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A Ramesside Stela Fragment

Popular Ethics in Edo Period Japan

Highlights

Peace Building Ventures in Bafut

Turkmans Living in Zarafshan Valley

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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The Concept of 'States within a State' Amidst Conflict and Peace Building Ventures in Bafut, Cameroon

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Abstract- This study looks at the perception and manifestation of the concept of 'states' in African communities. A state, in African context, is an organisation of human beings connected by a system of relations. Within the states, different groups of people exist and different individuals have different roles to play. Some exercise special powers or authority, capable of giving command, which is obeyed by the people they rule. In the Bamenda Grassfields of Cameroon (present-day North West Region), these individuals are called fons and chiefs and they rule fondoms. In Westernised societies, they would be called kings. Since colonial period, government administrators refer to them as traditional rulers or natural rulers. Amongst these rulers are some who rule over what is commonly referred to as semi-autonomous polities within the fondoms. They are called sub-chiefs on grounds that colonial administrators came out with this appellation to differentiate the authority and position of a ruler from that of his subalterns. In Bafut this classification spark waves of wrangles and conflict between the fon and his subalterns.

Keywords: *states, conflict, peace building, bafut, cameroon.*

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The Concept of 'States within a State' Amidst Conflict and Peace Building Ventures in Bafut, Cameroon

Divine Fuhnwi Ngwa

Abstract- This study looks at the perception and manifestation of the concept of 'states' in African communities. A state, in African context, is an organisation of human beings connected by a system of relations. Within the states, different groups of people exist and different individuals have different roles to play. Some exercise special powers or authority, capable of giving command, which is obeyed by the people they rule. In the Bamenda Grassfields of Cameroon (present-day North West Region), these individuals are called *fons* and chiefs and they rule *fon*doms. In Westernised societies, they would be called kings. Since colonial period, government administrators refer to them as traditional rulers or natural rulers. Amongst these rulers are some who rule over what is commonly referred to as semi-autonomous polities within the *fondoms.* They are called sub-chiefs on grounds that colonial administrators came out with this appellation to differentiate the authority and position of a ruler from that of his subalterns. In Bafut this classification spark waves of wrangles and conflict between the fon and his subalterns. The problem revolves around rights over people. The chiefs in Bafut claim to have brought their people into Bafut from various places of origin. Thus, according to them, the Fon's right to exert local control and authority over their people is not legitimate. Such claims threatened the survival of traditional authority in Bafut as the subaltern chiefs on several occasion attempted to declare their independence or autonomy inside Bafut. They also incited ethnic diversity in the *fon*dom. The conflict since colonial rule has sharpened and thus endangers social peace and cohesion among the people. All efforts or attempts towards peace seemed to have been futile. This situation generated our interest in the study of the various dimensions and dynamics of the conflict and its impact on the Bafut society. The origin of the conflict, its evolution, magnitude; the role of the colonial authorities and Cameroon Government administrators in the conflict, constitute the research problem of this study. We adopted a chronological approach to the historical narrative here and exploited both primary and secondary sources of information to buttress our discussions. From our sources we concluded that the concept of states (semi-autonomous states) within a state as adopted in African communities today is a serious potential to conflict. Its existence deters cordial relations, integration, unity and peace building in a community. Such tendencies are speed brakes to progress, and development of a people. They must be redressed in time.

Keywords: *states, conflict, peace building, bafut, cameroon*.

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I. Conceptual Frame

A state, in the African context, according to Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, is an organisation of human beings connected by a complex system of relations. In this study, emphasis is on this aspect which says that a state is any organisation of human being connected by a complex system of relations. The complexity of the system of relations is also a serious area of interest to us here given that at one point it is the complexity in the system of relations that generates the conflicts under study. The various dimensions in the relations within the organisation or system equally constitute the sensitive areas of analysis made in this study. Generally, as the definition goes, a state is an organisation of human beings connected by a complex system of relations. Some of the states are centralised societies while others are decentralised entities. The centralised ones are large, composite, and heterogeneous polities made up of people of various ethnic groups and cultural background living together in one location (Fortes and Eans- Pritchard, 1967:15).

Semi-autonomous states in African context are smaller entities or groups of people within the bigger or heterogeneous polities. A number of criteria determine the existence of these states amongst which are conquest, ethnicity and indigenous (autochthone) status. Often, ethnic groups of smaller sizes and population constitute semi-autonomous states within bigger ones. In the Northwest Region of Cameroon, the colonial master attributed the appellation 'chiefdom' to distinguish a semi-autonomous state from the *fon*dom. This automatically distinguished the territorial jurisdiction and power of control of a subaltern Leader (sub-chief) from that of his superior, the *fon.* The power legacy and paraphernalia of semi-autonomous states revolved around the following: Their leaders were attributed hereditary dynasties and royal titles over their people and area of control. These titles were those the leaders brought from their places of origin as they led their followers in the process of migration to the new site or settlement. Once settled, the leaders established ruling dynasties over their people and maintained the royal titles of origin. Examples of semi-autonomous chiefdoms (states) of this character in the Northwest Region are found in Nso and Bafut *fon*doms.

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However, some semi-autonomous states (chiefdoms) came to existence through conquest, assimilation, association, alliances or colonial fabrication. Some powerful migrant leaders and groups conquered indigenes (autochthones) and imposed their dictates and supremacy over them. In the position of weakness, the autochthones and leaders were compelled to accept a subaltern position under the foreign invading leader and his people. Some groups in search for security against invaders and predators, decided to either seek refuge under a stronger, reliable group and leader or create a protective alliance (association) with the powerful group so that a stronger front can be created against the invading enemy or aggressor. Alliances were common among groups or states in the Northwest Region especially with the onslaught of Bali chambers invasion and aggressions in the area. The Bali decision to ally with the Germans to bring the other groups or people in the area under their swear increased the spirit of defensive and protective alliances (association) amongst the states and groups in the area. A typical example was the alliance between Bafut and Mankon formed to fight their common enemy-the Bali and Germans.

Some alliances eventually resulted to the assimilation of the weaker groups by the stronger ones (against their will) thus reducing them to a semi-autonomous state or position in the union. Their leaders also become subaltern to the leader of the stronger group. In other instances, some leaders by consensus, decided to hand over their power and authority to a superior leader to legislate on their behalf while they support him from the rear. In this case, such leaders automatically made themselves and their people subordinate to the stronger group and leader. Others by means of coup d'état took control of an area or community and made themselves and leader superior over the rest of the people whose leaders were bound to assume subaltern position under the superior leader and group. All the aforementioned constitute the base of semi-autonomous states in African communities. The Bafut *fon*dom went through these processes at different times in its history and evolution.

The introduction of colonial rule came with a different interpretation and application of the concept of semi-autonomous states in Africa. First, the procedure of willfully handing over power or ones autonomy to a superior leader while assuming a lower position under him is what modern state systems refer to as federations (federated states). This modern concept gave a different paradigm to what the Africans initially understood and practiced within the context of semi-autonomous states. In actual fact, federated states are created partly out of the willingness of different groups of people to come together for a common interest and to leave as one body (entity); while still maintaining some of their identities and cultures peculiar to the different people or groups within the federation. Examples of such federated states in Africa are found in Nigeria, Cameroon, Mali and many others. In local African context, this arrangement will be regarded or described as semi-autonomous states (polities) within a state. In all these, one thing is evident and it is the fact that the form of the state in Africa at any given time was determined by the interest at stake. Some states resulted from self-interest (orchestrated by personal zeal, ambitions and anxiety) or common interest orchestrated by the desire to work for the general good of a multitude. This brings to question the metamorphosing process of state formation in Africa from origin to present.

II. State Organisation (Formation) in Africa

An understanding of the process of state formation in Africa requires a historical investigation from precolonial to colonial and post-colonial Africa. State organisation in Africa took the form of groupings which ranged from families, quarters, lineages, villages, tribes, clans, kingdoms and empires. Any of these forms could represent a state at any given time in the process of evolution. According to Catherine Coquery, states in Africa were not created or defined through specified lines or margins drawn on a map to differentiate a state from another. African leaders (family heads, lineage and village heads) new the extent and limit of their authority and understood that beyond a certain level, their authority was no more biding on people (Catherine, 1999: 39-54).

Group relations at the level of families, villages, kingdoms and empires were regulated within a complex and diversified mechanism of links and network. Given the complex nature of relations, these structures could not by any means be compared or reduced to the kind of vertical and hierarchical monarchies, dynasties and republics obtained in Europe. In fact European structures (states) were regulated by a system of governance with well-defined territorial jurisdiction and powers. African states were constituted based on relations that assumed one of the following forms: Lineages founded on family links. That is, through blood affiliation or reconstructed social relations such as marriages, religion, culture and traditions (Ibid: 39-40).

The second form was political relations based on the recognition of an authority over a group or state. Such a group was characterized by a hierarchical territorial structure which existed long ago in the continent. Examples include the Ashanti empires of Ghana, Mali, Songhai and other isolated creeks, Islands and lakeside communities. The third form of relations had to do with personal dependence (interdependence). Such relations were created between people, communities or villages by means of trade network or economic exchanges. Social needs and obligations

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such as unity and security imposed dependence relations between lineages, villages and between families. Even superior leadership at the helm of the structures (states) needed a kind of personal dependence relations to disseminate their authority to the least commoner or grass root community in the structure. For this to succeed, the authority had to pass through intermediaries such as subaltern leaders (sub-chiefs) whose lineages, villages, tribes, provinces or states were linked to the superior leader by personal dependence relations. This is where an apt definition of the concept of states within a state fitted well in the African political system. Coexistence in the same system or structure also required personal dependence relations (Ibid: 40). All these made state formation in Africa a complex issue. However, this arrangement did not stop the African leaders from clamouring for a certain degree of territorial boundaries or frontiers that will portray their authority and autonomy.

From colonial rule henceforth, a different interpretation of the concept of states in Africa emerged. Here the concept was interpreted within the context of how much power and authority a leader wield or exercised in society. In this, history, tradition, native customs and culture or status were not prerequisites or determining factors in the eyes of the colonial masters. Colonial rule created new chieftaincies in African communities which never existed before and empowered some. They empowered some subaltern leaders and mounted some against their natural bosses and superiors. This situation caused the existence of the phenomenon of warrant chiefs in the African states (Afigbo, 1972: 1-35). Whatever that meant, the fact remains that colonialists created such leaders and power structures for their interest so that they can facilitate their exploitative administration in Africa. Out of this, a new mentality about power and subalternship emerged in African political structures. The concept of states within a state took a different twist. Some leaders exploited their warrant positions under colonial leadership to wield much power and authority in their respective communities or local areas. Some exploited the security accorded them by colonial leaders to challenge the authority of leaders they initially honoured and respected as their superiors. Some used new colonial ideas such as liberty, freedom, human rights, democracy to liberate themselves from any form of oppression that had existed in the past. The sure course was to assert their autonomy and independence. This attitude was encouraged by the fact that under colonial rule, the power and authority of an African leader could increase or decrease depending on his relation with the colonial master. Thus it became possible for a subaltern leader to woe the support of the colonialist to fight or challenge his superior. This led to wanton power tussles and wrangles amongst the African leaders.

Another aspect was the creation of states in Africa by the colonialist. States were created out of the balkanisation of African Communities and people with no recourse to the family, lineage, and village, ethnic, tribal or cultural relations. The systematic fragmentation of the continent created arbitrary frontiers or boundaries in the African communities (Olufemi, 2003). The consequence of this situation was the disappearance of solidarity and unity amongst the people. Brotherhood made no meaning any more as families became estrange to each other. This turned out to be an indirect ploy that created 'states within state' in African relations and mentality. That became a source of conflict. The situation was aggravated by the nature of the states created by the colonialist in terms of sizes. Some of the states were either too big in size while others were too small. This was done without any conventional formula to determine the sizes and creation of the states. This attitude became imbued in the African mentality who now thought that at any time and in any form a state can be created in the community irrespective of the size. Subaltern leaders thus developed a spirit where once they felt jilted or uncomfortable in their relations with their superiors, the solution was to assert their autonomy and independence. This has remained in the physical and mental psyche of African leaders more as a vector of conflict than peace building. To them being autonomous is the only panacea to their problems. However the failure to consider the context, environment and situation at hand in such bid has rather created more complex situations and conflicts than solutions.

We earlier mentioned, the kind of power system instituted amongst African leaders by the colonialist. All was geared towards serving colonial interest and causing it to succeed. One attitude cultivated by African leaders from this was that while the authority of some leaders grew beyond proportions in their communities, others thought that their opinion on issues of local state politics determined the final decision taken. In other words, higher state authorities cannot decide on an issue without consulting them. Consequently, some communities and leaders became permanent actors and acolytes of state machinery. Their opinion in state decisions and policies could eventually influence the final decision taken by the state on an issue. In fact, where subaltern authorities impact the policies and politics of the state, Africans ironically described such as a state within a state. In north Cameroon for instance, the Lamido of Ray Bouba and his community are considered a strategic power and political bastion in the area. When it comes to issues of state politics such as elections, the Lamido and his palace decides who occupies what position. Any gallery in the form of democratic elections is mere window dressing. The final choice comes from the Lamido and the state government ratifies. State authorities consulted the Lamido on state policies related to the northern region

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of Cameroon and on special occasions he was invited to the Unity Palace in Yaounde (see fig 1a). No Cameroon politician of significant importance went ahead with his political agenda without consulting the Lamido of Rey Bouba for his blessings. Reason why even the son of the President of the Republic, Franck Biya visited the Lamido for blessings (see fig. 1b). Part of the personal security of the Lamido or Rey Bouba is ensured by the elements of the Cameroon military and gendarmes especially during public appearances (see fig 1c and b).



Source: U-Tube Rey- Bouba Production

Fig. 1a: Lamido of Rey Bouba at the Presidency



Source: Rey- Bouba Production

Fig. 1b: Franck Biya on a visit to the Lamido of Rey Bouba



Source: U-Tube Rey-Bouba Production

Fig. 1c: Cameroon Military Guarding the Lamido of Rey Bouba



Source: U-Tube Rey- Bouba Production

Fig. 2a: Women worshipping the Lamido of Rey Bouba

The Lamido of Rey Bouba is worshiped as a demi-god by both men and women of his kingdom (see fig 2a and b). In fact, the aura around the power and authority of the Lamido of Rey Bouba makes him and his kingdom 'a state within a state' without necessarily creating geographical boundaries or frontiers. Many of such psychological states existed in Africa and Cameroon during and after the colonial period. Conspicuous cases in hand include the Sultan of Bamoun in the West Region of Cameroon and the Fon of Bafut in the North West Region.

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Source: U-Tube Rey-Bouba Production

Fig. 2b: Man bowing in Honour of Lamido Rey Bouba



Source: Foumban- wikipedia

Fig. 3a: The Bamoum Royal Palace of German Design

In the German colonial period, the influence of Sultan Njoya Ibrahim and his Bamoun Sultanate on German administration made it indispensable for the Germans to take some decisions or policies without consulting the Sultan of Bamoun. His image, power and personality rose to prominence in the West Region as the Germans assisted in projecting Bamoun image and prowess in the area. It was during the German Period that a magnificent edifice of German architecture was built for the royal palace of the Bamoun (see fig. 3a above). Njoya fell in love with German authorities to the point that he changed his traditional dressing code to embrace that of the German Kaisers (see fig 3b). This was clear evidence of the degree of cordial relations and power romance that Njoya had with the Germans. The Sultan of Bamoun was worshiped as a demi-god by his people (see fig 3c. With a German authority at close watch). In such circumstances, the Bamoun kingdom and leader was seen as 'a state within a state' though no defined geographical boundaries existed anywhere to show the demarcation.



Source: Matateyou, P.200

Fig. 3b: The Bamoun Sultan and Wife in German Administrative Dressing



Source: Matateyou, P.238

Fig. 3c: Bamoun Man Pays Honour to His King

The power and authority of Sultan Njoya grew to prominence as the Germans projected him above all other leaders and communities in the West Region. They awarded him a medal for loyal services to them (see fig 3b above). Fortunately or unfortunately, the Germans were defeated in the First World War and bundled out of Cameroon by the French and British. The Bamoun Sultanate fell within the zone controlled by the French. Sultan Njoya mounted a stiff resistance against the new French administration that had embarked on curbing and sapping away the excessive power of the Bamoun leader. This brought strains in their relations and the French were compelled to dethrone Sultan Njoya and send him on exile to Yaounde where he died on 30 May 1933 (Matateyou, 2015: 7-8). It was the dethronement of the Sultan that enabled the French to gain authority and

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local control over the people in the western region of Cameroon. The Power of Sultan Njoya had grown to prominence and made his kingdom to exist as though it was 'a state within a state.' His dethronement also depicts how an African kingdom and leader can wield power to the point of being a threat or rival to the national government authorities or state. This attitude is imbued in the mind and always it provokes the desire to be liberated from any form of alien oppression or subordination. The fight for secession and independence has often occurred within the ambit of conflicts that impact peace ventures negatively.

On the part of Bafut in the North West Region of Cameroon, the German and British colonialists projected the image of the Fon of Bafut to a point that he was more or less a permanent consultant on matters of native administration in his area of jurisdiction. To begin with the Germans, Abumbi I had resisted German rule for 6 years (Niba, 1986:86-101). This was one of the longest resistance faced by the Germans from an African leader. The long resistance also reflects the power and authority an African leader wielded over his state or community. The German explorer, Eugene Zingtgraff (see fig 4a) on his passage in Bafut had earlier remarked that the Fon of Bafut Abumbi I (see fig 4b) was the greatest African despot he has ever seen nor was he to see again (Ngwa, 2011:10).



Source: Bafut Customs, P.42

Fig. 4a: Zingtgraff the German Explorer



Source: Bafut Customs, P. 36

Fig. 4b: Abumbi I Fon of Bafut

Zingtgraff was struck by the punctilious protocol and the regal and potent air exuded by the Fon. Thus, it prompted him to describe the Fon, Gwalem (Abumbi I), as an African despot. Zintgraff had indeed painted the picture of the absolute power of the African leader, and this clearly affirms why it took the Germans such a long time to institute German administration in Bafut. However, Abumbi I was finally captured and dethroned by the Germans. As punishment for his actions and attitude, the Germans exiled him to the coast of Cameroon where he was subjected under hard labour.[1]

In the absence of the Fon, the Germans could not succeed in ruling or administering the Bafut people. According to Niba, a report from the military commander of the Bamenda station had strongly urged the restoration of the Fon as "orderly government in Bafut was impossible without him (Niba, 1995:66; Chilver and Kaberry, 1963: 7-8)."

The German authorities accepted the recommendation to bring back the Fon. He was

[1] The destination of the Fon on exile is controversial amongst researchers of Bafut origin. While Niba states that Abumbi was exile to Doual for 1 year, Aletum holds that he was exiled to Bota Island for two years. The fact remains that the Fon was exiled to the coastal area of Cameroon where the Germans established their headquarters or capital.

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eventually reinstated and recognised as 'a convenient agent of administration' and so long as he danced to their tune, he went unmolested. Bafut internal affairs were on the whole left alone (Chilver and Kaberry, 1963:94). The interpretation given to this arrangement holds that the Germans identified the Fon of Bafut as the only leader of substance and empowered him within the context of colonial rule. Whatever happened between the Fon and his subaltern chiefs inside Bafut that was not part of German business in the area. Thus such favoured *fons* exploited the German presence to grow their power and influence to prominence in the area.

In fact, the favoured *fons* took decisions in state politics when consulted by the colonial administration. But one aspect of German responsibility which they did not border about were the smaller states they coerced and brought into union with bigger chiefdoms to constitute a larger state. The colonialist neglected the smaller states and allowed them on their own to face the wrath, whims and caprices of their superior or paramount leaders. It is important to note here that German actions in the Bamenda area were viewed from the backdrop of the Bali Nyonga paramountcy and the treaty Zintgraff concluded with Galega in 1891. Here Galega formerly surrendered his powers of execution and war-making to the Germans in return for sovereignty right over the surrounding non-Bali who were mostly widikum peoples. Galega was to collect taxes and tolls from those chiefdoms placed under him and was the main labour recruiter for the Germans.

This constituted the principal policy of German administration and state organisation in the Bamenda area namely, to prop up friendly chiefs wherever they could be found and to place as many smaller ones as possible under them as vassals. This was the German dimension of creating 'states within a state' in Africa. The realisation of this policy for the entire Bamenda District was problematic since it required the complete subjugation of the area in order to unite people under leaders other than their own (Niba, 1995:66). In the absence of support, there was no option left than for the small states to indulge in power tussles and wrangles with their superiors in the bid to liberate themselves from oppression. Songs of freedom and independence became common place even within local and 'remote' communities. In such circumstances, peace made no meaning to anybody and peace ventures ended in deadlock given that all moves towards peace were punctured by persistent bitterness, envy and conflicts. Expressions such as 'self-determination' became pivotal in state politics and relations.

By 1916, German colonial administration gave way to British and French administration. The British had their own method of state organisation or better still, creating states within a state. They opted to involve natives in colonial administration following the prescriptions of Indirect Rule policy. Besides, the Resident for Bamenda, E.C Duff advised that for native administration to succeed it was necessary to enhance the powers of the principal chiefs in the area by appointing them presidents of the native courts while subaltern chiefs and even ward-heads within the 'principal communities' (*fon*doms) were to be recognised and brought in to support the principal chiefs as court members (File Ja/d, 1916). In this arrangement, the disparity in the powers of the Chief (*fon*) and his subaltern (sub-chief) began to surface in the British colonial political system. It was also the beginning of British implantation of states within a state in African communities as viewed by the people.

In July 1917, G.S. Podevin, the District Officer, inaugurated an 'Instructional Court' in Bamenda (The Nigerian Gazette, 1922:331). This was an assembly of chiefs from surrounding communities summoned to be instructed in the new native court. Twenty- seven chiefs made up the court and the Fon of Bafut was appointed president while that of Bali Kumbat was vice president. In the minds of the chiefs, the Fon of Bafut has automatically become the boss and superior in a new political set up (state). They have eventually assumed subaltern positions under him and by extension it was another ploy to create new states within a state.

In August 1932, the Bafut Fon, Abumbi, died and was succeeded by his son, Su Ayieh, who took the royal name of Achirimbi, and ruled for the remaining years of British administration. Almost at the same time, in 1936, Fon Vugar of Babanki also died and was succeeded by his son Vubanghsi. The two *fons*, Achirimbi and Vubanghsi Vugah, belonged to the Bafut Native Authority Area (BNAA) which was later on re-organised into the South Eastern Federation Native Authority Area (SEFNAA). These *fons* had received some elementary western education under the Germans and were expected to boost the new organisation under the British, given their level of education. But the situation turned out to be the opposite. In the BNA area, the element of Bafut 'paramountsy' remained with the Bafut Fon who was regarded as the most important dignity and received the highest stipend from colonial administration (Niba, 1995:70).

This position was reinforced by the creation of a treasury at the Bafut palace in 1941 to serve the entire native authority area. In 1943, through the assistance of the Bassel Mission architects, a monumental rest house was constructed in the Bafut palace (see fig. 4c).

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Source: Author's Collection

Fig. 4c: The Bafut Palace Rest House



Source: Photo Ambition

Fig. 4d: Achirimbi II awarded a Medal and Certificate by the British Government

In 1946, Achirimbi was awarded a medal and certificate of honour: "as a record of valuable services rendered by him to his own country and people and to the British government … and loyal services given to the administration in the maintenance of good order (Niba, 1995:7; also see fig 4d)."

The other chiefs did not take this kindly and thus under the leadership of the Fon of Babanki, the rest of the chiefs of the BNA contested the coveted position of the Fon of Bafut and requested the British to accept their demand for autonomy and separation from the BNA area. Fon Vubanghsi Vugah is quoted to have written:

> *The Bafut chief has no authority over us … his authority is only limited to his own village….We have been independent villages before the advent of European administration on the West Coast of Africa, and are still independent and still wish to keep to our hereditary ways to remain like that. We the seven chiefs who make the Bafut Area should be called fons or village Heads in place of giving the title to the Bafut chief alone which is not correct (File N.A 1949/43, 1944).*

From this situation a number of things were made clear. First, in the Bafut Native Authority Area, respective chiefs guarded their autonomy so jealously that any mention of cooperation with another chief was viewed as a surrender of sovereignty. By 1949 it was clear that the delicate balance of power in the Bafut political system had been upset by the loss of sovereignty. The colonial masters made things worse following the way they handled issues related to the powers of chiefs. Here, when colonial authorities picked out the chief they wanted, he was supported to the exclusion of other organs of indigenous or traditional administration. Such was the case with subaltern leaders (chiefs) and *Kwifor* who now became tools in the hands of the all-powerful *fon* to carry out his obligations to the white man (colonialist). The independent position which the sub-chiefs, *kwifor* and *takumbeng* structures enjoyed in the past was therefore compromised.

The British reinforced this feeling by the differential treatment they accorded the Fon. He was given a gilded state umbrella, a Union Jack to fly over the palace and a portrait of His Majesty the King of England (the sovereign) to display in the audience hall of his palace. These were new symbols of power introduced by the colonial master that were completely different from those that the African leaders in the Bamenda Division were accustom to (Ngwa, 2022: 141-168). This in the long run constituted an arena of conflict amongst the Bafut leaders. Here the chiefs insisted to have their own power symbols (regalia) not so much out of love for the British flag and majesty but rather to boost their egos and power especially in the face of treats from the big chief to usurp and sap away their powers.

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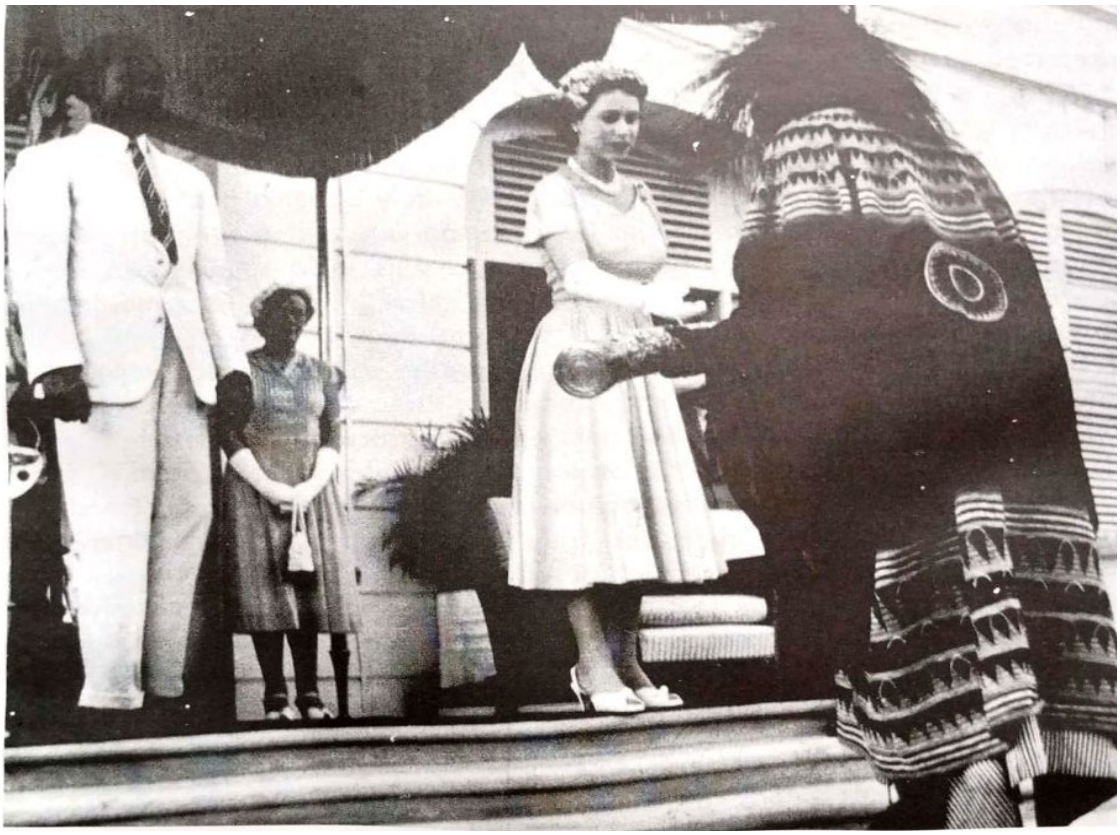
For instance big chiefs sought to compensate for loss of sovereignty (to colonialist) by arrogating to themselves residual powers that sub-chiefs (*batangchuo*) had retain over land matters. Again, the *batangchuo* collected taxes on behalf of the Fon but he received the collectors' rebate. Failure to share the rebate with the sub-chiefs led to conflict where each chief in Bafut wanted to become autonomous or independent so as to enjoy the tax rebate (Ngwa, 2021: 263). The Bafut Fon was worshiped as a demi-god by his people. The British assisted in projecting this image and power of the Bafut Fon in the entire British Southern Cameroons. For instance in 1956, Fon Achirimbi II of Bafut was chosen to present a gift of an elephant tusk to Queen Elizabeth II of Britain on behalf of the Southern Cameroons Chiefs on the occasion of the queen's historical visit to Nigeria (see fig 4e).



Source: Customs and Traditions of Bafut, P. 44

Fig. 4e: Achirimbi II and Queen Elizebeth in Nigeria, 1956

The images presented a great sovereign African leader meeting another great leader of European breed. This opportunity was rare and uncommon amongst African leaders at the time. Many died without setting eyes on the Queen of England, in whose name they were colonised and ruled by the British. Achirimbi II, Fon of Bafut had the single opportunity to meet the British sovereign (Her Majesty the Queen), face to face. Generally at the end of colonial rule a number of secession conflicts amongst the Bafut subaltern leaders were recorded. Each leader wanted to create his own autonomous state. At independence therefore, African states inherited political structures and people that were atone to conflict related to issues of states. They also inherited a faulty form of state whose foundation was laid by the colonialists.

However, it can be said that from the Lamido of Rey Bouba in North Cameroon to the Sultan of Bamoun in the West and to the Fon of Bafut in the North West, the grandeur and honours attributed to these leaders leaves no one indifferent to the fact that even in the midst of alien rule they were 'states within a state.' In the minds of these leaders, it was clear that they rule independent states. In Bafut, the people called the *fon*dom in mother tongue: *alah Befeu,* meaning Bafut state. This state alongside others mentioned earlier were typical African states par excellence, far from any resemblance with the European fabricated states in the continent. The colonialist recognised this greatness and that is why they adopted a collaborative approach with the leaders of these great states for the success of colonial rule. Within this context the powers of the African leaders were sandwiched and embellished in colonial administration thus portraying them more as states within a state.

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Besides, the nature of diplomacy and relations amongst the states depicted their autonomy and independence from each other. For instance, shortly before the reunification of Cameroon, the Sultan of Bamoun from French Cameroon paid a diplomatic state visit to the Fon of Bafut in Southern Cameroons. This visit marked the peak of state relations in typical African style. The Fon of Bafut, Abumbi II, paints a picture of the visit of Sultan Njoya to Bafut as follows:

> *We were hunting … in the palace forest when …suddenly we heard Fulani music and trumpets blaring in the central court yard of the palace. We took to the darker part of the forest where we hid ourselves thinking the palace was attacked by Fulani people. We came out of our hiding when we saw Bafut people pouring out to defend the palace and were told by palace guards … (ndongaries) that the Sultan of Fumban was on a friendly visit to the palace. The visit took place one month before 1st October 1961. The Fulani at the time were feared and considered as a hostile people. The war in the Bamileke area was raging and women and children war refugees were in the palace. My mother was given nine by the Fon to house and feed them (Abumbi II, Personal Communication, 30 January 2023).*

From the above it is evident that the sultan of the Bamoun came to Bafut to thank a colleague brother who had opened the doors of his state to receive war victims coming from his own state or area. The Fon and Bafut people had cordially welcomed the refugees with whom they were cohabiting peacefully as the Bafut took care of their welfare. This was typical of African state solidarity and relations in times of need. Secondly, the Sultan did not bring war per se; the Fulani music and trumpets described by Abumbi II were part of the aura that went with the entourage of a great Fulani leader (Head of State), on a friendly diplomatic visit to a colleague of another far-off state as Bafut. Our U-Tube sources on the Lamido of Rey Bouba demonstrate this atmosphere of great power and aura that accompanied the great African leaders in their public outings (see fig1c above). Such outings were indeed moments of great demonstration of African power and the sovereignty of its states.

Achirimbi II demonstrated this when he represented Southern Cameroons on the occasion of the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Nigeria (see fig 4e above). The visit of Sultan Njoya to Bafut in 1961 partly explains the holding of the Constitutional (Reunification) Conference in Fumban to ratify the existence of the two federated states of Cameroon. It was another way of bringing together African states that had established wonderful state diplomacy and relations amongst them without necessarily copying any lesson from Europeans on matters of state. When Achrimbi and Njoya met in Fumban, they understood that two old-aged brothers have come to cement their old state relations and to live cordially in peace while respecting their state integrity, values and traditions. It was also an opportunity for them to cooperate closely and develop their sovereign states in a new arrangement. That was the meaning Achirimbi and Njoya gave to the word federalism. For the fact that cordial relations, peaceful coexistence and unity (even in diversity) are virtues of power and strength, Njoya and Abumbi gave their blessings to the creation of the two federated states of East and West Cameroon embodied in the Federal State of 1961 (Fusi Martin, Personal Communication, 1996). This was a visa that legalised another dimension of 'states within a state' in Africa and Cameroon in particular. How the African leaders battled it out (in this new system) at independence, is another bonne of contention.

The nationalist politicians who fought for independence in a way respected the structures or organisation which the colonialist left behind. Hence, the big *fons* (acolytes of colonial administrators), continued to enjoy the power and affluence accorded them by the colonialist. In the first decade of independence, they lavish in affluence of power and enjoyed government support while the subaltern leaders groan in anguish and agony. However by 1977, the Cameroon government put a smile on the faces of the subaltern leaders following the enactment of a chieftaincy decree.

III. The Chieftaincy Decree of 1977

In July 1977, the President of the Republic promulgated a decree concerning the organisation of traditional chieftaincies in Cameroon (Decree No.77/245, 1977). The aim of Government was to resolve many litigations that had plagued the chieftaincy institution by reorganising it so that order, good governance and administration would be ensured at the grassroots. According to the Decree, traditional chiefdoms were organised territorially into first, second and third class chiefdoms. Every chiefdom was placed under the authority of a chief assisted by Traditional Council formed according to the traditions of the area. The chief could appoint from within the council, a notable who would represent him in cases of absence or unavailability. First class chiefdoms were to be created and the chiefs appointed by Prime Ministerial decree, the second class chiefdom by the Minister of Territorial administration and third class by the respective Prefects.

In connection with the duties of traditional rulers, they were to act as auxiliaries of administration transmitting the directives of the administration to their people, ensuring that such directives were implemented. Under the direct supervision of the administration, chiefs were to maintain law and order and help in the economic, social and cultural development of the areas under their control. They were also charged with the duty of collecting taxes and other public funds according to regulations and conditions fixed by law.

In terms of remunerations, the first and second class chiefs were to receive a monthly salary and other

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financial benefits such as rebates on poll tax collection, and special duties. They also received efficiency bonuses from the Ministry of Territorial Administration (MINAT). These extra bonuses depended on the chiefs' dynamism, output and recommendations from the Prefects or Sub-Prefects. Chiefs of the first grade received as salary the sum of 100, 000 Frs. CFA while 75, 000 Francs were allocated to chiefs of the second category. Chiefs of the third category received 50,000 Francs.

On discipline, administrative authorities were to evaluate the activities of the chiefs in their administrative areas taking into consideration their efficiency, output and the economic and social development of the areas under their jurisdiction. In the event of any shortcoming, inertia or extortion from citizens, chiefs were to be sanctioned accordingly. Sanctions included call to order, warning, ordinary reprimand, reprimand with suspension of all allowances for a period of time and finally, deposition. All disputes arising from the appointment of Traditional Rulers were to be brought before the authority vested with the powers of appointment and his decision should be final. Matters were to be resolved in conformity with the dispositions of another law (Law No. 79-17, 1979). With this arrangement, all other previous regulations related to chieftaincy institution were henceforth repealed.

By extension therefore, on 30 June 1979, the President of the Republic, further enacted a law related to disputes arising from the appointment of traditional rulers (Ibid.). It stated that all such disputes should be brought before the authority vested with the power of appointment and his decision should be final. However, the decision taken might be revoked by the competent authority if such authority felt that he was misled. On 27 November 1980, another law was further enacted defining the competent jurisdiction in charge of affairs related to opposition raised on the occasion of the appointment or designation of traditional chiefs (Loi No.80-31, 1980). According to the law, all law courts and practitioners of common law and administrative status were barred from intervening or having jurisdiction over all matters brought before it in relation to protest against the designation of a chief. The matters were to be resolved in conformity with disposition or prescriptions of law No. 79-17 of June 1979.

With all these chieftaincy arrangements made, on 7 February 1981, the Prime Minister issued an *arrête* determining First Class Chiefdoms and appointing first class chiefs in the United Republic (Arrête No. 019/CAB/PM, 1981). By this *arrête*, the Bafut *fon*dom and its leader, Abumbi II were recognised as first class chiefdom and chief respectively. On 19 January 1982, the Minister in charge of Territorial Administration issued an order determining second class chiefdoms and chiefs in the national territory. According to the order, the Chiefdoms of Mambu, Bawum, Banji, Mankwi, Obang, Mbekong, Mankanikong and Nsem were made second class chiefdoms in Bafut (Order No. 36, 1982). This arrangement brought in a new traditional chieftaincy organisation in Bafut in the post-colonial era. It was to an extent different from arrangements that had existed under the Colonial and West Cameroon governments. By this act, Government seem to have official and formally ratified the existence of states within a state in Bafut in modern times. These new arrangements came with their own problems which generated conflict and aggravated other problems of relations within the Bafut community.

IV. The System of Relations and the Issue of Autonomous States within Bafut

The system of relations established in Bafut and even till date is so complex that political wrangles, tussles, are common place amongst its leaders. The present deadlock keeps many wanting as to what is the way forward and when peace and harmonious cohabitation will return in this great *fon*dom. However, the cultural environment and the traditional setting of the area in which the *fon*dom is situated (North West region of Cameroon) is also a contributory factor.

To begin with, in the Bamenda Grassfields, the natural rulers were people who had special duties and roles to play in the social, political and economic life of their people. Their authority over them was legally recognized. They had the capacity and legitimate right to command. They were endowed with privileges and duties of the supreme judge, head of the army, chief priest or supreme ritual head (Robert and Pat Ritzenthaler, 1962:27). In fact, the various duties, activities, rights, prerogatives and privileges of these natural rulers make up a single unified whole. Also, the traditional rulers were the axes of political relations in the societies in this area. The people and the subordinate chiefs saw the *fons* as the symbols of their unity and exclusiveness, and the embodiment of their essential values. The *fons* (in line with pre-colonial traditional norms) were more than secular rulers and their credentials were believed to be mystical and derived from antiquity (Fortes and Pritchard, 1967:16). A distortion of this arrangement at any given time in history led to conflict. Since German period three great *fons* have ruled Bafut namely, Abumbi I, Achirimbi II and presently Abumbi II (see figs 5a, b and c).

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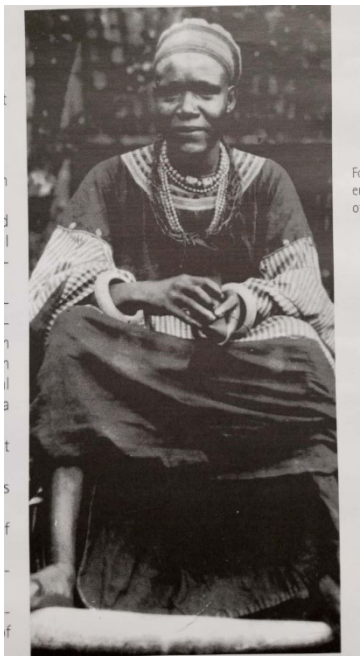



Source: Customs and Traditions of Bafut, PP. 36, 43 & 52

Fig. 5A: Fon Abumbi I *5b:* Fon Achirimbi II *5c:* Fon Abumbi II

For the *fons* to fully succeed in their administration of the *fon*doms, there must be a kind of hierarchical cordial relationship between the chief (at the grassroots) and the *fons*. Where such relations were strained or broken, conflicts erupted. The conflicts were often characterised by wrangles within the ranks of the rulers and each struggle ended up assuming a political dimension with subaltern leaders attempting to secede or create independent autonomous states within the state. As mentioned earlier, colonial rule introduced a new system of relations amongst the African leaders in this area. It distorted the traditional system that existed before. Unable to master the complex colonial system or organisation conflict ensued in the relations amongst the leaders. Peace and cordial cohabitation became far fetch. Solutions to the return of peace were only seen in separation and autonomous living apart from each other.

In Bafut these political conflicts involved the Fon (king) and the chiefs of some semi-autonomous chiefdoms in the *fon*dom. These chiefdoms were Obang, Benji, Bawum, Manbu, Mankahnikong and Mbebeli. Relations between the chiefs and the Fon of Bafut were not always cordial. The problems started far back before the advent of colonial rule in the Bamenda Grassfields. Long before the German and the British arrival, Bafut had been a composite and heterogeneous kingdom. It was made up of several chiefdoms with the major ones being Bawum, Mambu, Mankahnikong, Obang, Benji and Bukari. At the centre of the kingdom, clustered around the Fon's palace (see fig. 6) at Mumalaa, were villages such as Bujong, which served as the capital of Bafut, Manji, Mbebali, Njinteh, Niko, Mankaa, Nchum and Njibujang. The Fon directly ruled these villages. The chiefdoms referred to above were made up of people from different cultural and historical backgrounds that constituted semi-autonomous entities in the area (Hawkesworth, 1926).

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Source: The Bafut Tikars succeeded in establishing their hegemony over these people. It happened that
Source: Customs and Traditions of Bafut, p. 37.

Fig. 6: The Bafut Palace in 1889

The Bafut group came to Ndop after leaving Tikari. Following the death of their leader, a succession dispute, arose between two sons, Nkenjoh and Aghanjoh. Aghanjoh left with his group of supporters towards what is today Bafut (Niba, 1981: 12). On arrival, Aghanjoh was received in the village of Mbebeli by Nibachi, the Chief. After staying with him as a guest for some time, Aghanjoh won over Nibachi's subjects by his lavish generosity, because Nibachi was a selfish and crafty ruler. Consequently, the council of elders conspired with Aghanjoh and urged him to depose their chief and seize the throne. The newcomer did so in a cleverly conceived plan of stepping on Nibachi's foot in public, a sign of deposition. The deposed chief subsequently committed suicide. Later on, one of Aghanjoh's successors moved the palace from Mbebeli to its present site at Bujong in Mumalaa. Then the immigrants subdued the Bukari and Buwe people, who, apparently along with the Mbebeli people were the autochthonous inhabitants of Bafut.

The expansion of the Bafut *fon*dom from its original nucleus to its present size was due to both internal and external factors. One important external factor was the incursion of the Bali Chamba into the Bamenda area at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This incursion greatly affected the balance of power in the area. It brought them into conflict with the bigger chiefdoms and drove the smaller chiefdoms to seek refuge under the bigger ones. After initial clash with the Chamba, Bafut became a rallying point for refugees from the south and southwest of the Ngemba area (Tweed, 1926:6). Some of them eventually returned to their areas after the danger was over but others who stayed were the Mambu and Mankanikong who claimed the same area of origin, namely Mberewi (Chilver and Kaberry, 1967:19). These chiefdoms became tributaries of Bafut through voluntary submission.

The expansion of the Bafut *fon*dom northwards into the Mentchum valley after the Chamba incursion, in the middle of the nineteenth century was dictated by land hunger as well as by a desire for tribute (resources). In a series of raids, the Bafut subdued some of the peoples of the area, such as the Otang, Buwi, Bugri and the rest of them (Mbekong, Manta and Butang) had to voluntarily submit. Another area which the Bafut brought under their control was Banji (Njimuya – across the Mezam River) with its rich savannah farming and hunting grounds. They subdued the inhabitants and forced them to pay tribute. The Bafut also began to settle there (File NW/QF/1933/1, 1933).

Thus, on the eve of the German annexation of Cameroon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Bafut *fon*dom had expanded to its present size, and assumed her present composition. It was a heterogeneous *fon*dom, ruled by an immigrant dynasty and prepared to defend her territory and sovereignty as a conquest state. This is what gives the Bafut Tikars and leader the strong legal argument that none of these subaltern chiefs can succeed in creating an autonomous state within Bafut.

However, Aletum discards this argument by intimating that the problem or conflict began when the Tikar leader usurped the throne from the indigenous chief, Nibachi. From then, the central chiefdom developed the tendency of setting the chiefdoms against each other in order to weaken their regional authority, thereby gaining through a conflict situation the ability to enforce its central authority. Aletum made reference to the fact that it was not easy for some of the chiefdoms such as those of Bawum and Mambu to

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retain their hereditary sub-chiefs' privileges and titles. The retaining of these rights by Ntoh of Bawum and Wanki of Mambu was not through peaceful means but through strong political competition and conflict (Aletum, 1974:31). In fact the usurpation spirit of the Tikar leader was at extreme and as time went on, the conflict multiplied and increased in magnitude. The conflicts were openly manifested during colonial rule.

Aletum further state that the seizure of the throne of Nibachi, the chief of the autochthones in Mbebeli, by the Tikar leader on his arrival, to him was "a palace coup d'Etat " that effaced the political influence of the chiefdom of Mbebeli, whose leader, Nibachi, lost his throne to the Tikar leader called Aghanjo (Ibid.). As time went on, the Tikar leader in Bafut consolidated his authority in a new palace that was constructed in a valley referred to today as Mumelaa. From Mumelaa, the Tikar leader began to wield a lot of power and control over the rest of the chiefdoms in the area. For the fact that the political institution of the Mumelaa chiefdom were far superior to those of the other chiefdoms in the area, the authority of the Bafut leader of Tikar origin grew stronger. Open confrontation and political conflicts became common. On the one hand, Aletum noted, in some of the semi-autonomous chiefdoms, the political institution were subdued but not to the point of rendering them entirely ineffective. These institutions in the chiefdoms, though weak, still exist, but always as a point of conflict. The conflicts are manifested in many different ways, cutting across the Bafut society and the core of traditional politics in the *fon*dom. The intension of the chiefs of the semi-autonomous chiefdom had been to break away from the main society to establish or gain full autonomy over their chiefdoms in the area (Ibid.). However, colonial rule aggravated the situation beginning with the Germans.

German colonial intrusion into Bafut was felt for the first time around 1889, with the arrival of the first white man, Dr. Eugen Zintgraff (a German explorer) in the Bamenda Grassfields. The presence of Zintgraff in the area terrified the Bafut people and their Fon, Abumbi I, and caused much anxiety and uneasiness among them. Abumbi I was unwilling to accept German colonial rule and it was after a series of wars the Germans from 1900 to 1906 that he was compelled to succumb to German rule (Niba, 1986: 86-101). As time went on, traditional authority in Bafut suffered some mutations, difficult for the ordinary Bafut person to understand. German rule in Bafut saw the emergence of conflict within the traditional political system caused by ignorance and the desire to protect interests.

Internal cleavages between the groups of people in Bafut were conspicuous. They remained competitive with each other, giving rise to political competition among the natural rulers. With the establishment of German rule in Bafut, the traditional political institutions appeared to be dormant. But, even with the dormant nature, the institution remained the core of political competition and political conflict, prepared for action when the opportunity presented itself (Aletum, 1974: 31). The situation was aggravated when Bafut came under British rule. British colonial rule served as a catalyst that activated tension among the Bafut leaders. British rule brought stress in relations between the Bafut Fon and his chiefs. Effervescence was added to old personality conflict and skirmishes that existed between the Fon and his chiefs in the past.

First, before the arrival of the British, the status of the traditional rulers in Bafut was well defined. The different people addressed their leaders as *nfor* (king). The status of the most influential of them, who was at the head of the kingdom, was distinguished from those of the subordinates by praise names such as *ati-njong-njong* (thorny tree), *munah-ngwe* (the leopard cub), *nongubu* (a python), *mooh-kwifor* (son of kwifor), *tsa-bufor or atsah-te-ye yah* (he who passes and his footpath cannot be traced) (Suh and Mbungwa, 1995:7). When the British established their rule in the area, they started differentiating the traditional rulers by using titles like "paramount chief" and "sub-chief". In Bafut, Abumbi I and later on Achirimbi II were recognised as paramount chiefs. No other leader within the *fon*dom was recognised as such. When the title '*fon*' was later adopted and popularised in the Bamenda Grassfields, the title received official recognition in the circles of colonial administration. Thus, the colonial masters recognised only one traditional ruler of great importance in Bafut in official circles as "*fon*". This title thus became a source of conflict among the traditional leaders in Bafut. As time went on, the conflict became tense and has continued unabated in recent times.

However, the problem was not with the title per se. It was with the colonial privileges and duties that went with it. The Fon's duty to collect taxes, rates and dues in his jurisdiction caused the closer relationship between the chiefs and the Fon to dwindle and the authority of the Fon over the semi-autonomous chiefdoms began to be weakened. The chiefs refused to pay tributes to the Fon of Bafut and the controversy was that they viewed the tax rebates retained by the Fon as a substitute for tributes from the people in the various chiefdoms (Chilver and Kaberry, 1960:1-9).

In 1948, Nanoh, the chief of Obang village or chiefdom took a bold step and gave the spark of the struggle for sovereignty when, for 2 years, he refused to pay his tributes of 2 tins of oil and 2 baskets of dry fish (per annum) to the Fon, Achirimbi II (File Ab(1926)3, 1926; File No. 213). Achirimbi on his part decided to sue Nanoh to court. Yet, before Achirimbi could have time to settle the dispute with Nanoh, news reached him that Talah, the chief of Banji, had confiscated a leopard meant for him as tribute, and made use of the meat, skin and whiskers (Criminal Case no.85/1949, 1951; File No 2408).

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In 1951, Achirimbi sued Talah. In 1961 (the year of Southern Cameroons release from colonial rule), the ruler of the Bawum chiefdom, Ntoh, sued Achirimbi for appropriating Bawum land (Abumbi II, 1995). At the time Achirimbi died in 1968, the conflict with Bawum chiefdom over land in Bafut has not yet been resolved. The conflict was further aggravated by petty skirmishes and personality conflict between the Fon and the chief of Bawum. A local market problem was the last straw that kept Ntoh and Achirimbi at reasonable distance apart in their relations.

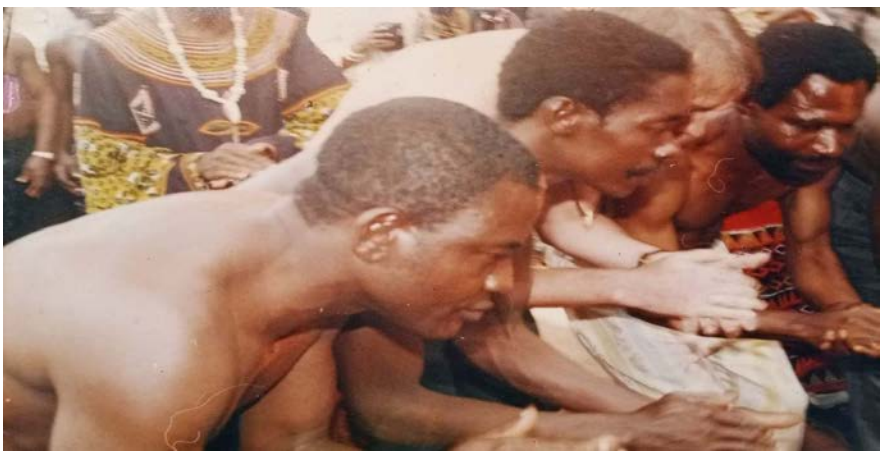
Besides, when the British authorities carved out their first inter-tribal boundaries in the Southern Cameroons, these groups were recognised as entities within the Bafut *fon*dom. We refer to in this work as 'states within a state'. These states within Bafut, were placed under the authority of the Fon. The Bawum, Banji, Obang, Mambu and Mankahnikong leaders were eventually made subaltern leaders under the Fon of Bafut. They also retained their original royal titles called Ntoh, Talah, Nanoh, Wanki and Muwah respectively. The ancestors of most of these chiefs migrated into the area today called Bafut with the aforementioned royal titles brought from their different places of origin. They installed their ruling houses in the various sites they occupied in the area and have maintained their hereditary titles up till date. Recently, some of these chiefs (as explained in the chieftaincy decree earlier) have been classified as "second-class chiefs" ruling "second-class chiefdoms" within the Bafut *fon*dom (Aletum, 1974: 55-7).

Fortunately or unfortunately, the generations of chiefs from these chiefdoms have been in conflict with the Fon and the central authorities in the Bafut palace. Sporadic tensions flare up each time the opportunity occurs. The time and nature of the conflict is not determined but what is evident is that it imposes the need for peace, in this way state and non-state institutions are bound to engage peace ventures and efforts to calm down the situation. The dynamics of the conflict and its impact on the community are examined below.

V. Dynamics of the Conflict in Present Day

We asked the question as to why this conflict has continued in Bafut to recent times. What are the factors that sustain this conflict till present? The dynamics of the political conflict among the Bafut traditional rulers, which this paper examines, has been analysed by many scholars over the years. However the issue is not limited to the Bafut *fon*dom. It touches a good number of the great *fon*doms of the Bamenda Grassfields. It also concerns a wide range of African traditional societies especially in states where British and French colonialism was established. The conflict deals mainly with history, traditions and practices that acted as sources or causes of secession tendencies among traditional rulers in Bafut and the Bamenda Grassfields' *fon*doms as a whole. In this article and alongside other researchers on Bafut, we discovered an entangled and complex web of relations and issues amongst the rulers and people. A number of concepts and practices imbued in the Bafut political system are not working well as to shelve conflict in favour of peace in the *fon*dom in present day.

To begin with, the name 'Bafut' was first mentioned in any historical document in modern times by Dr. Eugen Zintgraff in one of his works which recorded his passage through Bafut in 1889. Here, Zintgraff's view about the Fon of Bafut on his first encounter with Abumbi I is highlighted. Zintfraff described the Fon of Bafut, Abumbi I, as an African despot such as he had not seen before or was he ever to see again (Zintgraff, 1895:16). In fact the Bafut worshiped their *fon* as a demi-god and even whites who came to Bafut joined the people to perform traditional rites that honoured the Fon (see fig. 7).



Source: Author's Collection

Fig. 7: Baful Men and a whiteman performing Honours to Fon

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From Zintgraff's description, it is evident that the authority of the Bafut Fon over his people was so strong that his decisions at one point could cause a conflict situation of great magnitude. There is no clear evidence as to whether his successors changed from this despotic attitude as Bafut evolved into modernism and democratic practices. In the Northwest region and in Mezam Division in particular, the Bafut people were the last to receive modern administration put in place by the Cameroon government. This is indicative of the fact that Bafut remained rooted in its old traditional practices and absolutism till 1994. Even then, the state administrators in the exercise of their administrative duties met stiff resistance from the traditional system in Bafut.

Chilver and Kaberry on their part highlighted the type of relationship that existed between the Bafut Fon and the sub-chiefs since the inception of the Bafut dynasty. For generations, there has been tension between the Fon and some of his chiefs. Such tension led to the killing in the Bafut palace of one of the chiefs of Bawum shortly before the arrival of the Germans in 1888 (Chilver and Kaberry, 1967:19). This assertion became an issue of sharp controversy and dis-agreement among scholars studying the history of Bafut. While some, like M.T. Aletum and Mathias Livinus Niba, hold the view that there is evidence that the said Ntoh was murdered through mysterious means and buried under a tree near a river below the Fon's palace called *Nkinsare*, other scholars argue that Abumbi I was not responsible for the killing. According to them, the said Ntoh was eliminated within the core of *kwifor* in conformity with the will of the greater faction of the Bawum traditional authorities and princes who declared their intention to get rid of the chief and install their own favourite candidate in his place (Tumensang, 2000:6). Whatever the case, the fact is that the fifth Ntoh of Bawum was killed and the Bawum people up till date have been using the point as a reference to justify their struggle to break away from the Bafut *fon*dom.

In this conflict among the Bafut rulers, ethnicity plays an important role in precipitating tension. Jean-Pierre Warnier described this phenomenon as "ethnic processes." He pointed out that various societies constantly change with modified institutions falling in line with changing fortunes. Thus, no matter the degree of integration and change, ethnicity will sometimes lead to ethnic tension and conflict (Warnier, 1975:78). Mathias Livinus Niba added that such tension and conflicts increased in Bafut due to the misinterpretation or reinterpretations of the three topographically demarcated geographical zones in the *fon*dom (Ntare, Mumelaa and Mbunti). The inequality in the distribution of resources in these three main zones is a serious problem among the Bafut ethnic groups. Also, the integration of conquered peoples, slaves and captives in the Bafut society was received and interpreted in various ways by the different peoples in the various chiefdoms. Hence, discrimination and open manifestation of ethnic differences and strife for superiority in the *fon*dom were not uncommon (Niba, 1999: 22-33).

Crawford Young further buttress the significant role of ethnicity in traditional societies when he said: "Even the least separatist sentiments among a group of people suffices to illuminate conflict in a state. Cultural cleavages accompanied by different histories of people's origins are widely believed to cause tension within a society. They broaden and deepen cultural identities, which ultimately strengthen secessionist spirit even in traditional societies. The struggle has often taken the form of demands for sovereignty expressed by cultural or ethnic community within an existing territorial entity (Young, 1976:33)." In fact, there is no palpable evidence to show that vices linked to ethnicity were eliminated in the Bafut community as it evolved into modernity.

Apart from ethnicity, the question of land remains cardinal in Bafut society. Miriam Goheen, in a study of similar conflicts between the Fon of Nso and his sub-chief, the Fon of Nse, revealed that land and stewardship constituted major symbols of political leadership. Thus, the least conflict over land and its resources could inflict negative consequences on the entire society. Strained relations among traditional rulers could result to secession. As society evolved, the conflicts multiplied and traditional authority gradually withered away (Goheen, 1996: 399-424).

In this, the character of man and his attitude towards landed property aggravates the magnitude of conflict related to land and power (authority). Robert Ardrey, pointed out that man's quest for territory and property undoubtedly raised greater storms in traditional societies. To him, man is a predator and, from time to time, he goes out looting, "raping" and raising general havoc in the surrounding countryside or neighbouring villages. Ardrey described traditional rulers as people who will like to reap where they have not sown. The final outcome is an unavoidable reprisal from the offended. A conflict thus erupts among the leaders involved. Ardrey draws a number of conclusions. First, the common cause for any form of conflict revolves around man's ignorance. Second, group of family loyalty to traditional rulers in local societies depends on joint attachment to private territory or land. When the land is tempered with, conflicts with greater magnitudes occur (Ardrey, 1966:46). Land matters between the leaders of Bafut are seemingly going to balkanise the great *fon*dom in modern times.

The conflict in Bafut today equally revolves around authority. The rulers here are so attached and full of authority in such a way that none is willing to relinquish any iota of it. They all claim to be powerful and equal. None accepts to be regarded as the subordinate of the other or to be treated as such. This is an attitude which Paul Nchoji Nkwi had earlier highlighted and

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warned against when he examined the concept of traditional authority within the political institutions of the Kom people. Nkwi pointed out that traditional authority is the centre of all relations. First, the authority is built on consent and consensus rather than on coercion. To Nkwi, Bafut, Bali, kom and Nso in the nineteenth century emerged as centralised states with centralised authority. The Fon was at the head of a hierarchical political structure, which permitted him to delegate powers and authority to regional representatives. In this political system, therefore, the king or *fon*, according to Nkwi, is a sovereign leader with a hierarchical authority. In the nineteenth century, most of these rulers were also ruling over confederacies, which were often a mixture of pyramidal and hierarchical authority (Nkwi, 1987:56). Nkwi's view is that the groups of people in the Grassflieds' *fon*doms did not live in complete isolation. Friendly contacts dominated their history but many of them too had hostile conflicts and contacts with one another. These hostilities could have been wars, boundary problems and various forms of conflict that strained relations among the groups. Hostilities or strained relationships among the traditional rulers themselves became a common feature too (Ibid.). Thus, in a situation where subordinate authority discards history and rise to claim equal rights, privileges power, and position with his superior in recent times, such a community can hardly be peaceful. It is the case with Bafut.

In fact, to deal with authority in Bafut today is to deal with a sensitive and precarious situation. Traditional authority is in the blood of the rulers more as a vector of controversy, bitterness and deadlock. It provokes senseless conflicts in a great *fon*dom that by dint of its status is expected to be dynamic and evolving rapidly in present day. One is quick to conclude that even in the midst of modern education nowadays many traditional authorities have failed to learn from their history and construct better peaceful communities for their people. Little wonder then that Fortes and Evans-Pritchard remarked that in dealing with traditional authorities, one is dealing with law on the one hand, with conflict on the other, and with peace and order where necessary (Forts and Eans-Pritchard, 1967: 27). Within a locally defined community, an authority may commit some acts or adapts some modes of behavior, which may spur up conflict in the society. Traditional leaders who generate tension in the society claim to be great men. Subordinate chiefs play the role of representatives of the people within central authority (hierarchy). But, without cooperation among the people who hold these offices, it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, for the administration of the society to succeed. The king himself confronts difficulties in obtaining his revenue, assert his judicial and legislative supremacy, or retain his secular and ritual prestige. Sabotage becomes a salient feature of conflict among traditional leaders (Ibid.). The circumstances prevailing in the society at the time thus determine the magnitude of the conflict.

In Bafut the traces of colonial administration continue to reign havoc up till date. The bone of contention is on issues emanating from acculturation which the people have been unable to manage several decades after the departure of the colonial master. The relics of colonial administration had remained indelible in the traditional political system of Bafut more as a source of conflict in modern time. Walters Che Fombong lamented on this when he remarked that the Bafut society, which was purely traditional, gradually evolved into the colonial era where foreigners and external influence infiltrated the "traditional society." Chieftaincy matters for instance, were intricately linked to British local administration. The colonial classification of chiefs into grades (first, second and third class) in the Bamenda Division was not necessary given that it became a source of conflict and disagreements over titles among the traditional rulers of powerful states or *fon*doms.

Till date, the disagreement has not stopped. The word "paramount" used to clearly distinguish the authority of few first class chiefs is still in conflict. While the paramount chiefs were placed on a monthly salary and held in high esteem by the British colonial masters, the second-class and the third-class chiefs were less important and thus ignored. Today, in spite the 1977 chieftaincy decree many paramount or first class chiefs still think that the second and third class chiefs should be permanently ignored and deprived of any privileges. The envy and jealousy aroused among the traditional rulers during colonial rule had seldom disappeared. The secession tendencies among the traditional rulers in Bafut multiplied in recent times (Fombong, 1980:79). The post-colonial government inherited and continued with the system of classifying traditional rulers into grades and this has never resolved the separatist tendencies among the rulers in Bafut.

Apart from the classification of chiefs, colonial masters created artificial or warrant chieftaincies. The consequences of this act in Africa and Bafut in particular today are vividly described by Thomas Bierschenk who pointed out that, some chieftaincies in African societies today are not traditional institutions originating from pre-colonial times and extending into colonial era. The colonial authorities created chieftaincies where such had not existed before. As time went on, traditional rulers became involved in modern politics. It became difficult to distinguish chiefs from the modern elite for they did not constitute two distinct social groups. On the one hand, some politicians took the chiefs as potential allies or opponents. The concept of "tradition" and "modernity" was not antithetical to the politicians. Thus, in the face of this confusion, internal conflicts over the social status of chiefs became prominent among traditional rulers. With the advent of colonial rule, chiefs

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with pre-colonial titles and history could not survive the democratisation of the chieftaincy structures and institutions by the colonial administration. It became difficult to differentiate a traditional chief from a modern politician (Bierschenk, 1993:217-43). Up till date, it is indeed difficult to distinguish a traditional ruler from a modern politician or elite.

Carola Lentz cues up to emphasis that the disagreement over titles among traditional rulers often resulted in feuds, warfare and shifting political alignment. Sometimes, they weakened the powerful chiefdoms and made them to lose control over their peripheral territories. Villages also ceased the opportunity of the conflict situations to declare their independence (Lentz, 1993:176-212). To Lentz, the impact of colonial rule on African traditional stewardship was great. Chieftaincy matters were intricately linked to British local administration. At independence, most African government and later regimes arrogated to themselves the right to have the final say in the recognition of new chiefs. By so doing they were perpetuating the colonial policy of appointing chiefs who had no traditional backing. This appointment syndrome today is breaking down many African kingdoms or states which are bound to cope with the stigma of artificial states created within their states. Bafut had its own bitter pill and the Fon, Abumbi II, has never been in accord with the government for recognising eight second class chiefdoms in his *fon*dom. To him, that was synonymous to creating states within a state in modern dispensation.

The emergence of party politics in later years intensified the conflict and brought in new dynamics in chieftaincy matters. These political parties offered themselves as national political counterparts to opposing factions in local conflicts. Chiefs and would-be chiefs now needed to secure political support by siding with the national power groups. Governments now used the chiefs to enhance their rural constituencies. As for the "earth priests" (the kingmakers responsible for the enthronement of the chiefs) who were basically cut off from the sort of official recognition, it now appeared that the only way open for them to increase their local influence was to ally with various factions of chiefs (Ibid.). It is within this wider political context that many of the puzzling alignments of chiefs in conflict can best be understood in Bafut and many other *fon*doms, which came under British rule and thereafter. With the advent of multipartism in Cameroon in the 1990s, two prominent political parties existed namely, the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement (CPDM) and the Social Democratic Front (SDF).

The impact of these two parties on local politics and traditional authority in Bafut was enormous. It suffices to mention here the consequences of political alignments created by these parties on the Bafut rulers and their people. These parties carefully and cynically set up their political agendas and strategies to further balkanise the Bafut people and leaders under the guise of supporters or followers. While each party struggled to make Bafut its bastion, the syndrome of 'states' existing within the Bafut *fon*dom was gradually fortified and consolidated given the political strife that emanated amongst the political elite and traditional rulers, especially at the level of the central palace. Many political elite accused the central palace for either withdrawing support from them or supporting their opponent because they were not from the same chiefdom or origin. Of course the political elite who had impressed on the government to create the second class chiefdoms within Bafut had a bone to contend with during political campaigns and elections in Bafut (Niba, Personal Communication, 2012).

We noted that the paramountcy and status of the Bafut Fon also became a source of bitter conflict among the chiefs of the ethnic groups inhabiting the *fon*dom. The problem has remained unresolved up till date as each chief wants to be recognised as paramount *fon*, advancing various arguments to back up his claims (Ngwebufor, 2000:3-4). During colonial rule, the powerful position of the Fon of Bafut permitted him to impose his will on the other chiefs in his realm who were not fortunate to have their status recognised by the colonial masters. He was made the paramount chief in the Bafut Native Authority Area (which also included Bambui, Nkwen, Mendankwe, Bambili and the two Banankis). The colonial authorities paid him all the respect, "closed their eyes to his wrong-doing," and gave him a higher allowance. They increased the Fon's power without considering the traditional context or implications and this inevitably caused tension among the traditional rulers especially the chiefs of the semi-autonomous chiefdoms in the *fon*dom. Although this tension has not resulted in any organised armed conflict, it has resulted in violence (Niba, 1981). Traditional politics became more complicated because of the envy and jealousy that surrounded the position of the Fon. The Fon felt threatened in his position and thus adopted various strategies to deal with the situation and consolidate his position. In the course of doing this, more tension arose in present day.

However, John Neba Chungong thinks that this tension should have subsided by now but for the fact that independent governments and regimes continuously arrogate to themselves the right to have the final say in chieftaincy matters or the recognition of chiefs. Consequently, government authorities permanently intrude in chieftaincy matters such as succession to the thrones of traditional rulers, especially in the North West Region of Cameroon. The involvement of government authorities in issues considered to be purely traditional affairs to an extent increased tension in areas where succession conflicts occurred. In Bafut, political conflicts among the traditional rulers in the

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*fon*dom were aggravated by succession conflict where government authorities and state functionaries were involved. (Chungong, 1977: 43).

Divine F. Ngwa aligns with Chugong by illustrating the 1968 succession conflict in the Bafut palace. Here, the involvement of some of the chiefs of the semi-autonomous chiefdom in the affair gave a wider dimension to it. Their role in the issue created more tension and increased the magnitude of the conflict. The chiefs especially those from Bafut, threw their support behind princes whose mothers' origins were from their chiefdoms. They mounted a strong opposition against the prince who was apparently designated to succeed. Politicians and government ministers from these chiefdoms in Bafut did all in their power to ensure that the throne was succeeded by the prince they and their chiefs supported. Ngwa, in his conclusion, pointed out that succession conflicts were avenues or sporadic opportunities where the chiefs used to revenge or manifest old grudges and grievances that they bore against the Fon of Bafut and the central authorities in the palace (Ngwa, 1999). Such grudges and grievances are not unconnected to the political conflict, rivalry and secessionist tendencies that have existed among the traditional rulers till date.

For instance, when Achirimbi died in 1968, it was expected that the conflicts and wrangling among the rulers in Bafut would subside following the occupation of the throne by a new *fon*, Abumbi II. But on his accession to the Bafut throne, Abumbi found himself entangled in a web of bitter and estranged relationship with the chiefs of the semi-autonomous chiefdoms in Bafut. These differences have continued up till date. Again, in 1995, Abumbi II appointed some new "third-class" chiefs in the *fon*dom. The appointment sparked new waves of resentment amongst the chiefs of the semi-autonomous chiefdoms. This time around, the chiefs of Mambu, Mankahnikong and of the recently revived Mbebeli chiefdom joined the old clique of chiefs in opposition to the Fon's authority. The Chief of Mambu, Wanki Nibanchang II, spearheaded the strife. He wrote several petitions to government administrators contesting the legitimacy of the "third-class" chiefs appointed by the Fon in the Mambu chiefdom.

The respond of government eventually embolden the chiefs to continue in their actions against the Fon. The plea of the revolting Bafut chiefs gained sympathy within the ranks of government authorities in the area. At one point in time, the Senior Divisional Officer for Mezam wrote a letter related to Chieftaincy disputes in Bafut Sub-Division. The letter pointed out that the Fon had illegally created some chieftaincies in Bafut, which were contrary to the decree of 1977. The Senior Divisional Officer in his letter informed the Fon that the list of chiefs he forwarded to the administration was not the right one. Consequently, the Fon was requested to withdraw any traditional authority and insignia conferred on any individual as a chief (Ref. No. 472/L/E29/SP, 1998). Such ultimatum were nothing short of empowering the subaltern chiefs in Bafut and reinforcing the existence of states within a state.

In fact, the decision of government authorities seemed to have added more insult to injury in the chiefs' revolt against the Fon. In April 2000, under the canopy of the. Ntare chiefs," the traditional rulers of Bawum, Mambu, Mankahnikong and Mbebeli addressed a letter to the Divisional Officer for Bafut Sub-Division concerning the traditional titles of "chief" and "*fon*" in Bafut. They challenged the Bafut Fon's claim that he is the only *fon* in the *fon*dom. The chiefs argued that they too were *fons* and their titles must be recognised and respected (Note of Information, 3 April 2000). It is this conflict among the traditional rulers in Bafut that is seemingly going to tear the *fon*dom apart in modern times. In this, the 1977 chieftaincy decree quoted severally by Divisional Officers and government officials in Bafut is the bone of contention and source of all other conflicts among the Bafut rulers in modern times. The impact on the community is enormous.

VI. Impact of Conflict

The traditional political system in Bafut is endangered. The conflict has diminished the mystical element of the institution of kingship in Bafut. The authority of the Fon is gradually withering among the people in the various chiefdoms. The development of the *fon*dom is endangered. Also, the conflict discourages outsiders from settling in Bafut. A stranger would not like to settle in an area where the first condition for the acquisition of land forcefully compels him to pay allegiance only to a particular traditional authority and not to the other. The Nsoh quarter in Bafut is a victim of this feat.

Furthermore, the conflict among traditional authorities (since its inception) scares potential well-wishers who would have liked to help Bafut in one way or the other. The conflict today represents an impending doom for Bafut development, which all Bafut people should aspire to. Disunity has entered the fabric of the society. The saying that "united we stand divided we fall" means nothing to the traditional rulers in Bafut. Political, ideological, personal and social differences have permeated the society. Social relation and inter chiefdom marriages have been reduced drastically. Each person is suspicious of his fellow brother or sister coming from a different chiefdom. All these are clear indications of the ultimate disintegration that looms large over the Bafut *fon*dom.

More fears are directed towards the future generation of rulers in Bafut. It has been noticed that each generation of rulers inherits the conflict. The magnitude increase with the passage of time. The future of the *fon*dom as a political unit is seriously threatened.

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From the conflicts and wrangling that characterise relations among the traditional rulers here, one can hastily draw the conclusion that, if efforts are not made to arrest the situation, future generations shall inherit "arms" of genocide, massacre, hatred and jealousy.

Furthermore, the role of the Bafut people, scholars, elite and Cameroon Government administrators in the conflict among the traditional rulers in Bafut is significant. They are also points of controversy, which need critical examination. As far as the people are concerned, those in the various chiefdoms relentlessly support their individual chiefs.

On the part of the elite, they manipulate the rulers for their own ends. In the main towns and cities of Cameroon, the elite from the rebellious chiefdoms boycott the central Bafut *manjong* in obedience to the express desires of their chiefs (The Bafut Observer, 2000: 6-7). Yet, most of these elite are traditional title holders in the *fon*dom. Their role in traditional politics in the face of conflict are equally damaging to the Bafut people. The people are even more confused and misled by some writers of newspaper article who fall short of having a mastery of the historical facts, political developments and traditional politics in the *fon*dom. Some writers or scholars writing on Bafut have contributed in sparking a controversy over the status of the Bafut *fon*dom. Some call Bafut a federation; others feel that it is a confederation while some are categorical on the fact that it is a monarchy.

Beside, traditional authority is gradually decaying and great African states like the Bafut *fon*dom are threatened. The respect due traditional rulers in their societies had withered away. Their role as peacemakers is virtually defeated. The moral values bestowed on the African tradition are seemingly being destroyed by conflicts among the rulers who are considered as custodians of these customs, norms, and moral values. Our greatest hope is that this article should arouse the interest of other scholars or researchers in the study thus enhancing intellectual scholarship that will restore peace in this great *fon*dom.

Today the North West Region has been affected by this 'state' syndrome that dealt a big blow to the local communities in the past. With the advent of multiparty politics in the 1990s, the political elite from Ndonga-Mantung Division, led by Honourable Tamfu (of late) campaigned for the split of the North West Region to create a far-north west region with capital in Nkambe (Mbah Ndam Joseph, personal communication, March 2015). The benefits of this act could best be explained by its orchestrators or perpetrators. But one thing is clear that it was an attempt to create a state within a state. This divisive attitude had remained in the brain of the political elite from this division who think that whatever happens in the North West Region as a whole, is not part of their business. To them they are by inference autonomous or independent of the North West Region.

For instance, with the insurrection of the *amba* revolution in 2016, ghost towns and school boycotts were respected all over the North West Region but for Nkambe. With the creation of the Concept of Junior Senators in Cameroon in 2022, the junior Senator from Ndonga-Mantung, Nseka Ndi Anatole insisted that there is no way the North West can present a general project for the Region (Nseka Ndi, personal Communication, November 2022). Each division and its senators should concentrate in the development of projects in their divisions and forward the reports directly to the Assembly in Yaounde. This attitude in a sense, sustained the vices of states within a state.

In a follow up of the elections of the bureau of the Junior Regional Council for the North West on 3 February 2023, Nseka Ndi Anatol declared:

> *Donga Mantung won the presidency…the person who won …is the person the whole Donga Mantung will pay respect to … any other arranged candidate is a farce. We worked for that, we are not going to leave our efforts go in vain. Arrangements can be done on any other position, not the position of the person who won the presidency. Youths … paid their transport from very far distance like Ako, Misaje, Nkambe…to come for this event… if any other person should replace our president, it should be someone from Donga Mantung and nothing else … stripping us from our position of responsibility is something we cannot condone (personal Communication, 3 February 2023).*

To emphasis that if the president is not from Donga Matung, people from that Division will not accept or respect was in essence reiterating the fact that Donga Mantung wants to be a state within a state.

Today, the union between English speaking and French speaking Cameroonians created in 1961 is suffering from socio-political crises that continue to threaten the foundation and existence of that union as the bid for the creation of an independent English speaking Cameroon state animates the political scene. In fact, leaders of the *amba* revolution of 2016 hold swear that the two English speaking regions in Cameroon must have an independent or autonomous state of their own. The future and way forward in this crisis remains the million dollar question to answer. Yet, all these had its origin in the colonial concept of states vis-à-vis the African concept as explained in this article. The consequences in the communities till date are enormous.

VII. Conclusion

This study focused on the perception and manifestation of the concept of states in African communities and most especially where groups of diverse people exist as one body in a state. It is what we also referred to here as 'states within a state.' Here, the problem is not about the physical and geographical

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form of the state(s); it is about the welfare and well-being of the people concern. Where oppression exist and the state instrument cannot satisfy the needs of the citizens nor provide avenues for them to fetch for livelihood, separatist tendencies will occur. No human by nature is ready to sustain torture and misery for long. One state system in the world which is a succinct example of unity in diversity is the American federal structure. In fact the American federated states show how people from diverse background and origin can cohabit peacefully under the same canopy called a state.

The Canadian state model also portrays vividly how people with different cultural and linguistic background can live together in the same house (state). In the minds of Canadians, it is clear that before they were made French and English speakers, they were first and foremost Canadians. The desire to live harmoniously and peacefully is compelling. It is even a fundamental right and priority to them. America (USA) and Canada translate to the world how 'states within a state' can exist and move on with life. They can serve as inspiration to Cameroon in the bid to solve the secession or separatist revolution imbued in the English speaking regions for decades now.

In fact, the issue is about self-determination and how a people are treated within the context of states. In the Union of two cultures since 1961, the English speakers claim to be passing through life challenges sandwiched with torture, discrimination, misery and marginalisation (Ngwa, 2022:846-853). The subaltern chiefs (leaders) and people in Bafut had accused their Fon for not giving them 'dash.' Meaning, he did not care for their welfare and well-being. Besides, instead of using the much power he had acquired since colonial rule to enable them live a better life, he used it to oppress them. This gave the sub-chiefs and people reason to secede. Attempts in this direction led to conflicts with enormous impact on peace building ventures in that community. Till date, peace is a relative and fragile issue in Bafut. Yet many yearn for peace. The resolution of conflicts and the restoration of lasting peace in Bafut and Cameroon as a whole requires a revisit of the concept of states within a state as perceived and practised in Cameroon.

The concept of states is an issue of people coming together in a political structure or arrangement made in the society. When this happens, the people are bound to cohabit, live and work together in the system. Relations amongst the people are dictated by the perceptions they have towards the structure or arrangement. Always conflict ensue in the relations to jeopardise peace and harmonious living because of the non-respect of the fundamental rights of each other. This brings to light the question as to how some people cohabit, cooperate and develop within the context of 'states within a state.' We earlier mentioned the USA and Canada as glaring examples.

In this article, we defined a state as an organisation of human beings connected by a system of relations. From precolonial to colonial and post-colonial era, we saw the various organisations or structures put in place to regulate relations amongst the Bafut and the people around them. Bafut went through a number of internal arrangements which built a strong centralised but diverse kingdom (*fon*dom) under the leadership of an all-time powerful *fon*. We equally saw the organisation made by the colonial masters - Germans and British hoping to create harmonious and peaceful relations amongst the people.

In this bid, the native authority areas and the south eastern federation were created. On a general note, we will say that European structures dealt a big blow to African political arrangements and relations. First, European powers in Africa were more interested in the economic and geographical mapping of states (structures) for exploitation. That is, carving out spheres or areas endowed with resources for personal administration, control and exploitation. They overlooked the socio-political relations that constituted the bases of state formation in Africa. This eventually generated conflicts in the African communities including Bafut.

The post independent states came up with reforms and new structures (such as the chieftaincy decree in Cameroon) yet conflicts continued unabated. Peaceful cohabitation continued to suffer strains given that peace efforts were confronted with deadlocks. Generally for peace to reign in Bafut, Cameroon and Africa as a whole, some colonial relics, oppression and influence from ex-colonial masters must however be eliminated in the states and communities. This will permit development and peace to reign. The socio-political crisis in the English speaking regions of Cameroon depict a conflict of states whose form and origin emanated from colonial relics. Since inception in 1961, there is no evidence to show that a proper follow up is made to ensure that the welfare of the people in the union (with *La republique du Cameroun*) as manifested in their aspirations during the reunification is respected.

Besides, in Bafut we saw that the Fon's authority and control over other leaders and people in his state (*fon*dom) is justified by some accepted African concepts of state formation such as conquest and alliances. We also saw that by African dictate, assimilation as a vector of state formation caused conflict at the very inception of the state. Such a state is hardly stable for always the political system or structure is subject to fragmentation and strains. The use of assimilation to consolidate power or control over people (especially in a state that is built by federated structures within it), is a potential seed of discord in that

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community. Reason why the perception of the concept of 'states within a state' has to be revisited in Bafut and Cameroon as a whole.

The conflict in the Bafut *fon*dom created confusion and made people to attempt a redefinition of the term states in search for a better and convenient application that can bring peace and cordial relations in that community. While Bafut suffers from this at a local level, Cameroon suffers at the national level given that a proper and acceptable definition of 'states' amongst the people had not been ascertain. The state has moved from a Federal Republic to a United Republic, back to a Republic and now to a Decentralised Republic. In fact the Cameroon state needs to answer some questions as to whether colonies or groups of people conquered by French speaking Cameroonians exist in the state. Second, is assimilation a proper policy to apply in the governance of a state made up of people with diverse culture and linguistic background?

From an African perspective, it is clear that assimilation as a policy has hardly succeeded in consolidating the form of a state nor its existence over time. It is more of a vector to conflict and destruction in state formation. From 1961, the construction of a state or nation for Cameroon has been on the move. Two states with two linguistic cultures (within a state) are involved in the process. History and current happenings have shown that the process of consolidating the foundation and form of the state is still porous and shaky. The numerous and sporadic socio-political crisis emanating from the English speaking part of the country portray a conflict of states within a state. Peace ventures have been futile as deadlock takes an upper hand in the crisis. Separatists' propaganda holds that secession is the ultimate solution to the problem. But the Bafut example also portrays that there is still possibility to hold states or people under one canopy (state).

To succeed in any peace venture here, frank dialogue is necessary for the parties concerned to sit and discuss freely and agree on the form of state that will ensure the general welfare and well-being of the people. It is never too late to redefine the form of a state for the sake of peace and progress of a people. It takes just the will to do it. 'States within a state' are not only sources of conflict within that community; they can also become good potentials for rapid economic development, industrialisation, progress, unity and peace in the state. The USA and Canadian states are glaring examples for Bafut and Cameroon as a whole to emulate.

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"The Pen is Mightier than the Sword": Popular Ethics in Edo Period Japan

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Abstract- "The Pen is Mightier than the Sword": Popular Ethics in Edo Period Japan.

In this essay I trace the rise of, and motivation behind, the popular ethics movement in Edo Period Japan, specifically within the context of the religio-political agenda of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868). The subversive philosophical root of "ancient learning" (Confucian and non- Confucian) led in many respects to the ideological fruit of National Learning, and Hirata Shinto, and to a cultural "revolution," especially among the merchants. In an ironic twist of fate, the merchant city of Kyoto, which was "defrocked" of its political preeminence, gained its "revenge," so to speak, by becoming the philosophical centre for the popular ethics movement that eventually would undermine the ideological foundations of Tokugawan power in the Edo era. This ideologically driven social movement would ultimately give birth to the Meiji era when Japan re-emerged onto the world stage, but this time as a lasting political force.

Keywords: *edo, tokugawa, ancient learning, national learning, hirata shinto, kyoto, meiji.*

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I. Introduction

By the end of the Edo period of Japan (1603–1868), the three major religious traditions of Japan each appear to have found formally defined roles within Japanese culture and politics. In the mid-19th century, N. Sontoku (1787–1858) succinctly summarized his understanding of their more formalized roles as follows: "Shinto is the way, which provides the foundation of the country; Confucianism is the way which provides for governing the country; and Buddhism is the way which provides for governing one's mind."[1]

The Edo period, however, does not just evidence a formalization of societal roles for religious traditions. It also includes a strong move back to the ancient ways of "primordial" Japanese society that existed before the politicization of Shinto, and the importation, first, of Buddhism, and then, of Confucianism. This religious move "back to the future," so to speak, is first evident in a return to Confucian "ancient learning" and then to Japano-centric "native"/ National Learning. Both of these moves fostered the development of popular ethics among commoners, which ultimately undermined the strong centralization of socio-political power in the hands of the Tokugawa elite. Popular ethics/culture entailed the ability of commoners to participate in, and create, cultural activities such as books, paintings and woodblock prints (ukiyo-e), the theater (kabuki, bunraku), and the "pleasure quarters" (tea houses, brothels). It is my purpose in this essay to trace the rise of, and motivation behind, this popular ethics movement, specifically within the context of the religio-political agenda of the Tokugawa shogunate. In attempting to chronicle the rise of popular ethics, I will first investigate the roots of these religious developments in the first century of the Edo period (1600's) and then, second, to explore their fruits, which challenged the formalization of Japanese society under Tokugawan rule.

II. Roots: The 17th Century Sociological Context

The roots of the popular ethics movement are already found in the first century (1600's) of the Edo period, a period which saw dramatic political, religious, cultural, philosophical, and economic developments. In 1603, Ieyasu, the first Tokugawan shogun, centralized political control in Japan away from the imperial city of Kyoto to his new capital of Edo (modern day Tokyo). In a fitting twist of fate, one might say that Kyoto, in turn, got its "revenge" when it became the "capital" of ideological change in its role as host city for many of the key scholars behind the rise of popular, rather than Neo-Confucian, ethics. One might even be able to go so far as to say that "the pen of Kyoto ended up being mightier than the sword of Edo." How did the penmanship of Kyoto's ideologues blunt the tip of the Tokugawan sword in Japan's new Edo period? To answer that question, it is helpful first to understand the key strategy used by the Tokugawan regime in the wielding of its politico-military sword.

A key Tokugawan strategy for the establishment, and then maintenance, of power involved the leveraging of religious traditions for socio-political ends. Thus, this strategy not only lent ideological legitimacy to the new centralized military/political regime, but it also facilitated a fusion of Japanese religious, cultural, and even economic elements in

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[1] Michiko Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall Inc., 2002), 85. Governance of the mind through Buddhism is focused on deliverance from desires, which is the third of the fourfold truths.

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concord with that new political reality.[2] This centralization of government curtailed the "expansive spirit of the preceding era…as the shogunate adopted strict measures to control all aspects of people's lives and institutions."[3] The Tokugawa military government appears, in many ways, to have adopted as their social philosophy the four-fold social stratification in the Neo-Confucian tradition as it was espoused by Zhu Xi (also spelled Chu Hsi; 1130–1200 CE)[4] and then as adapted by Hayashi Razan (1583–1657).[5] The Neo-Confucian four class system was, in descending hierarchical order, the samurai class, the peasants/agriculturalists, the artisans, and the merchants.

So as better to understand the Tokugawa inspired fusion of politics and religions in the first century of the Edo period, it is perhaps helpful to set the sociological context within which this religio-political shift took place. Two primary benefits ensued from the shogunate's alignment with an ancient philosophical tradition, particularly Neo-Confucianism. First, it formalized, and thus re-affirmed, a four-class system that maintained in perpetuity the elevation of the samurai class to power and prestige. Second, a religious justification for political power more effectively gained the loyalty of masses, and thus created checks and balances for societal expressions that differed from the "party line," so to speak. At least four areas of change were managed more effectively than in neighbouring countries through the Tokugawan fusion of religion and politics: population growth, social unrest, cultural diversity, and economic prosperity.

Unlike in China, one of the hallmarks of Tokugawan ingenuity was the way in which their population growth was managed in sustainable ways.[6] Strong centralized government appears to have contributed to this success. Documentary evidence from annual Buddhist temple registers[7] shows that "population growth was consciously curtailed using a wide variety of methods: late marriages, restrictions on length of childbearing of women, abortion, infanticide, and the like."[8]

Although, not unlike Europe, social unrest was also characteristic of the Edo period (at least 6889 disturbances were recorded[9]), somehow the Tokugawa shogunate managed to avoid wide-scale insurrection that would have toppled either rural administration or the central government. Hall comments, albeit anachronistically, that a "Marxist-style" model is foreign to the Japanese experience since "the Japanese narrative is concerned with the formation of class identity within an acknowledged national historical frame."[10] In other words, Japanese peasants were not generally interested in an uprising that would topple government, but rather were more interested in raising their socio-economic status through cooperative engagement with the existing government.[11] This approach to identity formation was facilitated through the political appropriation of historical and religious traditions that affirmed the centralized political regime as socially legitimate (through Neo-Confucian moral philosophy) and even divinely sanctioned (Ieyasu's deification as a living *kami*, an avatar of the Yakushi Buddha[12]).

[2] Herman Ooms writes that "Military power, the naked instrument of domination, was transubstantiated through association with the sacred into political authority of a religious character" (*Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570–1680* [Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985], 61.)

[3] Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 78. The new Tokugawa socio-political reality, the *bakuhan*, (a term that combines *bakufu* with *han*) spread its control over the previous feudal states by, among other things: (1) a new code of law which prescribed issues related to private conduct, marriage, types of weapons, size of armies; (2) limited contact with foreigners through tight trade restrictions; (3) the proscription of Christianity, particularly Roman Catholicism; and (4) maintained power over the imperial household, the daimyo, and religious authorities.

[4] "As a term Neo-Confucianism has a variety of nuances but most scholars who use the term do so in reference to forms of Confucian philosophizing that emerged in the wake of Buddhism…As Buddhist estimations of reality gained a greater hearing, Confucians formulated a metaphysics affirming the reality of the world of experience, explaining the substantial nature of the world by way of the notion of *ki*…In positing this metaphysics of *ki* along with various other ideas related to ethics, politics, spirituality, and humanity, Confucian scholars expanded upon the basics of early Confucian thinking so much so that many modern interpreters have referred to them as 'Neo-Confucians.'" http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/japanese-confucian/ (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy); accessed Sept. 30, 2022.

[5] Robert Morrell clarifies that it was "Hayashi Razan's [1583–1657] version of Chu Hsi's Neo-Confucianism…that the Tokugawa military government officially supported as its social philosophy" ("Literature and Scripture" in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions* [Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson, eds.; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006], 257–73, esp. 266]. Yusa (*Japanese Religious* Traditions, 84) states that Razan's support of Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucianism was mainly politically motivated as a way to counter his political adversaries who were of a Buddhist persuasion (i.e., the Buddhist priest, Tenkai [1536–1643] and Suden [1569–1633]), who were Ieyasu's close advisors.

[6] John Whitney Hall comments that "it is thought that both the population and size of the land base probably doubled within the first century of Tokugawa rule. The remarkable fact is that the overall population appears to have remained at roughly the same man–land ratio throughout the Edo period" ("Introduction" in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4 [J. W. Hall, ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991], 1–39, esp. 24.

[7] Buddhist temple registers were initially created for the purpose of screening out Christian believers after the Tokugawan proscription of Christianity in 1640.

[8] Hall, "Introduction," 24. But Hall also notes another factor that came into play: "There are also those who believe that the failure of the population to grow was due primarily to the ill effects of the feudal system" (Ibid., 24).

[9] Hall, "Introduction," 25.

[10] Hall, "Introduction," 25.

[11] This is not to say that there were not large-scale peasant uprisings, that even required the intervention of government soldiers, but Hall suggests that many are thought simply to have been expressions of "union collective bargaining" (Hall, "Introduction," 25).

[12] Ieyasu died in 1616. The shogunate had him deified and worshiped as a living *kami* just as his great rival, Hideyoshi, had been. A Tendai priest, Tenkai, who had been one of Ieyasu's advisor's on religious and political matters insisted on giving Ieyasu the posthumous title of

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While large-scale political revolution was averted, a cultural "revolution" unfolded beginning with the 1600's, in which not just the upper classes but now also commoners could participate in, and create, cultural activities, such as theatre going, painting, and gardening. Matsunosuke notes that "the strength of Edo-period culture is not to be found in extant artifacts of the era. Rather, its strength lies chiefly in its spectacular breadth and diversity. This was a period of unprecedented cultural prosperity."[13]

III. Roots: 17th Century Politics and Neo-Confucianism

Cultural development of this magnitude belies an underlying stability throughout a country in which the political, social, and economic segments of society have not only found their own strength and stability but have also found a mutual interdependence that unites the peoples and thus creates an environment in which law and order create safety and predictability that fosters cultural and economic growth. Neo-Confucian learning appears to have provided the philosophical roots from which these variegated societal fruits grew. It is important to understand not just its application within Tokugawan society but especially its ideological basis. It is this ideological basis that would come under attack from a variety of directions as the learning of the ancients became more accepted by scholars outside of the Neo-Confucian "universe," many of whom were located in Kyoto.

Even before the Edo period, warlords and high ranking samurai were attracted to Sung Neo-Confucianism, especially to the teachings of Zhu Xi.[14] Scholarship traditionally acknowledges that Zhu Xi's teachings were transformed into important religious, political and ethical forces during the Tokugawa shogunate.[15] Ooms agrees to a point, but he problematizes the scholarly conception that "Neo-Confucianism monopolized this discourse, and…[that] its relationship to the Tokugawa power structure transformed it into an official orthodoxy."[16] He cites as evidence the fact that "Ieyasu and the next three shoguns…gave no distinctive institutional support to Neo-Confucianism."[17] Ooms does concede, nonetheless, that "a considerable Neo-Confucian vocabulary was employed to talk and think about man and society."[18] Ooms counterbalances this Neo-Confucian influence, though, with his observation that Shinto did more than Confucianism for the political ideology of the divine right of the emperor by virtue of the concept of a living *kami*.[19]

a) Chinese vs. Japanese Neo-Confucian Ideology

The Japanese appropriation of Zhu Xi's philosophy, however, was more overtly focused towards socio-political ends than was the case with their Chinese counterparts. Chinese Neo-Confucians focused upon the transformation of individual selfish nature (*qi*) into the pure, or original, human nature (*li*) that was in harmony with the cosmic principle of the highest moral good. Zhu

"Daigongen" (great incarnation of the Buddha essence). Cf. further, Willem Boot, "Ieyasu and the Founding of the Tokugawa Shogunate" in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600 –2000*, Vol. 2 (2nd ed.; Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, eds.; New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 7–32, esp. 11.

[13] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868* (Gerald Groemer, trans.; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 8, 9. Matsunosuke summarizes some of the cultural exploits of the populace: "Even the general public took part in leisure pursuits and played an active role in the creation of new cultural forms. The average commoner read books or visited the theater; some even wrote haiku verse and *senryu* (seventeen-syllable comic verse) or performed musical genres such as *gidayu, kato bushi, shinnai, or nagauta.* Others went on pilgrimages sponsored by religious associations (*ko*) and toured distant places…clothing and housing too showed marked improvement...never before had there been such an extraordinary variety of hand-made cultural artifacts in Japan…people in every corner of the land were busy manufacturing local specialities…by the late Edo period this activity had stimulated an unprecedented development of the transportation network…indeed, the construction of footpaths during the late Edo period can be seen as a kind of symbol of this golden age of handicraft culture" (Ibid., 9).

[14] Tokugawa rulers who appear to have taken Neo-Confucian scholars into their service include Ieyasu (1542–1616; shogun 1603–1605), Iemitsu (shogun 1623–1651) financed a school for Hayashi Razan (1583–1657) to spread his teachings. The fact that there existed an official ideology is seen in the punishment of Kumazawa Banzan (1619–1691), and Yamaga Sokō for "unorthodox" views. Tsunayoshi (shogun, 1680–1709) was a frequent lecturer on Neo-Confucianism.

[15] Herman Ooms says the "broadly speaking there is no denying that 17th century Japan is witness to a well-developed political discourse that is absent in the previous century" ("Neo-Confucianism and the Formation of Early Tokugawa Ideology: Contours of a Problem," in *Confucianism and Tokugawa Culture* [Peter Nosco, ed.; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984], 27–61, esp. 30).

[16] Ooms, "Neo-Confucianism," 30. Ooms identifies five points that scholarship has "uncritically woven into standard treatments" of the 'official' linkage between bakufu, Neo-Confucianism and ideology. These five strands are: (1) a linkage between the bakufu, Neo-Confucianism, and ideology; (2) this linkage is seen as an event that took place between three primary individuals—Ieyasu, Seika, Razan; (3) this event is portrayed as a conscious decision by Ieyasu to unite politics with a national ideology; (4) it is implied that only a single body of thought, Neo-Confucianism, was comprehensively appropriated; and (5) the shift from Buddhism to Neo-Confucianism is presented as a substitution of secular, rational thought for religious doctrine, and structured as a phenomenon of historical discontinuity" (Ibid., 29). All five strands stem from the writings of Hayashi Razan himself, which writings are doubtlessly self-serving. In this regard, Ooms notes that Andō Shōeki (1703–1762) "an articulate and critical thinker, exposed all ideologies (Neo-Confucianism in particular) as ploys to rob the peasants, and accused Hayashi Razan of having contributed to this deception" (Ibid., 57). Ooms quotes Shōeki's critique of ideology in his book *Tokugawa Ideology:Early Constructs, 1570–1680* (p. 296): "The Way of Sages functioned to make excuses for thieves…including Hayashi Razan…violated the Way of Heaven by robbing the common people." Ooms suggests further that "Shōeki's views, like those of Razan (or any other writer) are partial views, but the time has come to look at Tokugawa ideology through Shōeki's eyes rather than Razan's. Shōeki's views are more to the point" (Ibid., 296).

[17] Ooms, "Neo-Confucianism," 33.

[18] Ooms, "Neo-Confucianism," 30.

[19] Ooms, *Tokugawa Ideology*, 73.

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Xi established a kind of rationalist philosophy which adopted the principle espoused by Ch'eng I that "the Supreme Ultimate is the principle of all things in Heaven and Earth."[20] This "Supreme Ultimate" is the *li* (Principle) behind the *qi* (Ether) of *yin* and *yang* and the five elements (fire, water, wood, metal and earth). In this regard, then it is the ultimate source that transcends, and undergirds, everything else not just in heaven and earth, but even Heaven and Earth itself.[21]

All things are said to consist both of metaphysical Principle and physical Ether. Principle determines the nature of a thing and Ether its form. Thus, since all things descend from the Supreme Ultimate, all things by nature are equal. But, in terms of physicality, there is a hierarchy of form, not just in the physical realm (e.g., humans are endowed with the highest Ether) but also in the social realm (i.e., a fourfold stratification of society). It becomes obvious then that Zhu Xi's concept of a hierarchy of class divisions was not presented as a social construct but rather as a cosmic category.[22] In other words, it was the different material forces of Ether[23] that resulted in differing individuals being born into one of the four classes. Class division was not simply an *a posteriori* social category, but rather an *a priori* metaphysical category.

Chinese Neo-Confucians focused on the individual's attainment of freedom from human desires and one's concomitant unification with the Principle of heaven. This was said to be achievable through subjective (moral cultivation) and objective (intellectual investigation) approaches.[24] Maruyama highlights how in Zhu Xi's Confucian universe "this individual moral effort is an absolute precondition for the realization of all political and social values."[25] In other words, personal change is the basis for all societal change. Yusa notes that Japanese Neo-Confucians, by contrast, minimized the individualistic dimension of Confucian thought and instead prioritized the utilitarian benefits of Zhu Xi's division of society into a descending hierarchy of four basic classes (i.e., samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants).

b) Anti-Buddhism and the Rise of Tokugawan Neo-Confucianism

It was not just political utility nor purely philosophical reasons, however, that fostered "official" interest in Neo-Confucianism. A rising tide of anti-Buddhist feeling by the mid-17th century provided additional motivation. Yusa notes that among political circles "the Lords of Okayama, Aizu, and Mito provinces all embraced Confucianism in their dislike of Buddhism."[26]

But anti-Buddhist sentiment was evident even on the level of the common populace, specifically with respect to the perceived abuses of the Danka system. In 1614 Tokugawa Ieyasu established the Danka (patron) system, two years after he banned Christianity.[27] It forced every family unit to register with a Buddhist temple as a way of proving that they were not Christian.[28] This turned Buddhist temples into formally established institutions.

In 1660 the Danka system had not only become an official registry associated with Buddhist temples, but now the registered family units also had to take on the burden of financial support of the priests's living expenses and for the repair, upkeep, and construction of the temples. Additionally, families were required to attend temple ceremonies, especially the annual festival honoring the founder of the temple. Visits to ancestral graves were obligatory for the spring and fall equinox and for the midsummer *bon* when it was thought that the living could reunite with the dead ancestors. By 1700, temples obliged family groups to erect gravestones, which expanded the land holdings of the temples. In this time Buddhism became a funeral religion centred on memorial services for the ancestors.[29]

[20] Masao Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Trans. Mikiso Hane; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 21.

[21] Maruyama notes that "because in Chu Hsi's philosophy Principle is inherent in all individual things and yet transcends them all, retaining its monistic character, Chu His philosophy has been interpreted variously as monistic (based on Principle alone), dualistic (based on Principle and Ether), or pluralistic" (*Studies in the Intellectual History*, 22).

[22] Statements such as these reflected widely held beliefs: "samurai are superior to the common people; it thus natural that the samurai rule." And " peasants produce the five grains and as such they are the basis of the country; artisans create tools; the merchants just exchange with others produce in order to gain profit, therefore they are of the lowest class" (Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 83).

[23] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 83. Yusa (p. 83) notes further that "Zhu Xi taught that this principle (*li* in Chinese, *ri* in Japanese) is activated by the material force (*qi* in Chinese, *ki* in Japanese) in each individual."

[24] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 24. The ultimate goal is to become a sage, which occurs when "if by 'preserving the heart' and 'investigating the Principle' and by using the subjective and objective methods, he succeeds internally in eliminating all human desires and returning to his Original Nature, and externally, in fusing with the law of the world" (Ibid., 25).

[25] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 25.

[26] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 83.

[27] Shogunate officials were "concerned about two things: one was the fear of Western countries taking over Japan, and the other was that Japanese Christians might unite themselves across the social classes and so become a social force that would challenge the foundation of the new shogunate" (Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 78).

[28] "During the Edo period for a family not to observe these rituals raised the authorities' suspicions that members of the family might be crypto-Christian or followers of the forbidden Nichiren sub-sect of *Fujufuse*" (Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 82).

[29] By 1700, due to the Danka system, "Buddhist priests thus found themselves the caretakers of the dead" (Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 82). As a funeral religion, Buddhism eventually instituted 13 different commemorative rituals for the dead, each of which was conducted by a Buddhist priest. These thirteen rituals were observed on the 7th, 27th, 37th, 47th, 57th, 67th, 79th, and 100th days after death along with the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, and 33rd anniversaries.

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But the financial security of the Danka system was not without its abuses by the temple establishments, so much so that in 1665 the government had to issue an edict to curtail the luxurious lifestyles enjoyed by many Buddhist priests.[30] Some feudal lords who were opposed to Buddhist temples took advantage of this regulation to close down non-compliant temples.

IV. Roots: The Rise of Popular Ethics

By looking back to the ancients of China (Confucius and Mencius)[31] and of Japan (ancient Shinto), before the rise of Neo-Confucianism, three scholars in particular, Yamazaki Ansai, Itō Jinsai and Ogyū Sorai, helped to loosen the socio-political grip of the Tokugawan shogunate over the commoners. Their schools helped to undermine the philosophical foundation of Japanese Neo-Confucianism from two different directions. Ansai explored the commonalities between ancient Confucianism and ancient Shintoism. Itō and Sorai, however, stayed solely within the bounds of Confucian enquiry. While not questioning the metaphysical reality of the Confucian principle of the Supreme Absolute, they relativized the resultant ethical constraints upon human society. Their approach came to be known as "ancient learning" (*Kogaku*). In this worldview anyone could become a sage or could intellectually explore and passionately participate in the arts simply for their own sake and not for any necessary communal, societal, or ethical benefit. Art was no longer a utilitarian pursuit for socio-political gain but could be pursued simply for private pleasure. Popular ethics eventually grew out of, and reinforced, this philosophical challenge to Neo-Confucian hegemony.

The socio-political impact of popular ethics was felt in Edo period Japan among the three social classes that *a priori* had previously been assigned an inferior status compared to the ruling samurai class. Merchants and peasants/agriculturalists, in particular, saw a burgeoning freedom beyond their previously constrictive social boundaries. A strong Japano-centric ethnicity and culture developed out of the lineage of "ancient learning" (*Kogaku*) which later came to be known as "native"/National Learning (*Kokugako*). Interestingly, rather than promulgating an even greater socio-political isolation from the world, National Learning appears to have provided sufficient national identity and pride for Japan to emerge successfully onto the world stage at the dawning of the new Modern or Meiji period in 1868. The contribution of the three aforementioned scholars to the empowerment of commoners and to the establishment of National Learning bears further investigation.

a) Yamazaki Ansai (1618–82)

In my introduction I cited Sontoku's contention that, by the 19th century, Shinto was foundational to Japanese identity and Confucianism to Japanese politics. This does not, of course, exclude a recognition on his part that there was mutual interplay between the two for societal betterment. Yamazaki Ansai explored this mutual interplay two centuries earlier but primarily from the angle of their metaphysical commonality. His investigation, though, did not extend into a challenge of the Neo-Confucian idea of "existing social and political constructs [e.g., the four-fold stratification of society] as concrete expressions of abstract metaphysical norms."[32] This secularization of the socio-political world would be left to Sorai, almost fifty years later.

Scholarship does not technically place Ansai in the lineage of "ancient learning" since his concern was to promote ancient Shintoism rather than Confucianism. Ansai does, however, presage a focus on the learning of the ancients that would find its fuller expression in Confucian "ancient learning" and in its philosophical "cousin" Japano-centric National Learning, one of the expressions of popular ethics.

Ansai's primary agenda in his study of the ancients was to forge more formal ties between Confucianism and Shintoism. Ansai befriended Watarai Nobuyoshi (1615–90), a Shinto priest of the Ise Shrine, and Yoshikawa (or Kikkawa) Koretaru (1615–94), who headed the Yoshida Shrine in Kyoto. As a result he became convinced that the Principle (or the Way) of the (Neo-) Confucians was also present in pure Shinto. In Ansai's mind the Neo-Confucian emphasis on "'unswerving loyalty and selflessness, guarded by an ever-vigilant mind' was contained in Princess Yamato's prophecy: 'For the *kami* to come down you need first of all prayers; to receive blessing, you need straight forwardness, and if thus you gain the Great Way, the realm will prosper in peace.'"[33]

As such, in continuity with Zhu Xi, Ansai affirmed the value of studying the learning of the ancients simply for its own sake. In this way society would be indirectly bettered through the application of ancient insights to one's life in one's societal

[30] The governmental order was called, "Regulations for the Buddhist Sects and Temples" (*Shoshu jiin hatto*) (Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 82).

[31] Mencius (371–289 BCE?) defended the teachings of Confucius (sixth to fifth century B.C.), especially that human nature is good. Mencius is regarded as the greatest Confucian thinker after Confucius himself. His teachings were very influential on the development of Confucian thought in the Song period. The *Mengzi* (*Mencius*) was included by Confucian thinkers of the early Song (960–1279), and Zhu Xi (1130–1200) as one of the Four Books. These became canonical texts of the Confucian tradition. (http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/mencius/ [Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy]; accessed Sept. 1, 2019).

[32] Tetsuo Najita, "Method and Analysis in the Conceptual Portrayal of Tokugawa Intellectual History" in *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period: 1600 –1868* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 3–38, esp. 9.

[33] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 84.

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engagements.[34] For his unifying efforts, Ansai was proclaimed a *Suika* by Koretaru (1671; *Sui* "to come down; prophecy"; *ka* "increase of divine blessings"). He was now revered as a living *kami*, and became head priest of his own sect, *Suika* Shinto which blended Shinto and Confucian teachings.[35] This school, which was based in Kyoto, provided one of the first sparks of Japano-centric teaching that would be fueled by "ancient learning" and more fully explored under the guise of National Learning.

b) Itō Jinsai (1627–1705)

Although also located in Kyoto, Itō Jinsai, the son of a merchant, did not study the ancients for the purpose of supporting Tokugawan Neo-Confucianism nor Shintoism. He developed the "hall to study ancient truthfulness" (the *Kogidō*). His school, in which over a thousand scholars from various social backgrounds and regions studied, was located across the Horikawa River from the school of Yamazaki Ansai. In contradistinction to Ansai, Itō incorporated poetry within philosophical enquiry since he valued the expression of human emotion (the Confucian "subjective" emphasis). Itō's approach is situated within the larger category of "ancient learning" called the *Kogaku* school which were led by Yamaga Sokō (1622–1685) and Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728).

In time Itō came to some fundamental disagreements with Neo-Confucianism. The Zhu Xi school worked with the assumption that human nature is inherently good. Itō disagreed and postulated instead that humans have the potential to become good. He envisioned that it was the practice of morality in daily life experiences that allowed one to realize the potential for goodness. Najita claims that "No thinker in Tokugawa intellectual history is more pivotal than Itō Jinsai in articulating a broad historicist philosophy that endorsed 'active life'—*sei-sei*—over the certitude of 'death'—*shi*. This historicist philosophy allowed commoners to conceptualize new relational 'engagements' in the fixed social order."[36]

These new relational engagements empowered merchants and other commoners to find ideological virtue in their daily work and lives. Itō disagreed with the Neo-Confucian view that moral value was intrinsically tied to a social hierarchy that is fixed by cosmology. He separated "moral action in the context of community from political action in the public realm."[37] As a result, he focused his scholarly attention upon the era prior to 221 BCE, that is, before the centralized social hierarchies of imperial dynasties. It was in that ancient universe that he tried to find articulations of universal human moral potential. His resultant historicist approach

> empowered 'engagement' with, rather than 'separation' from, social reality. Society itself was to be accepted as it is, as moral space, rather than the source of endless pain, suffering, and change…Itō's historicism does not point to antiquarianism but to active interaction in each particular, existential, historical reality, however humble in outward appearance, as the continuing universal moral present. History, in short, is transformed into an ongoing human field of moral potential.[38]

c) Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728)

Although Ansai's program met with some regional success, especially in Kyoto, it was the teaching of Ogyū Sorai, which built upon Itō's insights, that solidified the rise of popular ethics throughout Japan through a direct challenge to Tokugawan Neo-Confucianism. Sorai philosophically disconnected political and social realities from their metaphysical underpinnings. In his "discrimination" of the way, *Bendō*, Sorai argued for the utilitarian nature of ethics. He suggested that ethics were "not timeless norms but practical rules formulated in time to provide regularity and predictability to social existence."[39]

Philosophical differences aside, both Ansai and Sorai still subscribed to natural law as the basis for socio-political forms. This served to

> state succinctly the inevitability and justifiability of hierarchy, of structural arrangements as they have come to be at that particular juncture in history; the physical context within which the events of history occur; and the natural fate of one's social existence, of being locked into class at birth…the eighteenth century witnessed an unmistakable

[34] Ansai approvingly cites Zhu Xi's valuation of the sages of antiquity (in *Zoku Yamazaki Ansai zenshū*, vol. 3, pp. 1–5 Zhu Xi, *Wenji* 74:18a; WTdB): "I [Zhu] have observed that the sages and worthies of antiquity taught people to pursue learning with one intention only, to make students understand the meaning of moral principle through discussion so that they can cultivate their own persons and then extend it [moral principle] to others. The sages and worthies did not wish them merely to memorize texts or compose poetry and essays as a means of gaining fame or seeking office. Students today obviously do the contrary. All the methods that the sages and worthies used in teaching people are found in the classics. Dedicated scholars should by all means read them frequently, ponder them deeply, and then inquire into them and sift them." Cited by Mary Evelyn Tucker, "Kaibura Ekken" in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 160 –2000*, Vol. 2 (2nd ed.; Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann., eds.; New York: Columbia University Press, 2005) 254–67, esp. 254.

[35] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 84.

[36] Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudō Merchant Class in Osaka* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 26.

[37] Najita, *Visions of Virtue*, 65. Tsuchihashi followed on from Itō's historicism and drew upon Miwa Shissai in prioritizing moral purpose over against questions of administrative efficiency. Where the two competed, education of commoners became a more important value than simply maintaining a hierarchically based virtue system. Tsuchihashi "through the mediation of Miwa's idealism, [createad] a sharper and more coherent focus on the meaning of goodness. It is specifically to alleviate the suffering of commoners in concrete and charitable ways" (Ibid., 65).

[38] Najita, *Visions of Virtue*, 28.

[39] Najita, "Method and Analysis," 9.

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> rejection of that earlier faith…for example, the view that the samurai was an anachronism in light of economic change became a subject of grave concern, beginning with Ogyū Sorai and especially Dazai Shundai.[40]

Dazai (1680–1747; Edo), under the influence of Sorai, taught that Neo-Confucian dualism (Principle and Ether) was nothing more than a philosophical construct created for the purpose of maintaining the ideological hegemony of a handful of Sung philosophers. He saw little relevance for Neo-Confucianism in Japan's present circumstances. Najita summarizes Dazai's ideological program: "he viewed social and natural things primarily in materialistic terms, denying an innate ethical connection between men and things and emphasizing instead, on empirical grounds, the epistemological distinction between the natural order and the secular social realm of language and political events."[41]

Although both Sorai and Danzai challenged Neo-Confucian dualism from within the interpretive tradition of "ancient studies," Kaibara (Kaibura) Ekken (1630–1714) did so from outside that ideological tradition.[42] Both approaches served to facilitate the growth of variegated fruits within the movement that came to be identified as popular ethics.

V. Fruits of "Ancient Learning": 18th Century Popular Ethics

It was not just Ansai's attempts at doctrinal unity between Shinto and Confucianism, nor Sorai's (and Dazai's) separation of socio-politics from Confucian metaphysics that constituted a movement towards a recovery of the learning of the ancients. Along with economic prosperity in the 18th century came leisure time for commoners, especially among the merchant class. This leisure time facilitated a freeing of literature and art from ethical and political constraints. The merchant populace in Osaka and the imperial city of Kyoto were particular hotbeds for the development of popular ethics.[43] The confluence of philosophical influences in Kyoto through the teachings of Ansai, Itō and Sorai formed a "river of change" that would eventually culminate in a popular ethics movement nationwide that eroded the very foundations of Tokugawan socio-political hegemony.

a) *Fruit: Popular Ethics and the Merchant Class*

Class struggle is always grounded first in ideological struggle. Since in Neo-Confucianism the merchant class occupied the lowest rung of the socio-political hierarchy, the merchants in Kyoto had a particular affinity for socio-political change, and thus for philosophical "revolution." The rise of the merchant class provided the most basic challenge on both political and philosophical grounds to the samurai-class based, elitist Tokugawa hegemony. The return to ancient or pure Confucianism, and then to National Learning, by the merchant class not only challenged the Neo-Confucianism of the Tokugawa shogunate by providing a different model of governance, but also by affirming a new philosophical rationale that could elevate the merchant class from its minimalistic social status.

It comes as no surprise then that "ancient learning" (*Kogaku*) found such fertile soil in Kyoto, ninety-five percent of whose populace was comprised of merchants. The economically prosperous merchants of Kyoto turned their attention directly to the ancient teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Confucius's subjective emphasis on individual passion rather than only on the objective intellectual pursuits solely for societal betterment or for personal status reasserted "the central aim of Confucian 'learning for one's own sake' and the methodical, cumulative course of personal growth from elementary to higher learning."[44]

One can see how a popular ethic would have benefited merchants in particular on at least three fronts. First, personal integrity and ethics form the foundation upon which a lasting and vibrant business environment is built. Second, social and business engagements across societal stratifications become philosophically possible within a society built upon popular ethics. Third, societal power eventually accrues into the hands of those who control the economic purse-strings. But along with economic clout comes a natural desire to accrue social respectability and standing before the existing elite. "Ancient learning" lent credibility to the merchant class in affirming not only the value of commercial profit but especially of their value to Japanese society.

b) *Fruit: Popular Ethics and National/Native Learning (Kokugako)*

Kyoto does not only figure strongly in the development of "ancient learning" (the Confucian *Kogaku* of Itō and Sorai; 17th century), and in the popular ethics movement among the merchant class, but also in the formation of *Kokugako*, the anti-Confucian school of National Learning (18th century), also called "native"/National Learning.[45] While being influenced by

[40] Najita, "Method and Analysis," 20–21.
[41] Najita, "Method and Analysis," 12.
[42] Najita ("Method and Analysis," 13) summarizes Ekken's contribution: "we find from a Neo-Confucian stance a Kaibara Ekken rejecting dualism as an unreliable analytical tool. In his revealing 'record of grave doubts' (*Taigiroku*), Kaibara objected most to the argument that since men and things in nature are alike in their essence, principle in nature and in the universe must be ethical in the way men are. Kaibara' substitute formula was fundamental and provocative: nature was not ethical like men in society but men were governed by the same essences as nature, which was simply a natural 'principle'."
[43] For Osaka, see Najita, *Visions of Virtue*, 28. For Kyoto see, Yusa, *Japanese Religious Thought*, 84.
[44] Tucker, "Kaibura Ekken," 254.
[45] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 88.

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Confucianism, Shinto, and even Buddhism, Hane distills the essence of National Learning down to "an attempt to free Japanese learning from its excessive dependence on Chinese philosophy and literature."[46] The full intellectual impact of its influence, though, would not be felt until the Meiji era when it emerged as the philosophical foundation for the nationalistic intellectual movement.

Maruyama calls Motooria Norinaga (1730–1801) "the man who perfected National Learning."[47] He began his education in Kyoto under the Confucian scholar Hori [Kutsu] Keizan, whose teaching was similar in many ways to that of Sorai.[48] For example, both argued that *li* (Principle) was not an absolute *a priori* standard, but was derived from human enquiry and teaching. Yusa claims that Norinaga's philosophical lineage, and thus the start of the *Kokugaku* movement, however, can be traced back to Kada Azumaro (1669–1736), the head priest of the Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto. Through an extensive study of classical Japanese literature, Azumaro decided that the study of ancient Japanese literature deserved its own scholarly tradition. Azumaro's disciple, Kamo Mabuchi (1697–1769), taught that the essential Japanese ethos 'masuraoburi' (masculinity, candor, and honesty) was distilled in the *Man'you-shu* (an eighth-century compilation of Japanese poetry). Mabuchi's disciple, Motoori Norinaga, took on the project of interpreting another ancient Japanese literary work, the *Records of Ancient Matters (Kojiki)*. This occupied him for the next thirty years. Through his study, he claimed to have found the original pure Japanese spirituality, free of Confucian and Buddhist influences.[49]

National Learning scholars tried to free Japanese spirituality of Confucian and Buddhist influences in both defensive and reactionary ways. Since both traditions used the "ancient learning" moniker, National Learning defended the autonomous nature of its discoveries through an expressed disavowal of any association with the Confucian school of "ancient learning" (e.g., Itō and Sorai). But scholars of National Learning also reacted directly against Confucian scholars. While some made Dazai Shundai "the object of particularly severe criticism," Norinaga did not directly attack Dazai or Sorai, but "it is clear that in his acid criticisms of the thinkers who worshipped China, he had the Sorai school primarily in mind."[50] This direct critique of Confucian teachings was continued by Norinaga's disciple, Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843), whose first scholarly foray, *Kamōsho* (Critique of a misguided work), was a rebuttal of Sorai's *Bendōsho*.

Norinaga's Japano-centric focus finds its genesis in Mabuchi's demythologization, so to speak, of the Chinese Confucian Way of the scholars. Mabuchi taught that "Man makes transitory institutions, but these must differ according to each country and each place…[Therefore] it is foolish to think that when institutions are once established they should be upheld by the people under heaven for ages to come."[51]

Norinaga took Mabuchi's insights one step further. Like Sorai, Norinaga "demoted" the sages from an otherworldly status to a simply political one. Thus, their Way was also reduced from a metaphysical category to an ideological construct for political control: "conquer the land of others, and prevent others from conquering one's own land."[52] While both Norinaga and Sorai saw the Way as an invention of the sages, for Sorai this fact is what made it absolute, while for Norinaga this same fact became his reason for rejecting the Way. Keizan's separation of poetry from ethics was also a key factor in the development of Norinaga's thought and in the growth of the popular ethics movement.[53] Art should be expressed for its own sake—subjective, passionate expression of the human condition without any necessary ethical or socio-political constraints or pragmatic purposes.

While this relativization of the Way freed the human spirit from socio-political constraints, it also freed the human intellect from the constraints of philosophical absolutism, a fact that worked against the success of National Learning in pre-modern Edo. Maruyama observes that since the "positivist and objective spirit [of National Learning] was inseparably linked to an apolitical outlook…its sad dilemma…[was that] it could not defend its right to survive in the new era by raising itself to the level of an exclusive political principle [as Confucianism had]."[54] The purity of National Learning's scholarly methodology limited its argumentation in two significant ways: negatively, to a rejection of the Chinese Way, and positively, to an acceptance of many political ideologies (e.g., "'Buddha and Confucius are also gods,

[46] Mikiso Hane, *Premodern Japan: A Historical Survey* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), 167.
[47] Masao Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History of Tokugawa Japan* (Mikiso Hane, trans.; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 144.
[48] Maruyama (*Studies in the Intellectual History*, 148) writes that "we should not overlook the fact that Norinaga spent the impressionable years of his youth under this teacher [Keizan]."
[49] Norinaga embraced the view that "the Japanese and their Shinto, when purged of all foreign accretions and influences, represented the pure, and therefore the best, inheritance of humanity from the divine ages" (Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 148).
[50] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 145.
[51] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 149, 150.
[52] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 150.
[53] Norinaga writes that "in studying the Confucian classics, I follow more or less the Chu Hsi school, but where the interpretation of poetry is concerned, I find that Chu Hsi's commentaries fail to grasp the essence…Of course we consider poems that do not stem from evil intentions to be good, but among the three hundred verses in the *Book of Odes*, there are many poems which were the products of evil intentions…Regardless of good or bad intentions, *these poems are spontaneous expressions of the true sentiments of the composer*" (editor's emphasis) (Ibid., 148).
[54] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 176.

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so their Ways are offshoots of the comprehensive Way of the Gods,' and 'things that cannot be regulated except by Confucianism should be regulated by Confucianism.'")[55]

c) *Fruit: Popular Ethics and Hirata Shinto and Christianity*

Nosco suggests that "if we credit Motoori Norinaga with having…given the reconstituted Shinto 'tradition' the authority of a sacred canon, it remained for Hirata Atsutane (1776–1843) to popularize Shinto nativism by asserting the singular supremacy of Japan, its culture, Way, and people."[56] Atsutane's program, known as Hirata Shintoism, took particular aim at the vestiges of Christian influence still left in Japan after Christianity's proscription in the early 1600's. He formulated a Shinto theology with a biblical interpretation. For example, Atsutane identified the first mentioned deity in the *Records of Ancient Matters* (Ame-no-minaka-nushi; "Master of the August Center of Heaven") with the Christian God, the Creator. He also used biblical terminology for popular ethics: good souls would ascend into heaven and bad souls would descend into eternal torment.[57]

But his interest was not in affirming the superiority of Christianity, but rather of Shintoism. Atsutane demonstrated correlations between biblical and Shinto theology as a way of providing further substantiation, and thus, pride of place, to the earlier, and thus, purer, Japanese spirituality.[58] In some ways, one might argue, this preemptive theological strike helped to prepare Japan for the Meiji period when eco-diplomatic contact with foreign powers, especially Christian European countries, resumed after its 250 year hiatus. Japan could now enter the world scene confidently with a robust national identity intact.

d) *Fruit: Popular Ethics about Women*

Women, however, did not fare as well as men in the religious foment of the Edo period. By the 17th century, and especially into the 18th century, the social and spiritual gains made for women through Kamakura Buddhism, especially with respect to gender equality regarding salvation, had all but receded.[59] It was the publication of the classic, "The Great Learning for Women" (1733, also called *Onna Daigaku*), that solidified the inferior status of women. Although generally its authorship is attributed to Kaibara Ekken (1630–1714), this has been questioned by some scholars[60] since its teaching contrasts with Ekken's *Yamato zokkun* in which the concepts of self-cultivation and self-development are affirmed for women.

In the *Onna Daigaku* "women are seen as having no life of their own, no individual character or personhood."[61] Japanese womanhood became identified with total self-subordination, both philosophically (the "dark" female *yin* principle is inferior to the manly *yang*) and socially (the needs of her husband and his family are tantamount). Yusa notes that a woman could be "returned" to the home of her parents if she was found guilty of any one of seven reasons that allowed for divorce by her husband's side of the family: disobedience to her in-laws, barrenness, lewdness, jealousy, and diseases such as leprosy.[62]

Nakae Toju (1608-48), though, was a dissenting voice with respect to the philosophical consensus on the inferiority of women. He believed his teaching would benefit women if they applied his principles of honesty, sympathy, obedience to their family settings. Toju prioritized the subjective and passionate element of Confucian teaching as being applicable to all human beings—men, women and children. As such, he argued that all humans possess a faculty akin to conscience (the "divine light of heaven"), which allows each to determine their own conduct. He taught that the highest virtue was filial piety. This teaching particularly appealed to the rising class of independent cultivators in Aizu.[63] But his political appeal was limited since he withdrew from feudal society to live what he taught by taking care of his mother.[64]

VI. Conclusion

It was my purpose in this essay to trace the rise of, and motivation behind, the popular ethics movement

[55] Maruyama, *Studies in the Intellectual History*, 176.

[56] Peter Nosco, "The National Learning Schools" in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600 –2000*, Vol. 2 (2nd ed.; Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, eds.; New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 481–519, esp. 509.

[57] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 89.

[58] Atsutane reaffirmed the centrality of Japan as the birthplace of all the gods known in the world: "People all over the world refer to Japan as the Land of the Gods and call us the descendants of the gods…Japanese differ completely from and are superior to the peoples of China, India, Russia, Holland, Siam, Cambodia and all other countries of the world, and for us to have called our country the Land of the Gods was not mere vanity. It was the gods who formed all the lands of the world at the Creation, and these gods were, without exception, born in Japan. Japan is the homeland of the gods, and that is why we call it the Land of the Gods." Quoted from *Kōdō taii*, in *Hirata Atsutane zenshu*, vol. 1, pp. 22-23; RT. Cited in Nosco, "The National Learning Schools," 512.

[59] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 88.Yusa writes that "a salient example of this [i.e., a revival of misogynistic ideas in Buddhist practice] is the adoption of a Chinese apocryphal *sutra*, *Ketsubon-kyo* ("Blood Pond Hell Sutra), which was used by some Buddhist temples to advocate the view that women contaminated the soil and the water by the blood of childbirth and menstruation, and therefore they were destined to hell, unless proper rituals were performed by Buddhist priests."

[60] Tucker, "Kaibura Ekken," 261.

[61] Tucker, "Kaibura Ekken," 262.

[62] Yusa, *Japanese Religious Traditions*, 87.

[63] Barry Steben, "The Spread of Neo-Confucianism in Japan" in *Sources of Japanese Tradition: 1600 –2000*, Vol. 2 (2nd ed.; Wm. Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann, eds.; New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 83–142, esp. 137.

[64] Steben, "The Spread of Neo-Confucianism," 123.

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within the religio-political context of the Tokugawa shogunate. In chronicling its rise I investigated the roots of the popular ethics movement in the first century of the Edo period (17th century) and its fruits in the ensuing centuries (18th and 19th centuries). The city of Kyoto, which was "defrocked" of its political preeminence, through an ironic twist of fate, gained its "revenge," so to speak, by becoming the philosophical centre for the popular ethics movement that eventually would undermine the ideological foundations of Tokugawan power in the Edo period. The subversive philosophical root of "ancient learning" (Confucian and non-Confucian) led in many respects to the ideological fruit of National Learning, and Hirata Shinto. Within this scholarly milieu, practical socio-political fruits also resulted, in particular the cultural "revolution," especially among merchants. This ideologically driven social movement would ultimately give birth to the Meiji era when Japan re-emerged onto the world stage, but this time as a lasting political force.

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Mariana: The Construction of the City and its Paths

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Abstract- In this article I present historical data about the creation of the city of Mariana, located in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. This city was of great importance throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, as it housed authorities and political, religious and administrative institutions. The information presented in the article was gathered through extensive bibliographical and documental research, carried out from the approach of Social History and Italian micro-history. In the records about the construction of the city, the efforts of the authorities to order the public spaces, were noted guaranteeing the control of material goods and the movement of people through the territory of the mines.

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Mariana: The Construction of the City and its Paths

Mariana: A Construção da Cidade e de Seus Caminhos

Fabiana da Silva Viana

Resumo- Neste artigo apresento dados históricos sobre a criação da cidade de Mariana, localizada no estado de Minas Gerais, Brasil. Essa cidade teve grande importância, ao longo dos séculos XVIII e XIX, pois abrigou autoridades e instituições políticas, religiosas e administrativas. As informações apresentadas, no artigo, foram reunidas por extensa pesquisa bibliográfica e documental, realizada a partir da abordagem da História Social e da micro-história italiana. Nos registros sobre a construção da cidade, notou-se o empenho das autoridades em ordenar os espaços públicos, garantindo o controle dos bens materiais e trânsito de pessoas pelo território das minas.

Abstract- In this article I present historical data about the creation of the city of Mariana, located in the state of Minas Gerais, Brazil. This city was of great importance throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, as it housed authorities and political, religious and administrative institutions. The information presented in the article was gathered through extensive bibliographical and documental research, carried out from the approach of Social History and Italian micro-history. In the records about the construction of the city, the efforts of the authorities to order the public spaces, were noted guaranteeing the control of material goods and the movement of people through the territory of the mines.

I. Introdução

Quando criança, eu viajava com meu pai para a cidade histórica de Cachoeira do Campo (Minas Gerais, Brasil). Ficávamos hospedados em um casarão antigo, dentro de uma grande propriedade onde acontecia a extração de mármore. No caminho até lá, além de casas antigas, avistamos ruínas de outras construções ainda do tempo colonial. A cidade de Cachoeira do Campo ficava próxima de outras duas cidades, também históricas e de grande importância para o estado de Minas Gerais: Ouro Preto e Mariana. Eventualmente precisávamos nos deslocar até essas outras duas cidades, e, nesse caminho, fui me envolvendo com o traçado dos morros e as muitas histórias de sua ocupação.

Anos mais tarde, como integrante do grupo de pesquisa em história da educação da Faculdade de Educação da Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, tive a chance de realizar uma densa e longa pesquisa sobre o estado de Minas Gerais, concentrando-me, sobretudo, no estudo da região mineradora das comarcas de Ouro Preto e de Mariana.[1] Considerando o volume e a riqueza do material localizado para a cidade de Mariana (sede da comarca de Mariana, Minas Gerais, Brasil), passei a me dedicar ao estudo dessa localidade. A narrativa que apresento a seguir foi construída nesse caminho por estradas, arquivos documentais e bibliotecas mineiras. Nela retrato a intenção das autoridades coloniais em endireitar a rude paisagem mineira, traçando novos caminhos e buscando um maior controle sobre sua população e a exploração mineral.

II. Ocupação e Transformação do Espaço

> Gomes Freire de Andrade, Amigo. Eu El Rey vos envio muito saudar. Attendendo, a que a villa de Ribeirão do Carmo he a mais antigua das Minas Gerais, e que fica em citio muito cômodo para a ereção de hua das duas novas Cathedraez, que tenho determinado pedir a S. Santidade no territorio da Diocese do Rio de Janeiro: Fui servido crear Cidade a dita Villa de Ribeirão do Carmo, que ficara chamando-se, Marianna; e a sim vos ordeno o façais praticar, e publicar [...].[2]

Cláudia Damasceno Fonseca (1998) escreveu um interessante texto sobre *O Espaço Urbano de Mariana: sua formação e suas representações*. Neste estudo sua intenção foi tratar da "morfologia urbana" da primeira capital mineira, desde a chegada dos bandeirantes até meados do século XIX, quando todas as construções existentes hoje no centro histórico da cidade já haviam sido construídas. Para isto a autora recorreu a documentos cartográficos, fotografias, aquarelas, gravuras, pinturas e a uma bibliografia já existente sobre a cidade, destacadamente, as obras de Diogo de Vasconcelos, de Salomão de Vasconcelos e do cônego Raimundo Trindade. Os dados reunidos na consulta a essas fontes permitiu à pesquisadora elaborar "mapas-síntese" de cada uma das fases de ocupação da cidade – como os apresentados abaixo. Permitiu-lhe, ainda, verificar o papel exercido pelos poderes religioso e civil na constituição e

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[1] VIANA, 2012.
[2] CARTA RÉGIA. Lisboa, 23 de abril de 1745.

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regulamentação do espaço urbano de vilas e cidades coloniais brasileiras.

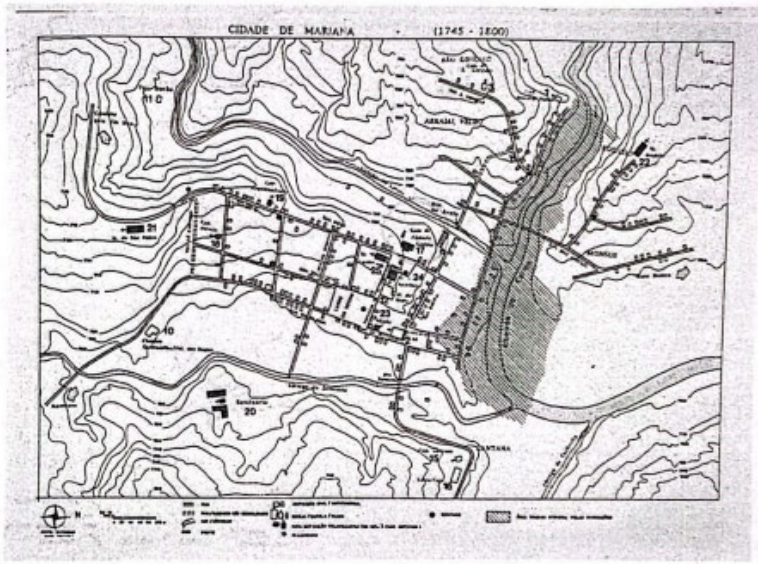

Fig. 9 – Mapa-síntese da Cidade de Mariana (1745-1800). As hachuras indicam a extensão provável (segundo a documentação e a topografia) das inundações de meados do século XVIII. Novas edificações: Casa de Câmara e Cadeia (17), Capela das Mercês (18), Capela da Arquiconfraria (19), Seminário (20), Igreja de São Pedro (21), Igreja do Rosário (22), Aljube (23), Igreja de São Francisco (24), Igreja do Carmo (25).

Fonte: FONSECA, 1998, p. 62.

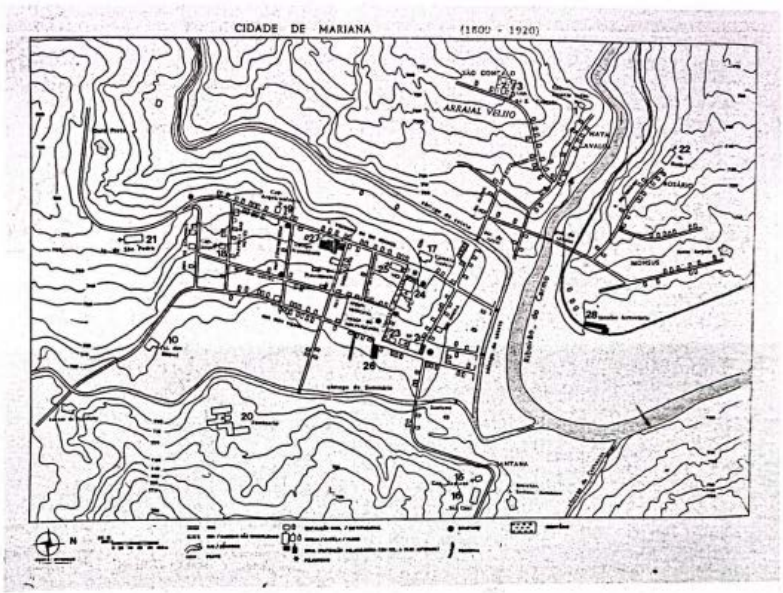

Fig. 13 – Mapa-síntese da Cidade de Mariana (1800-1920). No "centro histórico", poucas novas construções de vulto: o Teatro (26) e o Colégio Providência (27). A alteração mais importante desse período foi a ocupação de uma parte da margem esquerda, com o estabelecimento da estrada de ferro, com sua Estação (28) e o pequeno loteamento dos ferroviários ao lado.

Fonte: FONSECA, 1998, p. 65.

Como ocorreu em outras localidades do território mineiro, a cidade de Mariana originou-se da descoberta de metais e pedras preciosas. Em 1696, os bandeirantes Miguel Garcia e Salvador Fernandes Furtado chegaram às margens de um ribeirão "riquíssimo em ouro".[3] Esses dois homens, mais aqueles que os acompanhavam em comitiva, instalaram-se na beira do ribeirão, repartindo entre si as

[3] FONSECA, 1998, p. 28.

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datas minerais e erguendo as primeiras cabanas do arraial que foi chamado de Mata Cavalos. Àquele rio tão dadivoso eles deram o nome de *Ribeirão de Nossa Senhora do Carmo* e em uma de suas margens eles invocaram a proteção da Virgem, consagrando-lhe uma pequena e rústica capela do mesmo nome. Como era o costume, em torno dessa capela e seguindo o curso das águas os desbravadores foram erguendo as primeiras edificações e dando forma ao arraial.

A notícia sobre a descoberta de ouro trouxe ao local muitos aventureiros, que passaram a experimentar técnicas de exploração mineral, não apenas no ribeirão e em suas margens, mas nas ribanceiras e em terra firme. No momento em que eles foram avançando para além do rio, mais edificações foram surgindo e o povoado foi se transferindo de Mata Cavalos para o entorno da *capela de Conceição*, erguida mais a leste das primeiras edificações.[4] Fonseca observou que nas regiões mineradoras as concessões de terrenos não se fizeram como em outras partes do Brasil, onde eram lavradas cartas de sesmarias. Nessas regiões os documentos estabelecendo as possessões só eram concedidos depois que as datas minerais e os primeiros acampamentos haviam sido instalados e eram redigidos observando um critério específico de medidas: "ao invés da "légua em quadra" do sistema sesmarial, a data de mineração era medida segundo uma unidade bem menor, a "braça em quadra", e o número de datas a serem destinadas a cada concessionário dependia do número de escravos a serem empregados nos trabalhos".[5] Esta forma de distribuição dos terrenos levou os mineiros, em geral proprietários de poucos escravos, a edificarem suas casas próximas umas das outras e aglomeradas em certo ponto do território.

Outro fator determinante na formação dos núcleos urbanos estava relacionado às regulamentações e à ação do poder religioso. A constituição das capelas e de seu patrimônio era feita a partir da doação de uma porção de terra por parte de um dos concessionários. Essa porção deveria ter espaço suficiente para a construção do edifício da capela, para o delineamento de seu adro, para a realização das procissões, que passariam ao seu redor, e deveria incluir um terreno que pudesse ser aforado gerando renda. Estas recomendações, instituídas e retomadas pelas autoridades eclesiásticas, condicionaram de certa forma a constituição dos povoados, pois era em torno dessas pequenas igrejas e de suas propriedades que os habitantes construíam suas moradias, instalavam seus negócios e vendas e traçavam os principais caminhos e vias.

Quando o arraial foi elevado à condição de vila de Nossa Senhora do Carmo, em 1711, novos edifícios precisaram ser feitos, substituindo alguns dos já existentes e conferindo à localidade um aspecto menos rústico e mais adequado à sede de um novo município. Seguindo as orientações do governo português, era necessário criar a casa da câmara, a cadeia e o pelourinho e reedificar a capela principal, que se tornaria a igreja Matriz. Ademais, era preciso delimitar a área do novo município e definir os terrenos públicos que serviriam ao uso comum dos habitantes e à expansão da vila. A partir daquele ano, portanto, a paisagem do arraial passou por modificações cada vez mais sistemáticas. O *Largo da Matriz*, por exemplo, recebeu uma estudada forma quadrangular e em seu centro foi assentado o *pelourinho*, símbolo do poder judicial e da autonomia municipal. Em suas imediações outros símbolos do poder civil foram instalados como a *Casa da Câmara e Cadeia*, a *Casa da Intendência*, a *Casa dos Juízes de Fora*, o *Palácio dos Governadores*, o *Quartel dos Dragões* e a *Casa de Fundição*. Seguindo o curso do rio e atravessando o *córrego do Seminário* foi erguida a *capela de Santana* e ao seu lado a *Casa de Misericórdia*; instalada nesse local, possivelmente, em observância às teorias médicas da época que diziam que hospitais, cemitérios e matadouros deveriam manter certa distância das aglomerações urbanas.[6]

Tais edifícios e edificações, realizadas nas proximidades da *igreja Matriz*, demarcaram aquele local como o centro da vila, deixando à revelia do tempo as casas que haviam sido erguidas décadas antes na parte mais antiga do povoado. Afora isto as inundações provocadas pelo *Ribeirão Nossa Senhora do Carmo* empurravam os moradores para mais perto dos novos edifícios, situados em terreno mais elevado em relação ao nível das águas. As cinco décadas de povoamento e a localização nesse sítio "mais cômodo", tanto no que se refere à segurança dos prédios quanto à sutileza das ladeiras, levaram Dom João V a escolher a vila de Nossa Senhora do Carmo para ser a sede do bispado em Minas Gerais. A decisão do rei foi comunicada ao governador da capitania, Gomes Freire de Andrade, em abril de 1745. Este recebeu a notícia com espanto, porque, embora nos últimos anos uma vila tivesse sido ali levantada, o rio havia levado consigo uma parte dela e a própria catedral ameaçava ruir.[7]

[4] Como pode ser observado nos mapas acima. A *capela da Conceição* foi construída no mesmo lugar onde hoje está a *igreja Matriz*.

[5] FONSECA, 1998, p. 30. Segundo a autora, uma légua em quadra equivalia, aproximadamente, a 6.173 m e uma braça em quadra equivalia a 2,2 m.

[6] FONSECA, 1998, p. 33-39.

[7] FONSECA, 1998, p. 40. A autora encontrou informações sobre uma grande inundação, ocorrida em 1743, que teria transformado a parte mais antiga da vila em praia e destruído as edificações da *Rua do Piolho* que ficava mais perto das margens do ribeirão.

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III. Transformação do Espaço e Fortalecimento de Redes de Poder

A criação do bispado implicava a elevação da vila a uma nova condição; desta vez à condição de cidade. E em virtude de suas edificações um tanto quanto precárias o rei decidiu que novos edifícios e novos caminhos fossem construídos. Nesta ocasião, tais construções deveriam ser feitas sob a orientação de um engenheiro militar e de acordo com uma visão iluminista que primava pela higiene e funcionalidade dos núcleos urbanos, ou seja, pela livre circulação do ar, das águas, dos carros e das pessoas. A atuação desses engenheiros, como mostrou Fonseca, fazia parte de uma política mais ampla do governo português que procurava encurtar a distância entre o centro irradiador do poder e seus domínios, controlando e vigiando o desenvolvimento das diversas povoações. Além desses técnicos, vários outros empregados régios foram enviados às colônias e o território passou a ser cada vez mais fracionado na forma de unidades administrativas interdependentes; daí a criação de vilas, cidades, municípios, comarcas e capitanias.[8]

Com relação à capitania de Minas Gerais, um dos principais sustentáculos das finanças portuguesas,[9] havia um interesse ainda maior em tomar as rédeas do povoamento. Para esta capitania foi enviado um verdadeiro exército de burocratas, encarregados de instituir um sistema tributário e manter a ordem num território que se transformava com o "afluxo incontido de forasteiros de todas as procedências, atraídos pela descoberta de ouro e diamantes".[10] A este respeito penso que as considerações de Vellasco (2004) sobre a forte presença do Estado, em Minas Gerais, merecem ser assinaladas. Para o autor a mineração e a acelerada ocupação do território constituíram-se numa das principais preocupações do governo português e demandaram sua ação imediata. Em suas palavras: "a realidade do surto minerador exigia do Estado a capacidade de intervir para desempenhar suas funções de taxar tributos, vigiar e supervisionar, enfim governar as coisas e as pessoas".[11] A partir deste momento, por conseguinte, os habitantes das Minas passaram a ter de enfrentar a intervenção inconteste do Estado e de uma burocracia administrativa, tributária e judiciária em proporções até então desconhecidas na colônia.[12]

A política urbanizadora adotada pelo governo português era orientada, assim, em duas direções: a instituição de várias categorias de empregados régios e o controle sobre a formação dos diversos núcleos urbanos. Por isso, a criação da primeira cidade da capitania mereceu a cuidadosa atenção de Dom João V que, em setembro de 1747, enviou às autoridades locais um conjunto de orientações para seu novo traçado. De acordo com a *Carta Régia*, na planta da nova povoação deveria haver uma ampla praça, de onde sairiam ruas "direitas e com bastante largura". Nestas ruas seriam erguidos os edifícios públicos; em seguida, seriam aforadas as demais faixas de terra, dando preferência aos moradores que tivessem de deixar suas casas para que essas edificações pudessem ser levantadas. Naquela mesma carta o rei encarregava os oficiais da Câmara Municipal de zelar pelo uso desses espaços e prédios públicos e de garantir que todas as edificações, inclusive as casas dos habitantes, fossem feitas de face para a rua, com paredes em linha reta e com os quintais localizados em seus fundos.[13]

Além dessas orientações, Dom João V indicou qual deveria ser o nome da nova cidade. Batizou-a de Mariana em homenagem à sua esposa, a rainha Dona Maria Anna D'Áustria; escolha que sem sombra de dúvida revelava as intenções do governo português em estreitar os laços e estabelecer uma relação mais íntima com a capitania mineira. A preocupação com a boa ordem do espaço público, a escolha de um nome que demonstrava seu apreço e vigilância sobre a região mineradora e a criação do bispado fizeram de Mariana um local estratégico e um símbolo da nova ordem social que se instaurava. Contudo, mesmo que a criação dessa cidade de traços tão regulares fosse o desejo soberano do rei, a Câmara Municipal e o engenheiro José Fernandes Alpoim tiveram de enfrentar uma série de obstáculos para sua execução.

Como indicou Fonseca, algumas irmandades tentaram intervir no traçado das ruas e o próprio bispo enviou uma representação ao rei, pedindo-lhe que recebesse com atenção as demandas que estavam sendo encaminhadas. Outro conflito apontado pela autora estava ligado à falta de consenso, entre a Câmara Municipal e alguns dos habitantes, sobre quais terrenos compunham ou deveriam compor o patrimônio da cidade. Diante de situações como estas, as autoridades locais tiveram de adaptar as orientações régias não somente às características geográficas, mas às demandas que iam sendo levantadas pelos próprios

[8] Entre os anos de 1711 e 1718 foram criadas em Minas Gerais oito vilas: Vila do Carmo, Vila Rica, Sabará, São João del-Rei, Caeté, Serro, Pitangui, São José del-Rei. Estas vilas e seus arraiais foram divididos em três comarcas: Vila Rica, Rio das Velhas e Rio das Mortes. Na mesma época, em 1721, foi criada a capitania de Minas Gerais.

[9] FONSECA, 1998, p. 42.

[10] COSTA, 1970, p. 15.

[11] VELLASCO, 2004, p. 190.

[12] PAULA (2000, p. 97-102), ao investigar as *Raízes da modernidade em Minas Gerais*, assinalou o caráter discricionário da ação do Estado português na capitania de Minas Gerais.

[13] CARTA RÉGIA. Lisboa, setembro de 1847.

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habitantes. Na segunda metade dos setecentos, portanto, a paisagem foi sendo transformada gradativamente e a decadente vila foi dando lugar a um conjunto planejado e refletido de ruas, calçadas, pontes, praças, chafarizes, prédios, casas e capelas.

As principais ruas do centro histórico da cidade foram traçadas e definidas naqueles anos. Logo ao lado da *igreja Matriz* havia um caminho que ligava a parte nova da cidade à parte mais antiga; era o principal acesso à catedral e como mandava o costume ele deveria receber o nome de *Rua Direita*.[14] Seguindo até a *ponte de Areia*, esta rua se destacava por seus sobrados lineares e contíguos, com as portas, sacadas e telhados parecendo ser o resultado de um mesmo risco. Essa linearidade foi retratada por V. J. Martins Braga, em 1824, na *Vista da cidade de Mariana*.



Fonte: J. V. Martins Braga, ilustração Vista da cidade de Mariana, 1824
(Arquivo da Casa Setecentista, Mariana, Minas Gerais, Brasil).

Em sua ilustração o artista escolheu representar no meio da folha o centro do próprio povoado; neste ponto delineou a catedral e o casario a sua volta, mas o que chamou a atenção foi sua percepção dos sobrados que ficavam em um dos lados da *Rua Direita*. Com algumas pequenas exceções, ele os retratou como se fossem um mesmo edifício, colocando as portas e janelas na mesma altura e deixando de assinalar as paredes que separavam um sobrado do outro.

Nesta parte mais nova da cidade concentrou-se o comércio e para ela se mudaram os moradores de mais posses.[14] Ali bem perto, no *Largo da Matriz*, reuniram-se, igualmente, estabelecimentos comerciais e foi instalado mais um dos vários chafarizes que passaram a compor a paisagem daquele núcleo urbano. Atravessando esse largo e seguindo pela rua ao lado da catedral, que era a *Rua da Intendência*, chegava-se a uma das praças projetadas por Fernandes Alpoim. Construída conforme a orientação do rei, essa "praça espaçosa"[15] tornou-se um importante espaço de sociabilidade e - até os dias de hoje - o principal ponto de encontro dos habitantes. Outro caminho que, do mesmo modo, consolidou-se nesse período foi aquele nomeado de *Rua Nova*. Foi nesta rua, especificamente na intersecção com a *Travessa de São Francisco*, que os vereadores decidiram construir a nova *Casa da Câmara e Cadeia*. Para o largo que precedia a este imponente edifício levou-se o *pelourinho* e mais tarde, em suas imediações, foram erguidas as igrejas das ordens terceiras de *São Francisco* e de *Nossa Senhora do Carmo*.[16]

A esta altura a cidade já contava com três pontes: uma mais antiga sobre o *Ribeirão Nossa Senhora do Carmo*, ligando o centro do povoado às casas que ficavam na margem oposta; outra que permitia a passagem pelo *córrego do Catete* - chamada *ponte de Areia*; e uma terceira construída para a travessia do *córrego do Seminário*. Ao esforço para uniformizar as construções e endireitar os caminhos

[14] FONSECA, 1998, p. 37.
[15] FONSECA, 1998; LEWKOWICZ, 1998.
[16] CARTA RÉGIA. Lisboa, setembro de 1847.
[17] Nos dois mapas apresentados anteriormente, FONSECA (1998) apontou a localização dessas ruas e construções; é importante sinalizar que algumas ruas aparecem em um e outro mapa com a variação de nomes legada pelo tempo e pelos novos usos. Sobre a construção das duas igrejas, a autora insinuou que elas foram construídas pelas elites dirigentes da cidade.

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somava-se a preocupação em prover a cidade com águas limpas; daí a instalação em diferentes locais de fontes e bebedouros. Acompanhando estas medidas de "aformoseamento" e "salubridade", as autoridades locais decidiram transferir a entrada da cidade, que ficava nas imediações da antiga *capela de São Gonçalo*, para a *Rua Nova*. Desta forma, os transeuntes poderiam perceber que não estavam chegando a um lugar qualquer. A princípio eles seriam saudados pela *igreja de São Pedro* e pela visão panorâmica da cidade e de seus novos edifícios; em seguida, descendo alguns quarteirões, eles se depariariam com a Câmara Municipal e todos os símbolos de poder que a circundavam.

Voltando à *Vista da cidade de Mariana*, tocou-me o silêncio da paisagem. Seu autor não retratou as pessoas, nem o movimento do vento ou das águas do ribeirão. O único movimento insinuado foi o do tempo. Como pode ser observado na ilustração, a *capela de São Gonçalo* foi representada com apenas uma de suas torres. A mudança para um "sítio mais cômodo", como disse anteriormente, teve como consequência o abandono dos edifícios construídos no antigo arraial. Por isso, em meados do século XIX, a estrutura da *capela de São Gonçalo* estava bastante deteriorada e uma de suas torres ameaçava desabar. Foi esta torre que Martins Braga não registrou em sua ilustração, porque naquele ano de 1824 ela já havia sido demolida. A decadência e o caráter marginal desse ponto da cidade acentuaram-se de modo mais premente no ano de 1852, quando o *cemitério* que pertencia à *igreja Matriz* foi transferido para o entorno daquela capela, que já se encontrava em ruínas.[17]

Outro aspecto da ilustração que me causou inquietação diz respeito à força e impetuosidade das montanhas. O engenheiro Halfeld e o naturalista Tschudi, no relato *A Província Brasileira de Minas Gerais*, descreveram os vários elementos da paisagem mineira. Quando falaram do relevo se expressaram de uma forma bastante semelhante à de Martins Braga: "um território ricamente irrigado, através do qual inúmeras serras serpenteiam de forma quase caótica".[18] Como fica claro na ilustração, o artista identificou a sinuosidade das montanhas, retratando a irregularidade das curvas e os diversos sentidos seguidos por cada uma das elevações, ora estendendo-se umas sobre as outras, ora escondendo-se umas sob as outras. A este traçado caótico e irregular, o artista contrapôs uma cidade de ruas "direitas" e fachadas "retas", que, embora estivesse sujeita aos desmandos do tempo, ia pouco a pouco dominando a rude paisagem mineira.

IV. Conclusão

> A cidade se embebe como uma esponja dessa onda que reflui das recordações e se dilata. Uma descrição de Zaíra como é atualmente deveria conter todo o passado de Zaíra. Mas a cidade não conta o passado, ela o contém como as linhas da mão, escrito nos ângulos das ruas, nas grades das janelas, nos corrimãos das escadas, nas antenas dos para-raios, nos mastros das bandeiras, cada segmento riscado por arranhões, serradelas, entalhes, esfoladuras.[19]

Ítalo Calvino, em seu livro *As cidades invisíveis*, apresenta esse belo relato sobre a cidade e sua relação com o tempo e a história. Como para a cidade de Zaíra, Mariana contém seu passado, flagrado não apenas no traçado de ruas e na disposição de casarios, mas também na interseção entre cidade, morros, encostas, ribeirões e jazidas minerais. Dos muitos caminhos e histórias traçadas entre essas diferentes paisagens, destaca-se a intenção de autoridades locais e coloniais em exercer o controle do vasto território das minas, "endireitando" ruas e subjetividades, e ordenando a ocupação dos espaços públicos.

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[18] FONSECA, 1998, p. 52.
[19] HALFELD e TSCHUDI, 1998, p. 69.
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A Ramesside Stela Fragment with Unusual Offerings (Cairo Agricultural Museum, No.4286)

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Abstract- Publication of a Ramesside Stela fragment made of fine white limestone, with figure and remains of text engraved with a sunk inscription (figs. 1-2). The Stela is kept in Cairo Agricultural Museum and according to the museum register the stela bears identification no. 4286. The provenance of the stela is unknown.

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ARAMESSIDESTELAFRAGMENTWITHUNUSUALOFFERINGSCAIROAGRICULTURALMUSEUMN04286

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A Ramesside Stela Fragment with Unusual Offerings (Cairo Agricultural Museum, No.4286)

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Abstract- Publication of a Ramesside Stela fragment made of fine white limestone, with figure and remains of text engraved with a sunk inscription (figs. 1-2). The Stela is kept in Cairo Agricultural Museum and according to the museum register the stela bears identification no. 4286. The provenance of the stela is unknown.

I. Introduction

Among the collections of the Cairo Agricultural Museum Stela no. 4286 caught my eye when I saw it the first time because it has a large figural field of a deceased incised in sunk relief, with an offering table loaded with unusual offerings. This paper will study and classify this stela to determine the date of the stela, the owner of this stela and examine the offerings. The object in question was bought by the museum.

II. Descriptionand Scene

A fragment of stela of unpainted limestone, the surface was carefully prepared and it is smooth. Its representations are carved with skill and care, the top and parts of the damaged. The principal point of damage is the text, where all of it was broken except some words. In its present state, the measurements of the fragment is: height 19.5cm, breadth 19.5 cm. On the surviving portion of the stela, there is a scene in sunk relief showing the deceased (a) seated on a chair(b) with legs in the shape of a lion's paws[1]. The deceased legs are on a small platform without sandals. The deceased is shown, facing right, smelling a lotus flower[2] held in his left hand[3], while the right rests on his thigh and grasps a strip of cloth[4]. The owner wears an ankle-length kilt(c) rising high at the back of the waist.[5] He is adorned with a broad collar and a long wig (d) that is partly worn. There is also a break on the owner's head and chair. One can see also parts of the borderlines. The main points of interest are the offerings that are loaded on the offering table[6] in front of him. It is loaded with, from top to bottom one pomegranate fruit[7] has been depicted from the side (Cf. fig.3) on a vessel with a lid, perhaps the vessel was filled with pomegranate beverage[8]. The vessel has a faucet which emphasizes that the pot contains liquid for lowering the beverage. Two

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[1] Cf. Cruz-Uribe, Eugene, 1978, "The Father of Ramses I: OI 11456", *JNES,* 37, No. 3, 238, Fig.1

[2] The lotus-flower has a religious symbolism; it associates especially with 'life' and 'rebirth'. Griffin, K. 2007," An *ȝḫikrt n Ra* Stela from the collection of the Egypt Centre, Swansea ", in T. Schneider and K. Szpakowska (eds.), Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyed , Ugarit-Verlag: Münster ,142, n.55; Lurker, M. ,1996, An Illustrated Dictionary of The Gods and Symbols of Ancient Egypt, London, 52.

[3] About the method of holding the stem of lotus-flower in the New Kingdom, which curves in an s-shape towards its holders' nose, see: Schäfer, H. 1980, Principles of Egyptian Art, Oxford, 41, fig.18(c); Cf. stela of Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55, Early Nineteenth Dynasty Martin, Geoffrey T.1982, "Two Monuments of New Kingdom Date in North American Collections", *JEA 68,* 81-82, 84, Pl.IX (2); stela of Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 1397 belongs to Roma r-m a, 19thDynasty, probably from Deir el-Medina. See: Demarée, R. J., 1983, The *ȝḫikrt n Ra* Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt, Leiden, 80, pl.VIII, A28. Stela of Pukentef, pw-ḳntw.f 19th Dynasty Warsaw, National Museum MN 143341, from Deir el-Medina. Demarée, R.J., 1983, 31, pls.III XIV, A8.

[4] This style points to the late Eighteenth or more probably the early Nineteenth Dynasty, stela is known from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55., see: Martin, Geoffrey T. 1982, 81, 4Pl. IX (2). See also Affara, Manal, 2010, "A New Kingdom Stela in the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden", *JARCE 46*, 151, fig.1.

[5] Cf. Leiden Museum Stela V 51, Affara, Manal, 2010, 151, fig.1; See also the stela of Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55. Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81-82, 84, Pl.IX(2), Glasgow Museum stela, 28au-13. Thomson, James K., 1997, "A Shield Bearer and Warrior of Ramesside Times ", *JEA* 83, 218-219, fig.1.

[6] The offering table consists of a stand with a tray. The style of the monument irresistibly points to the late Eighteenth or more probably the early Nineteenth Dynasty, stela is known from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55., see: Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84, Pl.IX2).

[7] Cf. the gold necklace, MFA, Inv. No. 48.59.See: Terrace, Edward L.B., Jul. 1963, Ancient Egyptian Jewelry in the Horace L. Mayer Collection, *AJA67* No. 3,272, pl.56, fig.14, no.27.

[8] Pomegranate wine was found in ancient Egypt throughout New Kingdom period. See: Williams, Ronald J., 1972," Scribal Training in Ancient Egypt ", *JAOS, 92.2*, 218; P. Anast. IV, 2, IV ,3 (which dates to the reign of Seti II , See Gardiner, A. H., 1937, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bruxelles, 37-38. ;Cf. Lilyquist, C., Hill, M., Allen, S., Roehrig C. H. , and Patch D.C., 2001 ,"*Egyptian Art*", *BMMA*, New Series, Vol. 59, No. 1, Ars Vitraria: Glass in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ,14, fig.p.14. Other reference is from the New Kingdom love poetry P. Turin 1966, 1/2-4 refers to pomegranate wine. See: Thompson, Stephen E., Jan., 1994, "The Anointing of Officials in Ancient Egypt", *JNES 53, No. 1* , 19

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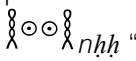
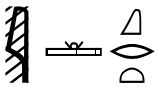
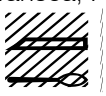
pomegranate flowers were incised next to the vessel on each side [9](Cf. fig.4), taking into account the rules of perspective in the drawing so that one of the two flowers on each side hides a part of the other according to the rules of perspective. The perspective was also taken into account in the libation vessel which is located between the deceased and the altar where a part of the deceased's garment covered part of the vessel. The symmetry was also observed in the drawing of pomegranate flowers on each side. The word  *nḥḥ* "eternity" is engraved at the top of the offering son both sides. It seems that the writer repeated the sign  (G N5) twice for the symmetry. All offerings are covered with an outer cover. The offering stand [10] stands to the right of offering table. Alibation vessel[11] on a wickerwork stand[12]is carved between the seated man and the altar.

III. The Inscription

The text (figs. 1-2) has been composed over and between the head of the owner and the offering table, with vertical dividing lines. It runs right to left.



rˁ……..(ȝḫ) iḳrt……. mȝˁ-ḫrw? ḫr

The text is broken except for a word at the end of the first line on the right  *rˁ* "Re" which one would expect to be anteceded by *ȝḫ iḫr n*giving a reading of "The able spirit of Re"; Cf. stela of Khamuy Pennub *ḫȝ mw*(*y*), Pn-nwb, 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina[13] and stela of Panakht Panekhu *Pȝ-nḫw*, 19th-20thDynasty from Deir el-Medina.[14] One would also expect to be anteceded by a *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw* giving a reading of "A boon which the king gives (to) Re". Cf. limestone offering-table of Ahmose, the Late 18thor Early 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina.[15] The author prefers the second reading (*ḥtp-dỉ-nsw*) because there is (*ȝḫ*) *iḳrt* was incised in another line on the stela and it is not common to find *ȝḫ iḳrt*t wice on a single stela in the same text of the deceased. One can also read  (*ȝḫ*)*iḳrt*" the able spirit "[16] which one would expect to be followed by the name of the deceased, cf. limestone offering table of Ahmose, the Late 18th or Early 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina[17], and stela of Semet from Deir el-Medina, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55[18].(*ȝḫ*)*iḳrt* can also be followed by *n rˁ* to give the full epithet (*ȝḫ*)*iḳrt n rˁ* "the able spirit of Re ", cf. fragment of stela of Pa, from the collection of the Egypt Centre, Swansea, A232, 19thDynasty[19]. On the extreme left of the stela, there are remains of hieroglyphic signs that can be read  (*mȝˁ ḫrw*?), the Justified?[20]; they are followed by  *ḫr* "before" which one would expect to be followed by the name of the god Osiris giving a reading of 'the Justified before Osiris' and the inscription would thus give the name of the deceased followed by the

[9] Cf. the gold necklace, MFA, Inv. No. 48.59.See: Terrace, Edward L.B., Jul. 1963, 272, pl. 56, fig.14, n.27.
[10] Cf. Fischer, Henry G., 1973, "Offering Stands from the Pyramid of Metropolitan Museum Journal, Vol. 7, 124-125, figs. 1-6.
[11] Cf. Demarée, R.J., 1983, 15 Pls VIII(A28), XIII(A50); Roehrig, Catherine H. 2002, "Life along the Nile: Three Egyptians of Ancient Thebes", *BMMA, 60, No. 1*,21, figs. 25, 29.
[12] This style of the wickerwork stand points to the late Eighteenth or more probably the early 19th dynasty, stela is known from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55., see: Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84, Pl. IX (2).
[13] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 102, pl.X, B38.
[14] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 46, pl.V A14.
[15] Demarée, R.J., 1983,146.
[16] See: Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 83n.16, Griffin, K. 2007, 137-148, figs.1-2; http://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cronfa23790; for the epithet *ȝḫiḳr* see:Wb.I,16(3), and for the writing of *iḳr* see: Wb.I,137; Demarée, R.J., 1983, 197. For a full study of the epithet see: Demarée, R.J. 1983, *The* (*ȝḫ*) *iḳrt n Ra- stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*, Leiden.
[17] Demarée, R.J., 1983,145.
[18] See: Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84, Pl. IX (2).
[19] In this stela the complete epithet ȝḫ iḳr n rˁ was mentioned and it was followed by the name of the deceased. See: Griffin, K., 2007, 137-148, figs.1-2; http://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cronfa23790
[20] The inscription of mȝˁ-ḫrw in our fragment is typical of the Ramesside Period and Deir el-Medina style. Cf. stela of Kaha, region of Ramses II, Deir el-Medina. Clére, J.J.1929, 'Monuments Inédits des Serviteurs dans la Place de Vérité', BIFAO 28, 188, fig. 2; Demarée, R.J., 1983, 185.

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words 'the Justified before Osiris'.[21] Cf. Limestone offering-table of Ahmose, the Late 18th or Early 19th Dynasty, Deir el-Medina [22]. It is possible too that the last signs could be read *tr* and not *ḫr*. This could be interpreted as a part of the name of the deceased, namely, Tury[23]. Cf. Fragment of stela of Pa, from the collection of the Egypt Centre, Swansea, A232, 19thDynasty[24].



Fig.1: A Ramesside stela fragment No.4286 (photograph courtesy of Cairo Agricultural Museum)

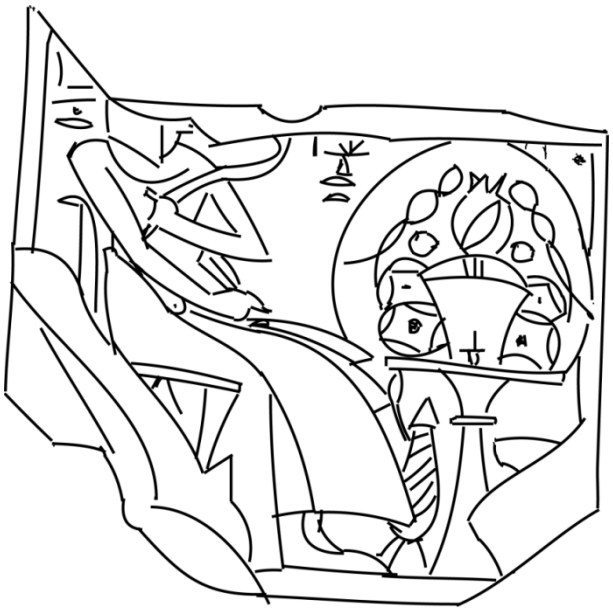

Fig. 2: A Ramesside stela fragment No. 4286 (line drawing by the author)

[21] Cf. Griffin, K. 2007, 144, figs.1-2; http://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cr onfa23790
[22] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 146.
[23] Cf Griffin, K. 2007, 144, figs. 1-2; http://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cr onfa23790
[24] Griffin, K. 2007, 144, figs.1-2; http://cronfa.swan.ac.uk/Record/cron fa23790

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Fig. 3: A comparison between a pomegranate fruit with incised pomegranate in the fragment, (photograph by the author)



Fig. 4: A comparison between a pomegranate flower with incised pomegranate flower in fragment, (photograph by the author)

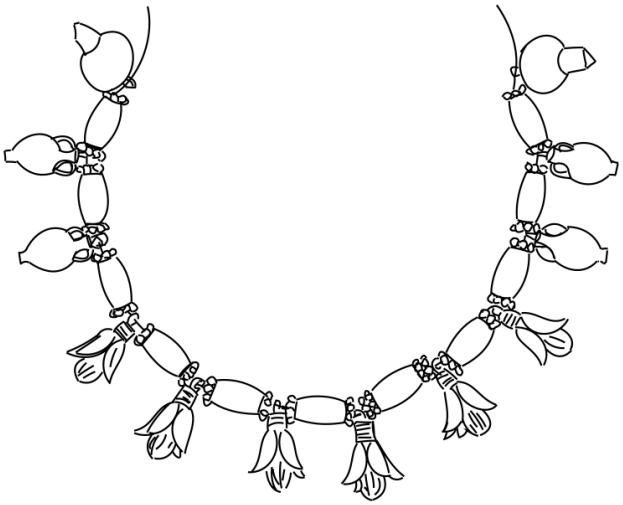

Fig. 5: Gold necklace, Horace L. Mayer Collection, MFA, Inv. No. 48.59, Egyptian Late Period 664–332 B.C. (line drawing by the author after Edward L.B. Terrace, Jul., 1963 "Ancient Egyptian Jewelry in the Horace L. Mayer Collection", AJA67 No. 3, pl.56, fig.14)



Fig. 6: A comparison between a pomegranate flower with formed pomegranate flower in necklace, (photograph by the author)

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IV. Remarks on the Representations and the Style

(a) The deceased is shown, his right-hand rests on his thigh and grasps a strip of cloth. This a style occurs in late 18thor more probably the early 19thDynasty and onwards in Saqqara[25] and Deir el-Medina[26], see for example, Leiden Museum Stela V 51belongs to the scribe and overseer of the cattle of Amun Dejhuty this stela is known from Saqqara[27] and stela is known from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947. 55.[28]

(b) The style of this chair occurred during the New Kingdom period. See for examples; stela of the Troop Commander *swty*, OI 11456 Cairo Museum (Late 18th Dynasty),[29] Leiden Museum Stela V 51,belongs to the scribe and overseer of the cattle of Amun Djehwty. The stela is dated (end of the 18thDynasty or early 19th Dynasty)[30], stela of Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55. Early 19thDynasty[31] stela of Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 13971, belongs to Roma r-m a, 19thDynasty, probably from Deir el-Medina[32] and stela of Puqentef, Pw-ḳntw.f 19th Dynasty Warsaw, National Museum MN 143341, from Deir el-Medina[33].

(c) The kilts rising high at the back of the waist is typical of the Ramesside Period[34]. See for examples Leiden Museum Stela V 51, belongs to the scribe and overseer of the cattle of Amun Djehwty, the stela is dated (end of the 18thDynasty or early 19thDynasty)[35]. See also the stela of Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55, Early 19thDynasty[36], stela of Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 13971, belongs to Roma r-m a, 19thDynasty, probably from Deir el-Medina[37] stela ofa shield bearer and warrior of Ramesside times, Glasgow Museums, 28au-13[38], and stela of Pukentef, pw-qntw.f 19th Dynasty, Warsaw, National Museum MN 143341, from Deir el-Medina[39].

(d) The long wig is typical of the Ramesside Period style[40]. This hairstyle was created under the reign of Amenḥotep III. It became well attested only from the time of Tutankhamun and completely common from the reign of Seti I. It became the most usual during the Ramesside Period.[41] See for examples: stela of shield bearer Hori and warrior Si of Ramesside times, Glasgow Museums, 28au-13[42], the stela of the general of the Estate of Amun Any and His Notable Family, Cairo Museum (TN 10/6/24/11), Ramesside Period[43], stela of Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 13971, belongs to Roma r-m a, 19thDynasty, probably from Deir el-Medina[44] stela of Puqentef, Pw-ḳntw.f 19th Dynasty, Warsaw National Museum MN 143341, from Deir el-Medina[45]. Stela of Kaha region of Ramses II, Deir el-Medina[46], and stela of Hori BM 588, 20thDynasty, reign of Ramesses IV [47].

(e) The big pomegranate fruit placed on the offering table issplit in its middle part to indicate that the fruit is ripe.

V. Discussion of the Offerings

The pomegranate' Punica granatum L.[48]

Punica granatum L. (Lythraceae), its name derives from the Latin word 'punicus': Pliny, an Ancient Roman writer, naturalist, and philosopher who lived in the Ist Century A.D., called it 'punicus' considering it originated from

[25] Affara, Manal, 2010,147, 151, fig.1.
[26] See a stela from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55. Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84, Pl. IX (2).
[27] Affara, Manal, 2010,147, 151, fig.1.
[28] Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84, Pl. IX (2).
[29] See: Cruz-Uribe,Eugene, 1978, 238, Fig.1.
[30] See: Affara, Manal, 2010, Figs.1, 2.
[31] Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81-82, 84, Pl.IX(2).
[32] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 80, pl.VIII, A28.
[33] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 31, pls.III, XIV, A8.
[34] See: Glasgow Museum Stela, 28au-13.Thomson, James K., 1997, 218-219, fig.1.
[35] See: Affara, Manal, 2010, Figs.1,2.
[36] Martin, Geoffrey T.,1982, 81-82,84,Pl.IX(2).
[37] Demarée, R.J., 1983,80,pl.VIII,A28.
[38] See: Glasgow Museum Stela, 28au-13.Thomson, James K., 1997, 218-219, fig.1.
[39] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 31, pls.III, XIV, A8.
[40] Thomson, James K., 1997, 218-219, fig.1.
[41] Metawi, Rasha, 2009, "The "General of the Estate of Amun" Any and His Notable Family Cairo Museum Stela (TN 10/6/24/11)", *JARCE45,* 295, fig.1; Vandier, J. 1958, Manuel d'Archéologie 'Egyptienne. III, Les Grandes 'Epoques. La Statuaire Paris, 485-86(H). For further occurrences on Ramesside Stelae see also: Thomson, James K., 1997, 218, fig. 1; Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81-82, 84, Pl. IX(1).
[42] See: Glasgow Museum stela, 28au-13.Thomson, James K., 1997, 218-219, fig.1.
[43] Metawi, Rasha, 2009, 295, figs1-2
[44] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 80, pl. VIII, A28.
[45] Demarée, R.J., 1983, 31, pls.III, XIV, A8.
[46] Clére, J.J., 1929,188, fig.2.
[47] Janssen, Jac. J. Dec., 1963, "An Unusual Donation Stela of the Twentieth Dynasty", *JEA 49,* 65, Pl.IX.
[48] Germer, Renate, 1987, "Ancient Egyptian Plant-Remains in the Manchester Museum", *JEA 73,* 246.

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Northern Africa, actually 'punicus' means 'from Carthage', today Tunis.[49] The English word 'pomegranate' derives from the old French 'pomegrenate' which derives from the Latin 'pomum' (apple) and 'granatus' (full of seeds), and so in Italian, 'melograno', and in German 'Granatapfel'.

In Ancient Egyptian language we find the following names for 'pomegranate':

ỉnhmn[50] ein Obstbaum und dessen Früchte

ỉwnhꜣmꜣꜣ

P. Anastasi III, 2, 5 Kopt. ϩⲣⲙⲁⲛ: ⲉⲣⲙⲁⲛ: ⲗⲉϩⲙⲉⲛ 'Granatapfel'

('nammur')رُمَّان ,the Arab word for 'pomegranate' derives, from a common Semitic root.

ỉnhmn[51] tree and fruit (18th Dynasty)

ỉnhmny varr P.Ebers 19.19; (18th Dynasty)

nhymꜣꜣ P. Ebers 16.16; (18th Dynasty)

The different writings and spelling found for the words 'pomegranate' in the Ancient Egyptian language can be explained by the fact that this word was newly introduced to the Egyptian language.[52]

Further variants of writing the word 'pomegranate':[53] *nhꜣmꜣꜣ* Med. P. Berlin 3038, 1- 4; (19th Dynasty) *nhꜣmꜣꜣ* Med. P. Berlin 3038, 1- 7-1,8; (19th Dynasty)

nhꜣmꜣꜣ Gebel el-Silsila Inscription, Ramesse II and Merneptha; (19th Dynasty) *nhꜣmꜣꜣ* Gebel el-Silsila Inscription, Ramesse II and Merneptha; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnhꜣmꜣꜣ P. Boulaq 19, 103,1,6,8; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnmꜣꜣ P. Boulaq 19, 103,3; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnhrrmꜣꜣ P. Anastasi IV, 7,5; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnrhmꜣꜣ P.Anastasi IV, 14,5; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnhrꜣmꜣꜣ P. Anastasi IV, 14,7; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnrhꜣmꜣꜣ P. Rainer 53,duplicate of P. Anastasi III; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnhꜣmꜣꜣ P.Chester Beatty V, recto, 8,10; (19th Dynasty)

ỉwnrhꜣmꜣꜣ P.Harris I, 16a, 10; 19b.13; 19b 14; 65b 10; 71b 1; (20th Dynasty)

ỉwnrhꜣmꜣꜣ P. Harris I, 56a, 5; (20th Dynasty)

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[49] The pomegranate is a citrus fruit belonging to the 'Lythraceae' family and it is a native plant from Asia Minor, Persia, and Afghanistan; pomegranate is today widely cultivated throughout the Mediterranean basin, both for the production of fruits and for ornamental purposes. The Phoenicians imported the pomegranate plant from Iran and they were probably the first growers in Carthage, so the Romans believed it originated from this country, and Pliny, presumably misunderstanding its origin, called the plant 'malum punicum' i.e. "Cathaginian apple". It is believed that the word can also derive from the Latin word 'puniceus' i.e. "purple, "scarlet", with allusion to the fruit, flowers, and seeds' color.

Wb. I, p.98 [50]

Faulkner, p. 24.[51]

[52] Klotz (2010: 225) states that the Egyptian word for 'pomegranate' is a loan word that corresponds to the Sumerian 'Nuzinurumu'.

Ezz el-Din, Dina M., Sahar Farouk Elkasrawy, 2018 Manchester.[53]

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Pomegranates originated in Mesopotamia, and appeared in Egypt during the Middle Bronze Age,[54] and were probably first introduced during the Middle Kingdom,[55] also, the earliest known archaeological evidence of pomegranates in Egypt dates to the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period were used to make red wine and they frequently appear in bouquets and offering tables on walls paintings such tombs as Ineni (TT 81), Menna (TT69), Nakht (TT 52) and Sobekḫotep (TT63) and in a scenes displaying kings and high officials while they were offering pomegranates.[56] The earliest complete large desiccated pomegranate fruit dated to the New Kingdom and was found in the tomb of Djehwty (TT110) the overseer of the treasure under Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III. The pomegranate trees decorated several Egyptian gardens in the palaces and houses of King, Queens, and the élite, and afterward, these gardens become an integral part of Egyptian houses, in particular of royalty and élite, and also the garden was an integral part of tombs, funerary and cult temples, and the groves of terraced gardens lined processional routes and temple paths. In Ancient Egypt, the garden is planted with a great variety of trees providing shade and fresh fruits. In a text dated to the reign of Merneptah, Ramesses II's son, (1213 - 1203 B.C.) we read about the beauty of the city of *Pr-Rʿ-msw* and also how it was rich in apples, olives, figs, and pomegranates. Pomegranate was found in the foundation deposit of Tuthmose III in the Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahari.[57] Pomegranate flowers and leaves were set in many garlands and collars used in religious and celebratory events, placed around the necks of the dead, worn at the funerary banquet, or draped around statuettes.[58]

Some important representations of pomegranates there are at Tell el-Amarna: in the tomb of Meryre, high priest of the Aten, we can admire representation of the Aten temple garden where are shown flowering pomegranates put among the trees; in the tomb of Huya (TA 01), the royal family has depicted in front of a table full of pomegranates, while Queen Ty is shown holding a pomegranate in her hand. In the daily life of Ancient Egypt, were manufactured pomegranate-shaped artifacts, such as containers and jewelry, and amulets. In the Amarna letters, the inventory of gifts lists one pomegranate of silver, 44 containers of oil decorated with apples, dates and pomegranates, and 6 knives of gold with pomegranate at the top.[59]

Seeds and skin fragments of pome- granatediscovered during an archeological excavation in Egypt indicates that pomegranates were primarily found by the aristocracy or priestly class during the 12th Dynasty[60]. Pomegranate occurs frequently enough in Egypt from at least the New Kingdom onward[61]. It is generally accepted that Thutmose I brought pomegranates back to Egypt after his military campaigns into central Asia[62]. Pomegranate trees are mentioned in his funerary texts(about 1530 B.C.)and appear in tomb paintings of nearly a hundred years later[63]. The inscriptions of the tomb of Sebkhotep show two men carrying pomegranates; one carries a basket, the other a string of fruits tied together[64]. Pomegranate plants are shown on the walls of ThutmoseIII's Festival Hall at Karnak[65]. Large dried pomegranate fruit was found in the tomb of Djehwty, the estate overseer of Queen Hatshepsut in the fifteenth century B.C. (Dynasty 18)[66]. Ancient Egyptians had been imitating organic forms of pomegranate and its flowers in many artifacts of all materials; cf. nineteen votive faience pomegranates have been discovered in the tomb of Amenhotep II[67], a silver pomegranate-shaped vessel was included in the funerary offerings to Tutankhamun (1336-1327 ca. B.C.)[68] vase in the shape of a pomegranate, glass, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No.

[54] Immerwahr 1989:408; Jacomet 2002: 84; Torpey 2008: 1; Whitchurch and Griggs 2010: 223; Nigro and Spagnoli 2018:51.
[55] According to some scholars, the pomegranates did not arrive in Egypt until the beginning of the New Kingdom, when it was probably brought back from western Asia during the military campaign (early 18th Dynasty). Initially, pomegranates have been available only as an imported product, and only later plants of pomegranates were planted in an Egyptian garden.
[56] Additional representations of pomegranaates in private tombs are found in Userhat's tomb (TT51), Tjanefer's tomb (TT158), Amenamhat's tomb (TT82), Userhat's tomb (TT150), Djeserkarenseneb's tomb (TT38), el-Kab tomb of Paheri Paheri (EK 3).
[57] Nathalie Beaux, 'Botanical remains in Ancient Egyptian foundation deposits', Meeting on archaeobotanical research in Egypt organized by the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology (PCMA) and the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO), Cairo, 26 September 2018).
[58] In the embalming cache known as KV63, a large number and variety of collars have been found and 17 species of associated plant remains have been identified; among these species of plants, ten were used in the production of floral collars as olive, willow, safflower, flowers of low cornflower, blue lotus, fruits of 'ashwagandha', date palm, papyrus, and leaves of pomegranate.
[59] Moran 1992:27-34; Kaelin 2004: 108.
[60] See: Haldane, Cheryl Ward, (Mar., 1990)," Shipwrecked Plant Remains", The Biblical Archaeologist, 53, No. 1, An Underwater View of the Ancient World, 59;Whitchurch, David M., and Griggs, C. Wilfred,2010, 'Artifacts, Icons, And Pomegranates: Brigham Young University Egypt Excavation Project' *JARCE* , 225-226; Wilkinson, Alix,1998, The Garden in Ancient Egypt ,London,39.
[61] See: Terrace, Edward L.B., Jul. 1963, 272, pl.56, fig.14, n.27.
[62] Whitchurch, David M., and Griggs, C. Wilfred, 2010, 226; Lilyquist, C., Hill, M., Allen, S., Roehrig C. H. , and Patch D. C., 2001, 14; Immerwahr, Sara, Oct. – Dec.1989, "The Pomegranate Vase: Its Origins and Continuity," Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 58.4 , 402; Shaw ,I., and Nicholoson , P., 2002,Dictionary of Ancient Egypt, The American University in Cairo Press, 108.
[63] Haldane, Cheryl Ward, (Mar.1990) 59.
[64] Haldane, Cheryl Ward, (Mar. 1990)59.
[65] Whitchurch, David M., and Griggs, C. Wilfred, 2010, 226;Wilkinson, "The Garden in Ancient Egypt"138.
[66] Whitchurch, David M., and Griggs, C. Wilfred, 2010, 226.
[67] Immerwahr, Sara,Oct. – Dec.1989, 400.
[68] Lilyquist, C., Hill, M., Allen, S., Roehrig C. H. and Patch D. C., 2001, 14; Immerwahr, Sara, Oct. – Dec.1989, 401.

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26.7.1180, New Kingdom, Dynasty 19th-20th, 1295-1070 ca. B.C.[69] This vase may have contained a precious oil or perfume, or perhaps a pomegranate beverage which was often added to wine,[70] pomegranate vessels from Hathor temple, Serabit el-Khadem, Sinai, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford(E4486) later 18th-19th Dynasty date[71]four pomegranates are items of gold necklace, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. No. 48.59, Late Period[72]. Petals of pomegranate, part of a garland, Manchester Museum no. 6332, Roman Period[73], a small pomegranate tapestry (3.5 x 5.25 cm) with a cross-section view of fleshy seeds and pithy membranes that separate them, and a pomegranate tapestry of plain weave textile, discovered in the Fag el-Gamous necropolis, Fayum, during the 1987 dig season in different burials, used as shrouds, Graeco-Roman Egypt[74]. In Ancient Egypt, "as an alternative to grape wine, there were date wine, fig wine which was very alcoholic, and also a pomegranate wine that is maybe to be identified with the drink called in Ancient Egyptian Language: 'scedeh'[75]

šdḥ 

ein dem Wein, verwandtes Getränk,süss und berauschend auch bei der Herstellung der Osirisfigur (aus Sand, Weihrauch, Wein) auch



Auch als Opfer für Tote und Götter



šdḥ[77] 'pomegranate wine'

The labels on the pomegranate wine jars usually describe the *šdḥ* wine with the adjectives  and  "good" and "very good".

Moreover, there is a debate about the real existence of a pomegranate wine: some scholars proposed that *šdḥ* was added as a flavoring of wine and recent studies[78] have concluded that the *šdḥ* drink was made from red grapes.

The appearance of the pomegranate lying across the top of the pile of offerings, and its use as a main item in the offerings is unusual on offering tables. However, one can compare the offerings of this fragment with the gold necklace, MFA, Inv. No. 48.59[79] (fig.5) to interpret these offerings.

First. The arrangement of items of offerings on the offering table of the fragment (Agricultural Museum No.4286) from top to bottom is one pomegranate, a covered bowl filled with liquid[80], and four flowers are depicted from the face[81].The word *nḥḥ*is incised on the top of these offerings.

[69] Lilyquist, C., Hill, M., Allen, S., Roehrig C. H. and Patch D.C., 2001, 14, fig.p.14.

[70] See: Lilyquist, C., Hill, M., Allen, S., Roehrig C. H. and Patch D. C., 2001, 14, fig. p.14; Another reference is from the New Kingdom love poetry; P. Turin 1966, 1/2-4 refers to pomegranate wine. Thompson, Stephen E., Jan., 1994, 19; See also about pomegranate wine in ancient Egyptian love poem, from papyrus Harris500 , New Kingdom, Lichtheim, Miriam, (without date), Ancient Egyptian Literature, II the New Kingdom192.

[71] See: Simpson, P.1990," Egyptian Core Glass Vessels from Sinai" *JEA 76* 185-186. Shaw and Nicholson mentioned that the pomegranate introduced in the New Kingdom, became a popular shrub, and its flowers were important in the garden. Shaw, I., and Nicholoson, P., 2002, 108.

[72] See: Terrace, Edward L. B., Jul. 1963, 272, pl.56, fig.14n.27. Necklace of flower and amphora-shaped pendants_, www.mfa.org/collections/object/necklace-of-flower-and-amphora-sh.

[73] Germer, Renate, 1987,246

[74] Whitchurch, David M., and Griggs, C. Wilfred, 2010, 222, Figs. 18, 19, 20.

[75] (Edda Bresciani, "Serpente che mangia non ha veleno. Ricette e segreti alla mensa dei Faraoni." Maria Fazzi Editore, Lucca, 1993, p. XXVII).

[76] Wb. Vierter Band, p.568

[77] Faulkner. p.274

[78] (Guash-Janéet, 2006: 98)

[79] See: Terrace, Edward L.B., Jul., 1963, 272, pl.56, fig.14, n.27; Necklace of flower and amphora-shaped pendants, www.mfa.org/collections/object/necklace-of-flower-and-amphora-sh.

[80] Demarée mentioned that they resemble vessels on an offering table full of grapes, but they are full of liquid. See the faucet at the lower part of the vessel. Cf. stela of Bukentef, pw-qntw. f, 19th Dynasty, Warsaw, National Museum MN 143341, from Deir el-Medina Demarée, R.J., 1983, 31, pls.III, XIV, A8. Cf. also: a vessel on offering table, stela of Panakh(t)emwese, pAnxt m wAst, 19thDynasty, Turin, Museo Egizio 50020, from Deir el-Medina, stela of Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 13971, belongs to Roma r-m a, Nineteenth Dynasty, probably from Deir el-Medina and stela of Khamuy, xAmwy, 19thDynasty, Cannes, Musée Archéologique 7, from Deir el-Medina, Demarée, R.J. 1983, 47 80, 83, pls.V, A15, VIII, A28, IX, A33. See also: stela of Pahatia pA-HAty-a, 19th-20th dynasty, Turin, Museo Egizio 50015, from Deir el-Medina and stela of Merysakhmet, mry- sxmT 19th Dynasty, Turin, Museo Egizio 50017, from Deir el-Medina. Demarée, R.J., 1983, 50, 65, pls.V, A16, VII, A22.

[81] Demarée mentioned that the resemble inscriptions are ciDcular loaves, stela of Egyptian Museum 1/3/25/1 = S.R. 13971, belongs to Roma r-m a, Nineteenth Dynasty, probably from Deir el-Medina and stela of Khamuy, ḫ3mwy, 19thDynasty, Cannes, Musée Archéologique 7, from Deir el-Medina. Demarée, R.J., 1983, 80, 83, pls.VIII, A28, IX, A33. But they are flowers Cf. fig.4 and the flowers are depicted from the face on head bandage of princess Nefert, Fourth Dynasty, Egyptian Museum, first floor, hall 32. Aldred, Cyril,1949, *Old Kingdom Art In Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1949),fig.10;Aldred,Cyril, 1971, *Jewels of the Pharaohs,* London,fig.18;See also the incised flowers on the crown of Princess Sit-Hathor-Yunet, from Lahun, Middle Kingdom ,the incised flowers on circlet and achieved flowers on long head dress of a queen of Tuthmosis III from Thebes. Aldred, Cyril 1971, figs. 39, 61, 62.

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Second. The arrangement of items of the necklace is one pomegranate on each side (they are votive fruit and not a container in the shape of a pomegranate), two amphorae on each side, and six pomegranate flowers (Cf.fig.6). One can notice the same arrangement in both. The pomegranate, the vessels, and the flowers are items in both. Comparing the two objects, the flowers that are depicted on the offering table are pomegranate flowers. The vessel on the offering table may contain pomegranate beverages[82] compared to the vessels that formed the items of the necklace, which are supposed to refer to the pomegranate beverage according to necklace items. The gold necklace consists of two pomegranates, four two-handled amphorae, six floral pendants of pomegranate flowers, and eleven carinated barrel-shaped used as separators. All of which have a single row of beading at the ends. Only one of them has two rows of beading at each end which means they are two one is inside the other the total of separators is twelve. The total of other items of the necklace is twelve also.

The total of all items of the necklace is24. Perhaps this number points to 24 hours of day and night, or the number 12 of both points to 12 months of the year according to the Ancient Egyptian calendar. This explains the word *nḥḥ* that was incised on the top of our offering table which means that the deceased will receive the offerings of pomegranate and its beverage in the other world during the night and day throughout the year. Probably, the pomegranate fruit indicates that the deceased is eating fresh pomegranates, the carinated barrel-shaped symbolizes the barrels where the pomegranate beverage is made, while pomegranate flowers point to the presence of pomegranates for the deceased in the future, the amphorae indicate that the deceased drinks pomegranate beverage in it. It means that the deceased is eating fresh pomegranate and pomegranate beverages and will also eat them in the future, due to the existence of pomegranate flowers. This also applies to the offerings of our fragment.

One can notice also that the table of offerings and the loaded offering on it with the outer cover[83] of offerings look like a flowering and fruitful tree, perhaps a pomegranate tree was intended.

Numerous sources Egyptian, Graeco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian, illustrate the pomegranate as a symbol of life, death, prosperity, or the hope of regeneration in an afterlife. Because of pomegranates blood-red juice and many seeds, the Egyptians of the New Kingdom onwards recognized its suitability as a funeral offering, and they used the pomegranates as a symbol of life after death[84]. The red color of pomegranate seeds symbolizes blood and life[85]. Of importance for this study are two pomegranate amulets from the Osirian temple inscriptions at Denderah, where a connection between Osiris and resurrection has long been agreed[86]. Pomegranate was used also in Ancient Egyptian medicine.

VI. Conclusions

This fragment of a stela sheds new light on the importance of pomegranate as the main funerary offering through Ramesside times. The right hand of the deceased rests on his thigh and grasps a strip of cloth is a style that occurs in the late Eighteenth or more probably the early Nineteenth dynasty and onwards in Saqqara[87] and Deir el-Medina.[88] The owner wears an ankle-length kilt rising high at the back of the waist a style that occurs in Saqqara[89] and Deir el-Medina[90] through Ramesside times. The fashion of dress and wig points to Ramesside times and Deir el-Medina[91]. The long wig is typical of the Ramesside Period style[92]. The style of the chair occurred during the Ramesside times in Deir el-Medina[93]. The libation vessel on a wickerwork stand a style points to the late 18thor more probably the early 19thDynasty and it occurs in Deir el-Medina[94]. The epithets ȝḫ iḳrand ȝḫ iḳr n rʿ were common

[82] Pomegranate wine was found in Ancient Egypt throughout the New Kingdom period. See: Williams, Ronald J., 1972,218, P. Anast. IV, 2, IV 3 (which dates to the reign of Seti II, See Gardiner, A. H., 1937, 37-38;Cf. Lilyquist, C., Hill, M., Allen, S., Roehrig C. H. and Patch D. C., 2001,14,fig.p.14.Other reference is from the New Kingdom love poetry P. Turin 1966, 1/2-4 refers to pomegranate wine. See: Thompson, Stephen E., Jan., 1994, 19

[83] See the cover on offerings, stela of Pahatia pA-HAty- a, 19th -20th dynasty, Turin, Museo Egizio 50015, from Deir el-Medina and stela of Merysakhmet, mry- sxmT , 19th Dynasty, Turin, Museo Egizio 50017, from Deir el-Medina. Demarée, R.J., 1983, 50, 65, pls.V, A16, VII, A22.

[84] Seelmmerwahr, Sara,Oct. – Dec.1989, 405.

[85]The red color of pomegranate seeds has a religious symbolism; it associates with 'life' and 'rebirth'. See: -Lurker M. 1996,100.

[86] Whitchurch, David M., and Griggs, C. Wilfred, 2010, 226.

[87] See: Leiden Museum Stela V 51 belongs to the scribe and overseer of the cattle of Amun Dejhuty, this stela is from Saqqara. Affara, Manal, 2010,147, 151, fig.1.

[88] See: stela is known from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55. Martin, Geoffrey T., 182, 81, 4 Pl. IX (2).

[89] Cf. Leiden Museum Stela V 51Affara, Manal, 2010, 151, fig.1.

[90] See: stela is from Deir el-Medina: Stela of Semet, Cincinnati Art Museum I947.55. Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84 Pl. IX (2).

[91] Cf. Stela of Kaha, region of Ramses II, Deir el-Medina Clére, J.J., 1929, 188, fig.2

[92] Thomson, James K., 1997, 218-219, fig.1.

[93] See: Cruz-Uribe, Eugene, 1978, 238, Fig.1; Martin, Geoffrey T.,1982, 81-82, 84, Pl.IX(2); Demarée, R.J., 1983, 31, pls.III, XIV, A8.

[94] See: Martin, Geoffrey T., 1982, 81, 84, Pl. IX (2).

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throughout Ramesside times. The way of the writing mȝʿ ḫrw is the most commonly found on the monuments of Ramesside times in Deir el-Medina[95]. Fruit offerings generally were common throughout New Kingdom Period.

Based on above mentioned iconographical, palaeographic, epigraphic, and stylistic features, the fragment of our stela is likely to date through Ramesside times (19thDynasty–20thDynasty), and perhaps its provenance is Deir el-Medina.

Abbreviations

AJA American Journal of Archaeology
BIFAO Bullettin de l'Institute Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BMMA Bullettin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
IFAO Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Studies
JARCE Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
MFA Museum of Fine Art (Boston)
PCMA Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology
Wb Wörterbuch der aegyptischen sprache

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[95] Cf. stela of Kaha, region of Ramses II, Deir el-Medina Clére, J.J., 1929188, fig.1.

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Gunnar Landtman (1878-1940)

By Leif Korsbaek

Introducción- Quite recently I wrote[1] that "A. M. Hocart is a very little known British anthropologist" (Korsbaek, in press), which is true. But if that is so, the British anthropologist Gunnar Landtman, born in Finland, is absolutely unknown, at least in the Spanish speaking world. And that, in spite of the fact that he is of a certain importance, at least in the anthropological universe.

It is known that a revolution took place in British anthropology 1922, with the publication of Malinowski´s monograph *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and, to a lesser degree, with the publication the same year of Radcliffe-Brown´s Ph. D. thesis *The Andaman Islanders*. This revolution left us a new canon in anthropology and, especially, in ethnography, and it is usually thought that Malinowski is the sole responsible for this new anthropological canon.

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I. Introducción

Quite recently I wrote[1] that "A. M. Hocart is a very little known British anthropologist" (Korsbaek, in press), which is true. But if that is so, the British anthropologist Gunnar Landtman, born in Finland, is absolutely unknown, at least in the Spanish speaking world. And that, in spite of the fact that he is of a certain importance, at least in the anthropological universe.

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But gradually information is escaping from our collective amnesia that Malinowski was not as alone as he and other anthropologists thought. Together with him in his Melanesian expedition at different moments almost a dozen other British anthropologists carried out fieldwork in Melanesia and New Guinea and, what is no less important, Malinowski was in personal contact with all of them and exchanged information with all of them, one by one.

First of all there were three professors from the anthropological world, from Oxford and Cambridge, and from the University of London and the London School of Economics: Alfred Cort Haddon, who was thirty years older than Malinowski, Wiliam Halse Rivers, who was twenty years older, and finally Charles Gabriel Seligman, who was only about ten years older han Malinowski.

Haddon had commandeered the famous Cambridge anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait in 1898, but he is probably better known as the founder of anthropology as a career at the University of Cambridge, and he deserves credit for having introduced photography as an important instrument in fieldwork. Haddon distinguishes himself for a number of interests that almos reached the level of obsessions: headhunters, pibes, primitive art and canoes. Normally Haddon has been considered a mediocre fieldworker, but recently surprisingly decent ethnographic material has come to our attention, and Haddon has recovered his prestige as ethnographer and fieldworker.

Rivers, who also participated in the Cambridge anthropological expedition to the Torres Strait that Haddon organized in 1898, belongs like Haddon to the University of Cambridge. Ha had done fieldwork in India, and in 1914 he published his magnum opus, the History of Meanesian Society, a book everybody knows, but nobody reads it, neither in 1914 nor today, because of its theoretical foundation in diffusionist anthropology.

Charles Gabriel Seligman had also participated in the Torres Strait expedition, later he wrote the only existing solid ethnographic description of the societies of New Guinea (Seligman, 1910), and later still he did fieldwork in India, where he introduced a new style that we can call matrimonial fieldwork, together with his wife Brenda Seligman (Seligman & Seligman, 1911). After his Melanesian and Indian career, Seligman ended his life with thirty years´ fieldwork in Africa.

It is noteworthy that none of these three early anthropologists had studied anthropologhy in their youth, among other reasons because anthropology did not exist as a career in the universities, they were medical doctors and biologists, with an interest in exotic cutures and societies. We can really call these three early anthropologists the founding fathers of modern social anthropology, based on fieldwork.

Apart from the three professors already mentioned, there were also seven students. Of these, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown was the first who went into the field with a university career in anthropology behind him; he carried out his fieldwork from 1906 to 1908 in the Andaman Islands off the Indian coast, but he did not finish his ethnographic description, the *Andaman Islanders*, until 1922. His fieldwork is rather traditional and and mediocre, and does not contribute much to the ethnographic revolution, his contribution is much more important in the theoretical field, where he introduced an empirical structuralism, that was to become structural-functionalism.

Arthur M. Hocart and Gerald Camden Wheeer both did fieldwork in Melanesia in 1908 in the Percy Sladen expedition that Rivers organized and directed, Hocart specialized in the study of rituial, while Wheeler did a splendid linguistic study. After his initial fieldwork with Rivers in Simba (at that time it was called Eddystone Island), Hocart got lost seven years in the Pacific, where Haddon secured him a position as headmaster in a school of the Anglican Misson on the Fiji Islands, so he acquired a solid knowledge of the

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Pacific islands in Melanesia as well as in Polinesia. Hocart did not return to England until 1915, just in time to participate in the First World War, stationed in France, where he served as intelligence officer and reached the rank of captain. After the war Hocart spent some years in London trying to obtain a university position, in which he did not succeed, so he accepted a position as commissioner in what was then the British colony of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka. His work in Sri Lanka began in 1921, but the first year was spent in India, studying Indian languages and linguistics, his activities in Sri Lanka continued until 1929, when problems with his health forced him to resign and once again return to England. He stayed in London a couple of years, doing odd jobs and once again trying to obtain a university position, and once again without success. Not until 1934 did he obtain a university position, when he inherited Evans-Pritchard´s job as professor of sociology in the Fouad II University in Cairo.

After his death Hocart is having a kind of renaissance, partly due to the publication of some of his texts through the intervention of Lord Raglan and Rodney Needham. Gerald Camden Wheeler has no such luck, and is today almost as unknown as Gunnar Landtman.

Diamond Jenness was born in New Zealand and studied in Oxford but, in spite of the fact that he did his first fieldwork in Melanesia, he became the most important anthropologist in Canada, principally working among inuits. An important element in the methodological revolution in 1922 was that the use of interpreters was abandoned, the anthropologists began to learn the language of their informants and communicate with them directly. Diamond Jeness did his fieldwork in 1911 and 1912 in the dÉntrecasteaux Islands, but he did not participate in this linguistic part of the methodological revolution, he cheated and did his fieldwork together with his brother in law, Andrew Ballantyne, a missionary who had been living in the islands for more than twenty years and knew the local language well.

John Willoughby Layard is probably the most exotic of these ten anthropologists. He travelled to Australia in 1914, together with Rivers to participate in the same British scientific congress as Malinowski and Haddon, only in a different ship, and after the congress he went into the field in Melanesia, also with Rivers. He did his fieldwork of about a year in another small island and declared that never in his life had he been happier than during his fieldwork. Apart from being an anthropologist, Layard also studied psychoanalysis, following the ideas of Carl Gustav Jung, so his fieldwork took the form of a search for archetypes in the culture of his island. One of the reasons that Layard is forgotten today is probably that he never published the complete information of his fieldwork nor his memories, with the attractive title *Memories of a Failure*.

It is quite evident that the last and most successful of these early anhropologists was Bronislaw Malinowski, who managed to shape the new anthropological canon in the version in which it is usually accepted. We can sum it up as follows: a detailed observation of the daily life of a group of human beings, minimum a year, using the language of these people with a high degree of empathy. Whereas Radcliffe-Brown in the first place studied the political aspects of the daily life, Malinowski is better known as economic anthropologist.

In this context the presence and participation of these ten anthropologists in the development of the new anthropological canon is rarely mentioned, even if their fieldwork was carried out several years before that of Malinowski. And as Gunner Landtmen was on of these ten British anthropologists, it is the purpose of this text to present some features of his anthropology and his contribution to the development of this new canon and, in general, his contributions to the creation of a fieldwork tradition that is valid even today.

To avoid misunderstandings, I would like to close this brief introduction assuring the reader that it is not my intention to minimize the importance of Malinowski as the creator of a new anthropology, I only want to set the record straight. He remains as talented as ever before, just less lonely.

II. Gunnar Landtman's Life and Anthropology

Gunnar Landtman was a young Finnish student who came to London to study under the direction of Edward Westermarck in the London School of Economics. Landtman´s first publication saw the light in Finland, thanks to Edward Westermarck as well: "A series of publications, Acta Academica Aboensis, was initiated with the first volume carrying Westermarck´s text on "the Belief in Spirits in Marocco", as well as four other ethnological texts by his former students Rafael Karsten, Gunnar Landtman y K. Rob. Wikman" (Lagerspetz & Suolinna, 2014: 35).

"Landtman and Karsten had particularly close connections with the emerging British anthropology in the early 1920´s. They worked together at the British Library in 1903-04. Their plan was to go together to South America for filed research. However, at the suggestion of A. C. Haddon, Landtman chose instead to study the Kiwai Papuans, staying for two years in 1910-12. He subsequently stayed in Britain in 1912-13, 1925-6 and 1931, working especially with Haddon. Westermarck and Landtman were good Friends. Westermarck told Landtman he was distressed that Karsten rather than Landtman succeeded him to the chair he had left in Helsingfors. He was also godfather to one of Landtman´s children" (Lagerspetz & Suolinna, 2014: 48).

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During his studies under Westermarck, Gunnar Landtman met Haddon in England, and he wrote in the introduction to Haddon´s monograph "many years ago, my old friend Dr. Gunnar Landtman came to see me in Cambridge and, after the initial greetings, he said that he would go, wherever you want me to go" (Haddon, 1927: IX). Landtman went to New Guinea to stay among the Kiwai during 1910 and 1912.

Landtman´s fieldwork was early in the process we are studying, and it may be true that "Landtman carried out intensive fieldwork as the first European anhropologist among the Kiwai. He was in Melanesia almost five years before Malinowski and practiced the method of participant observation" (Soukup, 2010: 47) but, as the author does not distinguish Melanesia from New Guinea, it is true that "it is the first monograph dedicaed to any of the genuine Papuans in that territory" (Seligman, 1928: 496-97) – and many aspects of his ethnography have been praised, while others have been severely ctiticized.

George W. Stocking is only a conditional admirer of Landtman´s anthropology, even if he admits that it is "the closest approach to Malinowski", he speaks of, "the flatfoodedly descriptive and rather clumsily titled *Kiwai Papuans of the British New Guinea: A Nature-Born Instance of Rousseau's Ideal Community*" (Stocking, 1992: 31).

Malinowski praised the book: "Profesor Landtman has written one of the best descriptive books on one of the most interesting peoples of the world. The Kiwai islanders, that are described in this volume, belong to the Papuan culture, which constitutes the link between the Australian aborigenes, the Melanesian culture, and the Indonesian", he especially liked the sociological analysis of kinship, of totemism, of the ways of government and justice (Malinowski, 1929: 109)

There is an abundance of photos of Landtman himself, that show him as a genuine European colonialist, with his jacket, his khaki trousers and his kepi tropical helmet and boots, and his description that covers a wide specter of topics, of material culture as well as of "spiritual" themes, with a certain emphasis on buildings and the interior of living quarters.

It is interesting to take note of this extremely European genteman, perfectly dressed for his activities on the edge between armchair and field anthropology, showing a certain interest in men´s comunal house and also in several details in sexual customs, leading him to discover a kind of homosexual rites, which has been the point of departure for a recent epidemic of anthropological studies of sexual life in the región. Maybe it is not a coincidence that one of Landtman´s articles about the Kiwai has been published by Margaret Mead as part of her studies of sexual bahvior in the región.

Landtman´s almost exclusive dedication to description, limiting theoretical analysis to an absolute mínimum – and still worse, declaring his confidence in evolutionary theory – can be summed up in the soursweet words of a protegee of Haddon, Camila Wedgwood: "Dr. Landtman has confined himself to pure description. He refrains from theorizing as to the meaning of those things which he recounts or as to the cultural affinities of his people and other tribes of New Guinea" (Wedgwood, 1929).

Back in Finland, Landtman was elected to represent the "Swedish Popular Party", and we have to remember that the situation was very similar to that of Poland: neither of the two countries existed yet as independent states. Finland was a Swedish colony, in much the same way as what tody is Poland, where Malinowski was born in 1884, in his days was a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

But, as we are coming close to the complicated relation of nationalism with the prehistory of Malinowski´s ethnography, it is a curious coincidence that, while Malinowski in a belated fit of nationalism exposed his solidarity with his Pollish fellow countrymen against Hitler´s oppression, Landtman joined the party of the Swedish colonialists.

III. The Finns in London

We anthtropologists are known for our enthusiasm for gossip, and it is an interesting experiment to work with other "real" scientists, who present their observations in tables and diagrams, with a mínimum of gossip, whereas we insist on presenting our observations in the shape of "tales". We love to tell how "Malinowski praised Frazer when he wrote in English, but critizised him severely when he wrote in Polish", and similar stuff. And maybe this propensity to gossip also characterizes practitioners of the historical discipline, for whom gossip is metamorphosed into "cultural history", or even history of mentality.

We may be able to extend our gossip to another two themes: in the first place, about the gang of Finnish scientists and artists who lived in Bloomsbury in London, exactly in the times of Virginia Woolf and, in the second place, about the spiritual leader of this gang of Finnish bohemians: the Finnish sociologist Edward Wedstermarck, who has a certain relevance for the early history of British anthropoogy.

The central person in this group of Finns was Edward Westermarck, who was already then a well known sociologist who had studied in Finland and after that had settled down in London, and it is safe to asume that Edward Westermarck represented the Finnish influence in British anthropology and sociology.

It may be that the most learned and least Bohemian was the Finnish political scientist Rudolph Holsti, who at one time participated in Malinowsk´s seminar in the London School of Economics. At another time he would be State Secretary in Finland´s

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government, 1919-22 y 1936-38, after the Independence from Russia. Rudolph Holsti published *The Relation of War to the Origin of the State* (Holsti, 1914), which "probably influenced Malinowski´s own thinking on the anthropology of war" (Young, 2004: 174), referring to Malinowsk´s article about the war (Malinowski, 1920). Rudolph Holsti ended his career teaching clases in the University of Stanford, he passed away in Palo Alto in 1945.

The most visible person in this Finnish landscape was Tankred Borenius, who was already then a well known and respected specialist in the history of art, a discipline he later taught in the University of London. Among his other virtues, Tankred Borenius was married to Anna-Mi Runeberg, granddaughter of Finland´s national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg. A part of Runeberg´s poems have to do with Finland´s dependence: In the war in the beginning of the XIX Century, Finland changed from being a Swedish colony to being Russian colony, and the close friendship between the Borenius and Malinowski may be partly due to the fact that both parts came from countries that were colonized by Russia: the country that later would be Poland, as well as Finland (I have a very personal relation with this problem, as my deceased father participated as a volunteer in the Finnish war against Russia on the eve of the Second World War); both in Finland and in Poland there exists historically a solid hate toward Russia, during all periods: the Russian tsarist empire, the Soviet Union, and recent neoliberalism; I had the opportunity to feel this hate during a visit to Poland in 1991, with Mexican athropologists, when I exercised my Russian knowledge, trying to buy a train ticket, it did not make me popular at all.

Tankred Borenius owed part of this popularity and success to his friendship with the famous art historian Roger Fry, who in his turn would be the contact to the Bloomsbury group, an artístic commune in the quarter near the British Museum. The Bloomsburies became famous most of all because the renown of the novelist Virginia Wolf, and more recently they have become anthropologically famous due to the publication of a book, in which Adam Kuper describes the kinship relations that were the base of the young capitalism in Engand, with near incestuous marriages in families like the Darwins, most of them living in Bloomsbury.(Kuper, 2009).

But in Bloomsbury lived not only poets, painters, and art historians, you´d also find anthropologists. One of these was Gerald Camden Wheeler, who is relevant in the present cotext, as he also went to Melanesia in 1908, to do fieldwork together with Rivers and Hocart. Wheeler "hung around the London School of Economics for a number of years, teaching part-time and collaborating with Hobhouse and Morris Ginsburg on a Tylorian comparative study *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (1915), but he failed to secure a university position after the Great War and dropped from sight. Haddon passed sad judgment on Wheeler many years later when he applied for a civil-list pension: "I regard him as one of those men of ability in their own subject who somehow have not succeeded in life. However, Malinowski valued his friendship during his early years in London and Wheeler helped him to get his first book through the press" (Young, 2004: 174).

Two of these Finnish anthropologists were Gunnar Landtman and Rafael Karsten, who both studied anthropology and sociology with Edward Westermarck, in Finland as well as in London.

To finish the gossip about the friendship between Landtman and Karsten, thd latter´s friendship with Westermarck was in danger around 1920; "the conflict sprung up about the publication of a book by Karsten in 1926, about *The Civilizations of the South American Indians*, where the English editor insisted that Westermarck should write a prologue. The two did not agree on the interpretation of primitive art´s function, and Westermarck hesitated before finally writing a diplomatic and conciliatory prologue, to which Karsten responded somewhat acidy. However "apparently the dispute had something to do with the personal chemistry, and the relation was not interrupted comletely, as we know that Karsten visited Westermarck´s seminar in London in 1929" (Young, 2004:174).

In the midddle of this Finnish spiderweb we find Edward Westermarck. According to a biographer of his, "was one of the greatest anthropoogists ther has ever been. He made fundamental contributions to at least three areas of the discipline: to the study of kinship and marriage; to the ethnography of North Africa; and to the philosophy of anthropology, notably to questions of ethics and moral relativism. He wrote with enviable clarity. His success was inmmediate and long lasting. His *History of Human Marriage*, his first and perhaps most popular work, burst alive from the press into the internationl academic world in 1891, and went through five editions in his lifetime" (Shankland, 2014: 1).

Apart from being a very popular teacher (cherished by Malinowski, among others), Edward Westermarck was the chief of this tribe of academic Finns in London, in a extremely close relation between academics and artists, painters as well as writers, most of them lived in Bloomsbury, near the British Museum.

A bit more matter of factly, we can state that Edward Westermarck was born in what is now Finland´s capital city, Helsinki, in 1862, in a middle class family. In 1886 he obtained his Master´s degree, and in 1888 he went to London to make use of the British Library´s facilities to wtite his Ph. D. thesis, which he finished in 1890, about *The History of Human Marriage* (Westermarck, 1891).

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From 1890 to 1906 he taught Sociología at Helsinki´s University, from 1894 to 1897 he taught Phillosophy at that same university, and in 1898 began a new phase in his life: he made his first voyages to Marocco In 1894 he had settled down in London, and from then until 1907 he taught Sociología in the London School of Economics.

In 1907 he was appointed the first Martin White profesor of Sociología in the London School of Economics, appointed for five years, with a salary derived from a fund by the Scottish philantropist Martin White. The fund was made permanent in 1911, and Westermarck occupied the chair until his retirement.

Edward Westermarck was important in British social sciences in England and in Finland: "Westermarck, who was professor of the University of Helsinki (and, later, of the Académic University of Aabo) as well as of the London School of Economics, was a Pioneer of sociology in Finland. Two of his students, Gunnar Landtman and Rafael Karsten, did fieldwork following the British model, and published their most important texts in England, whereas Hilma Granquist broke with her supervisor (Landtman), when she decided to do fieldwork in Palestine" (Suolinna, 2000: 317). There is even talk about a Westermarck school in Finnish sociology, a school that was closely related to Britis sociology and anthropoloy. Two very important names in that school were exactly the British-Finnish anthropologists Gunnar Landtman y Rafael Karsten.

It is clearly seen that there existed a close relation between the social sciences in Finland, especially the Westermarck school, and British anthropology, but it is a very complicated relation, as we see it in the Finniish sociologist Hilma Granquist´s career. The principal (although not the only) promotor of the anti-evolucionista movement in British anthropology was Bronislaw Malinowski, who was a student of Edward Westermarck and who, together with Charles Seligman, was his most important source of inspiration. Howver, neither Westermarck nor his students Gunnar Landtman y Rafael Karsten never abandoned their evolucionist position.

I am very careful in writing Finnish "social sciences", as there is no clear distinction between anthropology and sociology, neither in Finland nor in England. Of this we have a quite clear proof in an article of Landtman´s about Finnish folklore. The article starts thus: "It is Kallevalle, the Finns´ épic poem, that represents the greatest contribution to the Finnish people´s science of folklore" (Landtman, 1930: 319). We have to remember that in British social scinces there is not a very clear line that separates folklore and anthropology. At a certain moment there was a rather hazy division of labor hat asigned the study of tradition in England to folklor, whereas tradition in the colonies (the Third World) was a problem belonging to the world of anthropology (and sociology).

This curious tensión is revealed very clearly in Hilma Granquist´s career, about which it is said that "she fell victim to a scientific school in decline. Her career was totally blocked in Finland. In spite of this she managed to gain international prestige, but she had to work alone, without support and encouragement" (Suolinna, 2000: 317). It is maybe significant in this complicated situation of conflict between evolutionism and the abyss that separates British social anthropology and North American cultural anthropology that Margaret Mead, absolutely removed from British social anthropology, was the one who published some of Gunnar Landtman´s texts, as has been mentioned earlier.

However, the gossip about Landtman and Karsten is useful in showing, through the person of Westermarck, how close a relation there was between Finnish sociology, of which we can consider Westermarck a founding father, and British sociaology (and social anthropology), remembering that Westermarck was the first Martin White Professor of Sociology in the London School of Economics.

And there is a serious background to all this gossip about Finns in London. If we keep in mind that British social anthropology can be defined as the scientific charter of British colonialism, we can ask the question of why the presence of so many anthropologists in London from the periphery of the metrópolis, that is from Poland and Finland.

IV. Gunnar Landtman's Fieldwork

It is a pleasure to read Landtman´s description of how he arrived in his fieldsite in New Guinea, it really reads as if it were the introduction to a novel by Joseph Conrad from the South Sea:

> "We arrived in Thursday Island late in the night and could not moor in the night, but at six o´clock in the morning we went ashore. On the twelfth of April 1910 I finished my sea voyage, and from this moment on I had to do things the way circumstances permitted. I walked impatiently up and down the deck without any knowledge of how my situation would develop. However, I was convinced that from the moment we touched land, the first hours would clarify the situation in many aspects. I looked at the terrain with a máximum of curiosity, trying to imagine the islands with their high hills and their dry land covered with a dense forest, with stretches of beach in various parts, and the open sea splendid in the orizon, in all a very attractive landsccape. Finally we moored at the long pier and I went ashore, leaving for the momento my belongings on board. Thursday Island had the aspect of a small town with two streets running parallel to the beach – but there was not much else. But the beach was magnificent, with its fine sand. The majority of the small buildings had tin roofs, and on one side there was a line of black closed cisterns (wáter tanks of galvanized iron) (Landtman, 1913: 29).

Gunnar Landtman did his fieldwork in two years, from 1910 to 1912, but it took a long time before his

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ethnographic description was published: the year 1929 saw the publication of *The Kiwai Papuns of British New Guinea*, a heavy text of some 487 pages. It appears as a very long time, but it is really normal, the process of digesting and editing ethnographic observations is long and drawn out: Radcliffe-Brown did his fieldwork in 1905 and 1906, but he did not publish his Ph. D. thesis until 1922, A M. Hocart did his fieldwork a little later, in 1908, and started publishing his ethnographies from the Solomon Islands also in 1922. Layard went into the field in 1914, and published his ethnography in 1942. This slowness not only characterizes the British anthropologists: the French missionary-ethnologist Maurice Leenhardt started his fieldwork in New Caledonia in 1898, but he did not publish his ethnography of the Kanakas *Do Kamo* until in 1947.

As already mentioned, *The Kiwai Papuans of British New Guinea* is a rather bulky monograph, and in its 33 chapters all aspects of the social life of the natives of the Kiwai Island are presented, or at least that is the intention. In the ENAH (Mexico´s national school of anthropology) we recommend the students to write an ample thesis, that can be "milked" afterward and its parts published as articles once the student has finished his career. And Gunnar Landtman did exactly that, during all of his life he published generously in English, Swedish and Finnish, and many of his publications were parts of his thesis.

The most noteworthy detail is that the last chapter, the XXXIII, was published as a linguistic treatise dedicated to the study of the native´s Pidgin English. The use of this language in Landtman´s investigation is probably what most calls our attention, so this problema will be discussed later in the article.

Another chapter that has been published later is one discussing "magic in the context of war" (Landtman, 1916). In this article, Landtman distinguishes two different kinds of war, one that we can call "domestic", that has explicit rules and the harm inflicted upon the enemy is limited. The other kind is against neighboring villages, with equally explicit rules: the idea is to capture the enemies´ heads, as the Kiwai are headhunters, a practice that was strongly condemned by the colonial government, as well as by the missionaries. These two groups really have the same objectives, as the Christian misión is the moral and political charter of colonialism, the same way anthropology is the methodological weapon of colonialism.

In relation with headhunting, we learn about the rites conncted with this practice, the instruments used – bamboo knives – and the related costums.

All of chapter XI turns around the problem of totemism; due to the importance of this phenomenon in those years, this will be discussed in more detail further on.

Chapters XV, "Birth", XVI "Puberty", XVII "Courtship and marrriage", and XVIII "Death and Burrial" deal with the stations of human life and are curiously similar to the works of some of the members of the American "Culture and Personality" movement and, as it has been mentioned already, it is no wonder that Margaret Mead after Landtman´s death included one of his texts in a publicatioon of hers (Landtman, 1953). A curious detail is that the kinship problem receives very scant attention in this rather exhaustive ethnographic description, which is very strange in view of the fact that Landtman was in permanent contact with W. H. Rivers in the Univerity of Cambridge, who quite recently had formulated a model for the study of kinship systems in modern anthropology, the genealogical method (Rivers, 1910).

Before finishing his ethnography, Landtman had published an article about "Beliefs and Religious Pratices of the Kiwai People" in a volumen where the editor W. Beaver promised a general presentation of the peoples of New Guinea (Landtman, 1920). Chapters XXV-XXVIII, that discusses religious matters, especially rites and myths, to a certain degree contains the raw material of this article.

Chapter XIII "Traffic and Commerce" deals with the communication with other parts of the world, that is with other islands, and he comes very close to Malinowski´s future subject matter, the kula and the ritual exchange between the different islands, but nowhere does he reach the level of sofistication of Malinowski´s description, and in general there is very little analysis.

It would be imposible to do fieldwork in Melanesia, and maybe in other parts of the world as well, without studying the game that has been baptized "cat´s cradle", which is the game of making string figures. Cat´s cradle was one of Haddon´s obsessions, to the degree that he and Rivers together created a terminology to standardize the study of the game, and allow comparizon between different cultures. The terminology was introduced in a book that Haddon´s daughter published about the game (Haddon, & Rivers, 1902).

The first words in an article by Landtman from 1944 about cat´s cradle are: "cat´s cradle is a game that is very common among the Kiwai, who live in the River Fly delta in British New Guinea. All the men, women and children know this game very well" (Landtman, 1914: 321).

We recognize two characteristics in Landtman´s ethnography: in the first place, it is solid and, so far as that is posible, it is exhaustive, in the second place, it is almost without any theory. Both characteristics have been generously commented on in various reviews, they have often been richly praised and occasionally severely criticized.

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Landtman´s ethnography was well received: "Professor Landtman has written one of the best descriptive books about one of the most interesting peoles of the world", with these words opened Malinowski his review of Landtman´s monograph, based on fieldwork in 1910—12, but only published in 1927.

It is interesing to compare Landtman´s fieldwork with that of one of his contemporaries, the young anthropologist Diamond Jenness, born in New Zealand, who was later to ecome famous in Canada for his fieldwork among Inuits. However, the work of Diamond´s that is worth comparing with Landtman´s work is the former´s first fieldwork that was carried out in Melanesia in 1911-12, which he did together with his brother in law, a Methodist missionary. Landtman, too, began his research with the support of the missions, and throughout the duration of his work he maintained contact with the missionaries and counted on their help.

As a matter of fact, the whole Melanesian world (as well as Australia and Oceania, and Africa as well, for that matter) was teeming with missionaries: the London Missionary Society, a congregational Protestant mission had initiated their activities in 1872, when the Reverend Samuel MacFarlane and the Reverend A. W. Murray arrived in Mawatta, a Kiwai community in the Binaturi River´s desembocadura, accompanied by native helpers from other islands, and had constructed a building for the misión there. The missionaries arrived as the first wave in the process of colonization, a bit later a comercial station was established close by. As the last wave in this process of colonization, in 1891 the first government station was opened, in the desembocadura of the Pahoturi River, formally with the objective of reducing the conflicts between neighbouring tribes.

As the European nations had divided the cake betveen them, there was also a kind of "social división of work" among the missionary organizations: while "in

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1890, the administrator of Britis New Guinea, Sir William Macgregor, had otorgado a la London Missionary Society a vast sphere of influence, from Milne Bay to the Torres Strait, the only exception was the island Yule, to the North of Port Moresby, where the Congregation of the Sacred Heart had established a Catholic mission in 1885. The London Missionary Society maintained their presence in the Torres Strait until their churches were transferred to the Anglican Church in 1914, but in Eastern Papua the London Missionary Society remained active until the 1930´s" (ibídem).

In his personal case, "Gunnar Landtman had gone to Papua with a letter of introduction signed by the Reverend Wardlaw Thompson, secretary of foreign relations of the London Missionary Society, addressed to the Reverend Ben Butcher amnd the Reverend Edward Baxter Riley" (Lawrence, 2010: ¿12).

The strategic link between the colonial powers, especially England, and the missionary organizations was the anthropologist Alfred Cort Haddon. In his position in the University of Cambridge, he was perfectly situated for a privileged communication with thje British government, and he had permanent contact with all the missionary organizations, Anglicans and congregationalist as well as Catholic. Many of his conferences were directed toward the missionaries as part of their preparation, and it is important to keep in mind that the universities were still eclesiastic institutions. At a moment in the 1930´s observed Max Gluckman that "of every ten students of anthropology in Oxford, niene were priets or future priests" (Gordon, 2018).

V. Gunnar Landtman and the Study of Language

In the creation of a new anthropological and ethnographic canon, the language and the use of language played a very special role: "In the years from 1850 to 1920 very few British anthropologists considered that language required an autonomous study within the confines of their discipline, the only exception being the philologist Max Müller, who was by the way German, even though he worked in England" (Korsbaek, 2003: 161, quoting Henson, 1971: 3), and a very important element in this struggle to create a new canon were the efforts to do away with the interpreter and allow the fieldworkers to make use of the language of the so called "informants". In the beginning of this change from a speculative evolutionist anthropology to a modern anthropology based on fieldwork, the three professors Haddon, Rivers and Seligman, made use of interpreters, Rivers more than anyone else. But one of the main points in this new canon was exactly to allow the researcher to enter in direct contact with the informant in the native language of the latter. Hocart, in his study of myth, as well as Layard, in his search for archetypes, learned the native language and Wheeler, more than anyone else, managed to dominate the language of the people he studied, as did Malinowski.

The only two exceptions were Radcliffe-Brown and Diamond Jenness. Radcliffe-Brown´s only comment on the native language in his Andaman islands was that "the natives´ language is very difficult to learn" (), and he left it at that. Diamond Jenness cheated: he carried out his research in the islands (Jenness & Ballantyne, 1920) together with his brother in law, a missionary who had already spent years among the natives and knew their language well.

All this was a struggle to escape from the straightjacket of the English, the language of the fieldworker and reach a level of research we can call "emic" (Harris, 1968), and in this struggle Landtman occupies a unique place, carrying out his research in what has become known as "pidgin", a simplified English that is used as *lingua franca* not only in Melanesia, but in large parts of the non Occidental world: "during my ethnological studies among the Papuans of Kiwai I found that the Pidgin English used among these tribes was of considerable interest, what motivated me to include this language in my research in a more general way" (Landtman, 1918: 62).

As a matter of fact, Landtman carried out a complete linguistic and historical study of the Pidgin, which he liked very much, in spite of the spirit of his time, and the last chapter of his monograph, chapter XXXIII, is dedicated to a study of the "Pidgin English" the natives of Kiwai spoke.

It appears to me that Landtman´s linguistic experiment is very interesting, but a detail is let out: as the native´s mother tongue is Kiwai, the Pidgin is really their second language, so we are facing another problem: it is a problem of bilinguism, about which we now have an abundant bibliography in socio-lingustics.

Anyway, Malinowski´s complaints, that are quoted in the conclusions are ridiculous, if we keep in mind his efforts to dominate English, tutored by his South African mistress, when he studied in Leipzig.

VI. Gunnar Landtman and Totemism

Lévi-Strauss stated forcefully (1965) that the idea of totemism represents an illusion, and not a reality; what he does not mention is that we are dealing with an optic illusion created as a cultural necessity, to explain what the Westerners, above all the English, had created an image of "the savage" or "the primitive" as the imagined "other" of the civilized Englishman, which has been elaborated by Adam Kuper (2017) and Henricka Kuklick (….), among others. Another thing that Lévi-Strauss metions is that the British monopoly on this illusion began to explode with two strategic texts by American anthropologists (Goldenweiser, 1910, Boas, 1915).

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As a good British anthropologist, Gunnar Landtman dedicates all of his chapter XI (p. 185-195) to an extensive description of totemism among the Kiwai: "lo que sigue es, creo, una lista razonablemente completa de los totems de los kiwai" (p. 185), after which he presents a list of all the totems in four different places in the island, plus a list of the totems in the Eastern islands of the Torres Strait.

In his very light theoretical interpretation of totemism, he states that "los totems son en primer lugar de significado social y religioso" (p. 191), and he points out that, whereas all the details of ritual life in the island are kept as a secret, the islanders speak very freely about their totems with anybody.

And in spite of this openness in the discussion of the totems, it is very difficult to obtain precise information about their function: people rarely ask themselves what the character of the obligations related to the totems is. Landtman proposes the curious idea that the islanders have an instinctive attitude to their beliefs. The rules connected with totemism are usually some kind of prohibition, typically it is a prohibition against eating some edible fruit. The punishment for violating this rule is as a rule some disease, it is said that you should not kill your totem, because it is of your own blood. The rules of totemism are fading away, in earlier times they were much stronger. Landtman sees a reason in the utility in the case of dugong and coconut: they are so important articles that it would be impossible to make the prohibition cover them. If a man of the bamboo-clan needs tmake himself a bow, he does not cut a bamboo, he buys it from someone else. All the totems are of the same importance, there is no hierarchy.

It is sometimes thought that the members of a clan share certain characteristics with their totem. The origin of the totem is occasionally related to a culture hero, but the myths and legends make no reference in this respect. The totems are inherited in the male line, and a marrid woman keeps her own totem. She has to abstain from doing harm to the fruit or the animal of her own totem, but she may prepare it as food for her husband. Landtman comments that on the death of the husband, a woman returns to her own family, but the children remain with their father´s family. This is probably the closest we come to a discussion of the kinship system.

In the men´s house the obligations are divided according to the clans, and the functions in the important feasts are also distributed among the different totem groups. The obligations to revenge a murder are of the whole clan, and the conflicts are almost always between clans, referring evidently to the conflicts we have called "domestic". Witchcraft is almost always directed against other clans, it does not function inside the clan. Visits from other communities are as a rule attended by members of the same clan, and the cooperation between members of the same clan, for example around a canoe, is normally much closer than between members of different clans.

The marks of the totem clan are painted on the body of the clan members on occasion of the great feasts and ceremonies, and if the totem is some plant, leaves of this plant are fixed to the very scant clothing on these occasions The same way the houses are often decorated with the totem marks, I was told that this is done so that visitors from other villages can know where their "clan brothers" are to be found.

Toward the end of his monograph, Landtman comes a little closer to a political theory, a reflexion of his specialization befiore he started st udying andthropology: it is said that in earlier times the numerous and important clans wanted to have their own "long house", that is men´s house.

VII. Gunnar Landtman as Collector

Landtman was an untiring collector of all kinds of ítems, material as well as spiritual, "apart from his notes and manuscript, which he later published, he registered almost 500 legends and tales, more tan 900 if we count the variantes" (Landtman, 1917). It is said that this is probably the largest collection of Melanesian myths ever published (Wagner 1995: 288). Landtman also acquired a collection of more than 1300 artefacts for Finland´s National Museum (*Suomen Kansallismuseo*) (NMF VK 4902) (Landtman 1933) and he elaborated a collection of copies of almost 700 objects for the Cambridge Museum of Archeology and Ethnology (today the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) y took some 572 photos, that are also deposited in Finland´s National Museum (Landtman VKK 248). He made about 38 phonographic recordings of songs and dasnces in Kiwai and Bine (Landtman VK 4919). "It is evident that these very rare photos and recordings are objects of material culture in their own right" (Lawrence, 2010: X-XI).

There is nothing incompaitble in preparing collections for museums aand writing ethnography, maybe quite the contrary. But sometimes one gets the impression of seeing Gunnar Landtman as some kind of antiquarian, just some collector. This is perhaps due to the lack of dynamism in Landtman´s photographs, as Malinowski´s critique goes.

VIII. Conclusions Gunnar Landtman's Relevance Today

As already mentioned, it is interesting to compare Gunnar Landtman´s anthropology with that of his contemporary Diamond Jenness (Jenness & Balantyne, 1920, Korsbaek, manuscript), as both lean heavily on the infrastructure of the Christian missions, although in very different ways. While the anthropology and ethnography of Diamond Jenness immediately

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reveals itself as a beginner´s work, with very little critical sense, Gunnar Landtman´s work is highly original and of a very strong sensibility.

Gunnar Landtman´s work is a text of transition in the childhood of British scientific synchronic anthropology – functionalism and structural-functionalism – as it shows quite clearly how far it is possible to advance without explicitly modifying the theoretical framework: whereas Diamond Jenness´ ethnography (which he produced under the supervision of his missionary brother in law Andrew Ballantyne) is an advance in our empirical knowledge of social and cultural facts in this part of the world, it hardly contributes anything to our methodological tools of research.

The two texts miss the necessary theoretical foundation in two different ways. In Diamond Jenness´ monograph it comes out as an unrestricted ethnocentrism, whereas in Gunnar Landtman´s work it comes out as a reflection of an evolutionst theory, which is another manifestation of ethnocentrism, and which was at that moment at the point of being outmoded and did not lend itself to fieldwork.

Until this point we have been following Camilla Wedgwood´s critique of Gunnar Landtman´s monograph: "Dr. Landtman has confined himself to pure description. He refrains from theorizing as to the meaning of those things which he recounts or as to the cultural affinities of his people and other tribes of New Guinea" (Wedgwood, 1929: 41), a task that his tutor, Dr. Haddon, has completed, in an attempt to save his student´s reputation: "this last task has been undertaken by Dr. A. C. Haddon in a highly illustrative introduction, in which he discusses the relation between the Kiwai and other tribes" (ibidem).

We can also follow Malinowski´s evaluation of the book: After his initial phrase, "Professor Landtman has written one of the best descriptions of one of the most interesting peoples of the world" (Malinowski, 1929: 109), Malinowski suddenly turns less enthusiastic, and criticizes various points in the book: "his descriptions and definitions lack, to a certain degree, what we could call the dynamic aspect" (Malinowski, 1929: 110).

However, Malinowski´s general evaluation of the book is positive: "It would be impossible to do justice to this volume in a short review. It is a mine of information, it is extremely well written, and it offers us a clear, complete and attractive image of one of the most interesting primitive peoples ever described" (Malinowski, 1929: 111).

But one point in particular puts off Malinowski: "in the way of criticism, it is regrettable that Dr. Landtman has remained satisfied with conducting his two years´ researches in that jargon. The Pidgin English is a carricature of human speach which gives to the native thinking a singular distorsion. Any person who approaches the Pidgin English from the point of view of correct English, will receive a false impression of native mentality. It is sometimes a necessary evil to work in pidgin, but then it is the investigator´s obligation to re-translate the declarations into a correct English".

To mitigate this accusation a bit, Malinowski adds in a hurry that "it must be said in extenuation for this slight blot that Dr. Landtman has, by giving us a chapter on the Pidgin in Kiwai, to a large extent minimized the drawbacks from his use of jargon" (Malinowski, 1929: 111).

Malinowski adds in his characteristic modest way about the investigating scientific that "he alone can appreciate what the native feels un der the garbled sentences" (ibidem). These few sentences are interesting in that they say very little about Landtman, but a lot about Malinowski, in a way they foreshadow what was later to be revealed in his famous diary, it is very interesting to see the process of personal arrogance being metamorphosed into what we can call professional arrogance: the poor savages do not really understand what they think, and their possibilities of fathoming it are limited by their "garbled" language.

Gunner Landtman defends the language: "P*idgin English* is a genuine language based on principles that, notwithstanding their simplicity, give the language its own fidtinctive character" (Landtman, 1918: 64).

In spite of his critique, Malinowski ends his review with a strong recommendation of the book: "Dr. Landtman has throughout the book approached the subjective side of beliefs and folklore through the observation of collective behavior. In that he has acted as a competent anthropologist – in fact, he has revealed himself as one of the masters of the modern sociological method in fieldwork" (Malinowski, 1929: 112).

In very general terms Gunnar Landtman is an extremely important anthropologist in the early period of British fieldwork oriented, more or less scientific anthropology, and his contributions to the advance of our discipline are many and varied. It may be that he contributed more spectacularly to ethnography than to fieldwork theory, but I think his great contribution was to show how ethnography is done, rather than write voluminous treatises on how it should be done.

A noteworthy contribution is his solitary defense of the Pidgin English as a language in its own right. If this defense had not been completely forgotten, I think the ideas on bilinguism would have advanced. I remember that my first French grammar was called *Le bon Usage* by Maurice Grevisse, I really disliked it, as I am a great admirer of "le mal usage", as Landtman was an admirer and user of English Pidgin. And I fdeel very much at ease in Mexican indigenous communities, as they never criticize my Spanish.

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Gunnar Landtman´s texts are evidently of a particular importance and relevance, as they are of a moment of transition from a speculative evolutionism to a scientific anthropology based on fieldwork and ethnography. Maybe it is also a transition toward a live anthropology that directs its attention toward people´s actions observed, in spite of Malinowski´s accusation of the lack of dynamism in his ethnography.

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History of Location of Turkmans Living in Zarafshan Valley

By Umarov Anvar Shuxratovich

Abstract- Information about the location and ethnic history of the Turkmen population in the Zarafshan region can be found in scientific works published by several experts. However, fel scientific articles fully reflect this historical process. This article covers the history of Turkmen ethnic groups living in Uzbekistan, the settlement history, and the geographical location of the Zarafshan basin.

Keywords: clans, tradition, "zomin turkmens," "nurota turkmens," "surkhandarya turkmens," ethnic group, chandir, salirs, khidir-eli, sakars, sariks, ersaris, middle and lower zarafshan valley.

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Abstract- **Information about the location and ethnic history of the Turkmen population in the Zarafshan region can be found in scientific works published by several experts. However, fel scientific articles fully reflect this historical process. This article covers the history of Turkmen ethnic groups living in Uzbekistan, the settlement history, and the geographical location of the Zarafshan basin.**

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Introduction

Historical-cultural, ethnographic, and ethnocultural study of nations, peoples, and ethnic groups living in Uzbekistan is an important issue. Turkmen can be included among such ethnic groups that belong or the Turkic culture and Islamic civilization, like the largest nation of the country - Uzbeks. However, historical and ethnographic literature does not provide enough information about the origin and ethnicity of this population. Archival sources related to this issue are insufficiently identified and poorly studied, as a result of which they are almost not included in scientific circulation.

It is known that the Turkmens are one of the most ancient peoples of Central Asia and are located in various regions of this region, - the Amu Darya, Syr Darya and Zarafshan valleys. The ethno-social characteristics of Turkmen-Chandirs and Turkmen-Khizr-Eli (or Khidir-Eli), who have preserved rich and ancient traditions, rituals, and customs from the famous Turkmen clans of the valley, have not been sufficiently studied. Many historians and geographers of Central Asia have studied the settlements of Turkmen. Yu.E. Bregel (link V.V. Struve), S.G. Agadzhanov, V.G. Moshkova, M. Durdiyev, I.I. Zarubin, N.A. Dubova, Sh. Kadirov, O.A. Gundogdiyev, A.M. Malikov, G.R. Mirzayev and others. The characteristics of the location of the Turkmen living in the Republic of Uzbekistan today have not been sufficiently studied. At this point, it is essential to look the solution to the problems of the origin of the Uzbek people, their identity (ethnicity), that is, their family tree, on the example of the Turkmen people. The geography of distribution of Turkmen in our republic, can be conditionally divided into "Zomin Turkmens," "Nurota Turkmens," and "Surkhandarya Turkmens." In addition, it is possible to study the history and geography of the Turkmen in Samarkand, Bukhara and Kashkadarya regions.

Uzbeks and Turkmens are related peoples who have lived in good neighborly relations for a long time. Some Turkic and non-Turkic ethnic groups participated in the ethnogenesis of Uzbeks and Turkmens. Over the past few hundred years, both emerging ethnic groups have been ruled by the same dynasties occasionally.

Today, in addition to Turkmen, the languages and dialects belonging to the Oghuz branch of Turkic languages are spoken by representatives of a large group of peoples who took the most active part in the ethnogenesis of the Oghuz. Among them, Gagauzs, Turks, Azerbaijanis, Afshars, Qajars, Shohsevens, Karapapakhis, Qoshkais, Salars, etc, who are part of the Crimean Tatars, can be included. There are opinions that the separation of the modern Turkmen ethnos from those as mentioned above closely related peoples is related to the ethnic stratification of the Oghuz and the assimilation of the Iranian-speaking ethnic groups by the Turkmen.

O.A. Gundogdiev expresses that Turkmen participated in global migrations and contributed to the formation of new ethnic groups (Turks, Azerbaijanis, Gagauz). Sometimes, tribes separated and formed their ethnic groups and states. For example, Chinese salaries can be included in such ethnic groups. Although their language, customs, and traditions are from the Turkmen, they differ greatly from the modern Turkmen. According to S.I. Brook, "the isolation of any ethnic group under the influence of geographical, socio-economic and historical factors and the formation of a new ethnic group based on this group" is an example of ethnic separation.

G.R. According to Mirzayev, "Turkmen living in Uzbekistan can be divided into two groups depending on their location. The first group is in the Republic of Karakalpakstan and Khorezm region, the second group is in Bukhara, Kashkadarya, Samarkand, Surkhandarya, and 50Tashkent regions.

N.A. According to Dubova, the Turkmen of the Middle Amudarya settled in the 18th century, and a part of the local Turkic and Iranian-speaking population who lived here gradually began the process of assimilation.

The geographical and ecological conditions in which the Turkmen lived determined the uniqueness of their occupations and places of residence. Zarafshan

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valley can be divided into three parts: Upper, Middle, and Lower. Turkmen lived mainly in the Middle and Lower Zarafshan valleys. The oasis of Samarkand is located in the Middle Zarafshan Valley. It has been considered the center of Central Asia since ancient times and one of its most fertile and wealthy regions.

Downstream of Zarafshan is the Bukhara oasis, which consists of several large and small oases. Except for Nurota, all these oases are fed by Zarafshan water. The Bukhara oasis was one of the most populated, cultural, and fertile oases between the rivers of Central Asia. It is surrounded by the desert (Kyzilqum) on almost all sides, it is connected to the neighboring, sparsely populated oases only by the narrow cultural channels of the Zarafshan river valley. Agriculture is the basis of this area; cattle,. Cattle breeding is established in the areas adjacent to the steppes and deserts.

The life of the Uzbeks living in the oasis of Bukhara and adjacent areas is long various ethnic components are added to their cultural life led to changes. In these changes, the Turkmen who immigrated had a negligible influence. In 1736-1747, when the Shah of Iran Nadirshah established his rule in Turkestan, he inflicted oppression and suffering on the inhabitants of the conquered territory. The Turkmens, including the Chandris, waged a relentless struggle against them. He moved the Turkmen-Chandirs, who had been in constant opposition to the Iranians, to the north of Iran, to the territories of Bukhara and Khiva Khanates, to places far away from each other so that they would not unite. In the Emirate of Bukhara, the land was "gifted" to representatives of several clans of Chandir from outlying districts. In the oasis of Bukhara, the villages of Chandir are not in one place, but several settlements have appeared far from each other. The close cultural ties of the Bukhara Chandir Turkmens have been well preserved to this day.

In the 17th-19th centuries, middle Amudarya Turkmens moved to Zarafshan and Kashkadarya and lived among Uzbeks, Tajiks, Arabs, and other Turkmen clans. Researchers note that them, there were the following Turkmen clans: Salirs, Khidir-Eli, Sakars, Sariks, Ersaris, Chandirs, and others. They had a significant impact on the local population and were also influenced by the unique culture of the local population.

These processes undoubtedly indicate the continued ethnic and cultural-economic relations of the people living in the lower Kashkadarya and Zarafshan oasis. We can see these processes in their family and marriage relations, trade, and social circles.

Turkmen from Khorezm settled in the Karakol oasis. The "old" clan of nomadic Turkmens moved from the Amudarya area to the Karakol oasis, then in the second half of the 19th century, they moved to the Samarkand oasis and Kashkadarya regions.

According to the toponymic materials, different tribal groups of Turkmen lived in the Zarafshan Valley in different periods of history. We can mention; Abdals, Avshars, Aydogds, Ali-Elis, Bayats, Karaturkmans, Karamans, Akmans, Ubas, Choudurs, and others. According to the data from 1924, the following Turkmen clans lived in the territory of the Republic of Bukhara: Imreli, Qorul, Akhchab Kopakli, Bayat, Junaid, Kamishloq, Sayat, Tuyachi, etc. Turkmen toponym is found in Ishtikhon, Jomboy, Pastdargom, Payariq, and Samarkand districts of the Samarkand region, and the Karmana and Khatirchi districts of the Navoi region. A.M. Malikov notes that groups of Middle Amudarya Turkmens began to settle in the lower reaches of Kashkadarya and Zarafshan in the 17th-19th centuries. The Turkmens had a significant influence on the surrounding local population, and they themselves were influenced by the culture of the neighboring local peoples. Part of the Turkmen who came from Khorezm moved to the Karakol oasis. In the second half of the 19th century, the nomadic Turkmens belonging to the old clan moved from the Amudarya region to the Karakol region, then to the Samarkand oasis and Kashkadarya, and maintained a nomadic cattle-breeding lifestyle for some time. Still, later they were forced to switch to a sedentary lifestyle.

One of the numerous groups of Turkmen in the Zarafshan Valley were Khizr-Eli Turkmen and Chandir Turkmen. One of these groups lives in Khizr-Eli (Khizireli in local pronunciation) in the village of Turkman on the outskirts of the city of Samarkand, and the other in the town of Chandir in the Pastdargom district of the Samarkand region. In addition, there are Chandir villages in the Shafirkon and Vobkend districts of the Bukhara region.

It should be noted that the Zarafshan Valley has long been distinguished by its poly ethnicity, the coexistence of settled and nomadic populations. The poly ethnicity of the region, where Uzbeks, Tajiks, Turkmens, Jews, Kazakhs, and Iranians lived peacefully, created a unique society. Many facts can be cited that prove the ethnic tolerance of the population.

The Oghuz Union was formed at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century on the shores of the Arol and Caspian seas. Thus, the Oghuz state was established in the 10th century at the foot of Syr Darya. But soon, they were crushed by the Kipchaks, and part of them went to the west; West and settled in the Russian steppes. Another aspect of the Oghuz, under the leadership of the Seljuks, settled in present-day Turkmenistan, north of the Aral Sea. The Seljuks belong to the Qiniq clan of the Oguz tribe. According to Ibn Havqal (10th century), about a thousand Turkish families who converted to Islam moved to the southwest of present-day Shymkent. Oguz means clan, clan, and "own" is an adverb. According to written sources, those who converted to Islam and mixed with the local population of the Oghuz were called Turkmens. Mahmud Koshgari (XI century), Ibn Al-Asr

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(XI century), Rashididdin (XIII-XIV centuries), and Abulgazikhan (XVII century) reported that the Oghuz consisted of 22 or 24 tribes.

In the 10th century, the Somanites allowed the Oghuz tribes to live in the Nurota steppe pastures. Later some of the Nurota Tukmans crossed the Amudarya and settled in present-day Turkmenistan. The Oghuz Seljuks, one of the ancient ancestors of the Turkmens, lived in the foothills of the Zarafshan and Nurota mountains. They settled in the VIII-IX centuries. Although the Oghuz Seljuks moved to Khurasan at the beginning of the 11th century, some stayed in the Nurota Togoldi districts and mixed with the Uzbek tribes.

In the second half of the 10th century, a group of Oghuz people moved from Syrdarya to other regions of the Nurota and Zarafshan valleys and engaged in cattle breeding. In the 10th and 11th centuries, some Oghuz people moved to a settled life. At the end of the 10th century - the beginning of the 11th century, Seljuk tribes settled in Movarounnahr. While a significant part of the Seljuk tribes was forced to move west, some of them remained in the Syrdarya regions, as well as in Movarounnahr. Some groups of those who went to the West are reported to have returned to their former places of residence.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Turkmens lived in the villages of Sherabad, Kabadion (on the banks of the Amudarya River), in the Kurgantyubinsk region, on the left bank of the Vakhsh, and on the Jhilikol Plateau (now Tajikistan) of the Bukhara Khanate. In the historical and ethnographic literature of Korgontyubinsk, the Turkmen called it "Jilikul."

Between 1920 and 1924, the Russian scientist I.I. Zarubin carried out scientific research on elf studies among the Turkmen, and was one of the first researchers to name this ethnos "Nurota Turkmens."

The result of long-term interaction between Turkmens and Uzbeks is the Uzbek "tribe" Turkmens, named "Nurota Turkmens" in historical and ethnographic literature.

O.A. Gundogdiyev distinguishes the Khorezm, Bukhara, and Nurota groups of Turkmens of Uzbekistan: "The first group is located in a wide area from Aybugir in the north to Zaunguz Karagumi in the south, in the west; West from Ustyurt and Sarikamis to the right bank of Amudarya. The second group - is Bukhara Turkmens - the territory of southern Uzbekistan; the,. The current districts of Surkhandarya and Bukhara regions, the third group - is Nurota Turkmens. Despite being considered Uzbek, they call themselves Turkmen.

According to the results of the population census of Samarkand region in 1904-1905, there were 332 men and 225 women in 85 homes in the town of Koshtamgali, Siyob volost, 135 men and 108 women in 36 homes in the town of Turkman-Dovkash, in Angor volost, Zakhlik region, Khishrav Kurgani, in the town of Turkman - 378 men and 303 women in 101 households; in,. In the vicinity of Khavzak, in the town of Chandir - 187 men and 150 women in 50 homes, in the vicinity of Khavzak; in,. In the town of in Parcha-Kora - 187 men and 150 women in 50 homes, in the town of Eshimoqsak, in the town of Koştamgali-bola - 131 men and 105 women in 35 homes, 86 men and 69 women in 23 homes in Turkman-tepa town of Saidon neighborhood, 112 men and 90 women in 30 homes in Aitamgali town of Pilyal neighborhood.

According to the research of I.I. Zarubin, according to the nationalities of the population who took part in the survey on January 1, 1916, Turkmens make up a total of 1885 people in Samarkand and Jizzakh districts.

According to historical statistics, in the first quarter of the 20th century (until 1925), 30-35 thousand people from Nurota Turkmen lived in the villages between Oktog and Karatog. Uzbek Turkmens of the 20th century lived peacefully in their towns until the middle of the 20th century, and were divided into two significant clan-communal associations, "Six Fathers with Legs" and "Five fathers Mangishlov." According to the State Statistics Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as of January 1, 2017, 192,037 thousand Turkmens live in Uzbekistan, 0.6% of the country's population. If we consider the geography of the Turkmen location by administrative regions of the 1st order, according to the same statistics in 2017, the most significant number of Turkmens was in the Republic of Karakalpakstan - 96,264 people or 5.3% of the total population. 30,628 (1.2) in Surkhandarya, 33,687 (1.1) in Kashkadarya, 11,010 (0.6) in Bukhara region, 9,024 (0.5) in Khorezm region, 3,670 (0.2) in Tashkent 3309 (0.1%) Turkmens lived, Samarkand - 1572 (0.0%), Navoi - 740 (0.1%), Syrdarya - 679 (0.1%), Jizzakh - 442 (0.0%), Fergana - 428 (0.0%), Namangan - 423 (0.0%) and Andijan region - 161 (0.0%). The number of Turkmen in Uzbekistan is constantly increasing due to natural growth. External migration does not significantly affect the dynamics of the number of representatives of the Turkmen ethnic group.

Today, representatives of more than 130 nationalities and peoples living in our country, using the equal rights and opportunities provided by the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Uzbekistan, work effectively in various sectors of the economy and social sphere, in the fields of science and culture, contributing to the prosperity of our Motherland and its have been making a worthy contribution to strengthening its independence, increasing the reputation and image of the republic in the international arena.

Ethnic diversity not only enriches the culture of Uzbekistan in every way, allows to use the creative potential of representatives of all nationalities, but also serves to develop various relations with foreign

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countries, which are its main territory. Currently, the Turkmens living in the republic live in harmony with the residents of - Uzbeks, Tajiks and other peoples, and contribute to the development of the economy and culture of the Republic of Uzbekistan. I believe that the main goal of today's research should be to study the specific national traditions of the representatives of different nationalities and peoples living in our country, their geography.

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Memberships

Fellows/Associates of Social Science Research Council

FSSRC/ASSRC Memberships



Introduction

FSSRC/ASSRC is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS). The credentials of Fellow and Associate designations signify that the researcher has gained the knowledge of the fundamental and high-level concepts, and is a subject matter expert, proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice. The credentials are designated only to the researchers, scientists, and professionals that have been selected by a rigorous process by our Editorial Board and Management Board.

Associates of FSSRC/ASSRC are scientists and researchers from around the world are working on projects/researches that have huge potentials. Members support Global Journals' mission to advance technology for humanity and the profession.

FSSRC

Fellow of Social Science Research Council

FELLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals. It is an award and membership granted 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. 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.

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Certificate, LOR and Laser-Momento

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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.

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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.
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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.

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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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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.

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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.

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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.



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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.

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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.
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Approach:

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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.

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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.



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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.
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- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
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- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
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- Do not present similar data more than once.
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Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

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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.

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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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	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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