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The Transformation of the Self in a Secular Culture. A Discussion on Pannenberg's Position

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Abstract- The topic under consideration is the change in the human self understanding in the secular culture, according to Pannenberg, a contemporary thinker of great rational strength. The author poses some questions which underline the ambiguities of secularization and its historical causes. The result has been a new model of manAccording to Pannenberg, the impact of the (17th- 18th centuries) Modern ideas over the concept of the self has been great. The author highlights the fact that some of Pannenberg´s arguments are contradictory, because his logic about God does not go beyond the rational sphere, for him the problem of atheism and secularization lies in God inaccessibility, not in man´s will.

Keywords: postmodernism, Pannenberg, emancipation, autonomous self, secularization, image of god.

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Even if man thinks that religion belongs to an outpaced age, when he is placed in front of the sacred, he feels surpassed and overwhelmed. He looks for that being that God wanted to be his image. Man does not stop being a task for himself. Only by rising to the religious subject is when freedom gets its true meaning, ethics reaches its pure content, and interpersonal relationships become stronger.

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I. Introduction

Nowadays in the western world, we live in a culture in which we can confirm a range of totally unprecedented dynamics that interweave a singular context with different threads. On the one hand, we face a scenario of a globalized society which has been shaped by the immediacy of information streaming of new media resulting from the "technological revolution". On the other hand, in contemporary culture we live in a context called "post-modernity", which at the same time has assumed essential elements of what has been called the "Modernity Project", but also implies a dialectical attitude toward this project. It assumes the essence of the spirit of modernity -emancipation-, but at the same time, it is critical towards it.

The time frame of this reflection is offered by the historical process of secularization, which begins with the Protestant Reformation, whose fifth centennial we commemorated lately. The topic under consideration is the transformation suffered by the image of man and his relationship with God in postmodern age which begun with the religious division caused by the Reformation. To avoid the risk of reducing post modernity exclusively to the process of emancipation of the individual towards the promotion and preservation of freedom, or to the claim of the person's complete autonomy, I have chosen the stance of Wolfhart Pannenberg[1], a contemporary thinker of great theoretical and rational strength, whose thought is a interdisciplinarity display. Wolfhart Pannenberg, talks, from the podium of theology and philosophy with the main philosophical, historical, theological, anthropological and scientific movements of our time. Pannenberg integrates all fields of humanistic knowledge. One of the greatest XX century authors that along with other Lutheran theologians of his generation such as von Rad, Tillich, Bultmann, Barth, Moltmann, etc., devoted himself to the task of rationally substantiating the Christian faith, and speaking responsibly of God and man.

Among the many praises written in memory of the great Pannenberg after his death on September 4, 2014, just six years ago, draws attention to the conclusion of Carl E. Braaten's editorial in the International Journal of Systematic Theology: "Pannenberg was the most complete theologian I have ever read or known, decidedly more than even Karl Barth or Paul Tillich. When one examines the bibliography of Pannenberg's works and all the books, articles and reviews written about his thought, one would be hard put to identify a single topic or question of theological interest that he did not address, and always in a manner showing that he had read everything important published on the subject. He published three large volumes of Systematic Theology, and equally huge volumes on Anthropology in Theological Perspective, Christology, Theology and the Philosophy of Science, two volumes of Basic Questions in Theology, and shorter monographs on ethics and spirituality. The passing of Wolfhart Pannenberg marks the end of an era, two centuries of unquestionable German superiority

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[1] Wolfhart Pannenberg was born in Stettin (back then Germany; today, Poland) on September 2,1928. At the beginning of his career he followed Karl Barth steps, his teacher. In 1956 he took up the Chair of Systematic Theology at the Evangelical Faculty at Munich University until 1994. He was an outstanding spokesman of contemporary ecumenical dialogue. His apology for Christianity is based on coherence and rational argumentation. Pannenberg is the Protestant theologian who has studied the Catholic doctrine and theology with more intensity. Since he published *Revelation as History* in 1961 he developed a monumental theological project from different perspectives.

in the production of systematic theologies that started with Schleiermacher's Glaubenslehre[2]."

One of his most important concerns was the phenomenon of progressive privatization of religion called "secularization", and contemporary atheism, which was a growing and apparently unidirectional phenomena that has come to modify the vision of man and cultural awareness inspired by Christianity.

To begin with, I will review the ambiguities that surround the concept of secularization which have given rise to a wide range of evaluations. Religious life segmentation has been a silent and progressive process, that has brought to light the question of the existence of God as a questionable issue, since there are those who do not recognize it, nor accept his existence. Here it is suggested that Pannenberg incurs some paradoxes, because he takes for granted that the problem lies in God and in his inaccessibility, and not in man's will. Today, just as in other times, the veil of God's inaccessibility is not completely uncovered, its silences continue to defy man, but that does not eliminate the human effort to listen him and open ourselves to reality.

In the next section I will study the historical causes which gave rise to the secularization process. According to Pannenberg, there is a cause-effect connection between the Protestant Reformation and the rise of the secular phenomenon. In this point, he disagrees with other authors, which also come from the Lutheran school of thought. Secularization brought with it a series of anthropological and social changes, whose contents are implicit in the postmodern perspective and have gone diametrically away from the biblical portrait of man as the image of God. At present it is often said that religions and religious feelings belong to an outpaced stage of human development. We will try to show that the religious meaning is something constitutive of human essence, not a stage of civilization or a philosophical movement. This argument leads to a theme studied deeply by Pannenberg– that of man as the image of God, which contrasts with the modern understanding of the autonomous self. The theme is, as I think, clearly very rich and, therefore, susceptible to extensive treatment, which here, as is logical, has no place.

The concluding section proposes to overcome the jumbled and multiple comprehension of the postmodern self by an approach that emphasizes in man the openness to God's gift as the essence of freedom.

[2] Carl E. BRAATEN, Editorial: An Encomium: A tribute to Wolfhart Pannenberg (1928-2014), "International Journal of Systematic Theology", vol.17, n.1, (2015), 5.

II. Ambiguities of the Secularization Process

When addressing this issue, it is necessary to ask some questions that highlight the core of the problem I wish to address: the ambiguities of the secular process and its relation to the spirit of modernity. Is the Christian heritage still present as a fundamental element in the life of western post-modernity? Is Christianity found in secular society as a "hidden city" or rather as a factor that makes modern life possible? As post-modern men and women, can we still be Christians without suffering from double personality? Did modernity break up with Christianity?

Undoubtedly, secularization is a peculiar phenomenon of post-modernism, which according to the founders of sociology (Weber[3], Berger[4], and Durkheim[5]) goes hand in hand with modernity in a unidirectional and irreversible process. Pannenberg disagrees with this thinking, and although it is true that secularization is a product of the modernity project, he does not consider them as equivalent processes.

Secularization can be interpreted, on the one hand, as a world where the sacred has disappeared, but it can also refer to a world that continues to be linked to its Christian roots despite its emancipation from Christianity. It is an ambivalent, ambiguous concept that is not unidirectional or irreversible because post-modernity coexists with a religiosity that still persists. Pannenberg realizes that in our contemporary world there are certain values, ideas, attitudes of the Christian religious sphere that constitute a source of meaning and essential actions for a human society. Values and ideas that give meaning to existence, but that take place more in the shadows than in full light, with moments of darkness, and even complete darkness, because the segregation of religious life has been a silent and progressive process in which the sense of God's inaccessibility has become increasingly intense.

The problem of God is a controversial issue, sometimes difficult to open space within the post-modern individual. Pannenberg insists that God is a controversial fact for men because there is no historical evidence. In other words, the controversial cause of God's existence is in God himself, because as lord and creator of everything, he unveils himself gradually throughout history. Pannenberg's claim states that every event in this world is referred to God, also that of his denial or rejection. In this way, he is providing a rational

[3] Cfr. Max WEBER, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* Cambridge UP, London 1977.

[4] Cfr. Peter BERGER, *Secolarizzazione, la falsa profezia,* "Vita e Pensiero" (5-2008), pp. 15-23.

[5] Cfr. Emil DURKHEIM, *Las reglas del método sociológico,* Alianza Editorial, Madrid1974.[Rules of sociological method]

justification for God's rejection and for secularization, elevating them to principles and taking them for granted.

Pannenberg insists that the reality of God is at stake in history, and only in the final fulfillment will it be clear to all[6]. Obviously, the purpose of this statement is to seek a theological justification for the fact of secularization, of atheism, of the increasing disappearance of God in contemporary society[7]. At the same time, Pannenberg affirms that man is a constitutively religious being and that by opening to the infinite, -the eccentric self-transcendence he calls it-, man has a certain innate idea of God.

Then, how it is possible that some human beings cannot recognize him? Why it is that many of them do not accept him? At present, there is a kind of hearing defect regarding to God's existence. What is said about Him no longer seems adequate to our mind, it even seems pre-scientific. What Pannenberg fails to see is that this hearing defect does not depend only on human intelligence, that the verbs "recognize", "accept" do not belong to the rational discernment but to the will. The paradox of Pannenberg is that by overvaluing knowledge nullifies in man the action of the will. The notion of truth is the definitive criterion that challenges reason, rational evidence, but ignores that the hearing defect, or even the deafness with respect to God, has moral causes that affect the decisive perception.

Some authors have noticed a certain rationalism here, not without reason. For instance, Stanley Grenz[8] states that Pannenberg approaches the faith-reason relationship in a rationalistic way, without taking into account that God's revelation is in mutual relation with the freedom that we have for being his image. "Several conservative critics have found aspects of his rationalist approach problematic for the relation between faith and reason. For them Pannenberg has failed to see that the human problem of spiritual blindness goes deeper than merely a lack of historical evidence. Rather, there is in humans a moral bias toward evil that interferes with the rational process and makes the task of reading revelation in history difficult[9]. Thus, he has been accused of holding a deficient view of the fall, which fails to take seriously its noetic effect[10]– spiritual blindness[11]". God's revelation remains partially hidden and allows us the freedom to open ourselves to Him or to remain closed in our self-sufficiency. God does not impose himself.

Now let us go to the last question–Did Modernity break up with Christianity? If it was so, where was the cause of that break up?

In the process of secularization, two dynamisms stand out, one positive and the other negative.

On the one hand, the amazing scientific and technological development, as well as modern world industrialization have gone hand in hand with the establishment of a secular nature of the State and the public policies. Overcoming the medieval model of Church-State alliance meant the conquest of very valuable achievements, which nobody would like to lose, such as the claim of person's dignity and freedom regardless of their social or cultural position; the recognition of humankind rights; democratic participation in the fate of society, tolerance, the discovery of a more intense form of interiority, and cultural pluralism[12]. Nobody would like to return to the State sponsored religion or to the confusion between the secular and the religious of the pre-modern era, apart from the fact that such a return would no longer be possible.

The negative dynamic consists in the conformation of a secular society model that excludes religion from the political, educational, cultural and labor spheres, due to the propagation of the conviction that Christianity has been the enemy of progress, and that the achievements have been possible because man's creativity has replaced God's position in the act of creation[13]. The peculiarity of a secular sphere in a Christian cultural context no longer exists, as it did in the Renaissance and its posterity; now we have a society characterized by the re-foundation of a universal human culture that leaves God aside.

In his critique of Blumenberg's *Die Legimitat der Neuzei*[14] in 1966[15], Pannenberg gives a new relevance to the category of secularization and he links it with the Protestant Reformation. For him it is not a controversial phenomenon, as it is for Blumenberg, but an ambiguous phenomenon that is in consonance with Modernity but does not follow its same destiny. During the

[6] Cfr. Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Teología sistemática* I,UPCO, Madrid 1992, p. 113.

[7] Cfr. Santiago SANZ, *El futuro creador del Dios Trinitario. Un estudio de la Teología Sistemática de Wolfhart Pannenberg,* Edicep, Valencia 2007, p. 171.

[8] Stanley GRENZ, "The Appraisal of Pannenberg: a Survey of the Literature" in C. E. BRAATE, Ph. CLAYTON (eds), *The Theology of Wolfhart Pannnenberg: Twelve American Critiques, with an Autobiographical Essay and Response,* Augsburg, Minneapolis (MN) 1988, p. 23.

[9] Robert ROSS, "Historical Knowledge as a Basis for Faith", Zygon 13 (Spring 1978), 209-224.

[10] Fred H. KLOOSTER, "Aspects of Historical Method in Pannenberg's Theology" in Septuagesimo Anno: G. C. Berkouwer, ed. J. T. Bakker et al., (Kampen, 1973), p. 126.

[11] David P. SCAER, "Theology of Hope, Tensions in Contemporary Theology", ed. Stanley Gundry, Chicago, Moody 1976.

[12] Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Christianity in a Secularized World,* SCM Press Ltd, London 1988, p. 39.

[13] Karl LOWITH, *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History,* Fortress Press, Chicago1953, p. 199.

[15] Hans BLUMEMBERG, *The Legitimacy of Modernity,* Verlag O. Lombeck, Frankfurt 1966.

Reformation, the secularization of the Church's goods and the secularization of the clergy took place. In continuity with the principles of the Reformation there was a secularization in a broader sense understood as the suspension of the privileges of the clergy in favor of the laity. From this point of view, secularization would be the coming of age of lay Christians, who were considered as a lower class within the ranks of the Church. This highlights a feature of Modernity–emancipation, whose tendency was to combat all kinds of authority, both religious and political.

It was a process, rather, of "de-clericalization" or secular ascesis within the world, where the role of the laity became relevant. Luther deprived the profane works (the ordinary work of the ordinary layperson) of the religious sense they initially had, thus ending up favoring secularization, as Brad Gregory has shown in his work "*The Unintended Reformation*"[16]. With the words of a Protestant preacher Sebastian Frank "the real meaning of the Reformation is that all men have become monks", in the sense that having eliminated the ecclesial mediation of the priests, the rejection of monasticism reaffirmed the secular life as a privileged status in God's design. Eliminated the distinction between the sacred and the profane, the road to secularization was drawn.

III. Historical Causes of Secularization Process

The origin of the secularized order of society and the secularization of public culture goes back to the late seventeenth century in what we call the Modernity Project. It represents an important shift in the development of the European culture. It is not that the modern thinkers were rebellious towards the Christian idea of God; moreover, they were very interested in connecting the proof of God's existence with the new scientific and rational way of seeing the world. Pannenberg thinks that the historical roots of the birth of modernity should be sought in other sources. The religious fragmentation that caused the Reformation in Christianity and the religious wars that were unleashed created such unease at European level, that the religious foundations of Europe and, with it, its metaphysical foundations, began to be questioned. The different religious authorities began to lose credibility and a boredom spread in society that led to seek another common authority, which was not religious. Pannenberg thinks, against Blumemberg's[17] opinion, that the next step was to make explicit the dissatisfaction, labeling the Middle Ages, in an unfair and comprehensive way, as the "Dark Ages". The last step was to put Christianity on trial.

According to Barth and Blumenberg, this break of epochs was determined by human emancipation with God. They think that Modern age emerged from an act of self-affirmation against theological absolutism[18]. For Blumenberg, the emancipation phenomenon of the enlightened reason was a reaction to the theological absolutism of the pre-modern era against faith and tradition. Man affirmed his self-sufficiency in front of the transcendent instance and concentrated on himself as a self-referential and individualistic self.

It was the Protestant Reformation that caused the loss of social peace. Christendom, already fragmented in various religious denominations, could do little to recover credibility. The bloody repression of the religious division marked a deep rift in the course of European history. Outbreaks of religious intolerance caused the death of thousands of people. "The flames desolated Europe and the blood of many millions bathed her," wrote John Locke[19].

The need to live together in a multi-confessional Europe led to the conviction that one had to retreat to a neutral ground and look for another basis of unity that offered a secure foundation apart from religion. Without the confidence that there is a God who sustains the moral order of the world, man began to search for a common ground that could offer a reliable foundation different from religion[20]. In the XVII century this common basis was the natural law; afterwards came the establishment of human rights in the 18th and 19th centuries[21].Until that moment tolerance was applied to quench the ardor of the different Christian confessions, but in the s. XIX two new phenomena appeared: the renaissance of militant and fundamentalist Islam and its attempt to spread in the West, and the phenomenon of atheism. With atheism, religion ceases to be a constitutive element of social configuration. Little by little, religion loses relevance in the existence of the individual and becomes a matter of private preference, such as art or literature.

The constitutive role of morality in the secular consciousness was still valid during the XIX century. The idea that this core morality was binding upon all human beings was intelligible because the notion of God was a strong source for this moral legislation. Nobody doubted that moral norms were obligatory because they were part of human nature, until the arrival of Nietzsche who, together with Psychoanalysis, started the demolition of

[16] Cfr. Brad S. GREGORY, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2012.

[17] Hans BLUMEMBERG, *The Legitimacy of Modernity,* Verlag O. Lombeck, Frankfurt 1966.

[18] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Christianity in a Secularized World,* SCM Press Ltd, London 1988, p. 10.

[19] John LOCKE, *Two Tracks on Government,* ed. P. Abrams, Cambridge 1967, p. 160.

[20] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Problemgeschichte der neuen evangelischen Theologie in Deutschland. Von Schleiermacher bis zu Barth un Tillich,* Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Gottingen 1977, pp. 24.

[21] Wolfhart PANNENBERG. *Christianity in a Secularized World,* cit., p.39.

traditional morality. Nietzsche's criticism impact was so deep that moral rules seemed to be external impositions alien to human nature. They were mere values that society had invented, had inculcated in individuals and, therefore, could be extinguished and changed.

The disappearance of a teleological concept that could justify and order various moral rules has led to rationally interminable moral disputes. Without a shared view of our ultimate purpose we often cannot agree about how to decide between rival claims[22]. Without such a foundation, moral beliefs lack any plausible claim to objectivity, and morality becomes the site of rationally unstable conflicts. The vacant place of religion has been replaced in the 20th and beginnings of the 21th century by "human rights", declared solemnly by the United Nations and assumed in the West like an unappealable common instance. Unlike the rights of the XVIII and XIX century, they are *empty* rights, without any support in human nature nor claim to objectivity, in which there is no disagreement for not considering them moral rules; they are invested with a quasi-religious invulnerability[23].

The confluence of these cultural phenomena left the human being deprived of ethical criteria and significant references to confront the ups and downs of his own life and the challenges imposed by industrialization of modern society. The amazing industrial development of the XX century, which coincided with the expansion of secular culture, led some European thinkers such as Blumemberg[24], Berger[25] and Weber[26] believe that the modern development ran along with the secular process; furthermore, made them believe that they are two roads that require one another. "Since Enlightenment –Berger points out– intellectuals of all orientations have considered that the decline of religion is an inevitable consequence of modernity[27].

IV. Anthropological Contents of Human Religiosity in the Secular Postmodern Culture

At present it is often said that religions and religious feelings belong to an outpaced stage of human development. Certainly, many elements of ancient religions have been lost, likewise medical practice of Hippocrates time. Religion and religious piety have lost their meaning, because its symbols are considered a convention without any ontological meaning. However, those who talk of the end of religion in general indicate a high degree of prejudices and lay themselves open to the suspicion that they have lost sight of the central mystery of human life.

It is true that the religious meaning of natural and social phenomena that once recalled God's presence in the world has changed. However, the religious meaning that determines the significance of being and life, as well as of history and social changes has not changed. It has been a human feature since the origins of man, as well as, for example, his ability to create tools and use fire. Religion offers man a definite instance with which to guide his life. Ignoring this phenomenon or treating it as a minor issue represents a serious philosophical prejudice. No serious attempt to illustrate one of the most defining human traits can exclude or set aside religious experience.

Religion provides man the guide for his life and a meaningful horizon, without which, man would be avid of eternity and perfection, but always frustrated. The experience of human frailty with its diseases and limitations speaks of a man harmed by the wound of time, who struggles to make his way to eternity. It does not make sense to affirm, as Feuerbach did, that man makes his gods rich and perfect at the expense of the idea that he has of himself, as a self-alienation. Nietzsche referred to Feuerbach's point of view, but he went further: "man has diminished and humiliated himself, because he has not dared to assume the powerful and remarkable qualities that he sees in God. Man considered that all his strength is superhuman and strange to himself[28]." Man belittled himself. This is not the case, says Pannenberg, because it is only in the light of divine power that man discovers the richness of his own destiny[29].

Only the religious experience can attest to the depths of the human person and make him discover his interiority, enriching it in an incomparably deeper way than is possible in other areas of the human spirit. Human religiousness dives in man's inner life, it helps him discover his last comprehension, his radical orientation and his complete fulfillment. Man has reflected in its gods the perfections and powers that he wishes to fulfill. Anthropomorphic images of divine express this. When man places himself in front of the sacred, he feels surpassed and overwhelmed. Such a

[22] This significant situation is pointed out also by Charles LARMORE, Patterns of Moral Complexity, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1987, p. 24. See also – Cecilia ECHEVERRÍA FALLA, *The Structure of Practical Reason according to Ch. Larmore,* Università della Santa Croce, Rome 1997, p. 89.

[23] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Christianity in a Secularized World,* cit., p. 17.

[24] Hans BLUMEMBERG, *The Legitimacy of Modernity,* Verlag O. Lombeck, Frankfurt 1966.

[25] Peter & Brigitte BERGER, *The Homeless Mind, Modernization and Consciousness,* Harper, New York 1973.

[26] Max WEBER, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism,* Cambridge UP, London 1977.

[27] Peter BERGER, *Secolarizzazione, la falsa profezia,* "Vita e Pensiero" (5-2008), pp. 15-23,

[28] Cfr. Friedrich NIETZSCHE, *Más allá del bien y el mal,* Alianza Editorial, Madrid 2012.

[29] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Faith and reality,* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1977, p. 40-41.

mode of representation by no means presupposes a primitive, uncultivated mind, a symbol of an immature conscience, as some contemporary atheists have declared such as Feuerbach or Nietzsche[30]. On the contrary, it indicates a high degree of discernment and culture for men to perceive a face of a human kind in the depth of the manifestations of divine powers. The mysterious divine power which decides the success or failure of a human life lies in a supernatural basis. The supernatural implies a modality to which man aspires, which he would never have suspected and in which man knows himself in a natural order sustained by the gratuitous love of God, both in terms of his origin, and in the attainment of his end[31].

This solidarity cannot be understood if God's experience is reduced to a mystification of the human conscience or to a subjective projection of the need of security and self-pity. Man, only meets and understands himself when he looks in that mirror in which God has wanted to reflect. To be God's image is man's greatness, and any divine icon and anthropomorphous symbol reflects that essence.

If we look in the modern language for a translation of the phrase "image of God", we would probably not find any better than the Greco-Latin concept of "person". This coincidence may seem amazing, considering that there is no trace in the Bible of the notion of "person", not even a semantic equivalent. It was in the context of the Christological and Trinitarian discussions of the first centuries when Christianity was obliged to specify through philosophical-theological categories the two main mysteries of the Christian faith: Jesus Christ and the Trinity, using a concept that delineated the peculiar, distinctive and singular of each being.

Christ is a single person because he has one identity, while in God it is possible to distinguish three persons because each of them has its own features and personality[32]. The culmination of this long and complicated process of elaboration of the philosophical concept occurred in the VI century, when the Roman Boethius, minister of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, formulates his famous definition of person (*natura rationalis individua substantia*[33]), associating substantiality with rationality. Reason or participation in the logos is what distinguishes man from animals, and logos is a spark of divinity, it is the attribute *par excellence* of the gods[34]. In conclusion, both traditions present a steady framework that emphasizes the dignity of the human person.

V. Enhancement of the Autonomous Self Through the Dynamic Concept of God's Image

While in the classical tradition, the dignity of the human being is based on being the image of God and being a person, for post-modernism, dignity is expressed in autonomy as the supreme act of freedom. In the post-modern scheme the only center of gravity of the "self" is its own subjectivity. Only an "autonomous self" is capable of claiming the freedom and self-sufficiency of which it has been deprived in a theocentric perspective.

The understanding of subjectivity as autonomy affects the way of understanding reason and freedom, and the approach of society. The autonomous self considers itself as the total origin of its acts, the exclusive source of its action guidelines and its fullness is found through its own self-referential unfolding through history[35]. The crisis of the self-referential self, seen as an autonomous and emancipated individual, has led to a situation of cultural pessimism that abandons all pretensions of absolute, to settle for provisional answers (*il pensiero debole*)[36].

God's removal from the human horizon and the cut off of any religious link with culture, at first brought freedom and introduced a phase of cultural flourishing. However, this flowering of the XVIII and XIX centuries, was fueled both by the ancient and the Judeo-Christian perspective, which has shaped so much of modern culture and was the reason of its existence. In the post-modern secular society, the presence of these elements has vanished from culture. This lack of essential understanding of life has intensified the feeling of uprooting and of social anonymity, running the risk of configuring a new religiosity based on the emotional inclinations of the irrational world, regardless of the truth.

At the same time, man has let himself slide down the slope of relativism, of fragmentation, of the meaninglessness of life. The important thing now is the carpe diem! enjoy the moment. Life is a journey that we have to live with intensity no matter where you go. This fragmentary journey leads to a life full of contradictions, languid, where there are no definitive commitments, no lasting engagements, no long-lasting efforts.

[30] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Tipos de ateísmo y su significación teológica,* en *Cuestiones fundamentales de teología sistemática,* Sígueme, Salamanca 1976, pp. 151-166.

[31] Cfr. Luis ROMERA, Finitud y trascendencia. La existencia ante la religión humana, "Cuadernos de Anuario Filosófico", Departamento de Filosofía, Universidad de Navarra, 2004, n. 167.

[32] Cfr. Juan Manuel BURGOS, *Antropología: una guía para la existencia,* Palabra, Madrid 2003, p. 29.

[33] BOECIO, *Liber de persona et duabus naturis contra Eutychen et Nestorium,* PL 64, 1343 D.

[34] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Faith and reality,* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1977, p. 44.

[35] Cfr. Luis ROMERA, *Finitud y trascendencia. La existencia ante la religión humana,* "Cuadernos de Anuario Filosófico", Departamento de Filosofía, Universidad de Navarra, 2004, n. 167.

[36] Cfr. Aa. Vv. *Il pensiero debole* (a cura de G. VATTIMO e P.A. ROVATTI), Feltrinelli, Milán 1983.

Post-modern consciousness of the finitude is very strong, and the diversity of proposals of his own identity is a mosaic whose color palette varies from intense and dark colors to pale and degraded colors. On the one hand, we have the autonomous individual condemned to fragmentation and to the emptiness of the meaning of his existence, while on the other, there are proposals for an understanding of man from the interpersonal relationship and openness to the gift of the other. In some way, the latter offers some indications to face the understanding of his true identity in the third millennium.

In this sense, Nietzsche's denunciation is valid— we are or we are not. We change the civilization and transmute the values giving light to what we really want, or we live seriously the values of the West, but the languid hypocrisy is not valid. Nietzsche has unmasked us because the most comfortable and easy posture is to throw oneself at the irrational, create emotive substitutes of a sacred or spiritual type, depending on the subjective inclinations. But, where is that being in which God has wanted to reflect? Where is the being whose dignity lies in having been created in the image of God?

The post-modern approach of man as autonomy must be enhanced by an approach that emphasizes openness to God's gift as the essence of freedom. Great has been the gift with which man has been called into existence. God has blown his breath of life into man making him in his own image, but that image is not exhausted by the fact of having autonomy, nor in that of being able to distinguish and affirm one's self in front of others. Nor does someone stop being a person when its self-consciousness has not yet manifested or will never manifest. It is not self-consciousness or reason, nor autonomy that establishes personality, but the iconic relationship with God open to an eternal destiny.

Therefore, the absolute value of the person must be taken seriously and not be assessed only for what he or she contributes to society. In our socio-cultural context, what makes someone valuable? Is not it true that is the success that he is capable of achieving and the opinion that others have of him? People tend to appreciate the curriculum of achievements, their successes or failures, as if the world were a company of personnel selection. This pressure to succeed is stronger now than in other times because of forgetfulness and absence of God. Society's attention is more focused on what one does or is able to do, and on what one possesses, than on what one *is.* This measure of appraising is alienating and dehumanizing, especially in the current scenario where unemployment overshadows the lives of many people and families. The scope of the person is given by the value that is in it: the divine image, and whoever ignores it is unaware of the most radical truth of man.

Opposite to the uncertainty caused by overvaluation of success in the present world, we have to discover the real freedom coming from opening to God's gift. Post-modern human beings would have greater confidence if they knew that God loves them for free. They would not need to justify their worth in front of others according to their benefits and work. Furthermore, they would not be afraid of being set apart or abandoned. God's love is definitive and that gives great freedom.

However, because it is historical, man is not complete as God's image since its origin but has a history to develop to achieve his destiny. Pannenberg proposes to overcome the closed concept of divine image, for an image of God in process. What is natural and specific to the historical human being is its own project to be carried out, a *telos*; but the fact that the end transcends him implies that he cannot limit himself to being a "copy" of the original, but that he must radiate the splendor of the image- model (Jesus Christ).In order to carry it out, it is endowed with the capacity for alterity, response, transcendence, freedom and love. God does not want only what the person "already is", but he calls it to a complete realization of his being. Man does not stop being a task for himself. The unfolding of the divine image in man has not reached its full meaning until he discovers the divine project, the task he has been given.

Man has received a gift with the being *imago Dei*, which gives him an inestimable value; there must already be a "disposition" in him for the development of that gift[37]. The intrinsic relationship between the image of God and its *telos* allows to conceive the human person not only as God's creature, which would be already a lot, but as a being whose only explanation consists in being- for-God (*esse ad Deum*)[38].

The idea of the autonomous self comes into crisis when it is not linked to any concept of reason but is connected to a full and unlimited understanding of the egocentric self, whose limits lie only in the demands of social life. Only by rising to the religious subject is when freedom gets its full meaning, ethics reaches its pure content, and interpersonal relationships become stronger.

"In history, God and man are always manifested together, but man is so in the light of his experience of God. And where feeling for the divine mystery disappears, a distortion or at least a trivialization of the idea of man is to be expected. Consequently, the religious theme cannot simply be brushed aside when man is in question"[39].

[37] Cfr. Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Teología sistemática* II, UPCO, Madrid1996, p. 245.

[38] To delve into this topic, you can consult the article of Cecilia ECHEVERRÍA FALLA, *La imagen de Dios en el hombre. Consideraciones en torno a la cuestión en W. Pannenberg,* "Scripta Theologica" (XII- 2013, vol. 45, n. 3), pp. 737-755.

[39] Wolfhart PANNENBERG, *Faith and reality,* The Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1977, p. 49.

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Recovery of Cooperation Values (Gotong- Royong) in Providing Houses and Community Housing for Bajo in Sulawesi Center in Indonesia

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Abstract- Cooperation (Gotong Royong), as a hallmark of the Bajo community, is under pressure due to interaction between the Bajo community and the surrounding community (mainland communities). The impact of this interaction shifts cultural values from cooperation and habits. Cultural shifts cause a variety of local wisdom to be degraded and even abandoned by the Bajo community. Efforts to maintain the existence of local cultures, such as supportive culture (Gotong Royong), need to revive shared cultural values in this era. This study uses a qualitative method with a value engineering approach, which aims to restore the local wisdom of the Bajo community through analysis of functions, especially those related to cooperation, in providing housing and housing. Research has found that to restore harmony in culture, forms of innovation in the context of cultural acculturation, socialization, and mutual giving.

Keywords: gotong royong, culture, efficiency and effectiveness, socialization, understanding bajo people.

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RECOVERYOFCOOPERATIONVALUESGOTONGROYONGINPROVIDINGHOUSESANDCOMMUNITYHOUSINGFORBAJOINSULAWESICENTERININDONESIA

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Recovery of Cooperation Values (Gotong-Royong) in Providing Houses and Community Housing for Bajo in Sulawesi Center in Indonesia

Zaenal Siradjuddin

My gratitude goes to:

1) Head of *Kabalutan* Village in *Walea Kepulauan* District for all his help so that this research can be carried out well.
2) To the community of *Kabalutan* Village for their cooperation in carrying out this research, especially to Mr. Salim who is the facilitator of the implementation of this research

Abstract- Cooperation (*Gotong Royong*), as a hallmark of the *Bajo* community, is under pressure due to interaction between the *Bajo* community and the surrounding community (mainland communities). The impact of this interaction shifts cultural values from cooperation and habits. Cultural shifts cause a variety of local wisdom to be degraded and even abandoned by the *Bajo* community. Efforts to maintain the existence of local cultures, such as supportive culture (Gotong Royong), need to revive shared cultural values in this era. This study uses a qualitative method with a value engineering approach, which aims to restore the local wisdom of the *Bajo* community through analysis of functions, especially those related to cooperation, in providing housing and housing. Research has found that to restore harmony in culture, forms of innovation in the context of cultural acculturation, socialization, and mutual giving. Understand how to maintain an existing cooperative lifestyle; Creating an atmosphere of mutual trust between motivators, traditional leaders, community leaders, and the *Bajo* community is the key to the successful re-articulation of local wisdom.

Keywords: gotong royong, culture, efficiency and effectiveness, socialization, understanding bajo people.

I. Introduction

a) *Background*

The history of human civilization development continues to develop from primitive culture to postmodern culture marked by the dominance of the commodification of human life. This development is known as the process of gaining knowledge. The development of science (episteme) shows that culture and way of life from human experience continue to develop dynamically. An overview of human civilization's architectural point of view has a strong influence on changes in knowledge and the use and formation of space-based development and the demands of human culture.

The process of developing human civilization in meeting the demands of the need begins with a primitive culture that is characterized by various tests carried out to meet their needs. This phase shows that knowledge is a free thesis or experience gained through trying and trying (trial and error),

The results of the struggle then became human habits to meet all their needs of life, and this development came to be known as the development of a culture based on knowledge and character descriptions.

The phase of human experience begins to raise questions about the cause and effect of a habit that is a tradition in human life. All knowledge that comes from the tradition of believing has positive benefits for humans.

In subsequent developments, the pattern of rationalization begins by questioning the existence of customary rules and types of thinking that develop, so that new thoughts are formed based on reason (rational). Some parts of developing standards are using to questioning their heritage. The question then is that some customary rules are degradation due to changes in logical principles, and even in some cases, local knowledge is abandoning by its users. For example, the custom of people who cooperate, which is very popular among traditional or era societies, is pre-modern. The modern era has declined, and even some tribes left it and made local wisdom a part of the past. In some cases, the culture of cooperation is replaced by participatory, which is very different from the partnership.

This condition is often found in traditional communities, for example, in *Bajo* community groups in Central Sulawesi. *Gotong Royong* was the first time the life of the population moved the Bajo community, now

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the Gotong Royong culture is seen as less competent in daily life. Cooperation continues to grow and maintain in aspects of social life, such as family celebrations or salvation activities, weddings. Meanwhile, to prepare public facilities and infrastructure, such as building houses, no longer develop through cooperation. Even so, they are ready through economic value activities so that each action has commercial value and can be a source of income for a group of people who work in the field. This fact shows that there has been a process of modernization that has left *the Gotong Royong* culture.

In today's modern era, it can seem that almost all sectors of economic value give birth to individual human groups, He meant that every human or human group is more concerned with economic benefits than social benefits as part of his life. Then the question arises of the state of human life, which beliefs to be the social life of humans like what if all must have economic value? This process gives birth to the rich and the poor, and the rich get more productive, and the poor get. The delivery of the postmodern era revived human values that in new regions tend to be degraded by industry and economic culture, which considers all sectors to be related to economic benefits.

For example, the Bajo community was once a community that highly valued social networking and experienced a shift to being a capita society, all of which is viewing from an economic perspective. So that innovation and engineering are needed to make each instance, not only considered from a financial point of view but social values into a single unit. Capitalist life that grows around them forces them to live individually. Capitalist influence causes their traditional life to slowly but surely be abandon.

Still, their presence does not get better or even creates very high competition so that the sad impact gives rise to new poor people. The condition caused because it is not followed by sufficient knowledge and skills to compete in today's modern life. The existence of traditional communities continues to exist if they can maintain their social environments, such as in the Bedouin tribe and other tribes who reject technological advances in their economic life.

This phenomenon shows that to increase the degree of traditional society in the postmodern era is necessary to adjust by replacing old values into the current life. This thinking then underpins this research by taking the banjo community in Central Sulawesi as a place for innovation and engineering to maintain mutual culture while still giving economic value to each Gotong Royong.

b) *Objectives and goals*

This study aims to formulate and restore old values through innovation and engineering to provide facilities and infrastructure for *Bajo* homes and housing today.

c) *Literature Review*

A literature study regarding basic theory or background knowledge of researchers begins this research, so armed with the proposed understanding is expected not to provide obstacles for researchers in research or analyze problems.

The literature review can be published: 1) Theory of Pragmatism Planning 2) Models of social change. 3. Modernization Theory, 4. Local wisdom, 5. Theories of social change

d) *The Concept of Sustainable Pragmatic Planning*

The development of the concept of pragmatic planning has developed rapidly in the dimensions of planning, some opinions that reveal the idea of pragmatism, including expressing the influence of US practical philosophy on the development of theories about the nature, purpose, and methods of planning.

The concept of pragmatism explains the critical contributions of pragmatic and "neo-pragmatic" philosophers and identifies the influence of pragmatism on the initial idea of planning as a rational process; from the perspectives of Friedman; about the development of "critical pragmatism" for Foresters; and the contribution of other planning theories in the 1980s and 1990s. Identify the importance of practical ideas in emphasizing the dimension of planning as a functional social learning activity, which must utilize human capacity and promote the ability to transform critical transformative systemic work in the public sphere (Healey, 2009).

The philosophical position of pragmatism is the conceptual scaffold for design thinking. Contributing many existing contributions to design has been taken from the concept of pragmatism.

The argument presented shows that there is a large degree of convergence between pragmatic perspectives and design thinking. Pragmatism offers a well-developed and coherent articulation of essential concerns for designing pragmatic thoughts and views that can be valuable at theoretical and practical levels.

At the conceptual level, it can inform and inspire the development of design discourse. At a reasonable level, pragmatic concepts can be operational to inform and guide concrete designs and help us understand and manage the design process (Dalsgaard, 2014).

Decoding thinking can obscure the construction of the holistic paradigm and the holistic planning paradigm that can be followed up to develop sustainability planning, which makes many approaches to planning and sustainable development policies.

The dichotomy is a classic that was recognized more than a century ago by pragmatic philosopher William James who thought of development and planning thinking, or in this case, those who believed in more and better information to overcome the challenges of sustainability and those who relied on strength.

From several voices, he then argues that the sustainable development approaching is based on the philosophy of pragmatism as a means to connect the development perspective and to think with planning, policy, and sustainability actions.

After detailing how the dynamics of development thinking and planning thinking among proponents of sustainability are translated into various types of understandings and initiatives, pragmatic frameworks for holistic sustainability planning and proposed policy sets.

This framework is arguably based on understanding practical theories about truth and rationality, integration and fundamental processes in action, and human experience as a test of public values and priorities for work.

This opinion contributes to evolution, which refers to pragmatic philosophy, linking this with more work in environmental philosophy that highlights the usefulness of pragmatism in building a sustainable development philosophy.

If planners and members of a democratic society can work towards a shared understanding that it is a process of continuous communication and interaction between citizens and experts that needs to be maintained in promoting sustainable development, that knowledge must be generated and tested in public.

Context, and that the story has stood side by side with scientific models and statistics, essential steps towards sustainability can be made in the overall planning profession (Holden, 2008).

e) The Classical Theory of Social Change

Classical sociological theory is the foundation stone of the basic theory of the development of sociological theories that emerged later. Among the philosophies that arise relating to idealism, materialism and economic systems, surplus value, and social change dynamics. In the meant to influence the theory of social evolution, which is understood as a form of rationalism. So that in society, there are groups based on individual interests, namely in the way of class (based on the economy), status (based on conditions and social benefits), parties (based on political interests).

In rationality, thinking, it includes four different models that exist between people. Rationality relates to four aspects, tradition, value, effectiveness, purpose

i. *Traditional Rationality*

Traditional rationality aims to fight for benefits derived from the traditions of public life (so that some people claim to be non-rational acts). Every activity is always associated with the orientation of life values. The norms of living together seem more substantial, for example, marriage ceremonies are becoming a tradition in almost all ethnic groups of Indonesia.

ii. *Value-Oriented rationality*

Rational-oriented values are seen by society as potential life, even if there is no real daily life. This habit is supported by life behavior into beliefs or beliefs and culture rooted in life (tradition); for example, humans collect capital to be used in family funeral ceremonies.

iii. *Affective Rationality*

Affective rationality is a type of rational that boils down to an intense emotional connection, where there is a special relationship that cannot be outside the circle—for example, the relationship between husband and wife, mother, and child. If one party makes a mistake, then the other party always tries to help.

iv. *Rationality aims or instrumental rationality.*

It is the highest form of rational consideration of the elements of logical choice about the purpose and means of action chosen. In every ethnic community (community), there are many elements of rationality that are owned and explained. However, in many cases, the most popular rationality, there is only one, which is followed by many people. For example, economic rationality is often the first choice in many communities. Furthermore, this is an ordinary social change, changing individual behavior contextually.

f) Social Change in Traditional Communities

The discussion of social change cannot be separate from the context of western philosophy, especially those related to Greek philosophy.

The essence of Greek philosophy is related to the idea that human behavior is a relationship that is consistent with their daily lives. According to who explained that philosophy is relevant to seven fields:

1) Empirical philosophy essentially states: human beings cannot be separated from nature because they realize that they are also part of the integral life of nature.
2) Humans are first observed is the natural environment, the biological environment that is closest to human existence.
3) Following the natural environment, ideas emerge about the growth processes of their neighbors, such as growing the presence of the necessary sunlight, which is the natural center of the human environment.
4) By observing human nature to determine the dimensions of time, such as changes in seeing morning, afternoon, evening in seconds, minutes, hours.
5) Growth needs direction because there is a process called maturation experienced by every human being, nature and human creation (civilization).
6) Humans then learn to find that biological life has a general pattern of growth.
7) The growth grows with a specific model through stages of a particular stage, called the No Jumping

Stage, all grow with regularity, without systematic and definite steps.

Human growth as an individual grows through specific directions and patterns which are at perfection. Ideas generated evolve through certain stages that form straight lines and are called imaginary lines

g) Modernization theory

In general, modernization theory can be formulated as a perspective (vision), which is the primary analysis model for human factors in a society. Modernization has become a kind of commodity among the public, which puts the mental element as the cause of change. Improving human mentality will increase capital used to increase the local economic production of a community. Modernity is a product of a western culture that is associated with the presence of science and technology. So that modernity has become an assumption of truth that does not need to be questioned. Thus the theory of modernization is positioned as a standard science in compiling the development of science, as explained by Thomas Khun (2000).

Modernization theory can be seen from an economic and non-economic point of view expressed by several leaders, as shown from a financial perspective, which states that: High savings and public investment determine economic change. The problem of underdevelopment is due to a lack of capital. Developing countries that want to advance must seek additional money, both from within and from abroad.

Meanwhile, from a non-economic point of view, states that: the values of his beliefs shape human dynamics. So that gave birth to economic growth (trust relationship with the economy). Ethical theories provide delivery to high morals and then give birth to a capitalist attitude towards life. Ethical beliefs become universal values that may be outside the ideas themselves, for example, converted to cultural values expectations.

In terms of psychology, he expressed his desire to reason and work hard between individuals to make everything perfect with their position in the world. The concept of need is an entirely new spirit in the face of work, which drives the need to succeed. Encouragement not only receives material rewards but also achieves inner satisfaction. Poverty and underdevelopment in society are because our environment is not infecting with viruses that are needed to excel.

h) Local wisdom

The solution is unique and an interesting point with an outline that tends to be a dominant, attractive, or magnetic element, so that way, people will have an attachment that becomes the glue between them. The Village has characteristics that we are achieved through the physical conditions of the environment and non-physical conditions such as culture, the community's social life is a stable system and patterned somewhere and is related to the history of the Village.

Another view of settlements is they are part of a large area within an area, which functions as the center of a group and is an interpretation of a site, land or plot and is transformed into a place where people live. Some environments, which have specific natural characteristics and spatial structures, are referred to as plains, valleys, and ponds (basins). These spaces are equipped with natural elements, e.g., topography with owning rocks, vegetation, and water.

They are equipped with essential orientations such as the relationship between the site with light, weather, and natural conditions that are part of the microclimate. The settlements that emerged in the late 60s were defined as a guide to housing and human life. Arrangement exists because the community recognizes culture and coincides with the presence of social or cultural civilization.

The structure and shape of the house are considered as an embodiment of the community's cultural values. The house is a shelter or shelter for humans in the face of climate change and weather (heat, cold, rain, and wind). The house is calling a residence because it functions as a place of rest, a place to build a family, a place of work, and a symbol of social status. Human behavior in responding to homes varies and changes depending on where they are.

For traditional societies, houses associated with various aspects, such as social, cultural, religious, and physical aspects. Thus homes and settlements are part of the area where there are residents who live, take part in work activities, try, connect with fellow settlers as a community, and fulfill various life activities.

In some parts of the area, some communities form houses together, such as architects who also work as workers. This community gave birth to settlements located in the interior and make building houses as traditionally done in cooperation and adapting to local customs and their nature. The formed community groups tend to settle from generation to generation, so consider it a place of birth or hometown (Zaenal, 2016).

i) Settlement

Human settlement or settlement is the definition of a place of life and a place of relationship (interaction) between humans and humans, with nature and natural authority.

Thus settlements are containers filled with humans or physical boxes of human habitation. The agreement as a residence is a place or area where people gather and live together, building houses and facilities needed in human life. Settlements can also see as a collection of houses inhabited by residents, forming communities as a place to live, work, and a place to communicate. Also, the formation of settlements should not be described only in three dimensions. Still, it must be seen from four aspects: the elements of human life always change character and culture in units of time (Doxiadis, 1971).

There are five elements of the formation of settlers (Human Settlement) according to (Doxiadis, 1971), as follows:

1) Nature as an element, that is, a place or village container formed by environmental factors such as geography, topography, land, water resources, plants, animals, and climate, or weather. All these elements interact so that it functions as a village or Village.
2) Humans as elements, namely humans who live in nature and carry out activities, such as biological activities, sensations, perceptions, emotions, and morals related to values and norms held by humans or human groups.
3) Community as an element is a group of people who live together to form a housing environment, such as creating social strata, forming culture (culture), and forming administrative areas.
4) Protection (shelter) as an element, namely the structure of the container in which some people live, such as housing, community services, business centers, recreational containers, commercial containers, offices. Network. 5) Social capital as an element, namely a naturally artificial system, and functions as a settlement, such as Water supply systems for the needs of settlers, roads for transportation, drainage channels, communication networks, electricity networks, and all other physical needs. The five elements of the resolution are aspects that must be studied holistically to find the ideal solution (Doxiadis, 1971).

Village elements are to assigned to maintain dynamic equilibrium and are expressed differently in each section, at each scale, and during the evolutionary process.

The basis of the settlement is an ecological unit that is hierarchically related to each other from each element. The law of arrangement is not a simple law of cause and effect, but a statistical law on the impact of change.

II. Method

Research on efforts to restore the values of local wisdom by using qualitative methods with a value engineering approach. Value engineering in question is a systematic and structured decision-making process.

Value engineering aims to find the best value of construction activities related to restoration of degraded cultural values or the process of returning value related to the function of importance in the structure and construction activities of houses and housing. The effort needed to reach the target value.

Related to the efficient functioning of a valid housing provision using local resources based on cooperation culture consistent with the quality and performance required (Hammersley, 2002).

a) Value Engineering Methods

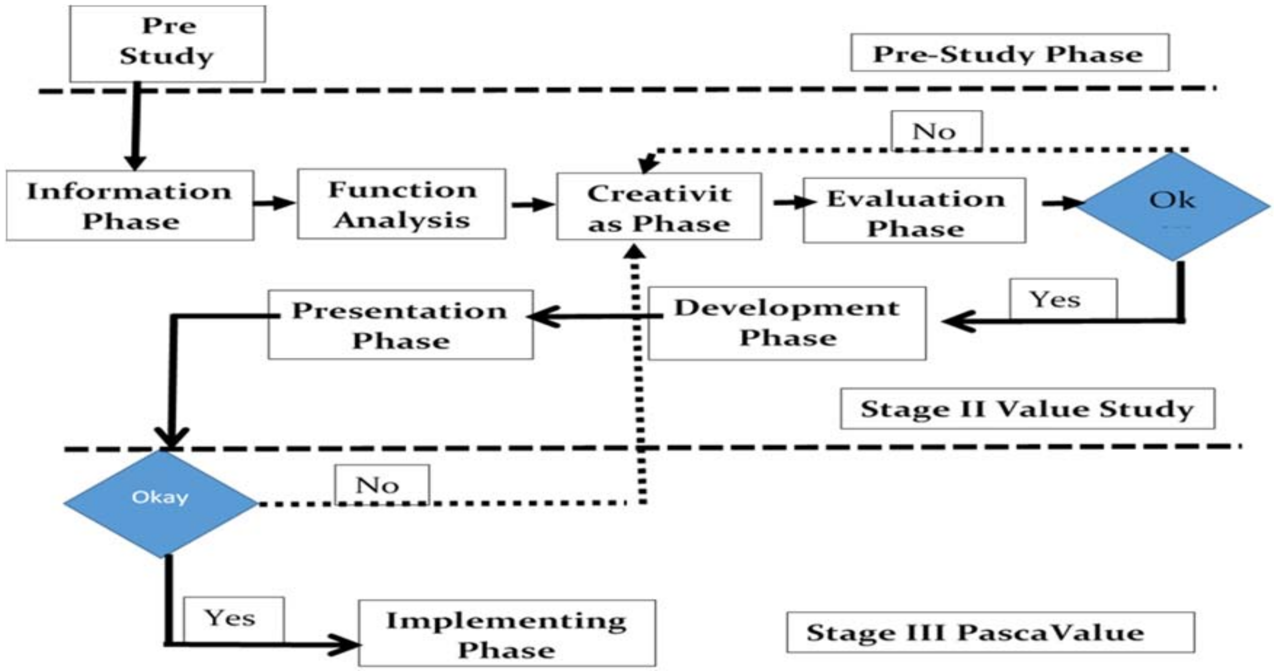
The concept of value engineering was developed to provide a way to manage and enhance the value of innovation to give birth to a product's competitive advantage by redefining cultural values through a process of change and engineering.

Engineering focuses on values that aim to achieve optimal balance and consider the relationship between benefits, functions, and costs from a broader perspective.

Efforts to achieve more value in developing a culture of cooperation oriented to the innovation of resources to produce activity optimization, But the resulting value cannot be generalized and cannot be accurately defined.

b) Value Engineering Stages

The application of value engineering studies is intended to manage and enhance physical activities such as cooperation. In this study, the focus is on efforts to provide housing and housing for the Bajo tribe through collaboration in Central Sulawesi. The value engineering phase consists of six steps, namely: 1). Information stage, 2). The function analysis stage, 3) the creative scene, 4) the evaluation phase, 5) the development stage, and 6) the percentage stage.



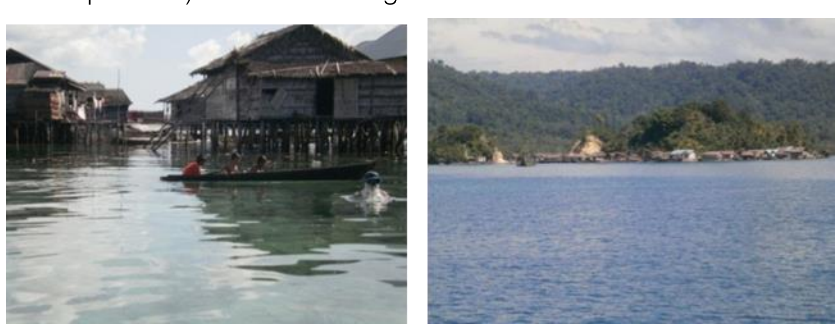
Source: Ali Muhammad B (2014)

Figure 1: Stages and research process

III. Results and Discussion

a) General description of the research location

This research was conducted in one of the villages inhabited by 70% of the *Bajo* tribe (*Kabalutan* Village in Central Sulawesi province). *Kabalutan* Village is one of 31 Bajo settlements, Central Sulawesi, with around 2000 people. The distance of *Kabalutan* Village from *Ampana* (the capital of *Tojo Una-Una*) takes 2 hours to cross the sea using a speed boat. *Kabalutan* is also located in one part of the island of *Walea (Togean).*



Source: 2013 Researcher Record

Figure 2: General description of Kabalutan Village

Figure 3 shows the condition *of Kabalutan* Village, which is about 500m from the edge of the Island of Wales. Generally, the houses occupied are located in the waters or anchored in large limestone blocks.

The level of education of citizens between primary and junior high school graduates, so that the level of intellectual ability is relatively underdeveloped, the source of *To Bajo*'s livelihood is sourced from ocean processing, so it is highly dependent on marine products as a source of income.

b) Research Result

Using Findings obtained from field data and facts indicate several phenomena, related to several aspects and explored through 1) the Pre-study process, 2) Function/value analysis, 3) Function / Value engineering 4) Evaluation 5) Application. Description of research results as follows.

i. *The Pre-Study Process*

Phase, Preliminary studies show that the core of *Bajo* local wisdom in the *Kabalutan* village is the habit of Gotong Royong, which was once characteristic of the Bajo tribe in the *Kabalutan* village and became a significant joint in community life. Currently, the *Bajo* family's habits have been degraded; until the time of this research, the mutual assistance activities were is carried out. *Gotong Royong* is only limited to social events, while *Gotong Royong* in building houses has been replaced by paying work in building homes and housing.

The various elements that support Gotong Royong activities carried out in the *Bajo* community in the past consisted of:

Confidence in the importance of traditional leaders in every activity related to the life of Bajo people. Ritual activities that must be carried out before starting a movement. An essential understanding of the sea for Bajo people associated with the livelihood of *Bajo* people The existence of four core values of Gotong Royong mentioned above, reveals that *Bajo* people are a group of people who believe in others and maintain social relations (tolerance) between them.

Current developments indicate the life of the *Bajo* people in some activities has changed and even abandoned so that the culture of *Gotong Royong* increasingly marginalized. The four values, which are Bajo people's joints, are no longer used as references in building social capital because all activities have economic benefits. That force self-help/*Gotong Royong* to be lost so that building the infrastructure of social life, such as settlements in the *Bajo* viewpoints, becomes social status markers because all economic activities cost money to do it.

This fact shows that they and houses owned are considered the work of financial products for people the domination of capitalist culture, which views all activities correlated with payment.

So that building a house or settlement is one of the works that produce capital and is no longer the social value that characterizes *Bajo* community Gotong Royong and the tendency of these activities does not make public and private social spaces but turns into the main living space with all the economic events that support it.

The sea is seen as a space where they can fulfill their living or work to earn income and meet their needs.

Based on the facts above, Bajo people have more time on land or in their homes than at sea.

The cause of this change in this study is the impact of one of the processes of interaction between Bajo people and the mainland tribes that are around them, for example, marriage between Bajo people and the land where they live.

ii. *Functional Review (grades)*

Various values of life support and work together or Gotong Royong owned by *Bajo* people from time to time experience extreme degradation. That Gotong Royong activities in *Bajo* community (for example, in *Kabalutan* Village) are limited to work activities related to mere social aspects. The erosion of the belief in the importance of traditional leaders as one of the reasons that made the work of Gotong Royong waning, and the formation of *Bajo* groups scattered and interacting with the mainland community, reduced the *Bajo* commitment to the clump of grasslands which stated that the sea was his home.

Changes in *Bajo's* beliefs from Islamic religious dynamism led to unproductive ritualistic activities being abandoned. However, *Gotong Royong* activities are getting more reliable in the community, impacting various rituals that were previously believed to be inherent beliefs in the *Bajo* people, turning into routines carried out to strengthen the friendship between them. Subsequent developments with the influx of capitalist influences made positive rituals unite into ancestral cultural rituals and symbols of *Bajo* people and were not related to efforts to build social solidarity among *Bajo* people. In Bajo's case, it is unfortunate because in his wandering at sea to fish as a thunderstorm or conditions that do not allow him to return,

The *Bajo* sesame there is a bond that shows unity between them so that every place visited avoiding disaster will accept them as brothers and sisters. This still very firmly held by *Bajo* people.

iii. *Manipulation*

Efforts to restore cooperation from the Bajo culture require value engineering to re-articulate old values into the current conditions. The cooperation culture that will be implemented undergoes changes adapted to the context and can be accepted today, and some planned engineering activities will start from designing houses and housing,

We are arranging implementation phrases that refer to the Cooperation principle and building with stimulant funds that support the Cooperation policy.

Planning and design activities begin by inviting the community to plan the houses and housing needed.

Some discussion activities carried out together with residents to produce an agreement on the house, the type of house 36m2 with a terrace located behind the house area of 18m2 as a place to land fish after fishing.

The plan is to outline a working drawing that is ready to be implemented and calculated based on the cost of implementing the budget. As a result, each house requires IDR 45 million per unit. Arranging the way of implementation through cooperation.

The discussion carried out established several stages of implementation that were agreed upon, namely: Selection of participants who could be accepted to join the Mutual Cooperation activities.

Every family involved does not get a salary, but the house to work on will be his if they can complete it.

Stimulant funds sourced from government social assistance funds are to provide with a total of IRD. Three hundred million for a minimum of 20 housing units along with connecting roads.

Stimulant distribution and implementation techniques are carried out in stages, starting with the smallest amount to reach the specified target. For example, the first fund of IRD. 10 million is used to finance the supply of 1,400 log, logs, ranging from logging to being taken to construction sites.

The next fund is a multiple the previous fund with the agreed target until the stimulant fund is not to see, and the house and housing are to finished.

The distribution of funds was given to a group of women who were the wives of each family involved so that the mothers created a fund management group. Before conducting the Mutual Cooperation activities, 30 families were selected to participate in this activity, forming five groups, and each group consisting of 6 families. Furthermore, determine work schedules that do not interfere with each other's arrest schedule.

In the second phase, a stimulant fund IDR 20 million, with the target, that all pillars have embedded bound to one another, the building supporting framework is formed. All participants can complete it within one month.

The next phase is a stimulant fund of IRD. Forty million with the target that a building site has bee formed and a connecting road have bee made within one month. At that time, some of them resigned for no reason.

A number of those whom30 heads households become 20 heads of households, after the third stage of the road and cabins had bee formed, all the families who withdrew said they wanted to return to the program.

The group deliberations decided to reject their wishes because they were is considered to be disturbing the schedule.

Residents think that they are taught a lesson so that they no longer have a wrong understanding of every activity carried out by residents.

The next stage is a stimulant fund of IRD. Eighty million to complete the walls of buildings, using local materials such as roofs made of straw or Nipa, walls as high as 1 meter we are made of boards, and above we are made of Nipa sheaths. The results of the work take two months to complete the job.

The next phase was to agree on a stimulus fund, which was to use at IRD 80 million for building finishing, and the overnight was to complete within one month. So that the total amount of stimulus funds used is IRD 230 million to complete housing and settlement construction activities consisting of 20 housing units and roads along 230 meters with a width of 2, 4 meters.

The remaining stimulant funds become stimulant funds for the group of mothers for the activities of the family, so as not to interfere with family income. With a record of the most recent settlement date for the November of the year, this was due to financial accountability ending December 15.

Source: Record of Researchers 2013 Results

Figure 3: The atmosphere of building mutual assistance and question and answer agreements

Efforts to restore the Gotong Royong among the Bajo culture requires value engineering, which is to re-articulate old values into the current conditions.

So that the Gotong Royong culture that will be implemented undergoes changes adapted to the current context so that it can be accepted and the development of the Bajo community today,

Some of the planned engineering activities will start with designing housing and housing.

Compiling stages of implementation that refer to the principle of Gotong Royong and establishing stimulus funds that support the implementation of development with the policy of Gotong Royong.

1) The planning and design activities began by inviting the community to work together to plan the houses and housing they needed. Several discussion activities were carried out along with residents to produce a 36m2 type house with a terrace located

behind the house in an area of 18m2 as a place to land fish after fishing.

2) The plan is to outline in a working drawing that is ready to be implemented and calculated based on the calculation of the budget form implementation cost. The result is that each house needs IDR 45 million per unit.
3) They are arranging the way of implementation through Gotong Royong. The discussion carried out established several stages of the agreed implementation, namely: Select participants who can be accepted to join in Gotong Royong. Every family involved does not get a salary, but the house that is working on will be his if they can complete it. The stimulant distribution and staging techniques are carried out in stages, starting with the smallest amount to reach a specified target. For example, the first fund of IRD. 10 million is to used to finance the collection of 1,400 logs, starting from logging to being brought to the construction site. The next fund is multiple of the previous fund with an agreed target, and so on until the stimulus funds are unseen up, and the house and housing have to finish. The distribution of funds is given to a group of women who are the wives of each family involved so that mothers create a fund management group.
4) Doing Before carrying out Gotong Royong activities, 30 families have been chosen to participate in this activity. The 30 families then formed five groups in the first meeting, each group consisting of 6 families. Moreover, determine work schedules that should not interfere with the fishing schedule of each In the second phase, A stimulant fund of Rp. 20 million, with the target, that all poles have been tied with a deck with another ting, all participants can complete it within one month.

The next phase is the stimulant fund of IRD Forty million with a target that a building footprint has been formed, and a connecting road has been created within one month of the goal met.

At that time, those who resigned earlier said that they wanted to return to the program after the residents rejected deliberation and their wishes because they disrupted the schedule.

The residents thought that they were is given lessons so that they would no longer have a bad relationship with every activity carried out by residents. This target achieved within one month.

Disbursement of funds is done in stages with the principle of a critical point placed in front, so for families who do not have a strong commitment will tend to resign themselves while those who have a strong commitment will persist because these stages the more extended, the more excellent the stimulant funds while the smaller the activities.

The results of the implementation showed that at the initial stage, which was a preparatory stage with funds of Rp. 10 million followed by 30 families, and at the end of the first phase, ten families resigned because they felt they were not in line with expectations, while 20 families continued to follow until all the required poles could be met (1400 sticks)).

Source: Record of Researchers 2013 Results

Figure 4: Distribution of stimulant funds to families by group leaders women as fund managers

Figure 5 shows the atmosphere of the distribution of stimulus funds from the mother group for the 5 group leaders, followed by a re-explanation of the use of funds and targets to be achieved

Furthermore, sending stimulus funds if they have evaluated, and the objective is to reach, the distribution of the next stimulus fund carried out. Stimulus funds are held in the women's group accounts and can only the disbursed if agreed by the head of the research team and the head of reciprocal assistance activities.


Source: from researchers' records in 2013

Figure 5: Ritual activities at the start of activities attended by Bajo community leaders in Desa Kabalutan

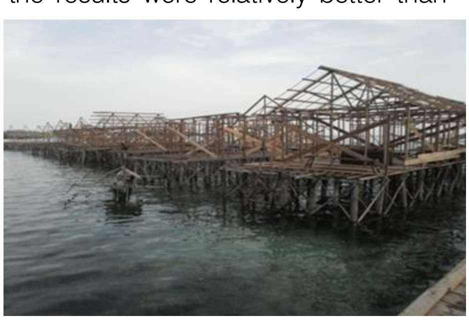
Figure 6 shows, before carrying out the activities, a meeting was held and invited a community leader in the Village of *Kabalutan* to carry out. The ritual of constructing a house and, at the same time, requesting permission from the village/village leader and traditional leader to carry out the construction and then perform the ritual at the construction site.

The implementation carried out taking logs that will be used as houses and road poles followed by 30 heads of families, but in the journey, there are only 20 families who can follow up to finish until 1,400 sticks are to gathered. The next stage was installing the mast at sea with a stimulus fund of IRD. 20 million. These funds are used to make simple piling tools with appropriate technology. The cutting process shows that each day can only 8 rods per day so that the members are consulted to find a better way after the agreement has agreed upon using the Bajo habit of installing poles in the sea. They no longer use stakes, but use the technique to multiply the edge of the stake and rotate it by placing two people who are hugging on a pole and then spinning until the pole is embedded and can no longer stand upright.


Source: from researchers' records in 2013

Figure 6: The process of installing poles with piling tools and piling piles that have been installed as well as ready roads

Figure 7 shows the results of the pile installation activities using a simple pile piling tool with a relatively low effectiveness, so the working group replaced the pile manual, and the results were relatively better than before, thus pile mounting was done manually, and all piles were successful to installed using local wisdom techniques.




Source: from researchers' records in 2013

Figure 7: Some leaves and objects tied to a pole requirements to build a house, and several houses whose skeletons have been planted

Figure 8 shows the implementation of the ritual after home construction activities reached 20%. This ceremony has carried out in every building that has done in cooperation. The purpose of the service has carried out so that the houses built receive God's protection, and those who inhabit them are free from natural disasters that could occur at any time.

iv. *Evaluation Value*

Based on the results of the evaluation, the implementation of the construction of houses and housing Bajo in Kabalutan found several advantages and disadvantages of working together, including:

a. The advantages

Based on the calculation of the time, the plan has estimated that each house in its implementation would cost approximately IRD. Forty-five million per unit, but in its application, each group would only cost IRD. 11.5 million per unit, including a 230-meter connecting road. Economically, there was a saving of 390% compared to if the work was contracted or done by the employer. The rest of the stimulant funds has given to groups of women as odal workers.

Collaboration in Gotong Royong found several forms of local wisdom, such as pole mounting technique that does not require a pile but only by sharpening the end of the pole. And digging a hole and then plugging it in by inserting the tip of the stake and then flanked with two canoes to maintain. The position of the pole to remain upright then rotated while being burdened by two people hugging on a pole until the pole enters the base, which can a turned again, means the depth was reaching.

The discovery of a type of wood that is resistant to seawater with the local name of betel nut. This wood is sturdy and heavy so that it sinks in seawater and is not readily eaten by sea animals

b. The disadvantages

Gotong Royong activities cannot determine firm working time because it adjusts to the free time of the community.

The quality of work in terms of neatness cannot be compared to that of a craftsman. This is due to the work done by the general public rather than a handyman.

The material used the adjusted to the availability of local materials that are around them. By implementing *Gotong Royong*'s work, it is now possible for the *Bajo* community tot facilitated to develop a culture of *Gotong Royong* in the Village.

c) *Discussion*

Efforts to restore Gotong Royong in Bajo society are one that is rational and acceptable in community, said Healey, 2009, who revealed that pragmatic theories about truth and rationality, integration and fundamental processes in action, and human experience as a test of values public and priority for action. This opinion contributes to the evolution of pragmatic philosophy, which connects with more work in environmental philosophy that highlights the usefulness of pragmatism in building a philosophy of sustainable development. Furthermore, at a practical level, pragmatic concepts can be operationalized to inform and guide the design and help understand and manage the design process (Dalsgaard, 2014), which enables the development of work culture as a form of adjustment to the current conditions of society and becomes a rational basis for returning work in Gotong Royong culture at the moment.

Furthermore, Gotong Royong in Bajo society is a rational and acceptable one in the community, said Healey, 2009, who revealed that pragmatic theories about truth and rationality, integration and fundamental processes in action, and human experience as a test of public values and priority for action. This opinion contributed to the evolution of pragmatic philosophy, which is associated with more work in environmental philosophy that highlights the usefulness of pragmatism in building a philosophy of sustainable development. Furthermore, at a practical level, pragmatic concepts can be operationalized to inform and guide the design and help understand and manage the design process (Dalsgaard, 2014), which allows the development of work culture as a form of adjustment to current conditions. Society becomes a rational basis for returning work in the ongoing cooperation culture.

The structure and shape of the house are considering as an embodiment of the cultural values of community adherents. Shows that a home is a place of refuge or humanitarian protection in the face of climate change and weather (heat, cold, rain, and wind) and animal attacks. The house is calling a residence because it functions as a place of rest, a place to build a family, a place of work, and a symbol of social status (Rapoport, 1969, 1977). The existence of the house in the Bajo community's view was originally a stopover when a storm hit in the middle of the sea. Still, in its development, the house is a residence that provides shelter and shelter for her family; this is in line with the opinion of Amos Rapoport.

Human behavior varies and changes depending on the place where it is the location and the development of current knowledge and technology. In traditional communities, the house is an association with various aspects, such as social, cultural, religious, and physical aspects (Rapoport, 1977). This linkage is a cause by traditional communities undergoing development that are influenced by the socio-cultural issues and the physical environment by Amos Rapoport's opinion so that the work culture of cooperation to survive amid changing times must be able to adopt the development of society.

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Various social change theories of traditional societies expressed by multiple experts show that values play an essential role in forming community groups that can adapt to their environment,

Experiments conducted on Bajo people by applying modified and redefined values in this study indicate that tangible values, namely values owned by Bajo community groups, can be maintained by supplementing new meanings on old values based on the demands of today's society.

If re-interpretation efforts are not carried out in the sense that old values are not adjusted to the changing needs and knowledge and technology of society,

Then efforts to preserve culture are not possible even though it is believed that there will be a decline in values and achieving the extinction of old values as a result of not able to withstand the onslaught of new benefits that develop in society.

Engineering values through increasing the meaning of old values to provide new energy to old values to be able to compete with the emergence of new values, for example, cooperation values that are only oriented to the formation of social capital will be degraded if they are unable to accommodate benefits that include economic capital which is a human need today,

It is due to past social capital aimed at only building social networks and fraternity and forgetting economic aspects that are very important in the current era. So that social capital and commercial capital become very important in integrating life contemporary social capital society, and this means that rural communities also need financial money.

Therefore, to maintain the values of cooperation, it is necessary to adjust the meaning of the values inherent in cooperation as an effort to strengthen cooperation as a form of a community life settlement as happened in the Bajo community in Kabalutan. Ignorance of community groups about the development of cooperation values is a sign of the degradation of cooperation culture in a Village, even if left unchecked, it is impossible is cooperation culture in the community can only be seen as a complementary activity that smells. Culture and does not characterize specific communities.

IV. Conclusions

Based on the various descriptions above, it can be concluding that the Village needs efforts to restore the culture of cooperation in the Bajo community's life in the long run. The mutual assistance culture helped them to deal with the development of Zama. The bilateral cooperation culture referred to is cooperation that has adapted to changing requirements.

The application of the values of cooperation that have too adjusted is made in various ways; one of them is by adding new meanings that are by the needs of the community,

And future the cultural values of the Gotong Royong that were previously contained need to be enriched with new benefits, so re-application is interpreted as the cultural values of the community cooperation that have been expanded by the needs of Village development that are compliant at present.

The use of the value engineering methods tested demonstrates an excellent ability to adapt, produce effective and efficient economic cooperation performance, and strengthen togetherness in one community.

V. Recognition

This research is a preliminary study of the return of local wisdom values that have degraded; in this study, it the recommended to continue in other cases with different backgrounds, with the hope that the return will find a pattern that can be used as a theory of future cooperation development.

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A Banquet for Divinities the Food that becomes an Offering in the Candomblé

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Abstract- This article providesan analysis ab out the presence of food in Candomblé rituals, basedon a study of off erings for African deities. Understanding the sociability relations present between food, the orixá and the Community are the central point of this work, which presents a reflectionon studies on food andreligion, as well as ananalysis about the kitchen of the orixás, seeking to underst and the dynamics of this space during the realizationofe offerings. The study analyzed the relationship between food and candomblé rituals from the perspective of theorists Marcel Maus and Nestor García Canclini, who, with their concepts of Gift and Cultural Hybridism, contributed to the reflection of the proposed theme. The study showed the relevance of food in candomblé and the particularitiess urrounding the organization of each offering, highlighting the importance of sociability between initi at es and their deities, mediated by food, which becomes an offering.

Keywords: food, gift, candomblé, hybridism, offering.

GJHSS-C Classification: *FOR Code: 370199p*

ABANQUETFORDIVINITIESTHEFOODTHATBECOMESANOFFERINGINTHECANDOMBLE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

A Banquet for Divinities the Food that becomes an Offering in the Candomblé

Um Banquete Para as Divindades a Comida que se Transforma em Oferenda no Candomblé

Janaina Couvo Teixeira Maia

Resumo- O presente artigo traz uma análise sobre a presença da comida nos rituais do Candomblé, a partir de um estudo sobre as oferendas destinadas às divindades africanas. Compreender as relações de sociabilidade presentes entre a comida, o orixá e a comunidade é o ponto central deste trabalho, que apresenta uma reflexão acerca dos estudos sobre a alimentação e a religião, além de uma análise sobre a cozinha dos orixás, buscando entender a dinâmica deste espaço durante a realização das oferendas. O estudo analisou a relação entre a comida e os rituais do candomblé a partir do olhar dos teóricos Marcel Mauss e Nestor García Canclini, que com seus conceitos de Dádiva e Hibridismo Cultural, contribuíram para a reflexão do tema proposto. O estudo mostrou a relevância da comida no candomblé e as particularidades existentes em torno da organização de cada oferenda, ressaltando a importância da sociabilidade entre iniciados e suas divindades, mediada pela comida, que se transforma em oferenda.

Palavras-chave: alimentação, dádiva, candomblé, hibridismo, oferenda.

Abstract- This article providesan analysis ab out the presence of food in Candomblé rituals, basedon a study of off erings for African deities. Understanding the sociability relations present between food, the orixá and the Community are the central point of this work, which presents a reflectionon studies on food and religion, as well as ananalysis about the kitchen of the orixás, seeking to underst and the dynamics of this space during the realizationofe offerings. The study analyzed the relationship between food andcandomblé rituals from the perspective of theorists Marcel Maus and Nestor García Canclini, who, with their concepts of Gift and Cultural Hybridism, contributed to the reflection of the proposed theme. The study showed the relevance of food in candomblé and the particularitiess urrounding the organization of each offering, highlighting the importance of sociability between initi at es and their deities, mediatedby food, which becomes an offering.

Keywords: food, gift, candomblé, hybridism, offering.

I. Introdução

Elemento essencial para o candomblé, entender o papel que exerce o alimento nesta religião é algo bastante complexo, pois a comida está presente em tudo que a compõe. São ritos, festas, cerimônias mais elaboradas, o cotidiano sagrado do terreiro, momentos em que, por sua simplicidade, perceber a presença da comida é algo que se torna difícil para aqueles que frequentam os terreiros apenas como visitantes, mas a comida está ali, num cantinho da casa, relacionada a uma simples ação da Ialorixá.

Os primeiros trabalhos sobre o candomblé resultaram em produções que apresentam olhares mais amplos sobre este objeto. Suas particularidades são analisadas num contexto em que o foco de observação é a religião como totalidade e não a alimentação ritual.

Um dos primeiros estudos sobre o candomblé foi desenvolvido por Nina Rodrigues (2006), apresentando uma análise sobre as práticas rituais dos negros na Bahia. Em sua observação sobre as cerimônias nestes espaços religiosos, destaca a presença da comida nos rituais e como estão organizadas em dias de celebrações. Ressalta que as comidas de candomblés são bastante conhecidas, sendo inseridas no cardápio da cozinha baiana, bastante marcada por uma comida condimentada, com a presença do dendê e da pimenta.

Outro aspecto importante observado pelo autor está relacionado ao papel socializador exercido pelo alimento. As festividades dedicadas aos orixás têm enquanto elemento fundamental a comida, já que é durante estas festas que acontecem os rituais internos voltados a preparação das oferendas, ou seja, das comidas de santo e dos sacrifícios.

> Nos grandes terreiros como os do Engenho Velho e do Gantois, nesta cidade, a comida é dada liberalmente a todos os visitantes.Tenho assistido a esses banquetes em que se expõem grandes gamelas, bacias de barro, pratos enormes com comidas variadíssimas aos convidados que delas se queiram servir. Isto não exclui que haja mesas reservadas para as pessoas de maior distinção e que estes manjares convenientemente acondicionados sejam enviados de presente a casas de famílias. (2006, p. 95)

Este momento de socialização em torno da comida relatado pelo autor é algo perceptível em qualquer festa de candomblé em que a comida distribuída aos iniciados e visitantes do terreiro é

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definida pelo orixá que está sendo homenageado. Assim, existe uma consagração do alimento antes de o mesmo ser distribuído aos participantes, pois quem recebe primeiro as comidas são as divindades.Somente depois que este ritual acontece é que os demais pratos são distribuídos entre os presentes nas cerimônias.

"Os deuses são grandes comilões", assim destacou Roger Bastide (2001) sobre a cozinha dos orixás. As oferendas preparadas para os orixás seguem normas que definem os pratos a serem preparados, como devem ser feitos e servidos e quando devem ser oferecidos às divindades. Ao visitar o espaço onde são colocadas as oferendas, o peji, Bastide descreve:

> não há nada de espantoso, quando penetramos no *peji* dos orixás, em ver ali a abundância de pratos, de cores ou de formas diversas, segundo os deuses, e contendo iguarias saborosas.São as oferendas das filhas de santo, realizadas num dia da semana dedicado a seu "anjo da guarda" e que permanecem no interior do*peji* toda a semana, até o dia consagrado em que elas poderão renová-las. (2001, p. 331-332)

Entretanto, é importante distinguir entre as oferendas do cotidiano e aquelas que acontecem em períodos de comemorações, seja de tempo de iniciação, voltada aos orixás do terreiro, em comemoração ao orixá do mês ou mesmo para acalmara divindade ou cri7676ar um vínculo com a religião, ou seja, se tornar um iaô. Assim, para cada um desses rituais, existem oferendas a serem preparadas, seguindo as prescrições de acordo com o orixá que irá receber a oferenda.

Um item relevante dos estudos clássicos sobre o candomblé é a diferenciação entre *oferenda* e *sacrifício.* De acordo com Vivaldo Costa Lima (2010):

> O povo do santo, entre nós, sabe a diferença entre "dar um agrado a seu santo" e dar"de comer aseu santo".E, mesmo aí, a comida não implica sempre uma matança.Afinal, é o jogo que prescreve o ebó, a qualidade do sacrifício.O povo de santo, na Bahia, mantém, em suas variáveis, o quadro original dos sacrifícios dos iorubás africanos, que separam os sacrifícios em duas amplas categorias: aqueles em que há festa, partilhados, em primeiro lugar, pelos seres naturais e depois pela comunidade; e aquelas festas para se evitar calamidades, doenças, conflitos e pedir perdão pelas ofensas que provocam esses sacrifícios. (2010, p.120)

Assim, o que define como dever ser a oferenda, o que pode ou não ser preparado para o orixá, é o jogo de búzios. Após a consulta é que todas as orientações para o ritual são definidas, como devem ser preparadas as oferendas, que comidas serão oferecidas aos orixás.

Outro estudo importante neste sentido foi desenvolvido por Vilson CaetanoSouza Júnior (2009), o qual tem como objeto de estudo principal a comida no candomblé e sua relação com as divindades. Destaca as características de cada oferenda e os processos de elaboração, ressaltando que existem regras determinadas que definem os modos de comer em situações diferenciadas, coma presença das interdições alimentares. Estas interdições estão relacionadas às particularidades dos orixás e que são incorporadas por seus iniciados, sendo chamadas de quizilas.

O comportamento diante dos rituais também é cercado de cerimônias e regras. Não se come de qualquer jeito, e sim seguindo certas orientações de cada momento ritual realizado. Na tradição do Tambor de Mina do Maranhão, segundo Sérgio Ferretti (1995),também encontramos esta relação ritualística com o momento da comida sagrada.

Durante certos rituais, existe uma hierarquia na hora de servir o alimento, respeitando as pessoas mais antigas na casa. Isto pode ser observado na festa deAcossi, em que o autor destaca as diversas regras relacionadas ao comer durante este ritual , e como neste momento em que a comida é socializada, os participantes fazem seus pedidos em busca de saúde. Assim, existem regras não somente associadas ao momento da partilha do alimento nos rituais públicos, como também às pessoas que irão participar, sendo cuidadosamente respeitada a hierarquia.

É importante destacar particularidades rituais quando os terreiros praticam, além do culto aos orixás, o culto aos caboclos, como os terreiros de tradição angola. Neste caso, a dieta alimentar não segue as mesmas orientações. Não só a comida, como também todos os rituais dedicados ao culto aos caboclos são bastante específicos,o queresulta na realização dos mesmos em dias determinados.

Ao analisar as comidas de santo no Recife, João Hélio Mendonça (1996) destaca a diferenciação entre comida de orixás e comida de caboclos, ressaltando a presença das frutas enquanto alimento sagrado para estas entidades, associado ao uso da aguardente. Esta diferenciação está presente também na própria estrutura do ritual, ou seja, no momento em que ocorre a socialização do alimento, como, por exemplo, num ritual chamado Mesa de Jurema, aspecto estudado por Jocélio Teles Santos (1995).Ao desenvolver sua pesquisa nos candomblés de caboclo da Bahia, o autor encontra aspectos muito específicos no que diz respeito ao momento da socialização da comida votiva, ou seja, durante o ritual da mesa de jurema, o caboclo segurou a comida e "serviu tanto aos seus companheiros Caboclos quanto aquelas pessoas da audiência que quisessem comer" (1995, p.113-114).

Assim, a comida votiva voltada aos caboclos apresenta particularidades ritualísticas que diferem daquelas da comida dedicadas aos orixás, tendo uma relação de proximidade entre a entidade e os participantes, mediada por comidas e bebidas, já que a jurema é uma bebida compartilhada durante o ritual, entre entidades e as pessoas. Isto não acontece na relação com os orixás nas festas públicas, que é solene, estando os participantesaí para reverenciar as divindades, e o momento da socialização da comida ocorre entre os participantes da festa, sejam iniciados, sejam comunidade.

Norton Corrêa (1995), referindo-se ao batuque do Rio Grande do Sul, considera o alimento "fator mediador por excelência das relações entre o mundo dos homens e o sobrenatural" (1995, p.52), podendo ser observado desde o momento em que o indivíduo adentra o mundo sagrado do candomblé tornando-se iaô, uma vez que, em todos os rituais necessários para a sua preparação, é constante a presença do alimento sagrado, assumindo um papel de comunicação e firmando o pacto entre o homem e o Orixá.

Entendendo a alimentação como algo presente em todos os rituais dos cultos afro-brasileiros, um dos rituais em que este elemento se mostra fundamental é o axexê, ou seja, o ritual fúnebre, no qual a comida é inserida em todas as suas fases, inclusive fora do espaço sagrado, pois, para aqueles que estão presentes na cerimônia, é servida a comida de que o morto mais gostava. Assim, durante todo o desenvolvimento do axexê, observa-se uma série de detalhes, seguidos de preceitos religiosos alimentares, pois tudo deve ser organizado para que nada possa atrapalhar o andamento da cerimônia.

Um estudo clássico sobre a morte foi desenvolvido por Juana ElbeinSantos (2008), abordando a complexidade dos rituais fúnebres entre os nagôs. Tratando-se de um dos rituais mais complexos desenvolvidos no candomblé, observam-se oferendas voltadas a exercer a comunicação do indivíduo com o ayê e o orun, assim como também manter o equilíbrio da vida, evitando as mazelas proporcionadas pela negligência para com o orixá, restituindo o axé. Segundo a autora,

> Se bem que a oferenda seja efetuada para beneficiar seres ou unidades em circunstâncias diversas, o mecanismo em essência é sempre o mesmo e ambos os tipos de oferendas se complementam. (...) Da mesma forma como a oferenda é uma restituição propiciatória ou expiatória, que garante a continuação da vida, também o morto é uma restituição da mesma ordem, que garante o eterno renascimento. Ambos reintegram o grande útero mítico; desintegrados como unidades individualizadas, suas substâncias se reintegram em suas massas de origem. (2008, p.224-225)

Em inúmeras ocasiões, pode-se perceber o papel que as oferendas exercem nas relações entre o indivíduo e o orixá, expressando a importância da comida no candomblé, como um dos principais elementos de intermediação em todos os processos ritualísticos.Sob a forma de ebó, obrigação ou mesmo em forma de oferenda, o alimento passa por inúmeros processos na cozinha do santo, marcando consideravelmente a religião dos orixás, voduns e inkices.

Desta forma, o comer para esta religião é tão amplo quanto o próprio significado da comida. Tudo come no Candomblé. Trata-se de uma relação de troca de dádivas onde, de acordo comRaul Lody (1998), esta relação de troca é bastante representativa, sendo que o ato de comer é um momento de contatar e estabelecer vínculos fundamentais com a existência da vida, do axé, dos princípios ancestrais e religiosos do (1998, p.27).

A comida votiva dos orixás está definida nos seus mitos. São estas narrativas que trazem as referências alimentares que compõem o cardápio dos orixás, que definem seus gostos, interdições, o que cada um pode ou não pode comer. Nem todos podem receber as oferendas com dendê, outros só podem ter suas comidas preparadas com azeite doce, e assim estas divindades têm suas oferendas definidas, reforçando os laços com os orixás e com a comunidade, pois é através da comida que estas relações são construídas e renovadas a cada ritual.

II. As Relações Entre Comida e Religião

Os primeiros estudos sobre os modos de vida de povos específicos trouxeram aspectos relativos aos hábitos alimentares, ressaltando os tabus, regras, totemismo e rituais religiosos característicos desses grupos. Trabalhos que trouxeram para a discussão elementos como oferendas e sacrifícios relacionados à comida, em queos povos considerados primitivos realizavam seus ritos tendo o alimento enquanto aspecto necessário para a renovação, criação do vínculo sagrado com o ancestral ou mesmo com a própria natureza.

a) *De acordo com Contreras (2005)*

> El análisis de lo social respecto a la alimentación se articula en torno a la of erenda de alimentos tanto a los vivos como a los muertos y en algunos aspectos de la comensalidad simbólica. En estos momentos, amparados en el marco teórico del evolucionismo y, en consecuencia, preocupados por ubicar las culturas en los estadios de una secuencia universal, se puso atención en las prohibiciones y prescripciones y en todas las costumbres "extrañas" e inexplicables que tuvieran que ver con la alimentación, buscando en la evolución de estas instituciones sociales nos argumentos racionales que les permitiese explicar las supervivencias encontradas en la cultura de su época. (2005, p.109)

Desta forma, os estudos buscaram a compreensão dos rituais em que o alimento está presente, seja enquanto oferenda, seja enquanto

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sacrifício, mediando as relações entre os grupos e suas divindades, numa relação de comensalidade simbólica importante para a construção desses laços.

No âmbito destas relações entre comida e religião, um aspecto importante diz respeito aos tabus alimentares. Em seu estudo clássico, Mary Douglas (2010) aborda as prescrições alimentares presentes no Levítico e no Deuteronômio, analisando os animais considerados puros e impuros. Referindo-se às várias interpretações acerca dessas proibições, ressalta a existência de vários princípios:

> Pode bem ser que uns animais tenham sido proibidos devido à sua aparência repulsiva ou aos seus hábitos imundos, outros por razões sanitárias; noutros casos, o motivo da interdição é certamente de ordem religiosa. (2010, p.62)

Assim, a autora conclui que não existem limites para as diversas explicações associadas às proibições. Estas também estão relacionadas à ideia de santidade, sendo consideradas necessárias na busca da integridade. Com isso, é importante entender que as prescrições alimentares contribuem para a busca da perfeição do indivíduo, elemento fundamental para a santidade.

> As prescrições alimentares eram como sinais que a cada momento inspiravam a meditação na unicidade, na pureza e na plenitude de Deus. Estas regras de evitamento permitiam aos homens exprimir materialmente a Santidade em cada encontro com o reino animal e a cada refeição. (2010, p.74)

As escolhas alimentares são encontradas em diversos povos e culturas, sendo condicionadas por crenças religiosas que elaboram em sua estrutura ritualística uma diversidade de prescrições voltadas a uma definição do que pode contribuir para o equilíbrio ou desequilíbrio do corpo do indivíduo. Isso está relacionado ao binômio saúde e doença, formas mais comuns de expressão dos efeitos destas interdições.

Importa destacar que diversas são as religiões que trazem em sua formação orientações e regras relativas à alimentação, na forma de proibições ou mesmo de jejuns. Judaísmo, Islamismo, Cristianismo, religiões africanas, afro-brasileiras, orientais, ou seja, todas apresentam alguma orientação relacionada ao que pode ou não ser comido.

Sendo assim, percebe-se que todas as comidas rituais detêm uma funcionalidade para as religiões, determinadas pela comunidade, que busca a manutenção dos laços com a divindade, seja através de oferendas ou mesmo banquetes, seguindo os preceitos determinados. Tudo isto, porém, com um único objetivo: fortalecer as relações com o sagrado.

Alguns estudiosos afirmam que a história da alimentação está relacionada à história das religiões a partir do momento em que, através da dieta alimentar, é possível identificar a cultura e a organização das sociedades, já que não se trata apenas de uma necessidade do corpo, mas sim algo transcendente. Assim, a partir dos próprios relatos mitológicos das sociedades, encontramos a referência à comida enquanto elemento importante nas relações com as divindades, na realização de banquetes ou mesmo em oferendas nos templos e espaços de culto.

Estes relatos demonstram, de acordo com Carneiro (2003), o desejo da participação na comensalidade com os deuses, aspecto este presente em várias religiões. O autor entende a importância das regras alimentares enquanto algo necessário para o próprio desenvolvimento das religiões, pois trata-se de um elemento de controle e disciplina, evitando que comportamentos desvirtuantes possam ser desenvolvidos pelos indivíduos. Neste sentido, ressalta que:

> as regras alimentares servem como rituais instauradores de disciplinas, de técnicas de autocontrole que vigiam a mais insidiosa, diuturna e permanente tentação. As regras disciplinares sobre alimentos podem ser anti-hedonistas, evitando o prazer produzido pelo alimento, tornando-o mais insípido possível, ou podem ser pragmáticas, ao evitar alimentos que sejam 'demasiado quentes' ou "passionais". (2003, p.119)

Nessas relações entre os alimentos e o sagrado, algumas sociedades escolhem determinados alimentos para receberem tal status. Isso contribui para que o consumo desses alimentos também possa tornar sagrados os indivíduos, a partir do momento em que são investidos de um caráter divino. É o caso do milho para alguns povos nativos da América. Entretanto, o consumo desses alimentos não é constante, sendo praticado em momentos específicos, em cerimônias e rituais próprios.

Existe uma série de rituais envolvendo o consumo dos alimentos sagrados, desde a forma de prepará-los até o momento final, em que são servidos em grandes banquetes ou mesmo em rituais domésticos, mas que não perdem seu caráter solene.

As relações entre comida e religião são muito próximas e estão integradas em torno do caráter sagrado do alimento. Cabe ressaltar que as diversas sociedades desenvolveram ou desenvolvem um culto ao alimento. Desta forma, é fundamental compreender a comida enquanto um sistema que guarda, entre outros aspectos, uma diversidade de significados simbólicos associados ao sagrado, que por sua vez estão relacionados às mais diferentes sociedades. Essas sociedades buscam, através da comida, manter uma forma de comunicação com suas divindades e/ou com a natureza, estreitando os laços com o divino.

Desde a Antiguidade, encontramos a relação entre deuses e deusas associadas à alimentação, e muitas dessas divindades tornaram-se diretamente relacionadas com a comida. É o caso de *Gastaréa*, deusa grega protetora do paladar. Assim, definindo o que pode ou não estar à mesa, e muitas vezes como e através de que processos, a religião contribuiu e ainda contribui de forma significativa para a construção dos hábitos alimentares das sociedades.

Em muitas culturas, encontramos as relações entre o sagrado e alimentação acontecendo mediante os rituais festivos, ou seja, em grandes festas e celebrações em que a comunidade se reúne para renovar as relações com as divindades mediadas pela comida. São os grandes banquetes voltados à comensalidade comunitária, sendo um momento no qual:

> é transposta essa linha tênue entre sagrado e profano, sacrifício e festa, porque todos comem do mesmo prato, da mesma comida. Comemos com os deuses. A religião é uma grande festa antropofágica, um ritmo que vai do pé, passa pelo quadril e se deleita no mastigar. (MAGALHÃES, 2007, p.66)

Assim, estando presente em diversos momentos representativos das diferentes sociedades e suas crenças, partilhadas à mesa com as divindades, a comida exerce seu papel socializador junto às comunidades.

Entre as diversas religiões onde é possível observar esta socialização em torno da comida, através de seus rituais, está o candomblé. São diversos os momentos em que, nas relações entre o iniciado e o orixá, observa-se a intermediação da comida, na forma de oferendas. Desde o primeiro contato com o candomblé, aos diversos ciclos marcados por rituais, até os rituais fúnebres, a presença do alimento é constante.

III. O Candomblé e a Importância das Oferendas

A formação do candomblé no Brasil corresponde a um processo de reorganização e reinterpretação de elementos religiosos africanos trazidos pelos escravos. Sua estrutura religiosa apresenta de forma bastante significativa a presença da comida, importante para a própria manutenção dos laços sagrados entre as divindades.

Trata-se de uma religião marcada por rituais, dos mais simples aos mais complexos, onde os orixás recebem suas oferendas, sempre com a presença da comida. Para compreender esta relação entre a divindade e o alimento, partimos inicialmente das leituras de Marcel Mauss (2008) e Nestor Gárcia Canclini (2008). Estes autores apresentam uma discussão que nos dão suporte teórico para compreender os significados da comida nos rituais festivos desta religião.

Marcel Mauss (2008) desenvolveu um estudo clássico acerca da dádiva, ressaltando sua importância enquanto elemento de construção de alianças sejam elas políticas, religiosas, sociais, econômicas e jurídicas. Assim, a partir da análise de algumas sociedades, procura entender as relações de troca e contrato e como estas seguem determinadas regras e definições prescritas pelos grupos. Neste sentido, considera a dádiva enquanto uma relação ampla de permutas:

> o queeles [clãs, tribos, famílias] trocam não são exclusivamente bens e riquezas, móveis e imóveis, coisas úteis economicamente. São, antes de mais, amabilidades, festins, ritos, serviços militares, mulheres, crianças, danças, festas, feiras. (2008, p.58)

Desta forma, todos esses elementos são utilizados na construção destas relações de troca perceptível em várias sociedades, nas quais o constante dar e receber são analisados pelo autor. Considera estas prestações e contraprestações como elementos constitutivos de um sistema de prestações totais, em que estas são contratadas de maneira voluntária, por meio de presentes, mesmo que estas relações apresentem um sentido de obrigação.

Com isso, o autor enfatiza que a forma mais pura que encontrou destas prestações encontra-se nas tribos australianas ou do noroeste americano, onde estas prestações totais são chamadas de *Potlatch*. Observa que, em outras sociedades, existem práticas muito semelhantes, envolvendo os chefes das tribos ou clãs, assim como objetos que assumem um significado que ultrapassa o seu valor material ou funcional, ou seja, apresenta também um poder espiritual relacionado a toda a relação entre dar e receber. Mauss ressalta que o *Potlatch*detém o *mana,* que se encontra relacionado à honra, prestígio e autoridade; ou seja, se não houver retribuição, perde-se o *mana*.

Outro aspecto importante está relacionado à obrigação da dar e receber, no qual a prestação total não está relacionada somente à obrigação de retribuir os presentes recebidos, mas também de dar e receber tais dons. Com isso, entende-se a essência do *potlatch*presente nesta relação de obrigação entre dar, receber e retribuir. Assim, “nas coisas permutadas, existe uma virtude que obriga as dádivas a circular, a serem dadas e a serem retribuídas” (2008, p. 116).

A partir da contribuição de Mauss (2008), baseada na relação entre dar, receber e retribuir, afirmamos que, no universo sagrado do candomblé, o alimento tem o papel de intermediar as relações entre os devotos e seus orixás, seguindo a ideia apresentada por Mauss. Em todos os rituais do candomblé, de forma mais evidenciada ou mais discreta, com ostentação ou discrição, transformada em oferenda, a comida está presente enquanto um importante

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elemento de troca. Nestes rituais, os laços entre os devotos e os orixás, iniciados na religião ou não, são construídos mediante a presença da oferenda, que está centrada na comida, onde cada orixá tem uma dieta alimentar determinada.

É importante destacar que esta relação de reciprocidade em torno da comida é fundamental para a própria comunidade religiosa, que mantém os laços sagrados com suas divindades protetoras renovadas a cada festividade, a cada obrigação onde a oferenda é preparada e destinada aos orixás. Assim, através da comida, percebe-se que o dar, receber e retribuir, na circularidade desta relação, é algo muito presente no candomblé.

Ao tratar sobre a relação entre homens e deuses, Mauss(2008) sublinha que:

> as relações desses contratos e trocas entre homens e desses contratos entre homens e deuses esclarecem todo um lado da teoria do sacrifício. (...)Acredita-se que é aos deuses que é preciso comprar, e que os deuses sabem retribuir o preço das coisas. (2008, p.73-74)

Desta forma, no dinamismo das relações entre os homens e os orixás no candomblé, quando os iniciados e devotos cumprem com suas obrigações em busca de terem seus pedidos atendidos, as divindades retribuem de forma positiva as suas solicitações. Porém, quando se verifica um atraso ou mesmo um descaso com relação às obrigações devidas, os orixás costumam cobrar de diversas formas. Assim, mantém-se uma relação harmoniosa através da comida.

Portanto, a todo o momento, a comida é a forma de "troca" necessária para o bom relacionamento entre os homens e seus deuses. E este relacionamento assegurado é a garantia de desempenho nos processos ritualísticos, no qual a presença mágica dos orixás é parte fundamental para o sucesso.

No que diz respeito à organização das oferendas, ou seja, das comidas que serão oferecidas aos orixás, observa-se que os alimentos que farão parte dos rituais não são necessariamente africanos, sendo resultado de um processo de troca de influências culturais resultantes do contato entre estes povos, os indígenas e os europeus, denominado por Canclini (2008) de hibridismo cultural. Em seus estudos sobre a interculturalidade e as transformações do mundo moderno, o autor analisa o processo de hibridação cultural, que contribui para as transformações no modo de pensar a cultura e as relações entre identidade e o próprio multiculturalismo.

Assim, entende como hibridação cultural o resultado de processos socioculturais em que ocorrem combinações, resultando novas formas que são, na realidade, compostas de aspectos já existentes e outros resultantes de incorporações. Canclini mostra como é possível perceber a presença de elementos interculturais nas diversas fases e lugares, perceptível a partir de uma contextualização histórica sobre as hibridações.

Outro aspecto abordado pelo autor está relacionado ao fato de que o objeto de estudo não pode ser a hibridez abstratamente, e sim os processos de hibridação. Neste sentido, torna-se importante compreender os processos que resultam nas hibridações culturais, os elementos que se completam e se misturam, resultando em novas representações culturais, que na realidade não são tão "novas" assim, mas resultantes de outras culturas, da mistura entre estas culturas.

O autor analisa ainda que, a partir do século XX, existe uma diversidade de elementos híbridos que se espalham abundantemente nas diversas sociedades, estando associada à criatividade individual ou coletiva do ser humano. Tal diversidade pode ser percebida nas artes, na tecnologia e na vida cotidiana, em que os processos de hibridação estão relacionados a trocas culturais, entendendo que as identidades não podem ser consideradas enquanto "puras" ou "autênticas".

Canclini relaciona o que considera formas particulares de hibridação – *mestiçagem, sincretismo, crioulização* – utilizadas para identificar processos semelhantes. Estes conceitos, mais especificamente o de sincretismo, foi muito utilizado para fazer referência ao processo de formação das religiões afro-brasileiras, que podem ser consideradas o resultado de elementos religiosos de vários cultos tradicionais africanos e que, no Brasil, foram reorganizadas e reinterpretadas, associando elementos dos cultos indígenas e do catolicismo popular, resultando no surgimento do candomblé e da umbanda, considerando inclusive suas inúmeras variações.

a) Segundo o autor

A intensificação das migrações, assim como a difusão transcontinental de crenças e rituais no século passado acentuaram essas hibridações e, às vezes, aumentaram a tolerância com relação a elas, a ponto de que em países como Brasil, Cuba e Estados Unidos tornou-se frequente a dupla ou tripla pertença religiosa; por exemplo, ser católico e participar também de um culto afro americano ou de uma cerimônia *new age*. (CANCLINI, 2008, p. XXVIII).

Sendo assim, entendemos que a hibridação cultural poder ser observada no processo de elaboração das comidas no candomblé, tendo como campo de observação a "cozinha do santo", espaço destinado ao preparo das oferendas para os orixás. Estas são compostas por alimentos que passam por um processo de organização e seleção e que, em muitos casos, devido à ausência de determinados grãos e ouros alimentos comuns da África, foram

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reconstruídos a partir da incorporação de outros elementos no Brasil. Tal substituição está relacionada ao próprio processo de adaptação da dieta alimentar cotidiana dos africanos no Brasil, uma situação que ultrapassa o espaço comum do cotidiano para influenciar também o espaço sagrado do culto às divindades africanas.

Ao analisar a presença das dietas africanas no sistema alimentar brasileiro, Vivaldo Costa Lima (1999) ressalta a substituição de ingredientes de muitas comidas cotidianas dos homens e dos santos. Os Orixás, Voduns e Inquices puderam, outra vez, comer suas comidas no Brasil. Sendo assim, nesta relação entre os orixás e a comida, possivelmente alguns alimentos utilizados na preparação das oferendas destas divindades sofreram influências durante o processo de reinterpretação e surgimento dos terreiros de candomblés no Brasil.

Câmara Cascudo (2004) também enfrenta esta questão ao tratar sobre a comida africana, apresentando uma reflexão sobre as influências presentes na comida ritual, o que ele denomina de "permutas":

> Atendendo-se à inclusão do milho nas comidas de Oxóssi, Iemanjá, Omolu ou Xapanã que também gosta de pipocas, o feijão para Oxum, o fumo no culto de Irôco, a farinha de mandioca no amalá de Iansã. Serão conquistas brasileiras e não fidelidades sudanesas no cardápio dos orixás. (2004, p.226).

Assim, este cardápio sagrado passou por um processo de adaptação, assimilandoos grãos e outros elementos utilizados na construção das oferendas, transformando-os em alimentos sagrados. Podemos considerar que esta hibridação na construção das oferendas, chamada por Cascudo de "permuta", contribuiu para que os orixás continuassem a "comer" seus alimentos em terras brasileiras, como também observamos que outras comidas passam a fazer parte da dieta sagrada. Neste sentido, entendemos que o processo de hibridação cultural foi importante para a reorganização e reinterpretação de diversos rituais do candomblé.

Desta forma, a partir do conceito de hibridação cultural desenvolvido por Canclini (2008), é possível construir uma análise sobre a comida no candomblé enquanto elemento fundamental para os rituais, e que também expressa de forma bastante significativa as misturas interculturais entre elementos de origem africana, europeia e indígena. Assim, as comidas destinadas em forma de oferendas para os orixás são frutos de um processo hibrido, expressão do movimento de fluxo entre as culturas, onde "a intensificação da interculturalidade favorece intercâmbios, misturas maiores e mais diversificadas do que em outros tempos" (CANCLINI, 2008, p.XXXIII). E toda esta mistura pode ser encontrada nas cozinhas sagradas dos terreiros de candomblé.

IV. O Cardápio dos Orixás

Os orixás comem o que os homens e mulheres comem; observa-se, entretanto, um conjunto complexo de regras e preceitos no preparo destas comidas que serão oferecidas em rituais, públicos ou privados, marcados por segredos, interdições e prescrições. A construção da dieta sagrada dessas divindades manteve uma relação direta com a própria alimentação cotidiana dos escravos, o que expressa as permutas alimentares que também foram necessárias ao processo de reelaboração e reorganização dos rituais africanos na América Portuguesa, assim como em outros lugares de colonização, como Cuba e diversos outros pontos do Caribe.

A definição do cardápio dos orixás, com todas as orientações com relação às comidas que devem ser oferecidas, estão presentes em suas histórias mitológicas. São esses mitos que trazem informações sobre o que deve ser oferecido e o que não pode ser utilizado na preparação das oferendas, ou seja, as interdições, os tabus alimentares. Quem pode receber uma oferenda feita com milho branco ou milho amarelo? Levando dendê ou azeite doce? Nos relatos de suas aventuras, conflitos e soluções, é possível encontrar a presença constante de oferendas solicitadas, dramas envolvendo a ausência das oferendas, entre outras situações em que a comida pode aplacar a ira dos orixás ou despertar a sua proteção.

Os mitos são reafirmados através de uma presença constante da oralidade dentro dos terreiros de candomblé. É o caminho para o aprendizado, para a troca de conhecimentos entre o povo do axé. Muitas das orientações são repassadas pelos mais velhos através dos mitos. As grandes aventuras dos orixás devem ser interpretadas, analisadas e retiradas desses textos, que contêm as orientações necessárias para cuidar de cada divindade. Assim, é por meio dos relatos mitológicos que é possível construir um cardápio dos orixás.

Um estudo importante sobre a mitologia dos orixás foi desenvolvido por Reginaldo Prandi (2001), que apresenta um número extraordinário de mitos e a descrição de suas oferendas. Algumas divindades trazem em suas histórias uma presença mais significativa com as comidas. Vejamos o caso de Exu:

> Olofim estava muito doente. Muitos foram vê-lo, mas não se encontrou o que o curasse. Por esses tempos, Eleguá comia o que o lixo lhe dava, convivendo com a miséria. Sabendo da doença de Olofim, Eleguá vestiu um gorro branco, igual aos que usam os babalaôs, e foi visitar o velho rei. Levou consigo suas ervas e com seu poder curou Olofim.

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> Olofim ficou agradecido. Perguntou a Eleguá qual deveria ser a recompensa. Eleguá, que conhecia o que era a miséria, Eleguá, que provara do desprezo de todos, pediu-lhe que lhe dessem primazia nas oferendas, que lhe dessem sempre um pouco de tudo o que dessem a qualquer um. E que o pusessem à entrada da casa. E para que fosse saudado pelos que saíssem à rua. Olofim estava grato a Eleguá. Olofim deu tudo o que Eleguá pediu. (2001, p.53-54)

Exu tem prioridade nos rituais do candomblé. É a divindade que primeiro deve receber as oferendas. Suas comidas, à base de farinha de mandioca, dendê, cachaça e pimenta, são preparadas com todo o cuidado, para que esta divindade possa receber tudo corretamente. E este cuidado com as oferendas é algo muito presente nos terreiros de candomblé, pois qualquer comida preparada erroneamente pode resultar na ira dos orixás. Este fato pode ser observado também em seus mitos, quando encontramos relatos de oferendas mal feitas e castigos das divindades, como este registrado por Pierre Verger (1997):

> Conta-se que Aluman estava desesperado com uma grande seca. Seus campos estavam áridos, a chuva não caía. As rãs choravam de tanta sede e os rios estavam cobertos de folhas mortas, caídas das árvores. Nenhum orixá invocado escutou suas queixas e gemidos. Aluman decidiu, então, oferecer a Exu grandes pedaços de carne de bode. Exu comeu com apetite desta excelente oferenda. Só que Aluman havia temperado a carne com um molho muito apimentado. Exu teve sede. Uma sede tão grande que toda a água de todas as jarras que ele tinha em casa, e que tinham, em suas casas, os vizinhos, não foi suficiente para matar a sua sede! Exu foi à torneira da chuva e abriu-a sem pena. A chuva caiu. Ela caiu de dia, ela caiu de noite. Ela caiu no dia seguinte e no dia de depois, sem parar. Os campos de Aluman cantaram sua glória:*"joro, jará, joroAluman, Dono dos dendezeiros, cujos cachos são abundantes!Joro, jará, joroAluman!Dono dos campos de milho, cujas expigas são pesadas!Joro, jará, joroAluman!Dono dos campos de feijão, inhame e mandioca!Joro, jará, joroAluman!"* E as rãzinhas gargarejavam e coaxavam. E o rio corria velozmente para não transbordar! Alumã, reconhecido, ofereceu a Exu carne de bode, com o tempero no ponto certo da pimenta. Havia chovido bastante. Mas, seria desastroso! Pois, em todas as coisas, o demais é inimigo do bom! (VERGER, 1983, p.13)

Em todo o processo de preparação das oferendas na cozinha do santo, deve-se manter muita atenção. Preparar uma oferenda sem os cuidados necessários pode resultar em problemas futuros com o orixá. Assim, conhecer as particularidades de cada divindade é fundamental para aqueles que estão em contato direto com a preparação das oferendas, como conhecer também suas histórias, seus feitos mitológicos. Vejamos o que afirma o antropólogo Vivaldo da Costa Lima (2010):

> No candomblé, os deuses comem. Cada um tem sua comida particular, de seu agrado pessoal, de sua preferência pessoal. Comida ligada às suas histórias, a seus odus, a seus mitos. Comida que muitas vezes é cantada e dançada numa integração harmoniosa de gesto, música e palavra". (2010, p.138)

Essa integração é muito presente durante o processo de preparação dos rituais no candomblé. No momento em que estão sendo preparadas as comidas para os orixás, são contadas suas histórias e muitas vezes entoados cânticos que contribuem para a compreensão do que se está querendo passar aos demais iniciados que acompanham a preparação das oferendas. O conhecimento é articulado com a música, elemento tão presente no candomblé. Esta presença constante do mito definindo as oferendas aos orixás é reafirmado pelo autor:

> As comidas são elaboradas, requintadas na forma, no ordenamento do preparo ou na simplicidade aparente de um despojamento prescrito pelo mito, vez que, atrás de cada oferenda alimentar está o mito que a prescreve pelas práticas divinatórias. (LIMA, 2010, p.149)

E o espaço onde todo este conhecimento é construído e apresentado aos iniciados é a cozinha, espaço este onde os alimentos assumem uma característica "mágica", fazendo com que ingredientes usados no dia-a-dia sejam utilizados através de rituais onde nada acontece por acaso. É a força do axé, direcionada para a preparação das oferendas que serão destinadas aos orixás.

Na cozinha, os responsáveis pelo preparo das oferendas também expressam seus conhecimentos utilizando o mito e os cânticos, o que desperta muito a atenção daqueles iniciados que passam pelo local ou estão ali, seja dentro da cozinha ou mesmo próximo á porta, buscando aprender alguma coisa. As conversas que circulam nesse espaço dedicado ao preparo das oferendas se transformam num grande debate em que aqueles diretamente envolvidos com as panelas, os ingredientes, a ornamentação dos pratos falam sobre o referido alimento que está sendo preparado, os cuidados que devem ter ao elaborar tal oferenda, o que deve ser evitado, o que pode ser colocado para deixar a divindade satisfeita. Tudo gira em torno de conquistar o agrado do orixá que está recebendo tal comida.

A cozinha transforma-se num espaço onde estes mitos são recriados. O fogo, elemento fundamental no preparo dos alimentos, tem sua origem associada a um mito:

> Em épocas remotas, havia um homem a quem Olorum e Exu ensinaram todos os segredos do mundo, para que pudesse fazer o bem e o mal, como bem entendesse. Os deuses que governavam o mundo, Obatalá, Xangô e Ifá, determinaram que, por ter se tornado feiticeiro tão poderoso, o homem deveria oferecer uma grande festa para os deuses, mas eles estavam fartos de comer comida crua e fria. Queriam coisa diferente: comida quente, comida cozida. Mas naquele tempo nenhum homem sabia fazer fogo e muito menos cozinhar. Reconhecendo a própria incapacidade de satisfazer os deuses, o homem foi até a encruzilhada e pediu a ajuda a Exu. Esperou três dias e três noites sem nenhum sinal, até que ouviu uns estalos na mata. Eram as árvores que pareciam estar rindo dele, esfregando seus galhos umas contra as outras. Ele não gostou nada dessa brincadeira e invocou Xangô, que o ajudou lançando uma chuva de raios sobre as árvores. Alguns galhos incendiados foram decepados e lançados no chão, onde queimaram até restarem só as brasas. O homem apanhou algumas brasas e as cobriu de gravetos e abafou tudo colocando terra por cima. Algum tempo depois, ao descobrir o montinho, o homem viu pequenas lascas pretas. Era o carvão. O homem dispôs os pedaços de carvão entre pedras e os acendeu com a brasa que restara. Depois soprou até ver flamejar o fogo e no fogo cozinhou os alimentos. Assim, inspirado e protegido por Xangô, o homem inventou o fogão e pode satisfazer as ordens dos três grandes orixás. Os orixás comeram comidas cozidas e gostaram muito. E permitiram ao homem comer delas também. (PRANDI, 2001, p.257-258)

Assim, Xangô se transforma no orixá que ensina o fogo ao homem e a partir deste momento, o homem começa a cozinhar, a preparar comidas cozidas; porém, os primeiros a receberem este alimento são os próprios orixás. Nesta relação com o sagrado, com as próprias divindades, surgem os elementos fundamentais da cozinha: o fogo e o fogão. Desta forma, o espaço da cozinha pode ser considerado um espaço sagrado de transformação, onde as comidas são transformadas em oferendas. Vários são os elementos relacionados neste processo: as palavras, os cânticos, as pessoas envolvidas, os objetos, tudo deve estar em perfeita harmonia para que o orixá possa retribuir as dádivas oferecidas pela comunidade religiosa.

Sendo assim, como no candomblé todo ritual tem uma relação com o alimento, seja uma limpeza espiritual, seja uma celebração mais complexa, a oferenda aos orixás é constituída de comida, aspecto este que Lima (2010) observa na relação entre as comidas rituais e a tradição yorubá-nagô, responsável pelo modelo da comida sacrifical do candomblé:

> foi certamente na estruturação das primeiras casas de santo da Bahia do modelo nagô, no fim do século XVIII começo do XIX, como disse, que essa comida de santo terá sido recriada, codificada, reconstituída entrenós, com as inevitáveis substituições, se por acaso os ingredientes, ou mesmo os animais, não fossem encontrados no novo cenário ecológico dos orixás e voduns. (2010, p.26)

Percebe-se um processo de hibridismo cultural na redefinição das comidas dedicadas aos orixás, a partir do momento em que as substituições foram acontecendo, resultando em reelaborações das comidas, redefinições de alimentos que vão ser destinados às divindades africanas. Isto pode ser observado a partir do momento em que encontramos, entre as bases de muitas comidas de santo, por exemplo, a farinha de mandioca e o milho, elementos da América, incorporados ao inhame africano, ao quiabo e a tantos outros alimentos, surgindo as várias oferendas.

Este processo é resultante do próprio contato entre as culturas, proporcionada pelo intercâmbio não só de homens, como também de alimentos. É importante entender estas combinações entre práticas e elementos culturais diferenciados, resultando em novas formas, ou seja, novas comidas, a partir de uma dinâmica que Canclini (2008) denomina de "processo de hibridação", em que aquilo que deve ser observado é todo o percurso de transformação dessas comidas. No candomblé, isto se verifica na composição dos pratos destinados aos orixás, em que encontramos elementos herdados de várias matrizes

É possível que este hibridismo cultural que aconteceu e acontece na redefinição do cardápio dos orixás tenha uma relação com os processos vividos na atualidade pelo candomblé. As transformações interculturais podem influenciar neste processo de adaptações. Entender estas transformações nas comidas dos orixás equivale a entender que a cozinha é um espaço que também passa por adequações.

Observa-se em alguns terreiros de candomblé todo um discurso voltado para a valorização do tradicional; em contrapartida, encontramos cada vez mais a presença de fogão industrial, panelas de alumínio e outros instrumentos modernos que coabitam este espaço juntamente com os objetos de madeira e barro, como as colheres de pau, as gamelas de madeira, os potes, panelas e alguidares de barro, entre tantos outros objetos que são necessários para o preparo dessas oferendas. Desta forma, na cozinha sagrada existe um diálogo entre os elementos relacionados aos rituais tradicionais assim como aqueles que representam inovações modernas.

Mesmo diante de todas estas inovações, que levam à construção destas oferendas alimentos incorporados algumas vezes apenas enquanto elementos estéticos na hora da organização do prato, percebe-se o universo sagrado presente na cozinha; ou seja, são as palavras, os cânticos, os rituais realizados durante o preparo de cada comida que ressaltam a força e o caráter sagrado de cada oferenda preparada para as dividades.

Dar um presente, dar uma oferenda, dar uma comida ao orixá. Estas são as denominações que os iniciados no candomblé utilizam para o momento em que procuram construir uma relação mais próxima com seus orixás individuais, através da relação entre o dar, receber e retribuir, tão presente no candomblé e que tem, enquanto elemento de mediação fundamental, a comida. Neste sentido, a cozinha ganha um status de "santuário", onde tudo gira em torno do sagrado e todos mantêm o pensamento firmado em energias positivas, repassadas ao alimento que está sendo preparado.

Outro aspecto importante está relacionado aos tabus alimentares, são muito respeitados no candomblé, observando-se uma preocupação constante com o agradar o orixá, sobretudo por parte dos mais velhos que supervisionam o exercício dos mais novos nessas funções. Isso está vinculado a uma oferenda preparada da forma correta, sem deslizes que possam resultar na insatisfação da divindade. As restrições abrangem tanto os alimentos quanto os temperos, assim como também a ingestão de algumas frutas, que se configuram como quizilas, ou seja, interdições.

Entre os ingredientes mais utilizados nas cozinhas dos terreiros estão o azeite de dendê, a cebola branca, o camarão e o azeite doce. São estes temperos que vão identificar o orixá e a circunstância, o momento e a função da oferenda a ser preparada. Em estudos sobre estes ingredientes utilizados nos terreiros, Camargo (1990) ressalta:

> A preparação das comidas rituais com seus ingredientes próprios e os temperos necessários para cada situação particular não deixam de ser representações concretas resultantes da ritualização de elementos míticos ligados aos orixás, através de suas linguagens metafóricas. (1990, p.82)

Assim, os mitos também fazem referência não só à comida, como também ao ingrediente que pode ou não ser utilizado no preparo da oferenda a ser ofertada ao orixá. Outro elemento importante relativo ao uso dos temperos está relacionado às características dos orixás, ou seja, existem temperos que "esquentam" a comida e estão associados a algumas dividades, como Iansã e Xangô. Já outros devem ser evitados, como no preparo da comida de Oxalá, em que o dendê não pode ser utilizado, assim como o sal.

Sendo assim, as definições das oferendas dos orixás são muito mais complexas quando partimos para analisar as suas particularidades, os seja, as suas qualidades, que vão interferir de forma bastante significativa em detalhes na preparação de suas oferendas, sendo que somente aqueles que dominam este conhecimento poderão assumir a liderança da cozinha, evitando qualquer contratempo que possa interferir na tranquilidade dos rituais. Estes ainda apresentam certas diferenciações que refletem na presença das comidas.

Trata-se da diferença entre oferenda e sacrifício no candomblé. Estas terminologias diferenciam dois tipos de rituais relacionados à comida. A oferenda muitas vezes está relacionada a alguns alimentos chamados "comidas secas" de cada orixá, preparadas com mais frequência nos terreiros, por serem mais simples e de custo menor. Já o sacrifício está relacionado a um ritual que envolve, além das comidas secas, o sacrifício de animais; considerado um ritual maior, mais elaborado e também mais dispendioso. Desta forma, os alimentos na cozinha dos orixás estão organizados em "comidas secas" e "comidas de ejé", assim definidas por Vilson Caetano Souza Júnior (2009):

> Comidas de ejé são todas aquelas preparadas a partir de animais, suas carnes, vísceras, oferecidas ritualmente aos orixás (...) E as comidas secas: são aquelas à base de grãos, raízes, frutos, folhas, legumes e doces. Ou seja, as que "não levam sangue animal". São chamadas também de comidas frias. (2009, p.94)

As comidas que envolvem o sangue animal, as comidas de ejé, em alguns terreiros são preparadas e organizadas de forma muito reservada, pois, logo que se finalizam os rituais de sacrifícios, os animais são levados para uma parte reservada da cozinha e entregues a uma pessoa de confiança da casa. Esta pessoa ou grupo de pessoas, assume um importante papel, pois todo o preparo e separação das partes que serão colocadas no quarto onde estão os igbás dos orixás que receberam as oferendas do dia festivo são feitas por esta pessoa. Trata-se sempre de alguém que goza de muita confiança da Ialorixá.

Diante da centralidade deste espaço no terreiro, um papel importante no processo de preparo das oferendas e fundamental na estrutura do candomblé está relacionado à pessoa que irá assumir a cozinha. Trata-se da Iabassê, a "senhora da cozinha". É ela quem assume toda a responsabilidade no preparo e organização de cada prato a ser ofertado às divindades, considerando cuidadosamente os preceitos alimentares. Desde a ida ao mercado para comprar os alimentos até a elaboração da oferenda, esta iniciada assume toda a responsabilidade pela comida dedicada aos orixás. É auxiliada por outros iniciados; no entanto, nos momentos essenciais na elaboração das iguarias sagradas, a Iabassê está à frente.

Na definição deste cargo essencial para o terreiro, não é qualquer pessoa que pode assumir. Segue-se toda uma série de preceitos e orientações para definir quem será a pessoa escolhida para o cargo. Assim, existe uma preferência por mulheres que estão no período da menopausa em virtude das restrições relacionadas ao sangue menstrual, que limita os espaços da mulher no candomblé durante este período. Além disso, outro aspecto importante está relacionado à dedicação a cozinha, que deve ser exclusiva para a Iabassê, o que exige a sua presença diária no terreiro. Sendo assim, esta função requer uma dedicação e uma doação ao candomblé e à cozinha, uma grande responsabilidade que, para algumas casas de santo, torna-se muito difícil conseguir uma pessoa com este perfil.

Na maioria dos terreiros em que existe este cargo, as mulheres são orientadas e acompanhadas pela Ialorixá. Entretanto, pode acontecer que homens também assumam a liderança na cozinha do santo. Este fato foi analisado por Bastide (2001):

> A função de preparar os pratos místicos nem sempre é atribuída a uma mulher e sabe-se, com efeito, que os homens, quando se encarregam disso, são cozinheiros ainda mais hábeis. Assim se explica o que vimos em um terreiro jeje, um cozinheiro muito aplicado em sua função, e que me falou, como um verdadeiro apaixonado, dos preparativos das cozinhas dos deuses. (2001, p.334)

Assim, a direção da cozinha dos orixás não pode ser vista como um espaço exclusivo das mulheres, mas também ocupado por homens. Trata-se de uma função que vai exigir, seja de mulheres ou homens, todo um conhecimento das questões relativas à atividade prática do preparo das oferendas, além de um conhecimento amplo sobre os orixás e suas particularidades. O cuidado com as palavras, os gestos, as roupas e demais acessórios utilizados pelos iniciados é uma constante, principalmente pelos que estão na organização direta do preparo das comidas.

Desta forma, tudo que acontece em volta da cozinha deve estar em sintonia com o momento sagrado, mantendo um equilíbrio de todos no terreiro, para que os orixás recebam os presentes e possam retribuir com sua proteção ao terreiro e a todos os que estão participando do ritual. O fato de dar um presente ou dar uma comida ao orixá está relacionado a toda uma relação construída com base em uma obrigação centrada em três elementos fundamentais: o dar, o receber e o retribuir, em que o iniciado, ao preparar uma comida para seu orixá, espera algo em troca e, consequentemente, isto vai exigir uma retribuição das dádivas recebidas.

Observa-se, nos terreiros, a necessidade da circulação das dádivas, ou seja, as dádivas devem ser retribuídas, o que acontece nos pejis, onde a todo o momento é possível encontrar iniciados colocando suas oferendas, renovando seus laços com seu orixá, o que demonstra esta constante circularidade em torno dos presentes recebidos e retribuídos.

a) *Assim, segundo Lody (2004)*

> O candomblé é, sem dúvida, o reduto de grande significado para a sobrevivência da cozinha, onde as atitudes rituais e as maneiras de preparar os alimentos estão repletas de significados econômicos e sociais, sendo de alta importância para uma comunicação em linguagem própria – a comida. (2004, p.31)

A relação entre o candomblé e a comida é tão forte que os objetos ritualísticos que guardam o otá – onde o orixá é plantado – são objetos relacionados à cozinha. Trata-se do assentamento ou igbá. Estes objetos, como pratos e vasilhas, de barro, louça ou madeira, são muito importantes, pois correspondem ao local onde os orixás são assentados. Isto ocorre em meio a uma série de rituais que envolvem vários elementos sagrados, entre eles a comida votiva do orixá a ser assentado no igbá. Estes são colocados no peji, em locais adornados com saias ou mesmo objetos que vão identificar o orixá e o dono do assentamento.

Todo o ritual de renovação do axé da divindade individual envolve este objeto, próximos dos quais são colocadas as oferendas, as velas e demais elementos ritualísticos. Em alguns casos, este igbá é levado para um espaço separado do peji, onde as oferendas mais elaboradas são preparadas. No peji, há sempre uma comida para algum orixá, algo relacionado ao momento de reforçar ou mesmo fortalecer a divindade.

Em torno da comida, os rituais internos acontecem. Em meio a segredos, ritos bastante elaborados fazem parte deste momento em que a comunicação é construída entre o devoto e o orixá, ou entre a comunidade religiosa do terreiro e suas divindades protetoras. E em algumas situações, estes rituais se desdobram em momentos em que ocorre a socialização através da comida.

Algumas oferendas que acontecem mediante rituais específicos para os iniciados também são compartilhadas entre todos os participantes. E este ritual socializador em que a comida está presente exige do participante uma postura diferenciada à mesa. Geralmente são colocadas esteiras no meio do barracão, onde as comidas são arrumadas. Dependendo do ritual e do orixá para quem esteja sendo feita a oferenda, a comida é colocada em um prato ou em folhas de mamona ou bananeira, e não se utilizam talheres, e sim as mãos. Todo o alimento que sobra é colocado em um recipiente separado para esta função, que depois terá um destino que é um dos segredos do terreiro. Segundo Ferreti (2011), alguns terreiros trazem orientações precisas sobre como se comportar ao participar da mesa:

> Na Casa das Minas, a comida de santo, chamada de comida de obrigação em geral, se come com as mãos, sem usar talheres. Não se come na panela que vai ao fogo, nem se coloca a panela sobre a mesa em que se vai comer. Não se come em mesa sem toalha e não se deve comer segurando o prato na mão. (2011, p.250)

Assim, estas regras de etiqueta à mesa em rituais de comensalidade interna do candomblé são muito específicas, o que permite aos terreiros decidirem suas regras particulares, guardando autonomia nas definições do como se deve comer. Porém, algo parece ser comum a todos os terreiros: é o que Bastide (2001) chama de "consagração da comida", ou seja, primeiro a comida é servida aos orixás, voduns e inkices, para depois ser apreciada pelos participantes nos rituais. Percebe-se que este momento de socialização da comida também é marcado pela fé nas divindades, pois, quando o alimento está sendo ingerido pelas pessoas, estas fazem seus pedidos; não é uma comida comum, é algo que foi preparado dentro de um universo marcado pelo sagrado.

Esta relação de sociabilidade entre os devotos e suas divindades se estende a toda a comunidade do entorno do terreiro e aos visitantes, através dos rituais públicos, as festas. Este é o momento em que a relação mediada pela comida assume um significado mais amplo, promovendo a socialização entre os iniciados, a comunidade e os orixás.

V. As Relações Entre a Comida e a Festa nos Terreiros

A festa é o momento em que acontece a interação entre a comunidade, os adeptos e as divindades. Trata-se de uma cerimônia na qual os laços internos – entre os integrantes do grupo e os orixás – e os laços externos – integrantes do grupo e comunidade – são reafirmados. A comida está presente aí como um dos elementos que promovem a socialização entre os participantes. Assim como em todo o cotidiano e durante os rituais que acontecem nos terreiros, a festa também é o espaço onde o conhecimento religioso é transmitido para os mais novos adeptos destas religiões. Esta transmissão de conhecimentos ocorre a partir da oralidade, e o espaço das festas é também um espaço de aprendizagem. Assim, a festa no candomblé pode ser considerada o momento em que todas as relações são construídas e os conhecimentos adquiridos em função de tudo que envolve este ritual. Segundo Rita Amaral (2002):

> A festa é uma das mais expressivas instituições dessa religião e sua visão de mundo, pois é nela que se realiza de modo paroxístico, toda a diversidade dos papéis, os graus de poder e conhecimento a eles relacionados, as individualidades como identidades de orixás e de "nação", o gosto, as funções e alternativas que o grupo é capaz de reunir. Nela não encontramos apenas fiéis envolvidos na louvação aos deuses, muitas outras coisas acontecem na festa. Nela andam juntos a religião, a economia, a política, o prazer, o lazer, a estética, a sociabilidade, etc. (2002, p.30)

Assim, para os adeptos do candomblé, a vivência da festa é uma experiência muito intensa; é o momento em que os orixás comparecem para serem reverenciados pelos iniciados e demais presentes nos rituais festivos. Outro aspecto importante é o que a festa representa na própria estrutura do candomblé, pois as posturas, comportamentos e a própria hierarquia entre os iniciados têm neste momento a sua maior explicitação. E a comida é também um elemento de socialização entre os adeptos do candomblé e a comunidade que vem prestigiar a festa.

A construção de uma festa de candomblé acontece numa ambiência em que todos os elementos são decididos pela Ialorixá ou o Babalorixá. Todos os rituais que serão realizados, assim como as comidas que serão oferecidas ás divindades e aquelas que serão socializadas com todos durante a festa pública, tudo, enfim, é decidido e em seguida apresentado aos iniciados do terreiro, que procuram ajudar de acordo com suas condições. Assim, todos se envolvem no preparo da festa, inclusive da arrumação do barracão. Amaral ressalta que todo o cardápio da festa depende do que se chama de qualidade do orixá, ou seja, quem receberá a oferenda, quais as suas principais comidas. Por exemplo, se é Iansã quem será festejada, todas as suas comidas votivas serão preparadas e oferecidas a esta divindade – no caso, o acará, sua principal comida. Da mesma forma que, para a comunidade que participará da festa pública, será servido o acarajé.

a) Assim, todos se preparam para reverenciar os orixás

É na festa que os orixás vem à terra, no corpo de suas filhas, com a finalidade de dançar, de brincar no xirê, termo que em ioruba significa exatamente isto: brincar, dançar, divertir-se. É através dos gestos, sutis ou vigorosos, dos ritmos efervescentes ou cadenciados, das cantigas que "falam" das ações e dos atributos dos orixás, que o mito é revivido, que o orixá é vivido, como a soma das cores, brilhos, ritmos, cheiros, movimentos, gostos. A vida dos orixás é o principal tema (e a vinda dos orixás é o principal motivo) da festa. Os deuses incorporam seus eleitos e dançam majestosamente: usam roupas brilhantes, ricas, coroas e cetros, espadas e espelhos; são os personagens principais do drama religioso. (AMARAL, 2002, p.48)

Neste momento de comunhão em torno do alimento, é importante observar particularidades que caracterizam o momento de comer. Em algumas festas, o alimento servido no barracão deve ser comido com as mãos por todos os presentes, sejam do candomblé ou não, e servidos em folhas. É a “comida de obrigação”, que exige um comportamento diferenciado.

O “ajeum”, termo africano usado para designar a comida, é considerado um importante atrativo para as festas de candomblé. Segundo Lody (2004):

> A motivação para muitas destas festas públicas é o ajeum que acontece ao final das danças rituais. Na grande mesa, certa liberdade em consumir os alimentos e a bebida anima o público assistente. É evidente a motivação religiosa, atuando por meio dos cânticos e das danças nos momentos em que as divindades vêm participar, no barracão, com suas presenças históricas e seus enredos. O ajeum é comida, é o ato da alimentação votiva estendendo-se à festa. (2004, p.36)

A todo o momento, a alimentação é a forma de troca necessária para o bom relacionamento entre os homens e seus deuses. E este relacionamento assegurado é a garantia de desempenho nos processos ritualísticos. E o momento em que esta troca ultrapassa os espaços dos rituais internos é a festa, quando a ideia de socialização é efetivamente colocada em prática. Assim, os orixás convidam os homens e mulheres a participarem do seu banquete.

Estas festividades são denominadas a partir das comidas destinadas aos orixás. Assim, temos a feijoada de Ogum, o ipeté de Oxum, o pirão de Oxaguiã, o amalá de Xangô, o acarajé de Iansã, entre tantas denominações de festas onde o convite é o nome da iguaria que será servida tanto aos orixás como também aos visitantes. É a comida exercendo a sua função social, promovendo a sociabilidade entre as pessoas do santo e a comunidade.

Outro elemento importante que vem ocupando cada vez mais espaços nas festas de candomblé nas últimas décadas são as chamadas “comidas de branco”. São as comidas de origens diferenciadas, que fazem parte da vida cotidiana, que se juntam às comidas de azeite e “de obrigação”, transformando as festas de candomblé num misto de festa religiosa com ares de festa doméstica, em que temos ao mesmo tempo uma pessoa servindo o acarajé e um garçom servindo doces e salgados ou mesmo um serviço de buffet.

Percebe-se que, da mesma forma que as comidas dos terreiros saíram para as mesas, marcando consideravelmente a gastronomia brasileira com seus temperos e suas cores, encontramos nos terreiros a presença das comidas cotidianas, principalmente destinadas aos visitantes que têm “problemas” com o dendê. Assim, serve-se, em espaços reservados, strogonoff de frango, arroz, salada, entre outras comidas, além é claro, dos bolos e salgados de festa para todos os que estão participando da celebração.

Este processo de hibridismo cultural coloca elementos bastante diversificados num espaço de culto tradicional, promovendo um processo de reorganização e adaptação de práticas e costumes que resultam em permutas culturais. Porém, estas adaptações que envolvem as “comidas de branco” são muito mais visíveis nas relações de sociabilidade mais ampla, ou seja, com a comunidade, do que nos rituais internos onde a comida também se faz presente.

Bastide (2001) define este momento de sociabilidade promovido pela comida como um momento de “comunhão”:

> A refeição é uma tripla comunhão: do filho com seu deus, pois ele come o prato consagrado do orixá; em seguida, dos filhos de santo entre si, pela partilha fraterna das iguarias de cada um com os outros; enfim, dos iniciados e dos amigos do candomblé, que assim participam um pouco do maná e das forças sobrenaturais. (2001, p.336)

Este contato com o alimento sagrado durante as festividades foi observado na festa de Iansã do Abaçá São Jorge, terreiro de Candomblé localizado na cidade de Aracaju-Sergipee. Quando este orixá dança no barracão, é distribuído o acará somente com as pessoas que estão neste espaço circunscrito. Como o número de porções é menor que o número de pessoas presentes em todo o ambiente do terreiro, estabelece-se uma seleção daqueles que vão receber o acará. Estas procuram se aproximar da ekedi que faz esta distribuição, pois receber o acará de Iansã corresponde a uma proximidade maior com a divindade. Algumas pessoas passam o alimento no corpo, havendo outras que guardam o alimento, buscando proteção. O acará torna-se então um amuleto, mesmo sendo perecível.

A importância deste universo sagrado em torno da comida é algo muito presente durante as festas do candomblé, pois, mesmo que todos os participantes da festa de Iansã possam comer o acarajé distribuído no terreiro, o mais desejado – e mesmo disputado! – é o acará que entra no barracão junto com o orixá.

> Comidas pra ver, para ingerir axé, para comunicar, para unir e fortalecer laços entre homens, deuses e ancestrais. Comidas para festejar, lembrar, marcar, expressar características de indivíduos, grupos, terreiros, nações, de vinculações mais próximas com Áfricas. Umas idealizadas, outras transformadas e, outras ainda, etnograficamente reconhecíveis. (LODY, 1998, p.163)

VI. Considerações Para um Novo Banquete: a Comida Para Além da Festa

Na comida, encontra-se a energia máxima de uma oferta, mas, acima de tudo, ela é a força que fortifica os ancestrais, então, é um meio, um veículo através do qual, grupos humanos, civilizações se sustentaram durante milênios fazendo contato com o Sagrado (SOUZA JÚNIOR, 2009, p.199)

Olhar o candomblé a partir da cozinha. Foi com este objetivo que este trabalho desenvolvido, buscando entender como a comida está presente nos terreiros e qual o seu papel durante os rituais.

Foi possível compreender que a presença da comida no candomblé não se resume apenas a rituais públicos e ritos internos mais elaborados. Em ações aparentemente simples, como a retirada de um elemento sagrado do corpo de um iniciado, está presente um prato com milho branco, comida de Oxalá. Ou seja, a comida ocupa espaços e momentos bastante simples, e que para aqueles sem muito conhecimento sobre a religião pode passar despercebido. Desta forma, observando o cotidiano destes espaços sagrados, foi possível verificar que se trata de um espaço marcado por ritos que expressam a abrangência do alimento no candomblé.

Com as observações realizadas para o desenvolvimento desta pesquisa, buscamos mostrara presença da comida e sua importância para o desenvolvimento desta religião. Para a definição do cardápio dos Orixás, o papel dos mitos africanos na elaboração das oferendas, a compra e seleção dos alimentos que serão preparados para as divindades, a organização dos rituais e da festa pública. Todos estes elementos foram apresentados a partir de uma descrição utilizando a fotografia enquanto complemento da construção do texto.

Acompanhar o funcionamento da cozinha dos orixás foi fundamental para compreender os processos de hibridação cultural relacionados às comidas que serão transformadas em oferendas. A dinâmica deste espaço de transformação e os comportamentos daqueles que desenvolvem este trabalho tão relevante na organização dos rituais do candomblé, ou seja, foi possível perceber que a cozinha é o local onde ocorre a recriação dos mitos que definem o cardápio dos orixás, com suas interdições, as regras no modo de preparar, onde e como devem ser oferecidos. Tudo que é preparado para o banquete que será oferecido às divindades tem as orientações presentes nas histórias mitológicas, e estas são constantemente citadas entre os iniciados que trabalham na cozinha como justificativas para os questionamentos sobre o que pode ou não estar presente nas oferendas que estão sendo preparadas.

Apresentamos uma reflexão acerca das relações de sociabilidade em torno da comida numa festa de candomblé, à luz do conceito de Mauss (2008) sobre as relações entre dar, receber e retribuir. Foi possível perceber que estas relações estão muito presentes nos terreiros, tendo a comida o papel de mediadora entre iniciados e divindades. Dos rituais mais simples aos mais complexos, as oferendas estão constantemente aos pés dos orixás, sendo o caminho para que os devotos possam alcançar as dádivas solicitadas.

Foi possível perceber também que a sociabilidade em torno da comida no candomblé ultrapassa o cardápio definido pelos mitos dos orixás, na medida em que, durante as festividades públicas existe a presença das "comidas de branco", servidas em festas sociais, como salgados, doces, strogonoff de frango, arroz, entre outras comidas que não estão presentes nos terreiros durante os rituais.

Os terreiros de candomblé têm na comida um importante elemento sagrado, configurando a construção de laços entre eles e os orixás. Percebemos ainda particularidades envolvendo o preparo das oferendas que são característicos de cada terreiro. Além disso, as regras em torno da comida também foram observadas durante esta pesquisa. Na realização dos rituais, o comportamento diante das oferendas era diferenciado, ou seja, os iniciados tinham um comportamento de acordo com o tempo de iniciação e os cargos que ocupam no terreiro. Assim, comer com as mãos, sentados no chão, comer com talheres, o que pode estar ou não no prato, tudo isto é definido de acordo com o iniciado, o seu orixá, sendo que as interdições ocupam aí lugar decisivo.

Buscamos contribuir com este trabalho para os estudos sobre a comida ritual presente nos terreiros de candomblé. Assim, é possível compreender o processo de organização de uma festa de candomblé a partir da cozinha, e como a comida é um elemento essencial na estrutura ritualística desta religião voltada ao culto aos orixás, associada aos mitos, que definem o que pode ser oferecido e como deve ser preparada e servida a comida que será colocada em cada oferenda.

Adádivaatravésdacomidavotiva/sagradanutrehomensemulheresnãosódoalimentoquemataafome,masquetambémrenovaosentidodavida.Aformadeagradecerasdivindadesétambémofereceroalimento,pois"Quemmedádecomer,tambémcome."

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Re-Examining the Akan Gold Weight and its Possible Reuse

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Abstract- Generally, Gold weights(called mrammou in the Akan language) are weights made of brass and used as a measuring system by the people of Akan in West Africa. This was used for weighing gold dust which was the currency until that was replaced by paper money and coins. These gold weights look like miniature models of everyday objects. In the Akan society, gold weights have played a significant part so far as the tradition and culture and the economy are concerned. The gold weights have several cultural and symbolic undertones that require a study and an understanding by modern society. Hence the study was conducted to revealed philosophical, cultural, and an outstanding value attached to the gold weights. This was attained by using qualitative research design and research instruments such as purposive and convenience sampling techniques. Interview and observation were the two main data collection tools used. However, the long hours of inquiry with key respondents in the naturalistic fieldwork which was peculiar of phenomenological study such as this aided the researcher in gaining in-depth information and understanding of what gold weights represent and its significance in the tradition and customs of the people of Akan.

Keywords: *gold weight, akan.*

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REEXAMININGTHEAKANGOLDWEIGHTANDITSPOSSIBLEREUSE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Abstract- Generally, Gold weights(called mrammou in the Akan language) are weights made of brass and used as a measuring system by the people of Akan in West Africa. This was used for weighing gold dust which was the currency until that was replaced by paper money and coins. These gold weights look like miniature models of everyday objects. In the Akan society, gold weights have played a significant part so far as the tradition and culture and the economy are concerned. The gold weights have several cultural and symbolic undertones that require a study and an understanding by modern society. Hence the study was conducted to revealed philosophical, cultural, and an outstanding value attached to the gold weights. This was attained by using qualitative research design and research instruments such as purposive and convenience sampling techniques. Interview and observation were the two main data collection tools used. However, the long hours of inquiry with key respondents in the naturalistic fieldwork which was peculiar of phenomenological study such as this aided the researcher in gaining in-depth information and understanding of what gold weights represent and its significance in the tradition and customs of the people of Akan.

Keywords: gold weight, akan.

I. Introduction

Gold weights have for centuries been used by the peoples of West Africa, Sudan, and even beyond the Sahara Desert. They created objects from gold mined and controlled by the Akan of present-day Ghana. To better control and regulate the trade in gold, Akan merchants and rulers of the time developed brass weights called mrammuo which was used as the set standard units of measurements. The earliest weights were in geometric forms that reflected the gold trade's friendly links to North African Islamic symbols. Figurative imageries were later developed with inspiration by the great philosophies of Akan proverbs. The Akan society has from the time of old communicated accepted realities and practical guidance through symbols and proverbs which have been inspired and in cooperated into gold weights till today.

a) The Akan

Akan in contemporary Ghana is the largest ethnic group occupying five of the ten regions of Ghana; namely, Central Region, Western Region, Eastern Region, Ashanti Region and the Brong-Ahafo Region respectively (Sangaparee, 2013). Before independence, they were the people of Akyem, Akwapim, Asante, Bono, Fante, Kwahu, Sefwi and Wassa groups which virtually spoke identical tonal languages (the Akan language group) and were closely related, sharing many elements of culture and a single-origin- the Akan traces its ancestral route from a lineage. Asantes, for instance, is believed to have come from a hole and migrated to their current settling location led by Nana Dwaben Serwaa (Brobbey, 2016). Perhaps, some Asantes upon migrating settled at places like the Bono, Fante, Akwapim, etc. before getting to the then Asante land. The Akans are also believed to have migrated to their current location from the Sahara Desert and Sahel region of West Africa into the forest region around the eleventh century. The Akans kept expanding their territories through wars where small independent ethnic states in 1901 surrendered to Asantes which with time got to be influenced with their culture and traditions thereby making them practically Akans. Clans; *"ntɔn"* or *"ntorɔ"* of the Akan from time immemorial to today are similar as people from a clan were not accepted to marry because it was believed Akans were one regardless of their different location or a slight difference in their cultures (Brobbey, 2016).

From the ninth to the nineteenth century, farming, gold mining and trading were the dominating livelihoods of the Akans. The trade-in gold increased during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The Akans through the Trans-Saharan gold trade used gold, *"sika kɔkɔɔ"* to purchase slaves from further up north (located between the Senegal and Niger rivers) and Mali (located around the lower part of the Niger River). The abundance of gold in especially the Asante land for private and commercial purposes made the name Gold Coast by the Europeans before independence in 1957. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and other imperial powers in their quest for Akan gold traded with Akans- the Akan states waged wars on neighbouring states in their geographic areas to capture people and sell them as slaves to the Europeans (Portuguese) who subsequently sold the enslaved people along with guns to Akan states in exchange for Akan gold.

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b) Gold-Weight

Akan gold-weights were not only related to ethnicity but also, trade relations and court proceedings. There are available records of a vibrant market at an ancient site called 'Bergo' in the present-day Brong-Ahafo area. This market attracted merchants from all over the world especially from Mende, Julla as well as from parts of Northern Africa. Although it will be guessed that perhaps there were no gold-weights around 1100 AD, there was evidence of casting at a place called the '*dwomfo* quarters'; a casting village like the present-day wood village at Sokoban in Kumasi (Owusu, 2016). It must be then recalled that as early as 1400 BC, records prove that Mansa Musa travelled to Mecca with much gold, which also attracted attention to West Africa. With the presence of all these merchants there arose the need to breed a way as to how much of gold needed to exchange for a particular item brought by these merchants like cloths, beads and brass basin. Hence the needs for a benchmark- this situation facilitated the use of a type of seed then the introduction of a stone disc from Mali and Timbuktu (Owusu, 2016). Akan gold-weights locally known as *"mrammuo"* are three-dimensional miniature models executed in copper, silver, brass or any choice of an alloy of an Akan goldsmith. They were measuring tools used in determining the value of gold dust, "*sika futuro"* from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century in daily activities from markets to royal treasuries, and the payment of state taxes and tolls (Lucina, 2011). Gold weight motifs as illustrations to proverbs and sayings also become the emblems of tradition and social values.

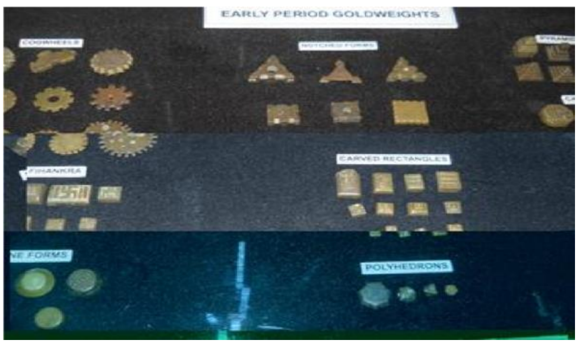

Figure 1: A sample image of Akan Gold - weights, "Mmramuo", 2016. Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. Image by the researcher

Figure 2: A sample of Akan Gold-weights, *"Mmramuo"*, 1954. Image size: 2048 × 1477. Baltimore Museum of Art

Gold dust was then the currency used by the Akans until it was replaced with cowries, "*sedeɜ"* and later money in paper and coins in the nineteenth century. All weights can be divided into two broad categories which are: natural and not cast in metal like seeds, stones, bones which were used early on and those produced using the lost wax method whereby the molten metal poured into a mould created using a wax model is heated to melt the wax and the product (metal gold-weight) is retrieved. The seeds represented the smallest units of Akan gold-weights and measures which included *"powa"* and "*kokwa"* among others (Payne, 2015). A tiny, hard, red and black spotted seed, locally called "*damma"* of Abrus *precatorius*, a tree commonly found in the tropics were used long before the gold weights were cast in metal.

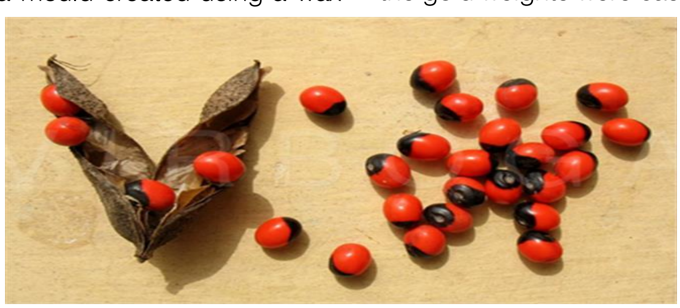

Figure 3: Abrus *precatorius* seeds, *"Damma"*

The cast gold-weights' existence prompted goldsmiths to produce other equipment that was used in helping to weigh the gold-dust, such as the cast brass containers used for storing gold dust, "*adaka and kuduo"*, shallow brass scoops used to remove impurities, "*famfa"* and highly decorative brass spoons, "*nsawa"* for putting the dust onto scales, "*nsania*". Casters were also made in two different sizes of brass balance scales, the larger, "*akontuma"* were used to weigh big amounts and the smaller, lighter and delicate scales, "*mframa nsenia"*, literally wind scales. The forms of the gold-weights were generally geometric and figurative- the geometric styled weights provided an identifiably consistent weight system suitable for commerce and are believed to predate the figurative form. The figurative forms of the Akan gold-weights emerged in 1800 with the establishment of the Asante kingdom in 1750 AD when the Asante's used artisans from Denkyira to do the casting. These artisans in doing their work created works that depicted their stories and their past (Owusu, 2016) and also their moral values; hence the synonym "Proverb Weights" (Payne, 2015). Gold-weights were status symbols often gifted to men of office, such as priests, soldiers and diplomats, as well as to newly married men. A wealthy man may have owned a collection of more than a hundred weights- the number of weights owned by an Akan determined how worthy and respected the person was as that determined how much purchases and commerce a person could be of. The Paramount Chief, "*Asantehene*" and other chiefs had weights cast in gold, while the Queen Mother, "*Ohemaa*" occasionally had sets made of silver (Payne, 2015). According to Fiona Sheales, Bowdich claimed although gold weights were mainly cast in brass, Asantehene Osei Bonsu's scales, blow pans, boxes and weights were made of the purest gold.

Figure 4: A scale, *"Nsania"*, a decorative brass spoon, *"famfa"* and other Akan Gold-weights. Image size: 544 × 613

Figure 5: A cast brass container use for storing gold-dust, *"kuduo"*

II. Methodology

The qualitative research design has been used for the entire research in gathering data and analysis. This method was realized to be appropriate for the study due to its probing nature and the ability to systematically describe phenomena (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). Looking for an in-depth description of the cultural and social significance of gold weights would require looking for views from the very people who produce and keep and use them. This can best be carried out using the qualitative approach and not in a statistical form as in quantitative research.

The researcher intentionally focused data collection by using instruments such as observations and semi-structured interviews using prepared interview guides on respondents. The gathered data were analysed qualitatively.

III. Philosophical Connotations of the Akan Gold-Weights

Akan gold-weights which take up the collective "*adinkra*" symbols in three-dimensional forms like *"owuo atwedeɜ baako nforo"*, *"nyansapɔ"* and *"gye Nyame"* basically preserved the cultures and values of the Akans by documenting past events, sending messages and symbolised proverbs. The themes and forms of the Akan gold-weights were enriched with oral Akan histories which symbolised the significant and well-known stories notably executed to be passed down to other Akan generations. Each gold-weight told a story, riddle or gave codes of conducts that helped guide the way Akans lived. "*Oware"*, a common Akan indoor brain game normally played by elders is portrayed with gold-weight as it also symbolized the Akan badge of office in chieftaincy- the stool; hence, the bottom looking like the stool. The "*oware"* as well as the one with two people playing also symbolizes an event that happened at Fehiase. Ntim Gyakari, the then chief went to Fehiase to play "*oware"* in public and disaster fell while playing the game. That is the import of the saying *"Ntim asoa ne dɔm akɔ bɔ ne man wɔ Fehiase,* meaning Ntim destroyed his township at Fehiase in English. It tells how keen we should be in our term of authority and to be much conscious of how best to preserve what we have.

Figure 6: Akan gold-weight, Two people playing "oware"

Figure 7: Akan gold-weight, *"Oware"*

Gold-weights which bore symbols of animal motifs reflected similar connotations as leopardlike figures with serpentine bodies symbolized character as according to common Akan folklore; "the leopard never loses its spots even in the rain". Similarly, the motif of a tortoise symbolized preparedness, since it never knows when it will die, so it carries its shell along wherever it goes as an icon of coffins on its back as a reminder that irrespective of whom anyone is death is inevitable.

Figure 8: Akan gold-weight, Tortoise *"Akyekyedeɜ".*
Image size: 159 × 244

Figure 9: Akan gold-weight, Tortoise *"Akyekyedeɜ".*
Image size: 500 × 304

Figure 10: Akan Gold Weight depicting their daily life.
Image size: 736 × 549

Figure 11: Akan Gold Weight, Traditional sandals
Image size: 544 × 350

a) *Reusing the Akan gold-weights in Contemporary times*

Today's mass-production methods provide a thriving tourist market with weights as souvenirs and collectables; they lack the refinement of earlier specimens. Authentic gold-weights are now found mostly in museums and private collections (Payne, 2015). The gold-weights are also collected to tell their respective philosophical connotations assigned to their designs. As teaching aids in exhibition spaces, they are mounted in cultural-based institutions to tell the lives of the past generations of the Akans.

Figure 12: Akan gold-weights exhibited to depict farm tools of Akans (their way of life), 2016. Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. Image by the researcher

Figure 13: Akan gold-weights exhibited to depict the badge of office of their respective chiefs (their way of life), 2016. Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon. Image by the researcher

The aesthetic nature of the gold-weights, now perceived as art, makes people buy them from the open market as well as museums and art centres. The varied sizes now produced range from very small ones which are used as bead pendants ends for traditionally designed neck wears, key holders and hair accessories whereas the quite larger ones, at times, drowned with decorative textiles like kente fabric are used as decorative pieces both at homes and offices. The gold-weights are used as “abɔsodeɜ” of various shapes with different meanings which is worn by chiefs

Figure 14: Akan gold-weight used as a keyholder. Image by the researcher

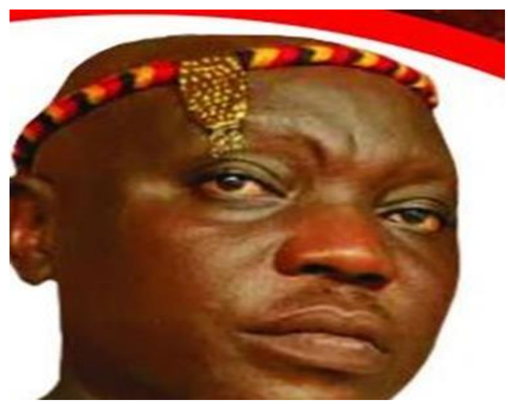

Figure 15: Akan gold-weight used as “abɔsodeɜ” by chiefs. Image by the researcher

The gold-weights also at times portrayed the reproductive lives of the Akans. The erotic illustrations perhaps were given to newly married couples and also could be a symbolic representation of the hazards of wars and as such to prevent them as women were brutally raped by some of the soldiers. The private collection of Tribal Art Treasures consists of some of the erotic Akan gold-weights being sold online.

Figure 16: Akan erotic gold-weight for sale online. Private Collection. F.d.G in NL/Tribal Art Treasures

Figure 17: Akan erotic gold-weight for sale online. Private Collection. F.d.G in NL/Tribal Art

IV. Conclusion

Outlining the genesis of gold-weights in general till contemporary times exposes the versatility in their respective uses. Akan gold-weights have been used not only in commerce but also for purposes of documentation, sending messages as well as proverbial representations. In no doubt are Akan gold-weights an embodiment of education when used and preserved properly.

Documentation forms of Akan culture embodied in its gold-weights are to be paid much attention to and likewise extended to the cyberspace- when the historical and philosophical underpinnings of Akan gold-weights are studied in detail and documented properly (written and virtually online either than oral sources mostly), they can safely be used as a tool for cultural education in Ghana and beyond. Art talks and related programs on Akan gold weights must be frequently organised to extend more insights of the Akan culture to researchers, tourists and the upcoming generations. Also, Akan gold-weights which serve as artefacts in cultural institutions and other exhibition spaces must be well preserved.

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Happiness as Result of the Virtues

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Abstract- How to achieve happiness is a constant concern in ancient philosophy and also in Christian thought. All schools and their most representative thinkers, in one way or another, have referred to what behavior must be followed to escape the designs of fate, if it exists, and not fall into the wrong personal decisions, and to get happiness. Thus, this concern is analyzed and synthesized here, based on virtue as the central axis. In addition, certain contributions of contemporary philosophy about it are taken into account, knowing that Ethics centered on the individual is a reality that always adds concepts of great importance. Our future as a species undoubtedly revolves around an Ethic where the subject, society and the planet are in the maximum possible harmony.

Keywords: ancient philosophy, christian thought, happiness, virtues, contemplation, behavior, ethics.

GJHSS-C Classification: FOR Code: 370199

HAPPINESSASRESULTOFTHEVIRTUES

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Happiness as Result of the Virtues

Daniel López Salort

Abstract- How to achieve happiness is a constant concern in ancient philosophy and also in Christian thought. All schools and their most representative thinkers, in one way or another, have referred to what behavior must be followed to escape the designs of fate, if it exists, and not fall into the wrong personal decisions, and to get happiness. Thus, this concern is analyzed and synthesized here, based on virtue as the central axis. In addition, certain contributions of contemporary philosophy about it are taken into account, knowing that Ethics centered on the individual is a reality that always adds concepts of great importance. Our future as a species undoubtedly revolves around an Ethic where the subject, society and the planet are in the maximum possible harmony.

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I. Introduction

La filosofía nunca contiene una respuesta definitiva, aunque pueda tener respuestas decisivas. Lo que sí sucede es que las preguntas se vuelven más profundas cuando la riqueza conceptual domina. Preguntarse sobre la felicidad, sobre cómo ser felices, tanto en lo individual como en lo social, está en cada cultura, de un modo u otro. Bastan los escritos de Lao-Tzu o de Confucio como testimonios. O, incluso, puede considerarse que las propuestas de Pantáñjali o del propio Sutra del Loto no son sino propuestas de obtención de la felicidad.

El pensamiento antiguo greco-romano nos ofrece también sus búsquedas y encuentros sobre los contenidos de la felicidad y los métodos para su obtención. En el significado de la palabra está ya lo que persigue. En los griegos es *eudaimonía*: *eu* es bien, bueno, y *daimon* es espíritu. Pero se distingue entre *makarios* (bendición), *ólbios* (favorecido), *eutychia* (suerte), y *eu zén* (la buena vida, viviendo bien). Las lenguas posteriores también reflejan ese enraizamiento. En francés, heur es la raíz de *bonheur* (*bon* es bueno y *heur* es suerte o fortuna), y en los derivados del latín *felix* (suerte, o destino) están el español felicidad, el italiano *felicitá* y el portugués *felicidade.* Es necesario una advertencia: en la filosofía antigua el pensar es para profundizar el vivir, centrado en el Bien, siendo este el universo de virtudes que nos aseguran lo que llamamos felicidad, la armonía con las circunstancias que nos tocan. Es decir, no se trata de un conocimiento sistemático solamente, sino que es una filosofía para vivir, es una elección de vida, una decisión que abarca toda nuestra existencia (Hadot, 1998), donde el conocer deviene un hacer. En consecuencia, el conocimiento sostiene una actitud práctica en la vida (Zeller, 1968).

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Relacionado con todo lo anterior está el sentido de *techne*, que es ese tipo de conocimiento que se transforma en una práctica. Características de *techne* es que sintetiza saberes distintos, puede enseñarse, consta de definiciones precisas y es comprensible. Así, la filosofía es una *techne biou*, una técnica de la vida que busca la *eudamonía.*

Concebida de esta manera la felicidad, es obvio que lo que hay en su centro es la conducta. Por lo tanto, felicidad y Ética se relacionan estrechamente, ya desde el pensamiento antiguo. Ya aproximadamente trescientos años a.C., en una carta, un filósofo griego escribe que es menester practicar la ciencia que nos trae la felicidad, puesto que si ella está presente sentimos que todo se tiene y que, de estar ausente, hacemos todo por tenerla (Epicuro, ed. 1991).

Aquí se considera el aporte de la llamada filosofía antigua y el del pensamiento cristiano en dos de sus figuras representativas, Agustín de Hipona y Tomás de Aquino, en cuanto al eje central que nos ocupa: la felicidad y su obtención o no a través de las virtudes. Virtudes éticas para el caso de los pensadores greco-romanos, y aquellas más las virtudes teologales y la presencia divina para el pensamiento cristiano.

También se tienen en cuenta los valiosos aportes de dos pensadoras contemporáneas (Annas, Nussbaum), quienes beben en la herencia de los planteamientos greco-romanos para desde allí plantear nuevas perspectivas y formulaciones.

Una ética de la felicidad con eje en las virtudes es absolutamente actual, necesitada de más y más reflexiones, con miras a una siglo donde las diversidad de culturas y enfoques no hacen sino producir mayores exigencias para determinar lo apropiado y lo incorrecto, y dejar de lado las posturas relativistas, las subjetivas a ultranza, y todo aquello que nos entorpece en el camino a sociedades más justas y existencias más plenas.

II. Ethics and Happinesss

Los finales del siglo pasado y el desarrollo de este tienen un gran dilema en la perspectiva filosófica, y es que todo pensamiento es eso: una perspectiva, que se justifica a sí misma y que plantea, a la vez, la relatividad de lo que se afirma. Lo que se postula es que no hay verdades sino interpretaciones sin palabra final, incluso lo que se dice con esto. De modo que no es posible saber con certeza la conducta correcta y coherente, tanto en lo individual como en lo social. Y ¿cuál es el Bien?, ¿cómo saberlo?

Pero esta ética relativista contemporánea no refleja los distintos pensamientos que a lo largo de la historia se han producido en las concepciones éticas. Por lo general se distingue entre una ética de la virtud (de raíz aristotélica), una religiosa (de fuentes cristianas), una ética del deber (centrada en Kant), y las contemporáneas que se basan en distintos puntos de partida e incluso donde algunas niegan que pueda existir una ética normativa general (la raíz nietzscheana).

Podemos observar que desde Freud la cuestión de la felicidad tiene una consideración central subjetiva: hay que satisfacer las necesidades que cada uno siente como reprimidas o diferidas en su realización, lo que está muy distante del planteamiento antiguo, donde la felicidad está unida a la virtud. No se presentan una sin otra. Hoy definimos a la felicidad como el logro de nuestras preferencias, siendo en muchos casos cuestiones únicamente personales. En la antigüedad greco-romana no tiene la felicidad un sentido de realidades subjetivas o emocionales, está muy distante de conceptos naturalistas o utilitaristas. ‘

En ese sentido, a diferencia de las éticas contemporáneas que se centran en la acción, la ética antigua se centra en el individuo o agente. En la ética del deber, nuestra responsabilidad es lo absoluto a respetar y es universal. En las llamadas éticas de las consecuencias, lo que se tiene en cuenta es el resultado de nuestras acciones en quienes nos rodean. Es decir, se trata de puntualizar cuáles son los principios generales que en cada caso se deben aplicar. Pero, en la ética de la virtud, lo que se busca es conocer y llevar a la práctica cuestiones que hacen a la vida personal, a cómo debería uno vivir para ser feliz. La crítica a las teorías que se basan en el deber o en las consecuencias de nuestras acciones, es que sus normas no son aplicables en todos los casos, lo cual limita y empobrece la conducta humana. Por eso, quienes niegan una ética basada en este tipo de normativas rígidas e inflexibles, prefieren una ética con base en el individuo y su búsqueda constante de la felicidad y el obrar en el bien. Según algunos investigadores, podríamos determinar que hay distintos modos de asumir hoy una ética basada en las virtudes. La de raíz aristotélica, que persigue a través del razonamiento encontrar y llevar a cabo la vida que vale la pena vivirse. Otra, basada en el individuo, que señala la necesidad de imitar y desarrollar lo que observamos como admirable en otras personas y en la sociedad.

Así, en la filosofía antigua está la presencia de la felicidad como el centro de la actividad humana esencial. Sócrates señala claramente que la conducta debe partir de una actitud personal, porque una vida sin examen no vale la pena vivirse. Y señala claramente que no debe uno ocuparse de cómo son los bienes sino en qué manera están guiados. Se pregunta Sócrates, tras afirmar que es un hecho que todos deseamos ser felices, ¿cómo hacemos para que esa felicidad nos llegue? (Platón, ed. 2002). Y se responde que la felicidad es estar en posesión de lo bueno y de lo bello, a través de la virtud, dejando atrás creencias tales como las del destino o las de la fortuna de la satisfacción de los deseos (Platón, ed. 1999). La felicidad en Sócrates deviene en realidad en darle un sentido a la vida quitándoselo a la muerte al mismo tiempo. Lejos quedan los dioses cuando a través de la virtud nos hacemos dueños de nuestra propia existencia.

Contemporáneo de Sócrates, es Demócrito quien afirma que la tranquilidad de ánimo (*euthymia*), retomada después por los estoicos, lleva a la felicidad, siendo distinto ese estado al placer, porque se trata de un equilibrio sin miedos, sin temor a los dioses o alterado por cualquier otra emoción.

De los distintos discípulos de Sócrates, Antístenes considera la felicidad como el abandono de los placeres, la conquista de la autosuficiencia (*autarcheia*) y el autodominio (*enkrateia*). Pero, para Arístipo, el vivir con placeres sin ser dominado por ellos es el objetivo, ahí está la felicidad, incluso viviendo los placeres corporales.

Platón expone que la felicidad depende virtudes y estas son partes del alma, siendo la justicia la mayor de esas virtudes, porque abarca tanto lo individual como la función del Estado. Al morir, a los justos les espera habitar en las Islas de los Bienaventurados donde reina la felicidad perfecta. La verdad siempre es una reminiscencia de lo que el alma sabe antes de encarnarse, cuando contempla directamente las esencias. Por ello la felicidad está en el recordar lo que de algún modo ya se conoce. Lo que debe buscarse es el Bien, no la forma en que este asume en tal o cual situación, el conocimiento del Bien nos entrega la sabiduría necesaria para un vivir en felicidad y paz. Esa sabiduría es la que nos guía en cada paso, y nos avisa de ejercer o evitar tal o cual acción. Así, la sabiduría se une a la justicia, y nos provoca la conducta recta. Lo que sí señala Platón es que es difícil la posesión máxima de la sabiduría, lo que se produce es un conocimiento por grados, por aproximación. Se ha dicho que:

> Si se considera el concepto de ciencia, puede así decirse que Platón entrevé como fin de la vida una *vita contemplativa* que, desprendida de las insignificancias terrestres, se dedique exclusivamente a la contemplación de las cosas eternas. Por el contrario, si se toma en cuenta el concepto de Bien, parece entonces que, más allá de la contemplación, viene todavía la praxis, el hacer

del bien (…) Es así comprensible que Aristóteles declare que el concepto platónico de "bien" está completamente fuera del alcance de las posibilidades humanas: no puede ser realizado y no sirve siquiera como punto de orientación. (Gigon, 1962, p. 238)

Es así que es en Aristóteles donde la ética de la virtud alcanza su gran desarrollo. Lo dice claramente: se puede definir la felicidad como la prosperidad cuando se combina con la virtud (Aristóteles, ed. 1988). Habla de tres modos de una vida feliz: la que corresponde a un saber teórico, la de la virtud ética, y la de la vida del placer. Es la vida de la virtud la que nos interesa. Hay muchas discrepancias entre los pensadores e investigadores sobre esto. El mismo Aristóteles cambia en sus conceptos: de considerar la prudencia (*phrónesis*) como lo más alto, pasa a considerar la razón práctica en dicho lugar. Es decir, la *phrónesis* se establece por el recto discurso de la *sophia*, la gran actividad virtuosa del alma. Así, la *eudaimonía* se ubica en una zona donde está la virtud ética y la excelencia del concepto. No es el conocimiento del Primer Principio el objetivo de la vida filosófica, sino establecer la felicidad. Esta es la gran división entre los historiadores e investigadores: si Aristóteles proclama la vida feliz como el resultado de la vida contemplativa o si esa vida feliz es el resultado de las virtudes éticas. Pero siempre la felicidad es una actividad (*práxis*). Una diferencia importante, que el mismo Aristóteles señala, es que la vida virtuosa se cumple en la sociedad mientras que la vida contemplativa pertenece a la soledad. También debe tenerse en cuenta que la Ética no es una ciencia exacta ni jamás se plantea así. Son principios fundamentales que en cada caso se aplican según el mejor criterio que se logra, pero es ayudada en eso por la experiencia que el individuo y la ciudad tienen en las diferentes circunstancias de la vida.

El conocimiento en Aristóteles tiene en consecuencia tres formas. Una es la ciencia (*episteme*), que considera la demostración de los principios. Otra es la inteligencia (*nous*), que considera el conocimiento de los principios. Y finalmente una tercera que es la sabiduría (*sophia*), que tiene la condición de reunir la *techne*, la *phrónesis* y la *praxeis* (la realización práctica). La prudencia tiene los medios para alcanzar la sabiduría, y a través de esta lograr la felicidad.

a) Por eso, se ha dicho que

La ética de Aristóteles tiene el mérito de ser puramente humana, es decir, de no estar fundada en una revelación o en una ley divina, y de ser, por tanto, completamente autónoma. Pero, a diferencia de la ética kantiana, tiene el mérito de no ser formal, porque contiene una motivación fuerte, la búsqueda de la felicidad. La concepción aristotélica de la felicidad es la más convincente que conozco, porque concibe la felicidad como la plena realización de todas las capacidades humanas, como el *fulfilment*, la *flourishing life*, para usar las palabras de Martha Nussbaum. Esta misma filósofa ha subrayado admirablemente también el carácter "frágil" de la felicidad en la concepción aristotélica, la importancia de la fortuna, de los bienes exteriores, de los bienes de relación. Todo ello contribuye a demostrar la finitud del hombre y, por tanto, también resulta ser una confirmación de la metafísica. Otro mérito de la ética aristotélica es la pretensión de valer no "siempre", es decir, no en todos los casos, del mismo modo que las proposiciones de la matemática, sino "en la mayor parte de los casos", vale decir: tiene el mérito de proveer reglas que admiten excepciones y de resultar más afín a la vida y a todas sus situaciones particulares. (Vigo, 2009, p. 518)

Es necesario señalar que si bien la felicidad es el bien supremo, los antiguos no creen que es posible obtenerla en toda su dimensión, la conducta de cada individuo es fundamental para ello, tal como lo puntualiza Hesíodo cuando afirma que feliz es quien conociendo todas las cosas, obra sin la ofensas a los dioses, guiándose por el vuelo de las aves y escapando de los errores (Hesíodo, ed. 2013). Pero no se crea que el llamado genio griego y su continuación en los pensadores posteriores es producido por una cultura basada en lo sereno y equilibrado, sino precisamente por lo contrario: las tragedias del teatro griego y su posterior continuación evidencian las creencias de la existencia como algo difícil de comprender, difícil de soportar, muchas veces imposible de llevar adelante. Por eso es que se ha señalado que:

(…) comprender y explicar históricamente la formación de las más altas y perfectas expresiones de aquel genio, impulsado a crear las formas ideales no únicamente como reverberación de una luminosa y bella realidad ya actuante, sino que además como reacción a imperfecciones, oscuridades y fealdades existentes. (Mondolfo, 1943, p. 27)

¿Qué sucede con la necesidad de bienes materiales, con la salud corporal, con otros bien tan buscados en la existencia? Para Aristóteles son necesarios, su ausencia incluso podría determinar perder la felicidad por un período de tiempo, pero eso no determina la desdicha final del individuo, porque sus virtudes se conservan intactas. De allí la distinción que se realiza entre una *vita beata* –donde se es feliz por las virtudes que se poseen-, y una *vita beatissima*, que tiene la bendición de los bienes exteriores. Además, si faltan esos bienes materiales exteriores, la *eudaimonía* no es completa. Entre esos bienes exteriores se encuentran el bienestar general, no tener necesidad de cuidados de salud, estar exento de un trabajo servil, una posición social digna, amigos, cultura, entre otros. Por eso se afirma que Platón y los estoicos pensaron una felicidad que depende de lo que uno realiza, pero para Aristóteles, más afín con el teatro trágico griego, esa felicidad también depende de la fortuna personal (Nsussbaum, 2015). Aristóteles no niega ni el placer ni el goce sensible, pero sí niega que sean los objetivos últimos del vivir en plenitud. Incluso habla de dos tipos de placeres. El que nos acompaña en el goce de algo que queremos, y el que nos viene como consecuencia de las decisiones éticas. Hay una división clara entre ambos tipos de placeres. Obrar conforme a la justicia, por ejemplo, es obrar sabiendo que el placer de hacerlo es una felicidad superior. Como ya se ha afirmado:

> La vida del hombre moralmente bueno se justifica por sí misma, por su elevación y belleza (esteticismo ético). Repárese en esto y juntamente en la circunstancia de que en el concepto de *eudamonía* de Aristóteles tienen cabida también los bienes exteriores de la vida, y se comprenderá sin trabajo que la ética de Aristóteles es la ética de un hombre terreno instruido y culto, cuya realidad basta mirar para apreciarla experimentalmente como digna de aprobación, y como ejemplar de lo recto, de lo inteligente y juicioso, de lo comedido y gratamente bello. Lo mismo que en la Metafísica también en la Ética, el Aristóteles posterior se ha vuelto más y más a la realidad concreta de la experiencia. (Hirschberger, 1954, p. 147)

El resultado es que el filósofo deviene una persona sabia. Está en constante unidad con su propia *virtus*. Pero, para la antigüedad, la persona sabia no es quien cumple solamente con las normas éticas sino quien está en relación directa con su esencia, que es su *virtus*. Así, sabiduría y virtud van de la mano, alejadas ambas de las pasiones y las ambiciones. La filosofía de esta manera se transforma en una ética, armonizando la libertad personal con la responsabilidad ante la sociedad. Felicidad y sabiduría van juntas, ya que si no se es sabio la felicidad no puede alcanzarse. Satisfacción de los placeres no es el camino, porque cuando un placer es satisfecho otro aparece, ocupa su lugar y pide solución.

b) *Es de gran importancia observar también que*

> La felicidad, al tener un valor moral y coincidir con el bien, es objetivo de la ética, pero ello no implica que tenga que ser necesariamente objetivo de la política y que, como tal, constituya la finalidad de la sociedad, el Estado o la organización política característica de un determinado período histórico. Para Sócrates, Platón y Aristóteles, y también para muchos estoicos, el objetivo de la polis (máxima institución política de la Grecia clásica), el reino o el imperio, lo mismo que el del individuo en singular, es, o debe ser, conseguir el bien supremo de los ciudadanos, es decir, la felicidad. En cambio, según los filósofos modernos, o al menos según Kant y sus seguidores (por ejemplo, en la filosofía política del siglo xx, John Rawls), el gobierno no debe preocuparse por el bien, ya que no existe una concepción común, compartida por todos, de lo que es el bien, y cada uno debe ser libre de perseguir aquello que se entiende por bien. El gobierno debe asegurar la libertad de todos, la posibilidad de que cada ciudadano busque su felicidad de la manera que juzgue conveniente, y debe garantizar la justicia, los medios y las condiciones necesarias para que cada uno, si así lo desea, logre su felicidad. (Berti, 2009, p. 243-244)

Hay que señalar que Aristóteles insiste en que la búsqueda de la felicidad también significa la dimensión social de la misma, y expresa claramente que es únicamente en la ciudad donde puede realizarse ese logro, ya que por fuera de ella no hay individuos, y los dioses por sí mismos ya son felices. El bien de la ciudad es proporcionar a cada uno las condiciones para que logre su propia felicidad. Y esas condiciones se garantizan con la educación. El ser humano es un *zoon politikón*, como lo demuestra el lenguaje, que es comunicación en sociedad. Pero, al mismo tiempo, el individuo necesita de la ciudad, de otros individuos, para constituirse a sí mismo. La ciudad es necesaria para vivir pero también para vivir bien, o sea en la *eudaimonía*. Otro aspecto de gran importancia es que la felicidad personal no significa ni el desprecio ni el olvido ni la desconsideración de la felicidad de los otros. Es el caso de la virtud de la generosidad, por ejemplo, donde su ejercicio presupone que es el bien ajeno el que me importa y me moviliza. Por ello, las críticas de que una ética *eudaimonista* es solo autosuficiente y egoísta no son correctas.

Podemos describir a la felicidad como lo que tiene la característica de no ser algo pasajero ni subjetivo, sino permanente y objetivo. Lleva toda la vida obtenerla, se la conquista y reconquista, siempre es algo que está en el presente pero a la vez también nos espera en el futuro. Es como se viene diciendo un hecho propio, interior, pero de realización práctica exterior, y debe depender lo menos posible de las circunstancias que nos rodean. Sabiduría y virtud nos salvan en los momentos difíciles y de dolor. Pero siempre la felicidad debe contener un Bien que sea el mayor de todos los bienes. Eso significa que hacia ese objetivo se ordenan todos nuestros actos. Es la perfección, aunque muchas veces no pueda alcanzarse, pero siempre está vigente y existe para ser logrado. Es un realizarse permanente. Y ese Bien no se busca para conseguir otro bien, es en sí mismo el mayor de los bienes. Riquezas, placeres, bienes materiales, son pasajeros. Pero no lo es vivir conforme a lo mejor de uno mismo, a la parte más elevada de nuestra condición. No alcanza con la definición de Sócrates en cuanto a que la virtud se relaciona con el

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saber y la ignorancia con lo maligno. Es necesario también, para Aristóteles, la práctica de la virtud, porque en esa práctica crecemos y nos desarrollamos. Fuera de la ciudad, de la polis, no podemos ser felices, porque allí es donde podemos alcanzar el más alto grado de lo que somos. Así, en la ciudad el hombre puede ser libre al ser dueño de sí mismo, hacer lo que apetece y porque tiene un fin a realizarse en su propia persona (aunque no sea para todos, recordemos la situación del esclavo y de la mujer en la Grecia de Aristóteles).

Las escuelas posteriores a Aristóteles se ocupan también de la felicidad, definida en líneas generales como la tranquilidad de ánimo, la serenidad interior, sobre todo ante los sufrimientos. Florecen las escuelas, las que se caracterizan por tener un sentido absolutamente práctico. Una concepción del mundo lo es desde un sistema de vida que se lleva a cabo.

Para los estoicos ese ánimo y esa serenidad están en permanecer impasible ante los cambios. Y, sobre todo, en la negación del placer como fuente de la felicidad, por cuanto una felicidad hecha de placeres llega pero se va, por lo cual en definitiva solo trae dolor. Cuando domina el deseo no hay moderación, cuando domina el placer la virtud queda olvidada. La Naturaleza tiene un rol fundamental en los estoicos, ya que es considerada tanto en un sentido cósmico como en un sentido humano, resultando que la conducta del individuo debe obrar en un todo acorde a ella, en consonancia con ella. El alma no solo es racional sino que rige la conducta cuando lo adecuado nos guía. Es un alma rectora. Incluso los afectos dependen de los juicios que tenemos. La practicidad es la gran característica del pensamiento estoico. El dolor y el placernos perturban cuando no nos gobierna el recto juicio. El dolor se aparece como un mal, y el placer como un bien, pero ambos son ilusiones, no son la realidad última de la existencia. Los juicios que se tienen son los que provocan esa situación, si no son los adecuados. El deseo se controla con la voluntad recta, el placer con la virtud.

Séneca, por ejemplo, en sus escritos, no considera que la riqueza y la salud sean contrarias a la felicidad, pero sí insiste en que la virtud es lo que nos lleva a eso. Y lo expresa con contundencia: nadie puede llamarse a sí misma una persona feliz si no vive en la verdad. Para lo cual es necesario el razonamiento justo. Porque es sabido que muchos no son felices porque les falte placeres, sino precisamente por lo excesivo de ellos (Séneca, ed. 1986). Otro aspecto de la escuela estoica es la llamada práctica ascética, que al ejercitarse refuerza y profundiza la convicción sobre tal o cual deseo y la renuncia y dominio de él, como así también nos prepara para cuando ese deseo nos invada. No se está libre de una situación que no se ha vivido hasta que la vivimos y la superamos. El control de los deseos y necesidades es una norma estoica imperativa. Las prácticas mencionadas, de origen pitagórico, son tomadas y desarrolladas posteriormente como prácticas de purificación por el ascetismo cristiano. Hay que obrar en la *oikeiosis*, que es en lo que nos pertenece como propio, lo que nos aleja de la alienación y de lo vicioso. Así, permanecemos fieles a la naturaleza de ser hombres. No es la naturaleza platónica ni la aristotélica, sino una naturaleza humana naturalísticamente entendida (Hirschberger, 1954). De esta manera junto al derecho positivo establecido por las sociedades, se halla el derecho natural, basado en la ley cósmica que rige el universo y la vida, el Logos que tanto alaban y respetan los estoicos. De ahí el sentimiento y práctica del cosmopolitismo que se defiende, lo que conlleva un amor a la humanidad: famoso es cómo los grandes pensadores estoicos exhortan los derechos de las mujeres, de los esclavos, de los niños. El estoico no pregona una vida en aislamiento, como el epicúreo, al contrario. Porque en definitiva el Logos que nos guía es el mismo para todos y nos impele a la vida pública en la acción correcta.

Para los epicúreos la felicidad está en el goce moderado de los placeres, en satisfacer los deseos pero equilibradamente, es decir que no haya dolor ni en el cuerpo ni perturbaciones en el alma. Por eso se reclama la imperturbabilidad (ataraxia). La felicidad se convierte entonces más en un no-hacer que en una actividad plena. Epicuro precisa entonces que esa felicidad se alcanza con cuatro actitudes, todas negativas: no tener miedo a los dioses, puesto que estos no se preocupan por los hombres; no tener miedo a la muerte, porque llega cuando no se existe; no confiar en un futuro, porque no depende exclusivamente de lo que uno haga; no tener deseos que no sean los verdaderamente necesarios. Es decir, como el propio Epicuro lo establece, cada placer por su propia naturaleza es un bien, pero no todos deben ser elegidos. El placer es en consecuencia, como se ha dicho, la ausencia de dolor en el cuerpo y de las perturbaciones en el alma. Y no hay que buscar la satisfacción de todos los deseos sino dominar eso, aceptar el gozar pero no el gozo de los viciosos, contentándose con lo natural y necesario. Buscar las verdades de toda existencia nos lleva a encontrar las virtudes imprescindibles para vivir lo que nos vuelve sensatos, moderados y dichosos. Porque si la medicina es inútil si no cura de las enfermedades en el cuerpo, la filosofía no sirve si no erradica los sufrimientos del alma (EPICURO, ed. 1991). Es necesario el conocimiento de uno mismo tanto como el conocimiento del mundo y cómo funciona. No valoramos las cosas porque sean buenas sino por el placer que nos entregan, entendiendo por placer lo ya señalado: la no existencia del dolor y la no perturbación del alma. Las recomendaciones de Epicuro se sustentan en su concepción del universo como un hecho material, hecho de átomos y vacíos, donde si bien existen los dioses, estos no se involucran en la vida de los individuos. O sea que hechos tales como el destino son solo creencias y de ninguna manera realidades. Obviamente, razón y prudencia deben estar presentes, siendo las virtudes las que nos aseguran una vida dichosa. Vivir la vida en la mayor plenitud posible es la máxima epicúrea, pero también estimar el silencio y la paz interior. Se trata de un hedonismo medido, no desenfrenado. La recomendación es vivir lejos de la multitud, y de los honores. Como vemos, muy alejado del compromiso estoico con la vida pública y las cuestiones de la sociedad y la ciudad. El sabio cultiva la amistad pero más la afirmación de la propia vida, no en un sentido individualista sino en el sentido de recogimiento interior. Vivir en placeres pero medirnos en ellos. Los bienes exteriores considerados necesarios por Aristóteles quedan cuestionados. Y así lo expresa Epicuro al afirmar que cuando se refiere al placer como finalidad, no se trata de un placer vicioso enraizado en la sensualidad sino de uno que nos permite liberarnos de los dolores físicos y los sufrimientos de todo tipo en el alma. Así, los deseos que nos dan la felicidad no son muchos, al contrario, son los que la sabiduría nos aconseja. Realizar el placer adecuado para el cuerpo y para el alma nos iguala a los dioses. También retoma Epicuro la clasificación aristotélica de dos tipos de placeres: uno que adviene cuando cesa el dolor que nos ocupe, y otro que adviene cuando se obra virtuosamente. Este placer es de alegría, mientras que el primero es de distensión.

Para el escepticismo, la felicidad radica en permanecer sin ansiedad ante los cambios. Se debe permanecer sin juicio alguno sobre cualquier hecho, porque permanecer en la suspensión de los juicios determina que no haya preferencias. No se debe ceder a considerar que algo es bueno o malo, porque eso engendra desequilibrios. Todo depende de la valoración humana, entonces hay que detener esa valoración para ser feliz. La suspensión del juicio (*epoche*) es la solución.

III. Eudaimonia Dominant or Inclusive

Hay controversias sobre si Aristóteles le da a la *eudaimonía* un sentido dominante o inclusivo. Es dominante si el fin es la contemplación únicamente. Es inclusivo si concibe otros fines en su obtención. No hay acuerdo entre los investigadores sobre si el propio Aristóteles realiza esa distinción entre dominante o inclusivo.

Para los que afirman el sentido dominante, la definición es que la mayor y perfecta virtud es la contemplación. Todos los demás bienes se subordinan a ella. Las demás virtudes son secundarias o se subordinan a la contemplación. Esta es la virtud más perfecta, el mayor bien deseable en sí mismo. No hay nada superior a la contemplación, es el bien mayor. La contemplación significa la compresión última que un hombre puede lograr sobre las cosas nobles y divinas.

a) *En base a lo anterior, se ha dicho que:*

> "En conclusión, se puede afirmar que en la ética aristotélica existen entremezcladas tres capas teóricas (…): una filosofía moral general, dedicada al examen minucioso de los presupuestos de la acción, del significado de los términos morales, del método de la ciencia práctica, y en especial de la naturaleza de la virtud y del conocimiento de la norma que determina lo correcto; una teoría moral positiva, dedicada a la descripción de las virtudes morales en la sociedad griega del IV a.C. y la conexión de estas con las estructura global de *pólis* griega y, por último, un ideal de vida contemplativa, fundada en una elaborada teleología, centrada en una de las primeras formas de vida ascética (…) A mi juicio, la filosofía moral general sigue siendo de un interés filosófico tan actual como hace dos mil trescientos años…" (Guariglia, 1997, p. 100)

Para los que afirman el sentido inclusivo de la *eudaimonía*, el último fin no es la contemplación sino los diferentes tipos de actividades virtuosas. Es decir, la *eudaimonía* es un todo superior a sus partes, pero las incluye, sea la contemplación o sea la virtud ética de que se trate. Así, la felicidad está compuesta de muchos bienes. No son pocos los investigadores que consideran que la vida teorética, la dedicada a la contemplación, son de los primeros escritos de Aristóteles. Por cuanto el Aristóteles en su madurez insiste en que no hay un Dios al que contemplar sino que son las causas primeras las que deben ser investigadas y contempladas.

El eudaimonismo resultante no es un egoísmo moral, sino un eudaimonismo cuyo centro es el individuo. O sea una vida que se dedica a la obtención de la felicidad en base a una reflexión y a un ejercicio de determinadas virtudes. Toda la vida se estructura en ese sentido. En definitiva, la *eudaimonía* termina siendo el mayor placer que podemos tener. La felicidad, de esta manera, no se logra de un modo directo, sino que es el resultado de los logros en cada uno de los actos, por pequeños que sean, que llevamos a cabo en la vida de todos los días. La finalidad de la vida de cada individuo, que este mismo establece, si bien es posterior en el desarrollo de los hechos, es anterior a los mismos (es su causa final), pues esa finalidad es lo deseado y buscado. Mueve todo lo que el individuo realiza para lograrlo, y es el límite que por sí mismo no se supera nunca, pues no hay nada más allá de él. Así como no existe una estructura infinita de causas, pues todo tiene un comienzo, así tampoco hay un proceso infinito de fines, ya que estos culminan en uno que es el logro final, aquello para lo cual comenzó el movimiento: "La felicidad, por lo tanto, no está entendida tanto como un tema moral sino como una tarea necesaria e ineludible para la persona. Ser felices es la gran sabiduría, preguntarse por cómo lo conseguimos es la misión de la filosofía" (López Salort, 2019, p. 20).

IV. Virtue

Es sabido que la virtud en la antigüedad griega es llamada *areté*, que se podría traducir como la excelencia en el hacer, la máxima capacidad de algo. En su versión latina virtud deriva de *vir*, que podríamos entender como fuerza (de ahí lo viril, por ejemplo). Pero, relacionados con ese sentido griego de excelencia, están los conceptos de *eubulía* (el buen consejo), *eupraxía* (que es tanto el obrar adecuadamente como el bienestar), *auzoía* (la buena vida), *eurohía* (el buen fluir de la vida), *eukosmía* (el ser disciplinado), y *euthymía* (el buen temple). Como vemos, todo es en relación a un estado de vida superior.

Platón considera la virtud en relación al conocimiento de la Idea del Bien, siendo la fuerza que purifica el alma superando las limitaciones del cuerpo, aunque aclara que también se trata de aceptar que el placer debe participar de la existencia del individuo, siendo mesurado su rol. La Justicia se transforma así en la virtud esencial.

Según Aristóteles, como se ha señalado, la virtud es el camino del medio que posibilita la felicidad. Las virtudes son de dos modos: las del conocimiento (o dianoéticas), y las de la conducta (o éticas). Pero ese término medio entre el exceso y el defecto es propio de cada individuo. Si se trata de una virtud dianoética se piensa en la prudencia. Si se trata de una virtud ética se piensa en la templanza. Si bien es parte esencial del alma humana, es práctica y en esa práctica logra su *areté* o excelencia.

Siguiendo con Aristóteles, define la virtud como una disposición que se adquiere, siendo el justo medio de la prudencia. En consecuencia, es un hábito, no un producto de la naturaleza, que no debe ser perjudicada por las pasiones. A través del cultivo de la virtud el individuo educa su alma, y para educarse toma de la prudencia sus ejemplos. Y son las circunstancias las que revelan las virtudes, pues en aquellas se muestran estas: aparecerá la templanza y la fortaleza cuando predominen los sufrimientos y el dolor, por ejemplo. En el caso de lo que es justo, no son las leyes lo que en cada hecho determina la justicia, sino las virtudes de los hombres que aplican las normas. La virtud de esta manera no es una tendencia natural o biológica sino un hábito que se desarrolla.

Pero hay un hecho de suma importancia en Aristóteles, y es que este concibe a la virtud no sólo como en resultado de un conocimiento sino también, y al mismo nivel, como una consecuencia de la voluntad. No solo se trata de conocer el camino del medio, libre de excesos, sino de quererlo ejercitar. La libre elección de un acto virtuoso me hace específicamente humano.

En el caso del aporte de Platón para una ética de la felicidad, Annas piensa que al recurrir aquel a la forma dialógica de presentación de sus ideas, le quita valor sistemático a la estructuración de las mismas (Annas, 1999). Al dedicarse al mundo aristotélico de las virtudes, observa que estas se organizan con tres características: son disposiciones; tienen un sentido afectivo; tienen también un sentido racional. No son las repeticiones de costumbres heredadas, sino el resultado de una decisión propia. Se comprende los principios fundamentales y se obra en consecuencia. La educación que se recibe organiza las virtudes en un conjunto. De modo que para los antiguos no existían virtudes distantes unas de otras, sino que estaban unidas en un todo. Aunque cada individuo tenga su propia felicidad, el sentido que ella ocupa en la vida es el mismo para todos. Pero no es fácil llevar una vida de acuerdo con lo que las virtudes determinan, por eso toda la labor ética de las antiguas escuelas. Annas realza el concepto de *philía* en Aristóteles y otros pensadores, ya que la amistad o *philía* es todo lo contrario del egoísmo. Aristóteles hablaba de que la amistad nos revelaba cómo somos ya que nos reflejamos en los amigos y, al mismo tiempo, con los amigos podemos realizar lo que mejor hay en uno. Para Annas, la ética eudaimonista es la que permite superar el egoísmo, porque la felicidad personal incluye la felicidad de los demás. En los estoicos, principalmente, la consideración por el bien ajeno es de gran importancia, y rechaza la crítica de que la postura eudaimonista solo tiene en cuenta el interés personal. Además, debe ponerse atención a que si bien la ética antigua se centra en el individuo, no está fundada en el interés de cada individuo por encima de la sociedad.

a) Subraya que

Las virtudes éticas son tomadas algunas veces como incapaces de proveer guía para una acción individual, mientras otras teorías éticas sí lo hacen. Yo muestro cómo las virtudes éticas proveen guía para la acción. (…) La virtud ha establecido un lugar para sí misma en las éticas de negocios, bioética, ética médica, ética de ingeniería y otros campos de éticas aplicadas. (Annas, 2014, p.1)

Y agrega en ese mismo artículo que hay una diferencia que radica en que si se trata de reglas morales, se conoce qué debe hacerse en cada caso, pero si se trata de ética de la virtud lo que hay es un ideal de la característica que debe tener el objetivo a buscar, antes que el método a usar o lo que uno debería realizar. Así, es necesario empezar por un horizonte lo más amplio posible de lo que a la ética le corresponde. Lo que se necesita es que la virtud sea aplicable en las decisiones éticas, para que podamos obrar en el mundo real. Y eso se logra con un proceso de aprendizaje, que comienza en la niñez y continúa toda la vida. Se necesita experiencia y la habilidad de

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reflexionar sobre ella en modos que la inteligencia lo que es valioso y lo que no. Lo que se aprende a hacer, se aprende haciéndolo. No hay una normativa universal sobre las virtudes a ejercer en cada caso, lo que hay es una guía abierta y razonable, de los valores a ejercer en las circunstancias de que se traten, desarrollado a lo largo de una vida. La educación se torna necesaria para que las adversidades de la existencia no nos lleven a caminos donde no dominen las virtudes sino precisamente lo contrario.

Otro aspecto de gran importancia es cuál es el fundamento de base de las posiciones éticas antiguas. Y es la Naturaleza, la cual no es indiferente o lejana de la realidad humana. En Aristóteles, no se trata de un punto de partida anterior al pensamiento ético sino algo que otorga precisamente los objetivos del Bien. En las escuelas helenistas, sobremanera los estoicos, hay una interdependencia plena entre los juicios éticos y la Naturaleza, en primer lugar porque nos da los lineamientos de lo que es posible y, en segundo término, porque nos enseña lo que es éticamente adecuado a la hora de tomar las decisiones (Annas, 1995).

La virtud lo es todo en la práctica estoica, porque precisamente en el estoicismo la conducta es ampliamente superior en su sentido a las teorías. La voluntad es el eje que domina, llevado incluso más allá de la consideración aristotélica, donde esa voluntad se circunscribe a la apetencia del Bien. Ahora la voluntad es una actividad permanente, no se trata de una virtud considerada intelectualmente sino una ejercida desde el centro de nuestro modo de ser. La existencia está puesta en su orden por la voluntad, que se conjuga con la virtud, de manera que no hay lugar para los arrepentimiento No hay que llevar una vida dominada por las pasiones, porque esto es ser sabio, y aunque la sabiduría sea de difícil adquisición no por esto debemos dejarnos vencer (Epicteto, ed. 2015). Los estoicos especifican que las virtudes llamadas cardinales reúnen un racimo de virtudes relacionadas a ellas. En el caso de la Prudencia están el buen juicio, el cálculo correcto, la presencia de ánimo, la capacidad de elegir entre lo negativo y lo positivo, la capacidad para encontrar las soluciones. En el caso de la Templanza se ubican el buen ordenamiento de la conducta, el distinguir los movimientos correctos y los incorrectos, el saber evitar las opiniones en contrario que sean adecuadas, el autogobierno. En el caso de la Fuerza se encuentran la perseverancia en lo que es justo, la confianza en haber elegido lo correcto, la grandeza de ánimo, la buena predisposición, la alegría de perseverar aun en las situaciones muy difíciles. Y en el caso de la Justicia se ubican con ella la piedad, el ser sociable en la comunidad, la afabilidad del comportamiento ante el prójimo. Pero todas estas multiplicidades no son sino en realidad una sola virtud que se manifiesta de tantas variadas formas. Porque la virtud es en reflejo del Logos, y se halla presente en todos, sin distinciones de edad, sexo, clase social y ciudades. Adquirida la virtud, solo se puede perder por accidentes y por un tiempo (confusión mental, ebriedad, por ejemplo), pero el hombre virtuoso permanece así a lo largo de su vida.

También Annas afirma en primer lugar que el adquirir y ejercer una virtud se compara con adquirir y ejercer una habilidad práctica, como el tenis o tocar el piano. En segundo lugar, que la virtud es parte del desarrollo del individuo. Describe la virtud como la disposición activa, persistente, de una persona, para pensar, sentir y obrar de determinados modos, que se proviene de las motivaciones que ya se tienen pero que luego son estructuradas a través de la reflexión y la educación. Las motivación aparecen primero, los conceptos vienen luego. Es decir, las virtudes son desarrollos educativos de las motivaciones que tenemos. Por eso, Annas lo sintetiza diciendo que hay una necesidad de aprender porque hay un deseo de superación. Pero, a diferencia de las habilidades prácticas, que se pueden adquirir unas y no otras, las virtudes se presentan unidas. No podemos desarrollar unas sí y otras no, ellas mismas se estructuran de esta manera. Nuestras reflexiones sobre cómo conducirnos en una determinada situación se realizan sobre un trasfondo de conjuntos de valores, sobre tal o cual virtud. Ser felices depende al menos de nuestras disposiciones y de cómo las hayamos educado, y son las consecuencias de nuestro mantenimiento o nuestra caída, dependiendo de las interrelaciones mutuas de esas disposiciones y la educación que le hemos dado. Ni la virtud ni la felicidad son el resultado de circunstancias de la vida, sino el resultado de cómo vivimos nuestra vida, siendo la diferencia entre la circunstancia externa y la interna donde las decisiones que tomamos necesitan de la guía para la acción. No hay contradicción ni lejanía entre la vida en el Bien y la conducta correcta. Es decir, no podemos basarnos únicamente en nuestros conceptos sobre la vida virtuosa, necesitamos desarrollar los criterios adecuados en base a nuestra propia existencia y al modo en que nos habituamos a dicha vida virtuosa como una totalidad estructurada.

Sostiene Annas que cuando se pregunta en qué consiste la felicidad, la primera respuesta es que se trata de alguna clase de sentimiento. Algunos se sentirán felices de ayudar a una anciana a cruzar la calle, otros maltratando mascotas, o sea la felicidad es lo que definimos como tal. La noción de felicidad que hemos recibido se asocia con rostros sonrientes, sentirse bien, y circunstancias placenteras. Pero, en realidad, es la felicidad un movimiento de vida como algo completo, y debemos tener un *telos*, un objetivo o fin de vida, en torno al cual nos movemos (Annas, 2004).

Annas observa que estos conceptos sobre una perspectiva ética de la felicidad obligan a considerar nuestras vidas en términos de estructura, y debemos tener a unificar nuestros objetivos. Y dado que tenemos una sola vida, necesitamos integrar todas nuestras metas lo mejor que podamos. Así, una actitud eudaimonista nos invita a pensar de manera global nuestras propias vidas, unificando la forma efectiva en que vivimos (Annas, 2011). Y en otro de sus escritos agrega que la reflexión del individuo sobre su propia vida es que debe considerarla como una totalidad, y ordenar sus prioridades luego de esto. Los pensadores antiguos no niegan casos de conflictos éticos por cuanto la resolución de ellos se puede dar en un marco de ideas inarticuladas del bien final en nuestra vida y, en consecuencia, es necesario estructurar ese bien final en primer lugar y cómo lograrlo (Annas, 1995, p. 241).

Para Nussbaum es necesario encontrar un equilibrio en la ética de la virtud, equilibrio que medie entre el realismo y la objetividad. Lo que es bueno debe ser compensado en su generalidad por quien o quienes aplican los principios éticos generales, para realizarlo con objetividad. Se trata de descartar un relativismo tanto en lo gnoseológico como en el procedimiento. Siguiendo a Aristóteles, afirma que la experiencia es lo que da sentido a la aplicación de las normas éticas. Si bien la virtud depende del contexto en que se aplica, no significa que sea una relatividad sin más. Con la aclaración de que las rectificaciones que se implementen no representan un cuestionamiento de la virtud, sino su perfeccionamiento (Nussbaum, 2004). También un aspecto importante de su obra es el énfasis en las emociones, las que deben ser tenidas en consideración en todo planteamiento ético porque son parte muy importante de la conducta de cada persona. Las emociones parten de juicios que cada persona efectúa, sean esos juicios verdaderos o falsos, y son grandes impulsadoras de las acciones humanas. No se puede ignorarlas porque están en gran parte de la conducta y por lo tanto una vida buena las debe estructurar en sus reflexiones. Por ejemplo, hay dos emociones esenciales: el amor y la compasión. Ignorarlas no es adecuado si lo que se pretende es una ética de la felicidad y la virtud.

En lo que hace a la compasión, debe estar fundada en tres condiciones: el sufrimiento ajeno debe ser grave y no superficial; el sufrimiento ajeno revela que nadie está exento de circunstancias que no controla y que puede dañarlo; y que el sufrimiento ajeno podría ser el nuestro. Una compasión ejercida de esta forma compromete a toda la sociedad en la ayuda a cada persona.

La otra emoción mencionada, el amor, es la base de la compasión y debe constituirse en reciprocidad, respetando que cada persona es una vida diferente con su propia *eudaimonía*.

En este sentido, Nussbaum no acuerda con el modelo estoico de permanecer impasible ante el dolor porque esto no se condice con la realidad, especialmente en lo que hace a los sufrimientos ante la carencia de bienes externos y materiales. Tarea de la filosofía es determinar cuáles son esos bienes exteriores básicos.

Es fundamental entonces observar cuál es la teoría del Bien que cada sociedad dispone. Porque de ello depende si las instituciones ofrecen a cada individuo que sea posible la consecución de su felicidad. La calidad de vida de cada país y sociedad, por lo tanto, nace de una lista que contiene cuáles son las capacidades humanas que se postulan como esenciales y básicas y que no pueden faltar. Para Nussbaum es posible elaborar una concepción ética básica común a todas las sociedades, en base a rasgos humanos que siempre permanecen, lo que no termina siendo etnocéntrico sino un esencialismo histórico (Nussbaum, 1992). Esa concepción ética común es lo suficientemente abierta para permitir agregados, quitas y su fundamental puesta en ejecución. De lo que se trata es de determinar lo que cada ser humano debe hacer en tal o cual circunstancia, y en lo que no debe realizar. Con ello elabora los derechos básicos que todo gobierno debe respetar, cualquiera sea el lugar en donde esté: el decidir cada persona sobre la propia vida cuando esta está muy desolada; promover la salud física; mantener la seguridad de los individuos y su derecho de movilidad y modo de reproducción; promover la educación plena y sin restricciones; el respeto de la sociedad ante las emociones individuales y el disfrute de las actividades; promover la capacidad reflexiva o razón práctica, lo que permite planificar la vida de cada uno; promover las asociaciones e integración social, junto con el respeto a la Naturaleza; y, obviamente, respeto al derecho de la propiedad privada, derechos laborales, etc. Así conforma una agenda de responsabilidades sociales e individuales, sujeta a cambios, con un funcionamiento mínimo y uno máximo en cada caso, sin adherir a una postura metafísica o religiosa en particular (Nussbaum, 2011).

V. The Contribution of the Christian Thought

Sabido es que el pensamiento cristiano tiene ejes muy distintos a los de la antigüedad greco-romana: un Dios creador del mundo y de la vida, la nada al comienzo de ese mundo y de esa vida, la manifestación divina a través de la figura de Cristo, la noción del pecado, la fe en la existencia y presencia de Dios, son algunos de esos ejes.

En Agustín de Hipona la felicidad existe como el fin último al que aspirar, pero consiste en la posesión de la divinidad, ya que en ella radica la eternidad de lo bueno. Al ser Dios lo único eterno, la entrega a Él y el vivir en Él garantiza una felicidad sin condicionamientos. Ese es el camino en que lo cierto nos vuelve felices. Por cuanto el sabio no es desdichado, sino todo lo contrario. El amor divino nos provoca amor a lo Divino, y allí está la felicidad. Lo que Agustín plantea es que la antigüedad greco-romana no puede alcanzar el concepto central de la felicidad, sino que la vislumbra a través de las virtudes éticas, pero le falta la presencia divina. Se busca a Dios y se goza de su presencia. Ya no se trata de saber vivir según los criterios de la razón y la experiencia, sino de vivir en Dios, conocerlo en lo que dice al hombre. A diferencia de Aristóteles, no hay una contemplación en términos de conocimiento de la divinidad, sino una vivencia existencial en lo trascendente. El amor a Dios nos lleva a esa vivencia. Y este amor no nos lleva a una vida feliz terrenal, que tiene su término o momento final, sino a una felicidad eterna, cultivando las virtudes sí, pero motivados por la presencia divina. Las virtudes no son fines en sí mismas sino ayudas al encuentro personal con Dios, lo que es de por sí la vida eterna y la salvación. Por ello también las virtudes necesarias ya no son solamente las éticas propuestas por la antigüedad, sino las teologales (fe, esperanza, caridad) que culminan no en la sabiduría sino en el amor. Por eso el primer mandamiento es amar a Dios por sobre todas las cosas (Agustín de Hipona, ed. 1997). En la misma línea está el criterio de que la felicidad, conjunción de todos los bienes, es la felicidad del alma, pero al ser un bien supremo, su identificación de Dios es la verdadera realidad. Dios es uno que se manifiesta en muchos en el estado que comúnmente llamamos felicidad (Boecio, ed. 1997).

Tomás de Aquino busca conciliar el pensamiento clásico aristotélico con el cristiano agustiniano. El fin último del hombre es el conocimiento de Dios y la felicidad es lograr ese fin. Así, define como *beatitudo* lo que se conoce como felicitas, y esa *beatitudo* es un bien perfecto cuya naturaleza es de características intelectuales. Se trata de definir cuáles son los principios fundamentales que nos provocan el bien, y cuáles son las justificaciones que los sostienen. Sus puntos de partida son obviamente la *Ética Nicomaquea* y la *Política de* Aristóteles. Señala claramente que no se puede tomar la felicidad de la persona sin considerar la de la comunidad toda, es decir el bien común, porque este bien común es el que nos debe dirigir. Así, hay verdades que se logran por el simple razonamiento sobre lo correcto y lo incorrecto. Pero, hay otras que solamente aparecen por revelación divina y que, al aceptarlas como tales, las podemos comprender a través del razonamiento filosófico y teológico. El ser humano tiende por ley natural a su propia conservación y a la procreación, pero se diferencia de todo lo existente en que su racionalidad le permite conocer la verdad y buscar vivir en justicia en sociedad. De este modo se transforma la ley natural en ley positiva, por cuanto toda ética culmina en una sociedad ordenada de derechos y deberes.

Las decisiones éticas que tomamos para hacer algo o no hacerlo nos expresan un principio indudable: nuestra libertad de decisión y autodeterminación, porque de no existir este principio no tendría sentido las nociones y consecuencias de error, falta, culpa, y demás. La ética y las virtudes que ella implica se centran entonces en la intención de la persona en la acción que lleva a cabo. La intención significa lo que la persona busca en su conducta, sus actos se definen por sus objetivos al realizarlos, sean esos objetivos el resultado de las prescripciones normativas, los deseos individuales, las costumbres, o lo que fuera. Y el centro de lo que debe guiarnos es que el Bien debería ser realizado y lo contrario evitado. La voluntad por lo tanto juega un papel esencial en la ética tomista, ya que se deduce por nuestro apetito del Bien que aparece en escena y nos impele a lograrlo. En cuanto a la virtud, Aquino adhiere a la clasificación aristotélica de las del conocimiento (las de las ciencias), las de la conducta (templanza o prudencia) y agrega las teologales (fe, esperanza y caridad). Y puntualiza que cualquiera de las virtudes que sea conocida y practicada en toda su naturaleza, nos lleva a buscar esas condiciones en todas las virtudes, siendo la prudencia la que nos aparece como lo más apetecible. La virtud termina siendo la actualización, en el sentido aristotélico, del Bien. La prudencia es entendida como la virtud que nos aleja del egoísmo disponiéndonos a obrar de modo trascendente a nuestros propios deseos en actos dominados por la justicia y el amor. La prudencia abarca tanto los medios como los fines con que nos movemos, ya que no es una pasión personal sino el conocimiento de los principios del Bien, es lo que nos guía en cada una de las virtudes haciéndonos elegir no solo los medios sino los fines en cada caso. La justicia tiene dos rostros: uno distributivo y otro conmutativo, o sea la distribución a todos según los méritos de cada uno y la que se efectúa sin tener en cuenta las particularidades. La templanza que sostiene, a diferencia de la impasibilidad de los estoicos, es la del camino medio aristotélico. Los deseos y acciones personales se equilibran con la actitud nutrida de templanza, donde la raíz del racionamiento y el conocimiento del Bien nos salvan del error. Igual sucede con la fortaleza. La defección de cualquiera de estas circunstancias y virtudes provoca el error y el mal.

Como en el pensamiento antiguo, Aquinas considera que la *beatitudo* perfecta está más allá de nuestra capacidad, pero debe buscarse una vida en la que estén presentes valores como la defensa de ella, el conocimiento verdadero, la amistad (en el sentido de amar al otro como a uno mismo), porque estos bienes son los que por su naturaleza se nos presentan como apetecibles, y nos llevan a obrar en la prudencia, que no es sino la razón práctica en ejercicio del Bien.

Sin embargo, hay que señalar que hay diferencias entre las afirmaciones de Tomás de Aquino y las de Aristóteles. Por ejemplo, aborda la discusión de diferentes virtudes y vicios que el estagirita no hizo. Otro aspecto es que distingue entre una felicidad que se logra a través del esfuerzo humano por el desarrollo de sus virtudes, y otra que deriva de la presencia del don divino, y consiste en la visión de Dios en todo. Mientras que la contemplación que se obtiene es a través de del conocimiento filosófico, hay otra superior que es la participación directa en la gloria divina por gracia del mismo Dios. Por eso la presencia de las virtudes teologales. Son virtudes infusas. No se adquieren por el esfuerzo propio, aunque el accionar humano las fortalezca. Otra diferencia radica en que las virtudes del esfuerzo personal persiguen un fin humano, las virtudes cardinales tienen un sentido sobrehumano, divino (McIerny, O´Callaghan, 2014). En definitiva, la felicidad suprema es la contemplación de la verdad en Dios, la sabiduría es el vivir en las cosas divinas.

VI. Conclusion

Buscar y preguntarse por una ética basada en virtudes, donde no quede relegada la sociedad ni anulada la individualidad, y sea la felicidad el objetivo a lograr, tanto en ese individuo como en esa sociedad, pareciera una tarea extemporánea y sin sentido. Sin embargo, hacia fines del siglo pasado y en lo que de este, no son pocas las voces que se han levantado reclamándolo. Pero no se trata únicamente de ética, virtud y felicidad, sino de una realidad mayor: la que va desde un pensamiento filosófico que sea no solo teorético sino de aplicaciones prácticas (Hadot, Volpi, MacIntyre, Ricoeur) hasta la necesaria convivencia y diálogo de culturas muy diferentes que se presentan en nuestra contemporaneidad (Panikkar, Bindé, Morin, Appadurai). Por ello:

La seguridad que brinda una fundamentación religiosa o la del razonamiento por sí mismo se enfrentan a las críticas de que toda verdad no es más que una interpretación, una perspectiva que puede ser cambiada por otra, una máscara que oculta un apetito de poder, la prerrogativa de un discurso en el que, si se rastrean sus orígenes, nos hallamos con otros discursos y así ad infinitum. Es decir, el pensamiento filosófico se ha convertido en pensamiento de la historia de la filosofía o, en el mejor de los casos, en pensamiento de cómo se piensa. Y como si fuera poco, estas críticas a su vez plantean que también son también otra interpretación. Y entonces, ¿cómo sabemos dónde radica la conducta adecuada, el valor de lo que es positivo y lo que no, lo que nos daña y lo que nos aleja de las heridas de lo negativo, en suma, del bien y del mal en la vida humana, por no decir el Bien y el Mal, o sea el trasfondo metafísico de todo obrar y sentir? (López Salort, 2018)

Frente a ese relativismo a ultranza, que deriva en un ausencia de valores éticos, o lo que es peor, la negación de que puedan existir aun en un postulado teórico, es que aportes como las de Annas y Nussbaum se han presentado aquí, para dar ejemplos de que es mucho lo por hacer y seguir investigando, tomando como aportes en este caso los de la filosofía antigua y los del pensamiento medieval, sabiendo que no son los únicos, obviamente. Es un hecho irrefutable que toda ética se basa en una metaética, y lo que nos queda es ir logrando los acuerdos mínimos para la convivencia de las distintas culturas como para la mayor felicidad posible en cada sociedad e individuo.

Felicidad y virtudes marchan juntas. Ahondar en consideraciones filosóficas sobre la voluntad del sujeto, el contenido del acto, y las consecuencias del acto, deben ser profundizadas, porque en ellas están los matices, las diferencias y consonancias de cualquier obrar que nos es propio. En este sentido, siguiendo a Nussbaum, podemos afirmar que no hay un quiebre con las posturas kantianas y las utilitaristas, si pensamos en una ética partiendo del sujeto, de su elección y de su acción, considerando las emociones presentes en cada decisión y el contexto en que la acción y su valoración se produce (Nussbaum, 1999). Junto a un derecho positivo debemos ahondar en un derecho humano global: desde el cuidado y respeto por las vivencias interiores y la felicidad al cuidado y respeto por la diversidad de culturas, la ecología planetaria, por ejemplo, sin dejar de tener en cuenta los desafíos de la biotecnología. Así como no hay una felicidad personal posible sin la presencia de virtudes éticas, tampoco hay una felicidad social posible sin esas virtudes en los campos que se ha mencionado. No podemos aplicar el *anything goes* de Feyerabend al campo ético, por cuanto eso fue propuesto en lo epistemológico fundamentalmente, además de ser un punto de partida y no de llegada. Necesitamos de una ética que responda a los casos concretos, a las circunstancias de cada día, pero que no caiga en las relatividades fácticas ni en los absolutismos porque cada sujeto y en cada comunidad busca lo mejor para sí.

Tenemos ante nosotros desafíos muy fuertes, donde no sobredimensionamos si afirmamos que la cuestión ética es uno de los centros esenciales de nuestro futuro, incluso de la supervivencia de la especie sobre este planeta. Recordemos siempre la diferencia entre *hominis* y *humanis*, porque en ello radica nuestra constitución en el máximo bien de lo que somos.

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The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.

Benefit

To the Institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.

Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A FSSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 1 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Fellows can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Certificate

Certificate, LoR and Laser-Momento

Fellows receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Designation

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Fellows can use the honored title of membership. The “FSSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FSSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., FSSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

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Better visibility and citation

All the Fellow members of FSSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation. All fellows get a dedicated page on the website with their biography.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

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Career | Financial

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Career | Credibility | Reputation

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Exclusive

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ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the membership of Global Journals awarded to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Associate membership can later be promoted to Fellow Membership. Associates are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Associate Members.

Benefit

To the Institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.

Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A ASSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 2 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Associates can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Certificate

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Associates receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

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Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

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All associates receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

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Exclusive Financial

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Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Associate members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

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Associate	Fellow	Research Group	Basic
$4800 **lifetime designation**	$6800 **lifetime designation**	$12500.00 **organizational**	APC **per article**
Certificate, LoR and Momento 2 discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research 10 research contacts/day 1 **GB** Cloud Storage GJ Community Access	**Certificate,** LoR and Momento **Unlimited** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day 5 **GB** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance GJ Community Access	**Certificates,** LoRs and Momentos **Unlimited** free publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **Unlimited** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance GJ Community Access	GJ Community Access

Preferred Author Guidelines

We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

Before and during Submission

Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

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1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

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Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.

6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

  - Single section and succinct.
  - An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
  - Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
  - Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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