Bulgaria are characterized by a sedentary way of life. Their families inhabit houses larger and nicer than the other homes in the Gypsy neighbourhoods. It is worth stressing that despite classifying them to the groups leading sedentary way of life, the fact that their trade involves travelling should be always kept in mind. The Gypsies play and sing visiting their customers. Offering their music as a commodity or a service is a kind of a service nomadism: namely when viewing the migration to the customer as well as serving the customers as a process.

The demand and the high remuneration of the professional Gypsy musicians reveal the importance of service they do in society. Despite being of high importance, the musicians have a low status in the local society [Merriam, 1964:136–137]. Underestimated and ignored as a social and ethnic group, as a rule the Gypsy musicians dwell in neighbourhoods, separated from the rest population, although they are acknowledged as a persistent element of the most important feasts of the non-Gypsy communities. Similar dualism: a group of low place in the social hierarchy having a high demand and importance in the life of higher social circles is observed for the professional musicians and nomadic actors both on the Balkans and in Asia: *barbiere* in Afghanistan, the low caste of *kusles* and *damai* in Nepal [Hoerburger, 1976:28].

Some traditional cultures are known to have social grouping of musicians in professional guilds. They are characteristic of their own subordination, inner segregation according to particular features, specific language and rituals [Merriam, 1964:140–143]. There is no information about such formal organization (musicians' guild, craftsmanship) of the Gypsy musicians in Bulgaria. It can be assumed that they do have some (though informal) unions of their own. The members of this community differ in their trade, which is highly praised and well paid. The maestros know each other, have talks over the commissioning of their groups, train apprentices and assistants, whom promote later as maestros. The historic sources show that in the 19th century the *zurnaci* formations used to be among the best-paid and most prestigious groups commissioned by wealthy people to

serve the feasts of their commons, families or guilds. It is known that they used to celebrate their professional (guild) holiday on January 17, the Day of St. Anthony [Tsepenkov, 1972:18–26]. Their descendants are still keeping the guild consciousness. The Gypsy *zurnacies* are professionals, craftsmen who make their living playing music, offering the product of their work to territories conquered by their music. The famous groups have divided the markets in the region of their business. The *zurnacies* from the town of Gotse Delchev say: “The Checha (a region in the high parts of the Pirin and the Western Rhodopes mountains) is our own market. It is the Checha that’s feeding us” [Peycheva & Dimov, 2002:64–67].

The informality of the community of Gypsy musicians in Bulgaria continues in the social situating in the state. They sell their specific well-paid labour beyond any state regulations like social security, taxes or fares. Therefore, it could be said that the music profession of a greater part of the Gypsies is a kind of grey economy. Quite often, not only the authorities but the musicians as well are unaware of their own income. Those playing in the wedding orchestras – very fashionable and highly paid groups in the 1980s say: “Then I used not to know my money”. There is information that during the socialist period (1944–1989) the Gypsy musicians were prosecuted by the militia (socialist times police) for not having a socially useful job. The *zurnaci* A. M. from Gotse Delchev remembers: “The people used to work for 60 levs. Muti and I used to go to there on Saturday and get 150. Even 300 levs. Even the MVR (Abbreviation of the Ministry of Home Affairs – n. a.) used to prosecute us to go to work. And we escaped from the MVR. Why will I go to work for 60 levs? Them did not count this being a musician to be a profession.” As seen in the 1960s and 1970s the Gypsy *zurnacies* used to earn a lot more than the average monthly salary in the country. The authorities accused them of not working (at that time it was obligatory to be employed – n. a.) but the musicians used to have the self-consciousness of professionals being a part of the traditional craftsmen’s guilds in the town (those of the show-makers, smiths, bell-makers, cattle-dealers, etc.).

Professionalism is one of the trademarks of Bulgarian Gypsy musicians and their music. It is valid at the same extent for *calgacies* travelling all over the country in the past, for the members of the military bands in the Ottoman Empire and later of the military bands of the restored Bulgarian state as well as for the contemporary virtuosos from the wedding orchestras and



stars of Bulgarian music industry. Those are the Gypsy professionals having universal repertoire and ethnically conglomerate audience, musicians flattered by high demand and payment.

According to Tax Registers during the times of the Ottoman Empire (15th–19th century), the musician's craft used to be the most practiced by Gypsies from Bulgarian territories [Marushiakova, Popov, 2000:48–49].

After the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman rule in 1878, the professional Gypsy musicians became members of the newly founded military and hall bands. However, their chief realization is connected with travelling and offering their musicians services to the feasts and the entertainment in villages and towns. The data of the English Gypsylogist Petulengro who described the Gypsies from Northeast Bulgaria in the early 20th century show two groups of Gypsies defined as musicians. A part of the larger group belongs to those leading sedentary way of life. The first are called *davulci* and *mehter* (probably descendants of the Ottoman military musicians – *zurnacies* and *tapancies* met nowadays in South-West Bulgaria). The other ones are denoted as *calgacies* or musicians popular as *drandars*. Their centre is the town of Kotel but they live in other places (Dobrich, Varna, Shumen, Sliven). Noteworthy is the fact that musicians are classified as sedentary remarking “that as a rule they play at all fairs” [Marushiakova, Popov, 1993:130]. Nevertheless, having in mind that playing at fairs imposes migrating life style one could doubt that the musicians are 100% sedentary.

3. Market forms of music nomadism practiced by Bulgarian Gypsies

Regardless of the tendencies to established sedentary way of life the professional Gypsy musicians were still practicing different forms of service nomadism in the 20th century. Travelling to the markets of their musicians labour, they expand the territories spatially (as roads, places, states) and musically (music instruments, formations, style, genre, repertoires). The most customary forms of Gypsy music nomadism are: performing at circus shows, at fairs, shows with tame animals, playing at public houses, season performances as tourist attractions, street performances, music *gurbet* (Gastarbeit) abroad.

The professional musicians belonging to the Ljaskovets and Kotel Gypsy groups are descendants of the *drandars* mentioned by Petulengro.



Currently most of them are members of groups playing at weddings and in restaurants, more rarely in brass bands. But their grandfathers used to roam around the country and play with the circus and military bands. They used to play at the fairs as well.

Playing at the circus shows is one of the typical forms of seasonal service nomadism practiced by Gypsy musicians. In the past those musicians were insulted for being nomads and travelling with their whole families: „They are mocking them because their wives accompany their men. And they sleep there in the circus. Even when pregnant, the women accompany their husbands. And when a child is born they have no diapers and wrap the infant in placard sheets. The whole families are on the road“ [H. Ch.]. Musicians from Ljaskovets, Kotel, Zlataritsa, Sliven, and Popovo used to play at the circus shows. There used to be competitions between travelling circuses and between circus music groups. The clarinet player M. T., a descendant of a music clan from Ljaskovets, retells the story of his grandfather: „Every August seven circus companies used to gather in Stara Zagora. It used to be a music competition of that time musicians... They used to advertise their circus. The people would say: “That’s the best music we’ll see the show of this circus! They used to judge according to the music. All the time before the show of the company they used to play in front of the tent. My granddad says, other musician used to come to deteriorate our performance, different tricks to make, so that they could earn something too. Everybody used to want money! Different tricks – they used to eat lemons... It used to be in 1936. My granddad belonged to the group of Asen Aivazov, the bandmaster of the Ljaskovets Circus. The circus of Kotel used to be managed by the Bilnikovs, by the Malakovs.“

We have copies of the membership cards issued to the Gypsy musicians by the Union of Circus Actors in Bulgaria. The cards and the oral stories recorded from contemporary musicians evidence that between the 1920s and 1940s there used to be many Gypsy musicians members of the numerous circus companies in Bulgaria. The bands used to be chiefly of brass instruments and had several functions in the shows: signalling the arrival of the circus, advertising of the forthcoming spectacles, gathering the audience with music, accompanying to the tricks of the circus actors, filling the pauses between each two tricks. The Gypsy musicians and their families used to spend the warmer half of the year with the circus on the road.



Playing at fairs is another form of seasonal service nomadism practiced by the Gypsy musicians in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian fairs – *panairi* (M. Greek *panegyris* – gathering of a large mob) are held annually on special dates usually in the summer half of the year. Besides the markets they are famous with the specific entertainment. They used to have the function of important events in the economic and cultural life of the local and supra local communities – regional (including several villages), district ones including a certain area of the country (Thrace, Dobrudzha, Strandzha). At fair time (lasting up to ten days) the music band is among the major entertainers: it accompanies the *horo* (traditional group dance); it performs at table in the temporary pavillions wherein one is being served not only food but music and dances as well; it performs at the fair circus shows; accompanies the shows of the tamed bears or monkeys; as well as the wrestling competitions.

During the first half of the 20th century professional Gypsy musicians used to play at the district fairs. The proprietors of the fair pubs (temporary restaurants in large tents) used to choose popular maestros whose music could attract the customers. According to the information we have, there used to be several ways to choose and commission the musicians. The proprietors used to choose musicians well known to the public – famous local names, gramophone record stars (like the Gypsy clarinettist Ramadan Lolov). Some of the owners of fair pubs used to travel around other fairs and commission the musicians they have already heard and liked. Often the active side of the music bargain used to be the musicians who went around the fair pubs and offered their services.

The fairs are the site where the musicians meet, exchange their ideas and repertoire, form new bands. It is not a rare phenomenon for a fair band to comprise celebrities and unknown musicians from different parts of Bulgaria: a clarinettist from Sliven, a violinist from Shumen, cymbalist from Plovdiv, etc. Many Gypsy bands meet at such fairs and compete in attracting customers for their pubs or circuses. The players from the fair bands have a universal repertoire so that the taste of any audiences could be pleased – village folks, towns folks, Bulgarians, Turks, etc.

The fair singers and fair songs are bound genetically and functionally to the fairs. The fair singers are travelling professional musicians, mostly Gypsies, who sing traditional songs and songs of their own composition. The songs sung to the accompaniment of a harmonium have usually melo-



dramatic, novelistic character. The Gypsy musician from Yambol, Marin Parushev (1860–1914), was the first to do business playing the harmonium and selling booklets with the songs he was singing. His son, Parush Parushev (1885–1936) continued his father's business and modernized it, recording fair songs. The Parushevs are the most popular Bulgarian musicians in the genre. Their family name became a synonym to a fair singer. Fair singers are typical travelling musicians who earn their living by performing outdoors. Usually an umbrella protects them and the harmonium from the rough weather. At certain intervals they offer the audience song-books containing the texts of songs performed. Contemporaries of the fair singers state that they used to be extremely popular, especially among women and old people. Often the listeners forgot to do their shopping which was in fact the reason to come to the market or the fair.

Playing for the tamed bear shows at the fairs is another form of musical nomadism. The music is performed by Gypsies *Ursars* (*Lingurs*) who tame animals (bears and monkeys) and give shows with them to a music accompaniment – playing and/ or singing. The typical instruments used for such shows are the tambourine, rebeck, nowadays even accordion. The repertoire is predominantly compounded of Bulgarian rustic folklore pieces. The musicians travel with their families during the summer half of the year. After the performance of the husband and the tame bear the wife and the kids go around with the hat. Though in a reduced scale, this practice is still vital. The greater part of Gypsies bear-tamers live in the village Yagoda, Stara Zagora region.

A new type of seasonal music nomadism – the tourist, emerged in the 1930s. It was connected with the tourist industry of modernizing Bulgaria. Professional musicians as a rule are among those who played pop music (light genre music). Thus it was easy to become tourist nomads going to work at ale-houses, night clubs and casinos on the Black Sea coast. Some of them were the popular Gypsy musicians like that time star violinist Atanas Sotirov – the Golden Gypsy Boy. In the second half of the 20th century the Gypsy music and Gypsy musicians were widely implemented for tourist attractions. Musicians, singers and dancers formed different groups, even ensembles. Special restaurants like *Tsiganski Tabor* (The Gypsy Camp) at the Golden Sands near Varna with Gypsy shows were opened. The musicians, playing at the shows in the resorts reside there during the summer season. They get a set salary but rely much more on

the tips from the customers – called *parsa*, *rasachka* (dropping). Playing at resorts is a part of the professional vitae of the most prominent Gypsy musicians in Bulgaria: Peyo Budakov, Hasan Chinchiru, Ventsislav Takev, Mokolu, and Chirpanovs.

In the past and nowadays one encounter the street Gypsy musicians who play in the underground passages, in parks, on the side walks, or in tram cars. Though this kind of job is not prestigious at all, the musicians have the confidence of professionals, performing class music. This self-confidence has been demonstrated by the cymbalist M. A. who used to play with his whole dignity in the streets of the Old Plovdiv and in the central underground passage in the city. Whenever a customer would drop a small coin he would reject it: "Take it, it is no a small change music."

Until the 1950s the Gypsy musicians used to do their job usually travelling around the country – playing at fairs, weddings, village and town feasts, circus shows and resorts. In the second half of the 20th century the routes expanded to Europe and other parts of the world. Their music trips could be called trans-border nomadism. The transformation of the musicians' routes is revealed by the number of biographic stories of famous musicians. The grandfather of the clarinettist M. T. used to travel all around Bulgaria with the Ljaskovets Circus. The grandson lives and plays in Sofia but seeks his realization abroad – he has been on tours in Greece and South France.

The already mentioned forms of service nomadism – local, inter-city, supraregional and trans-border are one of the core characteristics of Gypsy music and Gypsy musicians in Bulgaria during the second half of the 20th century. They are illustrated by the fates of professional Gypsy musicians, who are still playing in different bands.

The zurnacies D. K. and S. K., a father and son, though living in the village of Kavrakirovo, Petrich region, travel all around South-West Bulgaria with their group playing at weddings, sabors and other local feasts.

The saxophone player Yu. Yu. from Haskovo began to play in the Gypsy neighbourhood but became a national celebrity with a couple of wedding orchestras. He went on West European tour with Ivo Papzov's group. Now he lives in the USA and has his own group that makes tours around America, Australia and Europe.



The trumpet player A. T. is a descendant of the Gypsy clan of "blowers" from the Kotel region. He lives in Sliven but his brass band has played in large Bulgarian towns. Lately he and the Karandila band conducted by him have been on tours in Germany, Italy and other European countries.

More examples of the dynamics of music nomadism can be brought up. But we find that those referred to illustrate elaborately the motion from tradition to modernity as well as that from the local to global as far as the Bulgarian market of Gypsy music is concerned.

4. *The notion market of Gypsy musicians. Commissioning, fees and parsa.*

Most often the musicians relate the term "market" (BG *pazar*) with bargaining (*pazarene*) and contracting (*pazarlik*), namely with negotiating the fee for their performance.

Bargaining and negotiations on the payment of the musicians' work go between the customers and the musicians. The clarinet player V. P. a leader of a wedding orchestra describes the process as follows: "There comes the man and says what we're supposed to play and how long. He sets his terms, and I, if having the possibility, make amends. I say the most complicated, it's the money bargain, the price." If the bargain is successful the musicians receive a prepayment (*caparo*). Having kept the settled contract they get the rest of the sum.

There is no unified fee for the musicians' services. The payment is different for the various places and regions. It depends on the occasion, on the type of band, on the popularity and skill of the musicians, etc. In 1980s and 1990s the best-paid bands used to be the wedding orchestras from Thrace. According to musicians playing for Gypsies they used to get highest remuneration from the Kardarashi (This Gypsy groups is also called Goldsmiths, Grastars. They are related to the Tinkers and Neamtors who used to be nomads until the late 1950s). Between the 1960s and 1980s the fees of the *zurnaci* bands in South-west Bulgaria when playing at the weddings and circumcision parties (*sünnets*) of Bulgarian Muslims used to be very high. The professional Gypsy musicians share the opinion that in the last years the music market has been narrowing. It is because of the progressing impoverishment of the population. There have been less wed-

dings and family feasts with live music. For example 20 or 30 years ago a *zurnaci* band used to be paid several times more than the average monthly salary in the country. Now the same service is worth an average monthly salary.

Usually the musicians are flexible and responsive to the terms of the payer in the bargains. They are willing to adapt to fees the customers could afford. In the recent years the fee that a player in a three member *zurnaci* formation quotes for playing at wedding, sabors banquets varies between 20 and 50 leva per hour. The *zurnaci* from Razlog B. says about the bargains: "The bargain used to be quite harder in the past. Now it's weaker. And I'm telling this before all colleagues – I charge 30 leva per hour. If the customers are poorer, I discount. What if there came a poorer customer wanting a whole day wedding. What if I strip him bare with an hour fee? A wedding's not less eight or nine hours at least. Say them ten – that's three hundred leva. I would say two hundred, a hundred and eighty, a hundred and sixty, to seem affordable for him." Being real professionals, the *zurnaci* maestros from region have set a fee recommended for all the musicians. Bargain compromises are disapproved of as dumping the price devaluates the guild and skilfulness.

The *caparo* (prepayment), *parsa* and *rasachka* (tipping) are terms also related to the remuneration of the musicians.

Caparo (Italian *caparra* prepayment) is a certain sum negotiated between the musician and his customer. It is a guarantee that both parties have come to a contract. It most often occurs at the market of wedding music where the bands require usually 10% prepayment to confirm the commissioning. The prepayment of the customer and the oral promise of the musician are the seal of the deal. There have been few cases when the musicians did not keep the contracts. There is a telling about a Gypsy clarinet player called Kirish who did not keep his contract. Though having received a *caparo* to play at a Gypsy wedding, he went to play at another one. The band did not come, the wedding did not take place. So, the deceived parent, who had commissioned the clarinet player, found him in another village and shot him dead while playing in the presence of all guests of the wedding.

Parsa (Turkish) is a synonym of giving a tip and giving money. It is the sum that musicians get from the audience before, after or in the course of their performance. The bank notes (rarely coins) are stuck to the forehead

of the player, handed, or put into the instrument (dropped into the resonator of the rebeck, put into the folds of the accordion's bellows, made into funnels and installed into the resonator holes of the zurnas, etc). After the performance the *parsa* is shared among the musicians. The good performance might be praised by a *parsa* overrating the remuneration that the musicians have been commissioned for. The rebeck player M. M. tells that he encountered such a thing when he played at a wedding in the village of Christo Milevo in Thrace.

Giving *parsa*, sticking even gold coins to the foreheads of the musicians is a long time practice. There are reports of it even in the 19th century. In the 1990s *zurnacies* mention large *parsa* got for their performances at weddings of rich Gypsies. "We got much money! Parsa! Five minutes – common this song, that song... They stuck here 200 levs" – tells the *zurnaci* L. F. According to S. K., a *zurnaci* from Petrich, another situation of getting a large *parsa* is playing to businessmen. His band was commissioned to play 6 hours for 250 levs. But he got much more as *parsa*. "But having begun to play, all of them were such businessmen, just putting money. It was money – a terrific thing... 620 was what only I got, you see, that what they stuck to me." According to a *zurnaci* from Razlog, B., the largest *parsa* is got when playing in a public house: "Better off people come to the tavern I go to play, about "Dedo Pene" in Bansko... I've caught even six or seven thousand German marks there."

Rasachka (probably coming from the Bulgarian word *russya* – spending money carelessly) is another term of the extra payment the professional musicians get. The musicians playing at restaurants, pubs, bars, etc. are those that get such kind of payment. At a certain moment the musicians leave their habitual stage and go about the tables stopping to play for a particular customer inviting him to give a tip. The violinist B. B. relates *rasachka* to *parsa*. The difference is that in this case the initiative for a tip comes from the musician. Some of the young musicians start their career at the pubs playing for *rasachka*, without commissioning. Some find this job humiliating and regard it as a kind of begging. Others think that *rasachka* is a good school and helps promotion and establishment.

5. The Market Place of the Musicians

The community of professional Gypsy musicians have a specific term "musicians' market place." It is used to denote a set situation of profes-



sional communication between musicians. On such occasions they exchange information about music demands, music instruments, meet customers and negotiate performances. According to the Gypsy musicians the musicians' markets are places for their professional contacts where sometimes they meet the customers as well. There are such places in the towns wherein the Gypsy musicians live.

Usually the musicians' market place is localized somewhere in the centre of the town. Usually it is a café, a restaurant, bar, ale-house, or the bar in a hotel lounge, which is significant for both musicians and the local people. The Gypsy men usually meet at some humble places in their neighbourhood or at such close to the town's bus terminal, railway station or market place. In contrast, the Gypsy musicians prefer the prestigious places in the town, which are admired and frequented by the higher town circles. The markets take place on certain days of the week at a set time. The musicians from Sofia gather at a café in the heart of the city opposite the St. Nedelja Church, known as "The Priests' every workday about noon. The musicians' market in Plovdiv is held in a café close to the Maritsa chemist's in the city centre on Thursdays. Sunday is meeting day of the musicians from Stara Zagora at the snack bar "Golden Thracian". Those from Pleven open the market on Wednesdays in Orpheus Café next to the Osvobozhdenie cinema. Montana's musicians come to the Courage Café in the city centre every Monday. The musicians from Vidin prefer a place of the state-owned Balkantourist, which they call „The former Bononia". The players from Petrich know that they can meet each other every day at the bar of the state-owned Balkantourist hotel. Yet this information is about the meeting places in the mid 1990s [Peycheva, 1996:376–377]. Now some of these places are closed or have changed their owners and names. But the musicians are still there. Usually their meetings are after 10 A.M. mostly about noon.

When discussing the Gypsy musicians' market one should bear in mind that this is not a pure Gypsy phenomenon as a notion and participants. Besides the Gypsy musicians the market places are visited by non-Gypsy musicians and customers – Bulgarians, Turks, Vlachs. Even musicians from the neighbouring Balkan countries (Serbia, Macedonia, Greece) do visit them. The musicians' guild coming to the market place belongs to the circles of the local players and singers, who play live traditional and pop music at weddings, various family rituals and feasts, professional and town

feasts. They also entertain the customers of different public houses – restaurants, taverns, and pubs. The musicians' market places in the larger towns attract performers from the region and the district. Musicians from Lovetch, Vratsa, Montana, Teteven, Lukovit, and Vidin go regularly to the musicians market held in Pleven. The Thursday market in Plovdiv gathers musicians from Kardzhali, Haskovo, Pazardzhik, Stara Zagora, Sliven, and Yambol. Some years ago during our field research on zurnaci music we first met musicians from the villages around Petrich in the bar of the town's hotel – that was their musicians' market place.

Our personal observations about the conduct at these market places are that the musicians treat themselves with a cup of coffee, a glass of beer or some drink. Sometimes they listen to music. But they mostly talk. Usually the talk is about matters concerning the trade of their music: commissioning to play at wedding or other feast, the music instruments, news about musicians, hits, albums, etc. Their meetings are a kind of musicians' exchange – they exchange information about the fees of trade (which region has more weddings, what's the amount of *parsa*), they buy and sell music instruments and equipment, negotiate on changes in the bands' staff, there the musicians are being commissioned to play by customers in demand. The musicians like talking about daily things too, gossiping about women, sharing their personal and family problems, commenting on town and political events. However, no matter how large the scope and contents of the information field of the musicians' market is, it is focused upon the music and musicians' trade.

The interviews taken from Gypsy musicians confirm the conclusions from the observations. The musician D. from Stara Zagora confesses: "We talk many things at the market place. Whatever is eating up this or that one. About music, about women. We speak about the rates of music exchange – how much is a bargain, how much this or that a band got, where we are going to play at... People come and bargain to commission a band for a wedding. They are familiar with our gathering here on Saturdays." The market place in Montana is seen through the eyes of the bandleader K. D. as follows: "We exchange various information. Musical information about instruments, sales, purchases. We talk about the music, about shows – who has done what."

The business tone of the atmosphere does not hamper the merrymaking and good moods reigning at the musicians' market places. Jokes, funny



memories are told. There are many tricks and friendly mocking. We have witnessed how a confusing accident (a musician became a victim of drinkers' fight) was presented with a good sense of humour and heartily laughed at. There are great masters of story telling amongst the Gypsy musicians who are able to turn a trivial event into an attractive tale. Some of them are the keepers of the oral local music annals – they have a permanent repertoire of memories and stories full of humour. The festive spirit in the musicians' communication is sometimes expressed by a shared music making. We have witnessed spontaneous interruptions of the conversation by a bursts of singing or playing. As the mentioned above musician, K.D., says: „In the past the gatherings at the musicians' market in Montana used always to end with joint playing. We used to make jam sessions. It was very nice. We used to have a small café and there we had collected equipment, everything. And everybody would get on the stage and play.”

6. *Summary*

Selling their music as a service the professional Gypsy musicians follow the sources of their living. The trip (in its direct and figurative sense) to the customer is a form of semi-nomadic way of living. The music instruments, the repertoire, the skill of the Gypsy musicians are the specific tools of the nomadism they practice. Beyond the economic aspects these tools of the musicians' trade have ideological and symbolic aspects. Thus the music making can be treated not only as a trade but also as a sign of group identity.

When making research on the market of Gypsy music and musicians in Bulgaria, at least two different points of view must be kept in mind – an inner one, belonging to the musicians and outer one, belonging to others. In our case we pay more attention to the inner point of view – that of the musicians. According to it, the values of musicians' labour, of their profession and of their music are considerable. Our research on the market comes to prove this. From the traditional rituality to the contemporary festivity, the professional Gypsy musicians, as mediators are centres of the events, their music being a structuring part of these feasts and therefore Gypsies can be considered marginal only from a negative point of view.

There may be another interpretation of the service nomadism of the Gypsy musicians. They are nomads both in their practice and in their way

of musical thinking. The music they create is in the same time a challenge, a voyage, a surprise, and a thrill. Doubtlessly such music must be felt in order to be fully understood, for it cannot be completely described. Perhaps some forms of mental nomadism would be a suitable strategy to get oneself closer to the very heart of the Gypsy music. But this matter concerns other research.

Bibliography

- Dimov, Ventsislav: *Etnopopbumat (The Ethnopopboom)*. Sofia 2001.
- Hoerburger, Felix: „Die Zournas-Music in Griechenland. Verbreitung und Erhaltungszustand“, in: Kurt Reinhard (Hrsg.): *Studien zur Music Südost-Europas*. Hamburg 1976, 28–48.
- Marushiakova, Elena / Popov, Veselin: *Ciganite v Bulgaria. (The Gypsies in Bulgaria)*. Sofia 1993.
- Marushiakova, Elena / Popov, Veselin: *Ciganite v Osmanskata imperija. (The Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire)*. Sofia 2000.
- Merriam, Alan: *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston 1964.
- Peycheva, Lozanka: „Varhu njakoi aspekti na socialnite kontakti pri romskite muzikanti v Bulgaria dnes“ (“Reflection on Some Aspects of the Social Relations among the Gypsy Musicians in Bulgaria nowadays”), in: *Problemi na sociolingvistikata 5. Ezikat I socialnite kontakti (Problems of Social Linguistics 5. Language and Social Relations)*. Sofia 1996, 374–378.
- Peycheva, Lozanka: *Dushata plache – pesen izliza. Romskite muzikanti v Bulgaria I tjahnata muzika. (Your Soul cries and out comes a song. Romany/gypsies Musicians in Bulgaria and their Music.)*. Sofia 1999.
- Peycheva, Lozanka / Dimov, Ventsislav: *The Zurna Tradition in South-west Bulgaria*. Sofia 2002.
- Tsepenkov, Marko: *Materijali. Literaturni tvorbi. Kniga 10. (Materials from Field Research. Creations of Literature. Volume 10)*. Skopje 1972.

Informants

- A. M., 1958, clarinettist from Gotse Delchev. Interviewed in 2000.
A. T., 1959, trumpet player from Sliven. Interviewed in 1995.
B., 1958, Zurna player from Razlog. Interviewed in 2001.
B. B., 1940, violinist from Sliven. Interviewed in 1999.
D., 1957, guitar player from Stara Zagora. Interviewed in 1994.
D. K., 1948, Zurna player from Kavrakirovo. Interviewed in 1992–2001.
H. Ch., 1932–1994, violinist from Shumen. Interviewed in 1993.
K. D., 1964, bass guitar player from Montana. Interviewed in 1994–1995.
L. F., 1954, Zurna player from Kavrakirovo. Interviewed in 2000.
M. M., rebeck player from Stara Zagora. Interviewed in 1995.
M. T., 1970, clarinettist from Omurtag. Interviewed in 1994.
M. A., 1923–2000, cymbalist from Razgrad. Interviewed in 1998.
S. K., 1971, Zurna player from Kavrakirovo. Interviewed in 1994–2001.
V. P., 1965, clarinettist from Kotel. Interviewed in 1994.
Yu. Yu., saxophone player from Kardgali. Interviewed in 1994.

Autoren

Maren Bellwinkel-Schempp, geboren 1948, Studium der Ethnologie, Industriesoziologie und Indologie in Heidelberg und Neu Delhi, Lehr-
tätigkeit in Zürich und Heidelberg, mehrere Feldforschungen in Indien, z.
Zt. freie Mitarbeiterin am Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg.
Ihre Schwerpunkte der Forschung sind Auswirkungen der Urbanisierung
und Globalisierung auf marginalisierte Bevölkerungsgruppen; Religion der
Dalits in Indien; Ethnographie des Schweins in Indien und Europa; Indus-
triekultur und Handwerkeridentität im interkulturellen Vergleich.

Thomas Brüggemann, geboren 1972; 1992–1998 Studium der Alten Ge-
schichte, Neueren Geschichte, Klassischen Archäologie und Politikwissen-
schaft in Düsseldorf (Heinrich-Heine-Universität) und Köln (Albertus-
Magnus-Universität), 1998: Magister Artium in Alter Geschichte (Kar-
thagos Aufstieg zur Großmacht) in Düsseldorf; 1999–2002 Stipendiat des
Graduiertenkollegs „Leitbilder der Spätantike“ in Jena (Friedrich-Schiller-
Universität); 2002–2003 wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am Institut für
Altertumswissenschaften in Jena, dort 2003 Promotion in Alter Geschichte
(Römer, Nomaden, Christen – Staat und Gesellschaft im spätantiken
Nordafrika); 2003 zudem wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter der Redaktion des
RAC am Franz-Joseph-Dölger-Institut in Bonn (Rheinische Friedrich-
Wilhelm-Universität); seit August 2003 wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter am
Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte in Halle (Martin-Luther-Universität) im
Rahmen des SFB 586 „Differenz und Integration“. Forschungsschwer-
punkte: Kolonisationsbewegungen im Mittelmeerraum seit der Bronzezeit;
zwischenstaatliche Interaktionsphänomene und Kulturwandel (Helleni-
sierung, Romanisierung); militärische und politische Reichsbildung im
Mittelmeerraum; Christianisierung.

Ventsislav Dimov, Research Fellow, Ph.D., Section “Ethnomusicology”,
Institute of Art Studies, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria.



His main interests are: Ethnopol music in Bulgaria and on the Balkans; Gypsy music; popular and traditional music and mass media. He is author of a monographic study of the Ethnopol music in Bulgaria, called "*The Ethnopolboom*", co-writer of the monograph "*The Zurna Tradition in Southwest Bulgaria*" and of textbooks about Bulgarian and Gypsy music.

Hélène Claudot-Hawad, anthropologist, is 'directeur de recherche' at CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) and member of the IREMAM (Institut de Recherches et d'Etudes sur le Monde Arabe et Musulman) in Aix-en-Provence. She has comparatively studied different regions of the Tuareg world which are linked today to Algeria, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso or Libya. Her interests have been specially focused on the complex patterns of Tuareg socio-political organization and their historical mutations, on the values, the identity and the representations of this society in their dynamical aspects, on the various ways of regarding the present and the future in this troubled period of crisis. She has published twelve books. The following titles are the latest in date: *Eperonner le monde. Nomadisme, cosmos et politique* (Edisud, Aix-en-Provence, 2000), *Touaregs. Apprivoiser le désert* (Gallimard Découvertes, Paris 2002) and *Voyager d'un point de vue nomade* (Paris-Méditerranée, Paris, 2003).

Elena Marushiakova and **Vesselin Popov**, Institute of Ethnography and Ethnographical Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Focus of research: history, ethnography, social structure and culture of the Gypsies in Bulgaria, the Balkans and Eastern Europe. They founded the Roma Heritage Museum Fund at the National Ethnographical museum in Sofia (1995) and have organized exhibitions on Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. Their publications include monographs on Gypsies in Bulgaria (1997) and the Ottoman Empire (2000), and (since 1994) the journal "*Studii Romani*", which presents interesting materials on Roma culture. Since 2001, they have been research associates of the Institute of Ethnology at the University of Leipzig. They are currently doing field-work in the former Soviet Union.

Michael E. Meeker is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of California, San Diego. He has published books and articles on the oral traditions and social institutions of pastoral peoples in Arabia and East Africa. He has written a book and numerous articles on social, religious, and political issues in the Republic of Turkey. He has conducted research projects in Trabzon and Antalya from 1966 to 1968 and in Istanbul from 1986 to 1988. His principal publications include *Literature and Violence in North Arabia* (1979), *The Pastoral Son and the Spirit of Patriarchy*, and *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity* (2002).

Lozanka Peycheva, Senior Research Fellow, Ph. D., Section "Music and Dance Folklore", Institute of Folklore, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria. Her main interests are: Gypsy music in Bulgaria; traditional Bulgarian music; modernization and globalization of the traditional music. She is author of the first monographic study of the Roma music in Bulgaria, called "*Your Soul Cries and out Comes a Song*", co-writer of the monograph "*The Zurna Tradition in Southwest Bulgaria*" and of textbooks about Bulgarian and Gypsy music.

Christian Sigrist, born 1935, after studies of history, french literature, philosophy, political science, sociology and ethnology in Freiburg, Paris, Basel and Heidelberg, field researches in Afghanistan and West-Africa (Guiné-Bissau), since 1971 Prof. of Sociology at Münster University, since 2000 Prof. em., Vis. Prof. in Trivandrum, Lund and Vienna. Main publications: *Regulierte Anarchie* 1967 (Jap. ed. 1972), ³1994; *Custine's Image of Russia* 1990; *India* 1976; *Der Sozialplan ersetzt mir ja nicht den Arbeitsplatz* 1987; Co-editor: *Gesellschaften ohne Staat*, 2 vols. 1978; *Ethnologische Texte zum Alten Testament* 2 vols. 1989, 1997.

Florian Stammer, studierte Ethnologie, Soziologie und Geschichte in Mainz, Zürich und Köln. Nach Forschungen bei nordwestsibirischen Rentierzüchtern promovierte er 2003 mit der Arbeit: „When nomads meet the market: Property, Territory and Economy among the Nentsy of Yamal“. Seit 2000 ist er Mitglied der Siberia Group des Max-Planck-Instituts für ethnologische Forschung/ Halle, und zur Zeit arbeitet er am Scott Polar-

forschungsinstitut der Universität Cambridge über Naturwahrnehmung von Rentierzüchtern. Aufsätze: West-Sibiren (2000), Success at the edge of the land: Present and past challenges for reindeer herders of the West-Siberian Yamal-Nenets autonomous Okrug (2002), Between Neoliberalism and Dirigisme: Approaches to reindeer herding in Yamal and Sakha (2003, mit A. Ventsel).

