

Bulgaren nach dem Nordosten zurückgedrängt. In der Geschichte spielten sie nachher keine Rolle mehr. Dagegen geht aus allen unseren Angaben hervor, dass der Stamm Ar seit dem Anfang des 10. Jahrhunderts ohne Unterbrechung bestanden hat und aktiv war. Dies kann nur die mordwinische Stämme betreffen, die zwischen der mittleren Wolga und Oka sesshaft waren.

Wir beenden diese Erwägungen mit der Schlussfolgerung: für alle oben erwähnten Völker war der Name Ar ein Sammelethnikon.

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HOW DO I UNDERSTAND *Rgveda*, X, 129?

Among the hymns of the *Rgveda* which are collected in ten books there are also some philosophical hymns. These philosophical hymns are considered to be the latest production of the *Rgveda* and are placed among the older ones in the book I and X. One of these philosophical hymns, X, 129, is perhaps the most difficult to be understood. It consists of seven strophes. In the strophes 1—5 it presents the arising of the visible world out of the one unvisible, transcendental being. But then, in the strophes 6—7, it calls in question this arising of the visible world out of one transcendental being. Who can know, who can say, whence is this visible world, if it is made or if it is unmade? In the first part of this hymn difficult to understand is the expression „stretched out across their string“: what does it mean, to whom or to what does this stretched string refer?

I have spent much time in my life trying to understand this hymn. The translations of many authors gave me no comprehension. Merely through the learning of this hymn by heart and by its loud recitation and singing came suddenly the understanding.

I give here first a periphrasis of this hymn and then its literal translation.

The periphrasis of the hymn

1) On the one hand there was no not-being, i.e. absolute nothingness (because there existed one transcendental being, as is stated in the strophe 2bc) and on the other hand there was no empirical being then as atmosphere or heaven. What did move?

where? = (an interrogation instead of affirmation) there was no motion; was there water? = there was no water.

2) There was no death, no immortality then = (abstractum pro concreto) there were no mortal men or immortal gods. There was no distinction of the night and of the day. Only one transcendental being breathed transcendently (= without breeze) with its might. Besides this transcendental one there was nothing empirical.

3) Darkness was covered with darkness in the beginning, an indiscernible waving was this all = a metaphor (an abridged comparison) as if darkness were covered with darkness, as indiscernible waving were this all. What was (transcendentally) actual, clothed with an emptiness, that one arose (in this visible world) with a glowing power.

4) A desire arose at first above it, that was the first internal seed: The bond of the (empirical) being found out in the (empirical) not-being the poets investigating in heart by meditation.

5) Stretched out across their string: The vedic poets investigating the beginning of this visible world had as if stretched across a string. Through this stretched across string arose „above“ and „beneath“. The vedic poets placed the absolute, always existing being above this string and the possible, empirical world beneath. In this way the spermatid seeds (the effort, the absolute, always existing being) was above and the possible world beneath.

6—7) Is this statement of the Vedic poets absolutely certain? It is not. Who does know, whence is this world, whether it is made or not made? This can not know the gods, because the gods arose after the arising of this world. Even the supreme god among them who is a watchman of this world perhaps does not know this.

The confirmation of this understanding we find in the history of Indian philosophy. We have there two different opinions relating to the beginning of the world. One of them (preserved in the *Vedānta*) maintains that this empirical world does not exist eternally, that it takes its rise out of the absolute being. Another opinion (preserved e.g. in the *Jaina* system) maintains that this

visible world exists eternally without any proceeding. These two opinions are very old and found their expression in two different systems.

The literal translation of the hymn

- 1) There was no not-being and there was no being then,
there was no atmosphere or heaven which further on;
What did move (or = did it, sc. heaven, move), where, under
[whose guidance?
was there water, an unexplored depth?
- 2) There was no death, no immortality then,
there was no distinction of the night, of the day.
It breathed without breeze with its might that one,
there was nothing, in truth, besides it.
- 3) Darkness was covered with darkness in the beginning,
an indiscernible waving was this all.
What was actual, clothed with an emptiness,
that one arose with a glowing power.
- 4) A desire arose at first above it
that was the first internal seed:
The bond of the being found out in the not-being
the poets investigating in heart by meditation.
- 5) Stretched out across their string:
there was „below“, there was „above“,
There were spermatid seeds, there were possibilities,
the possibilities below, the effort above.
- 6) Verily, who does know, who can in this matter say,
whence arose, whence this world?
After its arising the gods:
therefore who does know, whence is?
- 7) This creation whence is,
whether is made or not;
Who its watchman in the supreme heaven
he only knows or does not know.
Rgveda X, 129

(Text in *devanāgarī* cf. Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, 1909, p. 19)

- 1) Nāsad āsīn no sad āsīt tadānīm Kim āvarīvaḥ kuha kasya śarmann nāsīd rajo no vyomā paro yat ambhaḥ kim āsīd gahanam gab-hīram
- 2) Na mṛtyur āsīd amṛtaṃ na tarhi na rātryā ahna āsīt praketaḥ Anīd avātaṃ svadhayā tad ekaṃ tasmād dhānyan na paraḥ kim-canāsa
- 3) Tama āsīt tamasā gūlham agre 'praketaṃ salilaṃ sarvaṃ ā idam Tucchyenābhv apihitaṃ yad āsīt tapasas tan mahinājāyataikam
- 4) Kāmas tad agre samavartatādhi manaso retaḥ prathamam yad āsīt Sato bandhum asatī niravindan hr̥di pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā
- 5) Tiraścīno vitato raśmir eṣām adhaḥ svid āsīd upari svid āsīt Retodhā āsan mahimāna āsant svadhā avastāt prayatiḥ parastāt
- 6) Ko addhā veda ka iha pravocat kuta ājātā kuta iyaṃ viśṛṣṭiḥ¹ Arvāg devā asya visarjanenāthā ko veda yata ābabhūva
- 7) Iyaṃ viśṛṣṭir yata ābabhūva yadi vā dadhe yadi vā na² Yo asyādhyakṣaḥ parame vyo- so aṅga veda yadi vā na veda. mant

¹ *Kuta iyaṃ* ist wegen des Metrums kontrahiert *kuteyam* zu lesen (Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*, p. 389).

² Das Metrum legt die Vermutung nahe, daß hinter dem zweiten *vā* ein zweites *dadhe* ausgefallen ist, *ib.*).

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PATTERNS AND STANDARDS OF WEALTH IN AN AFRICAN PEASANT COMMUNITY

(A Study of Culture Change)¹

Patterns and standards of wealth, and also polar attitudes towards poverty, are formed among the Kenya Luo, as in the case of many other peasant societies, in relation to the soil. This is natural since the soil provides for the peasant the chief means of livelihood, determines his mode of existence and social security. Whereas however among the European peasants the amount of land counted, the number of acres or morgen in possession of the individual family, providing the chief criteria of wealth, the position was different in Africa. In this vast and unevenly populated Continent, where the supply of land was practically unlimited and human labour scarce, it was the latter that became the chief economic asset. Since however the supply of labour was practically family labour, or to be more specific, the number of wives, it was the size of polygynous household that focussed the popular imagination as was accepted as a standard of wealth, comfort and security. *Udi mangeny kuom dichwo achiel* or many womans' houses and one polygamous husband — as the Luo would say, or a single polygynous family consisting of a husband and several wives became the much desired family unit. In Luo it is called *doho* and its owner *jadoho*, or a rich man having many

¹ The present essay is a summary of a larger work published simultaneously in Polish in „*Studia Socjologiczne*“ Nr 2 (37), 1970, where fuller documentation can be found.