

A N T H R O P O L O G I C A L



N O T E B O O K S

year III & IV, no. 1

BIOPOIESIS

Artur Štern
Aldo Carlo Cappellini
Miha Javornik
Bogomir Novak

STUDY THEME

Charles Sussanne

ANTHROPOLOGY OF HEALTH...

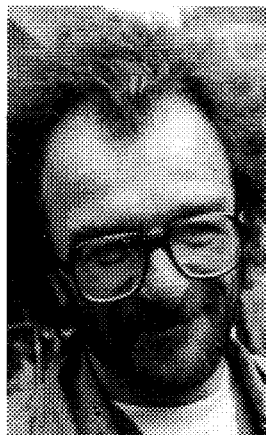
Borut Telban
Mojca Juričič

ANTHROPOLOGY IN SCHOOL

Bogomir Novak
Robi Kroflič
Janez Kolenc Gregorič
Janez Juhant

INTERVIEW

Robin Denell



IZTOK SAKSIDA

1953 • 1998

S A X

The research tracks led Sax to sociology. In the period of his personal and scientific growth his paths also brought him to the fields of archaeology, evolution, biological systematics, primatology and paleoanthropology. He saw anthropology in its broadest sense and tried to introduce freshness into science. He believed in the fulfillment of his idea: to establish a new field of work – socioecology, which would combine sociology, humanities and natural sciences; to study primates in their natural environment...

The paths of the Raduha mountain have cut off his way through our time.

As Associate Professor for Comparative sociology and Sociology of early societies he devoted much of his time to the personal work with students. He took them to the excursions around Europe, Africa and Asia. He published in numerous journals and magazines. His books include: **School: Teacher, mother and child** (1986), **Archaeologists, our ancient ancestors** (1991), **Introduction into comparative sociology** (1997).

The present volume of SAS publication is devoted to his memory.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS III & IV/1



DRUŠTVO ANTROPOLOGOV SLOVENIJE
SLOVENE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY
LJUBLJANA, 1997/98

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS
YEAR III & IV, NO. 1
REGULAR ISSUE

COPYRIGHT © DRUŠTVO ANTROPOLOGOV
SLOVENIJE / SLOVENE ANTHROPOLOGICAL
SOCIETY

Večna pot 111, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

All rights reserved. No parts of this publication are to
be re-produced, copied or utilized in any form,
mechanical or electronic, without written permission
of the publishers.

ISSN: 1408 - 032X

Editorial Board:

Metka Boegel-Dodič, Mojca Juričič,
Veselin Miškovič, Bogomir Novak, Artur Štern,
Borut Telban, Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik,
Dorjana Zerbo-Šporin

Editor in Chief: Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik

Design: Mima Suhadolc

Cover photo: Žiga Koritnik

Print: Tiskarna Artelj

According to the opinion issued by the Ministry of
Culture of Republic of Slovenia No.415-15/99 ts/mc
from January 14, 1999, this publication is subject to 5
percent tax on distribution of goods.

The publication was financed by the Ministry of
Science and Technology of Republic of Slovenia.

The volume is printed entirely on recycled paper.

Contents
Anthropological Notebooks III & IV, No. 1, 1997/98

Editor's Preface / Spremnna beseda v

BIOPOIESIS

- ARTUR ŠTERN:** Biopoiesis in Biopoetics /
Biopoiesis v biopoetiki 7
- ALDO CARLO CAPPELLINI:** Psychokinetic Aspects in the Growth of Children /
Psihokinetični vidiki v rasti otrok 14
- MIHA JAVORNIK:** Psychogenesis of Cultural Heroes /
Psihogeneza kulturnih junakov 21
- BOGOMIR NOVAK:** Power Management in Focus /
Problem človekovega gospodstva 33
-

STUDY THEME / TEMATSKA ŠTUDIJA

- CHARLES SUSSANNE, MARTINE VERCAUTEREN,
ESTER REBATO, JAVIER ROSIQUE, ICIAR SALCES:** Growth and Nutrition /
Rast in prehrana 42
-

**ANTHROPOLOGY OF HEALTH AND SICKNESS /
ANTROPOLOGIJA ZDRAVJA IN BOLEZNI**

- BORUT TELBAN:** Sickness and Time in a Sepik Community /
Bolezen in čas v sepiški skupnosti 57
- MOJCA JURIČIČ:** Medical Anthropology in the Health Care System /
Medicinska antropologija in zdravstveno varstvo 65
-

ANTHROPOLOGY IN SCHOOL / ANTROPOLOGIJA V ŠOLI

- BOGOMIR NOVAK:** Problem uvajanja novih učnih vsebin v šole 68
- ROBI KROFLIČ:** Antropologija v šoli 71
- JANEZ KOLENC GREGORIČ:** Racionalna evalvacija učnega načrta
sociologija z vidika zastopanosti antropoloških učnih vsebin in ciljev 73
- JANEZ JUHANT:** Antropologija in etika ter problem vzgoje 79
-

INTERVIEW / INTERVJU

- Robin Denell 84

OBITUARIES / NEKROLOGI

- JOŽE VOGRINC, BORIS KAVUR:** Iztok Saksida - Sax **95**
Iztok Saksida - Sax (1953-1998): biografija in bibliografija **100**
- MARIANNE TAX CHOLDIN:** An International Childhood:
Seeing the World with Sol Tax **103**
-

BOOK REVIEWS / KNJIŽNE OCENE

- BORUT TELBAN:** *Michael JACKSON: At Home in the World* **106**
- MARIJA ŠTEFANČIČ:** *Eva B. BODZSAR, Charles SUSSANNE (ed.):
Secular Growth Changes in Europe* **107**
- SAŠA CVAHTE:** *Marija ŠTEFANČIČ, Urška ARKO, Vida BRODAR,
Fina DOVEČAR, Mojca JURIČIČ, Metka MACAROL-HITI,
Petra LEBEN-SELJAK, Tatjana TOMAZO-RAVNIK:
Ocena telesne rasti in razvoja otrok in mladine v Ljubljani* **109**
- BORIS KAVUR:** *William NOBLE, Iain DAVIDSON:
Human Evolution, Language and Mind* **110**
-

RESEARCH AND STUDY REPORTS / RAZISKOVALNA IN ŠTUDIJSKA POROČILA

- PETRA LEBEN-SELJAK:** Antropološka analiza poznoantičnih
in srednjeveških grobišč Bleda in okolice **115**
- ARTUR ŠTERN:** Metabiology of Religion **120**
- BOGOMIR NOVAK, JANEZ KOLENC:** International Comparative Researching
of Political Socialization (1994 - 1996) **124**
-

CONFERENCE REPORTS / POROČILA S POSVETOVANJ

- ARTUR ŠTERN:** Biopoiesis: novi evolucijski vidiki
antropologije in njej sorodnih ved **127**
- TATJANA TOMAZO-RAVNIK:** XI. Kongres Evropskega antropološkega združenja **128**
- BORIS KAVUR:** Mednarodna okrogla miza o vprašanju
musterjenske koščene piščali iz najdišča Divje Babe I **129**

Editor's Preface

Since 1996, when the last issue of *Anthropological Notebooks* was published, the Slovene Anthropological Society faced a significant alteration: ahead of its time the Society's board had to be unexpectedly changed. This became the main cause for a significant delay in preparation of the following issues of the journal. After the Conference which carries the name of Professor Božo Škerlj was held in Ljubljana in September 1998 — the 2nd Škerlj's Days — with a thematical title *Biopoiesis*, the editorial board decided to include some of the papers from the Conference, publish a double number of the journal, and catch up with time. We unanimously agreed to dedicate this issue to the late Vice-President of the Slovene Anthropological Society, Professor Iztok Saksida — Sax, who tragically died on April 26, 1998. His spirited life, his bursting energy, his continuously new research plans, and his lively teaching were suddenly cut short while he was climbing the mountains which he loved so much. Another crucial death affected our Anthropological Society. On October 9, 1997, Walgreen Professor for the Study of Human Understanding at the University of Michigan, and the President of the American Anthropological Association from 1987 - 1989, Roy Abraham "Skip" Rappaport died aged 71. He was not only our Society's Programme Board member, but a person who took time for many invaluable suggestions and encouragements, and who published the Distinguished Lecture in the first number of *Anthropological Notebooks*. All three mentioned anthropologists Škerlj, Saksida, and Rappaport understood anthropology in its widest possible way. Humans are biological, social, and cultural beings and can be studied and analysed in many different ways and in numerous scientific fields: biology, medicine, ethnology, sociocultural anthropology, sociology, philosophy, theology, studies of sports, linguistics, archaeology, pedagogics, and so on. This heterogeneous character of a human being can be found in this double issue too. The following clusters are grouped in nine chapters: **Biopoiesis**, with four papers presented at the Conference under this common title. The **Study Theme** presents us with the relationship between growth and nutrition. **Anthropology of Health and Sickness**, and **Anthropology in School** were the titles of two round tables at the Conference, here we present some of the papers. The **Interview** presents us with archaeologist Robin Dennell. In the chapter entitled **Obituaries** we remember Professor Iztok Saksida. We get an insight into both his life and his bibliography. The memories of Professor Sol Tax are given by his daughter. In the **Book Reviews** section there are four recently published books reviewed. This is followed by **Research and Study Reports**. The journal ends with **Conference Reports**.

The articles are written either in Slovene or in English language. The authors were able to decide for themselves in which language they were going to submit their contributions. At the end I would like to thank all the authors and the readers who patiently waited for this double number finally to be published. I thank the Slovene Ministry of Science and Technology for the financial assistance in the production of this issue. I also thank the editorial board and the designer for all their help and advices during the period of preparation. I hope that this number(s) of *Anthropological Notebooks* will be received with interest among the colleagues in Slovenia and abroad.

Editor-In-Chief
Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik

Spremna beseda

Pred nami je dvojna številka publikacije *Društva antropologov Slovenije* (DAS). Od izdaje zadnjega zvezka v letu 1996 se je vodstvo društva nenačrtovano predčasno zamenjalo. Tako je prišlo do prekinitve tudi v izdajanju društvenega glasila. Po izvedbi 2. Škerljevih dni s tematskim naslovom *Biopoiesis* v septembru 1998 se je upravni odbor za publikacije DAS odločil, da izda dvojno številko v kateri bodo predstavljeni tudi prispevki s tega srečanja. Odločili smo se, da jo posvetimo prof. dr. Iztoku Saksidi-Saxu, ki je tragično preminil 26. aprila 1998. Kot podpredsednik društva, kot pedagoški delavec, kot raziskovalec je imel še ogromno načrtov. Tudi smrt prof. dr. Roya Abrahama Rappaporta, ki je umrl 9. oktobra 1997 je hudo prizadela naše društvo. Bil je član društvenega mednarodnega sveta, ki ni nikoli odklonil pomoči in podpore. Njegov uvodni prispevek je izšel v prvi številki *Anthropological Notebooks*. Vsi trije omenjeni antropologi Škerlj, Rappaport in Saksida so razumeli antropologijo v najširšem pomenu te besede. Človek je biološko, socialno in kulturno bitje in lahko ga proučujemo in analiziramo na različne načine v številnih strokah kot npr: biologiji, medicini, etnologiji, sociokulturni in fizični antropologiji, sociologiji, filozofiji, teologiji, športu, lingvistiki, arheologiji, pedagogiki itd.

Prav to raznolikost lahko najdemo v tej dvojni številki, ki v devetih poglavjih predstavlja naslednje sklope: **Biopoiesis**, kjer so zbrani štiri prispevki, ki so bili predstavljeni tudi kot referati na srečanju s tem naslovom. V **Tematski študiji** na temo Rast in prehrana avtorji predstavljajo pregled rezultatov številnih raziskav na temo o vplivu prehrane na rast in razvoj. **Antropologija zdravja in bolezn** ter **Antropologija v šoli** sta bili temi okroglih miz v okviru srečanja. Tu objavljamo nekatere prispevke. **Intervju** nam predstavi arheologa Robina Denella. V **Nekrologu** se Saxa spominja njegov sodelavec in prijatelj dr. Jože Vogrinc, Saxov študent in zet Boris Kavur pa podaja njegovo bibliografijo. Spomine na očeta prof. dr. Sola Taxa pa opisuje njegova hčerka. V razdelku **Knjižnih ocen** predstavimo štiri novejšje publikacije. Tem slede **Raziskovalna in študijska poročila**, ki nas seznanjajo z novostmi na področju paleodemografije, metabiologije in politične socializacije. Zvezek zaključuje poglavje o **Poročilih s kongresov in srečanj**.

Publikacija je pisana v angleškem in slovenskem jeziku, večinoma tako, kot so želeli avtorji.

Ob zaključku spremne besede naj se zahvalim vsem avtorjem, in bralcem, ki so potrpežljivo čakali na objavo. Zahvala *Ministrstvu za znanost in tehnologijo* za sofinanciranje izdaje ter uredniškemu odboru in oblikovalki za pomoč in nasvete pri pripravi zvezka.

Upam, da bo ta izdaja *Anthropological Notebooks* sprejeta z zanimanjem med kolegi doma in v tujini.

Urednica zvezka
Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik

BIOPOIESIS IN BIPOETICS

ARTUR ŠTERN

INŠTITUT BION, LJUBLJANA

ABSTRACT

If biopoetics is defined as the evolutionary approach to art in general and poetry in particular; and if the term “participatory research” is used to expose the personal impact of the observer on the very case they is dealing with, then the following statement can be proposed: Not so many are there areas of human inquiry in which the adoption of this type of research seems so warranted as it is in the case of biopoetics. Namely, apart from the general fact that any single type of fertile scholarship needs creative (i. e., “poietic”) mind at its basis, here we have yet another, contingent, reason for welcoming its presence, i. e., the power of introspection, both individual and group. The inquiring subject adopts the roles of both the scholar and the poet, being able to switch repeatedly, back and forth, from the state of fully detached intellectual observation to the state of thorough involvement of their emotions, and thus they can bring forth quite unorthodox and — through this positive feedback — ever lively evolving hypotheses. Not the least is the emphasis on the very style of this type of inquiry’s written expression, which may at certain points be as much literary as it is scholarly. For this kind of approach to biopoetics which means its enrichment by its complementary view from within the term “biopoiesis” is hereby proposed. Several instances of practical use of this procedure will be shown and discussed.

BEWARE OF THE POET

Once upon a time — a young scholar was looking for a place within the academic world of his country. Towards the end of this long story (when I had already given up almost all hope regarding my previous intention to do research in the interdisciplinary field between natural sciences and humanities) the following anecdotal episode occurred. I was just in the middle of filling in some forms, waiting in a room for the professor, with whom I had come to an agreement about doing the kind of before mentioned business together. Prisoner’s dilemma and such. As he entered — (to my contemporary surprise, and, you can imagine, no little deal of bitter amusement and mocking thereafter) he uttered: “My dear colleague, the deal is off: I’ve just got a very negative reference about you; namely, I’ve been told you’re a poet.” Sure, being a poet automatically excludes capability of doing proper, that is, scientific research, doesn’t it. Let it be so — at least for the time being.

"TRADITIONAL" BIPOETICS

Biopoetics is a branch of Darwinian evolutionary science applied to the questions about the origins, perpetuation and development of art, which implies that these are treated in a very pragmatic way. Positivistic methodology and attitudes are either imported from the natural sciences into the domain of humanities (Cox 1997) or they are shaped anew (Sperber 1996, Constable 1997).

In these regards arts are sometimes taken at their common denominator (Sperber 1996), and sometimes not (Cooke 1997). In the latter case, still, the scholars speaking to each others usually do not overemphasize the differences between the areas of art; they strive instead to enrich one's own horizons by eventual new analogies created through the findings in the neighbors' fields. This is also my stance in the present venture, where I will be speaking of poetry in particular. Or to put it slightly more explicitly: I intend to check whether the traditional biopoetical methods can be amended by certain auxiliary ideas.

WHAT POETS COULD TELL US

The foremost question concerning the present enterprise I asked myself was: Is there anything a poet can tell or do towards our understanding of the evolution of poetry? When this question is put this way, however, you can easily infer that it is just a rhetorical one. Namely, where else could one possibly gather, or even look for, the first-hand information about the motives of poetic creation? You want to know why a poet creates: so why don't you ask them?

One can indeed go and talk to them straightforwardly about it. Yet there are some slight problems with that. Even poets themselves might not know consciously what is happening at the various levels of their minds. Their usual answers to the question — why they write — are of the type: "something inside me tells me to"; varying from one extreme ("just feel like doing it") to the other ("got a divine mission"). And maybe the only common feature of these is — they are all very vague.

As soon as we want to go more into the depths of psychological motivation, however, this method of interviewing the authors, either officially (possibly even in the form of a written questionnaire) or at various kinds of spontaneous occasions, bears the risk of becoming invasive, intruding; specially facing the fact that poets are most decidedly not among the very first people of this world who would be prone to accept enthusiastically the treatment of their minds and souls in any kind of analytical way. Our subjects may thus very well be — or at least very soon become — reluctant to cooperate with us, which can take form of the overall denial to give responses or of giving the disinterested shallow and even deliberately false answers. The trouble is — we never quite know whether this is not the case in any present situation.

Neither can this problem be solved for us by statistics — for it may not be single cases of random anomalies that we are dealing with, but the systemic error instead, caused by a certain (yet unknown), supposedly common human factor, which we have been previously provoking in a similar manner in all our subjects.

There are surely also circumventional methods to the above one. One can, for example, build upon the observation of various psycho-social instances at literary happenings and events; or even study the poetical texts themselves, say authors' essays about their

own poetical writings, or analyze the contents of poems, in the hope of finding clues to the motivational background of the authors. Yet most of these collateral methods seem a great deal more complicated in their own turn.

The ideal case might thus be if we could find a few very calm and cooperative poets, who would collaborate with us with no reserve. But then again: it would be a very special case, not a typical sample from the population of poets. What else then — if anything at all — is left to us?

PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

The term “participatory research” has been used to expose the personal impact of the observer on the very case they is dealing with. So far it has mostly been applied to the research in certain areas of the social sciences and humanities, specially where there is a specific emphasis on the notion of values (as opposed to the predominantly quantitative statistical approach elsewhere) (see Erikson 1994 as an example). Even though the most radical hypotheses regarding all this participatory phenomenon come from the quite opposite end, from the very most fundamental realm of natural sciences — the quantum physics (Schrödinger 1935) —, the rest of the natural sciences are mostly ignoring those empirical and theoretical insights; probably because they do not know what to do with them (with the exception of the lately quite developed and popularized holistic concepts in biology (Kauffman 1993, Goodwin 1995), specially the quantum biology (Ho 1993, Jerman & Štern 1996)).

As far as traditional fields of biology are concerned — I don’t claim to have any idea in this respect either (and even if I did, it would be quite irrelevant to the present case). But moving into the biopoetics realm, and having learned of those methodological constraints above, I suppose: not so many are the areas of human inquiry in which the adoption of the participatory type of research seems so warranted as it is right here. Apart from the trivial fact that any single type of fertile scholarship needs creative (“poietic”) mind at its basis, here we have another, and much more important, reason for welcoming its presence: a very special position of being an insider, intensified by the powerful tool of introspection.

The inquiring subject here takes the role of both the scholar and the poet, being able to switch at will — to and from the state of fully detached intellectual observation and the one of thorough emotional involvement. Thus, we may expect, they can bring forth quite unorthodox and also — through this positive feedback — ever lively evolving hypotheses. For this kind of approach to biopoetics, which means its enrichment by its complementary view from within, the term “biopoiesis” is hereby proposed.

This type of research may indeed be called “experimental” — yet the term having become loaded with a rather different meaning from the usual. It should be understood in a similar sense as when used — for instance — in the compound: “experimental theater”, namely, that the approach isn’t at all necessarily analytical to begin with; although in our case this disposition normally does enter the stage, at a certain further point.

To some this kind of a two way approach might seem as that anecdotal bow, which was constructed to throw two arrows at once — but both missing the goal. I will be the first one to agree with that — if we take “the final solution” to be the relevant goal. Yet I imagine we might all agree upon the statement that, no matter how scientific we may seem, we

are making just tentative and temporary cases as regards the utmost truth. Such perspective taken, the original above mentioned suspiciousness somehow easily dissolves.

And finally, and not of the least importance, I suggest, is the emphasis on the very style of this type of inquiry's written expression, which may at certain points be as much literary as it is scholarly (Štern 1997, 1998). The concept of footnotes, for instance, doesn't exist any longer — the text that should traditionally belong there is put in the main stream of thought's expression, often even as the forefront thesis, which certainly isn't done for the simple sake of the author's pure aesthetic pleasure. Even though the great majority of journals of the present day strive to build up their name (or, having achieved that goal, to keep it that way) by publishing articles which are more or less orthodox in their form (pertaining to any one among the already existing and accepted niches of discourse, be it scientific, religious, literary, or any other), but paying very poor attention to anything from without that pre-packaging framework — there still exist a few that don't just go with the flow, and thus they also give opportunity to the enterprises like the one we are presently part of.

Let us now move to see some practical uses of the procedure. As should be already clear by now, I am about to pursue an inquiry from within — involving myself as both the inquirer and the source, reference person.

THE INQUIRING INSIDER

The first point of interest I am going to speak about is something I have already mentioned and partly even dealt with, namely, the concept of discussion with various authors of poetry. This in fact won't pertain so much to the realm of pure biopoiesis; it has more to do with the psychological approach to the very methodology of this kind of research — and thus it is a quite important, even if only indirectly linked, part of it. The fact stands that one can never enter the essence of others' creation unless they know from their own experience how it feels like doing it themselves. A detached interviewer can never quite fake the inner feelings needed to pose the essential questions and even to observe the relevant clues; they can never get enough credibility to obtain the whole truth of the answering person — for the latter notices very well that there is something artificial going on, so that they, be it consciously or subconsciously, behaves in a non-spontaneous way. From my own experience — being a poet, yet sometimes also a pure interviewer of the kind discussed above — I gathered that one can only obtain valid results by living among poets, and more, being one of them. To be true, it is quite an unorthodox kind of research — for it is going on in a very spontaneous fashion. One collects data when they appear; for by trying to induce such informative situations by will they would only learn again and again that one can never push this kind of events.

PURPOSEFUL CREATING

Another intriguing instance of the insider's position is the possibility of purposeful creating of some new poetical texts either with or without artistic value, namely, the presence of the truth-seeking effort or the lack of it. The point here is that one can definitely know for themselves whether the thing written was truly meant or it is just a fake, even though, perhaps, beautifully ornamented. The author is the only true arbiter of this. Being

trained in the verse-writing skills one can of course very effectively manipulate the people's feelings, without having put any amount of one's own soul-substance in it; and on the other hand, they may write pieces of, let's say, hermetic poetry, which no one can understand, empathize or identify with, yet they are meant truly and are therefore much more authentic, which should at least partly be the synonym for quality, art. What a participatory researcher does next, is of course the measuring of the impact of various poems of one or another kind, on various people. From there they can then draw further conclusions — about the nature of people's receptivity to poetry, and various complexity and quality levels of it, the facts which partly no doubt pertain to evolutionary forces of the past.

To make a (non-professional) confession: almost to the last moment of editing this paper I remained undecided about including some firmer experimental data concerning this topic. Finally, I am not going to, for a passage of such disproportionately extensive treatment of just one theme compared to others would seem — to use an evolutionary term — a proper cultural case of allometry. I will just give you a hint about my starting point — that the acceptance of a verse by public on average doesn't depend so much on the artistic depths and such but mainly on its "catchingness"; of which there exist several components, and some of which are indeed quite deplorable (speaking in terms of qualities — which is no longer unorthodox, given the assumptions of the present discourse).

RANDOM POETIC DRIFT

One further tackling point, seen specifically from the insider's view, is the question of criteria for putting authors and their pieces into anthologies of poetry, and — by implication — also some other instances of poets being recognized and paid tribute to. There is of course the criterion of quality (which is here, as we may all know, rather arbitrary in its own turn), yet my observations through the years made me believe that in great many cases there is something besides the pure aesthetic and artistic quality. In the simplest of cases, and at the same time also in the majority of them — as it also happened to myself, and not only once (Stevens & Sullivan 1995, Repar 1996, Čater 1997) — it is a question of simply being there, on a right place at a right time. And then it may sometimes go on and on as a trivial chain of self-perpetuating events, or — to put it in a slightly naughty way — as the well known butterfly effect. This fact is comparable to the evolutionary phenomenon called random genetic drift — which is the other name for chance, or luck, if you will. No selection pressure at all, just coincidences or the lack of them. And how well this analogous process works in the domain of culture, you just need to listen to, and believe, the insider's voice.

Apart from that, indeed quite an innocent fact, there are yet other ones — of which we may not be so sure to be that stainless. By this I mean, of course, various kinds of morally dubious ways of self-promotion. But this won't be the place to deal with them any further.

NEOPHILIA, OR THE LUST FOR TRANSGRESSION

The last thing I wish to bring forth is the parallel between cultural novelty-seeking drive that we are all somewhat slaves of, due to our biological needs (members of several,

if not most, animal species are also known to occupy various spots on this neophily-neophobia continuum), and the analogous process going on at the genetic level of evolution. Since it is the last point of this treatise, I will give myself a pleasure of being particularly vehement and “biopoetical”.

Namely, concerning the analysis of, finally also, the poetical texts themselves, my personal interest regarding the syntax in poetry, both as a theorist and as a poet, is specific and somehow at odds with the main stream, probably because of my evolutionary background: I hypothesize that certain (sometimes even gross) purposeful syntactical and even grammatical mistakes (and, moreover, possibly at times even those that come unawares, for instance in a non-native writer) committed by an upright author may in fact enrich the language — just as genetic mutations do in the evolution of life; indeed, very small fraction of them is prosperous, yet we know that entire life as we know it would never exist without them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work was supported by the Research Support Scheme of the OSI/HESP, grant No.: 1370/1997.

POVZETEK:

Če pojem biopoetika opredelimo kot evolucionistični pristop k umetnosti nasploh in v specifičnem smislu k poeziji, in če s pojmom participatorno raziskovanje označujemo osebni vpliv opazovalca na sam primer, ki ga obravnava, tedaj lahko predlagamo naslednje: ni prav veliko področij človeškega iskateljstva, kjer bi se uporaba tovrstnega pristopa zdela tako upravičena kot prav v primeru biopoetike. Poleg splošnega dejstva, da je za prav sleherno obliko plodnega raziskovanja v njegovih temeljih potreben kreativen (“poietičen”) um, imamo tu namreč še dodaten, kontingenten razlog za njegovo sprejemanje: moč introspekcije, tako v individualnem kot skupinskem smislu. Raziskujoči osebek nastopa v dveh vlogah: kot raziskovalec in kot poet. Pri tem lahko poljubno prehaja iz ene vloge v drugo, se pravi iz položaja docela brezinteresne intelektualistične observacije v stanje globoke čustvene udeležnosti. S tem lahko pride do razmeroma neobičajnih hipotez, za katere je značilno, da se skozi nenehno povratno zvezo, izvirajočo iz te dvojnosti pogleda, tudi živahno spreminjajo in razvijajo. Ne najmanj pomemben pri vsem tem pa je tudi poudarek na samem slogu, v katerem je podan izdelek tovrstnega raziskovanja. Ta je mestoma lahko prav toliko literaren, kot je znanstveno-raziskovalniški. Za tak pristop k biopoetiki, ki pomeni torej nekakšno njeno obogatitev s same notranje strani, tu predlagam naziv “biopoiesis”. Sledijo razni primeri praktične uporabnosti tega pristopa.

REFERENCES

- ČATER, T. (ed.). *Mondena antologija sodobne slovenske poezije*. Grosuplje: Založba Mondena, 1997.
- CONSTABLE, J. Verse form: A pilot study in the epidemiology of representations. *Human Nature* 1997; 8(2): 171-203.

- COOKE, B.** *Utopian fiction and human nature.* In: Human Behavior & Evolution Society, 8th Annual Conference. Northwestern University, 1996: 34.
- COX, G.** *Teoretični modeli biokulturnostne evolucije pripovedništva: replikatorji ali motivatorji?* *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* 1997; 25(186-7): 349-57.
- ERIKSON, K.** *A new species of trouble.* New York, London: WW Norton & Company, 1994.
- GOODWIN, B.** *How the leopard changed its spots.* London: Phoenix, 1995.
- HO, M-W.** *The rainbow and the worm.* Singapore: World Scientific, 1993.
- JERMAN, I, ŠTERN, A.** *Gen v valovih - Porajanje nove biologije.* Ljubljana: Znanstveno in publicistično središče, 1996.
- KAUFFMAN, SA,** *The origins of order.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- REPAR, P** (ed.). *At three and a half past midnight.* Ljubljana: Apokalipsa, 1996.
- SCHRÖDINGER, E.** *The present situation in quantum mechanics.* In: Quantum theory and measurement. Wheeler J, W Zurek (eds.). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935.
- SPERBER, D.** *Explaining culture.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- STEVENS, C, SULLIVAN, C.** (eds.). *Best Poems of 1995.* Owing Mills: The National Library of Poetry, 1995.
- ŠTERN, A.** *Metabiologija.* Ljubljana: Društvo Apokalipsa, 1997.
- ŠTERN, A.** *Metabioigra.* Ljubljana: DZS, 1998.

PSYCHOKINETIC ASPECTS IN THE GROWTH OF CHILDREN

PSIHOKINETIČNI VIDIKI RASTI OTROK

ALDO CARLO CAPPELLINI

PHYSICAL EDUCATION INSTITUTE, UNIVERSITY OF FLORENCE, ITALY

ABSTRACT:

Psychokinetics grounds its theory on a holistic principle considering the human being as a union of body and mind and, together with the motor action, it finds its meaning only in relationship with a complete personality. According to various psychological theories, human personality has been divided into areas where the psychokinetics can interfere in the negative or positive way.

Basically important in psychokinetics is the concept of building structures and organizing the "body image" not only with regard to biological features, but also to social environment and relationship. A correct development of body scheme starts from achievement of functional and structural pre-requisites.

In addition to these structural and psychopedagogic features, psychokinetics allows a correct approach to sports activities before the age of 12. Trainers often do not respect the correct development of children body, being concentrating on physical performances. Psychokinetics do not agree with this practice and promotes the psychophysical development of children in their whole respecting their growth phases and their needs.

1. INTRODUCTION

Psychokinetics is a general theory about movement and its goal is to develop perceptive and motor functions with reference to mental functions. Psychokinetics, in contrast with a dualist concept of human being where mind dominates the body, grounds its theory on a holistic principle considering the human being as a union of body and mind. The western philosophy, with Plato and his myth of the cavern, regards the body as the mind's prison, and Cartesius theorizes the dualism developing the axioms of *res estensa* (body nature) and *res cogitans* (rationality). Idealism, with Hegel, Kant and Croce, believes that only ideas are real and that mind dominates body. Psychokinetics, in its educational features, considers the human being as a whole, since a motor action finds its meaning only in relationship with a complete personality (fig.1).

According to various psychological theories, human personality has been divided into four areas (Salvini 1989): body-motion, cognitive, affect-emotion, social (fig.2).

Well, psychokinetics involves all four areas and its action can interfere in the negative or positive way with the development of the whole personality.

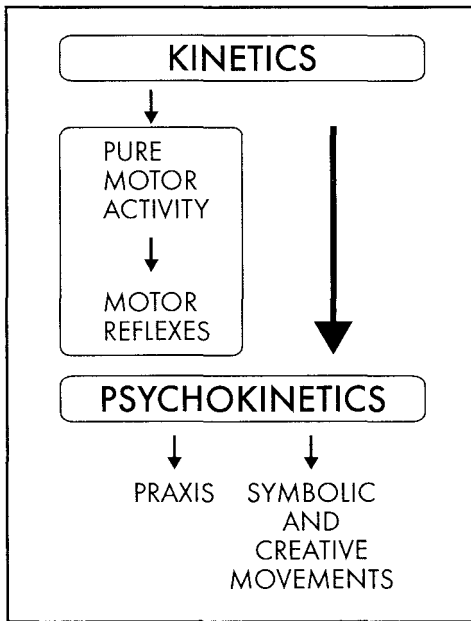


Fig. 1.

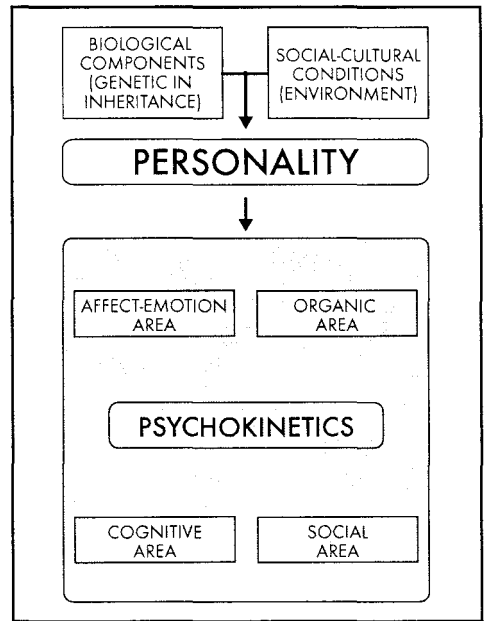


Fig. 2.

Psychokinetics tries to satisfy children's natural needs, changing habits of thinking and feeling and creating other needs suitable for adapting to the environment, especially the social one. For that reason psychokinetics treats human personality in its whole aspects:

“A gesture modifies the environment and the one who is acting it” says Wallon.

Basically important in psychokinetics is the concept of building structures and organizing the “body image” not only with regard to biological features, but also to social environment and relationship. There are various and different ways to express the concept of “body scheme”. Therefore one can find similar definitions using the terms “body image”, “posture scheme” (Vayer 1974) and “somato-psyche” according to the prevailing point of view: the motor (motion) aspects, the sensory organs or the unconscious mental activities.

At the beginning of this century, prevailed the concept of a “topographic” body scheme (Bonnier 1904); next step is represented by an “image of the body in the space” (Pick 1908) and then comes the concept introduced by Head (1911) with his definition of “posturing scheme”; this last term adds to the notion of imagine in the space, the time dimension introducing the new concept of three-dimensional body. Starting from the “posturing scheme” Schilder (1950) develops his concept of body scheme, which is the most widespread and known. Schilder links the neurological and physiologic aspects to the psychoanalytic experiences.

According to his point of view the neurological features of the body scheme have to be seen as integrally connected with the fantasized existence of the body through the action of libido and with the body considered as biological structure of a human being integrated in a social environment.

But it is only with Wallon's theory (1963) that psychokinetics gains ground in the concept of body scheme "it is not merely a first condition neither a biological entity nor a physical aspect, but it is the result and the condition of a correct relationship between the person and the environments". "In children's development — says the author — it is possible to see some first signs of their achievement".

According to Le Boulch (1979) the body scheme becomes a basic concept of psychokinetics and he defines it: "an intuition as a whole or a sudden knowledgement of the body either in a static position or in motion, in connection with the different parts of body and their relationships and especially in relationship with the space and the objects in it".

Le Boulch also precisely defines the different stages of body structure. Following Angelergues (1975) one can consider this whole as an "integron" which slowly finds its development in children's growth and usually takes place at the age of eleven/twelve. Our concept of psychokinetics body scheme is based on Wallon's theory, where the representation of the body is considered as result and condition of correct relationship between people and environment. If during children's growth, from zero to twelve, the body scheme has not been harmoniously developed and completed, following the correct phases that rule the relationships with environment, there will be an unequal development of chronological-anthropometrical and psychokinetic age with influences on the socialisation, on affect, on motion and on intellective behaviour (fig. 3).

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

From a functional-cognitive point of view a correct development of body scheme starts from a taxonomic achievement of functional pre-requisites (fig. 4) as:

1. perception of space and time principles,
2. general and segment co-ordination,
3. static and dynamic balance,
4. lateral dominance,
5. control of muscles on the movements and relaxation,
6. general and segment control of posture

and it ends with the achievement of structural pre-requisites as those concerning the different systems and apparatus especially the osteo-muscle apparatus.

Developing motorial skills as: walking, running, jumping, rolling, crawling, throwing, catching, climbing and other actions as, for example, to walk on all fours, children can achieve, the structural and functional requisites. Motorial skills act as stimuli-situation which allows, through "body experiences", a correct self-perception in relationship with the objects and other people. For example. A 4/5 aged child can't have a correct perception of space and time distances when he is in a room. But if one ask him to walk and run through that room and then to dynamically move his body, he will correctly learn the different dimensions and speed of movement. He will learn the real time-space perception of the room. He will therefore build his internal structure of functional pre-requisites space-time. The achievements of pre-requisites are crucial, because if one can't achieve them, then it is impossible to reach the second phase, that one of the requisites. For exemple a child who didn't learn correctly, according to his age, the pre-requisites concerning space and time dimensions, static balance, eye-hand co-ordination, control of muscle, lateral dominance,

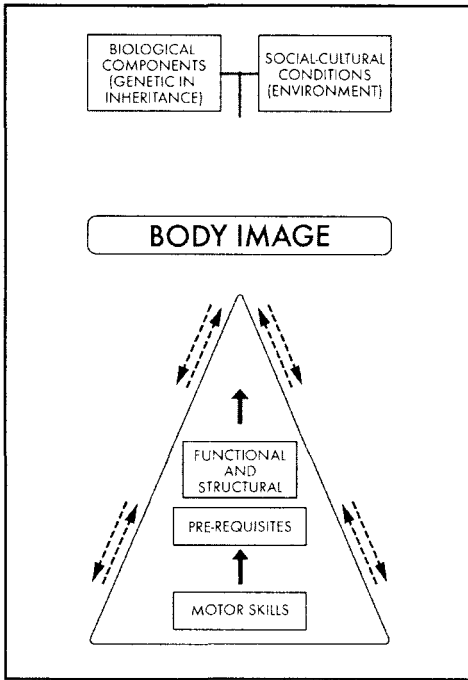


Fig. 3.

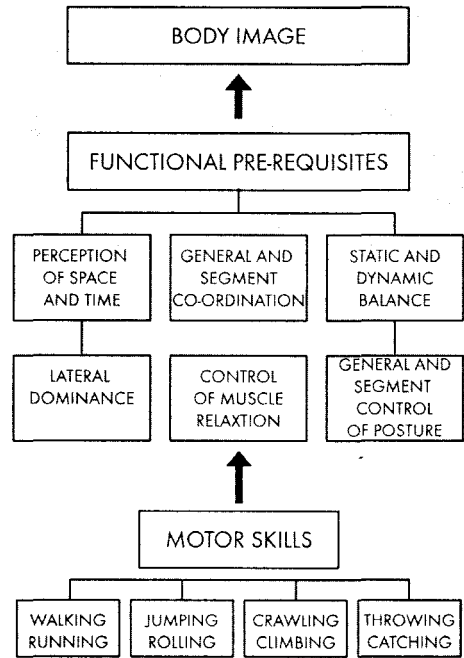


Fig. 4.

control of posture, he may find difficult to learn writing or he may write using too little or too big letters (space), he may write too fast or too slow (time), he may not control the pen (control of muscle), he may have an incorrect posture, he may not use the dominant hand (lateral dominance) and he may not observe a correct static balance sitting. This child may have problems as diswriting and disorthography (fig. 5). That is available for other subjects too as geometry, drawing, and rhythm.

In Education there is a branch of psychokinetics called interdisciplinary psychokinetics which helps children from 3 to 11, developing their psychokinetics skills and allowing them a correct learning of other subjects. But what is the relationship between psychokinetic age and chronological age? One can use different tests to define it. To check the different functional pre-requisites there are these tests:

- Ozerestski Guilmann for the general dynamic co-ordination
- Ozerestski Guilmann for the static balance
- Harris test for the lateral dominance
- Piaget-Head for body space orienting

To check the structural pre-requisites the available tests are:

- Test of articulation motion
- Test of speed strength on legs
- Test of speed in acceleration

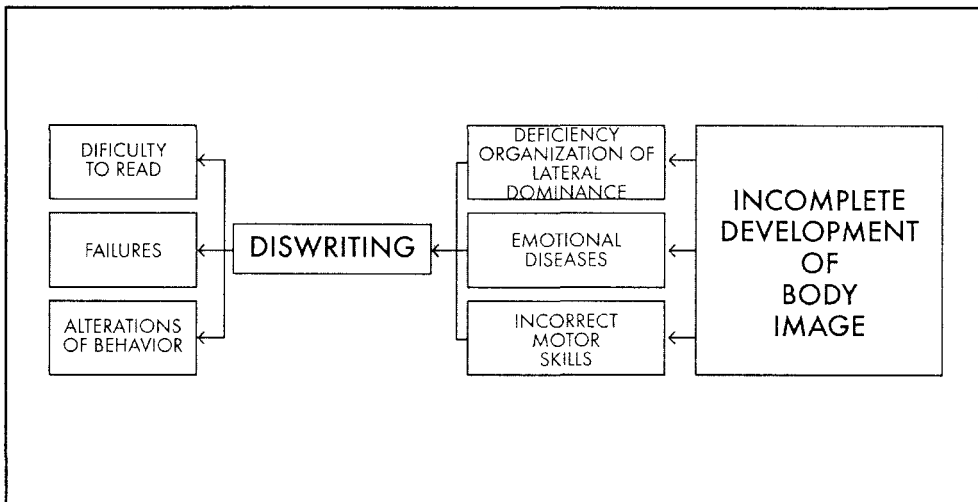


Fig. 5.

These tests are only a part of the various available tests. Since psychokinetic age usually does not coincide with chronological age, it is necessary to make a list of the lacking prerequisites or the ones in excess. There are two didactical methods:

1. Recovering the deficiencies
2. Exploiting the achieved psychokinetic skills suitable for an eldest age.

According to my experience, the second method increases the psychological motivations in children. With a child of the age of 8, looking the age of 5 in general co-ordination, but a static balance of a child of 10, one can recover the co-ordination (deficiency) through activities focused on balancing (positive aspect); that happens because of the interference and influence between the pre-requisites.

Therefore when the child increases his balance ability, he also improves his co-ordination, his space-time perception, etc. because of the psychokinetic inter-function; and moreover he increases his motivation in his successful results (psychological aspect) and his general self-evaluation (fig. 6).

Considering the concept of body image from a practical point of view, my definition of the body image is :

“an inter-functional process between the functional and structural pre-requisites and the functional pre-requisites among themselves” (Cappellini, 1992).

In addition to these structural and psychopedagogic features, psychokinetics allow a correct approach to sports activities before the age of 12.

In my long experience with children playing tennis, I often found that they had been subjected to premature and heavy training activities at the age of 7/8, improving technical skills only through mechanical movements but they really didn't internally achieve them.

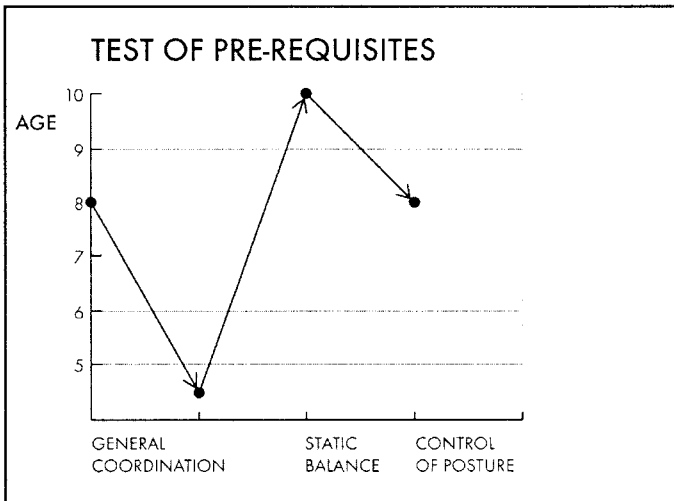


Fig. 6.

Trainers often do not respect the correct development of children body being concentrating on physical performances. Psychokinetics do not agree with this practice. Psychokinetics first defines the anthropometrical, psychokinetic and chronological growth of children, than the psycho-physical development and eventually it allows sports activities suitable to the harmonic body image development of the children. This is available until the age of 11. After that age some technical gestures may be introduced in children able to bear a complete training. For all these aspects the following statements are available:

1. Heavy premature training allows good performances only in a first time but in a long term programme, it often happens that children drop out of sport.
2. Premature training exploits a lot of motor skills but some others are neglected.
3. Children do not consider sport as a game as it should be, but as a stressful activity.

Psychokinetics promotes a psycho-physical development of children in their whole respecting their growth phases and their needs. Psychokinetics considers children as they really are: children not adults.

Finally the following, experiences about psychokinetics has been developed:

- Longitudinal experiments for a period of 5 years on a sample of one hundred and twenty (120) children of elementary schools supported by Sport Medicine Institute - University of Siena.
- Experiments in a kindergarten with children of the age of 3/6 supported by Italian Ministry of Education
- Experiments in kindergarten with children of the age of 1/3 supported by the Local Administration of Pistoia and Physical Education Institute - University of Florence.

3. CONCLUSIONS

Psychokinetics, drawing a final conclusion, concerns a lot of topics aiming at children psychophysical development and at educational features available for the different level of schools, handicap and sport induction. Through the before mentioned experiences it was possible to achieve significant results with regard to the improvement of cognitive and motion learning, a better confidence in expressive activities and correct consideration of sport as game and stimulating task.

In conclusion one can define psychokinetics as a branch of knowledge which has already achieved relevant results in topics before mentioned and which can offer challenging possibility of being developed.

POVZETEK:

Psihokinetična teorija predstavlja človeško bitje kot celoto telesa in razuma. Človeško osebnost deli na štiri področja: telesno, razumsko, čustveno in socialno. Vsa štiri področja lahko negativno ali pozitivno vplivajo na osebni razvoj. Temelj psihokinetične vede je človeška podoba, ki ni samo biološka, ampak tudi socialna. Človekov pravilni funkcionalni in strukturni razvoj je povezan s pridobitvami zaznave prostora, časa, koordinacije ecc. Psihokinetična starost navadno ne sovпада s kronološko, lahko pa pomanjkanje psihokinetičnih predispozicij nadoknadimo (pr. telesna aktivnost).

Psihokinetika meni, da morajo trenerji stopnjo intenzivnosti treninga prilagoditi potrebam otrokove stopnje rasti in razvoja.

REFERENCES:

ANGELERGUÉS, R. 1975: *Reflexions critiques sur la notion de schema corporel*, in *psychologie de la connaissance de soi*, P.U.F., Paris.

BONNIER, P. 1904: *La vertige*, Ed. Masson e C.M., Paris.

CAPPELLINI, A. C. 1992: *Una definizione didattica dello schema corporeo*. Edizioni Nicola Milano, Bologna.

HEAD, H. & G. HOLMES 1911: *Sensory disturbances from cerebral lesions*. Brain, London.

LE BOULCH, J. 1979: *Educare con il movimento*. Roma, Armando.

PICK, F. 1908: *Über eine eigenartige Lahmungsform bei Hysterie*. *Revue Neurologique*.

SALVINI, A. & TARANTINI, F. 1989: *Mente ed azione motoria*. Edizioni Borla, Roma.

SCHILDER, P. 1950: *The image and appearance of the human body*. International Universities Press, New York.

VAYER, P. 1974: *L'attività psicomotoria nell'età scolare*. Ed. Armando, Roma.

WALLON, H. 1963: *Comment se developpe chez l'enfant la notion du corps propre*, in "Psychol.", 1931, ristampato in "Enfance", Paris.

PSYCHOGENESIS OF CULTURAL HEROES (AND WHAT DOES

MIKHAIL BAKHTIN'S THEORY HAVE TO DO WITH IT?)

PSIHOGENEZA KULTURNIH JUNAKOV (IN KAJ IMA PRI TEM TEORIJA MIHAILA BAKHTINA?)

MIHA JAVORNIK

FILOZOFSKA FAKULTETA, AŠKERČEVA 2, LJUBLJANA

In the crisis and flood of all kinds of theories, when everything is possible and at the same time all this is nothing but the truth, so that at the end one knows nothing, an interdisciplinary approach is necessary for disciplining intellect. Pluralism and heteroglossia (two so typically Bakhtinian concepts) are becoming some kind of trendy ideology, accepting everything — indiscriminately, no matter whether the other's discourse is a lie or the truth. Despite that, in discourse one can sense the need to search for one's own truth, even if everything is possible.

The present-day generation, which was after the reckoning with totalitarian systems (ideological as well as technological ones) thrown into the limitless space where anything is possible, is starting to experience the fear of void after the initial **carnavalesque** feeling of freedom; after the initial euphoria, it can only find enough strength that in its attempts of contemplation it repeats and transforms/interprets the previously existing patterns of thinking.

The present rumination ought to be understood primarily as a search for one's self (one's own Ego) among endless possibilities and repetitions. To achieve that, it is necessary to strive to be as historical (objective) as possible and to take into consideration the phases in the evolution of culture, the heir of which is also the present-day generation.

In discussing historicism the author follows the idea in which history is considered an uninterrupted stream of **replacements** of (in particular eras) old — canonized forms of thought with new — uncanonized ones.¹ The replacement is also a phenomenon noticed in various scholarly disciplines, often representing the main methodology used to explain the object of the scientific research. If this is true, a hypothesis can be made that at a certain stage of treatment one scholarly discipline is replaced by another, which means the transition to the interdisciplinary approach, leading from history to literature and culture, from logic to psychoanalysis. This interdisciplinary approach is called psycho-historical treat-

¹ The basis for the discussion of this topic is D. Chizhevsky's theory, i.e., the place where he refers to the phenomenon of the sine curve in culture: a cultural period develops in the opposition with the previous one. The aforementioned replacements, which can be observed from the Renaissance to Postsymbolism, are based on the so called aesthetic identity and/or contrariness — cf. also the typology of culture developed by Y. Lotman. Hence, similarities can be found between Classicism and Realism or Romanticism and Symbolism, but there are clear contrasts between Romanticism and Realism. A certain cultural period replaces the tradition in two ways: it is the opposition towards the previous one and the apology of the antepenultimate cultural system.

ment of culture; the main material for understanding its rules is provided by literature or, rather, the image of man in it.²

In a search for one's own Ego the main point of interest is the logic of replacements in the evolution of thought, which in the present time indicates its continuity (historicalness), while the character of replacement indicates the repetitiveness of cultural psychotypes — similar images of man in various cultural-historical periods. The investigation will look at psychotypical replacements between the late phase of historic avant-garde and the emergence of Ego in computer/Internet communication, which is becoming a subject of ever more thorough psychoanalytic, sociological, and culturological studies. There is a connection between the two of them.

The study consists of two parts. In the first part only those characteristics of the culture of late avant-garde are discussed which with different value resurface in the era of computer interaction. To be understandable in the modern context, they are presented in a concise manner, considering M. Bakhtin's theory, which is a bridge to understanding of interactive forms of computer communication. The second part explains the characteristics of modern forms of communication in connection with the traditional patterns of thinking while treating them as a (new — uncanonized) phase in repetition or, rather, replacement of cultural psychotypes.

I.

The discussion of the so-called late phase of avant-garde will be limited to the second half of the 1920's in the Russian culture, marked by the literature of the Oberiutes.³ The selection of this period is not coincidental, particularly when referring to Bakhtin's understanding of culture. There are two reasons for this reference: This is the time when Bakhtin wrote his most important work (*The Problems of Dostoevsky's Creativity*); he was familiar with the Oberiutes' work, he thought highly of it, and it would be logical to conclude that their literature had an influence on Bakhtin's conception of the discourse.⁴

2 In understanding of this interdisciplinarity the author refers to Igor Smirnov's discussion of psycho-historical method in understanding culture (Игорь Смирнов, *Психодиахронология*. Москва 1994 : if not specifically noted, all further quotes are from this work). In his book Smirnov developed a meta-language with terminological harmony between psychoanalysis, logic, and historical poetics of culture. In his treatment he finds parallels between human psychological development and cultural phenomena, i.e., he treats Romanticism in the context of castration complex, he connects Realism to Oedipus complex, he sees a manifestation of the hysterical psychotype in Symbolism, etc.

3 Oberiu (Общество реального искусства) is the name for a group of artists which was formed as a new direction in the so called left revolutionary art in Leningrad. The most prominent Oberiutes include Nikolai Oleynikov, Nikolai Zablocky, Konstantin Vaginov, Daniil Hanns, Aleksandr Vvedensky. The Oberiutes defend the idea that the actual meaning of objects is created only in the actual (often coincidental) co-placement. Hence, the reality of the world surfaces by itself in pure forms which at a given moment (context) build its image. Only a concrete object, rid of all literary and every-day mundane shell, placed in the real (concrete) relationship with another object, is worthy of the meaning called art. The understanding of the concrete meaning of objects (coincidentally placed together) will bring renaissance to the world and will "clean the linguistic junk of the *fools* who went astray in the swamp of emotions and feelings from it." Objects — as viewed by Oberiutes — only seem unlogical and unreal, because we learned to accept them in a standard way, but this habit shows nothing but literary gilding, which is a camouflage for the realistic meaning of an object.

4 In his apology of the Renaissance carnival Bakhtin clearly came close to the ideal conception of the Oberiutes by emphasizing the special importance of the fight with intellect and by considering the folk holidays, in which the central role belongs to a fool, a lunatic (as fighters against everything rational), the realization of the idea of absolute freedom. In the works by the Oberiutes, particularly in Vaginov's prose, which Bakhtin was particularly enthusiastic about, one can also notice a complete negation of rationality, and in this negation even the rationality in itself becomes foolish. In the remainder of this article other parallels will be pointed out. (Cf. also Smirnov, 302.)

In his discussion of the evolution of cultural psychotypes I. Smirnov treats the Russian avant-garde in the context of sado-masochistic psycho-structure, and the ideal-artistic expression of the Oberiutes as a manifestation of a so-called introverted masochism.⁵ In a schematic outline of a characteristic one should try to understand how a psychotype is formed and should treat it within the relationship an individual (*Ego*) vs. the outside world (the *Other*) for this is the central relationship when investigating the image of man in the history of culture.

The basic and the most noticeable characteristic of introverted masochism is certainly the feeling that the individual (*Ego*) is unable to establish a contact with the outside world or, rather, with the *Other*. This results in a feeling of suffering, manifested in two phases: (a) in a dialogue with the *Other* (the outside world) a masochist sees only himself and his desire, which he cannot socialize in any way; (b) the reoccurring feeling of inability leads the *Ego* into a gradual depersonalization or, rather, into abolishment of the self as a subject.

The typical feature of introverted masochism is therefore the reoccurring self-sufficiency in suffering, which, in fact, indicates a self-negation, irrelevance of reflection, since it is entirely formal. A similar process of auto-destruction to the one in introverted masochist can be observed in the evolution of the Russian avant-garde. Let us again draw a connection between this evolution and the relationship *Ego* (an individual) vs. the *Other* (the outside world) and take a look of how the Oberiutes reflected the programmatic principles of the Futurism.

Futurism, unlike Symbolism,⁶ sets as its programmatic goal to relinquish all forms of transcendence. By declaratively requesting that each phenomenon and each word be taken as a thing in itself (сдoвo как таковое, сдoвo - вещь), it basically denies the existence of the *Other* (the outside world). The idea of immanence, which takes into account only the meaning of internal (inter-semiotic and textual) links, denying any kind of extra-textual relationship, results in a contradiction with the fact that even the simplest process in the creation of text requires from the author an image of something else. To solve the created controversy, Futurism attempts to divest everything not existing as an immanent principle of markers or a text, of any meaning (here is the origin of *zaum!*) and requires that everything extra-textual be understood as an expression of the text.

Oberiu as the late phase of avant-garde follows the programmatic principles of Futurism, internalizing its experience. In harmony with the avant-garde idea of dehierarchization of all traditional aesthetic and social values its followers reflect the futuristic idea of immanence of text, which is supposed to be without any previously determined system. Following these ideas, the Oberiutes destroy and dehierarchize the value and the meaning of futuristic самоценного (самобцтогo) слoвa while also relativizing the meaning or, rather, the function of the bearers of immanent information — be it literary characters (heroes) or the author himself. Significant is the Oberiutes' image of the *author as a man-hunter*.⁷ The author captures people from the world of reality, he fetters them in his creation

⁵ Smirnov pays special attention to the Mayakovsky's literature, which he treats as a spiritual model to which various manifestations of the historic avant-garde are related.

⁶ The relationship Symbolism vs. Futurism confirms the idea of the aesthetics of opposites. Futurism as the central manifestation of the avant-garde replaces the previous period by negating the expression and the ideal conception of Symbolism.

⁷ Cf. *Труды и дни Сбцтоного* by Konstantin Vaginov.

until he becomes its captive as well, since for lack of any system he cannot establish any contact with it or with himself.

The negation of any stability and predictability leads to self-negation of the author as the absolute creator of the text (the author becomes its captive!), which indicates his gradual dematerialization or, rather, self-cancellation. The outside world (or the world of the *Other*) seems to be the world of endless possibilities, but no cause-effect principles apply to it.⁸ These cannot even be predicted, since no system exists. This world in fact creates an illusion of absolute freedom, where the upside-down rules of the so-called real world apply, i.e., this is a kind of carnival as an anti-world, revealing the apology of the logic of absurd.

In discovering the evolution as experienced by the late avant-garde (the Oberiuites), one comes across two ideas of key importance for M. Bakhtin's theory. The first one is about the role and meaning of carnival in the folk culture of laughter or, rather, carnivalization in literature as a characteristic of the *new* and *progressive* in it, the second one is about the so-called heteroglossia, which is a sign of democratic processes in the culture and society. Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, which means taking into consideration the *Other's* discourse, basically speaks of demolition of authoritarian and monologic word, of a word with unambiguous meaning. In this process one can see a clear reference to the Oberiuites' feeling of relativization and disappearance of author's word as such. It is becoming more and more clear that in his book *The Problems of Dostoevsky's Creativity* Bakhtin considers exactly the (introverted) masochistic psychotypical relationship *Ego* (individual) vs. the *Other* (the outside world), typical of the late phase of avant-garde, indicating the abolishment of the author as an absolute entity.⁹

Bakhtin's idea of carnivalization or, rather, his apology of the folk culture of laughter contains also the idea of negation of rationality (this is the origin of the apotheosis of a fool!), in which one can see a variant of the Oberiuites' programmatic negation of everything rational and logical. Folk holidays, which according to Bakhtin represent a discreditation of everything determinant and systematic, embody the idea of absolute freedom, which does not comply to any laws set forth in advance. A person cannot live this freedom until he accepts absurdity as something entirely possible: he accepts death as the beginning of new birth, replaces the bottom part of the body with the upper part — he complies with the rules of the anti-world or, rather, he comes to realization of its bi-worldness (двумирность).

Carnival, which is according to Bakhtin the realization of complete freedom, essentially means the apology of the absurd. It is not surprising that in the intertwining of the world and anti-world one can notice the degradation of authorship and individuality as an ultimate self-confident entity. This intertwining essentially means the defeat of the intellect and it is not surprising that in Bakhtin's understanding of the folk culture of laughter as well as in the Oberiuites' literature the image of a fool has a special value.

In the era of (self-)abolishment of avant-garde, the apotheosis of a fool should again be linked with the question about the meaning and/or value of a marker. In reviewing futuristic-avant-garde notions of a marker, in which things supposedly have a meaning on

⁸ Cf. for instance the text *Елизавета Бам* by D. Harms.

⁹ Following Smirnov, it is possible to say that, according to Bakhtin, it is precisely the speaker's word that by definition contains the idea about the negation of one's own individuality. This self-denial can be seen in the fact that the author is willing to de-authorize his individuality, so that he can justify *alien discourse* (the Other one's discourse).

their own, the Oberiuites come to the conclusion that a marker directs us to *Nil*: the world is non-referential. In the works by Harms, Vvedensky, Oleynikov the world exists only if it is not substituted for by any marker (therefore, *nil!*).

In examining the psychotypical characteristic of the aforementioned feeling of *nil* in the Oberiuites, one can notice characteristics of introverted masochistic reflection. In spite of persistent attempts of (auto-)reflection, it turns out again and again that it is pointless, since it is only an expression of its own incapability, its own void. It is understandable that in the Oberiuites' work the standard categories or, rather, expected markers shaping the world are disappearing.

The resulting process of desemantization takes place in co-positioning of opposing categories (e.g., in Harms' animate vs. inanimate).¹⁰ Non-differentiating between the existing and the new enables the Oberiuites to assign a different/opposite value from the expected meaning to any event. The following thought of Vvedensky speaks volumes about this: For everything to be understandable, it is necessary to begin living in the **opposite** manner. This brings us back to Bakhtin's theory and to the central idea about the replacement of processes in culture. In Vvedensky's thoughts one can again find similarities with Bakhtin's understanding of carnivalization. The idea of the carnival, too, is based on the idea of the opposite and unexpected, in which **replacements** constantly take place. The carnival is hence demonstrated (according to Bakhtin) as constant dynamics of the unity of diametrical opposites. In this dynamics a marker never has one and only meaning or value, it is relative, just like markers are considered non-differentiated by the Oberiuites.

The otherwise considerable similarities between Bakhtin's conception of grotesque attitude towards the world and the Oberiuites' reflection disappear when one considers the understanding of these co-positioning and replacements on the value plane. If Bakhtin understands this bipolarity, bi-worldness as a constant dynamism in replacement of value categories with a special consideration to the social context, the Oberiuites, on the other hand, in rationalizing this process, emphasize the absurdity of any **replacement**. This leads the Oberiuites to the idea of incorporeity, to the idea of *void reality* and to the apotheosis of *Nil*.¹¹ Unlike the Oberiuites', Bakhtin accepts variability and changeability of the marker value as an organizing principle of the evolution; it is interesting that this results in apotheotic corporeity (favoring a grotesque conception of the body!).¹²

II.

By extracting the main points from the above thoughts one can recognize the characteristics of the present time — the world of fogginess, elusive subject, and lost *Ego*. This is a world composed of illusions, where every image can be the truth, but at the same time every truth can be *Nil*. Who is the author, who is an individual in the time of absolute freedom, where

¹⁰ The category of animacy in the Oberiuites increases in importance the lower the degree of rationality in it. The aforementioned relationship between animate/inanimate and the intellect is one of the Oberiuites' central topics, e.g., in the poetry by Oleynikov, Zabolocky, Harms, etc.

¹¹ Cf. Минин и Пожарский by Vvedensky.

¹² This refers to Bakhtin's work from the 1930's *Творчество Франсуа Рабле*, in which he developed the idea about carnivalization in detail and paid a special attention to Rabelais' apology of everything physiological-profane.

everything is possible, and where are the recognizable characteristics of absurdity in the constant exchange of the opposing value meanings?

The ideas derived from comparing the Oberiuites' principles and Bakhtin's theory are also of fundamental importance in the era characterized by computer technology. This refers mainly to the forms of Internet interaction, in which there one can notice phenomena, which crucially marked the mentality in the late phase of avant-garde.

To make the parallels as clear as possible, it is, again, necessary to ask the question about the characteristics of the relationship *Ego* (individual): the *Other* (the outside world). This relationship basically consists of two levels: (1) communication is with a computer; (2) communication is with some other person by means of computer.

(1) At first glance the first level of communication seems less important than the second one, but modern computer interactive artistic installations speak for its growing importance. When talking about a communication with a computer, most often refers to various kinds of software, which represent support in using individual tools. These are the so-called support systems or connecting systems, which do not yet make real interactivity possible all by themselves. This is help offered by the supporter (wizard) in case the user is not able to carry out the expected operation. With advances in the technology the forms of this assistance are becoming more and more perfected. Presently we are talking about personalized computer characters, which remember the user's mistakes, they learn from them, and they use the experience they have received in this communication in similar interactive situations, according to their own judgment.¹³ A special kind of relationship between the computer's user and the computer is created, in which the computer character is becoming a more and more independent and active supporter who is able to suggest the most efficient way for the user to reach the desired goal.¹⁴

(2) When talking about methods of interactive communication, where the computer is the mediator between two (or more) real persons, one refers to the following three protocols: IRC (Internet Relay Chat), MUD (Multi User Domains), and the recently ever more popular VRML technology (Virtual Reality Markup Language). All these communication protocols have one thing in common: the user who wants to establish Internet communication is sitting in front of an empty screen and, by connecting to one of the aforementioned protocols, he basically knows nothing about the reality, characteristics and value system of other participants of the communication. In front of him there is *Nil*, since the markers (usually pseudonyms, displayed on the screen as the only characteristic of other participants) on their own do not tell anything about the other participant as a real being in a real time and space on the other side the Net. Only in the process of communication the user creates the image of the *Other* one.

(2a) The simplest method of interaction is IRC — the so-called Internet chat. The user logs on a channel and then decides whether he will chat in the window dedicated to the com-

¹³ Modern forms of computer art are based on this principle as well. Cf. an example of interactive system called Madala. This is an "interactive video system which enables the user to operate graphic and musical as well as robotic computer functions at a distance without touching the screen or any peripheral./.../ In this system, your movements are recorded by an overhead camera and reported via a computer as a digital image appearing on screen. You can turn your image into a giant cursor and discover that you have just become one big mouse able to command and control whatever happens on the screen." (De Kerckhove, *Connected Intelligence*. Toronto 1997, 65, 66)

¹⁴ Models of the connecting systems mentioned above can be looked up at www.medialab.com by anybody with the access to the World Wide Web.

munication between all the participants or he will rather choose individual conversation in a special window with someone from among the pseudonyms displayed on the channel.

The main characteristic of IRC interaction is written expression (typing in the window), which follows the rules of spoken discourse. Thoughts or, rather, words in the window flow as a direct, immediate reply to the previously uttered (but, in fact, written) statement. The expression follows the code of spoken language, since the communication participant has only a moment more to react to the written statement than he has in oral communication. This is basically a hybrid form between spoken and written communication, which from the traditional point of view means a novelty in communication.

(2b) MUDs introduce a category of space in communication, since the interaction (albeit written) takes place in a particular room (dungeon),¹⁵ which the participant must get familiar with and discover the role of individual pseudonyms in it. Typically, every participant has an imaginary name, which changes according to the concept of the game, if he is able to search certain rooms and hence, to discover the rules of virtual world. MUDs as a game have a particular mental concept set forth in advance and they put the participants in front of new challenges over and over again. The participant can solve them only in (verbal) cooperation with other imaginary characters who have already acquired certain virtual social roles.

(2c) The third option (VRML) — in its point of departure similar to MUD — is technologically most complicated, as it introduces into the communication the elements of graphics and speech. The participant chooses between the graphic images (called avatar),¹⁶ which can be moved around the screen, he meets other imaginary images and talks to them over the microphone.

When examining the characteristics of computer interaction in connection with the relationship *Ego* : the *Other*, one finds out that the categories involved are characteristics of the so-called late avant-garde.

The most important finding is that the individual who participates in any of the aforementioned interactive phenomena, deals with *Nil*, as in the beginning of the communication he could not possibly have any idea what the individual symbols on the screen mean, who the person introducing him-/herself with a certain pseudonym or, rather, hiding under the digital mask, is. Only in the process of communication the individuality of each participant is being built. But it needs to be emphasized that this individual is being built only in a discourse. Under no circumstances does this involve the physical presence of the speaker — it can only involve the imaginary image (avatar). Who is then the subject of communication, how is the relationship toward the *Other* built?

If the **Oberiuite** reflection bore the idea that the world cannot be replaced by any symbol, consequently leading to *Nil*, to the loss of *Ego*, to the idea of incorporeity, one deals with these categories in computer/Internet communication by definition right from the

15 This is a type of maze — a multi-level game in which the participant, following a previously set up scenario, but in interaction with other players, must solve certain challenges. The more puzzles he solves, the more power he gets, which enables him to participate in setting the rules. In these games usually a virtual community is created, with strictly set virtual social roles that an individual acquires by successfully solving the challenges.

16 The concept of avatar comes from Hinduism and it means the embodiment of god Shiva. The god Shiva was presented to a certain nation in the form of less abstract deities, avatars. In the case of VRML interaction the concept of avatar should be understood as a process leading to the embodiment (sic) of the abstract image of the participant in communication.

beginning. Does this indicate a communication process, which is by its psychotypical characteristics the opposite of the introverted masochism? Is Internet interaction an attempt to form new (auto)reflection? Is this a new, only recently unknown way of building one's own identity? What is therefore the psychotypical characteristic of Internet communication?

Virtual reality involves a similar world outlook as outlined in the Oberiuites' literature; a void, an unclear image of characters with respect to their ideal and value systems, ambivalent categories (particularly temporal-spatial coordinates), which are arranged in no previously determined logical order. Despite that, both cases involve establishing value categories. While the Oberiuites (and the literature of absurdity in general) display systematic devaluation of every kind of rational and determining words-markers, Internet interaction attempts to establish some kind of determinism.

Both cases involve a **carnivalization process**, in which the expected value relations between the signified and the signifier are becoming lost. However, there is a major difference between the two of them. While the poetics of the Oberiuites, as a rule, involves rationalization of the process that means the loss of collective memory about traditional relationships, electronic communication switches the **sign**: the participant is building the image of the interlocutor as a subject based on successive exchange of markers-words. It needs to be noted that this spoken-written communication involves spatial dislocation between the interlocutors, which prohibits any real physical contact. This fact also prevents us from placing the interlocutor in an actual social context. Since Internet communication does not allow any other contextual connections besides the relationship established by the signifiers on the screen, it is possible to speak of a relative void. The markers on the screen are semantically unburdened in comparison with every-day speech, which is determined by social environment. As if the awareness of collective images and values were agitated or, rather, formed anew. These ideas about one's own identity, which are created as a product of various Internet interactions, are most often in opposition with standard images — therefore, this is a carnivalization process, which represents a new possibility for liberation of one's own *Ego*. Is this a new manifestation of carnivalization in culture, which agitates the canonized ideas about the relationship of an individual vs. the outside world?

It is becoming ever more evident that Internet interaction also involves heteroglossia. Bakhtin's conception of heteroglossia was discussed in connection with the Oberiuites' felling about destruction of *Ego* (the author). While in the era of the Oberiuites heteroglossia means the dissolution of a monolithic (authoritarian, and at the same time clear-cut) statement, which leads to the apology of *Nil*, Internet interaction bears the signs of the constructive period. Only in the selection of various digital masks and in the intertwining of various discourses the participant is building a subject from a complete *Nil*. Although in his search for identity the individual is determined either by his writing (IRC) or by the characteristics of his own speech (VRML), in neither case is he recognized as a member of a real social environment. This fact puts an individual (*Ego*) in a completely different position, since it allows him to realize his desire in a virtual way and, hence, to bypass the majority of prohibitions set forth by the real social norm or the *Ego* him-/herself in the social environment to which s/he belongs.

Internet includes the idea of heteroglossia by virtue of the organization of its system. The simulation of *Ego* in heteromorphic body shapes, offered by VRML technology, also allows a simultaneous use of several digital masks. This multiplicity realizes the idea of heteroglossia in practice, since it allows constant exchanges or changes of communicative situations. The user of the Net from the world of countless possibilities (which is, from

a realistic point of view, *Nil*), chooses the type of communication which at a given moment brings him closest to the realization of his desire. Therefore, the individual's communication taking place in the virtual world is much more **real** than the communication in social reality.

This carnivalizing ambivalence, this intertwining of virtual and real — symptomatically **culminates** in the image, a picture of a body, that, as a logical consequence of communication, the participant builds about the *Other*. This process needs to be understood as a careful search around the nil (the Net), whether the proposed picture taking shape in the imagination will experience a reflection, which will secure the possibility of one's own subjectivity. In this search for similarity with one's own imagination (which strengthens faith in one's own vision of truth) the previously absurd nil is now offering the possibility of the search for one's own identity.¹⁷

The Net as a fundamental *Nil* offers an illusion of everything and an individual chooses an image and a role in it, which represents a therapeutic opportunity for a person to create his/her own identity in a real world. A digital mask in the Net offers an ideal opportunity for establishing virtual socialization, since it provides *Ego* with a warrant, which exactly for the safety that it offers, eases the steps towards the approval, appropriateness, and possibility of one's own reflection in actual reality. It is becoming clear that Internet interaction replaces previously known forms of communication, which build values mainly in the relationship towards national identity, and builds interaction based on the psychological characteristics of the participants.¹⁸

The aforementioned characteristics indicate a psychotypical evolutionary phase closely related to the introverted masochism of the late avant-garde. However, these characteristics have a different value in Internet interaction, i.e., one can observe the switch of diametrical opposites, which was, considering Bakhtin's conception of carnivalization, characterized above as a constant feature of the evolution of culture.

If the loss of one's own *Ego*, identity, and corporeity — with heteroglossia and carnivalization characterizing the process of subject's (author's) destruction — are typical of the psycho-logic of the introverted masochism, their values are switched in Internet communication. This communication is characterized from the very beginning by a non-defined (desolate, hollowed-out) *Ego*, trying to constitute itself with respect to the *Other* (the outside world) in a new way. Searching for his new *Ego*, the participant of Internet interaction is experimenting, i.e., under the cover of digital masks, characterized by various discours-

¹⁷ Most participants in the cybernetic communication belong to the younger generation. The reason for that is most likely in the fact that this generation has not found its place in real — social environment, which, by connecting people who think in a similar way (generation- and ideal-wise), tests the appropriateness and acceptability of its world view, without regard to their national-cultural affiliation. The Net has a particularly important role in the social groups that are setting themselves free of the axiomatic social patterns of behavior, still strongly present in their conscience (mainly due to totalitarian systems), and within these transitional societies to those marginal cultural groups who view themselves outside, i.e., on the edge, of society. The cybernetic communication offers greater affirmation of their own truth and helps them realize their desires in the reality. As a typical example of these marginal groups, literature most often mentions the homosexual population. In search for and establishment of this group's own *Ego*, the forms of Internet interaction represent an extremely important link in the constitution of its identity. In chatting, where its members are not required to reveal their physical identity, they can freely test their desires and ideas.

¹⁸ The question of going beyond the national viewpoint is not as one-sided as it might seem at first. It should be specially noted that Internet interaction favors and additionally establishes English as, if not the only, then certainly the main language of supra-national communication.

es, he is building the image of himself. In this process the individual characteristics are re-encoded with respect to the general, which is gradually built in the process of communication, in the *cross-section* of individual statements. This way a new, psychologically motivated value system is gradually built through the common interaction. In the created heteroglossia, that is made possible by the Net, a different subject is being built. This difference emerges from the interaction which is narcissistic by its nature, since, based on the similarity/difference with the *Other*, the participant is enforcing mainly the awareness of the meaning or value of his own image. Therefore, could Internet interaction be considered a **mirror or narcissistic psychotypical phase** in the evolution of culture?

The psychotypical characteristic of the subject in Internet communication at the same time means the establishment of dual or multi-layered image of the subject. In creating the virtual image of the *Other*, conditioned by the expectations and the image of the *Ego* itself, a **symbiosis** is created between the virtual and the actual. It is common for the participant to begin adopting the virtual image he built in communication — as the actual reality, i.e., as the realization of his desire.¹⁹ Does the elimination of the dividing line between the virtual and the actual reality, this symbiosis, mean the manifestation of the **schizophrenic psychotype**?

It is interesting that, according to Smirnov, both psychotypical manifestations under discussion are the basic characteristics constituting the typology of Postmodernism. Smirnov sees the precursor of Postmodernism precisely in Bakhtin's conception of carnivalization, which he understands as an expression of the other (unusual) manifestation of man. This manifestation frees him of self-centeredness, since he leaves his body to the so-called *collective body*.²⁰ This process, which should be understood as a liberation of the self from the standard psycho- and socio- clichés, does not involve only one, homogenous historical time, since a person in his/her hetero-morphic nature lives in several worlds and several chronotopi. The logic of communication does not follow the rules of the linear, cause-and-effect sequence. Rather, it is possible to talk about simultaneous existence and intertwining of several individual histories, in which the image (like in Internet interaction) is de-centralized and foggy because of the simultaneous existence of various communication strings.

Because of the simultaneous multi-level and heteromorphic reflection of *Ego*, established and provided by the Internet, it shows the psychotypical characteristic of a symbiotic. Symbiosis is characteristic of Postmodernism in general. In Smirnov's opinion, Postmodernism is, despite its highly developed self-reflection, basically partial, noticeable

¹⁹ These two statements by the participants of virtual interaction are symptomatic: "I was on the game talking to people about my problems endlessly... I find it a lot easier to talk to people on the game about them because they're not there. I mean, they are there but they're not there. I mean, you could sit there and you could tell them about your problems and you don't have to worry about running into them on the street the next day." (Turkle, 198) "The more I do it, the more I feel I need to do it. Every couple of days I'd notice, it's like, 'Gee, in the last two days, I've been on this MUD for the total of probably over twenty-eight hours.'... I mean I'd be on the MUD until I fell asleep at the terminal practically, and then go to sleep, and then I'd wake up and I'd do it again." (Turkle, *ibid.*) Sh. Turkle claims that MUDs work as mediators for the realization of fantasy, which the participant projects into the virtual world: "Stewart's MUD serves as a medium for the projection of fantasy, a kind of Rorschach. But it is more than Rorschach, because it enters into his everyday life. Beyond expanding his social world, MUDs have brought Stewart the only romance and intimacy he has ever known." (Sherry Turkle, *Life on the Screen*. Simon & Schuster 1995, 194)

²⁰ При этом карнавальность-чужовидность выступает для М. М. Бахтина как второе бытие субъекта, освобождающегося от замкнутости на себе и уступающего свое тело "коллективному телу" /.../ "Я" дуалистично: оно самоощущественно, с одной стороны, а с другой—оноавновелико всему нечеловеческому. /.../ Поэтому "Я" находит в себе и вокруг себя **Другое субъектного**, которое и есть чудовищное (Smirnov, 333).

as a narcissistic or schizoid activity of the spirit. Also, Smirnov continues, it is typical of Postmodernism that the aforementioned activities complement each other, that they are, in fact, symbiotic, but in their conviction about the true nature of their (partial) reflection they do not recognize in each other their organic connection.²¹

Similarly, Internet interaction features the symbiosis based in narcissoid psychotype and by adding value to virtual communication it is intertwined with the characteristics of schizoidness. It is obvious that in Internet communication the psychocharacter of Postmodernism is being materialized.

The widespread and growing popularity of Internet communication, which is moving into the private sphere,²² means living *Postmodernism* in every-day life, which also indicates the so-called familiarization of postmodern theory, about a theory moving into real life. As if Internet interaction materialized the theoretical findings about the replacement of the cultural psychotype in the actual reality and indicated the emerging cultural phase. By all indicators, the previous relationships are going to be re-evaluated in it and meta-literature about Internet communication will gratefully refer to the avant-garde understanding of the subject and the world, which was marked with a similar feeling of *Nil* as it is typical of the Internet. One can only guess whether this means the value switch in understanding the ever vital relationship *Ego* (individual) vs. the *Other* (the outside world). It can only be assumed that in the given situation Internet interaction is a sign of the constructive phase in building the subject as opposed to the late phase of avant-garde, in which heteroglossia and carnivalization were symptoms of a demolished identity. At the present time nobody can know how the subject which will emerge as a cross-section of various virtual-realistic reflections, is going to be evaluated.

At the conclusion of this paper some observations about human psychological development should be added. Psychological theories (Smirnov's theory being one of them) claim that the first developmental stage in a child's auto-reflection is born in narcissism and schizoidness. Only the next phase brings the possibility for the synthesis of the two. In this — symbiotic — phase the connection with the physiological (=body) specifics of the human being only begins to emerge (Smirnov, 348). Are we really witnessing the first developmental stages in Internet interaction, which indicate a new, emergent manifestation of the *individuum*?

POVZETEK:

Temeljno izhodišče mojega razpravljanja lahko razumemo kot vprašanje o tem, do katere mere je mogoče obravnavati vprašanje o zakonitostih v evoluciji človekovih (individualnih) vedenjskih vzorcev, kot se modelirajo v literarnih oz. umetnostnih pojavih. Je ta ume-tniški tekst manifestacija razvojnih zakonitosti ali slučaj?

Zdi se, da (še vedno aktualen) poststrukturalistični skepticizem govori o razočaranju v teoretske metode, ki jih razvijajo formalizem, estetika recepcije, strukturalizem, fenomenologija, in priča o krizi (avto)refleksije pri današnjem človeku. V tej nemoči, da bi enkrat

²¹ Cf. Smirnov, 322.

²² According to the findings by Sherry Turkle (*Life on the Screen*) the majority of users logs on the Net from home.

za vselej artikulirali večni razkorak med dejanskostjo in zavestjo o njej, pride prav Bahtinovo razumevanje o protejski, a neukinljivi razliki med realnim svetom kot takim in razumevanjem tega. Pojmi dialoščnosti, heteroglosije, nedovršenosti, karnevalskosti govorijo o človekovem uzaveščanju sveta kot stalno spreminjajočega se procesa. Vsako razumevanje človeka in vsaka humanistična teorija se potemtakem prav zaradi svoje spremenljivosti (historičnosti) vpisuje v zavest človeka kot nepopolna, a kot taka hkrati kot povsem logična stopnja v razvoju človekove zavesti. In prav ta logika, ki bi jo lahko umestili ob bok Bahtinovemu pojmovanju zgodovinskega spomina, šele ponuja možnost, da si sploh lahko postavimo vprašanje o zakonitostih dialoških razmerij med dejanskostjo in zavestjo o njej v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih.

Morda eno najbolj kontroverznih možnosti v uzaveščanju razlike ponuja psihozgodovinska metoda razumevanja literature-umetnosti oz. kulturnega razvoja. Gre za splet različnih disciplin (od psihoanalize, logike, zgodovine literature in kulture), ki skuša ponovno uzavestiti razvojno pot človekovega mišljenja oz. reflektiranja. Pri tem se ozira k psihogenezi, k odkrivanju pasameznih psihogenih faz otrokovega razvoja in vidi v njih specifičen dialog z dejanskostjo. Spreminjanje v odnosu do sveta — kot se kaže v raznih psihofazah individualuma — pomeni vsakič drugačno fazo v vzpostavljanju identitete posameznika. Psihozgodovinska metoda v razumevanju kulture tako skuša poznavanje različnih osebnostnih razvojnih faz povezati z razvojem kolektivne zavesti. V razvoju kulture naj bi se tako na specifičen način ponovil vzorec individualnega psihičnega razvoja. Moje osrednje zanimanje velja vprašanju, kako se v različnih obdobjih manifestira v kulturi karakter/individuum, kot izraz neponovljive samosvojesti. Gre torej za vprašanje, kako se izgrajuje v literaturi/kulturi subjekt oz. na kakšen način vzpostavlja avtor teksta dialog subjekta z objektom. Podrobno opazovanje literarno-umetnostnih likov pripelje ob upoštevanju tipov dialoščnosti (kot jih je razvil M. Bahtin) do posplošitve, ki jo lahko razumemo kot teorijo psihotipov.

V razpravi se ukvarjam predvsem z vprašanjem lika-individuum v sodobni kulturi, ki jo zaznamuje internet kot nova faza postmodernistične polimorfnosti in simulakrov. Osrednje zanimanje pri tem velja novim internetskim oz. kibernetiskim formam kulture kot so interaktivni romani ali virtualno gledališče. Izkazuje se da je ena temeljnih karakteristik internetskega lika simbioza — sočasna fizična vpetost v svet dejanskosti in virtualnega sveta. Človek postaja subjekt v tistem trenutku, ko vzpostavi nov — virtualen svet, ta svet pa je z aksiološkega vidika povsem ekvivalenten objektivi sredini, ki jo tako zamenjuje. Nastaja dialog z dvema manifestacijama jaza, česar posledica je dualizem. Temu dualističnemu jazu je dovoljena subjektivnost, ki nastaja kot realizacija lastne želje ...

POWER MANAGEMENT¹ IN FOCUS

PROBLEM ČLOVEKOVEGA GOSPOSTVA

BOGOMIR NOVAK

PEDAGOŠKI INŠTITUT, LJUBLJANA

ABSTRACT:

This article is written from an anthropological and sociological point of view. Its purpose is to make a clear differentiation between the concept of domination, a strong, one-sided power management, and mastering, a weak, multi-sided power management. The method used is "double hermeneutic" (Giddens' expression). The results of our research are as follows: (1) in modern times man has performed a historical experiment of power management at all its levels: economic, political, educational, and religious; (2) man is an ambiguous being moving from the possibility and danger of absolute power management to what is still worth mastering; (3) all the characteristics of strong power management or the weak mastering of systems in the environment are different; (4) by mastering the external world there is an important synthesis of ecology and economy, whereas by mastering personal conflicts the most important psychosynthesis, a kind of psychotherapy and dialogue on the interpersonal level, is made; (5) in practice the characteristics of domination still prevail but mastering is gaining ground in many areas of human activity.

1 GENESIS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW AGE POWER MANAGEMENT

Power management is as old as humankind. However, its problematic nature has escalated during the transition from an industrial to an information society, from modern to post-modern society. Threatened by possible total destruction, man became aware of the global danger of illimitable power resulting from lavish and repressive societies and therefore tried to keep the danger within both rational or irrational limits. This fact suggests a possibly premature departure from the cultural heritage of pre-modern societies. In Antiquity it was impossible for a person to know all the negative results of power management as they were only fully developed in modern times. However, the ancient Greeks tried to protect themselves from its dangers by the ethical ideal of the golden mean and the principle of harmonisation of human nature and cosmic laws. The ancient ethic was cosmocentric and, as

¹ Domination means just a command or control, while power denotes influence, authority, control and political or social ascendancy, meaning that a superior or dominant condition or position is favoured. The word management has been added so that the expression power management describes the way one copes with power or how one can make use of it.

well, the medieval theocentric and theocratic ethics at least in principle tried to conserve power management within rational limits.

Power management is an aggressive and absolutist answer to the challenges of dangerous and unknown forces. In the beginning of capitalism, power management was conditioned by the contradictions inherent in the industrial revolution, such as, for example, the *bourgeoisie* and the proletarians as the governing and exploitable class, villages or towns, employed men or housewives raising children. These lines of separation are described by Laporte (1992: 102-103) who said that the *bourgeoisie* had given soldiers weapons and closed them in barracks; and had agreed to educate the people and closed them in schools. The segregation of the mentally ill in insane asylums and of workers in factories followed. The capitalist society was a society of employees as it also engaged women for lower paying jobs or for a lower salary for the same work. Patriarchal power management morality expressed itself by the prevalent manly values such as achievement, social position, and the prestige of property.

The components of power management were the processes of self-will for power², an aggressive subject's subordination of objects in hierarchical relationships, exclusive thinking, possessiveness, closed monopolistic ideologies, a one-dimensional man with only a one-dimensional communication strategy of "I win—you lose", an instrumentalist rationality with the aim of acquisition and consolidation of power, an imperialistic autocratic culture, right or left wing totalitarianism (Nazism and harsh socialism, an accumulation of knowledge, capital, and work, a general ego against the others". Servitude attempted to dominate on the principle of work as the source of all wealth, expansion and conflicting models of human actions, the consequences of hegemonic knowledge (Germ. *Herrschaftswissen*) including alienation, fragmentation, substitution, and rebellion against nature.

It is necessary to differentiate between modern power management as a negative anthropological phenomenon and mastering as a post-modern positive alternative solution. The problem of power management can be understood if there is a distinction between mastering as the maintenance of balance among opposing parties by seeking a third possibility and power management as the subordination of one party to others. Our hypothesis is that mastering supports development of the whole man while power management derives from and preserves a one-dimensional man.

A man recognises himself in the differentiation of what he is convinced he can dominate and what he ethically judges to be worth mastering. The characteristics of mastering are: man as an open, dynamic system in habitual equilibration, with a democratic culture and pluralism of political interests, autonomy of personality, a social system with its sub-systems, an interactive communication strategy of "I win—you win", multi-dimensional inclusive thinking, rational self-limitation, auto-correction, a decentred ego and, *autopoiesis*, the principle of qualitative life and work. To make sense and to nurture peace

² The German language differentiates between power (Germ. *Macht*) and power management (Germ. *Herrschaft*). Weber (1988) has defined power as the occasion to intrude one's will on others despite their feelings. Power management is the achievement of obedience subordinated only to fixed, institutionalised power. It is essential to the concept of power management to conceptualise power (Greek: *energeia*, Latin: *potent*, *posse*=to be able to has the same meaning as the French word *pouvoir*). The Sanskrit word for a master is *pati*. This is a male view of power and presupposes that power belongs to those who exploit others by the help of money, technology, and weapons. Foucault understands knowledge as power.

all four of Delors pillars of learning are necessary: to be, to work, to live together, to have knowledge; while the post-modern values are harmonisation of human development with the laws of their inner and external nature, love, co-operation and compassion, and new solidarity. Man is understood to be a biosocioethic, spiritual, and religious being. In ascetic capitalism and in harsh realistic socialism man satisfies only a few needs at the expense of the others in the sense of dictatorship beyond needs (Heller 1981). As a man satisfies his needs by “stimulation mastering” (Ambrožič 1998) by self-regulation, responsible liberty and self-control, he learns to master himself. Conversely, state control and regulation lead to modesty of his needs.

Men differentiate themselves from animals by setting their goals on the personal/individual, national, and general human levels. The older name for the knowledge that systematises experiences of setting goals is teleology (Greek. *telos+logos*). The problem of power management will be defined by means of teleology—a doctrine of design and purpose in the material world. The ancient Greeks understood its aim as finality.³ The problem of power management was seen in exceeding (Greek. *hybris*) the right measure (Latin: *mensura*), therefore they tended not to exceed it. The Sophist Protagora said “man is a measure of all the useful things; of those that exist, and of those that do not exist”.⁴ Man in Antiquity was only a relative measure but in modern times he has tried to become an absolute one. This is the subject of modern Cartesian anthropocentrism⁵ with man in the centre of the world. However, man does not want to be just a measure of useful and consumable things in the “game of exchange” but also their goal (Makarovič 1985: 85). Man as a participant and actor in the game with unmanaged and unmanageable forces is aware that he could lose the game. The Promethean ascent of man has become today his fall, which speaks of his immaturity to technical innovations by which he was supposed to master his own hostile natural forces.

Kant’s modern stipulation to the mature use of reason from the beginning of the Enlightenment period is also actual today because of its diagnosis of semi-education (Germ. *Halbbildung*) (Adorno-Horkheimer 1980) at the end of the Enlightenment. Power management was not the right way to achieve the Enlightenment goals of happiness, health, wealth, and freedom for all people. From this point of view, power management is a consequence of an immature relationship towards others and their manipulation. As the example of an automatic machine in production served as a model to a working man to develop power

3 The Greek term *telos* derives from the word *queles* with its root in *quel*, and means to turn. Originally *quel* means: performance, top, end and death (Dokler 1915:752). *Telos* also means success, job, decision, import duties, expense (Senc 1988: 920-921). *Telos* for the Greeks is a goal in itself; as for example the use of *entelecheia* by Aristotle. A goal as a *telos* even etymologically does not exclude the meaning of the English expression “achievement”, a successful finish or gain of something, something achieved, that is: (1) reached or attained by effort. (2) acquired, gained, earned. (3) accomplished or carried out. (4) success in attaining a desired level of performance. For further information about the difference between Aristotle’s and modern concept of intention (Germ. *Zweck*) see Krings H. AL. (1974): *Handbuch philosophischer Grundbegriffe*. 6. Bd. Muenchen, Koesel Verlag, pages 1817-1827. Teleology is knowledge about final goals and aims with the emphasis on finality. The expressions pedagogical teleology and telos of upbringing had been used by Pediček (1985). Today, neither of these expressions in the German and English scientific literature is used. Their place is taken instead by aim of upbringing and educational tasks. The term teleology of work has become problematic because of its imprecise definition.

4 The quotation is in Sovre (1946) *Predsokratiki* (The PreSocratics). It is not only the utility of things that is important but also in the double meaning of the expression measure (Greek: *metron*).

5 Anthropocentrism is the domination of man over nature and a measure for it as well, and derives from different kinds of social fundamentalism, such as Nazism, racism, fascism, Europocentrism (meaning education of the Europeans), religious fundamentalism in God elected nations, etc.

management, he became convinced that he produced consumer goods almost from nothing and that he took the place of God. Tribes from natural society consider this haughty. According to a report of the words of a tribal chief of Samoa, it necessary to despise a white man when he plays the role of a God or when he even tries to replace Him (Scheurmann 1993).

In the beginning of this century, a man was not simply a human being to another person, but a wolf because of production of consumer goods, an experiment of man to overpower nature and because of the degradation of values at the level of consumer exchange. Man attributed to his work the characteristics of honour and power that did not turn out to be true in the long run. The socialist revolution is included among the non-successful historical experiments with the unachieved goal of social equality and state control over the "I-think—otherwise". The proletariat as a subject of industrial production did not become the governing class, as the economic dominator decided on the division of consumer goods, nor a class sharing the political will of all society. Obviously, the logic of dominance did not work in the expected direction as state-owned property was not more stimulating for effective production than private property. Furthermore, state regulation of markets led only to an extension of production and therefore could not replace self-regulation leading to an intensification of production.

An anticipated harmonisation of reason and nature was seen only as a harmonisation of instrumental reason with manipulative nature, and not yet as a harmonisation of an individual and social man with a communicative interaction with a deeper spiritual level. Realisation of external goal domination over nature was deformed because of unmanaged inner-aimed self-government with an appropriate nature that reflected itself in mass unmanaged revolutionary passions, personal hysteria explained by psychoanalytical theory in terms of narcissistic culture.⁶

It is not the same whether a teacher wants to be an absolute authority or just a relative one. In the processes of the informative-technical revolution man becomes an interactive-communicative being that doubles in the roles of a teacher and a learner, a subject and an object in their co-operation, interactive influence, and effectiveness. These processes enable a teacher to be a partner to his students. He also learns himself in the course of a life-long education. Man learns how to master himself in all areas of his actions. Work does not give man an advantage over nature.

Anthropologists often consider man to be in many ways different from animals and they do find advantages in his physical lacks. The advantages of human deficiency are never such as to cause a man with his flexible reactions to become omnipotent. On the contrary: human culture has its rises and declines (Rothacker 1985). This might signify the permanent impossibility of reaching the whole of humanity's aims because of the limited life span.

⁶ For detailed analyses of this culture see Lasch C. (1986) *Narcistička kultura*. Beograd, Nolit.

2 EQUIVOCATION OF INSTRUMENTS AND GOALS BY CUNNING REASON

Power management is a consequence of cunning reason (Germ. *List der Vernunft*) which makes equivocal goals and methods and justifies itself by a cult of personality. Money governs the world but its character stays ambivalent. We often imagine that we dominate with abstractions and symbols but in fact they dominate us and make us dependent of them as can be seen in Shakespeare's dramas (King Lear, Richard III, Hamlet, etc.). The first players for political power played their last card. The instrumental reason (Germ. *Verstand*) of political man is in crisis but not the *Homo Sapiens* reason itself (Germ. *Vernunft*). An individual who uses other people as a usable thing is himself a thing. Thus, *Ulysses* and *Robinson* are two heroes that exploit and benefit from the deficiency of their enemies by their cunning reason and both have skills to manage the dangers of nature on the basis of their knowledge.

Man before the rise of the social sciences in the nineteenth century did not know anything about the mechanisms of self-slavery. Their morphogenesis lay in the fact that "man had to make himself an instrument before he could make external nature an instrument" (Makarovič 1988: 92). If the cause of weakness of power management is in the human being himself, then the problem of overcoming this power management lies in its differentiation from mastering and respect for man as the subject aim. Man has only recently been able to deconstruct an industrial, separate, expansionist model of industrial contradictions in the sense of integrative reconstruction.

In modern times man has formed himself as a worker (Latin: *homo faber*), an economic man (Latin: *homo economicus*), a political man (Latin: *homo politicus*), a playful man (Latin: *homo ludens*), man as a learner and a teacher (Latin: *homo educans & educator*). For the worker, work represented omnipotence (Greek: *demiurgos*). As an example of overcoming autocratic personality⁷ we can describe the history of political thinking from the Machiavellian model of political culture with its principle of power and ruse, Bonapartism, right (Nazifascism) and left totalitarianism (Stalinism as a harsh kind of communism).

Spranger (1930) differentiated six historically typical personalities: religious, theoretical, practical, economic, political, and aesthetic. Each type can play their role within autocratic culture or outside it. Despite the Enlightenment's myth about omnipotent instrumentalist reason, man still tries to keep the exploitation of nature for his own good. With his will he can still represent destructive goals as progressive ones. Let me give some examples: by support of religious nihilism, the *Great Inquisitor*⁸ used the Christian belief of people as an instrument of his political power. The priority and domination of practice over theory in socialism were considered by the intellectuals as anti-intellectual and from the political standpoint were opposed. The imperialistic recolonisation policy is still dominant in the world under a coat of democracy. The old principle of such a policy is *divide et impera* and in its most extensive version is the Nazi "blood and earth". In the twentieth cen-

⁷ Adorno (1950) described an authoritarian personality as follows: rigid belonging to conventional bourgeois values, obedience and dogmatic thinking toward authority, authoritarian aggression, with an intention to punish those who violate conventional values, contradiction to the subjective and imaginary, power and haughtiness, destructivism and cynicism, projectivity, exaggerated interest in sexuality.

⁸ The Great Inquisitor is the mysterious personality of Ivan's *Legend of the Great Inquisitor* in Dostoyevsky's novel of *The Brothers Karamazov*. According to Dostoyevsky's reasoning, cunning Christian religion is only an instrument of political power.

ture we have seen the applications of these principles in various kinds of neoNazism and ethnicides.

Already the rebellion of nature is a consequence of its exploitation⁹ and pressure on it (Horkheimer 1988). Every experiment to break the natural forces fortifies them. Man by developing technical instruments forces nature to one-sidedly work for the satisfaction of his needs. If we forget that material production does not produce nature in its reality but also creates possibilities, simultaneously safely connected with nature and destructively separated from it, dangerous consequences arise. We can manage the world only in some of its parts. Every experiment of power management becomes more or less questionable because of the revenge (Greek: *nemesis*) of nature.

The problem of mastering concerns both external and internal nature. The idea of a partnership of man with nature includes equal, interdependent relationship between two contrasting characteristics of human nature, without the stigmatisation of higher and lower, spiritual or sensual, that make permanent conflicts and negative relationships possible. An alienated relationship of a higher nature to a lower shows itself in its change to an object, its repression. Psychosynthesis¹⁰ is a way to learn to master inner conflicts and reintegrate particular parts of personalities. Otherwise it remains only an immature use of psychical instruments such as sense, emotion, and reason. Obviously, man remains in the correct partnership with his inner nature only if he does not overtake the rational limits of mastering by the sense of power management with an external work goal of effectiveness and external motives as productivity and achievement. Productivism as a Taylor managed effectiveness drives man mad whereas “productive love” (Fromm’s expression) means an inner motive of creative and communal work.

Mastering the world has become the self-mastering of man. Within the extensive models of power management, the problem of the relationships between control and self-control appears. A school as a rational organisation for education is still the “ideological apparatus of the state” which allegedly returns the control to schools. While a man in the narcissistic culture of the West and in the postsocialistic transition in the East is a white paper (Latin: *tabula rasa*), totalitarian control over him is still possible in schools. A true democracy at the workplace and in education at schools is possible only as total quality management (TQM). Power management has been transferred from the inner to the external world. External control still prevails over self-control because the external control has been internalised. Recently the Freudian superego has fortified itself in the richest states of the world, in international corporations, in the domination of the state over citizens, and of institutions over individuals. By using technical instruments a worker has also become dependent on computerisation, thus making him even more of a robot and making him more manageable to be led by mass media.

⁹ The problem of power management is the problem between slave and master. A servant in Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit* will be a being for himself (Germ. *für sich Sein*) as well as what he already is (Germ. *an sich Sein*), a master of his personal work. The affirmation of his work only confirms the reality of his attributes but is the consequence of the fight for life and death. The servant realises himself when he recognises the power of what he wishes to master. The practice of power mastering determines power management knowledge but excludes the empathetic one.

¹⁰ Psychosynthesis is a kind of psychotherapy that leads to self-actualisation and development of one’s abilities. It helps individuals to develop their own personalities and to discover spiritual nature. Thus, they can enlarge the possibilities of harmonious action in everyday life. (Parfit, 1997).

A man is always for himself, though not always in the same way, in the centre of his ego-and work-centric attitude in spite of the fact that the Protestant ethic has been partially changed. Today the notion of a man as *homo faber* is only partially transformed. The new in the anthropological definition of a man is in discovering his ambiguous nature.

3 OVERCOMING POWER MANAGEMENT BY MASTERING IT

A man is a system opened to time, space, sense, liberty, self-conscience, and also to another man. Openness is life “in the present from the past to the future” (Trstenjak 1985: 105). Risk, hope, fear, uncertainty, challenge, and danger are its characteristics. Cosmic openness expresses itself in the cosmopolitan, global and cosmocentred upbringing derived from harmonic connections between man and nature that give sense to life. Power management closes a man in the world of institutions, whereas mastering is a way to life in the world (Germ. *Lebenswelt*).

A man has tried the power of work, policy, game, education, and knowledge. His intention to master this can be explained by a systemic theory that presupposes functioning of a system in the environment. Man is only gradually returning from the extremes of technological alienation towards pure nature—and this means purification of his external and internal nature.

Thus the wealth of the senses, needs, and abilities has become the quality of life. The concept of quality is pluralistic. Considering the limits of economic growth, reducing exaggerated consumerism and stimulating the modest consumption, certain personal and societal standards and social equality, mean acting in the direction of quality. However, quality also means hindering social isolation, economic domination, political alienation characterised by passive citizen participation in voting and deciding the essential questions of democracy. Quality of life cannot be reached without abolishing negative social phenomena: unlawfulness and anarchy. Further development of world mechanisation makes man even more complicated and difficult to manage. He cannot master the entire world because mastering a part of it only discovers, or creates, new uncontrolled areas.

4 ECOLOGICAL BORDERS OF WORK

For a technocratic ideology, all quantifiable things are quantified and all things possible to be made are made. Work becomes a universal instrument and an aim in production because it produces more work. The background of this ideology is the Protestant concept of vocation as a personal duty (Weber 1988). Alienated work continued its development in the twentieth century although it became more and more senseless from the point of view of environmental security.

From the middle of the 1970s the borders of economic growth and strengthened criticism of the idea of linear progress have been recognised because of the rising danger of genocide. Man exploits the limited resources of material and energy as if they were unlimited. These actions are in contradiction with the law of entropy. Today, current topics are the anthropocentric technique, the correspondence of human abilities and development of technology with organisation of work, and postanthropocentric adaptations of technology to the environment. Thus, a synthesis of the principle of progress and the principle of envi-

ronment may arise (Plut 1991). Considering both principles, it seems likely that work will lose its privilege of domination over nature and over social promotion.

Ecological criticism of technocratic ideology leads to recognition of irreducibility of the world of life to the "will for power", a Nietzschean expression. Not only the external objective but also the subjective and interpersonal worlds can be mastered. In 1998 Plut wrote in the newspaper *Delo* that the end has come for the one-way path because the human intention of reaching unlimited material progress endangers humanity itself. Therefore, the quantitative, subordinate, and suppressive ways of managing human nature as the realisation of superficial, short-term and materialistic goals is the work of Sisyphus.

POVZETEK:

Razlika med gospostvom in obvladovanjem je razlika med enodimenzionalnim in celovitim človekom. V moderni dobi je človek izvedel zgodovinski eksperiment gospostva v vseh razsežnostih od ekonomske, politične, edukacijske in religiozne ravni. Današnja antropologija ocenjuje človeka post-antropocentrično s procesi decentralizacije jaza in mišljenja kot ambivalentno bitje, ki niha med možnostjo in nevarnostjo absolutnega gospostva in tem, kar je še smiselno obvladati. Obstaja premična meja med obvladljivim in neobvladljivim. V post-moderni nastajajo spoznavne in praktične razlike med značilnostmi trdega gospostva in značilnostmi mehkega obvladovanja sistema v okolju. Človek z zmernostjo in kvaliteto življenja ni edino merilo stvari, ker je v komunikacijski interakciji z okoljem. Pri obvladovanju zunanjega sveta gre za sintezo ekonomije z ekologijo, pri obvladovanju osebno-nih konfliktov o psihosintezi in na medosebni ravni pa gre za dialog.

REFERENCES:

- ADORNO**, T. 1950: *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York, Harpers Brothers.
- ADORNO**, T. & **HORKHEIMER**, M. 1980: *Sociološke študije*. Zagreb. Naprijed.
- AMBROŽIČ**, M. et. al. 1998: *Pot k odličnosti. Vodenje v kompleksnem in negotovem okolju*. Škofja Loka, Inštitut za samorazvoj.
- Concise Oxford Dictionary 1996**: 9th Edition. CD-ROM. Oxford, University Press.
- DOKLER**, A. 1915: *Grško-slovenski slovar*, Ljubljana. Knezoškofijski zavod Št. Vid.
- DUFOUR**, X., L. (ured. et al.) 1980: *Rječnik biblijske teologije*. Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost.
- HELLER**, A. 1981: *Vrednosti i potrebe*. Beograd, Nolit.
- HORKHEIMER**, M. & **ADORNO**, T. 1989: *Dijalektika prosvetiteljstva*. Filozofijski fragmenti. Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša.
- HEGEL**, G. W. F. 1998: *Fenomenologija duha*. Ljubljana, Analecta.
- KRINGS**, H. 1974: *Handbuch philosophischer Grundbegriffe*. 6. Bd. Muenchen, Koesel Verlag. Pages 1817-1827.
- LAPORTE**, D. 1992: *O zgodovini šolanja*. V: BAHOVEC E. (ured., 1992): Vzgoja med gospostvom in analizo. Zbornik, Ljubljana, Krt. Str. 91-103.
- LASCH**, C. 1986: *Narcistička kultura*. Beograd, Nolit
- MAKAROVIČ**, J. 1988: *Kritika krščanske ljubezni*. Maribor, Založba Obzorja.
- MASTNAK**, T. 1998: *Evropa: med evolucijo in evtanazijo*. Ljubljana, Apes.
- MUSEK**, J. 1993: *Osebnost pod drobnogledom*. Maribor, Obzorja.

- PLESSNER**, H. 1981: **Stupnjevi organskog i čovjek**. Uvod u filozofsku antropologiju. Sarajevo, Veselin Masleša.
- PARFITT**, W 1997: **Prvine psihosinteze**. Ljubljana, Aura.
- PEDIČEK**, F. 1985: **Usmerjanje v vzgoji in izobraževanju. Pedagoško teoretični vidik**. Ljubljana, Univerzum.
- PLUT**, Dušan 1998: **Na koncu enosmerne poti. Želja po neomejenem materialnem napredku ogroža človeško vrsto**. Podlistek Dela, julij-avgust 1998.
- SCHEURMANN**, E. 1993: **Palagi-govori južnomorskega poglavarja Tuiavija iz Tiaveje**. Celje, Mohorjeva družba.
- SENC**, S. 1988: **Grčko-hrvatski rječnik za škole po Benser Kaegijevu Grčko-njemačkom rječniku**. Zagreb, ITRO Naprijed.
- SOVRE**, S. 1946: **Predsokratiki**, Ljubljana, SM.
- SPRANGER**, E. 1930: **Lebensformen**. Halle, Max Niemayer.
- TRSTENJAK**, A. 1985: **Človek, bitje prihodnosti**. Ljubljana, SM.
- WEBER**, M. 1988: **Protestantska etika in duh kapitalizma**. Ljubljana SH ŠKUC, FF.

GROWTH AND NUTRITION

FAST IN PREHARNA

C. SUSANNE*, M. VERCAUTEREN*, E. REBATO, J. ROSIQUE** AND I. SALCES****

* UNIVERSITÉ LIBRE DE BRUXELLES, BELGIUM

** UNIVERSIDAD DEL PAÍS VASCO, BILBAO, SPAIN

The relationship between growth and nutrition seems an evident one and reflects evolutionary processes as well as the interaction between the genotype, morphology, physiology, ecology and behaviour.

Yet looking at this relationship in greater detail is more difficult than superficially thought:

- we do not eat chemicals but we need food
- food is not defined by biological factors but by cultural elements
- food is prepared and often cooked, and these processes can modify the basic nutritive factors
- quantitative food analysis is always approximate
- ecological factors such as the natural environment, education, social factors, hygiene and health interfere with nutrition
- energy requirements vary as a function of age
- requirements specific to growth decrease rapidly with age (44% at 3 months of age, 2% at 2 years) and are a function of the rapidity of tissue synthesis
- at each age body maintenance will demand most of the food intake

DIFFERENCES OBSERVED BETWEEN POPULATIONS

Genetic differences between populations must be correctly evaluated before we study nutritional influences and standards specific to each population are absolutely necessary. This should also be the case for body proportions: for instance, leg length/sitting height is proportionally longest in Australian aborigines, and is longer in Africans than in Europeans or Asians (Eveleth 1979).

Thus, the study of the index leg length/stature, sometimes used as nutritional indicator, can only be used with local standards.

However, populations of high socio-economic level and/or well nourished populations show growth patterns which are rather similar even if ethnical differences exist. Such is the case in Indian (Hauspie et al. 1980), Jamaican (Ashcroft et al. 1966) Guatemalan (Johnston et al. 1977) and Tunisian populations (Eveleth et al. 1976) where social differences inside a population appear to be larger than ethnical differences between populations of high social standards.

Habicht et al. (1984) estimated ethnical differences in well nourished populations to be 3% for height and 6% for weight, thus on a lower level than socio-economical differences inside the same ethnical group where the comparable figures were 12% and 30%.

HEIGHT AND WEIGHT AS NUTRITIONAL INDICATORS

Height and weight are often used as nutritional indicators validated by animal experimentation and by studies of controlled nutritional supplementation (Susanne 1991, Cameron 1991 a and b). Height is more the result of a cumulative effect of the whole growth period; it corresponds to an integrative process not necessarily suggestive of a temporary period of poor nutrition. Interpretations will have to take into account the age of the child and his possibilities of recuperation after nutritional stress (catch up growth). Weight, and also weight for height, will be more sensitive to the current nutritional state.

Longitudinal studies better indicate the influence of nutritional conditions on anthropometry. This is the case, for instance, with the study of Lampl et al. (1978) on Papuan children of 7.5 to 13 years old, where height and weight clearly indicated food supplementation.

Seasonal changes also illustrate nutritional conditions. This is often the case in seasonal fluctuations observed in typical agricultural populations in savannah countries. Each year, between the exhaustion of reserves at the end of the dry season and the first harvests, the populations will suffer scarcity, eventually amplified by the great dry periods. In the humidity of tropical forests, seasonal fluctuations also exist: Pagezy and Hauspie (1985) analysed 4030 Ntomba children of the NW forests of the Democratic Republic of Congo in a longitudinal study from birth to 4 years, including 4 main seasons, 2 dry and 2 rainy periods. Two groups, the Twa pygmies and the Oto, were studied: they are genetically clearly different but similar culturally and linguistically. The main food is manioc, the plantations are cleared by the men in the beginning of the dry season and are cultivated by the women at its end; men also fish and hunt in the dry season. With this intake and by more abundant gathering the dry season has a favourable nutritional balance. These effects were very clear on the weight increase of these 0 to 4 year old children: it were positive in dry seasons, 40 g/month higher than average, and negative in rainy seasons, 46 g/month lower than average. The Twa and Oto groups reacted in the same way. Malnutrition and also a more pathogenic environment were the origins of the negative effects of rainy seasons: there were more digestive disorders, rhino-pharyngitis, malaria, measles, and whooping cough. Even for children fed with mother's milk, fluctuations were observed which seem to indicate an indirect influence of the mother alimentation: quantity and quality of could indeed have been affected (Faber 1980, Hennart and Vis 1980). Older children, adolescents, and adults were influenced in a similar way (Pagezy 1984).

Seasonal fluctuations have also been observed in rural Bangladesh (Trowbridge and Newton 1979), young children of El Salvador (Trowbridge and Newton 1979), pregnant women in Taiwan (Adair and Pollitt 1983), and in Gambia (Prentice et al. 1981).

Height, weight and weight/height are thus linked in different ethnical groups to the nutritional potentialities (Hiernaux 1964 b). For instance, for the Luba of Kasai and Katanga and for the Hutu, the highest values were observed in the most favoured groups, the Luba of Katanga and Hutu living at a high altitude (Hiernaux 1964 a)

This sensitivity of height and weight to nutritional conditions is also clearly expressed by the study of Papua of New Guinea (Malcolm 1974): one of the group subsists on sweet potatoes and from only 3% proteins, and is characterised by one of the lowest growth rhythms found in the literature. Johnston et al. (1980) studied growth parameters in a Mexican sample including 40 socio-economic and demographic parameters. In an analysis of the principal components, the chief factor appeared to be linked to food expenditure

and to the parents' education. The effect of this factor increased with the age of each child, suggesting a cumulative effect.

In this paper, we limit ourselves to an analysis of height and weight and to an analysis of "normal" problems excluding almost pathological situations where even muscularity might be affected.

WEIGHT/HEIGHT RELATIONSHIP

The weight/height relationship is largely used to estimate the nutritional state and it is indeed representative of morphology and body composition.

Indices are numerous, and are often of the style W/H_b or $\log(W/H_b) = bgW - \text{blog}H$, where W and H represent weight and height, b is equal to 1, 2, or 3. These indices have a long history: W/H_3 had already been proposed by Buffon and W/H_2 by Quételet (1869) and were "reinvented", W/H_3 by Rohrer in 1908 and W/H_2 by Kaup in 1921. W/H_2 , the Quetelet index, in the English speaking literature is often called the body mass index (BMI). W/H_3 has been used in other ways such as $W^{1/3}/H$ (ponderal index of Sheldon et al. 1940). W/H is sometimes called the relative weight (Killeen et al. 1978). Other indices were tested by Kotze and Vivier 1986, Cameron 1991 b.

Authors generally prefer to use the indices with the lowest correlation to height and that represent the best way to relative weight (Keys et al. 1972, Cole 1991, Rolland-Cachera et al. 1982, Rolland-Cachera 1991): at this level W/H_2 seems the most useful and is also the best correlated with body fat measured by skinfolds (Roche et al 1981, Revicki and Israel 1986), more specifically the subscapular skinfold (Frisancho and Flegel 1982, Micozzi et al. 1986, Killeen et al. 1978).

In fact, variability of body fat is independent and not correlated to longitudinal skeletal characters (Khosla and Lowe 1967), but is correlated to transversal skeletal measurements (Garn et al. 1986). In the index weight/height, height represents in fact what in weight is not represented as fat, meaning muscles, intestines, bone, extracellular water, etc. The Quetelet index could explain more than 50% of the variability of body fat and would be more correlated to the amount itself ($r=0.88$) than to the percentage of fat ($r=0.75$) (Norgan and Ferro-Luzzi 1982, Norgan 1991).

Each of these indices follows specific changes during growth (Hamill et al. 1977). Standards for W/H_2 have been published, for instance, for France (Rolland-Cachera et al. 1982) and the Netherlands (Rookus 1986). Longitudinal data of W/H_2 have also been published (Siervogel et al. 1991).

Sometimes, authors prefer to calculate the exponent b of W/H_b to minimalise the correlation with height (Benn 1971, Micozzi et al. 1986): these studies proposed b to be 2 for men and between 1 and 2 for women. During growth b can vary: near 2 during growth, at the beginning of puberty near 3 (Rolland-Cachera et al. 1982, Cole 1986), to return to 2 after puberty.

We applied these different indices to Belgian data between 1960 and 1980, and we observed for both boys and girls a positive secular trend of height and weight between 1960 and 1980, the ratio weight/height was also higher in 1980 than in 1960, W/H_2 and W/H_3 followed the same tendency although the differences seemed to be less evident.

The graph weight/height (fig.1) shows that the proportion between both measurements remained similar in both growth period, with a natural gap to the highest values in

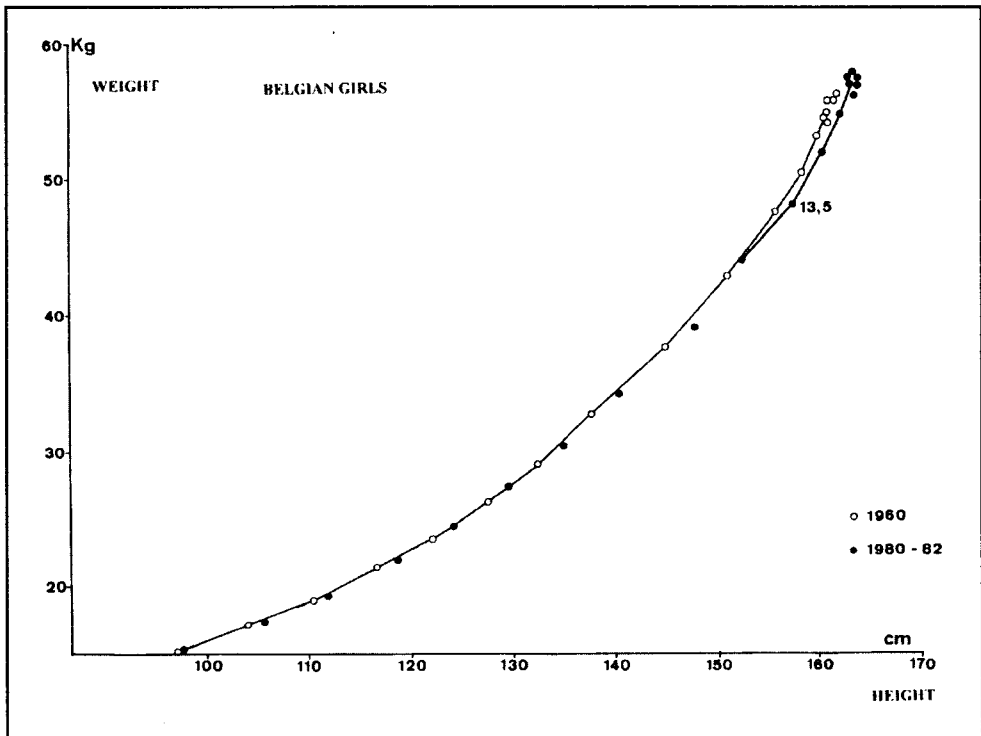


Fig. 1

1980. After adolescence, a limited difference appeared: at equal heights the weight was relatively lower in 1980 than in 1960. This graph brings in fact more information than the index weight/height: at a constant age W/H was higher in 1980 than in 1960 but did not show that weight and height increased proportionally.

The interest of W/H^2 , and their standards, is to follow the corpulence of a child and to judge on weight surplus or deficit. It cannot translate, however, the whole variability of a group of the same age and sex: an equiprobable ellipse (Defrise 1955) translates it better. In comparison between populations of similar genomes or in studies of secular evolution, the index is also less informative. An easy graphical analysis weight/height can thus be reliable and has the advantage of being less sophisticated and inexpensive (Eveleth and Tanner 1976).

The use of W/H^2 to identify excess weight in children has been criticised due to the different significance of these indices in children and adults, a result of the variability of the relationship between weight and height during different stages of growth. This is why Poskitt (1987) proposed the use of the relative body mass index [$\text{Relative BMI} = (\text{actual BMI} / \text{BMI at the 50th percentile age and sex-specific}) \times 100$] to identify deviations of the standard ratios in childhood samples. Moreover, Marshall et al. (1991) used the relative BMI implementation in adolescents and a 120% cut-off point was judged to be the main sin-

gle criterion to classify obese children. Some researchers desiring to characterise the features of obesity, chose the relative BMI to identify obese children and found that these obese were extreme endomesomorphs and showed more central, trunk fat than the nonobese (Rosique et al. 1994).

UTILITY OF OTHER INDICES

Skinfolds, too, may be useful in the study of fat distribution, although errors of measurement of skinfolds are very large, the compressibility being variable as a function of age and sex and of body sites (Becque et al. 1986). They do not implicate only fat tissue, they can give interesting information, but it must be analysed critically.

The effects of age and sex on subcutaneous fat distribution in childhood and adolescence have also been described (Malina and Bouchard 1988, Cameron et al. 1992, Rosique et al. 1994, Johnston et al. 1995). Fat distribution can be studied by an index that characterises trunk/extremities distribution: the CFR (Centripetal Fat Ratio) = subscapular skinfold / (subscapular + triceps skinfold) (Johnston 1992), or by other statistically more sophisticated techniques as a Principal Component Analysis (PCA) (Mueller and Wohlleb 1981, Hattori et al. 1987). Fat distribution studies shed light on socio-economic differences in fat patterns and showed that the lower socio-economic level, the more a central distribution; accumulation of central fat in regard to others factors of fat distribution is more sensitive to SES conditions in girls than in boys (Rebato et al. 1998a).

Studies have tried to use many measurements (6 circumferences and diameters by Turner 1943) or multiple regressions (Ludlum and Powell 1940), but they were never used in routine tests.

It seems that measurements of the pelvis and breast contribute significantly to weight variations and can thus be of use for indices such as the acromial, elbow or knee measurements, but not the wrist or ankle (Himes 1991).

The utility of the index sitting height/height in terms of nutrition is linked to the hypothesis that the body part with the most rapid growth would be most influenced by nutritional factors; in this case it means less sitting height than leg length. However, not many references exist and they can be irrelevant when they make interethnic comparisons influenced by genetic factors and not allowing a clear analysis of eventual ecological factors. This index is, however, sensitive to secular evolution as changes in height are essentially linked to an increase of leg length.

In the index arm circumference/height, height would represent the nutritional history of an individual, arm circumference the actual state. Sometimes this index is of use for practical reasons, a portable balance not being necessary (Jelliffe and Jelliffe 1969). It is an excellent indicator of an undernutritional state but is of less practical use in almost normal nutritional circumstances.

As an example we took the data of secular changes in Belgium between 1960 and 1980 to apply some indices. The leg length/height index (fig.2) clearly increased in both sexes from 1960 to 1980. Leg length contributes more to secular evolution than trunk length and is thus more sensitive to factors influencing growth and development. The larger height in an urban environment is essentially due to changes of leg length (Vercauteren et al. 1992).

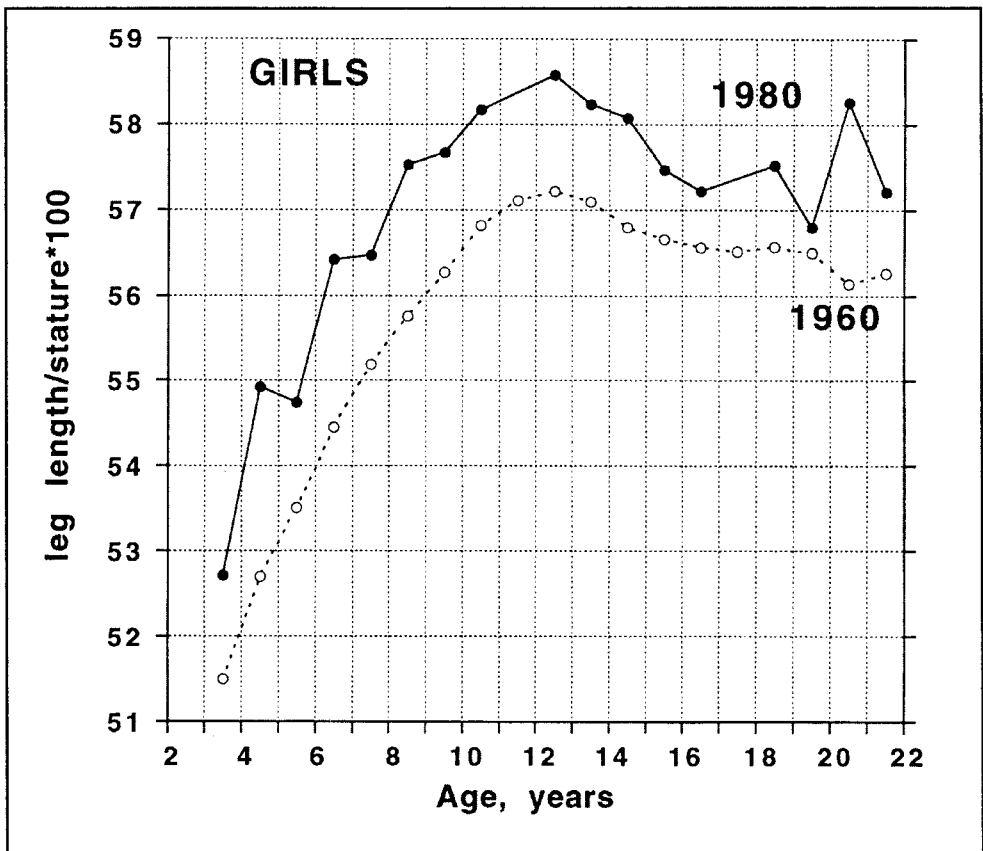


Fig. 2.

The bicristal diameter/height index largely changed in both sexes by a relative narrowing of the pelvis from 1960 to 1980, with thus a more slender profile in 1980 than in 1960. The same relationship is expressed by the bicristal/leg length index (fig.3). This higher, slender profile in 1980 was also observed in the biacromial/height index.

The thigh circumference relative to the leg length increased more slowly, the thigh circumference/leg index length decreased from 1960 to 1980, this being more marked in girls than in boys.

This tendency towards a more slender profile was also observed in Belgian samples in urban-rural comparisons (Vercauteren et al. 1993). Of longitudinal measurements, biacromial, bicristal and thoracic diameters, arm/leg perimeters have smaller dimensions in rural than in urban environments. In the same study, Vercauteren et al. (1993) observed the alimentary behaviour by the 24h recall technique and treated the results through a correspondence analysis. The urban and rural samples showed a diametrically opposed alimentary behaviour, with less pork and whole milk, but more yoghurt and cereals in the urban

environment. Differences of weight could be linked to these different alimentary pattern whose origins are socio-economical, geographical, or cultural.

Another index of epidemiological interest is the ratio of waist to hip circumference (WHR). This index gives valuable information on fat distribution and is an alternative approach to the use of CFR or PCA, but has advantages because is easier to calculate than the other indices. WHR helps to identify subjects having a nonbalanced upper *versus* lower body fat pattern (Shimokata et al. 1989). In a urban sample from the city of Bilbao (Basque Country, Spain) study of the WHR helped to show nutritional differences between females from lower class districts and females from the middle and upper classes. Fat centralisation was higher in the lower class and this feature together with a higher percentage of body fat increased cardiovascular risk in females of the lower class when compared to either males of the lower class or to females of the middle and upper classes (Rebato et al., 1998b)

BIOELECTRICAL IMPEDANCE (BIA) AS A COMPLEMENT TO BIOMETRY

Anthropometry may be adapted as well to the study of body composition as to the nutritional state of children and adults. A body suffering from nutritional restrictions uses its fat, muscular or visceral proteins (Frisancho 1981). For instance, the use of these reserves is reflected in changes of arm circumference: it is estimated that the tricipital skinfold reflects the caloric fat reserves and the circumference of the arm the protein reserves, whereas the levels of circulating proteins such as transferrin or albumin reflect the state of visceral proteins.

The evaluation of the body composition in nutritional studies is also of fundamental importance in the evaluation of cardiovascular risks; some studies showed that skinfolds were better associated with heart attack risk than the relative weight (Hubert et al. 1983). For elderly individuals, the observation of the nutritional state must take into account the factors of ageing of the body composition: weight for instance can vary in some diseases or hydration differences may occur; in these cases an evaluation of the muscular area of the arm is a good indicator of malnutrition (Frisancho 1990). On the other hand, it is not only the percentage of body fat but also its distribution that is related to disease risks (Hackett et al. 1984 a, b), especially when it tends to be centrally located, that is accumulation at trunk level.

But doubtlessly, there are some limits to the study of the nutritional state on the basis of anthropometrical estimations, for instance the muscular area of the arm estimated from anthropometry is overestimated in obese individuals (Forbes et al. 1988). This would suggest that anthropometry could be complemented by other ways of evaluating body composition, such as the analysis of bioelectrical impedance (BIA).

INFLUENCE OF NUTRITIONAL DIFFERENCES IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Whether the secular changes or social differences in growth observed in developed countries are linked to nutritional factors is a question without an always clear answer.

Nutritional differences continue to exist even in European populations. Bielicki and Welon (1982) demonstrated, for instance, by budget analysis a relationship between the *per capita* income and variations in the consumption of meat, eggs, cheese, vegetables, and

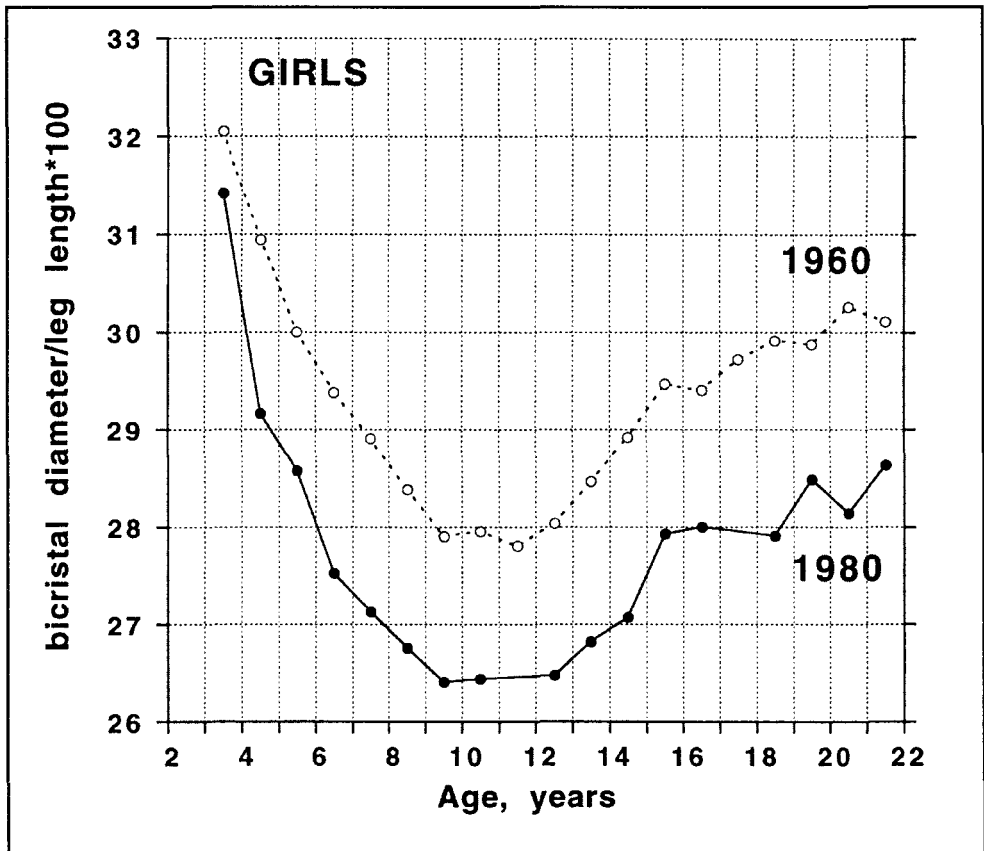


Fig. 3.

fruits. In an urban environment the population eats more vegetables and fruits, meat and milk-based products than in a rural environment (Ferro-Luzzi and Mariani 1981)

These differences are, however, less marked in developing countries and thus the nutritional relationship is also less evident. Some studies have continued to observe a relationship between height or weight and the energy supply (Black et al. 1976, Department of Health and Social Security 1975) at least for children of pre-school age. For school children and adolescents, the relationship is less evident (Durnin et al. 1974, Darke and Disselduff 1981, Hackett et al. 1984 a, b). This difference is probably linked to the fact that growth rapidity is higher in young children and the proportion of nutritional intake dedicated to it is also higher.

Actually, socio-economical differences between rural and urban countries are becoming less and less dominated by nutritional intake. Numerous factors interact, such as salaries, education, way of life, sanitary conditions when the nutritional base necessary for a normal growth is present. In populations with satisfactory alimentation, the genotype will

be expressed more correctly and variations between individuals better indicate genetic differences.

In our industrial societies, social differences can of course exist: yet often more recent results show a decrease or an absence of them except in very sensitive groups. For instance, the health of Belgian conscripts (Susanne 1971) was almost constant in the whole Belgian population except in conscripts who had not finished primary school. The effect of family dimensions on psycho-technical tests was only negative in the group with the lowest level of education (Susanne 1975). In the same way, height and weight were not influenced by the family dimensions except in the lowest social class. Rona and Chinn (1982) demonstrated that skinfolds are only affected in non-qualified worker families with a large number of children. Billewicz et al. (1983) found similar results for height. For height variation, when profession was controlled, the effect of income was only evident in the non-qualified professions. When income was controlled, the negative effect of non-qualified professions was not evident except in the case of the lowest incomes (Rona 1984). These results seem to indicate that a social group particularly sensitive continued to exist, namely the group of non-specialised workers with a low level of education and high numbers of children

RELATIONSHIP TO SECULAR CHANGES

If the influence of nutrition on growth is evident and if secular changes are also clearly established, the link between these secular changes and the evolution of alimentary consumption is not easy to establish. One can, however, postulate that the increase of consumption of proteins, fat, and sugar influence growth.

On the other hand, for young children cow's milk replaced mother's milk, and vitamins were generally added. Changes in alimentation of young babies and in others of weaning age could also be factors explaining secular changes during the first years (Vercauteren 1991).

Moreover, food preservation had become better and food became more homogeneous over the entire year. It is thus possible that the quality of intake plays just as important a role as the quantity. Minerals, calcium, and phosphorus for instance play an essential role and their increased consumption through milk-based products limits growth problems (Malina 1979).

The increase of sugar consumption is also implicated in secular changes, as refined sugars furnish a more rapidly available energy (Ziegler 1967, Froment 1986).

Some studies have observed parallelism between secular changes and alimentary conditions, such as was seen in Italy between 1900 and 1980 (Facchini and Gualdi-Russo 1982), Italy between 1870 and 1960 (Ulizzi and Terrenato 1982), in Spain (Ochoa Zamora et al. 1981), in Greenland Eskimos (Skrobak-Kaczynski et al. 1977, before and after 1950 and a policy of food supplementation), in English soldiers in the eighteenth century (Steggman 1985).

The interaction between social factors however is such that it would illusory to postulate only alimentary factors as hygiene without doubt also plays an important role.

TEST CASE OF ITALY

We take this example as it is well documented in the paper of Ferro - Luzzi (1984).

In 1940, in socio-economic, alimentary and hygienic terms the situation in Italy could be qualified as very poor, particularly in Southern Italy and on the Italian islands.

In the 50s, indications of deficiencies were still numerous with rickets, pellagra, goitre, and dwarfism (Ferro - Luzzi 1962). Cresta et al. (1982) illustrated this situation in Salerno where more than 50% of the families worked on only 500 square metres and this in a primitive way, 94% of the houses had no running water and 80% no sanitary facilities, more than 40% of the population was illiterate, 96% of the children aged 6 to 12 years suffered from intestinal parasites and 26% from rickets.

In the 60s, progressive improvement was observed, clinical signs of nutritional deficiencies disappeared except in countries with endemic goitres. The nutritional state remained, however, marginal (Ferro - Luzzi 1966) and important differentiations of growth potential existed (Ferro - Luzzi and Sofia 1967).

In the 70s, extensive changes were observed, consumption of meat, sugar, fruits, vegetables and fat increased. In a second study of Salerno (Cresta et al. 1982), the changes were very significant; illiteracy had decreased drastically, intestinal parasites were limited to 25%, running water and sanitation were present in almost 100% of the houses. In terms of growth the changes were significantly better, too.

CONCLUSION

The anthropometric tool is very easy to use and it remains an important way to follow populations in terms of nutrition and health, or in terms of social and economic evolution.

In the situations observed in many populations in the Third World, the anthropometric tool is even linked to infantile mortality (Chen et al. 1979). This is not the case any more in developed countries where the only observed correlations are those sometimes present with cardio-vascular diseases: lower stature and higher risk (Waeler 1984), and fat distribution and risks (Lapidus et al. 1984).

The evolution of European populations and of industrial populations implies a more refined analysis of eventual nutritional effects. Other ecological factors may play a more important role in the observed fluctuations. But here also the anthropometric tool may remain an interesting epidemiological tool.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was partly supported by the UPV 154.310-EA 006/97 research project from the Universidad del País Vasco (University of Basque Country).

POVZETEK:

Antropometrija še vedno ostaja aktualna metoda za spremljanje prehranjenosti in zdravja v populaciji ali kot način za analiziranje socialne in ekonomske evolucije.

V prispevku avtorji ne omejujejo svoje analize le na telesno višino in težo. Opozarjajo na potrebo, da se uporabijo tudi ostale telesne mere: gube, obodi, širinske in višinske mere.

Razlike v prehranjevanju so prisotne v državah v razvoju, a tudi razvitih državah. Avtorji analizirajo tudi povezanost prehrane s pojavom sekularnega trenda. Vse analize in diskusije so podprte s številnimi primeri in obsežnim pregledom literature.

REFERENCES:

- ADAIR, L. S. & POLLITT, E.** 1983. Seasonal variation in pre- and postpartum maternal body measurements and infant birth weight. *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* 62: 325-331.
- ASHCROFT, M. T., HENEAGE, P., LOWELL, H. G.** 1966. Heights and weights of Jamaican schoolchildren of various ethnic groups. *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* 24: 35-44.
- BECQUE, M. D., KATCH, V. L., MOFFATT, R.** 1986. Skinfold compressibility in males and females. *Hum. Biol.* 58: 33-42
- BENN, R. T.** 1971. Some mathematical properties of weight-for height indices used as measures of adiposity. *Br. J. Prev. Soc. Med.* 25: 42-50.
- BIELICKI, T. & WELON, Z.** 1982. Growth data as indicators of social inequalities: the case of Poland. *Yb. Phys. Anthropol.* 25: 153-167.
- BILLEWICZ, W. Z., THOMPSON, A. M. & FELLOWES, H. M.** 1983. A longitudinal study of growth in Newcastle upon Tyne adolescents. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 10: 125-133.
- BLACK, A. E., BILLEWICZ, W. A. & THOMPSON, A. M.** 1976. The diets of preschool children in Newcastle upon Tyne. 1968-71. *Br. J. Nutr.* 35: 105-113.
- CAMERON, N.** 1991a. Human growth, nutrition and health state in SubSaharan Africa. *Yearb. Phys. Anthropol.*, 34: 211-250.
- CAMERON, N.** 1991b. Measurement issues related to the anthropometric assessment of nutritional state. In: *Anthropometric Assessment of Nutritional State*, ed. by J. H. Himes. Wiley-Liss, p.347-364.
- CAMERON, N., JOHNSTON, F. E., KGAMPLE, J. S. & LUNZ, R.** 1992. Body fat patterning in rural South African Black children. *Am. J. Hum. Biol.* 4: 353-364.
- CHEN, L.C., CHOWDHURY, A.K. & HUFFMAN, S.F.** 1979. Seasonal dimensions of energy protein malnutrition in rural Bangladesh: the role of agriculture, dietary practices and infection. *Ecol. Food Nutr.* 8: 75-87.
- COLE, T.J.** 1986. Weight/height^P compared to weight/height² for assessing adiposity in childhood: influence of age and bone on p during puberty. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 13: 433-451.
- COLE, T.J.** 1991. Weight/stature indices to measure underweight, overweight and obesity. In: *Anthropometric Assessment of Nutritional State*, ed. by J. H. Himes, Wiley-Liss, pp 83-111
- CRESTA, M., BARBERINI, G., CALANDRA, P.L., CIALFA, E., DE MAJO, A.M., GRADONI, L., GRAMICCIA, M., KARIANI, M., PASSARELLO, P., POZIO, E., PULICANI, A.R., RICCI, M. & VECCHI, F.** 1982. Rofrana: 1954-1980. Studio biologico su 2G anni di storia di una comunità montana dell'Italia Meridionale (Prov. di Salerno). *Quadr. Nutr., Monogr. Ser. No. 2. Natn. Inst. Nutr.*

- DARKE, S.J. & DISSELDUFF, M.M.** 1981. A nutrition study of primary school children aged 10-11 years in Bristol, Croydon and Sheffield made in the first three months of 1971, in Subcommittee on Nutritional Surveillance; 2nd rep. Department of Health and Social Security. *Report on Health and Social Subjects*, No. 21, pp. 111 - 130 (HMSO, London).
- DEFRISE, E.** 1955. Ellipses équiprobables et taux d'éloignement. *Bull. Inst. roy. Sciences naturelles*, 31, 26, 1-31.
- Department of Health and Social Security.** 1975. A nutrition survey of preschool children, 1967-68 in Report by the Committee on Medical Aspects of Food Policy. *Report on health and subjects*, No.10 (HMSO, London).
- DURNIN, J.V., LONERGAN, M.E., GOOD, J. & EWAN, A.** 1974. A cross-sectional nutritional and anthropometric study, with an interval of 7 years, on 611 young adolescent schoolchildren. *Br. J. Nutr.* 32: 169-179.
- EVELETH, P.B.** 1979: Population differences in growth: environmental and genetic factors. In: *Falkner and Tanner, Human Growth*, vol.3, pp.373-394.
- EVELETH, P.B. & TANNER, J.M.** 1976. *Worldwide Variation in Human Growth*. Cambridge University Press, London.
- FABER, J.** 1980: The possible effect of maternal maturation on the infant and his nursing mother. In *Freier and Eidelman, Human milk. Its biological and social value*. *Excerpta Med. Int. Congr. Ser.*, no. 518, pp.33-38.
- FACCHINI, F. & GUALDI-RUSSO, E.** 1982. Secular anthropometric changes in a sample of Italian adults. *J. Hum. Evol.* 11: 703-714.
- FERRO-LUZZI, A.** 1962. Lo stato di nutrizione delle comunità scolari Italiane. I. Rassegna criticosintetica sul livello nutrizionale della popolazione italiana. *Quad. Nutr.* 22: 2940.
- FERRO-LUZZI, A.** 1966. The nutritional state of the rural population of 16 Italian communities. *Quad. Nutr.* 26: 94-106.
- FERRO-LUZZI, A.** 1984. Environmental physical growth. In: C. Susanne: Genetic and Environmental Factors During the Growth Period, Plenum Press, New York, pp.169-198
- FERRO-LUZZI, A. & MARIANI, A.** 1981. Nutritional deficiencies in preschool and prepubertal children. *Karger, Basel. Bibliotheca Nutr. Dieta*, 30, pp. 30-42.
- FERRO-LUZZI, A. & SOFIA, F.** 1967. Rapporto su altezze, pesi e altri indici di stato di nutrizione dei bambini Italiani (età 6-11 anni). *Quad. Nutr.* 27: 269-292.
- FORBES, G.B., BROWN, M.R. & GRIFFITH, H.J.** 1988. Arm muscle plus bone area: anthropometry and CAT scan compared. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 34: 929-931
- FRISANCHO, A.R.** 1981. New norms of upper limb fat and muscle areas for assessment of nutritional state. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 34: 2540-2545
- FRISANCHO, A.R.** 1990. *Anthropometric standards for the assessment of growth and nutritional state*. University Michigan Press, Michigan.
- FRISANCHO, A.R. & FLEGEL, P.N.** 1982. Relative merits of old and new indices of body mass with reference to skinfold thickness. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 36: 697-699.
- FROMENT, A.** 1986. Aspects nutritionnels de l'anthropologie. In: *L'Homme, son évolution, sa diversité*. ed. D. Ferembach, C. Susanne and M. C. Chamla. Paris, Doin, p.347-357.
- GARN, S.M., LEONARD, W.R. & HAWTHORNE, V.N.** 1986. Three limitations of the body mass index. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 44: 996-997.
- HABICHT, J.P., MARTORELL, R., YARBROUGH, C., MALINA, R.M. & KLEIN, R.E.** 1984: Height and weight standards for preschool children. How relevant are ethnic differences in growth potential? *Lancet* i: 611 -615.

- HACKETT, A.F., RUGG-GUNN, A.J., APPLETON, D.R., EASTOE, J.E. & JENKINS, G.N.** 1984a. A two-year longitudinal nutritional survey of 405 Northumberland children initially aged 11.5 years. *Br. J. Nutr.* 51: 67-75.
- HACKETT, A.F., RUGG-GUNN, A.J., APPLETON, D.R., PARKIN, J. M. and ESTOE, J. E.** 1984b. A two-year longitudinal study of dietary intake in relation to the growth of 405 English children initially aged 11-12 years. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 11: 545-553.
- HAMILL, P.V., DRIZD, T.A., JOHNSON, C.L., REED, R.B. & ROCHE, A.F.** 1977. NCHS growth curves for children birth - 18 years. *Vital and Health Statistics, Ser.11, n° 165.* Washington D. C.
- HATTORI, K., BECQUE, M.D., KATCH, V.L., ROCCHINI, A.P., BOILEAU, R.A., SLAUGHTER, M.H. & LOHMAN, T.G.** 1987. Fat patterning of adolescents. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 14: 23-28.
- HAUSPIE, R.C., DAS, S.R., PREECE, M.A. & TANNER, J.M.** 1980. A longitudinal study of the growth in height of boys and girls of West Bengal (India) aged six months to 20 years. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 7: 429-441.
- HENNART, P. & VIS, H.L.** 1980. Breast-feeding and post partum amenorrhea in Central Africa. I. Milk production in rural areas. *J. Trop. Pediatr.* 26: 117-183.
- HIERNAUX, J.** 1964a. Luba du Katanga et Luba du Kasai (Congo). Comparison de deux populations de même origine. *Bull. Mém. Soc. Anthropol. Paris* 6: 611-622.
- HIERNAUX, J.** 1964b. Weight-height relationship during growth in Africans and Europeans. *Hum. Biol.* 36: 273-293.
- HIMES, J.M.** 1991. Considering frame size in nutritional assessment. In: *Anthropometric Assessment of Nutritional State*, ed. by J. H. Himes, Wiley Liss, p. 141-150.
- HUBERT, H.B., FEINLEIB, M. & MCNAMARA, P.M.** 1983. Obesity as an independent risk factor for cardiovascular disease: a 26-year follow up of participants in the Framingham Heart study. *Circulation* 67: 969-977.
- JELLIFFE, E.F. & JELLIFFE, D.B.** 1969. The arm circumference as a public health index of protein-caloric malnutrition of early childhood. IX: Experience in the Caribbean. *J. Trop. Pediatr.* 15: 209-212.
- JOHNSTON, F.E.** 1992. Developmental aspects of fat patterning. In: Hernández, M and Argente, J (eds.): *Human Growth: Basic and Clinical Aspects.* Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 217-226.
- JOHNSTON, F.E., HEATH, B.H. & SHOUP, R.F.** 1995. Patrones de distribución de la grasa en cuatro muestras de jóvenes de 12-18 años de edad. *Rev. Esp. Antrop. Biol.* 16: 69-83.
- JOHNSTON, F.E., WAINER, H., THISSEN, D. & IACVEAN, R.** 1977. Hereditary and environmental determinants of growth in height in a longitudinal sample of children and youth of Guatemalan and European ancestry. *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* 44: 469-476.
- JOHNSTON, F.E., NEWMAN, B., CRAVIOTO, J., DELICARDIE, E. & SCHOLL, T.** 1980. A factor analysis of correlates of nutritional states in Mexican children, birth to 3 years. In: *Social and Biological Predictors of Nutritional State, Physical Growth and Neurological Development.* Ed. S. Greene and F. E. Johnston, Academic Press.
- KAUP, J.** 1921: Ein Körperproportionsgesetz zur Beurteilung der Lange-, Gewichts- und Indexabweicher populations-altergruppe. *Munch. Med. Wochenschr.* 68: 76-978.
- KEYS, A., FIDANZA, F., KARVONEN, M.J., KIMURA, N. & TAYLOR, H.L.** 1972. Indices of relative weight and obesity. *J. Chronic. Dis.* 25: 329-343.
- KHOSLA, T & LOWE, C.R.** 1967. Indices of obesity derived from body weight and height. *Br. J. Prev. Soc. med.* 21:122-128.
- KILLEEN, J., VANDERBURG, D. & HARLEN, W.R.** 1978. Application of weight height ratios and body indices to juvenile populations - the National Health Examinations Survey Data. *J. Chronic. Dis.* 31: 529-537.

- KOTZE, J.P. & VIVIER, F.L.** 1986. The width coefficient **K**: a new parameter of nutritional state compared to other allometric relationships. *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, 82: 327-329.
- LAMPL, M., JOHNSTON, F.E. & MALCOLM, L.A.** 1978. The effects of protein supplementation on the growth and skeletal maturation of New Guinean school children. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 5: 219-227.
- LAPIDUS, L., BENGTSON, C., LARSSON, B., PENNERT, K., RYBO, E. & SJOSTROM, L.** 1984. Distribution of adipose tissue and risk of cardiovascular disease and death: a 12 year follow up of participants in the population study of women in Goteborg, Sweden. *Br. Med. J.* 289, 12.
- LUDLUM, F.E. & POWELL, E.** 1940. Chest-height-weight tables for college women. *Res. Q.* 11: 55-57.
- MALCOLM, L.A.** 1974. Ecological factors relating to child growth and nutritional state. In Roche, Falkner, Nutrition and Malnutrition, Plenum Press, New York, pp. 329-352.
- MALINA, R.M.** 1979. Secular changes in size and maturity: causes and effects. In: Secular trends in Human growth, maturation and development. Ed. A. R. Roche. Monographs of the society for research in child development, 179 (44: 3-4), 59-101.
- MALINA, R.M. & BOUCHARD, C.** 1988. Subcutaneous fat distribution during growth. In: Fat Distribution During Growth and Later Health Outcomes, In Bouchard C. and Johnston F.E. (eds): Liss: New York, pp. 63-84.
- MARSHALL, J.D. HAZLETT, C.B., SPADY, D.W., CONGER, P.R. & QUINNEY, H.A.** 1991. Validity of convenient indicators of obesity. *Hum. Biol.* 63: 137-153.
- MICOZZI, M.S., ALBANES, D., JONES, D.Y. & CHUMLEA, W.C.** 1986. Correlations of body mass indices with weight, stature and body composition in men and women in NHANES I and II. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 44: 725-731.
- MUELLER, W.H., WOHLLEB, J.C.** 1981. Anatomical distribution of subcutaneous fat and its description by multivariate methods: how valid are principal components? *Am. J. Phys. Anthropol.* 54: 25-35.
- NORGAN, N.G.** 1991. Anthropometric assessment of body fat and fatness. In: Anthropometric Assessment of Nutritional State, ed. by J. H. Himes, Wiley-Liss, p. 197-212.
- NORGAN, N.G. & FERRO-LUZZI, A.** 1982. Weight-height indices as estimations of fatness in men. *Hum. Nutr.: Clin. Nutr.* 36 C: 363-372.
- OCHOA-ZAMORA, F., PEREZ DIAZ, C. & CANADILLA, V.** 1981. Variabilidad geográfica de los cambios seculares en escolares españoles. *Rev. Mex. Estud. Antropol.* 27: 221-249.
- PAGEZY, H.** 1984. Seasonal hunger as experienced by the OTO and the TWA women of a Ntomba village in the equatorial forest (Lake Tumba, Zaire). *Ecol. Food Nutr.* 15: 13-27.
- PAGEZY, H. & HAUSPIE, R.C.** 1985. Seasonal variation in the growth rate of weight in African babies, aged 0 to 4 years. *Ecol. Food Nutr.* 18: 29-41.
- POSKITT, E.** 1987. Management of obesity. *Arch. Dis. Chil.* 62: 305-310.
- PRENTICE, A.M., WHITEHEAD, R.G., ROBERTS, S.B. & PAUL, A.A.** 1981. Longterm energy balance in childbearing Gambian women. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 34: 2790-2799.
- QUETELET, L.A.** 1869. *Physique sociale*. Vol. 2 Bruxelles Ed. C. Muguardt.
- REBATO, E., SALCES, I., SAN MARTIN, L. & ROSIQUE, J.** 1998a. Fat distribution in relation to sex and socioeconomic state in children 4-19 years. *Am. J. Hum. Biol.*, 10. In press.
- REBATO, E., ROSIQUE, J., SUSANNE, C., VINAGRE, A., SALCES, I. & SAN MARTIN, L.** 1998b. Nutritional state of an urban sample from low-class districts in Bilbao (Basque Country). 11TH CONGRESS OF THE E.A.A (Jena) Abstract.

- REVICKI, D.A. & ISRAEL, R.G.** 1986. Relationship between body mass indices and measures of body adiposity. *Am. J. Public Health*, 76: 992-994.
- ROCHE, A.F., SIERVOGEL, R.M., CHUMLEA, W.C. & WEBB, P.** 1981. Grading body fatness from limited anthropometric data. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 34: 2831-2838.
- ROHER, F.** 1908. Ein neuer Formel zur Bestimmung der Koperfulle. *Korrespondenz-Blatt der Deutschen Gessellschaft fur Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 39:5-7.
- RONA, R.J.** 1984. Ecological environment. *Environment and physical growth*. In: Genetic and Environmental Factors during the Growth Period, ed. C. Susanne, Plenum Press, New York p. 199-208 .
- RONA, R.J. & CHINN, S.** 1982. National study of health and growth: social and family factors and obesity in primary schoolchildren. *Ann. Hum. Biol.* 9: 131-145.
- ROLLAND-CACHERA, M.F.** 1991. Méthodes d'évaluation de l'état nutritionnel chez l'enfant: application au cas particulier de l'obésité. *Bull. Mém. Anthropologie Paris*, 3: 191-200.
- ROLLAND-CACHERA, M.F., SEMPE, M., GUILLOUD-BATAILLE, M., PATOIS, E., PEQUIGNOT-GUGGENBUHL, F. & FAUTRAD, V.** 1982. Adiposity indices in children. *Am. J. Clin. Nutr.* 36:178-184.
- ROOKUS, M.A.** 1986. Body mass index in young Dutch adults: its development and the etiology of its development. Doctoral thesis Wageningen.
- ROSIQUE, J., REBATO, E., GONZALEZ APRAIZ, A. & PACHECO, J.L.** 1994. Somatotype related to centripetal fat patterning of 8 to 19 year old Basque boys and girls. *Am. J. Hum. Biol.* 6: 171-181.
- SIERVOGEL, R.M., ROCHE, A.F., GUO, S., MUKHERJEE, D. & CAMERON, W.** 1991. Chumlea: Patterns of change in weight/stature 2 from 2 to 18 years: findings from long term serial data for children in the Fels longitudinal growth study. *Int. J. obesity* 15: 479-485.
- SHELDON, W.H., STEPHENS, S.S. & TUCKER, C.B.** 1940. *The varieties of human physique: an introduction to constitutional psychology*. New York. Harper.
- SHIMOKATA, H., TOBIN, J.D., MULER, D.C., ELAHI, P., COON, P.J. & ANDRES, R.** 1989. Studies in the distribution of body fat: I. Effects of age, sex, and obesity. *Journal of Gerontology: Medical Sciences* 44: M66-73.
- SKROBAK-KACZYNSKI, J., JORGENSEN, J.B. & DRENHAUS, U.** 1977. Secular changes in the Eskimos of the Northern District of Upernavik. *J. Hum. Evol.* 6: 217-220.
- STEEGMAN, A.** 1985. 18th century British military stature: growth cessation, selective recruiting secular trends, nutrition at birth, cold and occupation. *Hum. Biol.* 57: 77-95.
- SUSANNE, C.** 1971. Relation entre un indice global de santé et le "niveau intellectuel" ou le degré d'instruction des sujets. *Bull. Soc. roy. belge Anthropol. Préhist.* 82: 171 - 184.
- SUSANNE, C.** 1975. Caractères polygéniques et sélection: analyse relative à l'intelligence. *Bull. Mém. Soc. Anthropol. Paris* 2: 211-219.
- SUSANNE, C.** 1991. Croissance et développement, de la génétique au milieu. *Bull. Mém. Soc. Anthr. Paris* 3: 161-171.
- TROWBRIDGE, F.L. & NEWTON, L.H.** 1979. Seasonal changes in malnutrition and diarrheal disease among pre-school children in El Salvador. *Am. J. trop. med. Hyg.* 28: 135-141.
- TURNER, A.H.** 1943. Body weights optimal for young adult women. *Res. Q* 14: 255-276.
- TWIESELMANN, F.** 1969. *Développement biométrique de l'enfant à l'adulte*. Presses Univ. Bruxelles.
- ULLIZZI, L. & TERRENATO, L.** 1982. A comparison between the secular trends of stature and of some socio-economic factors in Italy. *J. Hum. Evol.* 11: 715-720.

- VERCAUTEREN, M.** 1984. **Evolution séculaire et normes de croissance chez les enfants belges.** Bull. Soc. Roy. Belge. Antrop. Préhist. 95: 109-123.
- VERCAUTEREN, M.** 1991. **Taille et poids des nouveau-nés et jeunes enfants en Belgique: Evolution séculaire et alimentation.** Bull. Mém. Soc. Anthropologie Paris, 3: 225-240.
- VERCAUTEREN, M. & SLACHMUYLDER, J.L.** 1993. **Croissance d'enfants belges en milieu urbain (Bruxelles) et rural (Viroinval).** Anthropologie et Préhistoire 104: 119-132.
- WAELEER, H.T.** 1984. **Height, weight and mortality: the Norwegian experience.** Acta Med. Scand. suppl. 679: 1-56.
- ZIEGLER, E.** 1967. **Secular changes in the stature of adults and the secular trend of the modern sugar consumption.** Z. Kinderheilkunde, 11: 146-166.

SICKNESS AND TIME IN A SEPIK COMMUNITY¹

BOLEZEN IN ČAS V SEPIŠKI SKUPNOSTI

BORUT TELBAN

ZRC SAZU, LJUBLJANA

ABSTRACT:

In this short article about the association between time, health and sickness in Ambonwari village, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea the author examines people's practices and introduces their own concepts as they are expressed and thought about in their own Karawari vernacular. The author argues that it is the relationship between *kay* (habit, manner, way of doing things) and *wambung* ("insiderness", understanding) — both being extended to the past and the future, both involving many individual and collective dimensions — which with its processual multidimensional nature — every process includes tempo, rythm, temporal strategies, etc. — produces multidimensional time as it produces itself. This relationship between "way of doing things" and "understanding" is the most important for Abonwari conceptualization of their life-world, including health and sickness.

In one of his most influential books a social phenomenologist Alfred Schutz wrote that "*the problem of meaning is a time problem* — not a problem of physical time, which is divisible and measurable, but a problem of historical time" (1972:12; italics in original). Filled with physical events and having the nature of "internal time consciousness" (Husserl 1964), historical time is always related to one's own life. "It is within this duration that the meaning of a person's experience is constituted for him as he lives through the experience" (Schutz *ibid.*).

In this short article about the relationship between time, health and sickness in Ambonwari village, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea, I would like to present my views as clearly as possible. First of all I would like to introduce people's own concepts as they are expressed and thought about in their own, Karawari vernacular. This concepts are not simply inherited but are continually reconstructed and comprehended anew. Once this is understood, Ambonwari conceptualization of life can be depicted and confirmed through the careful observation of their practices. Only then I will be able to outline what do I mean by temporality, by sickness and by the relationship between health, sickness and time.

Ambonwari village has just over 400 inhabitants. It is probably the largest of eight main villages in which about 2000 people speak Karawari. This language is a member of the Lower Sepik Family, belonging to the larger group of Papuan languages (Foley 1986;

¹ This paper was earlier delivered as *Temporality of sickness in a Sepik society* at the Conference entitled "Space and time in sickness and health", at the Queen Mary and Westfield College in London, on 8th September 1996.

Telban n.d.). There are 12 totemic clans and 35 patrilineages, including six with no present members. Residence is patri-virilocal. Introduced respiratory diseases — tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza — along with malaria, take a heavy toll of Ambonwari people. Though there is an Aid Post in the village and though people, when necessary, visit hospitals in Angoram and Wewak, the practices of the two village healers reflect people's understanding of their world — that is their cosmology — and their well-being.

Many societies, including Ambonwari, do not even have a term which can adequately translate the English term “time” with its multiple and often measurement-oriented meanings. I have shown elsewhere (Telban 1998) that their “time” is not an abstract idea but an integral part of their life: the ways activities are performed, the manner in which people behave, the ways the village functions, as well as most significant rituals, are all subsumed under the term *kay* which refers to “embodied” processes, both collective and individual, both past (*kupambin kay*, “the way of the ancestors/elders”) and present (*immgan kay*, “the way of the village”). The past as represented in *kay* is not just automatically reproduced, but requires an active process which is reflected upon and guided by people's understanding, i.e. *wambung* (lit. “insiderness”; see Telban 1993, 1998). As a verb *kay* captures several meanings: to be, to exist, to remain, to stay. As a noun it is used for being, habit, way, manner, as well as ritual, custom and law. As Ambonwari do not have a term for an abstract concept of “body”, *kay* is not necessarily embodied in material flesh, in the case of spirits, for example (see Telban 1998a).

In this paper about the temporality of sickness I would like to show that it is the relationship between *kay* (seen as habit, manner, way of doing things) and *wambung* (understanding, “insiderness”) which is the most important for Ambonwari conceptualization of health and sickness and which with its processual nature produces time as it produces itself. One could say that both health and sickness are intrinsically defined by their *tempo* (cf. Bourdieu 1977:8).

The main sign that someone is sick is that her or his *kay* is not as it should be, as it is habitually expected. A person's breathing is different from usual, their skin is hot or cold, she or he sleeps more, or does not perform their usual activities. People say that a person is “with sickness” (*min mari ngandikin*), that is, she or he “has sickness” (in Karawari language — just like in many other languages — there is no verb “to have”). Sickness “has taken hold of a person” (*min mari yan sarinyan*). By holding and “using” a person, the sickness and person become one; they share the same body/being. To get better a person has to remove (cut off) “sickness” as a part of the body/being. Only in this way will she or he rehabilitate their previous *kay* (way of life). But to cut off the sickness one cannot just take medicines (if tablets, pills and so on work people say that they were not really sick) but has to look at one's past and address those issues which caused the sickness. People say that those healing practices which are part of medical treatment in Hospitals and Health Centres are powerful. But they cannot help Ambonwari people when they are seriously sick, that is when they have so-called “custom sickness”, because medical doctors do not share and do not address the Ambonwari life-world of the living and spirits. Only by restoring the causes (wrongdoings; and here a patient's and his relatives' understanding comes into the play) the *kay* of a sick person will return to normal and the sickness will be cured.

In healing ceremonies, the specialist tries to find the cause and remove the objects which are the embodiment of sickness. A healer tries to restore the *kay* to its previous condition. As *kay* of an individual incorporates different collective *kay* the sickness also becomes a collective issue (of household or lineage, for example), incorporates past and

present relationships (ongoing, those who are producers and are produced by time), including with their own familiar spirits. What is apparent from the practices of the healers is that they are able to perform an intermediate role, creating a temporary link between people and spirits. To become a healer one has to come in contact not only with spirits of the dead, but also with bush spirits, in particular those of the patient's own clan and land. The spirits supervise the healers' practices and guide them on their healing paths. I asked one of the healers, Tobias, how he could hear the voice of the spirit. He answered: "Just in the same way as you are talking to me now and I can hear you. The spirit talks into my ear and I hear him." Still curious, I asked him whether in fact the voice simply occurs in his head? He answered:

"No. The voice comes straight into my ears. When I chew ginger, my eyes turn around and my ears become blocked. I am unable to understand what people around me say. I hear only spirits. So I say to everyone: 'Shut up, I want to hear what they have to say. Why are they angry?' Their answer will come straight into my ear. I tell those around that I did not get these answers inside my own head but that I have heard the voice of the spirit. So I would know the cause and would ask a child's father, or a husband if his wife is sick, or her, if her husband is sick. I would tell them when the spirit had asked for matters to be settled and tell them how this can be done. If they do not listen, the sick person can die."

The wrongdoers then have to "cut themselves off" from the practice which caused the sickness by following the practices such as payment of compensation, seclusion, washing, food presentation, and so on. Ambonwari people often say that they have to look after their skin properly, which includes their acts. In regard to sickness we can make some common observations: a healthy person is defined by visible healthy skin and her or his habitual activity; a sick person is defined by unhealthy skin and the aberrant activity. Thus, a healing ritual is concerned with the extraction of invisible stones, shells, teeth, bones and thorns from beneath the unhealthy skin, the restitution of *kay* by identifying the cause of sickness in wrongdoings, and finally by addressing the spirits of the household, lineage or clan who share collective identity with the sick person.

Godfried Yanggus from Eagle-1 clan and his wife boiled some ginger plants in a pot and sprayed and treated their sick daughter with the aromatic mixture. As Kambianma, who was approximately six years of age, did not recover that day Godfried asked Tobias Yangi, one of the two village healers, to visit them. Late that evening Tobias entered the house. He held six or seven ginger plants with leaves. He chewed ginger with betel nut and rubbed ginger over the forehead and chest of the sick child. He made sure to spray her under her finger- and toe-nails, and inside her ears and nose. Every orifice is a place where spirits can enter the sick person and carry the spirit from the body. While doing this Tobias inquired about any wrongs in Godfried's family and lineage. Godfried confessed that he had been to a sago forest which was not part of his clan's land. A few years ago two children had died after their father, Godfried's classificatory brother, had cut some palms in the same forest. They had decided then to leave the bush unused for five years. Tobias said that it was Godfried's mistake to cut sago palms in this forest and that this was also the reason for his own previous sickness. Tobias also commented that the Eagles

had arrived in the village following others and that the village spirits were angry. But the sickness was given to both of them by the spirits of the house because he had used land which was not his. After massaging her for some ten minutes Tobias removed a stone from Kambianma's belly. Everyone chewed betel nut and Tobias was given sago pudding to eat. Kambianma went to bed and Tobias left after a couple of hours of chatting and chewing betel nut.

The focus of healing ceremony as well as ritual in general is *kay*: either its transformation or its presentation. In either case what matters is that "embodied" *kay* is not something that one simply possesses (like knowledge), but something that one is (Bourdieu 1990:73). So one could say that temporality of sickness is indispensable for a healer who, in many different ways, explores the patient's or their relatives' past in his search of a possible cure. Therefore temporality should not be equated with a simple duration, but should be understood in terms of its many individual and collective dimensions, such as body-time, space-time, narrative-time (each of which as a process includes tempo, rhythm, temporal strategies, and so on), to mention some of well known word compounds often used by those who wrote and still write about time. Only in understanding temporality as a multidimensional, which achieves its wholeness and integrity in an individual person and which both unites and differentiates individuals and groups, we can better understand people's experience of their existence.

As I noticed that some of the papers in this section address children I would like to look at temporality of sickness in the case of Ambonwari children. In an article entitled *Being and 'Non-Being' in Ambonwari Ritual* (Telban 1997) I argued that healers in healing ceremonies treat uninitiated children as "non-beings". From the perspective of Ambonwari "selves" or "beings", children belong to this domain. They exist as extensions of their parents or carers, from whom they cannot be separated conceptually. The wrongdoings of adults can bring sickness both on themselves and on others who share the household with them. In the case of children, however, the healer looks only at the wrongdoings of the parents. The healer has to "see" into the "insideness" of people, either with the help of spirits or through people's own confession. But, as Ambonwari say, children do not have "insideness" or understanding; they still lack Heart (*wambung*). Children are not conscious beings as they do not understand their actions. They do not know how to do things, they do not mourn at funerals, they eat food by themselves and do not think about its distribution. Children do things wrong all the time. Their activities are not the shared habits of Ambonwari people. Their ways of doing things are often not in accordance with the dictates of village life (*imnggan kay*, "the way of the village"). Lacking the collective and ancestral *kay*, and not being able to reflect upon them, they have no properly formed *kay* either. In other words, Ambonwari *kay* (being) is not simply given by birth, but has to be formed through the awareness of selfhood and by forcibly impressing "proper personhood" (Poole 1982:103). Selfhood, however, goes beyond consciousness. It captures "the awareness of an individual as an individual: as someone who can reflect on her or his experience of and position in society, of 'being oneself'" (Cohen 1994:65). In Ambonwari this means the awareness of oneself as an Ambonwari male or female who is not an extension of his or her parents anymore but a fully responsible individual. Lacking both selfhood and personhood children are not yet individual Ambonwari beings, and from this point of view, we could say, they are "non-beings" (Telban 1997).

Children who have not passed through initiation or first menstruation rituals are not yet regarded as beings in their own right. At birth and while a mother is still breastfeeding, it is the parents who observe certain prohibitions, not their children. By being conscious (“with understanding”) a person can not only perform different activities but can understand them and can form, preserve and transform his or her distinctive habits. Children’s “insideness”, however, is not yet formed. Children’s daily activities are an inseparable part of the activities of their parents. Children are extensions of their parents’ beings. Even when they play, they are watched by their parents, older siblings or other relatives. Children help their parents with their daily tasks. The tasks are those of the parents and not those of the children. When playing, they often imitate the practices of adults. By learning the “ways” (*kay*) through practices children construe their understanding; to have understanding then means that they know how to do things. *Kay* and *wambung* are united in their association (Telban 1993, 1997, 1998, 1998a).

At the beginning of my paper I emphasized that it is the relationship between *kay* and *wambung* which is the most important for Ambonwari conceptualization of health and sickness. Through their processual nature they produce time as they produce themselves. Temporality of sickness in children (whose being and understanding are not yet formed) is temporality of their parents’ wrongdoings. Their parents’ aberrant *kay* (wrongdoings) is visible in their children’s (who are their extensions) aberrant *kay* (sickness). Only by correcting the former can the latter be restored. If only the latter is restored people do not recognize the former as the cause but say that a child was ‘sick nothing’. Another question which reminds to be answered is how can someone’s wrongdoing become the cause of sickness in someone else. When people live in the same household they share their practices, habits, ways of doing things. *Kay* of a husband and a wife are intertwined and controlled by the spirits of the house. Their social relationships are ‘embodied’ (‘embeinged’), that is, they are inseparable from their *kay*. *Kay* is a concept which broadens the narrow concept of ‘body’ to a temporal, social and cultural life-world embedded in every individual person. That is how, then, the problems in social relationships disturb *kay* and the well being of a person who belongs to the closest group of those who share the wrongdoer’s *kay*. One’s aberrant *kay* affects the *kay* of the other. Of course one could lie and pretend, but the spirits of the house see even the most hidden activities. And that is where their role as the regulators of relationships comes into the forefront and where the temporality of sickness recognizes most strongly not spirits as the beings of the past but the life-world in which both people and spirits dwell as consociates who share their intersubjective time.

POVZETEK

V prispevku o vasi Ambonwari v provinci Vzhodni Sepik na severozahodu Papue Nove Gvineje nam avtor poskuša kar najbolj jasno podati bistvo ambonwarijske konceptualizacije sveta, ki potem osvetljuje tudi njihov odnos do zdravja, bolezni, časa in smrti. Avtor predstavi najpomembnejše koncepte, ki jih vaščani podedujejo, ponovno oblikujejo, na novo razumevajo ter vedno znova uporabljajo v karawariščini, njihovem lokalnem jeziku. Mnoge družbe po svetu vključno z Ambonwarijci nimajo besede, ki bi jo lahko prevedli v evropsko besedo “čas” s svojimi mnogoterimi pomeni, ki so pogosto povezani z možnostjo kar najbolj natančnega merjenja. Njihov “čas” ni neka abstraktna ideja ali koncept temveč nekaj kar je nerazdružljivo s samim življenjem: z načinom kako ljudje opravljajo svoje dejavnosti, kako se vedejo, kako živi in deluje celotna vas, vključno z najbolj pomembni-

mi obredi. Vsi ti načini in navade so združeni v besedi *kay*, ki se nanaša na "utelešene" procese, tako skupinske kot individualne, tako pretekle (*kupambin kay*, način prednikov/starejših/velikih) kot sedanje (*imnggan kay*, način vasi). Preteklost, ki jo predstavlja *kay* se ne reproducira kar avtomatično, temveč zahteva od ljudi aktivno delovanje, ki je kritično ocenjeno in nadzorovano skozi njihovo razumevanje sveta, skozi človekov *wambung* (notranjost, srž, razumevanje in čutenje). Kot glagol ima *kay* več pomenov: *biti*, *eksistirati*, *ostati*, *stati*. Kot samostalnik pa se *kay* uporablja za *bit*, *navado*, *način*, pa tudi za *obred*, *običaj* in *zakon*. Za *Ambonwarijce* je *kay* utelešen: v njih samih in v tistih s katerimi so v intimnem stiku, pa tudi v predmetih, v okolju in v duhovih. Zato velja, da ravno tako kot lahko okolje, duhovi in drugi ljudje vplivajo na njih, lahko ljudje sami vplivajo na okolje, duhove in druge ljudi. Potem ko *ambonwarijska* konceptualizacija sveta postane vsaj približno jasna, se v članku srečamo s tistimi navadami, ki spremljajo boleznin in zdravljenja *ambonwarijskih* otrok. Glavni pokazatelj bolezni v vasi *Ambonwari* je sprememba v človekovih vsakdanjih navadah, v tem, da njegov ali njen *kay* ni tak kot bi moral biti, kot bi ga običajno pričakovali. Oseba diha drugače kot običajno, njena koža je bodisi mrzla, bodisi vroča, vsekakor pa ne taka kot običajno, človek več spi in ne opravlja svojih vsakdanjih dejavnosti. Ljudje pravijo, da je taka oseba bolna, da je skupaj "z boleznijo" (*min mari ngandikin*), da jo bolezen "drži" (*min mari yan sarinyan*). Z držanjem in uporabo osebe postaneta bolezen in oseba eno, delita si isti *kay*, isto *bit*. Da bi se stanje izboljšalo, mora bolnik "odrezati" bolezen kot del njegove ali njene *biti*. Le na tak način se bo povrnil predhodni *kay* (način življenja). Da pa se to doseže, ni dovolj le jemanje zdravil (če le ta delujejo, ljudje pravijo, da niso bili resno bolni), temveč je treba pogledati v preteklost in obravnavati tista dejanja in tiste vzroke, ki so bolezen povzročili. Poudarek pri zdravljenju, kot tudi pri vseh drugih obredih, je na človekovem in kolektivnem *kay-u*, na njegovi obnovitvi in predstavitvi (pri obredu iniciacije pa je poudarek raje na njegovi spremembi). V vseh teh primerih je pomembno to, da "utelešen" *kay* ni nekaj kar neko preprosto poseduje (kot na primer znanje) temveč nekaj, kot pravi Bourdieu, kar neko je. Lahko bi rekli, da je čas pri boleznin za zdravilca nujen, saj v svoji želji, da bi bolnega pozdravil, na različne načine proučuje preteklost tako bolnika kot njegovih sorodnikov. Zato časa ne smemo razumeti preprosto kot neko linearno trajanje, temveč raje v smislu njegovih mnogih individualnih in kolektivnih dimenzij, kot so npr. telesni-čas, prostorski-čas, pripovedni-čas, in drugi časi, ob tem, da vsak od njih, kar je tako ali tako značilno za procese, vključuje tempo, ritem in raznorazne časovne strategije. Samo če čas razumemo v okvirih njegove multidimenzionalnosti, ki doseže celovitost in integriteto v posamezni osebi in, ki hkrati združuje in razlikuje (razmejuje) posameznike in skupine, lahko bolje razumemo kako *Ambonwarijci* vidijo, razumejo in čutijo mnogotere dimenzije svojih lastnih življenj in življenj svojih bližnjih. Seveda so tu pomembni tudi duhovi njihovih pokojnih sorodnikov. Ravno komponenta časa je pri *kay-u* boleznin tista, ki poudari prisotnost duhov ne kot nekih bitij iz bolj ali manj oddaljene preteklosti, temveč kot sobivajočih bitij, to je tistih, ki si z ljudmi delijo skupen življenski svet in tako imenovan intersubjektivni čas.

REFERENCES:

- BOURDIEU**, Pierre. 1977. *OUTLINE OF A THEORY OF PRACTICE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BOURDIEU**, Pierre. 1990. *THE LOGIC OF PRACTICE*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- COHEN**, Anthony P. 1994. **SELF CONSCIOUSNESS: AN ALTERNATIVE ANTHROPOLOGY OF IDENTITY**. London: Routledge.
- FOLEY**, William A. 1986. **THE PAPUAN LANGUAGES OF NEW GUINEA**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HERDT**, Gilbert (ed). 1982. **RITUALS OF MANHOOD: MALE INITIATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA**. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- HUSSERL**, Edmund. 1964. **THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF INTERNAL TIME-CONSCIOUSNESS**. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- KECK**, Verena (ed). 1998. **COMMON WORLDS AND SINGLE LIVES: CONSTITUTING KNOWLEDGE IN PACIFIC SOCIETIES**. Oxford: Berg Publishers.
- POOLE**, F.T.P. 1982. **THE RITUAL FORGING OF IDENTITY: ASPECTS OF PERSON AND SELF IN BIMIN-KUSKUSMIN MALE INITIATION**. In Herdt, Gilbert (ed), 1982. Pp.99-154.
- SCHUTZ**, Alfred. 1972. **THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF THE SOCIAL WORLD**. London: Heinemann Educational.
- TELBAN**, Borut. 1993. **HAVING HEART: CARING AND RESENTMENT IN AMBONWARI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA**. Bulletin of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum 54(3):158-177.
- TELBAN**, Borut. 1997. **BEING AND "NON-BEING" IN AMBONWARI (PAPUA NEW GUINEA) RITUAL**. Oceania 67(4):308-325.
- TELBAN**, Borut. 1998. **DANCING THROUGH TIME: A SEPIK COSMOLOGY**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TELBAN**, Borut. 1998a. **BODY, BEING, AND IDENTITY IN AMBONWARI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA**. In: Keck, Verena (ed), 1998. Pp.55-70.
- TELBAN**, Borut n.d. **THE GRAMMAR OF KARAWARI, PAPUA NEW GUINEA**. Unpublished manuscript.

MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM

MEDICINSKA ANTROPOLOGIJA IN ZDRAVSTVENO VARSTVO

MOJCA JURIČIČ

INŠTITUT ZA VAROVANJE ZDRAVJA, LJUBLJANA

POVZETEK:

V članku je prikazana vloga medicinske antropologije v zdravstvu, tako pri organizaciji, izvajanju, kot pri načrtovanju raziskav in predvsem pri zdravstveno vzgojnem delu. Medicinska antropologija prispeva predvsem s spoznanji in metodami, ki se uporabljajo pri etnografskih raziskavah, uporablja tudi metode iz epidemiologije, demografije, socialne psihologije. Raziskave narejene na tak način so pri načrtovanju zdravstva nujne, saj upoštevajo družbene zakonitosti nekega okolja.

Profesor Božo Škerlj je opisoval antropologijo kot znanstveno vedo o človeku v času in prostoru. V času je mišljen vertikalni, zgodovinski razvoj človeka, kot prostor pa horizontalni razvoj z veliko pestrostjo življenja vseh prebivalcev na Zemlji (Vlahovič 1996).

Definicij antropologije je več, več pa je tudi vej antropologije, saj je vse kar je vezano na človeka antropologija. Medicinska antropologija je del splošne antropologije in je nauk o bolnem človeku kot psihofizični enoti. Prvič je bila omenjena leta 1924. Pojem je uvedel O. Schwanz, kot vedo, ki se ukvarja z bolnim človekom kot entiteto in ne z boleznijo (Šerčer 1967). To je bil odgovor na razvoj tehnologije in uporabo njenih dosežkov v medicinskih preiskavah ter nevarnost, da se loči človeka na fizično telo in psiho.

Danes je to še vedno aktualno, s tem, da se poudarja človeka kot individualno celoto in kot sestavni del družbe. Zato so pomembna spoznanja socialne antropologije, socialne psihologije pri načrtovanju zdravstva in zato je nujno vključevanje medicinskih antropologov kot enakovrednega člana strokovnih skupin, saj medicinski antropologi uporabljajo spoznanja in metode drugih področij: etnografije, epidemiologije, psihologije, demografije pri svojem delu (Yoder 1997).

Današnji trenutek je še posebno občutljiv tudi za slovensko zdravstvo, ki je tako kot vsa ostala področja, v tranziciji. Tranzicija pomeni prehodno obdobje iz starega v novo. Nevarnost tranzicije so premajhna denarna sredstva za kvalitetne raziskave pred uvedbo novosti, ki ni prilagojena okolju v katerega prihaja. Tu je pomembno mesto medicinske antropologije.

V medicinski antropologiji je velik poudarek na upoštevanju védenja, znanja in stališč oziroma pričakovanj in na različni razlagi le teh med medicinskimi antropologi in zdravstvenimi izvajalci. Znanje in vedenje smatrajo strokovnjaki javnega zdravstva za različni si entiteti, medtem ko medicinski antropologi kot dopolnjujoči: na primer — znanje je povezano z biomedicinskim védenjem na podlagi znanstvenega dognanja npr: vloga komarjev pri malariji, AIDS in nezaščiten spolni odnos, medtem ko je stališče povezano s splošno idejo, ljudskim védenjem npr: mati ve kdaj je otrok resno bolan, ne zna pa tega natančno, strokovno pojasniti (Pelto & Pelto 1997). Stališča imajo v nasprotju z védenjem in

znanjem, ki sta brez emocionalne vsebine, čustven nabo, ki pa ga je potrebno upoštevati in vplesti v zdravstvo, predvsem pri zdravstveni vzgoji.

Nova spoznanja socialne psihologije: HBM (Health Belief Model — Becker 1974, 1988, 1984), modela, ki temelji na odnosu posameznika in njegovega odnosa do bolezni, do nevarnih stanj, na primer: koliko bo imel koristi če upošteva priporočila. Teorija poudarja, da se bo posameznik odločil glede na to kako se počuti ogroženega.

TRA (Theory of Reasoned Actions — Fishbein in Ajzen, 1975), ki na podlagi štiri dimenzij: čustev, mnenja, namena in obnašanja lahko predvideva obnašanje. saj naj bi posameznik reagiral racionalno ko oceni sporočilo, vendar niso upoštevani zunanji vplivi.

SLT (Social Learning Theory — Albert Bandura) temelji na modelu opazovanja in posnemanja obnašanja drugih. Do novega načina obnašanja bo prišlo le, če bodo pogoji v okolju ugodni.

Ti modeli so že znani in uporabljeni v zdravstvu. Yoder opozarja, da morajo medicinski antropologi, ponuditi še druge možnosti — bolj holistični pristop, kajti ravno zgoraj omenjeni modeli slonijo na posameznikovem odnosu in motivaciji, medtem ko imajo socialni in ekološki vplivi tudi vlogo in kot taki se ne upoštevajo pri razlagi obnašanja. Michael Clatts (po Yoder 1997) opozarja, da je na primer pri prevenciji AIDS-a zaradi tega prišlo do izraza bolj socialno nadzorovanje, kot prevencija (označevanje rizičnih skupin, ne pa prenosa bolezni).

Pri zdravstveno vzgojnih projektih je vloga medicinskih antropologov proučevanje lokalnega vedenja in zdravljenja bolezni in svetovanje, kako to nadgraditi z biomedicinskim znanjem za boljšo zdravstveno vzgojo.

S tem se vzpostavi tudi vez med biomedicino in etnomedicino, ki naj se ne bi izključevali, temveč bi etnomedicino upoštevali in vgradili v sistem.

Holistični model medicinske antropologije je nujen tudi pri sami organizaciji zdravstvenega sistema, ki vključuje načrtovanje, financiranje in vse odnose na vseh nivojih: odnos pacient — zdravnik, zdravnik, zdravnik — zdravnik, zdravnik — ostali delavci v zdravstvu: medicinske sestre, fizioterapevti in odnos načrtovalci, financerji zdravstva in izvajalci.

Na nivoju pacient zdravnik moramo upoštevati izkušnjo pacienta, ki mu jo prinese bolezen in njegovo reakcijo. Na reakcijo vplivajo tudi pacientova pričakovanja, vedenja in znanja, ki so pogojena tudi z vplivom socialne sredine v kateri živi. Odnos pacient — zdravnik je večplasten, odraža se tudi z različno razporeditvijo moči in znanja, kar je v sedanjem slovenskem zdravstvu zelo aktualno in povezano z etičnimi vprašanji (Pačnik 1998, Premik 1998). Zdravnik predstavlja avtoriteto in znanje vpeto v družben okvir. Pacient je v vlogi iskalca zdravstvenega varstva, znanja in zdravljenja, kar je tudi pogojeno z družbenim okvirom.

Pričakovanja vseh udeleženih v procesu zdravljenja vplivajo lahko na pozitivni ali negativni učinek zdravljenja in delovanja zdravstvenega sistema (Mc Kenna 1993), zato jih moramo prepoznati in upoštevati v celoti, tako na strokovni strani (strokovnjaki medicinskih in drugih strok) kot na strani plačnikov (zavarovalnice, država).

Crandon pravi (po Mc Kennu 1993), da spremembe v zdravstvenem sistemu vplivajo in so pod vplivom mnogih faktorjev, zato je v sedanjem tranzicijskem sistemu vpeljevanje novih sistemov v nacionalno zdravstvo, npr: v naše slovensko, ne da bi se upoštevalo družbene značilnosti kulture, lahko škodljivo. Vpeljujemo model vodenega zdravstva (managed care), ki doživlja spremembe in kritike v državah, kjer je vpeljan (Terris 1998 a, b), ob tem pa ne upoštevamo našega družbenega okolja, četudi je v tranziciji, ne moremo odmisliti njegovega vpliva.

ZAKLJUČEK

Medicinska antropologija mora najti zaradi svoje širine mesto pri načrtovanju in izvajanju zdravstva, medicinski antroplog mora biti del teama. Svojo vlogo je potrdila leta 1924, ko se je pojem medicinske antropologije prvič pojavil.

Njen obstoj in vloga sta pomembni danes, ko ob globalizaciji sveta na eni strani in veliki različnosti mikrosistemov na drugi strani opozarja na holistični in uravnotežen odnos posameznika do družbe in družb med seboj. S holističnim pristopom bi onemogočili, da bi določeni razredi družbe ali posamezniki, preko politične in finančne moči obvladovali strokovnost.

ABSTRACT:

The article discusses the role of medical anthropology in health care system, including organisation and implementational aspects, study design and, above all, health education. Medical anthropology aids mainly by knowledge and methods used in ethnographical studies, using epidemiological, demographic and social psychology methods. This type of studies take into account social characteristics of specific environment and thus indispensable for public health care planning.

LITERATURA:

- MCKENNA**, M. A. 1993: *Medical Anthropology Applied in the Workplace of Primary Care Providers*. *Coll Antropol* 17 (2): 276-73.
- PELTO**, P.J. & **PELTO**, H. G. 1997: *Studying Knowledge, Culture, and Behaviour in Applied Medical Anthropology*. *Med Anthropology Quaterly* 11 (2): 147-63.
- YODER**, S. P. 1997: *Negotiating Relevance: Belief, Knowledge, and Practice in International Health Projects*. *Med Anthropology Quaterly* 11 (2): 131-46
- PAČNIK**, T. 1998: *Psihološki element v odnosu bolnik- zdravnik*. *Zdrav vestn* 67 (10):583-6.
- PREMIK**, M. 1998: *Zdravnik v tranziciji*. *Zdrav vestn* 67 (10):561-5.
- ŠERCER**, A. ed. 1967: *Medicinska enciklopedija*. Jugoslovenski leksikografski zavod, Zagreb, 275 pp.
- TERRIS**, M. 1998: *Epidemiology and Health Policy in the Americas: Meeting in Neoliberal Change*. *J of Public Health Policy* 19 (1): 15-24.
- TERRIS**, M. 1998: *Lean and Mean: The Quality of Care in the Era of Managed Care*. *J of Public Health Policy* 19 (1): 5-14.
- VLAHOVIČ**, P. 1996: *Škerlj's view of the ethnic anthropology*. *Anthropological Notebooks* 4: 19-24.

PROBLEM UVAJANJA NOVIH UČNIH VSEBIN V ŠOLO

BOGOMIR NOVAK

PEDAGOŠKI INŠTITUT, LJUBLJANA

1. VTISI Z OKROGLE MIZE ANTROPOLOGIJA V ŠOLI, KI JE BILA V OKVIRU ŠKERLJEVIH DNEVOV 25. 9. 98 V BIOLOŠKEM SREDIŠČU

Ta okrogla miza je bila logično nadaljevanje posvetovanja antropologije v šoli, ki je bilo novembra lani v Biološkem središču in ga je prav tako kot okroglo mizo organiziralo Društvo antropologov Slovenije. Tema je zaradi različnih vidikov in pristopov precej kompleksna in terja več javnih razprav. V okviru dileme ali pretres obstoječih antropoloških vsebin znotraj sprejetih učnih načrtov ali razprava o novih učnih vsebinah in posebej zanje prirejenih učnih načrtov smo realizirali prvo možnost. Na omenjeni okrogli mizi so razen fizičnih antropologov sodelovali tudi filozofi, pedagogi, sociologi in en teolog v vlogi zastopnikov fizične, socialne-kulturne, pedagoške in teološke antropologije. Pri reorganizaciji obstoječih ali uvašanju novih antropoloških znanj bo treba upoštevati stališče, da so bili novi učni načrti razbremenjeni in da nevarnost njihove preobremenitve še obstaja. Zato se antropologi ne zavzemamo za nova dopolnilna (aditivna) znanja, ampak za integrativna antropološka znanja s transformativno vrednostjo. Novih antropoloških vsebin, ki bi jih vnesli v učne načrte kot izbirne, nismo izpostavili. Antropologi smo sicer definirali antropologijo integrativno, vendar pa ostaja odprto vprašanje, ali bi jo učitelji različnih profilov, ki bi jo poučevali, tudi tako razumeli. Antropologija se naglo razvija in členi na nove veje, saj je postal človek v 20. stoletju predmet intenzivnega, tudi empiričnega proučevanja. Zato ne bi bilo težko najti novih antropoloških vsebin, težje bi jih bilo reintegrirati v enotno znanost.

Ugotavljali smo, da se antropološke vsebine že nahajajo v učnih načrtih za posamezne predmete v osnovni in srednji šoli. Osnovni predmet v osnovni šoli, ki združuje antropološka znanja, je spoznavanje narave in družbe v prvih treh razredih, kasneje v 4. in 5. razredu sta to dva predmeta — spoznavanje narave in spoznavanje družbe. V biologiji so znanja iz fizične antropologije relativno dobro zastopana podobno kot socialna oz. kulturna antropologija v učnem načrtu sociologije za gimnazije. To seveda ne izključuje možnosti nadaljnjega posodabljanja učnih načrtov. Postmoderna orientacija naše šole bo verjetno še bolj naklonjena sinteznim učnim vsebinam.

Izhajali smo iz antropologije kot integrativne vede, ki vključuje spoznanja iz fizične (somatske), socialno-kulturne, duhovno-religiozne ravni človekovega delovanja. Takšna spoznanja niti niso predstavljana v šoli v okviru enega predmeta ali izbirnih vsebin, niti ni po tej celostni paradigmi organizirana javna šola. Na okrogli mizi smo razpravljali o ciljnih antropologije v šoli, ki naj bi bili s smislu spoznavanja slovenske in drugih kultur. Učencem bi z antropološkimi vsebinami omogočili razumevanje in spoznavanje specifičnih značilnosti raznih kultur in različne vrednotne orientacije znotraj multikulturnih vplivov in s tem celosten pogled na pojav človeka v svetu. S pomočjo antropologije v šoli bi učenci lažje razumeli učne vsebine v drugih učnih načrtih, osmišljali svet življenja in se na osnovi spozna-

vanja samega sebe lažje odločali za poklic. Udeleženci okrogle mize so izrazili tudi stališče, da naj bi bile izbirne vsebine "verstva in etika" antropološko zasnovane.

2. POGOJI UVAJANJA NOVIH ANTROPOLOŠKIH VSEBIN V UČNE NAČRTE:

- sistemsko-zaključen fond znanj iz antropoloških ved
- ugodna družbena klima-lobiranje
- legitimnost ali imperializem še neuveljavljene stroke
- kvalificiran učiteljski kader z diplomami ustreznih študijskih smeri
- organizacija podiplomskega izobraževanja učiteljev
- analiza antropoloških vsebin v obstoječih učnih načrtih
- razbremenjevanje prenatrpanih učnih vsebin v učnih načrtih
- vprašanje odnosa antropologije do drugih strok
- definiranje ciljev in didaktičnih metod poučevanja
- reorganizacija šole
- poskusni učbenik, priročnik ali druga gradiva
- primerljivost učnih vsebin s svetom

Uvajanje novih predmetov in vsebin v osnovno in srednjo šolo je z določenimi "mehkimi" zakonitostmi, ki pa niso raziskane in splošno znane. Delno se s tem problemom ukvarja projekt "Metodologija evalvacije prenovljenih programov". Domnevamo, da obstajajo zaradi pravil socialnih in formalnih procedur, ki se pri uvajanju pojavljajo. Pri uvedbi je predstavitve enotnosti novega predmeta v smislu določene koherentnosti. Šele definirano znanstveno področje pridobi domovinsko pravico do reprodukcije tudi v šoli. Jasno je, da obstaja več antropoloških vej, vprašanje spoznavnega identifikacijskega znaka tega področja pa je še odprto. Vsem antropologijam je skupno raziskovanje človeka, podobno kot je vsem različnim sociologijam raziskovanje družbe.

Predmet vpelje v šolo prepričanje odgovornih komisij o praktičnosti in koristnosti. Pogoj zanj je koherenten sistem znanj, ki so že uveljavljena v javnosti in imajo tradicijo. Antropologija je veda, ki ima podobno tradicijo kot sociologija. Obe sta nastali kot empirični vede v 19. st. S teoretičnega vidika imata tradicijo tako filozofska antropologija kot družboslovna misel že znotraj filozofije.

Vloga antropologije bi bila v uveljavljanju stališča, da nobena kultura nima prednosti pred drugo. Antropologija naj bi spodbujala toleranten odnos do različnih kultur s tem, ko bi pokazala na njihovo in medsebojno soodvisnost. Rasna nestrpnost bi se izkazala kot izraz medsebojnega nepoznavanja. Nadaljnji pogoj uvedbe je njegova pedagoško-didaktična tematizacija z opredelitvijo ciljev in metod poučevanja.

Smisel antropologije naj bi bil poudarjanje nezamenljive posebnosti lastnosti-odlik vsake kulture in ne le nasprotovanje živalskemu carstvu. Antropologija naj bi pomagala človeku spet najti mesto in vlogo v svetu. Kritično mišljenje je naravnano na precenjevanje in podcenjevanje določenih kultur v smislu absolutizacije. Vzgojni cilj je vzgajanje spoštovanja do domače in tuje kulture. Ne gre le za pomen dela, ampak je tudi v kulturi. Učitelji naj bi bili diplomanti na katedri za antropologijo na FDV, sociologi itd. Kulturni problem se ne kaže le navzven, ampak tudi navznoter. S sprejemanjem različnih vlog sprejema različne vrednote, ki jih te vloge prinašajo.

Antropologija je v šolskem polju še neuveljavljena in premalo uveljavljena stroka delno tudi zaradi imperializma drugih strok, ki pa se mu v dosedanjem razvoju ni pridružila. Integralna pedagoška antropologija naj bi združila spoznanja referatov v sintezno spoznanje o antropološki tematizaciji šole, možnosti antropologizacije predmetnih učnih načrtov na osnovni in srednješolski ravni.

Motiv razvoja antropologije je v zavesti o multikulturalnosti človekovega bivanja. Glede na spoznanja kurikularne prenove je nujno, da bi antropologija prevzela delež odgovornosti pri razbremenjevanju učenčeve preobremenjenosti zaradi kopičenja vseh znanj, v sintezno-povezovanje predmetnih vsebin. Človek ni samo bitje možnosti, ampak tudi bitje v dejanskih razmerah. Zato je pomembno vprašanje, kako je možno antropologijo v šoli poučevati integrativno v smislu upoštevanja vseh plasti osebnosti od biološko-fiziološke ravni, preko socialne in psihološke do religiozne in duhovne.

Kaj je in kaj ni antropološka osnova vzgoje in izobraževanja?

- človeka lahko definiramo po različnih predikatih: bitje dela, odnosov, transcendence, družbe, razvoja in samorazvoja, smrti...
- delne opredelitve so v vzgoji nevarne:
- družbenost: vodi v vzgojo kot prilagajanje človeka obstoječi politični ureditvi
- delavnost: vodi v vzgojo kot zgodnjo selekcijo za potrebe trga delovne sile
- religioznost: vodi v vzgojo kot iniciacijo v (vodilno) religiozno skupnost
- otrok kot središče vzgoje: prilagaja vzgojo našim predstavam o naravi otroka in njegovega (samo)razvoja

Če je izhodišče razmišljanja usmerjenost v razvoj kritičnosti in odgovornosti (človek kot avtonomna in odgovorna oseba), je antropološko zasnovana tista vzgoja, ki je usmerjena v razvoj osebnostnih potencialov, na katerih temelji ta filozofsko-vrednostna usmeritev: kritično mišljenje, socialna kognicija, empatija, vrednostna usmeritev v spoštovanje drugačnosti in urejanje konfliktov na demokratični osnovi.

Kako te osebne potenciale razvijati z vzgojo:

- ustreznost ciljev/vsebin kurikulumu je le en element, ki je že pri Aristotelu uspešen le, če ga podpirajo tudi neposredne življenjske izkušnje osebe, ki jo vzgajamo
- ker je šola prva širša skupnost, v katero vstopa otrok izven družine (Durkheim), deluje nanj s celoto odnosov in dejavnosti, ki se tam odvijajo
- poleg vzgojno-izobraževalnih vsebin so to še: pristopi k poučevanju in ocenjevanju (pedagoške metode in kriteriji vrednotenja znanja), odnosi učitelj — učenec, odnosi v razredu in šolski skupnosti, šolska pravila, obšolska ponudba, šolski parlament in celotna kultura šole...
- zato se zavzemam za kombinirani model vzgoje (preko posebnih predmetov/dejavnosti in preko prikritega kurikulumu), kar je tudi usmeritev UNESCA in njegovega programa državljanske vzgoje ter Delorsove študije Učenje, skriti zaklad
- ta model lahko uveljavimo ob naslednjih predpostavkah:
- če se država (in druge vplivne idejne grupacije) pretirano ne vmešava v oblikovanje vzgojnega koncepta javne šole, mora pa aktivno skrbeti za zaščito temeljnih otrokovih, starševskih in učiteljevih pravic ter laičnost javne šole (izključno v pravnem smislu in ne v smislu “zapriseženega ateizma” — priporočilo Kongresa pedagoških delavcev Slovenije)
- če se dosledno uveljavi avtonomija učitelja — instrumentalizacija njegove vloge zavira možnost oblikovanja pristnih odnosov med učiteljem in učencem

- če se podpira in ne zavira organizacija “obšolskih dejavnosti” (tistih, ki ne sodijo neposredno v pouk) v šoli, kot so razredništvo, šolske prireditve, končni izleti, šolski parlament itn.
 - če si še posebej ravnatelji pridobijo ustrezno znanje o načrtovanju in usklajevanju uradnih ter prikritih vzgojnih dejavnikov
 - če se šola razvija v smeri pravične (Lawrence Kohlberg) in skrbne (Carol Gillian) skupnosti
- Namesto zaključka: razprave, usmerjene skoraj izključno v prenavo ciljev/vsebin javne šole, kažejo na nizko pedagoško kulturo in slabo poznavanje temeljnih pedagoških zakonitosti!

RACIONALNA EVALVACIJA UČNEGA NAČRTA

SOCIOLOGIJA Z VIDIKA ZASTOPANOSTI ANTROPOLOŠKIH

UČNIH VSEBIN IN CILJEV

JANEZ KOLENC-GREGORIČ

PEDAGOŠKI INŠTITUT, LJUBLJANA

(Predloga: Sociologija, Učni načrt (Osnutek), Nacionalni kurikularni svet, September 1997)

Osnutek učnega načrta za predmet Sociologija v gimnazijah in drugih srednjih šolah obsega dva programa, eden je zasnovan za 70 oz. 105 učnih ur letno, drugi pa za 210 učnih ur letno. Prvi program bi se izvajal v 2. ali 3. letniku gimnazije in drugih srednjih šolah, medtem ko bi se drugi program izvajal v 4. letniku srednje šole.

V gradivu osnutka je predviden tudi program sociologije z 280-imi urami, ki bo zasnovan kot maturitetni program. Tega programa tu ne evaluiramo, ker še ni dostopen.

Racionalna evalvacija obsega vrednotenje:

- A.** prenove programa v letih 1995-1997
- B.** ciljev programa
- C.** vsebine programa
- D.** splošnoizobrazbene, strokovno-teoretične in strokovno-praktične zasnove programa
- E.** sistemskih vprašanj prenove učnega načrta
- D.** psiholoških in pedagoških vidikov programa

A1. Ustreznost posegov

Ker so se učni načrti in programi prenavljali tudi v preteklosti (nazadnje 1986-1988) lahko rečemo, da se je v program sociologije vobče ustrezno posegalo. Probleme v tej zvezi se je letno obravnavalo na srečanjih društva sociologov, kjer se je s temi vprašanji ukvarjala posebna sekcija. Napredek je bil narejen v tem smislu, da sedanji učni načrt že pripravlja podlago, da bi bila sociologija eden izmed izbirnih maturitetnih predmetov.

A2. Posodobitev, perspektivnost v luči razvojnih gibanj v znanosti

Učni program je posodobljen glede na prejšnjega, in sledi glavnim teoretskim tokovom v sociologiji (sistemska teorija, kritična teorija, teorija družbenega delovanja itd.). Nekoliko preohlapno pa je formuliran sam pristop k poučevanju in razporeditev gradiva, saj samo fenomenološko postavljena medodvisnost med deli učnega načrta ne more biti razlog za takšenle napotek učiteljem: "... predlagano zaporedje tem za učitelje/učiteljice ni obvezujoče". (str. 5)

A3. Vsebinska in časovna usklajenost prenove programa

Učni načrt je v fazi osnutka ter se vsebinsko razlikuje od drugih podobnih programov (npr. zgodovinskega) tako, da je časovna usklajenost dosežena, ker se sočasno pojavlja z vsemi drugimi učnimi načrti, vsebinska usklajenost programa pa ni dosežena, saj se v zasnovi učnega načrtovanja vsebinsko razlikuje od drugih podobnih programov.

A4. Povezanost v optimalno celoto

Povezanost programa v optimalno celoto je videti v Osnutku učnega načrta za sociologijo 210 ur, ne pa tudi v Osnutku... za 70 oz. 105 ur. Vprašanje je namreč, ali je izpuščen del v ožjem programu. Družbene skupine itd. vsebinsko sodi v poglavje III. Družbene razlike in družbene neenakosti ali morda kam drugam, ali pa sploh ne sodi v ožji učni načrt za sociologijo.

B1. Dolgoročni cilji naše družbe z vidika stroke

V učnem načrtu se pri definiranju namenov sicer zapiše: Poseben poudarek je na sociološki analizi slovenske družbe..., vendar takšen poudarek ni razviden v Predmetnem katalogu - sam bi raje uporabljal izraz Katalog znanj, saj ima izraz predmetni katalog dokaj jasne konotacije, npr. v bibliotekarstvu.

B2. Skladnost deklariranih ciljev programa z dolgoročnimi cilji družbe

Cilji predmeta so usklajeni s težnjami v globalni družbi. (str.1)

B3. Jasnost in ustreznost vzgojno-izobraževalnih ciljev

Vzgojno-izobraževalni cilji so jasno in ustrezno postavljeni. (str.1)

B4. Uresničljivost ciljev programa

Uresničljivost ciljev programa je težko presoditi, saj Osnutku učnega načrta manjka razdelava zahtevnostnih stopenj posredovanja učnih vsebin, ki bi bile ustrezno postavljenje v odvisnosti od učnih ciljev. Zapiše se, da bo predmet v 2. ali 3. letniku, z 210 urami pa (gotovo?) v 4. letniku. Če je res tako, je z vidika uresničljivosti postavljenih ciljev potrebno določiti zahtevnostne stopnje (1.2.3.4.) po letih, kakor tudi zahtevnostne stopnje znotraj let (od 1 do 5) in jih povezati z razdelkom 6. Ocenjevanje.

B5. Razvidnost pričakovanih rezultatov

Zaradi zgoraj omenjene pomanjkljivosti v razdelavi zahtevnostnih stopenj, je potem tudi razvidnost pričakovanih rezultatov, kot eden izmed elementov učnih ciljev, slabša kot bi lahko bila.

B6. Dejanski in skriti cilji programa

Podobno lahko trdimo, da je še vedno precejšen del skritih ciljev programa, ki ne morejo priti na dan, zaradi tega ker niso posebej razdelane zahtevnostne stopnje učnih vsebin npr. za 1. letnik, 2. letnik itd.. Šele tako bi lahko zagledali obče, posebne in posamične cilje, ki jim program sledi.

C1. Vsebinska prenova programa usklajena z dolgoročnimi cilji naše družbe (informacijska družba 3. tisočletja)

S tega vidika učni načrt ni posebej prenovljen ali posodobljen, saj bi v dobi INTERNETA in multimedijalne tehnične opreme pričakovali tudi v programu srednjih šol, morda tu še najbolj, nekaj več o kibernetških prostorih, virtualni resničnosti in podobnih pojmi.

C2. Učno-vsebinska in učno-ciljna usklajenost programa

Kot že rečeno, učne vsebine bi morali bolj natančno razgraditi in razdelati, ter jih urediti po zahtevnostnih stopnjah, potem pa bi lažje dosegli učno-ciljno usklajenost, saj je popolnoma jasno, da različne zahtevnostne stopnje vzgoje in izobraževanja vodijo k različnim definiranim ciljem.

C3. Usklajenost programa s sodobnim stanjem in razvojnimi težnjami v stroki

V glavnem je program usklajen z razvojnim stanjem sociologije kot znanosti o družbi.

C4. Ustreznost vsebine programa z razvojnimi težnjami razvitih družb

Ustrežno je zasnovan tudi v primerjavi z razvojnimi težnjami razvitih družb.

C5. Neustrezni deli programa:

- a) zastareli zaradi družbenega zaostajanja
- b) sestavina le zaradi družbenih posebnosti

Neustreznih delov programa ni. Morali pa bi biti bolj povezani deli in celota programa.

C6. Razmerje med pomembnim in bistvenim:

- a) kaj bi bilo smiselno zmanjšati
- b) kaj bi bilo smiselno dodati

Smiselno bi bilo dodati posebne razdelke, ki bi učne načrte spreminjale v kataloge znanj na različnih zahtevnostnih stopnjah izobraževanja. Tako bi dobili pregledno sliko po vertikali in po horizontali - od osnovnošolskega pojmovanja družbe, do univerzitetnega študija sociologije. Takšen razgrajen učni program bi šele omogočal zagledati posamezne akterje poučevanja v njihovih vlogah na različnih stopnjah izobraževanja in na različnih zahtevnostnih stopnjah pouka in učenja, spoznavanja družbe. Le tako bi lahko razlikovali med pomembnim in bistvenim. V pristopu ko so vse teme enako pomembne in neodvisne (fenomenološki pristop) pa žal takšno razlikovanje odpade. Vse je lahko enako pomembno in enako bistveno.

C7. Zato tudi ni mogoče postaviti jasnih razmerij med temeljnim, relativno trdnejšim (jedrom) in trajnejšim delom programa, ki bi dajal širši izobrazbeni transfer in bil pomemben za celotno splošno izobrazbo učencev ali celo določiti vsebin, ki so pomembne za njihov miselni razvoj.

C8. Vsebinska usklajenost delov in celote:

Podvajanja znanj v osnutku učnega načrta ni zaslediti. Povezujejo in razločujejo pa se sociološka znanja od zgodovine, psihologije, biologije in izrecno tudi antropologije (str.2, avgust 1997). Medpredmetne povezave so razvidne tako pri definiranju učnih vsebin kot tudi pri definiranju učnih ciljev. V povezavi z antropologijo je, po moje, zadovoljivo rešen osnutek programa, ki predvideva 210 ur, ne pa tudi osnutek programa, ki predvideva 70 oz. 105 ur sociologije. Tako se v učnem načrtu za 210 ur predvideva:

- opredelitev sociologije v razmerju do antropologije
- pojasnjevanje naravnosti in družbenosti človeka ter soodvisnost naravnega, kulturnega in družbenega v posamezniku, zamisel posameznika kot enkratnega in neponovljivega bitja
- pojasnjevanje simbolnega v človeku in simbolne komunikacije ter razlikovanje pojmov znak, jezik, govornica...
- pojasnjevanje pluralnosti kultur ter soobstoj različnih kultur ter razlikovanje med pojmom kulture in civilizacije
- opredelitev pomena socializacije, različnih vrst socializacije in nesocializiranih otrok
- opredelitev spolne dihotomije kot biološke, družbene in kulturne kategorije
- opredelitev antropologije spolov, kjer se primerja različnost odnosov med spoloma v različnih kulturah
- opredelitev in poznavanje procesov oblikovanja različnih identitet
- poznavanje pluralnosti družinskih oblik in načinov življenja
- opredelitev pojmov dela in prostega časa v predindustrijskih, industrijskih in poindustrijskih družbah
- poznavanje ekoloških omejitev prostora
- poznavanje razlik in povezanosti magije in religije
- opredelitev pojmov nacionalizem, diskriminacija, segregacija, etnocentrizem
- opredelitev pojma modernizacije ter razlikovanje med tradicionalno in moderno družbo, prikaz teorij o razvojno pogojenih tipih družb (Durkheim, Spencer, Toennies...)
- problematizacija pojmovanja razvoja in napredka predvsem z vidika človekovega vpliva na okolje
- analiziranje vzrokov porušenega ravnotežja med človekom in naravo

Lahko rečemo, da se sociološki učni načrt v precejšnjem delu antropologizira, naj si bo po vertikalni ali pa horizontalni črti načrtovanja. Tako se odnos do antropologije vzpostavlja že pri opredelitvi sociologije in se posameznih antropoloških točk dotika do 21. točke učnega načrta, ki govori o ekološki krizi in perspektivah človeštva.

Poglobljeno govori učni načrt v povezavi z antropologijo tudi o: odnosu med posameznikom in družbo, ko govori o kulturi, o socializaciji in spolni dihotomiji ter etnocentrizmu. Zato bi nekaj več antropoloških vsebin pričakovali tudi ob problemih, ki jih učni načrt

eksplicitno ne navaja, kot na primer: o rasah in rasizmu, o verstvih, ko gre za vprašanja njihove razširjenosti, o pomenu vojne in miru, ko gre za vprašanja oblasti in družbene moči. Morda bi bilo smiselno dodati nekaj o antropogenezi, ko se načrtuje poglavje o socializaciji in socializacijskih procesih.

Vendar, logika tega izvajanja bi lahko bila tudi obrnjena, namreč, da bi lahko antropologijo tudi bolj sociologizirali tam, kjer je govora o sorodstvu, družini, delu in morda še kje.

Menim, da je v osnutku učnega načrta za sociologijo sintetiziranje spoznanj iz antropologije v zadostni meri prisotno, čeprav bi lahko v stalnem in strokovnem dialogu med obema vedama še našli skupne točke, kjer bi na ta način lahko oplemenitili učne programe v osnovnem in srednjem šolstvu. Za orientacijo o tem kje in kako bi lahko začeli iskati nadaljnje skupne točke prilagam Unescovo sistemizacijo antropološke vede, ki bi v vzporednici sociološke vede lahko predstavljala orientacijski okvir za oblikovanje učnih načrtov, ki bi upoštevali nekatera sintetična spoznanja tako sociologije kot antropologije. Spoznanja, ki bi jih bilo potrebno vgraditi v učne načrte osnovnih in srednjih šol.

PRILOGA:

(V: Dokument UNESCA/NS/ROU/257 rev. 1: Proposal for an International Standard Nomenclature of Fields of Science and Technology, Unesco, 1973)

V dokumentu je antropološka veda razdeljena po glavnih razdelkih v: 24. Science de la vie, podrazdelek 2402 Anthropologie physique in razdelek 51. Anthropologie. Predlog polja "Antropologija" ne sledi Unescovi klasifikaciji samo v tem, da združuje razdelek 51. in podrazdelek 2402 v enotno vedo oz. raziskovalno polje. Obenem se loči predlog po tem, da izpušča podrazdelek 5102 Etnografija in etnologija.

1. NIVO: VEDA

51. ANTROPOLOGIJA

2. NIVO: DISCIPLINE

2402 FIZIČNA ANTROPOLOGIJA	5103 SOCIALNA ANTROPOLOGIJA	5101 KULTURNA ANTROPOLOGIJA	5199 DRUGE ANTROPOLOŠKE SPECIALIZACIJE
-----------------------------------	------------------------------------	------------------------------------	---

3. NIVO: PODDISCIPLINE IN VEJE

2402.01 Antropološka arhivistika	5103.01 Poglavarstvo, plemen	5101.01 Okraševanje	FILOZOFSKA
2402.02 Antropološka genetika	5103.02 Rojstvo, družina, sorodstvo	5101.02 Oblačenje	EKONOMSKA
2409.03 Populacijska genetika (V)	5103.03 Suženjstvo, podložništvo	5101.03 Plesi, proslavljanje	PSIHOLOŠKA
2402.03 Antropometrija in forenzična antropologija	5103.04 Vojna	6203.02 Ples, koreografija (V)	ANTROPOLOGIJA
2402.04 Sestavine telesa	6304.03 Vojna in mir (V)	5101.04 Etnomuzikologija	LINGVISTIČNA
2402.05 Zgradba telesa	5506.25 Zgodovina vojne (V)	5101.05 Etnolingvistika	ANTROPOLOGIJA
2402.06 Etnologija	5103.99 Druge poddiscipline in veje	5101.06 Muzeologija	STRUKTURALNA
		5101.07 Miti	LINGVISTIKA
		5101.08 Magija	

<p>2402.07 Medicinska antropologija</p> <p>2402.08 Prehrabene navade</p> <p>2402.09 Osteologija</p> <p>2402.10 Populacijska biologija</p> <p>5206.04 Biološke značilnosti (V)</p> <p>2402.11 Vedenje primatov</p> <p>2402.12 Somatologija primatov (Primatologija)</p> <p>2402.13 Rasna biologija</p> <p>5906.04 Rase (V)</p> <p>6310.06 Medrasna razmerja (V)</p> <p>2402.14 Somatska rast</p> <p>2402.15 Somatska obdobja (starost)</p> <p>2402.99 Druge poddiscipline in veje</p> <p>HUMANA GENETIKA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Molekularna genetika • Humana citogenetika • Medicinska genetika • Populacijska genetika <p>EVOLUCIJA ČLOVEKA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antropogeneza <p>BIOLOŠKA VARIABILNOST ČLOVEKA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avksologija (rast in razvoj otrok) • Biotipologija • Kinantropometrija • Ergonomija • Biologija človeških populacij <p>DEMOGRAFIJA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paleodemografija • Demografija človeških populacij • Epidemiologija <p>PALEOANTROPOLOGIJA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humana paleogenetika • Humana paleoekologija • Antropologija populacij v arheoloških obdobjih (historična antropologija) • Humana paleopatologija • Humana paleoetnologija <p>ANATOMIJA ČLOVEKA</p> <p>FIZIOLOŠKA ANTROPOLOGIJA</p> <p>HUMANA ETNOLOGIJA</p> <p>ETNIČNA ANTROPOLOGIJA</p>	<p>UPORABNA ANTROP.</p> <p>INDUSTRIJSKA ANTROP.</p> <p>STRUKTURALNA ANTROP.</p> <p>FUNKCIONALNA ANTROP.</p> <p>POLITIČNA ANTROP.</p> <p>ANTROPOLITIKA (V)</p>	<p>5101.09 Pesmi, zgodbe</p> <p>5101.10 Verstva</p> <p>5403.04 Geografija verstev (V)</p> <p>5506.20 Zgodovina političnih idej (V)</p> <p>5601 Kanonsko pravo (V)</p> <p>6301.10 Sociologija religije (V)</p> <p>7102.05 Religiozna etika (V)</p> <p>7204.04 Teološko-filozofski sistemi (V)</p> <p>5101.11 Carovništvo</p> <p>5101.12 Simbolizem</p> <p>6308.03 Simboli (V)</p> <p>5101.13 Ljudska (tradicionalna) medicina</p> <p>5101.14 Tradicije</p> <p>5101.99 Druge poddiscipline in vede</p> <p>GEOGRAFSKA ANTROPOL.</p> <p>KULTURNA EKOLOGIJA</p>
--	---	--

Opomba: Številke pred oznako sledijo šifrantu UNESCO. Oznaka (V) za geslom pa pomeni vejo.

ANTROPOLOGIJA IN ETIKA TER PROBLEM VZGOJE

JANEZ JUHANT

TEOLOŠKA FAKULTETA LJUBLJANA

POJEM "ANTROPOLOGIJA"

Pojem "*antropologija*" je v filozofiji dolgo neznan, pojavlja pa se v teološkem smislu. Seveda to ne pomeni, da bi si npr. srednjeveški sholastiki ne prizadevali za človeka. Razlika med njimi in modernimi, kot pravi Richard William Southern, pa je le v tem, da današnji preučevalci človeka upoštevajo le naravne okvire, medtem ko so srednjeveški poleg naravnih razsežnosti človeka upoštevali vedno tudi njegovo nadnaravno ukoreninjenost (Southern 1994).

Šele med 16. in 18. stoletjem pa se oblikuje tudi filozofski pojem antropologije kot "izkustvenega nauka o duši" oziroma kot vede o človeku v naravnem okviru. Čeprav je Kant poskušal v svoji *Logiki* utemeljiti antropologijo kot krovno znanost (Kant 1956), ostaja njegovo delo glede opredelitve antropologije nedokončano in mu pojem "*antropologija*" pomeni znanost o človekovih naravnih sposobnostih ("tega, kar je iz njega napravila narava") oziroma vedo o človekovi sposobnosti svobode, se pravi tega, "kar (človek) napravi sam iz sebe" (Kant 1964, BA IV).

Šele koncem 19. stoletja se antropologija razvije po eni strani kot krovna filozofska znanost o človeku in nadaljuje izročilo staroveške in srednjeveške *racionalne psihologije* kot del metafizike. Do takrat je filozofsko izročilo pri človeku obravnavalo predvsem problem duše kot človekovega središča. Od tedaj pa antropologija, npr. pri M. Schlerju, H. Plessnerju, A. Gehlenu, N. Hartmannu in drugih, gradi na primerjavi in razliki človeka od ostalega živega sveta in ga poskuša opredeliti kot celovito bitje v odnosu. Antropologija pa v 20. stoletju označuje tudi vsako raziskovanje (različnih) človeških dejavnosti in človekovih pogojenosti v najrazličnejših civilizacijskih oziroma kulturnih in socialno-političnih okvirih. Tako govorimo o več (različnih) antropologijah (Marquard 1997).

Na Slovenskem sta antropologijo kot filozofsko panogo uveljavila predvsem France Veber in Anton Trstenjak. Veber namreč svoje preučevanje filozofije in kulture razume kot iskanje človeka: "Že to pove, da tudi moja obravnava same nacionalne in krščanske misli v prvi vrsti je in hoče biti zopet le posebna neposredna *psihologija* in *filozofija človeka*. ...je to vprašanje *človeka* in *njegovega razmerja do bližnjega*" (Veber 1938: VI-VII). Vebera poznamo sicer kot filozofa, ki pa je po načinu obravnave človeka izrazil antropolog (to misel je izrekel na simpoziju v Innsbrucku marca 1994 dober avstrijski poznavalec Vebrove filozofije Wolfgang Gombocz, o Vebrovi antropologiji in njegovem vplivu na Trstenjaka, ki je tudi razviden, pa govori v prispevku na tej okrogli mizi tudi sodelavec mag. Bojan Žalec), saj si prizadeva za vzpostavitev novih razmerij med človekom in sistemi, ki bodo utemeljeni v človekovi zavesti. Za človeka gre, pravi tudi Anton Trstenjak, ko ugotavlja konvergenco različnih disciplin, da bi zajele človekovo celoto (Trstenjak 1985).

Tudi vsakdanja izkušnja - ne samo filozofija in druge znanosti - potrjuje naše mnenje, da gre povsod za človeka in neprestano se tako v osebnem kot družbenem življenju srečujemo s problemom človeka. Zato se vodilo, da gre za človeka, pojavlja v različnih sloganih tudi v naši družbi. Okrog tega se sučejo znanstveniki in politiki, vendar se ponavadi vse konča v globalizaciji, v posplošenju, kjer človek ostane zapostavljen, odrinjen in potisnjen v splošne kalupe. Ravno zato se je skupina katoličanov- znanstvenikov odločila za projekt preučevanja vpliva globalizacije na uničenje posameznih kultur različnih narodov, predvsem Afrike in Azije. Antropologija naj bi namreč združevala in vključevala tako posameznost, enkratnost, posebnost, kakor tudi splošnost človeka in človeštva (Satura 1970).

KAKŠNO PODOBO ČLOVEKA ZASTOPAMO?

Iz zgodovine evropskih, azijskih ali kultur drugih celin in narodov je razvidna težnja po opredelitvi človeka in obenem spoznanje, da taka opredelitev zahteva upoštevanje človekove sestavljenosti. Že Platon in Aristotel se srečujeta s tem problemom in opredelita človeka kot sestavljeno bitje (Platon 1993, Aristotel 1993). Dalje nastaja problem v posameznosti in enkratnosti vsakega človeka, če pa govorimo o človeku na splošno pa skušamo te posameznosti spet združiti v celoto.

Prizadevamo si torej za celovito podobo človeka: njena značilnost je upoštevanje vseh dejavnikov pri človeku, telesnih in duhovnih, pasivnih in aktivnih, čutnih in intelektualnih, predvsem pa čustvenih *dejavnikov* človeka (Satura 1970). Vse pa naj bi usmerjala skrb za vključevanje človeka kot svobodno in odgovorno bitje v družbeni, socialno-ekonomski in politični okvir tako, da ne bi izgubil svoje osebnosti, prav tako pa, da osebnost ne bi bila ovira za razvoj človeka na medosebni ravni, s tem pa za medosebno bogatenje in ohranjanje človeškega, kar je ključna podlaga delovanja ljudi (Anders 1992).

ETIČNI TEMELJI ČLOVEKA

Etično vprašanje naj bi imelo svojo utemeljitev v človeku samem. Če namreč pravimo, da je človek tako in tako sestavljen, če ima kot umno bitje sposobnost to sestavljenost tudi uravnati, ohranjati in vzdrževati, potem mora imeti v sebi tudi mehanizme, prek katerih to počne (Juhant 1992). In po prepričanju človeškega izročila je človek tega sposoben. V njem samem so osnove, na katerih naj ureja samega sebe (Kamlah 1973). Človekova sestavljenost nakazuje smer njegovega teženja in nudi osnovne danosti, ki so tako tudi vrednote, za katere si človek prizadeva. Te vrednote imajo torej antropološko pogojenost, se pravi izvirajo iz tega, kar človek je, in so namenjene njegovemu samohranjevanju. Obenem so te vrednote zaradi svoje važnosti za človekovo preživetje tako pomembne, da jih je človeštvo shranilo kot pomemben del svojega izročila in sestavljajo kulturno-etično podlago, ki potrjuje oziroma tudi dopolnjuje njegovo etično-antropološko danost (Pieper 1973). Človek vseh časov je pripisoval temu izročilu odločilno vlogo pri svojem osebnem in družbenem razvoju. Okviru teh etičnih podlag se sicer lahko spreminjajo, vendar razodevajo nekatere stalnosti, ki v vseh najrazličnejših okvirih povsod spremljajo človekov razvoj. Etične podlage se razodevajo kot vrednote, ki jim človek pripisuje važen pomen za življenje.

Karel Ozvald razlikuje sledeče vrednote:

1. Gospodarske (ekonomske) vrednote, kakor jih srečavamo na torišču trgovine, industrije, obrti, tehnike, poljedelstva...
2. Čutnega ugodja in neugodja (hedonistične) vrednote. Sem spada vse to, kar izražamo z besedami: sem sit, lačen, žejen, spočit, boli me, gre mi v slast, gabi se mi, udobno (sedim), prijetno (hodim v teh čevljih), zebe me...
3. Življenjske (vitalne) vrednote: življenje, smrt, zdravje, bolezen, čilost...
4. Duševne (kulturne) vrednote: znanstvo, umetnost, nrvnost, državljansko življenje, svetovno naziranje...
5. Osebnost, t. j. tisto, kar si v svojem najglobljem bistvu. (Ozvald 1998: 23). Lahko jih opredelimo glede na sestavljenost človeka tudi takole:
 - a) Človek je enkratno bitje na tem svetu, ker je obdan s pametjo oziroma govorom se pravi z umsko sposobnostjo urejevati samega sebe, kar je za Aristotela razlog, da ima človek od vseh bitij svojski način dejavnosti, ki je v iskanju sreče (Aristotel 1994).
 - b) To izročilo daje tudi prednost duhovnemu pred telesnim iz česar izvira človekova sposobnost urejevanja samega sebe in prizadevanja za krepost, ki je podlaga sreče (Aristotel 1994). Od tod izvira tudi človekova presežnost, nikoli dosežena njena izpolnitev in z njo povezana človekova težnja po nesmrtnosti in odprtosti za Boga (Kant 1956).
 - c) Problematičnost človekove telesne pogojenosti, vpetosti v naravne in družbene okvire se odraža kot problem, povezan z neprestanim trpljenjem in s tem s prizadevanjem za dosego simbioze z naravo in za odgovorno sobivanje s soljudmi (družbo) (Möhring 1997).
 - d) Oblikovanje smernic za takšno sobivanje ter iz tega izvirajoče človekovo osebno in družbeno delovanje prinaša človeku harmonijo s samim seboj in z okoljem, kar je posebno problematično danes. Vedno pa je ta odnos čustveno nabit (Aquaviva 1998) in se razodeva kot vrednotna drža in presojanje samega sebe, sveta, posebej pa še človekovih odnosov do sočloveka in tudi do absolutnega temelja (Boga).

SKLADNA VZGOJA IN IZOBRAŽEVANJE

V skladu s temi spoznanji naj bi potekal tudi razvoj človeka in človeštva pa tudi vzgoja in izobraževanje. Glavni problem vzgoje in izobraževanja in s tem povezanega človekovega osebnega in družbenega razvoja pa je nevarnost, da bi človek enostransko usmerjal svoje oblikovanje in tako zanemaril pomembne dele oziroma razsežnosti samega sebe. Na to opozarjajo sodobne študije o šolskih sistemih, zato temu vprašanju posvečajo veliko pozornost pri nas in tudi po svetu (Education 2000, 1997).

Če torej sprejemamo celovitost človeka, potem se bomo strinjali, da je tudi pedagoški proces nekaj celovitega, povezan predvsem tudi s človekovo vpetostjo v družbeni in naravni prostor in njegove probleme. S tem seveda ni rečeno, da ni mogoče ustvariti postavk, ob katerih šolski prostor deluje relativno avtonomno. Prenova šolskega sistema ustvarja pogoje za takšno avtonomno pedagoško delovanje in zato mora odražati celovitost človeka, če hočemo, da bo prinesla zelene sadove in zagotavljala optimalne okvire. Sedanja šolska prenova pa od tega, kot upravičeno poudarjajo kritiki (Pediček 1998), odstopa.

Odločilno vprašanje sedanje prenove je nova postavitev sistemskih rešitev. Žal ta revolucionarna (Pediček 1998) prenova sistema in vsebin premalo upošteva te vsestranske razsežnosti učenca kot človeka in partnerja. Že samo uvajanje sistema ni upoštevalo teh zakonitosti, zato tudi ni bilo pričakovati, da bo sedanji šolski sistem odražal to celovitost, an-

tropološkost in etičnost človeka, ki bi bila potrebna, da bi lahko govorili o posrečeni prenovi sistema, o uravnoteženih vsebinskih in drugih podlagah šole ter smernicah za njihovo optimalno uresničevanje.

Namesto, da bi se dogovorili, da si bomo prizadevali za celovitega človeka, je bila v ospredju podoba človeka po meri nekaterih političnih in strokovnih krogov. Zato naj bi bil šolski sistem predvsem vsebinsko nabit in poleg medijske nabitosti bi mladega človeka danes še dodatno poplavljal z informacijami. Človek naj bi po tem modelu postal čimbolj informiran, napolnjen z vsebino, zato pa enostransko formiran in nekritičen do same formacije. Takšna formacija pa je seveda enostranska.

Strokovnjaki iz Evrope so v svojih uvodnih študijah poudarjali pomen nacionalnega konsenza, kajti ta bo poleg jasno izdelanih okvirov prenove omogočal tudi optimalno izvedbo, ki jo bo podpirala večina. Pri nas si vodilna politika ni prizadevala za to. Nismo dosegli niti strokovnega konsenza, da ne govorimo o političnem. Vse to bo slabo vplivalo na izvedbo šolske prenove.

V njej so prevladali in so vseskozi igrali odločilno vlogo politični interesi ene skupine. Prek nje se je uveljavljala sistemska paradigma bivšega totalitarnega sistema (npr. posebej negativen odnos do verskega izročila in temeljev človeka, ki upoštevajo tudi duhovne razsežnosti človeka). Prevladal je družbeno-ekonomski vidik in izobraževanje za kapitalističnega človeka, kot je dejal eden izmed članov NKS. V ospredju sedanje šole je določen tip človeka, ki naj predvsem funkcionira v (avtoritativnem) sistemu. Zato je v ospredju posredovanje določenih miselnih vzorcev, premalo pa sistem zagotavlja kritično soočenje s temi in prevladujočimi družbenimi vzorci in zato ne vzgaja samostojne osebnosti. To se odraža tudi v pomanjkanju prostora za 'vzgojne' predmete v šoli.

Sedanji šolski sistem torej premalo uveljavlja zasnove in zakonitosti celovitega človeka, celotnega človeškega izročila in zato seveda tudi celovitih etičnih temeljev za življenje mladega človeka v sodobni družbi, čeprav je to celo zapisano v Beli knjigi in je bilo sprejeto v Izhodiščih kurikularne prenove (Krek 1995, NKS 1997).

Sedanji šolski sistem se žal organizacijsko, predvsem pa funkcionalno dograjuje v smeri oslavitve kritičnosti v šoli. Zato bodo tudi učenci vedno bolj čutili pomanjkanje izobraževanja in vzgoje za kritično in samostojno osebnost. Vse premalo je spodbud za medsebojno interakcijo med učitelji in učenci, še vedno je preveč vsebin in premalo možnosti za dialog in sodelovanje. Premalo je vzgojno naravnanih ur, kjer bi učenci lahko oblikovali svojo samostojnost in krepili svojo osebnost.

Janez Svetina je že leta 1989 zapisal, da je lahko šolski sistem ozek, prisiljevalen in tog (dresura) ali pa zelo širok in odprt ter liberalen in sicer v angleškem (demokratskem) smislu, "ki vključuje širok razpon humanističnih in umetniških vsebin." Ugotovil je, da zdaj "v naših šolah prevladujejo značilnosti mehanskega in industrijskega modela, kljub nekaterim prvinam organskega in kulturnega modela.." Zaključuje pa, da bi glede "na probleme in stiske današnjega časa, ki smo jih opisovali v začetnih razmišljanjih, bil najbolj ustrezen kar *integralni* (podčrtal J.J.) model, posamezni deli mehanskega pa bi morali biti popolnoma podrejeni temu." Dodaja, da tak model lahko uresničujejo le taki učitelji, "ki znajo ustvariti pravo duhovno okolje in spodbujati pristno duhovno rast" (Svetina 1992: 234-5).

Grki so s *praxis* označevali delovanje človeka, ki izhaja iz njega samega oziroma je del njega samega. *Praxis* torej pomeni človekove notranje naravnave in njihovo oblikovanje: logično, etično. *Poiesis* pa označuje človekovo spretnost za zunanje delovanje. Danes imamo zelo razvito to poietsično (v tem grškem pomenu) spretnost, s katero je človek zelo povečal svoje sposobnosti organiziranja osebnega in družbenega delovanja. Še bolj po-

treben pa je razvoj praktičnega (zopet v grškem izvornem pomenu) notranjega naravnjanja, po katerem bo človek znal urejevati samega sebe, da bo lahko vse svoje proizvode (poiesis) vskladil s svojem bitjem in njegovo ohranitvijo. *Biopoiesis* (ustvarjanje življenskih pogojev) mora torej dopolnjevati *biopraksis* (oblikovanje ohranjevalnih in ravnotežnih etičnih drž in navad), kar zagotavlja tudi človekovo preživetje. Še posebno zato je to tudi problem šolske dejavnosti, torej vzgoje in izobraževanja.

LITERATURA:

- ANDERS, G.** 1992: *Die Antiquiertheit des Menschen*. Beck, München.
- AQUAVIVA, S.** 1998: *Das Glück*. Bouvier, Bonn.
- ARISTOTEL** 1994: *Nikomahova etika*. Slovenska matica, Ljubljana.
- ARISTOTEL** 1993: *O duši*. Slovenska matica, Ljubljana.
- BATISTIČ-ZOREC, M.** 1997: *Kurikularna prenova*. Nacionalni kurikularni svet, Ljubljana.
- EDUCATION 2000** 1997: *Poročilo in zaključki 13. stalne konference evropskih ministrov vzgoje in izobraževanja v Kristiansandu na Norveškem*. 22.-24. junija 1997. Council of Europe, kraj izdaje, Kristiansand.
- JUHANT, J.** 1993: *Človek — temelj etike?*. BV 53 (1-2): 125-134.
- KAMLAH, W.** 1973: *Philosophische Anthropologie, Sprachliche Grundlegung und Ethik*. Anton Hain, Mannheim.
- KANT, I.** 1964: *Anthropologie in pragmatischer Hinsicht*. Surkamp, Frankfurt.
- KANT, I.** 1956: *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*. Surkam, Frankfurt.
- KREK, J.** (ed) 1995: *Bela knjiga*. Ministrstvo za šolstvo in šport, Ljubljana.
- MARQUARD, O.** 1971: *Anthropologie. Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*. Schwabe & Co, Basel, 362-374.
- MÖHRING-HESE, M.** 1997: *Theozentrik, Sittlichkeit und Moralität christlichen Glaubenspraxis*. Herder, Freiburg.
- Nacionalni kurikularni svet 1997: *Izhodišča kurikularne prenove. NKS*, Ljubljana.
- OZVALD, K.** 1998²: *Srednješolska vzgoja. Jutro*, Ljubljana, (Gorica 1912¹).
- PEDIČEK, F.** 1998: *Ob prenovi šole. Kritični pedagoški pogledi. Jutro*, Ljubljana.
- PIEPER, A.** 1973: *Sprachanalytische Ethik und praktische Freiheit*. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart.
- PLATON** 1993: *Phaidros*. Vandenbeck und Ruprecht, Göttingen.
- SATURA, V.** 1970: *Struktur und Genese der Person*. Universität, Innsbruck.
- SOTHERN, R. W.** 1994: *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe*. Blackwell, Cambridge.
- SVETINA, J.** 1992: *Znamenja časov in šola*. Didakta, Radovljica.
- TRSTENJAK, A.** 1985: *Človek bitje prihodnosti*. Slovenska matica, Ljubljana.
- VEBER, F.** 1938: *Nacionalizem in krščanstvo*. J. Peršun, Ljubljana.

INTERVJU: PRETEKLOST KOT PROVOKACIJA

ROBIN WILLIAM DENNELL

Profesor ROBIN WILLIAM DENNELL zaseda *Personal Chair in Prehistory* na *Department of Archaeology and Prehistory* na *University of Sheffield, UK*. Poleg tega je *Field Director of the British Archaeological Mission to Pakistan*. Z njim se je za *Anthropological Notebooks* pogovarjal in pogovor opremil z opombami Boris Kavur.

Njegove prve besede so bile: "Stvar vedno postane napeta, ko je pred tako velik mikrofon."

Foto: Mila Krivic



AN: Kdaj ste se sploh odločili, da boste postali arheolog?

R.W.D.: Prvič sem se začel zanimati za arheologijo, ko sem bil star 8 let. Teta mi je podarila knjigo *Going in to the Past*, o mladem arheologu, ki je izkopaval rimsko svetišče, in odločil sem se, da bi to rad počel. Ko mi je bilo 11 let, sem se pridružil krajevnemu muzejskemu društvu v Plymouthu in začel izkopavati. Moje prve najdbe so bile žlica in kuhinjski odpadki Plymouthskega gradu, ki so bili iz 16. in 17. stoletja.

Petnajstleten sem se udeležil prvega univerzitetnega izkopavanja. Tako sem cele poletne počitnice sodeloval pri srednjeveških izkopavanjih. Tedaj sem se trdno odločil, da bom študiral arheologijo in ne prava, kar je bila želja mojih staršev. Pravo se mi je zdelo zelo dolgočasno. Tako sem se najprej hudo sprl s svojimi starši, nato pa sem se le lahko vpisal na Univerzo v Cambridgeu. Najprej sem eno leto med srednjo šolo in univerzo risal srednjeveško keramiko v Plymouthu. To je bilo moje prvo poklicno delo v arheologiji. Tako se je vse začelo.

AN: Vendar je časovno zelo velik skok od srednjega veka Anglije do neolitika v Bolgariji. Kako ste sploh prišli tja?

R.W.D.: Kakor hitro sem prišel na Cambridge, me je začela zanimati arheologija Bližnjega vzhoda, kar pa sploh ni bila dobra ideja. Ker sem obupen antitalent za jezike in ne bi mogel nikoli pošteno študirati egiptologije ali siriologije, sem se začel ukvarjati z zgodnjim poljedelstvom na Bližnjem vzhodu. Konec prvega leta sem kot dodiplomski študent dobil mesto pri projektu v Kurdistanu v Iranu. Ta se sicer ni ukvarjal z neolitikom, ampak z železno dobo, bil pa je na pravem kraju. To so bile moje prve izkušnje z delom na tellih.

Nato sem leta 1968 kot študent drugega letnika dobil majhno štipendijo, da sem si lahko ogledal najdišča in gradivo v Turčiji, predvsem Hacillar in Çatal Hüyük, prav tako pa sem sodeloval pri nekem turškem izkopavanju. Ko sem bil študent tretjega letnika, sem delal v Izraelu in Italiji in tisto poletje sem diplomiral.

Takrat je v Cambridgeu potekal velik raziskovalni projekt o zgodnji zgodovini poljedelstva v Evropi, ki ga je vodil karizmatični Eric Higgs. Verjel je, da se je domestifikacija začela že v paleolitiku. Večina nas je študirala kot glavni predmet na univerzi prav paleolitik, tako da je bilo popolnoma jasno, da sem se poizkušal vključiti v projekt. Po diplomi sem ostal v Cambridgeu in dobil štipendijo, da sem lahko delal pri njegovem projektu.

Vse to se je dogajalo v času med leti 1968 do 1970, ko je bilo zahodnjakom, kar sem jaz bil, prvič dovoljeno obiskati države na vzhodu, Bolgarijo in Romunijo. Tako se je ponudila možnost, da bi nekdo iz Velike Britanije sodeloval z Bolgarsko akademijo znanosti pri njihovih izkopavanjih. Na tej stopnji sem se že zanimal za rastlinske in živalske ostanke, kar verjetno seže nazaj v dni v Plymouthu, ko sem izkopaval take stvari. No, začel sem se ukvarjati z iskanjem botaničnih ostankov na zgodnjepoljedelskih najdiščih s flotacijskimi stroji. Tako sem torej vzel svoj flotacijski stroj in sita v Bolgarijo ter tam ostal 3 leta. To je bila v bistvu moja doktorska disertacija¹.

AN: Kako pa, da ste nato preusmerili svoje delovanje od “vrat v Evropo” v “srce Azije”?

R.W.D.: Pravzaprav je bila pot daljša, kajti po doktorski disertaciji sem imel srečo in sem dobil službo v Sheffieldu, kjer sem predaval evropsko prazgodovino. Delno tudi zaradi tega sem napisal *European Economic Prehistory*². Tako sem večji del sedemdesetih let poučeval na univerzi. Moram priznati da od tedaj, ko sem postal predavatelj, nisem več delal v Evropi. Kakor hitro sem dobil službo v Sheffieldu, sem se namreč vrnil v Iran in delal v dveh ameriških projektih.

Prvi se je ukvarjal z zgodnjim poljedelstvom v Kurdistanu, drugi pa je bil v centralni puščavi v Iranu, v smeri Afganistana. Oba projekta sta bila zelo dobra in z veseljem sem sodeloval v njiju, ampak 1978 je izbruhnila revolucija in ta je ustavila vsa dela v zvezi s proučevanjem zgodnjega poljedelstva v tem delu sveta. Kar se je zgodilo za tem, je bilo v resnici nekoliko čudno. Projekt v iranski puščavi je bil del večjega raziskovalnega programa o puščavah in izrabi zemljišč v puščavah Irana, Indije, Afganistana in Pakistana. Zaradi revolucije so organizatorji predstavili konferenco, ki so jo načrtovali v Teheranu, v Indijo. Takoj ko smo prišli v indijsko puščavo, sem vprašal založnike, ki so bili tam, če bi lahko zanje pripravil recenzijo knjige Brigit Allchin o puščavi Thar, ki sem jo imel s sabo. Napisal sem recenzijo in nisem več mislil na to.

Dobro leto za tem me je Brigit poklicala in vprašala, če bi želel sodelovati z njo pri projektu o kameni dobi, ki ga je pravkar začejala v Pakistanu. To je bila enostavno preveč mamljiva ponudba, da bi se uprl. Tako sem odšel leta 1981 v Pakistan s Hellen Rendell. Ogledala sva si, kaj sploh lahko tam počneva, in tako se je začela zgodba o Pakistanu.

¹ DENNELL R. 1978: Early farming in Bulgaria from the VI to the III Millennium B.C.. BAR Int. 45.

² DENNELL R. 1983: *European Economic Prehistory*. Academic press, London.

AN: Ali ste želeli najprej preveriti in popraviti stare trditve ali pa ste nameravali začeti vse znova?

R.W.D.: Najprej sem pomislil na revizijo starejšega dela, kajti preden sem odšel tja, sem prebral knjigo De Terrae in Patersona³ in ugotovil, da ni nihče delal v Pakistanu od leta 1935, prav tako pa sem prebral vsa novejša ameriška dela o paleomagnetnih metodah datiranja in o jezerskih sedimentih ob vznožju Karakoruma in ugotovil, da je to čudovita možnost, da uporabim kraje, ki so jih Američani datirali v čas 1, 2 in 3 milijonov let pred sedanjostjo. Želel sem ugotoviti, če se lahko arheologija vklopi v ta časovni okvir, ki ga je obdelala geologija.

AN: Kakšna je bila reakcija starejših strokovnjakov, ko ste predstavili prve rezultate, ki so bili radikalno drugačni od starejših prepričanj, objavljenih leta 1939?

R.W.D.: Na začetku niso bili zelo razburjeni, morda jih je naše početje celo dolgočasilo, kajti leta 1981 je Pakistan veljal za zelo obrobni kraj. Pomembna odkritja so prihajala na dan v vzhodni Afriki. Začeli smo zelo počasi. Na začetku sva s Hellen Rendell sama delala na terenu. Leta 1981, 1982 sva raziskovala mlajše depozite, izkopavala sva plana najdišča, stara med 35 do 50 tisoč let B.P., kar je bilo sicer zanimivo, vendar nič kaj posebej vznemirljivo. Leta 1983, ko smo našli pestnjake v Jalalpurju in Dini in smo jih datirali v čas med 500 do 700 tisoč let BP, se je vse skupaj zdelo koristno, vendar ne preveč sporno.

Težave so se seveda začele in se še vedno nadaljujejo z odkritjem artefaktov v Riwatu v veliko starejšem spodnjem horizontu. Zaradi tega smo bili dolgo časa zelo oprezni. Odkrili smo jih leta 1983. H. Rendell je naredila prvo paleomagnetsko vzorčenje leta 1985 in mi rekla, da meni, da so najdbe stare, ni pa govorila o detajlih. Leta 1986 smo bili prepričani, da so artefakti starejši od 700 tisoč let B.P. Ko pa smo se odločili, da morajo biti stari najmanj 2 milijona let, sta se pojavili v strokovnih krogih dve reakciji. Veliko ljudi ni verjelo, da so to lahko artefakti, čeprav jih niso videli, zato so jih zlahka ignorirali. Tisti, ki so videli artefakte, pa so trdili, da je datacija nemogoča, in so jih prav tako ignorirali. Tretja reakcija, ki sem jo velikokrat slišal od kolegov iz Pakistana, je bila, da naj ne kritiziramo De Terro in Patersona, kajti najbrž sta imela prav, saj sta opravila svoje delo v tridesetih letih tega stoletja. In takrat so že vedeli, kaj delajo. Tako so se vsi strinjali, da naj ne objavimo dobljenih rezultatov.

Pravzaprav so rezultati, ko so izšli,⁴ pritegnili le kratkotrajno pozornost tiska. Pojavilo se je sicer nekaj člankov v ameriških in angleških časopisih, kmalu za tem pa je bila stvar spet pozabljena. To se je vleklo do predlanskega leta, do leta 1996, ko so se ljudje nenadoma spomnili teh rezultatov v zvezi z novimi odkritji na Kitajskem⁵ in ob ponovnem da-

3 DE TERRA H. & T. T. PATERSON 1939: Studies in the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures. Carnegie Institute of Washington, Washington.

4 DENNEL R. W., RENDELL H. & E. HAILWOOD 1988: Early tool making in Asia: two million year old artefacts in Pakistan. *Antiquity* 62: 98-106; DENNEL R. W., RENDELL H. & E. HAILWOOD 1988: Late Pliocene artefacts from Northern Pakistan. *Current Anthropology* 29: 495-498; DENNEL R. W. 1993: Evidence on Human Origins. A Rediscovered Source in the Upper Siwaliks of Northern Pakistan. *Interdisciplinary science reviews* 18 (4): 379-389; RENDELL H. M., DENNEL R. W. & M. A. HALIM 1989: Pleistocene and Palaeolithic Investigations in the Soan Valley, Northern Pakistan. *BAR int.* 544.

5 Avtor je tu mislil na odkritje v jami Longgupo, kjer je bila plast 8 z domnevnimi hominidi (fragment levega dela mandibule — Longgupo 1, ki ima ohranjen P4, M1 in alveolo M2 in desni zgornji lateralni inciziv) in kamnitim orodjem (odbitke z domnevnimi

tiranju hominidov z Jave⁶ ter seveda novega odkritja v Dmanisiju v Georgiji.⁷ Nenadoma so se naši dokazi vklapljali v širšo sliko, ki je postajala sprejemljiva za tiste, ki so menili, da so hominidi zapustili Afriko kmalu po obdobju dveh milijonov let pred sedanostjo.

AN: Zanimivo je, da ste vaše rezultate prvič v celoti predstavili strokovni javnosti leta 1988, odmevi nanje pa so se pojavili šele nedavno. Poleg tega je Avram Ronen svoje najdbe objavil že leta 1991,⁸ pa jih strokovna javnost še vedno ignorira. Kdo je pravzaprav tisti, ki najprej sprejme podatke odstopajoče od uveljavljenih? So to arheologi ali pa so to prej antropologi? Kako je bilo v vašem primeru?

R.W.D.: Prvi so moje najdbe uporabili antropologi. V članku o zgodnjih hominidih izven Afrike⁹ v *American Scientist*, ki je izšel decembra leta 1996. Napisala sta ga Ciochon in Larick. Na moje začudenje sta veselo sprejela starost artefaktov iz Riwata, ker je po njenem mnenju dobro podpirala starost paleoantropološkega gradiva izven Afrike. To je bilo prvič po desetih letih, da je kak znanstvenik resno upošteval to gradivo. Drugi je bil članek, ki je izšel aprila leta 1997 in ga je napisal Ian Tattersall.¹⁰ Tudi on je obravnaval problematiko Longuppoja, Dmanisija, Jave... in tudi on je menil, da je mogoče vključiti gradivo iz Riwata v ta širši okvir.

Ian je celo napisal, da sem pred leti ustvaril kar veliko zmešnjavo, ko sem trdil, da so artefakti stari 2 milijona let, v luči novih dokazov pa je starost teh artefaktov "decreasingly anomalous".¹¹ Nisem še slišal, da bi kdo tako oprezno izjavil, da ima nekdo drugi verjetno prav. Vsekakor je v tem trenutku starost teh artefaktov vedno manj izstopajoča in ne več popolnoma nemogoča.

AN: Ian je v večji meri govoril o paleoantropoloških vprašanjih in o morfološki hominidov, Russel in Ciochon pa sta se bolj omejila na tehnološke vidike kamenih industrij. Pri tem sta uporabila opisne oblike, v katerih sta tehnološke poimenovala kot tehnologije jeder in odbitkov in skupine s pestnjaki. Ali

mi retušami) datirana na osnovi paleomagnetizma v čas med 1,96 in 1,78 milijona let pred sedanostjo (Olduvai normal subchron). WANPO H., CIOCHON R., YUMIN G., LARICK R., QIREN F., SCHWARTZ H., YONGE C., DE VOS J. & W. RINK 1995: Early *Homo* and associated artefacts from Asia. *Nature* 378: 275-278.

⁶ Pri ponovnem datiranju je v isto časovno obdobje kot ostanki iz jame Longgupo bila uvrščena tudi otroška lobanja iz Modjokerta (Modjokerto I ali Peming I) na Javi. Raziskava paleomagnetizma je za plasti Pungcan, v katerih je bila odkrita, lobanja pokazala, da so normalne polarnosti, 40 Ar/39 Ar laser-incremental heating analiza pa je dala povprečno vrednost $1,81 \pm 0,04$ milijona let pred sedanostjo, kar sodi v Olduvai geomagnetni subchron. SWISHER C.C., CURTIS G. H., JACOB T., GETTY A.G., SUPRIJO A. & WIDIASMORO 1994: Age of Earliest Known Hominids in Java, Indonesia. *Science* 263: 1118-1121.

⁷ GABUNIA L. & A. VEKUA 1995: A Plio-Pleistocene hominid from Dmanisi, East Georgia, Caucasus. *Nature* 373: 509-512; DZAPARIDZE V., BOSINSKI G., BUGIANIŠVILI T., GABUNIA L., JUSTUS A., KLOPOTOVSKAJA N., KVAVADZE E., LORDKIPANIDZE D., MAJUSRADZE G., MGELADZE N., NIORADZE M., PAVLENIŠVILI D., TVALCRELIDZE M. & A. VEKUA 1991: Der altpaläolithischer Fundplatz Dmanisi in Georgien (Kaukasus). *Jahrb. RGZM* 36: 67-116.

⁸ A. Ronen je objavil artefakte iz Izraela, ki naj bi bili starejši od 2,43 milijona let, kasneje pa je bila datacija prekalkulirana na 2,39 milijona let pred sedanostjo. RONEN A. 1991: The Yiron-Gravel Lithic Assemblage Artifacts older than 2,4 MY in Israel. *Archäol. Korrespondenzblatt* 21: 159-164.

⁹ LARICK R. & R. L. CIOCHON 1996: The African Emergence and Early Asian Dispersal of the Genus *Homo*. *American Scientist* 84: 538-551.

¹⁰ TATTERSALL I. 1997: Out of Africa. Again ... and Again?, *Scientific American*, April: 46-53.

¹¹ Menim, da tako originalnega izraza enostavno ne gre prevajati.

podpirate take opise ali pa bi raje videli tradicionalna poimenovanja, kot so Oldowan¹² in Acheulean?¹³

R.W.D.: Menim, da je najkoristnejši način opisovati te skupke kot Način 1 in Način 2¹⁴ izdelave kamnitih orodij. Kajti kakor hitro začneš uporabljati kulturne definicije, kot je Oldowan, si v nevarnosti, da boš zagrešil dva zločina oz. napaki.

Prva je, da je Oldowan opis omejenega števila gradiva na enem samem najdišču. Oldowan iz Olduvaja je v celoti izdelan na prodnikih iz bazalta in kvarcita, ki sta zelo grobozrnati surovini. Zato so orodja zelo velika in zelo groba, kar je bistveno drugače od gradiva v Koobi Fori, kjer so orodja izdelana iz veliko bolj drobnorzrnatih kamnov. Poimenovanje Oldowan ni v nobeno korist niti pri opisovanju vzhodnoafriškega gradiva, ker se izgublja smisel, ko s tem pojmom opisujemo različne skupke.

Drugič pa, če uporabljate termin Oldowan, predvidevate neke vrste neposredno povezavo med vašim najdiščem in sotesko Olduvai. To seveda vključuje tudi isti tip hominida, ki naj bi naredil ta orodja, kar pa bi bila v tem hipu popolnoma nedokazljiva hipoteza. Zato menim, da je opisovanje, kot je Način 1 in Način 2, na generalni ravni zelo uporaben način opisovanja teh zgodnjih industrij iz Evrope, Afrike in Azije.¹⁵

AN: Tu se seveda pojavi težava lokalnih poimenovanj. Običaj je, da se na vsakem kontinentu poimenuje podobna industrija drugače. Tako velja, da je Oldowan omejen na Afriko.

R.W.D.: To je res. To je način 18. in 19. stoletja, ko so arheološko gradivo klasificirali v skupke, za katere so menili, da predstavljajo objektivne kulture in te naj bi zopet predstavljale populacije. Tako si imel v starejših publikacijah Oldowan v zahodni Afriki in Soan v Indiji in Pakistanu ter Anyathian v Burmi, kar je vključevalo tudi to, da kakor hitro se je skupina ustalila na določenem področju, je vzdrževala svojo identiteto dolgo časa z izdelovanjem določenega tipa kamnitih orodij. In za časovna obdobja, ki nas zanimajo, z njihovimi zelo enostavnimi tehnološkimi lastnostmi, so to zgolj nepreverljive in malo verjetne trditve.

AN: To je sicer res, vendar še vedno teorije pojmujejo poselitev Azije kot širitev populacij iz Afrike. To se je po tradicionalni kronologiji zgodilo nekje pred 1 milijonom let. In tako mnenje prevladuje kljub temu, da imamo že prej dokumentirane vdore bovidov iz Afrike v Evrazijo.¹⁶ Ljudje pa naj bi jim sledili šele 500 tisoč let kasneje.

12 Termin Oldowan je po najdbah iz Bed I in Bed II na najdišču Olduvai v Tanzaniji uvedla Mary Leakey. LEAKEY M.D. 1966: A review of the Oldowan culture from Olduvai Gorge, Tanzania. *Nature* 210: 462-466.

13 Termin Acheulean je uporabil leta 1872 G. de Mortillet pri opisovanju industrij s pestnjaki na srednji terasi reke Somme pri Saint-Acheulu. COMMONT, V., 1908 Les industries de l'ancien Saint-Acheul. *L'Anthropologie* 19: 527-572.

14 Termina za opisovanje skupkov zgodnjih industrij kot Način 1 in Način 2 izdelave kamnitih orodij je predlagal J.G.D. Clark. Način 1 so industrije, za katere so značilne enostavne oblike jeder, le poredko retuširani odbitki, potolčeni kamni in manuport, Način 2 pa se uporablja za opisovanje industrij, kjer so prisotna bifacialno v orodje obdelana jedra. CLARK J.D. (ed.) 1982: *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 1: From the Earliest Times to c. 500 BC*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

15 Za razliko od R.Dennella, je J.G.D. Clark ta način opisovanja uporabljal samo za Afriko.

16 Hominidi (domnevno *Homo erectus*), naj bi prišli zgolj do Izraela, medtem ko so se živali, predvsem afro-tropske vrste, ki so poznane najbolj v Etiopiji, razširile po vsej Evraziji. Posledica tega je dokaj enotna spodnje Biharijska favna v času okoli 1,7 mil-

R.W.D.: Moje mnenje je, da je vsa ta debata o času, kdaj so hominidi zapustili Afriko, usmerjena v popolnoma napačen časovni odsek. Nobenega razloga ni, zakaj naj bi bila kamnita orodja omejena zgolj na naš rod, rod *Homo*. Če sprejmemo, da šimpanzi lahko uporabljajo orodja in jih celo izdelujejo, prav tako orangutani, potem je verjetno izdelovanje orodij enostavno del dejstva, da smo hominidi. Zaradi tega ni nobenega logičnega ugovora proti temu, da naj hominidi ne bi uporabljali orodij nazaj do divergence med človeškimi in opičjimi predniki, z drugimi besedami nazaj do 8 milijonov let pred sedanjostjo. Zagotovo pa ne vidim razloga, zakaj naj orodja izpred 2,5 milijona let ne bi izdelovala oba takrat obstoječa rodova - *Paranthropus* in *Homo*.

Vrnimo se k vprašanju, kdaj so hominidi zapustili Afriko. Vse, kar vemo o teh zgodnjih hominidih je, da so imeli radi travnate površine z redkim gozdom. To okolje je bilo idealno za iskanje hrane. Lahko so našli trupla, kjer so dobili mrhovino, prav tako pa je bilo veliko rastlinske hrane, bili so manjši reptili, kot na primer želve, jajca; drevesa pa so jim nudila zavetje. Kot primati ponoči zelo slabo vidimo in zato so bila drevesa potrebna kot zavetišča, da so se lahko izognili velikim mačkam in mrhovinarjem, ki so lovili ponoči. Tako je možno, da se je prva povezava med izdelavo kamnitih orodij in prehranjevanjem z mesom zgodila nad tlemi v drevesnih krošnjah, tradicionalna arheologija pa še vedno vidi vse to dogajanje le na tleh. Moje mnenje je, da se je verjetno dogajalo na obeh krajih, v krošnjah in na tleh. Vsem hominidom, pa če je to *Ardipithecus ramidus* in *Australopithecus anamensis* pred 4 milijoni in *Australopithecus africanus* pred 3 milijoni let, je bilo skupno, da so bivali v travnatem svetu, kjer je bilo nekaj dreves. Ta travnata območja niso bila v tem času omejena samo na Afriko. Če pogledamo rekonstrukcijo vegetacije pred približno 3 milijoni let, bi lahko ostali v travnatem svetu vse od vzhodne do zahodne Afrike, preko današnje Sahare vse v jugozahodno Azijo, centralno Azijo in prav tako v severni del današnje Kitajske. Zato ne vidim razloga, zakaj naj hominidi ne bi zapustili Afrike pred najmanj 3 milijoni let.

Druga stvar, ki jo pobiramo naokrog, so arheološki ostanki. Prvi znaki izdelave orodij izven Afrike seveda na sovpadajo s pojavom prvih hominidov izven Afrike. Objektivna kritika tega modela je seveda vprašanje, zakaj potem ne najdemo apitekov v jugovzhodni Aziji. Prvič, ljudje jih niso iskali, in drugič, bližnji vzhod ni ravno ugoden kraj za delo po letu 1945, predvsem za zahodne znanstvenike. Kraji so muslimanski, močno proti zahodnjaško usmerjeni. Tako je popolnoma jasno, da so raziskovalci veliko lažje sprejeli vzhodno Afriko kot zibelko človeštva, ker so tam lažje delali in je obstajala večja možnost, da bodo odkrili hominide.

AN: Tu je torej še vse lepo in prav, menim pa, da se stvari zapletejo z začetkom Načina 2 izdelave kamnitih orodij. Najstarejše kulture s pestnjaki se raztezajo od vzhodne Afrike do današnjega Izraela v času med 1,4 in 1,2 milijona let pred sedanjostjo. Prav tako lahko v istem času sledimo favnistične elemen-

ijona let pred sedanjostjo. Tako lahko primerjamo favno iz 'Ubeidiya v Izraelu, Séneze v Franciji, Ain-Hanech v severni Afriki in Tamanian favnistični kompleks v Rusiji s favno iz zgornjega dela Bed II v Olduvai Gorge. Med najbolj značilne spodnjepleistocenske vrste sodijo *Pachycrocuta brevirostris*, *Hippopotamus antiquus* in *Equus altidens*. TCHERNOV E. 1992: Biochronology, Paleoecology and Dispersal Events of Hominids in the Southern Levant. V: AKAZAWA T., AOKI K. & T. KIMURA (ed.): The evolution and dispersal of Modern Humans in Asia. Hokusen-Sha, Tokio, pp. 149-188

te od Olduvaja do `Ubeidiye, na drugi strani pa imamo podobne bovide v Pabbi Hills, nimamo pa pestnjakov.

R.W.D.: Res je. Menim, da je to eden izmed najbolj zanimivih delov arheološkega zapisa. To je razvoj in širitev skupkov Načina 2 s pestnjaki. Menim, da so v času med 1,4 in 1 milijonom let skupki Načina 2 še vedno omejeni na Afriko. Imamo pestnjake v Kadi v Etiopiji pred 1,4 milijona let, prav tako so dobri pestnjaki v Olduvaju od 1,4 milijona let pred sedanostjo dalje. Prvi skupki s pestnjaki v Ubeidiyi pa bi lahko bili stari med 1,4 in 1 milijon let. To kaže na dve stvari.

Najprej, da je v tem času še vedno obstajal koridor med vzhodno Afriko in današnjim Izraelom, na kar kažejo morfološke podobnosti gradiva iz Ubeidiye z vzhodnoafriškim gradivom.¹⁷ Očitno je obstajala neka povezava preko Sahare.

Drugič pa lahko kaže na to, da je *Homo ergaster* v prvi vrsti afriška vrsta, ki je ostala v Afriki do 1 milijona let pred sedanostjo. Prav tako je časovna določitev prvih skupkov s pestnjaki izven Izraela zelo vprašljiva. Kar smo videli v Pabbi Hills, je dejstvo, da nimamo nobenih dokazov za obstoj pestnjakov v depozitih, ki smo jih pregledali, in ti depoziti so starejši od 500 tisoč let. Kamnita orodja, ki smo jih odkrili, segajo od časa 900 tisoč let pa do 2 milijonov let pred sedanostjo. Če računamo na značilno podobo pestnjakov in dejstvo, da smo bili tam eno leto, lahko zaključimo, da bi pestnjake zagotovo našli, če bi obstajali. Menim, da pestnjakov v Pakistanu ni pred 900 tisoč leti in prej.

Pestnjaki so v Pakistanu v dobrem kontekstu stari 500, morda celo 700 tisoč let. In to je na grobo tudi ista starost za prve pestnjake v Evropi, kjer so najstarejši dobro datirani stari 500 tisoč let. To kaže, da se je širitev pestnjakov v Evropo in Indijo zgodila približno istočasno in je verjetno posledica širitve iste populacije. Vendar še vedno ne razumemo prav dobro, zakaj se je to zgodilo prav takrat. Nedvomno je to čas, ko se je zgodilo dosti drugih stvari v hominidnem fosilnem materialu. V Evropi se je razvil *Homo heidelbergensis*. Obdobje okoli 700 tisoč let pred sedanostjo - obdobje srednjega pleistocena - je arheološko in paleoantropološko zelo pomembno, vendar ga v tem trenutku še slabo razumemo.

AN: Ali menite, da so se morfološke spremembe pri hominidnih populacijah in pri orodnih skupkih odvijale istočasno neodvisno ali pa so vzročno povezane, in kakšno vlogo bi pri tem lahko imela tehnologija obdelave lesa, oziroma pojav prvih predmetov s simboličnim pomenom. Ali menite, da je to skupek sprememb, ki so sledile po izteku Načina 1 izdelave orodij?

R.W.D.: Menim, da smo priča glavni spremembi vedenja. Če pogledamo razširjenost Načina 1 izdelave kamnitih orodij v Evraziji, zlahka ugotovimo, da je zgornja meja potekala nekje na črti 40° do 45° severne geografske širine, kar je bolj ali manj enako današnji distribuciji primatov. Težava hominidov, kot je tudi danes težava primatov, je bila preživetje zime. Šlo je za probleme z nizkimi temperaturami in dolžino dneva, kajti če ste lovec in na-

¹⁷ V šestdesetih letih je Stekelis pojmoval orodja iz plasti V na najdišču Gesher Benot Ya'akov kot afriško kulturo zaradi uporabe bazalta za izdelavo orodij in uporabe nakovalske tehnike za izdelavo odbitkov, iz katerih so nato izdelovali bifacialna orodja. Pravzaprav pa sta obe najdišči - `Ubeidiya in GBY ob Jordanu in zaradi tega v bistvu na severnem koncu afriškega Rifta. GOREN-INBAR N. 1992: The Achelean Site of Gesher Benot Ya'akov : An African or Asian Entry? V: AKAZAWA, T., AOKI, K. & T. KIMURA (ed.): The Evolution and Dispersal of Modern Humans in Asia. Hokushan-Sha, Tokio, 67-82.

biralec z zelo slabim nočnim vidom, imate pozimi le 8 ur dnevne svetlobe in v njih morate izslediti, pridobiti, predelati in použiti hrano. Tako je bilo res težko priti severneje od omejnene črte.

Stanje raziskav v Evropi pa kaže, da so bili hominidi v južni Evropi že pred 700 tisoč leti.¹⁸ Za vdor v severno Evropo pa so potrebovali še nadaljnjih 200 let. Ko pa se je začela kolonizacija severne Evrope, kaže, da je bila zelo hitra. In to lahko povežem s pojavom sofisticirane lovske tehnologije, ki je temeljila na uporabi kopij. Kajti v Boxgroveju imamo jasne dokaze za to, da so hominidi, ki so obirali tista trupla, to počeli zelo uspešno, brez najmanjšega vmešavanja mesojedih živali. Verjetno so jih tudi sami ubili. Dober dokaz za to je luknja v lopatici konja, ki zgleda kot mesto zadetka vrženega kopja. In seveda imamo čudovita kopja iz Schoningena,¹⁹ ki jih lahko neposredno povežemo z lovom na velike živali. In verjetno je bil to tisti preboj, ki so ga hominidi potrebovali za osvojitve severnejših področij, da so lahko zasledovali velike živali, jih hitro ubili in hitro dobili njihovo meso.

AN: Torej je najprej spremembe in območje poselitve narekovala klima, nato pa je pred 0,5 milijona let to prevzela kultura. Je to torej znak humanizacije, ko so naši predniki zamenjali naravo s kulturo?

R.W.D.: Ne bi rekel, da je to tako enostavno. Klima je bila vedno pomemben dejavnik v človeškem razvoju. Širitev hominidov iz jugovzhodne Azije bi bila lahko povezana z izsuševanjem jugovzhodne Azije, kar je pognalo hominide dalje na vzhod in na zahod. Poleg tega pa je bila kultura vedno zelo pomembna pri adaptaciji višjih primatov. Šimpanzi imajo svoja primitivna orodja in zgodnji hominidi so imeli svoja primitivna orodja, ki so jim omogočala izkoriščanje in pridobivanje mesa in drugih virov hrane. Na drugi strani pa opazimo pred 0,5 milijona let hominide, ki so bili dobro opremljeni lovci na velike živali in so lahko tekmovali z velikimi mesojedimi zvermi. Na tej točki so hominidi pospešili tempo pri kulturnem in fosilnem zapisu.

AN: Tako pride do kolonizacije severnejših področij Azije in Evrope istočasno, vendar imamo v Evropi industrije Načina 1 in industrije Načina 2 istočasno in vzporedno ene ob drugih, v Aziji pa še vedno poznamo samo Način 1.

R.W.D.: Če se po mojem scenariju hominidi zapustili oziroma so že bili izven Afrike pred 3 milijoni let, so že pred 2 milijonoma let delali kamnita orodja Načina 1. To se tudi sklada s fosilnim gradivom. Na tej točki se strinjam z Ianom Tattersallom, da je *Homo erectus* oziroma *Pithecanthropus* azijska vrsta. Ostane pa vprašanje, zakaj so pestnjaki omejeni le na zahodno in južno Azijo. Odgovora ne poznam. Morda je za to kriv tektonski dvig cen-

¹⁸ Najpopolnejši pregled najstarejših arheoloških ostankov v Evropi nudi ta hip zbornik, ki sta ga uredila Roebroeks in van Kolfschoten. ROEBROEKS W. & T. VAN KOLFSCHOTEN (ed.) 1995: The Earliest Occupation of Europe. University of Leiden, Leiden. Najpopolnejši pregled različnih konceptov pri izdelavi razbhenih kronologij poselitve Evrope pa nudita članka CARBONELL E., MOSQUERRA M., RODRIGUEZ X. P. & R. SALA 1996: The first Human Settlement of Europe., *Journal of Anthropological Research* 52 (1): 107-114 in DENNELL R. & W. ROEBROEKS 1996: The earliest colonization of Europe: the short chronology revisited., *Antiquity* 70: 535-542.

¹⁹ THIEFME H. 1997: Lower Palaeolithic hunting spears from Germany. *Nature* 385: 807-810.

tralne Azije - predvsem Karakhoruma in Himalaje. Tako je bila ustvarjena pregrada med vzhodno in zahodno Azijo, ki je hominidi niso mogli prečkati. To bi bila ena možnost. Druga možnost bi lahko bila posledica širitve deževnega pragozda, ki ni ustrezal hominidom z Načinom 2 izdelave kamnitih orodij, ki so se selili s travnatih področij Afrike in Bližnjega vzhoda na vzhod medtem, ko so se hominidi, ki so v prvem valu poselili vzhodno Azijo in so poznali Način 1 izdelave kamnitih orodij, prilagodili na nove razmere in naselili tudi jugovzhodno Azijo.

Če pa se ozremo v Evropo, je sočasen obstoj Načina 1 in 2 zagotovo velika težava. Morda bi lahko iskali rešitev v možnosti, da Evrope v tem času ni poseljevala samo ena vrsta hominida, kajti *Homo heidelbergensis* je tako ali tako slabo definirana vrsta, sestavljena iz mnogih, včasih tudi nekoliko različnih osebkov. Če sta obstajali dve vrsti hijen, sta morda obstajali tudi dve vrsti hominidov v Evropi in vsaka od njiju je imela svojo lastno tehnologijo.

AN: Za zadnje vprašanje pa bi vas prosil, da mi predstavite vaša pričakovanja, kakšne bodo novosti, ki jih bodo prinesle raziskave v prihodnjih letih v Evropi, Aziji in Afriki? Tu mislim na poglobitve spremembe, ki bi lahko spremenile podobo razvoja naše vrste, kot jo poznamo danes.

R.W.D.: Menim, da bodo nove raziskave v Afriki vzele vzhodni Afriki pomen zibelke človeštva. Nova odkritja v Čadu²⁰ nam jasno kažejo, da so bili hominidi izven Rifta že pred najmanj 3 milijoni let. Pričakujem nova odkritja izven Rifta, ki bi pokazala poselitev celega afriškega travnatega področja pred 3 do 4 milijoni let. Poleg tega pričakujem tudi starejše najdbe iz južne Afrike. V tem trenutku so najstarejši hominidi na najdiščih, kot je Makapansgard, stari 3 milijone let in verjetno izvirajo iz vzhodnoafriških populacij. Žal sploh ne vemo, kaj bi vsebovala jama s 4 milijone let starimi ostanki v južni Afriki, kajti še nobena ni bila izkopana. Ko pa se bo to zgodilo, pričakujem, da se bo ponovil podoben vzorec kot v vzhodni Afriki.

Menim, da bomo kmalu pričla tudi večji različnosti fosilnega gradiva v vzhodni Afriki. V tem trenutku je namreč prevladujoče mnenje v primatologiji, da je bilo tam v miocenu veliko število različnih hominoidov, nato pa je ostala samo ena vrsta hominida - *Australopithecus anamensis*²¹ ali *Ardipithecus ramidus*²² v času pred 4 milijoni let, nato pa smo pred 3 milijoni let spet pričla močnemu povečanju števila hominidov. Menim, da gledamo zelo poenostavljen fosilni zapis, in pričakujem, da bomo odkrili večjo raznovrstnost v vzhodni Afriki v času pred 4 milijoni let.



²⁰ BRUNET M., BEAUVILAIN A., COPPENS Y., HEINTZ, E., MOUTAYE A.H.E. & D. PILBEAM 1995: The first Australopithecine 2500 kilometres of the Rift Valley (Chad). *Nature* 378: 273-275.

²¹ Ostanki so znani z najdišč Kanapoi in Allia Bay in so stari od 4,1 do 3,9 milijona let. COFFING K., FEIBEL C., LEAKEY M. & A. WALKER 1994: Four-million-year old hominids from east Lake Turkana, Kenya. *Am. Journal. of Phis. Anthropol.* 93: 55-65; LEAKEY M.G., FEIBEL C.S., MC DOUGAL I. & A. WALKER 1995: New four-million-year-old hominid species from Kanapoi and Allia Bay, Kenya. *Nature* 376: 565-571.

²² Najdbe so bile odkrite na področju Afarske depresije, na področju srednje Awaše ob zgornjem toku izsušenega porečja Aramis. Fosili so stari okoli 4,4 milijone let. Najprej so bili poimenovani *Australopithecus ramidus*, kasneje pa so jih v skladu z ICZN preimenovali in predlagali novo rodovno ime *Ardipithecus ramidus*. WHITE T.D., SUWA G. & B. ASFAW 1994: *Australopithecus ramidus*, a new species of early hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia. *Nature* 371: 306-312; WHITE T.D., SUWA G., B. ASFAW 1995: *Australopithecus ramidus*, a new species of early hominid from Aramis, Ethiopia. *Nature* 375: 88.

Kar se tiče Azije, menim, da bo naslednje stoletje stoletje Azije. Pričakujem, da bodo najpomembnejše najdbe prišle na dan v jugozahodni Aziji, če bodo raziskave tam močnejše. Jaz bom vsekakor nadaljeval v Pakistanu. Menim, da čez 10 do 20 let ne bo več provokativno govoriti o hominidih v travnatih področjih Azije že pred 2 milijonoma let.

Če pa se povmemo v Evropo, bo najpomembnejše vprašanje, kot je tudi že ta hip, vprašanje prve kolonizacije Evrope. Morda je res, da je TD6 v Atapuerci²³ najstarejša poselitve Evrope z datacijo 780 tisoč let pred sedanostjo ali pa so morda celo starejše sledi poselitve v južni Evropi na najdiščih, kot je Orce,²⁴ ali pa na francoskih najdiščih, ki so bila izkopana v zadnjih letih. Morda so v Evropi še starejši hominidi. In to bo pomagalo pojasniti oziroma odpraviti veliko razliko v starosti hominidov v Evropi in Aziji. Pričakujem veliko več podatkov iz jugovzhodne Evrope, od koder jih v tem trenutku skoraj ni. Tu mislim na države, kot je Italija, nekdanja Jugoslavija, kar seveda vključuje tudi Slovenijo pa Grčija in zahodna Turčija. Če so to res vrata v Evropo, potem moramo pričakovati sledi zgodnjih populacij prav na tem prostoru.

AN: Hvala za pogovor in upam, da nam boste lahko pokazali še več rezultatov vašega dela v Pakistanu, ko se prihodnjic srečamo.

R.W.D.: Hvala.

Intervjuval: BORIS KAVUR

23 CARBONELL E., BERMUDEZ DE CASTRO J.M., ARSUGA J.L., DIEZ J.C., ROSAS A., CUENCA-BESCÓS G., SALA R., MOSQUERA M. & X. P. RODRIGUEZ 1995: Lower Pleistocene hominids and artifacts from Atapuerca-TD6 (Spain). *Science* 269: 826-829.

24 Tu je mišljeno najdišče Fuente Nueva - 3, kjer je bilo odkritih 60 artefaktov in situ v sedimentih z obrnjeno polarnostjo, kar kaže na epoho Matuyama. Ker zaradi hiatusa ni ugotovljen dogodek Olduvai, se lahko FN - 3 datira najbolje po favni od faze glodalcev brez zobnih korenin (*Microtus arvalidens* zone) do zgornje biharijske *Allophaiomys bourgondiae* zone. MARTINEZ NAVARRO B., TURQ A., AGUSTI BALLESTER J. & O. OMS 1997: Fuente Nueva - 3 (Orce, Granada Spain) and the first human occupation of Europe. *Journ. Of Hum. Evol.* 33: 611-620; GIBERT J., GIBERT LL., IGLESIAS A. & E. MAESTRO 1998: Two 'Oldowan' assemblages in the Plio-pleistocene Deposits of the Orce Region, Southeast Spain. *Antiquity* 70: 17-25; IGLESIAS DIÉGUEZ A., GIBERT CLOLS J. & L. GIBERT BEOTAS 1998: La penetración de los homínidos por el estrecho de Gibraltar en el contexto general de su dispersión. *Gallacia* 17: 29-48.



Asor Izak Sarkis / Sac. (Foto: Zige Kortimby)

IZTOK SAKSIDA — SAX*

JOŽE VOGRINC

FILOZOFSKA FAKULTETA LJUBLJANA

Ko antropologi s katerega drugega sveta dolgoročno raziskujejo univerzitetno občestvo — in glede tega ni bistvene razlike, ali opazujejo Ljubljano ali Cambridge —, gotovo neredko naletijo na tip mladostnega upornika, ki z besedo in z vedenjem oporeka avtoriteti, utelešeni v učitelju, potem pa se — če ne prej, pa med dolgo zabubljenostjo, tako imenovano fazo asistenta — preobrazi v pošlihtanega docenta, ki slej ko prej vsako leto prebira novemu rodu študentov iste modrosti, do katerih se je težka dokopal, ko je imel še čas študirati.

Sax kot učitelj je popolno nasprotje takega profesorja. Kdor je poslušal njegova zadnja predavanja, ga je lahko opazoval v skoraj enaki podobi kakor pred dobrimi dvajsetimi leti, ko smo kot študentje razpravljali o tem ali onem: pogosto neobrit, včasih skuštran, skoraj vedno neprespan zaradi intenzivnega dela; v udobni srajci in hlačah z velikimi žepi pa v sandalih čepi na stolu in krili z rokami, med prsti se mu valja prižgana cigareta, ko govori, in na mizi mu dela družbo lonček, poln močne, sladke črne kave... In zdaj bistveno: nobene možnosti ni, da bi predaval isto in o istih rečeh kakor pred petimi leti, pred petimi leti pa je pripovedoval o čisto drugih zadevah kakor še pet let prej.

Naj nam ta kontrast nakaže, zakaj ni mogoče preprosto povedati, s čim se je ukvarjal, in zakaj ne more nihče napisati njegove biografije tako, da bi se kolikor toliko znašel v več zaporednih fazah njegove poti. Sax namreč ni iskal in tudi ni imel svojega fevda (prav zanj si v utesnjenih slovenskih akademskih razmerah prizadeva večina plezalcev po klinih akademske kariere). Sax ima, kakor asteroid, lastno timico. Zvestoba lastnemu slogu vedenja je indic, da njegov dolgi pohod skozi znanstvene discipline ni bil posledica nediscipliniranosti, pač pa subjektivne logike napredovanja, ki se ne more podrediti zunanjim omejitvam kakršne koli avtoritete, ker nosi v sebi to prisilo — slediti poti, za katero ne veš, kam te utegne pripeljati in kam utegneš treščiti. "Samo to veš, da moraš", kot se je zapisalo Tomažu Šalamunu.

Gre za mojega prijatelja in vrstnika. Za marsikaj v njegovi usodi prepoznavam spodbude v srednješolskih in študentskih letih: desetletje po 1968. Moja generacija iz tedaj optimističnih mladih industrijskih mest, kjer smo socializem doživljali kot uspeh in oblubo, je verjela, da bo prihodnost preseerala vse naše predstave, in je v omejenosti lokalnih avtoritet, od šole do občinskega komiteja, videla kulturno in civilizacijsko bebavost avtoritete kot take. Tujost rocka, beat generacije in yippiejev nas je — skupaj z OHO, reizmom, nadrealizmom in dadaizmom — iztrgala iz sužnosti omejeni domišljiji. Tu mi ne gre za nostalgijo,

* Zahvaljujem se uredništvu *Anthropological Notebooks*, da se je na deloven način poklonilo spominu na mojega dolgoletnega prijatelja in sodelavca. V kratkem času, ki mi je bil na voljo, pač ni bilo mogoče predstaviti njegovega dela, niti pomena za antropologijo in nasploh za razvoj znanosti v Sloveniji. Tega en sam človek tako ne zmore, saj je bil Sax (tako smo mu vedno rekli in tako se mi je podpisal, kadar mi je poslal kartico s popotovanja, zato bi se mi ne zdelo prav, če bi ga tule iz pietete obkladal z naslovi, ki mu tako ali tako niso pomenili ničesar — razen možnosti, da sledi svoji poti) preveč samosvoj za kaj takega. Tu le zarisujem njegov lik skozi opis njegove poti, kakor jo pač vidim sam.

pač pa za tisti skupni vzgib v socialni izkušnji, ki nas je naredil radikalno nespoštljive do vsake avtoritete razen brezimnega etičnega imperativa v lastni vesti, ki pa nas je gnal "čez": ne nazaj, v domnevno edini možni svet "realnega kapitalizma", pač pa v preizkušanje mej mogočega brez priznavanja plotov med politikom in kulturo, med javnim in zasebnim.

Na osebni ravni je to pomenilo za dovolj drzne konflikt s šolo, izpad, potepanje po svetu, skupno življenje, priložnostno delo. Kdor je po tem še študiral, je študiral izključno iz lastnih nagibov. Tako se je Sax vpisal na primerjalno književnost na FF 1975. leta, diplomiral pa — saj je vmes, kot bomo videli, počel še toliko zanimivejšega — 1982. Pisal je pesmi in prozo, bil nekaj časa kot rit in srajca z Iztokom Osojnikom, objavljaj zlasti v *Problemih*, izdal pesniško zbirko, ustanovil podrealistično gibanje, sodeloval pri gledališko-glasbenih performansih in bil prva violina (tudi dobesedno) pri glasbenih skupinah z nevrstljivim slogom nekje onkraj vseh vrst rocka, jazza in punka. Če rečemo, da je bil med nosilci takratne alternativne kulture, je treba videti anarhistični politični naboj te kulture: prav ob tem, ko je (je bilo to leta 77?) z družino kot študent brez dohodkov ostal na cesti, smo ga s prijatelji vselili v takrat prazno stavbo bivšega vrtca na Erjavčevi ulici in s tem sprožili prvi in skoraj edini *squat* v Ljubljani, od katerega je Sax dobil šest mesecev pogojno in enosobno stanovanje brez sanitarij za Figovcem. In pesmice? Naj pokažem le tole sliko: na odru ljubljanske Opere *Papa Kinjal Band* kakšne pol ure šiba, poplesava, kriči, vrešči — Marxove *Teze o Feuerbachu*: "filozofi so svet doslej spreminjali, gre pa za to, da ga spremenimo"...

Kot absolvent in svežediplomiranec, tam v začetku osemdesetih, je pustil nekaj let na Radiu Študent. Sam je (v življenjepisu v vlogi za izvolitev v izrednega profesorja pred dvema, tremi leti) lakonsko skrčil dve, tri leta v eno samo poved: "Na Radiu Študent sem se posebej trudil za uveljavljanje teorije, režiral vrsto radijskih iger in se zavzemal za brez-kompromisno kritiko tedanjih oblastnih razmerij." RŠ je bil po Saxovi meri, ker se je tam živelo: učilo, delalo, zabavalo, ljubilo in sovražilo. Danes zveni nekoliko odtrgano, če povem, da smo zato, da bi to lahko počeli, vstopili v ZK in na RŠ ustanovili lastno osnovno organizacijo. Na ta način smo si zagotovili avtonomijo delovanja in nadzor sodelavcev (ne pa ZSMS in ZK) nad programom. Šlo je za socialni in politični eksperiment: na radiu se je bralo Marxa in Lacana, igralo Robbe-Grilleta in farso po stalinistični brošurici o Leninovi mumifikaciji in zgodovini njegovega trupla. Čista fikcija so bili tako zapisniki partijskih sej kot cele polemike na RŠ, od katerih je eno, ki je bila objavljena kot teoretska priloga Mladine o tem, ali komunisti smejo hoditi v cerkev, v celoti spesnil Sax. Kulminacija tega obdobja produciranja fiktivne družbene realnosti je bilo *Vojno stanje na Radiu Študent*.

Kritika tedanjih oblastnih razmerij je — to sem hotel poudariti — imela izrazito praktično dimenzijo: z obilno produkcijo fiktivne realnosti, katere fiktivnosti oblast ni opazila, kadar kritiki tega nis(m)o sami hoteli, smo si dokazali, da je sama "socialistična stvarnost" fikcija.

V teh letih je bil Sax, tako kot še nekateri iz njegove generacije, v teoretski orbiti Problemov-Razprav, ki so jih Braco Rotar, Rastko Močnik in Slavoj Žižek v 70-ih naredili za levo teoretsko avantgardo, kjer so se soočile kritične različice marksizma, poststrukturalizma in psihoanalize. Zlasti z Lacanovo pomočjo se je Sax spopadal z razmerjem med teorijo in prakso v humanistiki in družboslovju pa z realnostjo fikcije, s prenašanjem vednosti iz rodu v rod in z reprodukcijo družbenih razmerij, s tem v zvezi pa z analizo pedagoških in medijskih diskurzov in praks. Od tod notranja koherenca na videz popolnoma dispartnih problematik, o katerih je Sax takrat pisal: od diplome o Kafki (objava 1983) prek analize radijskega medija ("Radio-aktivnost" iz 1985) do analiz pedagoškega diskurza in politične ideologije v letih 1985 do 1987.

1982 je vpisal magisterij na Oddelku za sociologijo na FF in bil nekaj let (1983 do 1985) "svobodnjak" in tajnik Problemov, po zagovoru magisterija 1985 pa je postal mladi raziskovalec na oddelku. Tu je ostal in odtlej tudi predaval, čeprav je formalno postal docent leta 1991, izredni profesor pa lani (1997).

Ko imenujem Saxa asteroid z lastno tirnico, mislim predvsem na brezkompromisnost, s katero je sledil logiki teoretskih vprašanj, ki so se mu postavljala skozi delo, in se niti za trenutek ni ustrašil tujosti znanstvenih disciplin, katerih meje je moral prekoračiti, da je ostal zvest sebi, da ni skrenil s tirnice. Iz njegovih knjig to ni tako zelo razvidno. Če jih primerjamo med seboj, ne da bi vedeli, kako je prišlo do tega, da so bile napisane, ne moremo opaziti drugega, kakor golo različnost: videti je, kakor da se pač — po bogvekakšni muhavosti avtorja — pač pečajo z različnimi problemi in nagovarjajo različne publike. L. 1986 objavljena magistrska naloga, *Šola: Učitelj, mati in otrok* je skrbna analiza slovenskega pedagoškega branja XIX. stoletja, ki z Lacanovim konceptualnim aparatom obdela Foucaultov problem z Althusserjevim teoretskim zastavkom skritim v rokavu: kako se je zgodovinsko preoblikovala scena pedagoške in socializacijske predelave človeškega mladiča v vzgojljivega in učljivega otroka s pojavom obvezne šole pri nas, ko si pod budnim očesom cerkve podata roko karakterja učitelj in mati. 1991. leta objavljeni doktorat (prav tako iz sociologije) je popolnoma drugeje: *Arheologi, naši davni predniki* se ubadajo z epistemološkim problemom, kako je mogoče reči kaj teoretsko veljavnega o družbah, iz katerih nimamo pisnih virov, marveč konstruiramo njihovo družbenost iz materialnih virov in s pomočjo analogij iz zgodovine, etnologije, socialne in kulturne antropologije. Njegova zadnja objavljena samostojna knjiga, učbenik za študente *Uvod v primerjalno sociologijo* (1997), pa je v popolnoma drugi dimenziji. Sax je iz sociologije (kot mehke vednosti, ki si ogleduje človeško socialnost v mejah njegove človeškosti) izstopil v tršo znanost, matematizirano naravoslovje, v socionomijo oziroma sociofiziko, za katero je *Homo sapiens* le den izmed organizmov, katerega socialnosti ne moremo upati doumeti, če ne poznamo in razumemo socialnosti pri živih bitjih sploh.

V uvodu v zadnjo knjigo je Sax označil ta del svoje poti kot dvanajst let trajajoče potovanje od vednosti k znanosti. Beseda "potovanje" je dragocena, ker izpostavi zveznost, logičnost poti, ki se zdi iz nizanja naslovov knjig v popolnoma napačni luči kot nepovezana disparatnost problematik. Sam sem s Saxom komuniciral dovolj redno in zavzeto, da sem videl neizogibnost poti — ki ni bila in ni moja pot, čeprav se mi zdijo nekateri odseki navdse mikavni, medtem ko mi drugi ostajajo tuji.

Da je smer njegovega potovanja vzvratna, sem spoznal nekje v začetku druge polovice 80. let. Medtem ko on z distanco, kjer gre gotovo za racionalizacijo, pravi, da ga je k "drsenju v času navzdol" napotila uganka problema ljubezni v nuklearnem trikotniku mati, oče, otroci, ki se je s psihologijo in sociologijo (= psihoanalizo in semiotiko) ni dalo razrešiti, pa sem sam zaslutil, kam pelje njegova pot, ko sem opazil, kako drugače od ostalih se je odzval na reaktualizirani problem branja Sofoklove Antigone, ki ga je sprožil izid Lacanovega seminarja o Etiki psihoanalize (1986). Lacan z izjemno pronicljivostjo izpostavi in analizira izjemni položaj Antigone, ki z vztrajanjem pri pokopu izobčenega brata izzove zakone in oblast in se zavestno preda pogubljenju. Pri nas se je lacanovska perspektiva orientirala docela po Žižkovi ortodoksni interpretaciji in se je popolnoma osredinila na Antigono vedenje kot model subjektivne drže. Sax je bil edni, ki se je vprašal, kako je bila taka drža v resnici mogoča: kaj se je pravilo biti ženska, sestra, dedinja v Sofoklovih Atenah? Spravil se je k branju vsega, kar bi lahko zvedel o tem od filologov, zgodovinarjev starogrškega prava in mentalitete, pa tega, kaj so o ženskah napisali Plato, Aristotel, Hippo-

krat... in navsezadnje ni bil prav nič zadovoljen s tem, kar je bilo mogoče iztisniti iz pisnih virov. Spregovoriti je moralo, kar je zanj dotlej molčalo.

Tako je odkril arheologijo. In ker ji ni hotel verjeti na besedo, se je pridružil izkopavanjem. Razumeti to potezo je bistveno, če hočemo razumeti Saxa. Ni se lotil zgolj brati, kako arheologi razumejo, denimo, "grško" družbo pred arhajsko dobo, da bi temu potem preprosto verjel, češ, oni že vejo, jaz kot sociolog se v to ne bom vtikal. Ni jim slepo zaupal. Še bolj narobe ga beremo, če mislimo, da jih je šel brat zato, da bi jim potem bral levite, češ, nimate pojma o tem, kako interpretirati svoje podatke kot podatke o preteklih družbah, ker niste sociologi in nasploh ne veste, kako razumeti družbe, zato vam bom to pokazal jaz (nemalo arheologov je užaljeno ali vsaj zaskrbljeno razumelo Arheologe, naše davne prednike, prav v tem registru, saj tam med drugim zares brez skrupulov sesuje naivno rekonstruiranje kultur in družb iz materialnih ostankov, ki iz podobnosti med temi ostanki in materialno kulturo iz zgodovinskih, etnografskih, antropoloških ali socioloških opisov znanih družb s podobno materialno kulturo sklepa, da njihovi materiji pritičejo podobne kulturne in družbene značilnosti). Tretje napačno razumevanje je še bolj verjetno, pa enako napačno: Sax ni preprosto prestopil iz "tabora" sociologije v "tabor" arheologije kakor športnik iz enega kluba v drugega; ni šlo za nikakršno lažno razsvetljenje v smislu: "Dosljej sem mislil, da se ključ v druge resnice skriva v sociologiji, zdaj pa verjamem, da ga imajo arheologi." Saxova raven presoje je vso pot teoretska, epistemološka. Vedeti, kar vejo arheologi, znati, kar znajo arheologi, je bilo zanj nekaj, česar se je moral naučiti sam, da bi prišel do odgovorov na vprašanja, ki si jih je postavljal sam, in ki niso bila zavezana nikakršni ortodoksiji niti sociologije, niti arheologije.

Teren je bil zanj kraj, kjer velja iskati vednost, do katere sociologija, iz kakršne je izšel, ne more, ker ne stopi na teren. Sax je bil vse bolj nezadovoljen s samozadovoljnostjo teorije. Antropologija je bila zanj sprva druga pot na teren — v prostoru (če lahko poenostavljeno zapišemo, da je arheologija peljala v čas). Preskus sociološke vednosti pri ljudeh, ki niso reduktibilni na nas same in naše preokupacije.

Mislím, da je bilo druženje z arheologi in antropologi in delo z njimi — ne pa zgolj branje njihovih spisov — tisto, zaradi česar je Sax tvegá, da se je vrtoglavo spustil v globino časa. Tak, kakršen je, seveda ni mogel ostati pri vprašanju, kako se je konstituirala ta ali ona kultura, pa naj bo arhaična ali klasična grška, mikenska ali neolitska, ampak je moral dregniti v jedro: od kod sploh kultura?; kako je človek sploh postal človek? Menim pa, da si je drznil, spustiti se v brezno pred(???)zgodovine, ker je s tem, ko je delal z ljudmi, ki so se veselili, kadar so v prahu našli obdelan kamen, naletel tudi na ljudi, ki so iz prahu vlekli koščke kosti...

Prišli smo do točke obrata: že pred nami je bil nekdo tu, pred njim je bil nekdo drugi, pred njim še nekdo... Niz se ne more ustaviti; misliti je treba z one strani, iz logike niza, in slediti rekonstrukciji nastanka človeka in kulture iz procesa, katerega rezultat sta. To pa je problematika biologije: teorije evolucije, fizične antropologije, primatologije. Hkrati je zdaj treba priznati: če sploh s kakšno oznako kolikor toliko zadenemo Saxovo ambicijo, kaj naj bi bil, je to antropolog — brez kakršnega koli prilastka.

Ko je tako Sax v začetku 90. let na Oddelku za sociologijo FF začel poučevati socialno antropologijo (izvoljen je bil v docenta za sociologijo kulture), jo je že razumel v navezavi na teoretsko biologijo, paleoantropologijo, sociobiologijo, socioekologijo. Zadnja leta je usmeril svoje raziskovanje in poučevanje predvsem v razumevanje socialnosti pri hominidnih populacijah v plio-pleistocenu in primerjalno preučevanje in pojasnjevanje socialnosti in kulture pri različnih, zlasti človeku najbližjih primatih. Zaradi take usmeritve pa se

je bistveno spremenila in radikalizirala tudi njegova epistemološka drža. Vrgel se je v študij statistike in kvantitativnih metodoloških prijemov, matematike in fizike. Medtem ko je še pred nekaj leti razumel evolucijo v bistvu darvinistično, zlasti s pomočjo Goulda, Eldredgea in Vrbove, pa je postajal vse bolj skeptičen do temeljnih konceptov darvinizma, zlasti do univerzalne pojasnjevalne vrednosti boja za obstanek in vloge spolnosti v evoluciji. Croizatova panbiogeografija ga je odvrnila od darvinizma in odslej je iskal druge pojasnjevalne modele. Iskal jih je v matematiki in fiziki in bil prepričan, da je treba nastanek socialnosti pojasnjevati iz komunikacije — interakcije — med organizmom in okoljem sploh. Stopil je do vprašanja možnosti življenja.

Prav v zadnjem letu svojega življenja se je sociologiji v običajnem pomenu sociologije sodobnih človeških družb, sploh odpovedal kot neznanstveni. Temu, kar ga je zanimalo, je rajši rekel primerjalna sociologija ali, natančneje, sacionomija. Tak naslov nosi tudi knjiga, ki je ni utegnil dokončati: *Kaj je sacionomija?*

Sax je — zlasti kot predstojnik v letih 1990-1992 — bistveno utrdil položaj Oddelka za sociologijo, saj je dosegel, da je oddelek dobil A študijski program iz sociologije kulture in podiplomski študijski program socialne antropologije. Bil je glavni oblikovalec tega programa. Zadnja leta si je prizadeval za transdisciplinarno povezovanje z drugimi znanstvenimi disciplinami, zlasti naravoslovnimi. Učitelje teh predmetov, npr. paleontologinjo dr. Vido Pohar in paleoantropologinjo dr. Barbaro Bajd, je pripeljal do svojih študentov kratko malo tako, da jim je odstopil del fonda svojih ur pri socialni antropologiji... Skupaj s sodelavci je — zdaj že kot izredni profesor za primerjalno sociologijo in sociologijo zgodnjih družb, torej z licenco, da vpeljuje naravoslovje v preučevanje družbenosti — pripravil načrt za izpeljavo dodiplomskega medfakultetnega študija primerjalne sociologije, ki bi bil pri nas revolucionaren, saj bi bil prvi dodiplomski študijski program, ki bi na novo povezal med seboj naravoslovje, humanistiko in družboslovje. Program, ki seveda ostaja aktualen in potreben, je dokončal slab teden pred smrtjo, in brez njega je realizacija zastala...

Kot najbolj delaven med vsemi kolegi, kar jih poznam, je ogromno energije vlagal v osebno delo s študenti. Z vsemi se je tikal in njegov kabinet jim je bil ne le vedno dostopen, pač pa je postal delovna soba in nadomestni laboratorij. Med študente, ki so bili vaje ni razumeti študij zgolj kot branje zapiskov in knjig, je vnesel vrsto novih metod: anketiranje, kvantitativne raziskave, etnografsko terensko delo, oralno zgodovino. Kletno sobico na je FF začel predelovati v eksperimentalni laboratorij. Z njim smo začeli hoditi na ekskurzije, kjer smo obiskovali arheološka in paleoantropološka najdišča in muzeje od Hrvaške in Češke prek Francije in Španije do Kenije in Kitajske. Da bi lahko praktično delal, za kar si ni mogel obetati denarja v Sloveniji — preučeval nižinske gorile v njihovem naravnem okolju —, je spodbudil ustanovitev društva SVOD.

Zelo dolgo bi lahko naštevali, kaj vse je še naredil, pa tudi, kaj je nameraval, pa mu je spodletelo. Tako je, denimo, vedno naletel na odpor, ko je hotel vzpostaviti na ljubljanski univerzi samostojen dodiplomski študij socialne antropologije. Veliko bi lahko povedali o tem, da brez njegovega truda danes ne bi obstajal ISH (Institutum studiorum humanitatis — Podiplomska fakulteta za humanistični študij); da je kot urednik knjižne zbirke prevodov humanistične teorije Studia humanitatis vpeljal med Slovence R. Foga, Evans-Pritcharda, Maturano & Varelo; da je načrtoval v Ljubljani velik paleoantropološki kongres; da je hotel izkopavati in iskati v Sloveniji pričevanja prehoda iz neandertalskih v "moderne" čase...

Trdno sem prepričan, da Saxov čas šele prihaja. O njem se ne govori v preteklem času, saj bomo morali krepko teči, preden postanemo njegovi sodobniki.

IZTOK SAKSIDA — SAX

BIBLIOGRAFIJA

(Jesenice, 28. julij 1953 - Raduha, 26. april 1998)

ŠTUDIJ:

- 1982** - diplomira na smeri Primerjalna književnost z literarno teorijo
1985 - magistrsko delo *Sociološki aspekti slovenskih vzgojnih teorij*. 176 + iii str.
1990 - doktorsko delo *Teorija kulturne formacije: elementi za analizo kulturnih horizontov*. 209 + xi str.

BIBLIOGRAFIJA:

- 1982** - Beležke za razmotrivanje izjemnega položaja Zveze mladine. *Problemi* 20, 1-9.
1982 - Brezupen primer. *Problemi* 20, 10 - 11.
1982 - Ali je pravopisu uspelo najti tudi svojega naslovnika. *Problemi* 20, 32-33.
1982 - "Prvotno besedilo življenja." *Problemi* 20, 57-60. (recenzija)
1983 - Kafka. *Problemi* 21, 46-60.
1983 - Izobraževanje kot dolgoročna investicija. *Scientia yougoslavica* 9, 151-154.
1984 - Ob spoznavanju književno-umetniškega dela. *Problemi* 22, 120-126.
1985 - P. Vidal-Naquet: *Črni lovec*. *Studia humanitatis*, Ljubljana. (prevod skupaj s P. Srakar)
1985 - Hamlet. *Problemi - Razpol* 1/23, 79-92.
1985 - Radio-aktivnost. *Ekran* 10, 42-44.
1985 - Z ozirom na antijudaizem. *Problemi* 23, 9-14.
1985 - Nekaj opazk k pojmovanju VRO. *Problemi* 23, 38-42.
1985 - Nekaj socioloških aspektov vzgojno-varstvene dejavnosti. *Problemi* 23, 66-74.
1986 - O interesih. *Problemi* 24, 44-46.
1986 - O kulturi. *Problemi* 24, 108-117.
1986 - *Šola: Učitelj, Mati in otrok*. Delavska enotnost, Ljubljana, 130 str.
1987 - O Lenorinem čaščenju. *Problemi* 25, 10-17.
1987 - O ženskah v zgodovini. *Problemi* 25, 20-30.
1987 - O Ani Monro. *Problemi* 25, 63-64. (recenzija)
1987 - R. Fox: *Rdeča svetilka incesta*. *Studia humanitatis*, Ljubljana. (predgovor)
1988 - *Arheo* 7 (ur. I. Saksida) .
1988 - O Antigoni. *Arheo* 7, 4-7.
1988 - De creatione linguarum. *Problemi-Eseji* 6, 76-86.
1989 - O ustvarjanju jezikov in njihovih etnij. *Problemi-Razprave* 27, 134-141.
1989 - Negativna pričevanja: pisni in grobni ostanki. *Problemi-Eseji* 27, 4-7.
1989 - Arheologi, naši davni predniki. *Telex* 45/41, 42-43.
1990 - Podobe prednikov. Kaj mora Slovenec vedeti o sebi. *Mladina* 29, 36-37.
1991 - *Arheologi naši davni predniki*. Državna založba Slovenije, Ljubljana, 239 str.

- 1991 - **On the historical and structural meaning of the term "Mesolithic"**. *Journal of Theoretical Archaeology* 2, 25-28.
- 1991 - **Prispevki k resnici o Prešernovem Krstu, Črtomiru in Ajdovskem gradu**. V: *Vesela znanost I, II. Zbornik predavanj 1988/89, 89/90*. KUD France Prešeren, Ljubljana, 13-34. (skupaj z J. Vogrincem)
- 1991 - **Kako je človek postal velikan**. V: *Vesela znanost I, II. Zbornik predavanj 1988/89, 89/90*. KUD France Prešeren, Ljubljana, 157 - 164.
- 1991 - **Čopova računica**. *Mladina* 6, 41.
- 1992** - **The Gender Revolution**. *Arheo* 15, 39-42.
- 1993** - **O namišljenih očetih in prevaranih ljubimcih**. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* XXI, 162-163, 99-115.
- 1993 - **Afrika pred Evans-Pritchardom in po njem**. V: E. Evans-Pritchard: *Nueri*. Studia humanitatis, Ljubljana. (predgovor)
- 1993 - **O prebitku gospe filipe**. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* XXI, 154-155, 65-79.
- 1994** - C. Gamble: **Timewalkers. The Prehistory of Global Colonization**. *Časopis za kritiko znanosti* XXII, 168-169, 242-243. (recenzija)
- 1995** - **Evrazijske novosti**. *Poročila o raziskovanju paleolitika, neolitika in eneolitika v Sloveniji* 22, 255-266.
- 1996** - **Posredovanje, ponavljanje, prenos**. V: *Kriza socialnih idej: Britovškov zbornik*. Oddelek za sociologijo filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, Ljubljana, 509-520.
- 1996 - **O zunajjezikovni realnosti (ZJR) in zunajjezikovni objektivnosti (ZJO)**. V: *Štiriindvajset ur humanistične teorije* 1. (ur. D. Rutar), Srednja šola Rudolfa Maistra, Kamnik.
- 1996 - **Socialna antropologija II. Študijsko leto 1995-96**. Oddelek za sociologijo, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, 112str. (skripta)
- 1996/1997 Afrika - čudoviti svet naših želja**. *Primorske novice*, 13. 12. 1996 - 21. 1. 1997.
- 1997** - **Med predniki, predhodniki, bližnjiki in sorodniki na ravniku. Strokovna odprava v Kenijo 1996**. (ur. I. Saksida), Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete in Oddelek za Sociologijo filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani.
- 1997 - **Poti in stranpoti našega razvijanja: zadnjih 5 milijonov let**. V: *Med predniki, predhodniki, bližnjiki in sorodniki na ravniku. Strokovna odprava v Kenijo 1996*. (ur. I. Saksida), Znanstveni inštitut Filozofske fakultete in Oddelek za Sociologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, 127-161.
- 1997 - **Kaj je sociologija**. V: *Štiriindvajset ur humanistične teorije* 2. (ur. D. Rutar), Srednja šola Rudolfa Maistra, Kamnik, 217-223.
- 1997 - **Mary Leakey. Prva dama arheologije**. *Gea* 7, št. 5, 80.
- 1997 - **Uvod v primerjalno sociologijo**. Filozofska fakulteta. 272 + viii str.

SPREJETO V OBJAVO:

- **Človeški fosili in arheološki ostanki v Evraziji. Odras afriških ostankov ali njihovo dopolnilo?** V: *Pliocenski in pleistocenski hominidi. Nove evolucijske razlage*. (ur. B. Bajd, B. Kavur).
- **Evolucijska komedija zmešnjav. Kitajski fosili in kamnita orodja in panbiogeografska metoda.** V: *Zbornik simpozija Aktualne teme iz Vzhodne Azije 1998*. Oddelek za azijske in afriške študije, filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, SVOD, Ljubljana.
- **Socionomija in drugi spisi.** *Studia humanitatis*, Ljubljana.
- **O Evoluciji primatov in o panbiogeografiji.** V: *Čarnijev zbornik 1931 - 1996. Mednarodni zbornik družboslovnih in humanističnih razprav*. (ur. A. Cindrič), Oddelek za sociologijo, filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Ljubljani, Ljubljana.
- **Let a hundred blossoms bloom.** *Institutum Studiorum Humanitatis*, Ljubljana.

V POSTOPKU RECENZIJE:

- **Species and speciation: side comments.** *Journal of Theoretical Biology*.
- **The meaning of menstruation today: report of the research.** *Gender and Society*.
- **On the meaning of boundaries: "Nature" and organization and recognition of the environment in the Šupetr village (Istria).** *Ethnic Traditional Culture and Folk Knowledge*. Moskva.

LEPOSLOVJE:

- 1979 - *Zadovoljni kranjec: antologija slovenske poezije do 1980*. (ur. I. Saksida), samozaložba, Ljubljana, 22 str.
- 1979 - *Kronika kralja Zambrija: fragmenti kraljeve zapuščine*. Mladinska knjiga, Ljubljana, 89 str.

INTERVJU:

- 1998 - Ali so kamerunske gorile v slovenskem nacionalnem interesu. (M. Hrastnik) *Razgledi* 9/1112, 6-10.

zbral: Boris Kavur

AN INTERNATIONAL CHILDHOOD:

SEEING THE WORLD WITH SOL TAX

MARIANNE TAX CHOLDIN

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Growing up with my father, Sol Tax (1907 — 1995), was a many-faceted experience. One of the aspects I treasure most has to do with things international in general, and travel in particular, and I would like to devote this brief memoir to that topic. In writing this piece I decided to draw entirely on my own memory, which results in some imprecision in dates and other details but preserves the color and shape of events quite accurately. The early events I describe here I experienced indirectly; they occurred before my birth or in my infancy and came to me as beloved and often-repeated family stories, or objects with which I played when I was small. Later episodes are my own adventures, prompted by my father and shared with him.

I was born too late to accompany the family to Guatemala, where my father and mother did field work for eight years (ending in 1941), but at the age of four months I was taken to Mexico City for a year, where, I am told, I survived a bad case of whooping cough and the great earthquake of 1942. That year and the Guatemala years preceding it are important to me because they filled my ears with Spanish and my home with colorful textiles, household objects and toys, and best of all, with anthropologists from the region who had become close family friends.

The Guatemala-Mexico atmosphere prevailed, but some objects in our Chicago home linked me to other parts of the world. A small, oval enameled brooch with “Venezia” painted in the center was a souvenir of what must have been my father’s first trip to Europe in the early 1930s. A flowerlike piece of sandstone, which we called “the rose of the Sahara,” and a black Berber shawl with metallic trimming were exotic reminders of his trip to Algeria, also in the early ‘30s. From this trip too came a photograph we all loved: the young Sol Tax, bearded and in a burnoose, his head visible over a sand dune. His story of Passover spent with Algerian families entertained us, and was later published.

In my early teens I spent a month in Mexico with my father and older sister (Susan, later to become an anthropologist, marry archeologist Leslie G. Freeman, and work in Spain). The month in Mexico was valuable because I was able to see some of the sights I had been too young to take in when I lived there, and to visit family friends. My Spanish became a little more active as I studied a grammar book while preparing for the trip. I did make some progress and was able to communicate in a limited way; after that, Spanish receded once again, to reemerge only recently, as I find myself working closely with Central American library colleagues. (Spanish has always resonated for me as a kind of deep background music, and although I felt no pressure from my father, I have always felt vaguely guilty about being the only family member not fluent in the language.)

At about the same time I began to study of German, as my mother and older sister had done before me. German played an important role in my life for two reasons. first, it led to the first extended stay in another country I experienced consciously. I spent the summer

of 1958 living with families in two West German towns, thanks to a program arranged by my school German teacher and some German civic groups, supported as well by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany. Many of my fellow pupils were Jewish, and the families with whom we stayed were eager to host us; collectively, they were among the most decent human beings I have ever known. I remember discussions (often quite heated) between my parents and various family members and friends. "How can you let her go to Germany and live with Germans," they cried. My father, supported strongly by my mother, responded over and over that people should be judged as individuals, and that my generation needed to build relationships with German peers. It would be a positive and important experience for me, he said. And he was right: I remain close to several of my friends from the three summers I spent in Germany, and no one will ever convince me that people are tarred automatically by the brush of their own history.

The second significant result of my study of German was that after my second summer living with families my father persuaded me to translate a book. He listened (not too patiently) to my excuses—I was only 18, I did not know the language well enough, I was a busy college student majoring in Russian, not anthropology—and then urged me to "just try a few pages." I did, under protest. I never have understood exactly what happened next, but apparently both the author (Professor Adolf E. Jensen of Frankfurt University) and the University of Chicago Press were satisfied with what I saw as an amateur attempt. I was immensely relieved when Wolfgang Weissleder, an anthropologist and native speaker of German, joined the project. I spent the summer of 1960 in Germany, translating a first draft of *Mythos und Kult bei Naturvoelkern*, which was then improved by Dr. Weissleder and published in 1963 as *Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples*.

During that summer I paid my first visit to Eastern Europe, a trip that made an indelible impression on me. My father had arranged meetings with colleagues in Prague, Moscow, Warsaw, Krakow, Budapest, Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana to discuss *Current Anthropology*, which he was then "inventing" as an international journal built upon a worldwide network of colleagues. My sister was also spending that summer in Europe, and we met our parents in Prague to begin our month-long odyssey. It was a wonderful time for all of us, but for an 18-year-old university student just beginning what was to become a lifetime commitment to this region, that month was an education in itself. I have since returned to all those cities with the exception of Belgrade and Ljubljana, and my knowledge has broadened and deepened enormously in the ensuing years, but I shall never forget those first impressions: the anthropologists I met; the air of the Communist world I was breathing for the first time, so different in each country; my own abysmal ignorance. Teenagers are not usually humble, but I returned to the University of Chicago eager to learn about what I had experienced, without understanding much, during that incredible month. I have always been grateful to my father for giving me that opportunity. As I travel through Eastern Europe and, most recently, Central America, meeting with librarian colleagues, I realize that I approach my international work as he did. The experience of August 1960 is always with me.

Putting aside Russian studies temporarily, I spent 1964 and 1965 in what was then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) with my sociologist husband, Harvey Choldin, who was studying community development projects in the town of Comilla. (I learned Bengali so I could talk with the local women.) My father visited us there, probably in connection with *Current Anthropology* visits to India and Pakistan, but I know it gave him particular pleasure to see what we were doing. He arrived bearing Danish cheese and a kosher salami for us (he never traveled without a salami, properly dried so it would not spoil his suitcase), and

in a few days he became a great admirer of the local projects and their organizer, a charismatic leader named Akhter Hameed Khan. Later he wrote about the Comilla projects.

Last week my own professional travels brought me to Guatemala, and finally I had a chance to visit Panajachel, the village where my parents lived for several years and where my father collected the material for *Penny Capitalism*. It was a visit both sweet and sad. I saw for the first time the legendary Lake Atitlan, the beauty of which I had heard about since early childhood, and visited the market at Solala, where natives in the costumes of their villages still outnumber tourists. Best of all, in Panajachel my Guatemalan colleagues helped me find an old man who worked for my father 60 years ago, and loved my parents dearly. He showed me, proudly, a gift they had given him (the first gift he had ever received) and his album with photographs of my family — including one of me, sent years later — and we cried together when I told him of my father's death.

At the memorial service held at the University of Chicago a year ago this month, a Mesquaki chanted in my father's memory, and told us that "your relative's spirit resides now in the West." Whatever my rational mind may think about spiritism, I must confess that I felt my father's presence there in Panajachel, as I have felt it in other places we visited together or where I know he has been, so perhaps this particular spirit leaves its home in the West and travels from time to time, at least with me.

Michael **JACKSON**. 1995. *At Home in the World*. Sydney: Harper Perennial. Pp. 189. ISBN 0 7322 5190 7.

REVIEWED BY BORUT TELBAN

Michael Jackson is well known to the anthropological community for his prize-winning book *Paths Toward Clearing: Radical Empiricism and Ethnographic Inquiry* (1989), a collection of essays based on his fieldwork among the Kuranko of Sierra Leone. He is also the author of three highly regarded monographs, two novels and four collections of poetry, the last of which also won him several awards. Born in New Zealand, he has lived and travelled in Australia, England, France, Sierra Leone, and the United States. He is obviously the right person to tell us what it means to be "at home in the world".

It is one of the greatest pleasures for any reader to pick up a book and to be seized with such power that it is impossible to put it down until the last word has been absorbed. Michael Jackson's new poetic philosophy, based on ethnographic fieldwork among the Warlpiri of Central Australia, is such a work. It belongs to an ill-defined category of anthropology-cum-philosophy written in the style of a novel, and is surely a significant contribution to the poetics of cross-cultural differences in people's images of themselves and of home. Jackson tries to "develop a style of writing which would be consonant with lived experience, in all its variety and ambiguity" (p.4). Page after page we follow the lives of Nugget Jangala, Archie Jangala, Zack Jakamarra, Pincher Jampijinpa, Ringer, and others, whether driving through and camping in the Tanami desert, staying in Lajamanu, or stopping over in towns such as Alice Springs and Katherine. Their lives and their stories are matched with Jackson's own experiences, feelings, thoughts, and reflections on the existential

meaning of being "at home", knowledge, and ethnography. He and his wife were accepted into the community according to Aboriginal custom and received "skin names": Michael became a member of Jupurrurla subsection, and his wife Francine a member of Napanangka subsection. Every chapter begins with its sequential number, followed by an epigraph: a Latin proverb, a song or a saying by Honey-Ant men or a Western Desert man, or a citation from Western intellectual icon like Susan Sontag, Ingmar Bergman, Samuel Beckett, T.S. Eliot, Milan Kundera, and others. They all refer to the notion of home, place and space.

Jackson feels at home in the desert because both landscape and people had this effect on him. He is with and among the Warlpiri; but only as long as he feels at peace with himself. When he tries to *do* things with them everything goes haywire. Jackson does not always feel at home when having to participate in their activities. He becomes very pragmatic when faced with heavy drinking, gorging on food, spending money lavishly, and when demands upon him and Francine become, in their view, too excessive. He romanticizes the desert when looking at the Milky Way, Orion, and the rising of Scorpio.

At the beginning of the book, when he goes to visit old friends who live in a commune in New Zealand, he does not tell us about companionable being-with-one-another but about the open road, the song of Walt Whitman flowing through his head, about him running along the beach and swimming naked in a cold sea (p.7-8). He is alone and, obviously, he prefers to be alone. To be alone in the world is what Jackson had chosen for himself in order to think — and to daydream, to romanticize, and to poeticize about being-in-the-world, being-with-one-another, and being-for-one-another. Only in his idealization and imagination does he come close to Warlpiri for whom

home is both a central place to which one always returns (in thoughts as well as physically) and a group of people who give meaning to life. Warlpiri are not alone and do not want to be. Only if one is banished by one's community, or worse, when one is forcefully removed from the land of one's ancestors by colonial edict, does one withdraw into the loneliness of seclusion. What gives quality and value to Warlpiri people's existence is their being with and for one another.

Jackson's home is everywhere. He notes the graffiti in Sydney saying: "Love is a drug", and it suits his romantic view of love. He struggles with such Western notions and values, rejecting them in favour of certain others, while at the same time he is unable to escape them: intellectualism, morality, romantic love and poetry. They are all there, in one chapter or another. His intimacy with Warlpiri dissolves when he writes, for example: "We left Alice Springs on the birthday of Shakespeare and Shirley Temple" (p.18). He is continually removing himself from the community, to be able the very next moment to long for it and romanticize it. This is, simply, the relationship between a poet and his muse.

Jackson shows that while in the West time has become a more powerful metaphor than space, for Warlpiri their places of origin incorporate people as well as time. Their social relationships are mapped onto the landscape. Thus, for example, the word *miyalu* means a sacred site, a seat of the soul and the stomach, that is, all those places where life is held and nourished. For Jackson, too, space is important for his own feeling of home: it is the landscape of New Zealand he dreams about when he thinks about home. He also shows that for Kuranko, Maori and Australian Aborigines, knowledge is neither reduced to practical skills nor formulated as abstract principles; it is grounded in social being. It is Western romantic poetry, which grew out of home-

lessness, loneliness, exile and suffering, that permeates Jackson's longing and writing in his search for home. He quotes Yi-Fu Tuan's saying "Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other." For Jackson, it seems, the opposite is true: he is attached to space (freedom) and longs for the place (security, home).

I think the book's greatness lies in the emphatic representation of two very different worldviews, two very different longings: the author's and those of Warlpiri. While the former's characterize a Western tradition of insubstantial Romantic poetics, the latter's depict the materialization of poetics in their relationships and their landscape. Western illusions, like Western poetics, are grounded in longings for something which, if gained, would not deliver satisfaction equal to that which the longings themselves give.

The book reveals the core of ethnographic endeavour: an anthropologist trying to be both himself and the other at the same time. Something quite impossible to achieve in real life.

Eva B. **BODZSAR**, Charles **SUSANNE** (Eds).
1998. *Secular Growth Changes in Europe*.
Eötvös University Press, Budapest. Pp.381
ISBN 963 463 157 6

RECENZENT: MARIJA ŠTEFANČIČ

Knjiga z naslovom *Secular Growth Changes in Europe* predstavlja zbir znanstvenih prispevkov na temo sekularne akceleracije, povezanih v zaključeno enoto. Pisana je v angleškem jeziku.

Ni naključje, da je knjiga izšla prav ob koncu 20. stoletja. 20. stoletju daje namreč poseben pečat fenomen imenovan sekularni trend. Pod tem pojmom se skriva več pojavov med katerimi lahko izpostavimo pos-

peševanje rasti in fizičnega razvoja otrok, zgodnejši nastop pubertete, zgodnejši zaključek rasti, povečevanje odrasle velikosti in postopno gracilizacijo telesa. Tem tendencam sledimo že od konca 19. stoletja in jih povezujemo z izboljšanimi gospodarskimi in družbenimi razmerami po industrijski revoluciji. Večina strokovnjakov je mnenja, da intenzivne sekularne spremembe pozitivno kolerirajo s kvalitetnejšimi življenjskimi pogoji. Organizem lahko le v optimalnih pogojih popolnoma izkoristi svoj dedni potencial. Brez dvoma je sedanje življenjsko okolje bistveno drugačno od okolja v katerem so živele predhodne generacije, pa naj si bodo to primernejši delovni pogoji ali pa urejeno socialno skrbstvo, zdravstveno varstvo, preventivna zdravstvena služba, urejene sanitarne in higienske razmere, kvalitetneša prehrana in permanentna vzgoja in izobraževanje.

Delo obsega 381 strani teksta in 20 poglavij. Pri vsebinskem delu je sodelovalo 23 raziskovalcev iz 16 evropskih dežel.

Uvodno poglavje je prispeval profesor James M. Tanner, najvidnejši strokovnjak za področje avksologije v svetovnem merilu.

Drugo poglavje, ki sta ga napisala urednika zbornika Eva Bodzsár in Charles Susanne razlaga fenomen sekularnega trenda in njegove vzroke in posledice.

Tretje poglavje govori o načinih modeliranja in interpretacije sekularnih rastnih sprememb z vidika statistične obdelave podatkov. Avtor prispevka je Silvano Milani.

Sledijo prispevki strokovnjakov iz posameznih evropskih držav: Belgije, Bolgarije, Hrvaške, Češke, Francije, Nemčije, Grčije, Madžarske, Italije, Nizozemske, Poljske, Slovenije, Španije, Švedske, ZDA in bivše Sovjetske zveze.

Knjigo zaključuje poglavje, ki sintetizira zbrane ugotovitve in postavlja pred raziskovalce nove naloge za prihodnost.

Publikacijo ocenjujem kot izredno kvalitetno delo, ki omogoča vsem raziskovalcem fenomena sekularne akceleracije zao-

krožen vpogled na problematiko in izziv za nadaljne delo. Ogromno število zbranih podatkov olajšujejo zamudno iskanje izredno obsežne literature na to temo. Knjiga je navdse primeren študijski pripomoček in jo zato priporočam tudi vsem študentom pri študiju antropologije.

VSEBINA - CONTENTS:

PREFACE	V
CONTRIBUTORS	VII
FOREWORD	
James M. Tanner	1
PATTERNS OF SECULAR CHANGE OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT	
Charles Susanne and Éva B. Bodzsár	5
MODELLING SECULAR GROWTH CHANGES	
Silvano Milani	27
BIOMETRY OF BELGIAN BOYS AND GIRLS: CHANGES SINCE QUÉTELET	
Martine Vercauteren, Roland C. Hauspie and Charles Susanne	47
SECULAR TREND IN BULGARIA	
Racho Stoev and Yordan Yordanov	65
SECULAR GROWTH CHANGES IN CROATIA OVER THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	
Zivka Prebeg	75
THE GROWTH OF THE CZECH CHILD DURING THE PAST 40 YEARS	
Jana Vignárová and Pavel Bláha	93
SECULAR TREND IN FRANCE	
Françoise Demoulin	109
SECULAR TREND IN GERMANY	
Uwe Jaeger	135
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK CHILDREN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	
Anastasios Papadimitriou	161
SECULAR GROWTH CHANGES IN HUNGARY	
Éva B. Bodzsár	175
SOME ASPECTS OF THE SECULAR TRENDS IN ITALY	
Giovanni Floris and Emanuelle Sanna	207
SECULAR CHANGES OF GROWTH IN THE NETHERLANDS	
Rudy J.F. Burgmeijer and Johan C. van Wieringen	233

SECULAR TREND IN STATURE AND AGE AT MENARCHE IN POLAND	
Tadeusz Bielicki and Barbara Hulanicka	263
FIFTY TWO YEARS OF SECULAR TREND IN LJUBLJANA SCHOOL CHILDREN	
Marija Štefančič and Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik	281
THE STUDIES ON SECULAR TREND IN SPAIN: A REVIEW	
Esther Rebato	297
SECULAR GROWTH CHANGES IN SWEDEN	
Gunilla Lindgren	319
SECULAR TREND OF STATURE AND BODY MASS INDEX IN BRITAIN IN THE 20 TH CENTURY	
Robert J. Rona	335
SECULAR CHANGES IN RUSSIA AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION	
Elena Z. Godina	351
SECULAR GROWTH CHANGES IN EUROPE: DO WE OBSERVE SIMILAR TRENDS? CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	
Éva B. Bodzsár and Charles Susanne	369

Ocena telesna rasti in razvoja otrok in mladine v Ljubljani. Zdravstveno varstvo, letnik 35, supplement I, Ljubljana, 1996. Pp.169.
ISBN 961-6202-00-6

RECENZENT: SAŠA CVAHTE

Delo je natisnjeno v knjižni obliki ter obsega 169 paginiranih strani, 138 tabel, 34 grafov ter Slovensko bibliografijo o rasti in razvoju otrok. Kot avtorji so navedeni:

Marija Štefančič
Urška Arko
Vida Brodar
Fina Dovečar
Mojca Juričič
Metka Macarol-Hiti
Petra Leben -Seljak
Tatjana Tomazo-Ravnik

Tisk je dvojezičen: v domačem jeziku ter v mednarodno priznanem komunikacijskem jeziku — angleščini.

Delo nosi karakteristike najlepše znanstvene evropske tradicije in sicer: enciklopednost, interdisciplinarnost ter dvojezičnost.

Delo ima naslednje razdelke:

- Ocena telesna rasti in razvoja otrok in mladine v Ljubljani
- Predšolski otroci (od 0,5 do 5 let), merjeni v letih 1984/85
- Šolski otroci, dijaki in študenti (od 6 do 20 let), merjeni v letih 1981/82
- Šolski otroci in dijaki (od 7 do 18 let), merjeni v letih 1990/91
- Dinamika rasti v puberteti med 10. In 14. letom - longitudinalno spremljanje
- Seznam okrajšav
- Literatura
- Slovenska bibliografija o rasti in razvoju otrok

Iz predgovora citiram za razumevanje celote pomemben razdelek avtorice prof. dr. Štefančičeve: "V knjigi so zbrani pomembni antropometrični podatki o fizični razvitosti ljubljanskih otrok in mladine v vseh fazah ontogenetskega razvoja. Podatki so namenjeni raziskovalcem za nadaljne podrobne in primerjalne raziskave, pa tudi uporabnikom v zdravstvu in oblačilni, obutveni ter pohištveni industriji. Poleg podatkov pa prinaša publikacija tudi pregled antropoloških raziskav o rasti in razvoju otrok in mladine, ki so bile izvedene v Sloveniji, in kompletno bibliografijo objavljenih del s tega raziskovalnega področja. V posebnem poglavju je prikazan problem sekularnega trenda, ki ga uvrščamo med prioritete avksološke probleme današnjega časa. Bralec se seznanja z bistvenimi značilnostmi sekularnega trenda v slovenskem prostoru v 50-letnem obdobju. Ta obsežna raziskava je pomembna tudi v svetovnem merilu. Zavedamo se, da je brez dolgoletne tradicije raziskav fizičnega razvoja na Slovenskem ne bi bilo. Za to gre vse priznanje slovenskim učiteljem, ki so prvi zbira-

li podatke v zgodnjih 20. letih in Božu Škerlju, ki je postavil znanstvene temelje raziskavam rasti in razvoja in utrdil njihov pomen.”

METODE

Pri raziskavah so bile uporabljene antropometrične metode ter število preiskovancev, ki so zagotavljale verodostojnost (signifikantnost). Posamezne meritve so izvedene v okviru mednarodnih standardov s standardiziranimi merili in inštrumenti. Rezultati meritev so primerljivi, objavljeni pa so v brezhibno izdelanih tabelah in preglednih grafih. Uporabljene barvne nianse pripomo-rejo k uporabnosti in estetiki knjigopisa.

OCENA

Delo je v celoti verodostojno, vredno mednarodne komunikacije. Posebej opozarjem na veliko možnost, ki nam jo nudi že dolgoletno spremljanje sekularnega trenda pri razvoju otrok in njegovega posebnega učinka v puberteti. Smo med tistimi narodi, ki so jim raziskovalci omogočili spremljanje v korak tako izjemnega za človeštvo pomembnega dogajanja kot je akceleracijska faza razvoja otrok ženskega in moškega spola, pri čemer hodijo dekletca kar dve leti pred fantki. Ravno to pa nalaga raziskovalcu spremljanje tega dogajanja v prihodnost, obenem pa intenzifikacijo njegovega učinkovanja; recimo sčasna vzgoja otrok enake koledarske starosti in vendar zelo različne biološke starosti. Pri fizičnem razvoju ljudskega bitja nas močno zanima tudi vzporedni duhovni razvoj. S tovrstno raziskavo zlahka sežemo že v 21. stoletje ali celo tretje tisočletje.

Slovenskemu znanstvenemu raziskovalnemu programu tudi v boboče ne bo smela manjkati antropološka (metrična) raziskava.

Vesel sem takega temeljnega znanstvenega dela s področja, ki bo vselej budilo radovednost ANTROPOSA.

William **NOBLE**, Iain **DAVIDSON**. 1996. *Human Evolution, Language and Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University press. Pp. 272 + xiii.

ISBN 0 521 44502 7 Hardback

ISBN 0 521 57635 0 Paperback

RECENZENT: BORIS KAVUR

Po krizi paleolitske arheologije v začetku devetdesetih let je sredi tega desetletja prišlo do delitve znotraj interpretativne usmeritve. Zaradi razvoja raziskovalnih tehnik se je del arheologov usmeril v natančno naravoslovno obdelavo posameznih najdišč in kjer je njihov poglaviti raziskovalni namen postal pojasnitev procesov, ki so vodili do formacij arheoloških skupkov, oziroma so se ukvarjali z dinamičnimi procesi, katerim so bili podvrženi artefakti, ki so bili odkriti na najdišču, so se na koncu omejili v veliki meri le na opisovanje dejstev, ki so jih razlagali z opravi hominidov na najdiščih in s postdepozicijskim dogajanjem, niso pa se posvečali sintetičnim umestitvam problema v sheme razvoja človeka. Drugi avtorji pa so v velikih sintezah poskušali pojasniti celoten razvoj človeka, kjer pa je zaradi obsega problema prihajalo velikokrat do zanemarjanja, oziroma popolnega neupoštevanja podrobnosti, ki bi bile v nasprotju z “veliko sintezo”. Hkrati je bilo to obdobje, ko se je v ospredje v paleoantropologiji spet prerinilo vprašanje izvora anatomsko modernega človeka, zato je socialno usmerjeni del arheološko-antropološke skupnosti začel intenzivno pojasnjevati razvoj vedenjsko modernega človeka. Ker devetdeseta niso več časi, ko bi se zgolj preučevalo tehnike razkosavanja lovskega plena, izdelave kamnitih orodij in človeške anatomije, so socialni teoretiki

znotraj arheologije dobili proste roke (Megarry 1995). Medtem, ko so konservativnejši še iskali povezave med klimatskimi nihanjem poznega pleistocena in tempom fizične in kulturne evolucije rodu *Homo* (Tattersall 1998; Potts 1996; Stanley 1996), so radikalnejši posegli predvsem po socialnih teorijah, kjer je na račun analiz strategij primarne ekonomije hominidov doživela svojo renesanso marksistična teorija, ki so jo večinoma vpletli v post-feministične razlage razvoja človeka v katerih je bil, poleg kompeticije za vire med različnimi vrstami ali populacijami rodu *Homo*, katalizator razvoja tudi kompetitiven odnos med spoloma znotraj populacij samih (Knight 1991). V navalu najrazličnejših teorij so se posamezni avtorji začeli spraševati, če kljub metodološki natančnosti vdor socialnih teorij v arheologijo še sploh omogoča kritično vrednotenje arheološkega gradiva in ali nekatera razumevanja, oziroma predstavljanja razumevanj dinamike razvoja ne mejijo že na naivnost, ki se le še težko imenuje znanost (Stoczkowski 1994). Prav zaradi tega so na tržišče idej prišla dela, kjer so vlogo socialnih antropologov prevzeli psihologi, ki so skušali pojasniti različne mehanizme človeških odzivov na okolje ter predvsem prenos informacij in načrtovalne strategije hominidov na individualni ravni, oziroma kot odraz psihosocialnih sprememb, ki jih je povzročila encefalizacija, oziroma reorganizacija delovanja možganov (Willis 1993, Brandshaw & Rogers 1993, Trefil 1997), pri čemer pa so le redki avtorji korektno upoštevali tudi arheološke podatke (Mithen 1996). Ta dela in sočasne raziskave lingvistov (Pinker 1994, Bickerton 1995) so kot glavno značilnost modernega obnašanja izpostavila jezikovno komunikacijo, oziroma pojav in razvoj jezika.

Vendar gre večinoma za knjige, ki so pisane za širok krog bralcev, oziroma so služile namenu razpravljanja, kajti v njih so lahko avtorji na način, ki v člankih strokovnih revij ni mogoč, odkrito polemizirali in

kritizirali stališča drugih strokovnjakov. Monografije, ki pa so bile napisane resneje, oziroma strožje znanstveno in manj berljivo za širši krog bralcev, pa so v resnici nastale kot zborniki referatov posameznih simpozijev, kjer so strokovnjaki z različnih področij predstavili rezultate svojega dela (Changeux & Chavaillon 1996, Mellars & Gibson 1996). Vendar zaradi nepovezanosti besedila te knjige niso bile berljive kot celote, ker ni bilo kompromisov oziroma ujemanja v metodologiji med različnimi strokami.

Avtorjema predstavljene knjige je to uspelo. William Noble je psiholog, ki se ukvarja s problemi percepcije, Iain Davidson pa je je arheolog, ki se ukvrja s paleolitsko arheologijo jugozahodne Evrope in Avstralije. Skupaj sta ustvarila delo, ki kljub dejstvu, da je tekoče berljivo in razumljivo tudi za bralce, ki niso strokovnjaki s področij arheologije oziroma psihologije, zaradi svojega znanstvenega aparata daleč presega raven poljudnoznanstvenih knjig.

V prvem poglavju (*An evolutionary approach to the origin of mind*) prikažeta kako je najlažje zaobjeti "mentalne kapacitete" človekovih prednikov s pomočjo sodobnih konceptov v psihologiji in etologiji živali, predvsem primatov. Osnovna misel njune knjige je, da je lingvistična komunikacija, kot jo uporabljamo danes v bistvu simbolična. Iz tega izpeljeta, da je simbol v skladu s teorijo nekaj, kar stoji za nekaj drugega kot samo zase, ter da je postavljen v to pozicijo s konvencijo, oziroma z dogovorom znotraj socialne skupnosti. Pri tem je njuna pozicija, kar se tiče uporabe simbolov dokaj radikalna. Simbolna raba je znana, ali pa je ni. Nekaj na sredini za avtorja ne obstaja s čemer prekineta s tradicijo gradualizma v koncepciji razvoja jezika in jezikovne komunikacije. Vendar kljub njunim trditvam rekonstruirata kot ostali avtorji mentalne kapacitete in iz slednjih izhajajoče jezikovne sposobnosti na podlagi skeletnih ostankov in ostankov aktivnosti hominidov.

Drugo poglavje (*The common ancestor of humans and other apes*) začeta z uvodom v katerem razložita, kaj so primati. Za povezavo med temi in nami poskušata na osnovi današnjih lastnosti obojih rekonstruirati značilnosti in vedenje skupnih prednikov, kajti hominidni fosilni ostanke iz časa pred 4,5 milijona let so bili v času nastajanja te knjige zelo redki. Pri distribuciji primerjata današnjo razprostranjenost človeku podobnih opic in najdišč, kjer so bili odkriti hominidni fosili. Iz tega izpeljeta ekološke domneve na osnovi katerih domneva, da so skupni predniki živeli v gozdu, iz česar izpeljeta tudi sklepe o njihovi lokomociji, oziroma zatrdita, da so že skupni predniki bili občasno bipedalni, najverjetneje "knuckle-walkerji". Na osnovi primerjave telesnih tež in prostornin možganov primatov in hominidov zaključita, da je skupni prednik moral tehtati okoli 19 kilogramov in da je imel možgane s prostornino okoli 210 kubičnih mililitrov. Pri prehranjevalnih navadah zaključita, da je občasno prehranjevanje z mesom le recentna adaptacija pri šimpanzih, pavijanih in ljudeh. Na osnovi primerjav med hominidi in šimpanzi zaključita, da je skupni prednik imel sposobnost izdelave in uporabe orodij, pa če jo je uporabljal ali ne. Prav tako ju značilnosti človeškega govora, ki je radikalno drugačen od ostalih primatskih komunikacijskih sistemov, privedejo do sklepa, da je imel skupni prednik omejene zmožnosti vokalnega izražanja ter da za komunikacijo ni uporabljal simbolov.

V tretjem poglavju (*Symbols and their significance*) predstavita kaj simboli so, kako je nekaj lahko simbol, kako simboli nastanejo in kako se vzdržujejo. Njuna glavna predpostavka je, da so besede simboli in da le te omogočajo konstrukcijo simbolnih sklopov (tudi religioznih), od katerih lahko v arheoloških sklopih zaznamo le ostanke umetnosti, ki jih definirata kot ikone, ki ne govorijo same zase, ampak jih je potrebno interpretirati, kar pa je spet mogoče samo z

jezikom. Kar pomeni, da je uporaba simbolov zanj enačena z začetkom lingvistične komunikacije, ki je omogočala komunikacijo med posamezniki v skupnosti, oziroma kot avtorja to imenujeta je omogočila socialno konstrukcijo spomina.

Četrto poglavje (*Constructing "the mind"*) izpeljeta iz trditve, da je kultura le druga beseda za skupinski spomin, ki temelji na uporabi simbolov. Pri tem ju zanima, kako so se ljudje razvili, da so se začeli zavedati svojih izkušenj in znanja, ter da so lahko na bazi tega začeli načrtovati in ocenjevati, kar jih je kulturno ločilo od naravnega okolja. To pomeni, da se na dnu zgodbe o socialnih konstruktih nahaja jezikovna skupnost, pri kateri je skupinski spomin socialno distribuiran med člani skozi skupek jezikovnih iger in je znanje sprejeto skozi interakcijo med posamezniki ter je le sposobnost pridobivanja vsega tega prirojena.

V petem poglavju (*Communication, perception and symbol use: the place of meaning*) predstavita vprašanje "pomena" tega, kar je zaznano na osnovi samozavedanja, ki izhaja iz komunikacije bazirajoče na jeziku. Pri tem se ne moreta izogniti semiotični razlagi koncepta "znaka", kot ga je definiral Peirce. Ta je znake razdelil na ikonične, ki so podobni stvarem, ki jih predstavljajo; indeksikalne, ki so vsiljeni v svoji formi, kar predstavljajo; ter simbolične, ki so v arbitrarnem odnosu s tem, kar predstavljajo. Taka je osnovna za arheološko interpretacijo nelingvističnih celot kot so arheološke najdbe, ki jih je treba interpretirati. Pri tem se izkaže, da se nelingvistične celote lahko interpretira z lingvističnimi, obratna pot pa ni možna.

V šestem poglavju (*The early signs of meaning in prehistoric behaviour*) priznata, da interpretacija arheološkega zapisa v terminih pomena in obnašanja ni enostavno delo, ker vsebuje znanstvene konvencije in različne ravni analogij, ki izvirajo iz opazovanja obnašanja modernih ljudi. Pri tem hitro povzameta klasifikacijo hominidov, nji-

hovo časovno distribucijo, variacije v velikosti in prostornini možganov, domneve in dejstva o prehrani zgodnjih hominidov, ter kamnita orodja z vsemi socialnimi implikacijami, ki jih je iz tega mogoče potegniti. Prav tako povežeta encefalizacijo s spremembami v lokomociji in manipulaciji, pri čemer vidita tu spremembe, ki so omogočile razvoj natančnega prijema, ki je osnova za izdelavo kamnitih orodij.

V sedmem poglavju (*Behaviour that led to language: Nariokotome to Neanderthal*) povzameta razvojno obdobje od trenutka, ko je bipedalizem omogočil ekonomičnejšo mobilnost, pa vse do trenutka, ko naj bi obnašanje, ki je po njunem mnenju neločljivo povezano z jezikom, omogočilo izdelavo plovil s katerimi so ljudje poselili Avstralijo. Zanju je ključno obdobje zadnjih 200 tisoč let, ko naj bi se absolutna in relativna kranialna kapaciteta radikalno povečala. Odraz njenega prepričanja o nedvomni jezikovni komunikaciji pa najdeta relativno pozno v kolonizaciji Sahula, kontinenta, ki je nastal zaradi znižanja morske gladine iz Avstralije, Papue Nove Gvineje in Irian Jaya, pred 55 tisoč leti. Trdita, da temu dogodku ni moglo botrovati naključje, pri katerem bi morje naplavilo nekaj ljudi, ki bi se držali za deblo, ampak so morali zgraditi dobra plovila, kar utemeljmeta z istočasno poselitvijo otokov na severo-zahodni obali kontinenta (New Britain in Buka). Za izdelavo plovila pa je potrebno načrtovanje in izbira akcij, ki niso vezane samo na izdelavo plovila ampak tudi na njegovo namensko uporabo. Po njunem mnenju to brez uporabe jezika ni mogoče. Na drugi strani pa naj bi uporabo jezika v tem času dokazovali tudi arheološki ostanki aktivnosti v mlajšem paleolitiku v Evropi, ki naj bi bili organizirani drugače, kot so ostanke obnašanja predhodnih hominidov. V nadaljevanju predstavita nenavadne arheološke ostanke, izstopajoče iz povprečja svojega časa, ki jih navržeta s skupkom trditev, ki ima samo en zaključek — dokazov za obstoj jezika pred modernimi ljudmi ni. In šele pojav

jezika kot simboličnega komunikacijskega sredstava je omogočil poselitev celotnega sveta, kajti z jezikom je bil ustvarjen “človeški um”, ki je bil zmožen logistike in načrtovanja, ki sta potrebna za blaženje vplivov okolja in ustvarjanje socialnih in preko tega tudi ideoloških sistemov.

V zadnjem poglavju (*The making of symbol-making*) popeljeta zgodbo o evlucijskem izviru človeškega uma zraven muzejskih depojev še v kompleksno omrežje živčnih celic, ki sestavljajo človeške možgane. Na osnovi poselitve južne poloble in pojavov drugačne obdelave kamna in drugih naravnih surovin (kost, barvila) skleneta, da se je jezikovno obnašanje razvilo v obdobju med 100 in 70 tisoč leti pred sedanostjo. Za utemeljitev povezave manipulacije in jezikovne komunikacije uporabita predpostavko, da je za kontrolo rok in glasu na ravni začetka in kontrole namernih aktivnosti odgovoren isti nevralni sistem — dopolnilno motorično območje (Supplementary motor area). Tako jima je s klasičnim darvinizmom uspelo razložiti boljšo zmožnost za evlucijski uspeh pri posameznikih z boljšimi motoričnimi in s tem tudi neločljivo vezanimi lingvističnimi sposobnostmi.

Knjiga je vsekakor zanimiva iz večih razlogov. Bere se zvezno kot roman. Vsak stavek se nadaljuje v naslednjem in zadnji odstavek v poglavju je odskočnica za naslednje poglavje. Popolnoma nemogoče je, da bi lahko del besedila iztrgali in uporabili za kaj drugega — kontekst je premočan. In prav tu verjetno tiči slabost pričujoče publikacije. Stvar je kljub svoji metodološkosti zastavljena nekoliko preveč široko, zaradi česar se avtorja ne moreta spuščati v detajle, ki takim in podobnim zgodbam o razvoju človeka dajejo potrebno legitimnost. Prav tako pa avtorja delujeta tudi preveč samozavestno. To je opazno tudi v izbiri citirane literature, kjer v psiholoških delih še morda prikažeta tudi pristope, ki so nekoliko drugačni od njunih, v arheoloških delih

pa tega ni. Tako spet postane jasna razmejitev med psihologijo, ki zaradi svoje družboslovnosti omogoča različne teorijske prijeme in interpretacije, ter arheologijo, ki zaradi svojega geološkega izvora teži proti naravoslovnim konceptom, kjer obstaja samo ena resnica.

Kljub nerodnosti pri pristopu, ostaja predstavljena knjiga najboljši predstavnik razvoja antropološke misli, kolebajoče med arheologijo in psihologijo, svojega časa. Zaradi svoje širine je v veliki meri uporabna kot osnova za nadaljne raziskave, ki bi se ukvarjale s segmenti tukaj predstavljenega sistema. Sistema, ki ima očitno nekaj napak. Predstavil bi samo eno. Za avtorja ima ključno mesto pri datiranju začetka jezika prav poselitev Avstralije za katero bi kolonizatorji potrebovali plovila, katera pa naj ne bi bilo mogoče narediti in uporabiti brez načrtovanja, ki pa prav tako naj ne bi bilo možno brez uporabe jezikovne komunikacije. In kaj nam kažejo arheološki viri na isti polobli, ki sta jo avtorja uporabila kot vzorec pozne kolonizacije. Najstarejša kamnita orodja na najdišču Mata Menge na otoku Floresu v otočju Wallacea so bila datirana na $0,88 \pm 0,07$ milijona let pred sedanostjo. Ta starost ne bi bila nič nenavadnega, če geologija, podprta z endemično favno ne bi kazala, da Flores ni bil nikoli povezan s Sundo, Sahulom, Timorjem ali Sulawesijem (Morwood et al. 1998). Skratka, nekdo je že veliko prej moral pluti po morju — s simbolično uporabo jezikovne komunikacije ali brez nje.

REFERENCE:

- BICKERTON**, D. 1995. *Language and Human Behaviour*. University of Washington, Seattle, pp. 180.
- BRANDSHAW**, J. & **ROGERS**, L. 1993. *The Evolution of Lateral Asymmetries, Language, Tool Use, and Intellect*. Academic Press, San Diego.
- CHANGEUX**, J.-P. & **CHAVAILLON**, J. (ed.) 1996. *Origins of the Human Brain*. Claredon Press, Oxford, pp. 321.
- DEACON**, T. 1997. *The Symbolic Species. The Co-evolution of Language and the Human Brain*. Penguin Books, London, pp. 527.
- KNIGHT**, C. 1991. *Blood Relations. Menstruation and the Origins of Culture*. Yale University Press. New Haven, London, pp. 581.
- MEGARRY**, T. 1995. *Society in Prehistory. The Origins of Human Culture*. Macmillan Press, London, pp. 400.
- MELLARS**, P. & **GIBSON**, K. (ed.) 1996. *Modelling the Early Human Mind*. McDonald Institute Monographs, Cambridge, pp. 229.
- MITHEN**, S. 1996. *The Prehistory of the Mind. A Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science*. Thames and Hudson, London, pp. 288.
- MORWOOD**, M. J., **O'SULLIVAN**, P. B., **AZIZ**, F. & **RAZA**, A. 1998. *Fission-track ages of stone tools and fossils on the east Indonesian island of Flores*. *Nature* 392, pp. 173-176.
- PINKER**, S. 1994. *The Language Instinct. The New Science of Language and Mind*. Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, London, pp. 494.
- POTTS**, R. 1996. *Humnaity's Descent. The Consequences of Ecological Instability*. W. Morrow and Co., New York, pp. 325.
- STANLEY**, S. S. 1996. *Children of the Ice Age. How a Global Catastrophe Allowed Humans to Evolve*. Harmony Books, New York, pp. 278.
- STOCZKOWSKI**, W. 1994. *Anthropologie naïve, Anthropologie savante*. Empreintes de l'homme, CNRS Editions, Paris.
- TATTERSALL**, I. 1998. *Becoming Human. Evolution and Human Uniqueness*. Harcourt Brace & Company, New York, San Diego, London, pp. 258.
- TREFIL**, J. 1997. *Are We Unique? A Scientist Explores the Unparalleled Intelligence of the*

Human Mind. John Wiley & Sons, New York, pp. 242.

WILLS, C. 1993. *The Runaway Brain. The Evolution of Human Uniqueness*. Basic Books, New York, pp. 358.

**ANTHROPOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS OF LATE ANTIQUITY
AND MEDIEVAL
NECROPOLISES AT BLED
AND SURROUNDINGS**

**ANTROPOLOŠKA ANALIZA PO-
ZNOANTIČNIH IN
SREDNJEVEŠKIH GROBIŠČ
BLEDA IN OKOLICE**

PETRA LEBEN-SELJAK

ODDELEK ZA BIOLOGIJO,
BIOTEHNIŠKA FAKULTETA, LJUBLJANA

**Dissertation thesis, Ljubljana,
Biotechnical faculty,
Biology Department, 1996**

Doktorska disertacija, Ljubljana,
Biotehniška fakulteta,
Oddelek za biologijo, 1996

POVZETEK:

V doktorski disertaciji sem obdelala 11 skeletnih serij, ki izvirajo iz nekropol na Bledu in bližnji okolici. Večina nekropol pripada alpskim Slovanom karantansko-ketlaškega kulturnega kroga, nekropola

Bled-Pristava I in okostja z Ajdne nad Potoki pa romaniziranim staroselecem.

Serije so majhne, skeletni material pa slabo ohranjen. Pri delu sem uporabljala standardne metode. Izdelala sem paleodemografsko analizo, morfološko analizo, analizo zobovja, analizo epigenetskih znakov in analizo patoloških primerov. Serije sem primerjala z distančno analizo po Penroseu. Primerjalna analiza temelji na karakteristikah možganskega dela lobanje, pri slovenskih serijah pa tudi na karakteristikah postkranialnega skeleta. Vse skeletne serije odražajo paleodemografske karakteristike tipične za zgodovinske populacije. Značilna je visoka umrljivost v otroštvu, ki je po Hennebergu ocenjena na 42 % do 58 %. Dejanski delež otroških okostij je precej manjši, saj na vseh nekropolah manjkajo okostja dojenčkov, pri Gradu in Otoku pa nasploh okostja mlajših otrok (infans I). Pričakovana življenjska doba 20 letnih žensk je približno 10 let krajša od življenjske dobe moških, kar je posledica večje umrljivosti žensk v adultni dobi. Največ moških je umrlo med 40 in 60 letom starosti, največ žensk pa med 20 in 30 letom. Za slovansko populacijo Bleda je značilna razmeroma dolga življenjska doba na začetku adultnega obdobja (e_{20} je 25 - 27 let), le prebivalci Pristave I lahko pričakujejo samo še 18 let življenja. Nizka potencialna reprodukcijska sposobnost prebivalcev Pristave I kaže na slabše življenjske pogoje v 6. stoletju, lahko pa je tudi odraz nizke adaptacijske sposobnosti staroselev v primerjavi z doseljenimi Slovani. Ocena velikosti populacij kaže, da je v srednjem veku živele na področju Bleda razmeroma malo ljudi. Pristava I je štela 42 prebivalcev, Pristava II 50 do 52, Grad 58, Zasip in Bodešče pa 22 oziroma 25 prebivalcev. Za vse serije razen Otoka so značilne dolge in ozke ali srednje široke lobanje. Prevladujejo dolihokrane in mezokrane

lobanje, ki so ortokrane, metriokrane, metrio- ali evrimetopične in mezo- ali evrimandibularne. Akrokranih in hamekranih lobanj je le malo. Prve nastopajo predvsem pri obeh Pristavah, druge pa pri mlajših serijah Grad, Zasip in Bodešče. Pristavo I odlikuje izredno velika raznolikost, saj nastopajo vsi tipi od hiperdolihokranih do hiperbrahikranih lobanj, povprečna vrednost pa kaže na dolihokranijo. Moški Pristave I se razlikujejo tudi v karakteristikah postkraniuma, saj so v povprečju manjši in bolj drobne telesne konstitucije kot Slovani. Rezultati distančne analize kažejo, da so si najbolj podobni prebivalci Pristave II in Gradu, pri ženskah pa tudi Pristava I in Pristava II. Za Bled-Otok so značilne brahikrane lobanje, ki jih je v ostalih serijah le malo. Zelo verjetno je, da so na Otoku pokopavali umrle tudi v visokem srednjem veku, čeprav starejši grobovi pripadajo Slovanom 9. in 10. stoletja.

Pristava I in Bled-Otok se od ostalih serij razlikujeta tudi po karakteristikah zobovja. Za obe seriji je značilen najvišji delež karioznih zob, zobna gniloba pa zelo pogosto nastopa že pri adultnih osebah.

V okviru srednjeevropskih serij se blejski Slovani uvrščajo k zahodnim Slovanom. Rezultati nakazujejo možnost poselitve Pristave II v okviru starejšega kolonizacijskega toka zahodnih Slovanov, medtem ko je bil pri Gradu vključen tudi kronološko mlajši val vzhodnih Slovanov.

Disertacijo sem izdelala pod mentorstvom prof. dr. Marije Štefančič, izredne profesorice za antropologijo na Oddelku za biologijo Biotehniške fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani in jo zagovarjala pred komisijo v sestavi: predsednik prof. dr. Timotej Knific, izredni profesor za arheologijo srednjega veka na Univerzi v Ljubljani, član prof. dr. Andrej Pleterski, izredni profesor za zgodovino

vino srednjega veka na Univerzi v Mariboru in članica prof. dr. Marija Štefančič, izredna profesorica antropologije na Univerzi v Ljubljani.

Disertacija obsega 362 strani, 162 tabel, 48 grafov, 7 slik, 48 prilog in 254 referenc.

MATERIAL IN METODE DE LA

V disertaciji sem obdelala 11 skeletnih serij, ki izvirajo iz nekropol na Bledu in bližnji okolici. Serije so majhne in obsegajo naslednje število okostij: Bled-Pristava I - 64, Bled-Pristava II - 38, Bled-Grad - 155, Bled-Otok - 65, Bled-Brdo - 9, Žale pri Zasipu - 50, Dlesc pri Bodeščah - 48, Spodnje Gorje - 6, Ajdna - 11, Moste pri Žirovnici - 17 in Smokuč - 6. Serije Bled-Grad, Dlesc pri Bodeščah in Žale pri Zasipu vključujejo vse odkopane skelete. Ostale serije so selekcionirane, ker se vsa okostja do danes niso ohranila. Večina grobišč pripada alpskim Slovanom karantansko-ketlaškega kulturnega kroga (7./8. - 11. stoletje), Bled-Pristava I in Ajdna pa staroselskim prebivalcem (6. in začetek 7. stoletja). Kostno gradivo je slabo ohranjeno, predvsem obrazni deli lobanj, ki so bili merljivi le v nekaj primerih.

Pri delu sem uporabljala standardne metode, ki so bile sprejete na mednarodnem simpoziju antropologov v Sarospatku leta 1978. Za vsako serijo sem izdelala paleodemografsko analizo (spolna in starostna struktura skeletov, življenjske tablice, velikost populacije, biodemografske karakteristike), morfološko analizo (22 mer lobanje in 31 mer postkraniuma), analizo zobovja (frekvenca kariesa in zob izpadlih pred smrtjo), analizo epigenetskih znakov in patoloških primerov. Serije sem primerjala z analizo biološke distance po Penroseu. Mikroregionalna primerjava blejskih serij temelji na 9 merah lobanje in 10 merah postkraniuma, primerjava blejskih serij s 17

sočasnimi serijami Srednje Evrope pa na 7 parametrij lobanje.

REZULTATI

Vse skeletne serije odražajo paleodemografske karakteristike tipične za zgodovinske populacije. Značilna je visoka umrljivost v otroštvu, ki je po Hennebergu ocenjena na 42 % do 58 %. Dejanski delež otroških okostij je precej manjši (od 17.4% do 47.9%), saj na vseh nekropolah manjkajo okostja dojenčkov (od 0% do 4.2%), pri Gradu in Otoku pa nasploh okostja mlajših otrok (infans I). Pričakovana življenjska doba žensk starih 20 let (e_{20}) je 10 let krajša od življenjske dobe moških, kar je posledica večje umrljivosti žensk v adultni dobi. Največ moških je umrlo med 40 in 60 letom starosti, največ žensk pa med 20 in 30 letom. Za slovansko populacijo Bleda je značilna razmeroma dolga življenjska doba na začetku adultnega obdobja (e_{20} je 25 - 27 let), le prebivalci Pristave I lahko pričakujejo samo še 18 let življenja. Nizka potencialna reprodukcijska sposobnost prebivalcev Pristave I kaže na slabše življenjske pogoje v 6. stoletju, lahko pa je tudi odraz nizke adaptacijske sposobnosti staroselcev v primerjavi z doseljenimi Slovani. Ocena velikosti populacij kaže, da je v srednjem veku živelo na področju Bleda razmeroma malo ljudi. Pristava I je štela 42 prebivalcev, Pristava II 50 do 52, Grad 58, Zasip in Bodešče pa 22 oziroma 25 prebivalcev. Zaselke so predstavljale skupine majhnih družin z obema staršema in dvema otrokoma, le v vsaki drugi ali tretji družini pa je bil živ še eden od starih staršev.

Morfološka analiza temelji na karakteristikah možganskega dela lobanj in na značilnostih postkranialnega skeleta. Za vse serije razen Otoka so značilne dolge in ozke ali srednje široke lobanje. Prevladujejo dolihokrane in mezokrane lobanje, ki so ortokrane, metriokrane, metrio- ali evrimetop-

pične in mezo- ali evrimandibularne. Akrokranih in hamekranih lobanj je le malo. Prve nastopajo predvsem pri obeh Pristavah, druge pa pri kronološko mlajših serijah Grad, Zasip in Bodešče. Moški slovanskih serij imajo robustno telesno konstitucijo in so v povprečju veliki od 169 do 171 cm. Ženske imajo srednje robustne kosti, v povprečju pa so visoke od 156 do 159 cm.

Pristavo I odlikuje izredno velika heterogenost v obliki lobanj. Povprečna vrednost kranialnega indeksa kaže na dolihokranijo, vendar pa nastopajo vsi tipi od hiperdoliokranij do hiperbrahikranij lobanj. Moški se razlikujejo tudi v karakteristikah postkraniuma, saj so v povprečju manjši (164.4 cm) in bolj drobne telesne konstitucije. Ženske Pristave I v telesni višini ne izstopajo (157.2 cm), so pa nekoliko bolj gracilne.

Za Bled-Otok so značilne brahikrane in stenometopične lobanje, medtem ko dolihokranija ne nastopa.

Pristava I in Bled-Otok se od ostalih serij razlikujeta tudi po karakteristikah zobovja oziroma frekvenci kariesa. Za obe seriji je značilen najvišji delež karioznih zob, zobna gniloba pa zelo pogosto nastopa že pri adultnih osebah.

Z distančno analizo sem primerjala samo štiri blejske serije, v katerih je bilo izmerjenih najmanj 10 individuov. Najbolj podobni so si prebivalci Pristave II in Gradu, ki po arheoloških podatkih pripadajo alpskim Slovonom. Precejšnja je tudi podobnost med Pristavo I in Pristavo II, vendar le pri ženskah. Materialna kultura Pristavo I nedvomno opredeljuje kot staroselsko populacijo, antropološka analiza pa dopušča možnost, da je prišlo do mešanja s slovansko populacijo Pristave II. Bled-Otok je v karakteristikah lobanj bolj podoben seriji iz Kranja (16.-18.st) kot pa blejskim serijam. Zelo verjetno je, da so na Otoku pokopavali umrle tudi v visokem srednjem veku, čeprav starejši grobovi pripadajo Slovonom 9. in 10. stoletja.

V okviru srednjeevropskih serij se blejski Slovani uvrščajo k zahodnim Slovanom. Pristava II kaže veliko podobnost s skoraj vsemi primerjalnimi serijami, predvsem s Ptujem in Mikulčicami ter ostalimi moravskimi in madžarskimi serijami, Bled-Grad pa je podoben tudi Kranju in slovaškimi serijam. Rezultati nakazujejo možnost poselitve Pristave II v okviru starejšega kolonizacijskega toka zahodnih Slovanov, medtem ko je bil pri Gradu vključen tudi kronološko mlajši val vzhodnih Slovanov.

Cilj doktorske disertacije je bil, da s pomočjo antropološke analize skušam osvetliti problem kontinuitete med staroselskimi prebivalci in alpskimi Slovani v zgodnjem srednjem veku na področju Slovenije. To mi je uspelo le deloma, ker zelo slaba ohranjenost skeletov ni dopuščala multivariantnih statističnih analiz. Primerjava lobanjskih karakteristik ni dala pričakovanih rezultatov, saj ni izločila staroselske Pristave I. Penroseova distančna analiza namreč primerja povprečne vrednosti antropometričnih parametrov, ki v primeru heterogenih populacij, kot je Bled-Pristava I, ne odlikava dejanskih karakteristik populacije. Zaradi tega sem se odločila za nov pristop in sicer za primerjalno analizo karakteristik postkraniuma, ki je dala mnogo boljše rezultate. Kaže, da so se srednjeveške populacije v večji meri razlikovale v telesnih karakteristikah kot pa v značilnostih možganskega dela lobanje. Primerjava postkranialnih karakteristik med srednjeevropskimi populacijami ni bila možna zaradi pomanjkanja primerjalnih podatkov.

ABSTRACT:

In my doctoral dissertation I discuss 11 skeletal series from the necropolises at Bled and its nearby surroundings. Most belong to the Köttlach and Karantanian phase of the Early Slav culture of the ninth and tenth centuries (Bled-Grad, Žale at Zasip, Dlesc at Bodešče, Spodnje

Gorje, Moste at Žirovnica, and Smokuč). The necropolis Bled-Brdo was used only in the eighth century in the earlier Slav period, Bled-Pristava II from the seventh or eighth to the tenth century through the entire Slav period, Bled-Otok in the tenth to eleventh century in the later Slav age. According to archeologists, only the necropolis Bled-Pristava I and the skeleton from Ajdna above Potoki belong to the autochthon in the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries.

The series are small and the skeletal material poorly preserved. Those from Bled-Grad, Žale at Zasip and Dlesc at Bodešče include all found skeletons, while the remaining series were chosen selectively as all skeletons have not been preserved. I used standard methods in my work. I did a paleodemographic analysis, a morphological analysis, tooth analysis, an analysis of epigenetic traits, and an analysis of the pathological specimens. I made comparisons of the series using distance analysis according to Penrose that is based on comparing the characteristics of the braincase and, in the Slovene series, also on characteristics of the postcranial skeletons.

All the skeletal series reflect the paleodemographical characteristics typical for the historical populations. The high death rate in childhood is distinctive; Henneberg assesses it at 42 to 58%. The portion of children's skeletons is actually lower as newborn skeletons are not found in any necropolis and at Grad and Otok there are no smaller children (infans I) in general. The life expectancy of women aged 20 was approximately 10 years shorter than that of men, the consequence of increased death rates of adult women. The majority of men died between the ages of 40 and 60 years, the majority of women between 20 and 30 years. At the beginning of their adulthood the Slav population of Bled had a relatively long life span ahead of them, from 25 to 27 years; solely those from

of men, the consequence of increased death rates of adult women. The majority of men died between the ages of 40 and 60 years, the majority of women between 20 and 30 years. At the beginning of their adulthood the Slav population of Bled had a relatively long life span ahead of them, from 25 to 27 years; solely those from Pristava I could expect 18 years of life. The low potential reproductive capacity of the population of Pristava I points to poorer living conditions in the sixth century or it may reflect the poor adaptations capacities of the autochthon as compared to the immigrated Slavs. Assessment of population size indicates that in the Middle Ages there were relatively few people. Pristava I had a population of 42, Pristava II 50 to 52, Grad 58, Zasip 22 and Bodešče 25. The settlements consisted of a small group of families with both parents and 2 children; only every second or third house included a grandparent.

All series, except Otok, are characterized by long and narrow or middling wide skulls. Dolichocranial and mesocranial skulls predominate, and are orthocranial, metriocranial, metrio- or eurimetopic and meso- or eurymandibular. There are only few acrocranial or chamecranial; the former mainly in both Pristavas, the latter in later series from Grad, Zasip, and Bodešče. Pristava I shows great variability; all types may be found from hyperdolichocranial to hyperbrachicranial skulls with the average showing dolichocranial values. Males in Pristava I also differ in their postcranial characteristics; on average they are smaller (164.4 cm) and of a lighter body constitution while the Slavs are taller (169 to 171 cm) and more robust. Females are as tall as the Slavs (156 to 159 cm) but as in Pristava II they have a lighter body build than in Grad.

Distance analysis demonstrates that the people of Pristava II and Grad are the

most similar, in females also Pristava I and Pristava II. Pristava II and Grad are Alpine Slav, while Pristava I is autochthon or probably has a mixed population of autochthon and Slavs. Otok is characterized by brachicranial skulls that are otherwise rare. Interments probably took place at Otok in the late Middle Ages, although the older burial sites are Slav from the ninth and tenth centuries.

Pristava I and Otok also differ from the others of the series in their characteristic teeth and frequency of caries. Both show a significant number of carious teeth that are frequently seen in young adults.

In the framework of the Central European series, the Bled Slavs belong to the Western Slavs. Bled-Pristava II shares many of the characteristics of the compared series, particularly with Ptuj, Mikulčice, and other Moravian and Hungarian series. Bled-Grad is also similar to Kranj and other Slovak series. The results point to the possibility that Pristava II was populated by colonizers of Western Slav origin, while Grad also included the later Eastern Slavs. The characteristics of skulls at Pristava I also demonstrate similarity with Slav series even though men show differences in their postcranial skeletons in microregional comparisons. The similarity could be accidental as the average values of heterogeneous series, such as Pristava I, do not show actual characteristics. In interpreting the results, we also have to be aware that comparison of Central European series is based only on the characteristics of the braincase portion of the skull. I could neither compare the characteristics of the face because of poor preservation nor the postcranial characteristics because of lack of comparable data.

METABIOLOGY OF RELIGION

METABIOLOGIJA RELIGIJE

ARTUR ŠTERN

INŠTITUT BION LJUBLJANA

1. DIVIDEDNESS IN BIOLOGY

Bearing in mind the common fact that sociological and biological studies of any phenomenon are very often opposing each other (possibly not so much at the scientific level as they are at the ideological one) one is usually not aware of another truth: that biology itself is not a monolithic science with a single paradigm. Biologists' interpretations even of those facts that are purely biological vary a great deal. To mention just the most important dichotomy, which has persisted in this field throughout centuries and has still not been resolved — it is the one between mechanism with its reductionist approach on one side, and the organicism with its emergentistic and holistic features on the other. The latter is a modern descendant of vitalism, which can historically be interpreted as the third “biological” paradigm, but has been rendered obsolete within the realm of science (see Jerman, Štern 1996). According to all this one should not be surprised to find a variety of biological theories concerning religion itself.

2. NEO-DARWINISM ON RELIGION

Some prominent interpretations of religion stemming from the reductionist branch of biologists regard religion (just as well as any other area of human activity) as biological adaptation in terms of gene survival. According to this view, there is nothing

truly saintly, spiritual or moral within any kind of religious belief — there is only the powerful few rule-makers manipulating the simple and naive masses of people, and this ultimately results in further genetic prosperity of the ones in charge, since money and power, especially of the male, can easily be translated into the currency of evolutionary success, namely, the number of gene copies (see Wright 1995).

Even the very difficult cases, like the problem of celibacy among the catholic priests, that evidently contradict the statement above, are interpreted along the same lines. One of the hypotheses, a rather cynical one, was that *the sneaky male effect* was at work here — namely, that those men in fact reproduce their genes quite as effectively, only that they use a strategy similar to the one of a cuckoo bird (Dawkins 1990).

A few possible alternative solutions to this same problem were offered by the concept of *inclusive fitness*, according to which it is not just direct descendants that contribute to one's evolutionary fitness, but all kinds of side relatives as well — provided that the individual in question has some influence on their reproductive success. In terms of this theory, for example, three brothers or nine cousins considered together are, on average, genetically more precious carriers of someone's genetic replicas than the very individual himself, since the sum of the genetic replicas, statistically speaking, exceeds the 100% of them that the individual contains in his own organism (see Dawkins 1990). To mention just one of the practical possibilities: in a large family a man who decided to become a catholic priest may have been increasing his inclusive fitness by helping his brothers and sisters financially, so that they could take more thorough and appropriate care of their offspring, i.e., the replicas of *his* genes as well.

Yet another branch of reductionist reasoning grew out of this evolutionary think-

ing in terms of the selfish genes, and it was termed *mimetics* — after its central concept of a certain kind of a non-biological replicator, the *meme*. Meme is considered an active replicator, which means that it is supposed to have its own intrinsic power of self-perpetuation and replication. Religious ideas and beliefs are good examples of memes (Dawkins 1990). An analogy between a militant religion (which in theory is of course a contradiction in terms, but a very true and common fact in practice) and a virus has also been proposed (see Štern 1997).

3. HOLISTIC VIEWS

Quite another biological point of view concerning religion stems from the organicist interpretations of life with their holistic perspective where organisms are not seen just as survival machines but as entities in their own right. A so-called *science of qualities* (Goodwin 1995) can be built upon these grounds, which of course implies that religious ideas are also treated as values, instead of just means of manipulation or even selfish entities on their own. Altruism is not seen as just one or another type (i.e., the expected reciprocity, or the implied increase of one's inclusive fitness) of an evolutionary stable strategy, but as a moral phenomenon. Concepts have appeared, which establish biological grounds for thinking in terms of community, and not individual struggle for survival any longer. One of them is the concept of superorganisms, which, at least in a way, resurrected the already forgotten ideas of group selection (Wilson, Sober 1989). Another one is the Gaia hypothesis, where the whole planet is seen as one living being (Lovelock 1979). Further evidence comes from the research and theory of the quantum physicists (Schrödinger 1935) and lately quantum biologists as well, namely, that living

entities are not totally separate from each other but more or less implied in each other (Ho 1993). Many analogies have been observed between modern quantum physics and eastern religious philosophies (Capra 1991).

4. TRANSCENDENTAL ATHEISM

In the past some natural theologies have been proposed, the most famous ones being Paley's (Paley 1835) and de Chardin's (de Chardin 1978), where the existence of God had been searched (and supposedly also proven) by and within natural arguments. Yet, unless we claim that God is a synonym for everything — indeed a hollow, redundant statement —, we have to face the fact that even if there was something divine involved in some moment of our universal past, nowadays there is no need to invoke its presence in the course of evolution of life on our planet, since everything seems to be explainable within the framework of evolutionary science (Dawkins 1990). Besides this one fact, namely *the natural selection*, there are two other components of what we can call the ontological cornerstone of atheism, and they are: *the origin of life* and the *Big bang*. Each of them is consequently removing the possibly existing divinity one step back into the remote past, and towards nothingness (Štern 1996).

From the other, namely ethical point of view a so-called *new naturalistic faith* has been proposed, which builds upon the presumed existence of pure altruistic acts, which transcend all those types of moral deeds that are still rooted in one or another kind of expectation, i.e., biological, reincarnationistic or theistic, of self-benefit (Štern 1996).

5. RELIGION IN EVOLUTIONARY PSYCHOLOGY

At least in a certain sense, there is no possibility of really transcending biology — for even morality itself has been shaped by evolution. (Is a mother who feeds her child instead of some unknown person or animal by any chance considered selfish just because of some modern genetical interpretation? No, she is not.) Biological motives are deeply ingrained in our psyche for the obvious purposes of the gene survival, yet that does not automatically make them any less moral. It is true that even in the cases of our eventual manifestations of pure goodness we can never get away with it, since there is always the case against us which states that we did it for our feeling of being a good person; and by this self-assertedness we can later on much more easily — even if unconsciously — persuade others to believe it as well, which inevitably leads us towards better potentials for a position in the society. So there would seem to exist no way out of this swamp of selfishness (Wright 1995).

Yet there comes an important lesson to be learned from evolutionary psychology: by realizing this very fact and knowing how totally helpless we are in this regard — we could become cynical and really would not do anything apart from what we expect to be fruitful for us; or else, we can start doing deeds that transcend our selfish motives, and keep on doing them from one day to another. This second option can now easily be treated as a truly moral one (Wright 1995).

6. "RELIGION" TO METABIOLGY

All this discussion carried out so far has given a few hints about why any official religion is somehow doomed to fail in its essence, in fulfilling its intentions, and

becomes exclusivistic and greedy and pompous and all the rest, and hence its own contradiction. And why there might be just one religion instead, the one that would truly deserve its name: the face-to-face relationship between real living beings in never-endingly diverse life situations.

Now, my suggestion is that many aspects, as different as the various biological, the sociological and religious ones, that quite often contradict each other, can in fact be taken not only as being able to co-exist but also as being capable of enriching one another, either by providing grounds in terms of enlightening new ideas, or simply by mutual criticism that serves as selection pressure, thus making them utmostly attentive and scrupulous towards their own contents. That is surely a lot — yet still not the whole story I have set out to tell here. Apart from the facts and values discussed so far there is something else left to be *religated* - and for that we are moving from the realm of religion understood in its more or less literal meaning, into the one of its purely metaphorical reading.

7. METABIOLGY ITSELF

As already implied, the term *metabiological* in its usual sense means pertaining to something not really biological, yet similar, indeed analogous to it. If memes are the archetypal entities of this kind, the *memplices* like religions or ideologies are considered metabiological organisms. However, I am proposing a much broader framework for the use of the notion in question. In these novel terms *metabiology* is taken as a combination of two substantial components, i.e., philosophy of biology and evolutionary psychology, and the third one which is simply the form of its expression and makes it also belong to the realm of literature (Stern 1997). In the past there have always existed authors who were bright and

brave enough so as not to take it for granted that good science necessarily had to be presented in a dull form; and nowadays we have come to the point where the world's most famous scientists are the ones who are capable of expressing themselves in a formidably readable way. Some are calling it *the third culture* (Brockman 1996).

Metabiology is a part of this realm. Indeed, it does not just try to add some tiny particle into the overall mosaic, or intend to shape just one more of the already many particular points of view, but it strives to be connecting several more or less opposing conceptions into a more meaningful whole (Štern 1997). One of its primary tasks is to establish a more solid common ground for the interplay between evolutionary psychology based on the selfish-gene paradigm, and some biophilosophical problems — like the classical triad: the emergence of life, of multicellularity, and of consciousness. Many concerns are paid to the very notion of the gene, which seems so far to have been insufficiently elaborated by the world's theorists (Jerman, Štern 1996).

Last but not least, metabiology as a science is soft, meaning that it gives many more ideas than it itself can (nor, for that matter, necessarily strive to) check experimentally. It is opportunistic as well: apart from creating its own it takes ideas from anywhere else; and needs not stick to those, even if its own ones, that have been rendered dubious. Its world is broad: the one of sciences and arts, of analogies and of metaphors. It is a *religion* in its literal sense. And (Štern 1997) —

When any single one of its ideas becomes a commonly accepted truth or even an institutionalized eminence, then its main action has already long been going on at some place far away.

POVZETEK:

V tem članku avtor najprej obravnava nekaj različnih sodobnih tako ali drugače standardnih bioloških pogledov na religijo. Predvsem sta tu izraziti dve skrajnosti, okrog katerih se zlegajo obstoječe interpretacije: genocentrični oziroma neodarvinistični redukcionizem in na drugi strani organicistični holizem. Sporočilo pričujočega članka je, da se ob kompleksnih fenomenih, kakršen je religija, ni najbolj smiselno opredeljevati za en sam zorni kot, marveč da nam različne teorije in interpretacije, četudi so med seboj nespravljive na skupni imenovalec ali si celo neposredno nasprotujejo, o pojavih lahko povedo več kot en sam, četudi nadvse učinkovit informacijsko-interpretacijski korpus. V tem smislu avtor predstavi tudi svoj metabiološki sistem, v katerem je poleg navedenega načela možne koeksistence znanstvenih teorij konceptualno prostor tudi za vrednote (ena izmed njih je njegova tako imenovana nova naravoslovna vera) in celo za večjo formalno odprtost pri samem izražanju danih teoretskih postavk, kar vse skupaj približuje tudi območju beletriistične literature.

REFERENCES:

- BROCKMAN**, J. (Ed). 1996. *The third culture*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- CAPRA**, F. 1991. *The Tao of Physics*. Boston: Shambala.
- de CHARDIN**, P.T. 1978. *Pojav človeka*. Celje: Mohorjeva družba.
- DAWKINS**, R. 1990. *The selfish gene*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- GOODWIN**, B. 1995. *How the leopard changed its spots*. London: Phoenix.
- HO**, M.W. 1993. *The rainbow and the worm*. Singapore: World Scientific.

- JERMAN, I., ŠTERN, A.** 1996. **Gen v valovih - Porajanje nove biologije.** (Eng. abs. 16 pp). Ljubljana: Znanstveno in publicistično središče.
- LOVELOCK, J.E.** 1979. **Gaia: a new look at life on earth.** Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PALEY, W.** 1835. **Natural theology.** London: Scott, Webster, & Geary.
- SCHRÖDINGER, E.** 1935. **The present situation in quantum mechanics.** In: Wheeler, J., Zurek, W. (Eds.). *Quantum theory and measurement.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- ŠTERN, A.** 1996. **Altruizem.** Ljubljana: Znanstveno in publicistično središče.
- ŠTERN, A.** 1997. **Metabiologija.** Ljubljana: Društvo Apokalipsa.
- WILSON, D. S., SOBER, E.** 1989. **Reviving the superorganism.** *Journal of Theoretical Biology* 136: 337-56.
- WRIGHT, R.** 1995. **The moral animal.** New York: Random House.

"INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION (1994-1996)"

MEDNARODNO KOMPARATIVNO RAZISKOVANJE POLITIČNE SOCIALIZACIJE

BOGOMIR NOVAK, JANEZ KOLENC

PEDAGOŠKI INŠTITUT, LJUBLJANA

This is a longitudinal and cross-cultural project to comparatively research political socialisation and culture. As some partial reports are already available, our main task

is to integrate these partial efforts into a meaningful and complex whole. This final report is only a part of the planned future whole.

The main aim of this research project is to recognise the characteristics, values and status of the Slovenian political culture in comparison with other European countries. The project is both theoretically and empirically based. The hypothesis is that the Slovenian personal, social, political, and national characteristics and culture are determined more by objective historical circumstances than by rational, social or political activities performed by agents of political socialisation. We researched the concept of political socialisation and culture by many different methods. An integrative approach enabled an understanding of Slovenian culture coexistence with other cultures that were neither over- or underestimated. The next aim of this project were questions addressed to the rapid social changes on macro-, mezzo- and micro- levels in the Slovene social system.

Further, the concept of political socialisation as a process, a result of the political culture, and the resource for the newer version were investigated. The main categories of the project were human beings, the Slovenian Nation-State as a subject, personal autonomy, bipolar structures and functions of the political culture, the relationship between democracy and totalitarianism, and the values of Slovene as well as European countries. Slovenia was compared with most European countries. In Slovenia there prevails uncertainty, ambiguity and nostalgia for the past.

A transition is a complex, almost anomic process with many political scandals along with social and political tensions, caused by redistribution of property (or privatisation), political power, and social control. Its main problem lies in the contradiction between liberalism and conservatism. Transition is, in a broad sense, a

conservative revolution, a social movement towards capitalism with ambivalent consequences. But a socialist society in transition is more postsocialistic than postcapitalistic because it has yet to finish the privatisation or denationalisation process.

The transition variables of the libertarian tradition in Slovenia had various and complex influence, both positive and negative, on the main social and political processes that continued during the transition from a traditional totalitarian to a democratic political culture. Very frequent and rapid social, economic, and political changes in Slovenia can be treated as a process of accommodation to a new historical situation. We must treat the contradiction between the increasing role of political freedom and the increasing role of ever more violent political conflicts as the most important determinant that can influence the development of political culture.

The place of Slovenia in the group of European Countries such as France, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Ireland, and Luxembourg were researched empirically. Variables which can be treated as *differentia specifica* for Slovenia are: a low political participation rate, absence of ethno-linguistic cleavages, presence of regional cleavages, the low legitimacy of democracy, the weak social force of trade unions, the weak social force of employers, and the high rate of extreme political opinions. During World War One and later as a part of the Kingdom of SHS and the kingdom of Yugoslavia, from 1918 to 1941, Slovenia could be classified in the group of countries where democracy did not survive after the major world crisis that began in 1929. As a breakdown country Slovenia needs in the first place energy to build democratic institutions in the State and at the same time develop its social system as other similar European nations, if it would enter into the group of survivor countries.

Primary, secondary, and tertiary institutional agents regulate the political socialisation of individuals and democratic institutions. There was diffusion and incongruity among agents whose efficacy was low. This was the reason for incongruities between the personal and the social, the social and the political, as well as between the national and political culture in the Slovenian population. Because of these contradictions, or ruptforms, social complementary relationships could not emerge neither in a representative nor in a civic culture. This has led toward political blockades, social tensions, and social implosivity. Slovenia inherited from the former Yugoslavia (1943-1991) a socialist non-democratic tradition. Modern, bipolar and fragmentary political culture is historically derived from pre-modern cultures that led to obedience, dependency, and rebellion. Political socialisation in Slovenia is still egocentric and unconsciously acts on citizens. Until the present time this dualism of culture and politics has been noted, but against the past extremism of liberalism and clericalism today more alliances arise.

The political culture of the postsocialistic transition in Eastern and Central European countries has initiated the process of disintegration as well as the decline of the systems of "socialist democracies". Democratic and participative political cultures and civic institutions introduced by the model of Western parliamentary democracy have developed slowly since 1990. The development of democracy in Slovenia is still unstable because of an unconsolidated political system, lack of experience, lack of democratic traditions, a semi-presidential government, relatively low economic development, mistrust in the political institutions, and the smallness of our country in the sense of it being more difficult to organise a working infrastructure.

In spite of the fact that in the transition the characteristics of our and Eastern

European countries have greatly changed in the decentralisation of political power, the pluralization of political ideas and movements, the emergence of a multiparty system, citizens might still not trust the new democratic institutions.

No democratic institution can be so strong that it cannot be subverted by a dictatorship. Slovenia needs answers as to the means of implementing a modern form of democracy and how to achieve a way into the European Community. In present day Slovenia are several subcultures in which prevail traditional, mass, authoritarian and participative factors.

The people in transition have ambivalent attitudes towards socialistic equality and capitalistic liberty, thus the political culture is ambivalent and sometimes shows positive characteristics and sometimes negative ones. The Slovenes oscillate between a sense of danger from foreign opponents and a reliance on the survival of their nationality.

The socialistic order in schools as its nonarticulated subsystem was also totalitarian with its monopolistic party ideology. We researched the role of Slovenian schools in the political system. During the transition in Slovenia, the Democratic Liberal Party pragmatically tried to solve the problems of former socialist schools, but without a far-sighted plan or a national vision. It could not successfully solve the problems of individualism and personal autonomy, elitist education, and the Liberal Democrats are again faced with all the responsibility for the development of democracy. The Slovenian government has stopped leading schools in the framework of one monopolistic ideology based on Marxist worldview. Public schools at present do not have a particular worldview for many reasons; only one must be mentioned: no aspect of school life and achievement of the aims of upbringing can be controlled.

All weaknesses of the communist single party system have not been corrected. The decision making political system in schools is only partially decentralised, which enables some self management. On the one hand Slovenian policy introduced changes and on the other hand is afraid of them. The school system is too selective, leading to insane competitiveness. The pupils have too much to learn, but are not taught how to learn efficiently and thus are overloaded with memorisation. Too early the pupils have problems with promotional neuroses. They are tested almost every day but they have no opportunity to demonstrate creativity or the use of their acquired knowledge, and they cannot do it in the present system. New school dilemmas have arisen on the social, psychological, pedagogical, and didactic levels.

POVZETEK:

Prispevek zajema opredelitev postsocialističnih držav v tranziciji.

Opredeljuje agense politične socializacije in začetno razvojno stanje demokratične politične kulture v Sloveniji, tako da primerja Slovenijo z drugimi postsocialističnimi državami. Skupne značilnosti so socialna dezintegracija, nizka stopnja aktivne udeležbe državljanov pri političnem odločanju, socialno razslojevanje, večstrankarski politični pluralizem, nostalgija do preteklosti pri starejših. Empirično raziskovanje razlik v moči delovanja agensov politične socializacije v Sloveniji in 7 državah v vzhodni Evropi, ki so razen Francije, približno tako velike kot Slovenija ugotavlja, da je v Sloveniji v primerjavi z njimi majhna politična participacija državljanov pri političnem odločanju, odsotnost etno-lingvističnih cepitev in prisotnost regionalnih, šibka moč sindikatov itd. V zadnjem delu poročila o raziskovalnem projektu se avtorja ukvarjata z razli-

kami med političnim odločanjem o slovenski šoli v obdobju socializma in postsocialistične tranzicije .

Ker je razvoj demokratične politične kulture dolgoročen proces bodo navedeni rezultati raziskovalnega projekta še dolgo aktualni in primerljivi z drugimi raziskavami politične kulture.

BIOPOIESIS

NOVI EVOLUCIJSKI VIDIKI

ANTROPOLOGIJE IN

NJEJ SORODNIH VED

LJUBLJANA, 24. IN 25. SEPTEMBER 1998

ARTUR ŠTERN

Po uspešni organizaciji simpozija v počastitev prvega slovenskega univerzalnega antropologa Boža Škerlja septembra 1994 v Biološkem Središču v Ljubljani smo člani Društva antropologov Slovenije sklenili, da tradicijo Škerljevih dni nadaljujemo in nadgrajujemo. V ta namen smo septembra 1998 na isti lokaciji organizirali 2. Škerljeve dneve, katerih tema je bila: BIOPOIESIS — novi evolutijski vidiki antropologije in njej sorodnih ved. Ime prof. dr. Škerlja je pri tem veljalo kot simbol mnogostranskega in kreativnega obravnavanja človeka.

Poglavitni namen simpozija je bil: povezovanje številnih na moč raznoterih aspektov predvsem znanstvene obravnave človeka. Glavni cilj simpozija ni bil v poskušanju integracije medsebojno takorekoč irelevantnih ali nezanimivih pretirano segmentalnih vidikov antropološkega udejstvovanja posameznikov, marveč nam je šlo za poskus eksplikacije skupne antropološke paradigme so-

dobnega časa, ki v sebi združuje obe klasični veji antropologije — fizično (biološko) in socialno (kulturno), vključno z vsemi njima sorodnimi vedami. Ta paradigma se vse bolj kaže kot neločljivo povezana z bistvom sodobne evolutijske teorije.

V okviru področij, kot so fiziologija, medicina, paleoantropologija, kognitivne znanosti, zgodovina, etnologija, evolutijska psihologija, lingvistika in biopoetika, deloma pa zunaj njih — smo razpravljali ne le o temeljnih znanstvenih, marveč mestoma tudi o raznih pomembnih praktičnih: socialnih, pravnih, da ne rečem kar političnih vprašanjih.

V Slovenijo so prvi valovi tega novega multidisciplinarnega gledanja na človeški svet sicer že prihajali, vendar v širšem smislu je (tudi strokovna) javnost ostajala, in je še vedno, pod vtisom klasične veljave, da so naravoslovne in na drugi strani družboslovne ter humanistične znanosti med seboj vsaj v strokovnem smislu načeloma nezdružljive. S prireditvijo 2. Škerljevih dni vov pa smo želeli takšna zastarela naziranja še nekoliko bolj temeljito, predvsem pa strokovno argumentirano — zamajati.

Metaforične razsežnosti pojma *biopoiesis*, ki smo ga sami skovali v tukajšnji namen, so vsakemu posamičnemu udeležencu simpozija omogočale domala povsem lastno in svojsko interpretacijo, kaj naj bi pravzaprav dejansko pomenil. Generalno pa ga je vendarle mogoče in tudi potrebno opredeliti — in sicer v naslednjem smislu. S pojmom *biopoiesis* želimo, nanašajoč se na obe klasični veji antropologije kot tudi na nekatere druge sorodne vede, označiti več ravni ustvarjalnosti, temelječe na bioloških dejstvih. Osnovna in najbolj metaforična raven pri tem je kreativna sila same narave v svojem nepredvidljivem evolutijskem toku, s svojimi mutacijami in adaptacijami. Sledi druga raven, oblikovanje človeka, njegove zavesti in kulture, vključno tudi s samim znanstveno-filozofskim diskurzom o teh vsebinah. Naposled pa lahko omenimo tudi

tretjo, eventualno umetniško (ali nemara še kako drugače zunajznanstveno) izraženo samoreferenčno ustvarjalnost iskateljev, ki se s temi pojavi teoretsko ukvarjamo. Ena izmed osrednjih paradigmatičnih osnov biopoeze je sodobna darvinistična teorija, ki se skozi evolucijsko psihologijo in evolucijsko filozofijo kompetentno in artikulirano ukvarja z najrazličnejšimi splošnimi ter konkretnimi vsebinami iz človekove znanstvene, filozofske, umetniške in tudi širokega spektra drugih, vsakodnevnih dejavnosti.

V času srečanja sta potekali tudi okrogli mizi. Prvi dan na temo Antropologija zdravja in boleznin in drugi dan na temo Antropologija v šoli.

HUMANS AND ENVIRONMENT

ČLOVEŠTVO IN OKOLJE

11TH CONGRESS OF THE

EUROPEAN

ANTHROPOLOGICAL

ASSOCIATION

11. KONGRES EVROPSKEGA

ANTROPOLOŠKEGA ZDRUŽENJA

JENA, NEMČIJA,

30. AVGUST – 3. SEPTEMBER 1998

TATJANA TOMAZO-RAVNIK

Člani Evropskega antropološkega društva se srečujemo vsaki dve leti.

To pot smo bili gostje štiristopetdeset let stare univerze Alma Mater Jenensis, s katero so povezana imena kot so Schiller,

Goethe, Hegel, Fichte pa tudi Zeiss in Abbe.

Tematika kongresa je želela poudariti pomen antropologije v znanosti.

Srečanje smo pričeli z obiskom predavanja Schiefenhoevla (Andecht, Nemčija), ki je govoril o poznavanju in uporabi narave plemena Eipo iz Zahodne Nove Gvineje. Ali člani tradicionalnih kultur žive v harmoniji s svojim okoljem? Kako uporabljajo svoje okolje in kateri kognitivni, čustveni in religiozni koncepti in pravila uravnavajo njihov odnos do le tega?

Preostali dnevi kongresa so potekali po že ustaljenem redu: dopoldanska vodilna predavanja, popoldanska predavanja po sekcijah ter predstavitev posterjev po hodnikih Univerze Friedrich Schiller.

Prvi dan smo kot vodilna poslušali predavanja s področja paleoantropologije: Spreminjanje klime v Afriki, biogeografija in zgodnja evolucija človeka, Ali so bili neandertalci geografsko izolirana populacija, Prehrana in strategije obstoja v prazgodovinskih in zgodovinskih populacijah ter Populacijska biologija primatov in njihov prispevek k evoluciji človeka. V popoldanskem času se je zvrstilo 14 predavateljev s prispevki na temo paleoantropologija. Vzporedno je potekala dejavnost v sekciji Biologija človeških populacij s 13 referati. Na 24 posterjih se je na temo auxologija — rast in razvoj otrok predstavilo veliko število avtorjev.

Drugi dan so bila vodilna predavanja na temo auxologija: Vpliv okolja na višino in debelost v evropskih populacijah, Geografski in socialni vpliv na rast in razvoj: primer Rusije, Dolge in kratke časovne variacije pri hitrosti rasti, Rast in dozorevanje — je fizična aktivnost faktor? ter Rast in dozorevanje mladih športnikov — je športni trening faktor? Tudi kratki popoldanski pregledi 14 avtorjev so bili na temo rasti in razvoja. Vzporedno pa so bile predstavljene svobodne teme, ki so obravnavale sestavo telesa, biotipologijo, občutljivost populacij

na vplive okolja, lateralnost ipd. S kar 48 posterji so se predstavili avtorji s področja paleoantropologije.

Tretji dan smo poslušali vodilna predavanja s področja genetike in okolja: Genetika in okolje — uvod in pregled, Sekularne spremembe v Evropi, Odmevi preteklosti — procesi v sedanji evoluciji človeka in Klasični genetski markerji pri človeku — kaj so pokazali in kaj lahko še pokažejo? Popoldanske sekcije so prav tako obravnavale tematike povezane z genetiko in okoljem, paleoantropologijo pa tudi svobodne teme so našle svoj prostor.

Zadnji dan je bil posvečen biologiji človeških populacij. Vodilna predavanja so bila: Skeletna patologija kot znak strategije preživetja in možnosti preživetja v preteklosti, Bolezni pri evropskih historičnih populacijah in njihov vpliv na populacije in posameznike, Rast in razvoj deklic, Socialna in ekonomska različnost — perspektive antropologa na razvijajoči svet, ki sta jo podala priznana strokovnjaka Johnston iz Philadelphije in Bielicki iz Poljske. V sekcijah so bile predstavljene tematike iz področja auxologije in proste teme. Posterska konferenca je obsegala področja genetike in okolja ter biologije človeških populacij.

Organizatorji so poskrbeli tudi za zanimiv program v večernih urah. Uživali smo ob zvokih skladateljev Bachov rojenih v Wimarju, ki so nam jih zaigrali člani Akademskega orkestra Univerze Friedrich Schiller. Ogledali smo si predstavo v najstrebšem observatoriju v Evropi — Zeiss Planetarium, obiskali Anatomske muzej na Inštitutu za anatomijo, ter se poveselili na skupni zaključni večerji.

Po kongresu smo si nekateri ogledali še Bilzingsleben nahajališče Homo erectusa in pod vodstvom vodje izkopavanj dr. Dietrich Mania izvedeli številne podrobnosti o nahajališču. Sprehodili smo se tudi po Wimarju, ki se s temeljito prenovo mesta in okolice pripravlja, da bo v letu 1999 kulturna prestolnica Evrope.

Aktivna udeležba antropologov iz Slovenije je bila kar intenzivna, saj je s posterji sodelovalo šest članov EAA. Predstavili smo rezultate svojih raziskav s področja auxologije, paleoantropologije, fiziologije človeka in biologije človeških populacij. V času kongresa smo navezali kar nekaj novih stikov in utrdili stara prijateljstva.

Veselimo se že naslednjega kongresa EAA, ki ga bodo organizirali kolegi leta 2000 v Cambridgeu.

MEDNARODNA OKROGLA MIZA O VPRAŠANJU MUSTERJENSKE KOŠČENE PIŠČALI IZ NAJDIŠČA DIVJE BABE I.

ZNANSTVENO RAZISKOVALNI CENTER SAZU.

SPODNJA IDRIJA, SLOVENIJA,
7. DO 11. MAJ, 1998.

BORIS KAVUR

Srednji paleolitik ostaja že od šestdesetih let dalje bojno polje, na katerem se preizkušajo nove teorije in nove metodologije. Če so se petdeseta in zgodnja šestdeseta leta ukvarjala predvsem z vprašanjem izvora človeka, se je v drugi polovici šestdesetih let v arheoloških krogih izpostavilo vprašanje o naravi variabilnosti srednjega paleolitika, ki je postalo znano kot razprava Binford — Bordes. Žal nikoli ni rodila konstruktivnih zaključkov in prav zaradi tega se je večina avtorjev začela ukvarjati z vprašanjem prehoda iz srednjega v — zara-

di umetnosti atraktivnejši — mlajši paleolitik. Analizam kamnitih orodij so se v osemdesetih letih pridružile tudi razprave, kjer so skupaj s kamnitimi orodji avtorji obravnavali tudi "nenavadne" predmete, ki niso sodili v konceptualno shemo srednjega, temveč v mlajši paleolitik (White 1992). Iz teh predpostavk, sta se v devetdesetih razvili dve smeri raziskav. Arheologi, ki so posvečali več pozornostjo kamnitim orodjem, so se spet posvetili vprašanju variabilnosti srednjepaleolitskih kamnitih inventarjev in so zaradi stanja raziskav ostali ujeti na področju jugo-zahodne Francije in severovzhodne Španije (Mellars 1996). Na drugi strani pa so se tisti arheologi, ki so se ukvarjali s prehodom iz srednjega v mlajši paleolitik posvetili predvsem dokaj abstraktnemu vprašanju neandertalskih kognitivnih sposobnosti, oziroma so se usmerili na interpretacijo "nenavadnih" najdb v srednjepaleolitskih kontekstih (Bednarik 1994). Ker so slednji poskušali zaobseči ves stari svet, ki naj bi ga v mlajšem pleistocenu poseljevali neandertalci, kateri naj bi bili nosilci srednjepaleolitskih kultur, ni prišlo do usmeritve na določeno področje, ampak so najdbe z različnih krajev imele enako interpretativno vrednost.

Med take "nenavadne" najdbe sodi tudi domnevna koščena piščal iz stegenice mladega jamskega medveda, ki je bila odkrita leta 1995 pri izkopavanjih pod vodstvom Ivana Turka in Janeza Dirjeca z ZRC SAZU v jami Divje babe I (Turk & al. 1995). Najprej je bila objavljena popolnoma v duhu sredine devetdesetih let (Turk & al. 1995; Turk & al. 1997), kar pomeni, da je bila predstavljena v članku s kratkim opisom stratigrafije, kamnitih orodij, paleontoloških najdb in datacij plasti, čemur je sledila podrobna obravnava v monografiji (Turk (ed.) 1997), kjer je bil podan podroben opis in razlaga nastanka domnevne piščali (Turk & al. 1997a). S tem je obravnava najdbe sledila svetovnim trendom v paleolitski arheologiji, kjer se je ob koncu

devetdesetih pojavila potreba po natančnih analizah sledi obdelave in izdelave na izjemnih najdbah (Marshack 1997, D'Errico & al. 1998).

Najdba domnevne piščali je bila nenavadna, ker je bila edina znana iz srednjega paleolitika, kajti domnevni fragment piščali iz Haua Fteah v Libiji se je pri ponovnem pregledu izkazal za fragment kosti, ki so ga obgrizle zveri (Davidson 1991). Bila je tudi najstarejša, kajti povprečna vrednost za plast 8, v kateri je bila domnevna piščal odkrita je $43,1 \pm 0,7$ tisoč let pred sedanostjo (Nelson 1997) in je najmanj deset tisoč let starejše od najstarejših mlajšepaleolitskih piščali (Turk & Kavur 1997). Do vse večjega razburjenja v znanstvenih krogih pa je prišlo po objavi datacij pridobljenih z metodo ESR, ki so zgornjo starost plasti 8 postavile v časovni interval med 67 ± 10 in 82 ± 11 tisoč let pred sedanostjo.

V strokovni in predvsem v poljudnoznanstveni literaturi so se začela pojavljati različna mnenja. Pri čemer je poljudnoznanstveni in na senzacije naravnani tisk podpiral možnost, da gre pri kosti z luknjami za piščal (Cortese 1997, Rašović 1996), so različni avtorji, kljub temu, da večina najdbe sploh ni videla, v znanstvenem tisku to možnost večinoma zavračali (D'Errico & al. 1998, Albrecht & al. 1998, Holdermann & Serangeli 1998, Chase & Nowell 1998, Chase & Nowell 1998 a) oziroma so jo zgolj omenjali, brez da bi podali svoje mnenje (Marshack 1997). Zaradi tega so se na ZRC SAZU odločili, da bodo organizirali mednarodni sestanek na katerem naj bi se razrešilo vprašanja v zvezi z domnevno piščalijo.

Sestanek je s pomočjo Janeza Dirjeca organiziral Ivan Turk z Inštituta za arheologijo ZRC SAZU. Nanj je povabil strokovnjake z vzhoda in zahoda, pri čemer je izbral med zagovorniki piščali in tistimi, ki ji oporekajo, ter med arheologi, ki se ukvarjajo predvsem s kamnitimi industrijami ter tistimi, ki se ukvarjajo v pretežni meri s ta-

fonomijo kostnih ostankov na paleolitskih najdiščih. Odzvali so se P. Chase (Philadelphia), P. Mellars (Cambridge), M. Otte (Ligege), P. Villa in F. D'Errico (Bordeaux), C. Veil (Hannover), J. Serangelli (Tübingen), J. Kozłowski (Varšava), M. Oliva (Brno) in G. Albrecht (Phnom Penh).

Prvi dan so bile po prihodu udeležencem sestanka predstavljene vse najdbe iz Divjih bab I in ne le tiste, ki so bile objavljene v monografiji (Turk & Kavur 1997a). Pri pregledu kamnitih orodij je bili izpostavljeni več vprašanj. J. Kozłowski je poudaril pomem mlajšepaleolitskih elementov in očitne mikrolitizacije kamnitih orodij v skupku ter na podlagi ploskovno retuširanega strgala s stanjšanim hrbtom opozoril na povezave s kulturnimi skupki, ki vsebujejo podobna orodja, s področja od vzhodnega Balkana do Krima. Po mnenju G. Albrechta naj bi bila večina kamnitih orodij poškodovanih zaradi krio- in bioturbacije, ki naj bi bili vzrok za strmo in izmenično retuširane robove orodij. Delno sta to trditev podprla tudi P. Mellars in M. Otte, ki pa sta podobne poškodbe prepoznala na veliko manjšem številu artefaktov. Med orodji so še največ razburjenja povzročili fragmenti domnevnih koščenenih konic iz srednjepaleolitskih plasti, pri čemer je M. Otte trdil, da so posledica naravnih procesov oziroma da gre za fragmente kosti, ki so jih požrle zveri in so njihovi želodčni sokovi kost zaoblili. Nasprotno stališče je zastopal P. Mellars, ki je v fragmentih videl delo človeških rok, ter je predlagal, da bi bilo potrebno obnoviti razpravo o izvoru koščenenih konic v mlajšem paleolitiku.¹

Dopoldan drugega dneva sestanka je bil posvečen ogledu najdišča in okolice. I. Turk je udeležence peljal na nahajališče roženca pri Oblakovem vrhu iz katerega so izdelani nekateri artefakti odkriti v jami. Nato je sledil ogled jame, ter razlaga stratigrafije in procesov sedimentacije ter predstavitev metod izkopavanja. D. Kunej je

priredil v jami še majhen koncert s kopijo piščali.

Popoldne je sledila razprava pri kateri so povabljeni podali svoja mnenja o naravi domnevne piščali oziroma o nastanku lukenj v kosteh in možnosti glasbe v srednjem paleolitiku. P. Villa in F. D'Errico sta povzela svojo zadnjo razpravo (D'Errico & al. 1998), kjer sta uporabila podatke iz jam Arrikruz, Lezetxiki in Troskaeta v Baskiji v Španiji, oziroma P. Villa je dodala še nakaj rezultatov z njenih izkopavanj v jami Bois Roche v Franciji. Predstavila sta 10 točk na osnovi katerih naj bi I. Turk s sodelavci (Turk & al. 1997a) odkrito kost proglasil za piščal. Trditev, da se nenavadno število lukenj nahaja na delu kosti, kjer je kompakta najdebelejša sta razdelila na dva dela in ugovarjala na prvega, češ da se na mnogih ogledanih kosteh kot posledica vgriza vidi več kot ena luknja, medtem ko nenavadne pozicije lukenj nista komentirala. Velikost lukenj sta primerjala z velikostjo vgrizov z baskovskih najdišč, kjer se je pokazalo, da sodijo luknje iz Divjih Bab po velikosti v zgornji del grafa, na osnovi česar sta velikost lukenj pripisala delovanju zveri. Opozorila sta tudi, da po njenem mnenju rahla sled poškodbe na kosti, ki se nahaja na drugi strani ene od lukenj, predstavlja sled protiugriza pri katerem je en zob zveri neredil v kost luknjo, drugi pa je le spolzel po kosti. Dejstvo, da se v skupku nahajajo jezičasta orodja, ki se navadno razlagajo kot pripomočki za izdelovanje lukenj sta zavrnila s podatkom, da so vrezi na kosteh v Divjih babah I zelo redki, kar naj bi kazalo na redko uporabo kamnitih orodij za rezanje delov jamskih medvedov in ker naj bi imeli ljudje zgolj zanamrljivo vlogo pri akumulaciji kosti, na kar sta sklepala na osnovi majhnega števila odkritih orodij, sta zanikala možnost, da naj bi pri tej najdbi šlo za delo človeških rok. Prav tako sta na osnovi podatkov o povprečni jamski sedimentaciji izjavila, da je povezava domnevne piščali z bližnjim kuriščem

nemogoča. Ta ugovor je lahko sicer resničen, vendar če se striktno držimo te predpostavke, potem ni na nobenem najdišču čisto nič sočasno, oziroma nobena datacija ne more veljati za nič drugega kot za vzorec, ki je bil datiran.

V drugem prispevku je svoje dvome podal P. Chase. Najprej je predstavil svoje prejšnje delo, kjer je obdeloval favnistične ostanke ter sledi človekovih dejavnosti na njih z najdišča Combe-Grenal v Franciji. Pri izkopavanjih na tem najdišču je bilo odkritih veliko falang (večinoma cervidne in bovidne) z luknjami, ki so jih dolgo časa razlagali kot piščalke, avtor prispevka pa je z analogijami odkritimi v kopolitih recentnih kojetov v Oregonu dokazal, da gre le za posledice zverskega grizenja (Chase 1990). Podobno metodologijo je uporabil tudi pri svoji obravnavi domnevne piščali iz Divjih bab I, kjer je govoril o močno oglodanih koncih kosti (žal nimamo sledi glodanja!). Glavni argument, da pa pri artefaktu ne gre za delo človekovih rok je bil, da pri luknjah niso bile odkrite sledi vrtnanja (Chase & Nowell 1998 a).

Tretji prispevek sta pripravila G. Albrecht in J. Serangeli. Predstavila sta seznam kosti jamskega medveda z luknjami, od katerih so mnoge jasno nastale kot posledica vgrizov, in ki so jih različni avtorji včasih celo razlagali kot piščali (Holdermann & Serangeli 1998). Prav tako sta predstavila poskuse, kjer so znotraj seminarja v Tübingenu poskušali izdelovati luknje v kost s pomočjo kamnitih orodij in s primežem, s katerim so simulirali delovanje zverskih čeljusti. Zaključila sta, da so vse domnevne piščali iz kosti mladih jamskih medvedov, kar pomeni, da so te bile tanjše in da so jih zveri lahko predrle s svojimi zobmi. Prav tako naj bi bile hijene sposobne daleč iz kosti odstraniti spongioso, kolikor ni sama razpadla pri procesu fosiliziranja. Na osnovi nekaj argumentov in vere v dejstvo, da v srednjem paleolitiku ni bilo piščali, sta domnevo piščal iz Divjih bab

I proglasila za delo zveri (Albrecht & al. 1998).

Edini se je v bran ideji o piščali v srednjem paleolitiku postavil M. Otte. V svojem govoru se ni omejil na najdbo samo, ampak je skušal opozoriti na nekatere težave znotraj spektra idej in predpostavk, ki vladajo v osrednji arheološki srenji. Tako vprašanje glasbe v srednjem paleolitiku ni vprašanje obstoja dokazov, ker tako ali tako glasba ne more fosilizirati, ampak je predmet prepričanja, da so kulturni nosilci srednjega paleolitika neandertalci, to je vrsta (*Homo neanderthalensis*), ki je radikalno drugačna od naše predvsem na osnovi mentalnih kapacitet in preko tega tudi na ravni sposobnosti reduciranega kulturnega izražanja. Tako ne morejo biti sprejeti nasprotni dokazi, kajti že v osnovni teoriji ni mogoče, da bi neandertalci izdelovali piščali oziroma jih uporabljali. Zaradi tega je tudi razumljiva burna reakcija v strokovnih krogih, ko so strokovnjaki energično napadli najdbo, ki se ne sklada z veliko teorijo.

Zadnji dan srečanja je D. Kunej predstavil akustične ugotovitve na podlagi rekonstrukcije domnevne koščene piščali. Pokazal je različne oblike piščali v prazgodovini, ter na osnovi teh ugotovitev prikazal kakšna bi bila najboljša rekonstrukcija manjkajočih delov pri domnevni piščali iz Divjih bab I (Kunej 1997). V drugem delu predavanja je demonstriral možnosti igranja, oziroma pridobivanja različnih tonov z različnimi tehnikami igranja. Tako je udeležencem pokazal, da se lahko iz ene same

1 Vprašanje izvora koščenih konic v mlajšem paleolitiku, oziroma smeri prodora mlajšega paleolitika je bilo izpostavljeno pri razpravi konference European Archaeological Association v Ravenni septembra 1997. A. Ronen in P. Mellars sta zagovarjala izvor obojega na področju Bližnjega vzhoda od koder naj bi se preko Balkana oboje širili v Evropo. Avtor tega prispevka je opozoril, da so koščene konice na področju od Izraela do Slovenije oziroma Hrvaške, precej redke. K. Valoch, H. Bietti in M. Otte pa so se strinjali, da ne smemo zanemariti možnosti, da bi mlajšepaleolitske koščene konice lahko izvirale iz srednjepaleolitskih kultur severnega Balkana.

luknje dobi štiri različne tone, kar pomeni, da se lahko s štirimi luknjami, kolikor naj bi jih največ imela domnevna piščal, dobi veliko več kot štiri različne tone.

Ključni in hkrati zadnji referat srečanja je predstavil I. Turk. V njem je opisal poskuse, ki jih je opravil z različnimi sodelavci po izdaji monografije o domnevni piščali in najdišču (Turk (ed.) 1997). Pokazal je rezultate poskusnega prediranja kosti mladega rjavega medveda s kovinskimi odlitki zverskih čeljusti. Pri tem je podal kakšna sila je potrebna za to, da zobje kost predrejo, nakar je še primerjal obliko nastalih lukenj z luknjami v kosteh, ki so bile odkrite na različnih najdiščih v Sloveniji. Na podlagi svojih rezultatov je zaključil, da je nemogoče, da bi take luknje na teh mestih naredila kakšna zver, kar pomeni, da ostanejo ljudje edini, ki bi jih lahko izdelali.

Kljub pričakovanjem, se po predstavitvi referata I. Turka ni razvila obsežnejša skupna debata, ampak so se posamezne skupinice udeležencev umaknile vsaka na svojo stran. Navadno jih je poleg nekaj steklenic piva družilo tudi skupno prepričanje o izvoru in pomenu domnevne piščali. Tako je sestanek izzvenel nekoliko čudno, kajti kljub temu, da so nekateri sodelujoči spremenili svoje mnenje o kamniti industriji in izvoru koščenih konic, so pri vprašanju piščali ostali neomajani. Spodnjo Idrijo so zapustili s prepričanjem o piščali s katerim so tudi prišli. Žal razprava ni najbolje uspela, kajti vsak je zagovarjal svoje prepričanje in ni niti malo prisluhnil drugim oziroma natančneje pogledal dokaze, ki so ležali na mizi pred njimi.

Sestanek je pomenil prelomnico v večih smislih. Prvič so se zbrali okoli spornega predmeta strokovnjaki z vzhoda in zahoda, ki jih ni družilo isto prepričanje o predmetu raziskave. Na lastne oči so se prepričali o visoki ravni strokovne usposobljenosti in metodološke natančnosti, ki se pod pretvezo zaostalega vzhoda velikokrat zanika strokovnjakom in izjemnim najdbam iz

ekonomsko šibkejših dežel. Predvsem pa je s tem sestankom napočilo novo obdobje raziskav izdelave lukenj v kosteh, kajti vse do zdaj so bile zgolj nesistematično beležene, v okviru te razprave pa so se strokovnjaki začeli spraševati po njihovem izvoru, oziroma po tehnikah s katerimi so bile izdelane.

Nekoliko razočarani pa smo lahko zaradi dejstva, da ugledni strokovnjaki skušajo večinoma le prodati svoje ideje, niso pa sposobni prisluhniti argumentom. Tragično je, da je bila domnevna piščal zreducirana na preluknjano kost zgolj zato, ker velja v arheologiji, da v srednjem paleolitu ni piščali in da če že so luknje morajo biti te izvrtane.

Morda niti ni tako napačna vizija nežnega, kulturnega neandertalca, ki si je pred nestrpnimi in glasnimi prišleki zamrmral "Ne grem se več" in si s svojo piščaljo odžvižgal zadnjo melodijo na poti v pozabo (Močnik 1997).

REFERENCE:

- ALBRECHT, G., HOLDERMANN, C.-S., KERIG, T., LECHTERBECK, J., & SERANGELI, J.** 1998. "Flöten" aus Bärenknochen — die Frühesten Musikinstrumente? *Arch. Korrespondenzblatt* 28 (1): 1-19.
- BASTIANI, G., & TURK, I.** 1997. *Izsledki poizkusov izdelave koščene piščali z uporabo kamnitih orodij*. V: TURK, I. (ur.): Moustérienska koščena piščal. In druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Slovenia 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, pp. 176-178.
- BEDNARIK, R.** 1994. *Traces of Cultural Continuity in Middle and Upper Palaeolithic Material Evidence*. *Origini* 18: 47-67.
- CHASE, P. G.** 1986. *The Hunters of Combe Grenal: Approaches to Middle Paleolithic subsistence in Europe*. *BAR Int.* 286.
- CHASE, P. G.** 1990. *Sifflets du Paléolithique moyen(?). Les implications d'un coprolithe de coyote actuel*. *Bull. de la Soc. Préhist. Franç.* 87: 165-167.

- CHASE, P., & NOWELL, A.** 1998. Mousterian Notes. *Anthropology Newsletter* 39 (6): 21.
- CHASE, P. & NOWELL, A.** 1998a. Taphonomy of a Suggested Middle Paleolithic Bone Flute from Slovenia. *Current Anthropology* 39 (4): 549-553.
- CORTESE, D.** 1997. Divje babe pripovedujejo o dalnji preteklosti. *Naša žena* 9: 38-39.
- DAVIDSON, I.** 1991. The archaeology of language origins. *Antiquity* 65 (1): 39-48.
- D'ERRICO, F., VILLA, P., PINTO LLONA, A. C., & RUIZ IDARRAGA, R.** 1998. A Middle Palaeolithic origin of music? Using cave-bear bone accumulations to assassinate the Divje Babe I bone "flute". *Antiquity* 72: 65-79.
- D'ERRICO, F., ZLIHÃO, J., BAFFIER, J. D., & PELEGRIN, J.** 1998. Neanderthal Acculturation in Western Europe? *Current Anthropology* 39, Supplement: 1-44.
- HOLDERMANN, C.-S., & SERANGELI, J.** 1998. Flöten an Höhlenbärenknochen: Spekulationen oder Beweise? *Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte* 6: 7-19.
- KUNEJ, D.** 1997. Akustične ugotovitve na podlagi rekonstrukcije domnevne koščene piščali. V: TURK I. (ur.): Moustérienska koščena piščal. In druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniæ 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, pp. 185-197.
- LAU, B., BLACKWELL, B. A. B., SCHWARZ, H. P., TURK, I., & BLICKSTEIN, J. I.** 1997. Dating a Flautist? Using ESR (Electron Spin Resonance) in the Mousterian Cave Deposits at Divje Babe I, Slovenia. *Geoarchaeology: An International Journal* 12 (6): 507-536.
- MARSHACK, A.** 1997. The Berekhat Ram figurine: a late Acheulian carving from the Middle East. *Antiquity* 71: 327-337.
- MELLARS, P.** 1996. *The Neanderthal legacy*. Princeton University press, Princeton.
- MOČNIK, R.** 1997. The Neanderthal's Whistle. V: Beauty and the East. OSI, Ljubljana, pp. 37.
- NELSON, E.** 1997. Radiokarbonsko datiranje kosti in oglja iz Divjih bab I. V: TURK I. (ur.): Moustérienska koščena piščal in druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniæ 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, pp. 51-63.
- RAŠOVIČ, R.** 1996. Neandertralci su još prije 45.000 godina poslali naporna lova svirali u frulu. *Arena* 1874: 52-55.
- TURK, I.** (ur.) 1997. Moustérienska koščena piščal in druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniæ 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana.
- TURK, I., & KAVUR, B.** 1997. Paleolitske koščene piščali primerjalno gradivo. V: TURK I. (ur.): Moustérienska koščena piščal in druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniæ 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, pp. 179-184.
- TURK, I., & KAVUR, B.** 1997a. Pregled in opis paleolitskih orodij, kurišč in ognjišč. V: TURK I. (ur.): Moustérienska koščena piščal. In druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniæ 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, pp. 119-156.
- TURK, I., DIRJEC, J., & KAVUR, B.** 1995. Ali so v Sloveniji našli najstrebje glasbilo v Evropi? Razpr. IV. Razreda SAZU 34: 287-293.
- TURK, I., DIRJEC, J., & KAVUR, B.** 1997. A-t-on trouvé en Slovénie le plus vieil instrument de musique d'Europe? *L'Anthropologie* 101 (3): 531-540.
- TURK, I., DIRJEC, J., & KAVUR, B.** 1997a. Opis in Razlaga nastanka domnevne koščene piščali. V: TURK I. (ur.): Moustérienska koščena piščal. In druge najdbe iz Divjih bab I v Sloveniji. Opera Instituti Archaeologici Sloveniæ 2. Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, pp. 157-175.
- WHITE, R.** 1992. Rethinking the Middle/Upper Paleolithic Transition. *Current Anthropology* 23 (2): 85-108.

I. MANUSCRIPTS

The editors and the editorial board of the Anthropological Notebooks invite professionals and graduate students in all fields of anthropology to submit papers, study themes research, study and conference reports, and book reviews for publishing.

Unless otherwise agreed with the author, a manuscript of a paper should not exceed round **20** typewritten pages (**36.000** to **50.000** signs total maximum). Reports and book reviews should not exceed **20.000** signs. Diskettes (3.5" or 5.5") in IBM PC or Macintosh format are acceptable in all text editing programmes (WordStar, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect...). The diskette must be accompanied by a print of the manuscript. Diskettes and manuscripts will not be returned.

EDITORIAL

ANTROPOLOŠKI ZVEZKI • ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS

GUIDELINES

The editor will, if necessary, provide for proof-reading. Your edited text will be sent to you before publishing for your approval.

Unless otherwise agreed with the author, **AN** publish original, previously unpublished papers and other scientific contributions, and hold copyright to all first publications. Before reprinting your contribution in another publication, please secure a written permission from the **AN**.

Upon admission of the text, the editor may ask you to supplement it with a summary in English language not shorter than 1, and not longer than 1.5 typewritten pages. Also, **AN** regularly publishes basic biographic data on its contributors. With your first contribution to the **AN**, please supply: year of your birth; academic field and degree, professional position; place of employment; important book-length publications; fields of interest. Upon eventual second contribution, the editor of the **AN** will ask you to update this information.

The author is responsible for the scientific contents and accuracy of his/her contribution. All contributors are subject to reviewing procedure.

II. REFERENCES

All contributions must be edited according to the bellow standard. Please do not, unless specifically otherwise agreed, include references you did not use in the text. The bibliographic list must be titled REFERENCES.

References are listed in alphabetic order. Several volumes/papers of one author must be listed chronologically. Multiple references of one author, published in the same year, must be referred to as a, b, c, ... (e.g. 1995a, 1995b, 1995c). References to sources in the text must be in parenthesis, with name, year of publication, and page number(s) (e.g. Smith 1995:55-57). Do not use footnotes for references, except for unpublished archive sources or personal correspondence notes.

EXAMPLES:

BOOKS:

SURNAME, Name(s). Year of publication (year of first publication). Title. Subtitle. Place of publishing: Publishing house.

BOOKS WITH MULTIPLE AUTHORS/EDITORS:

SURNAME, Name; Name, SURNAME. Year of publication (year of first publication). Title. Subtitle. Place of publishing: Publishing house.

EDITED BOOKS:

SURNAME, Name(s) (ed.). Year of publication (year of first publication). Title. Subtitle. Place of publishing: Publishing house.

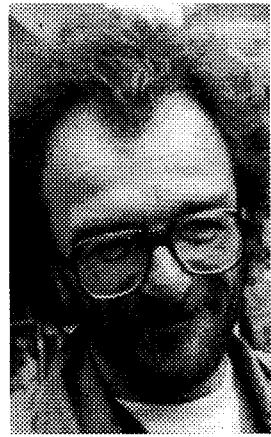
When referring to a **chapter** in an edited volume, you must separately give the cross-reference to the edited volume itself, and then to the chapter you have used:
SURNAME, Name. Title. Subtitle. In: Surname (ed.), Year of publication. Pp. xx - yy.

REVIEWS AND PERIODICALS:

SURNAME, Name. Title. Subtitle. In: Name Of The Periodical. Year and number: xx-yy.

III. CITING

Citations and quotes must be as limited as possible in length. Please maintain both the typos in your source (which you point to with a /sic!/) and original stresses in the text (bold or underlined text). Should you want to stress a section of the citation, please indicate with {emphasis added}.



IZTOK SAKSIDA

1953 • 1998

S A X

Raziskovalne poti so Saxa vodile po poteh družboslovja. V času svojega osebnega in znanstvenega razvoja pa se je podajal tudi na področja arheologije, evolucije, biološke sistematike, primatologije, paleoantropologije. Bil je človek, ki je vnašal v znanost svežino. Verjel je v uresničitev svojih idej: vpeljati novo študijsko področje socioekologijo, ki bi povezovalo družboslovje, humanistiko in naravoslovje, proučevati primata v njihovem naravnem okolju...

Brezpotja gore Raduhe so prezgodaj prekinila njegovo pot skozi naš čas.

Kot izredni profesor za primerjalno sociologijo in sociologijo zgodnjih družb je veliko časa posvetil osebnemu delu s študenti. Vodil jih je po ekskurzijah po Evropi, Afriki in Aziji. Objavljal je v številnih revijah in časopisih. Med knjigami naj navedemo: **Sola: Učitelj, mati in otrok** (1986), **Arheologi naši davni predniki** (1991), **Uvod v primerjalno sociologijo** (1997).

Pričujoči zvezek publikacije DAS posvečamo njemu v spomin.

