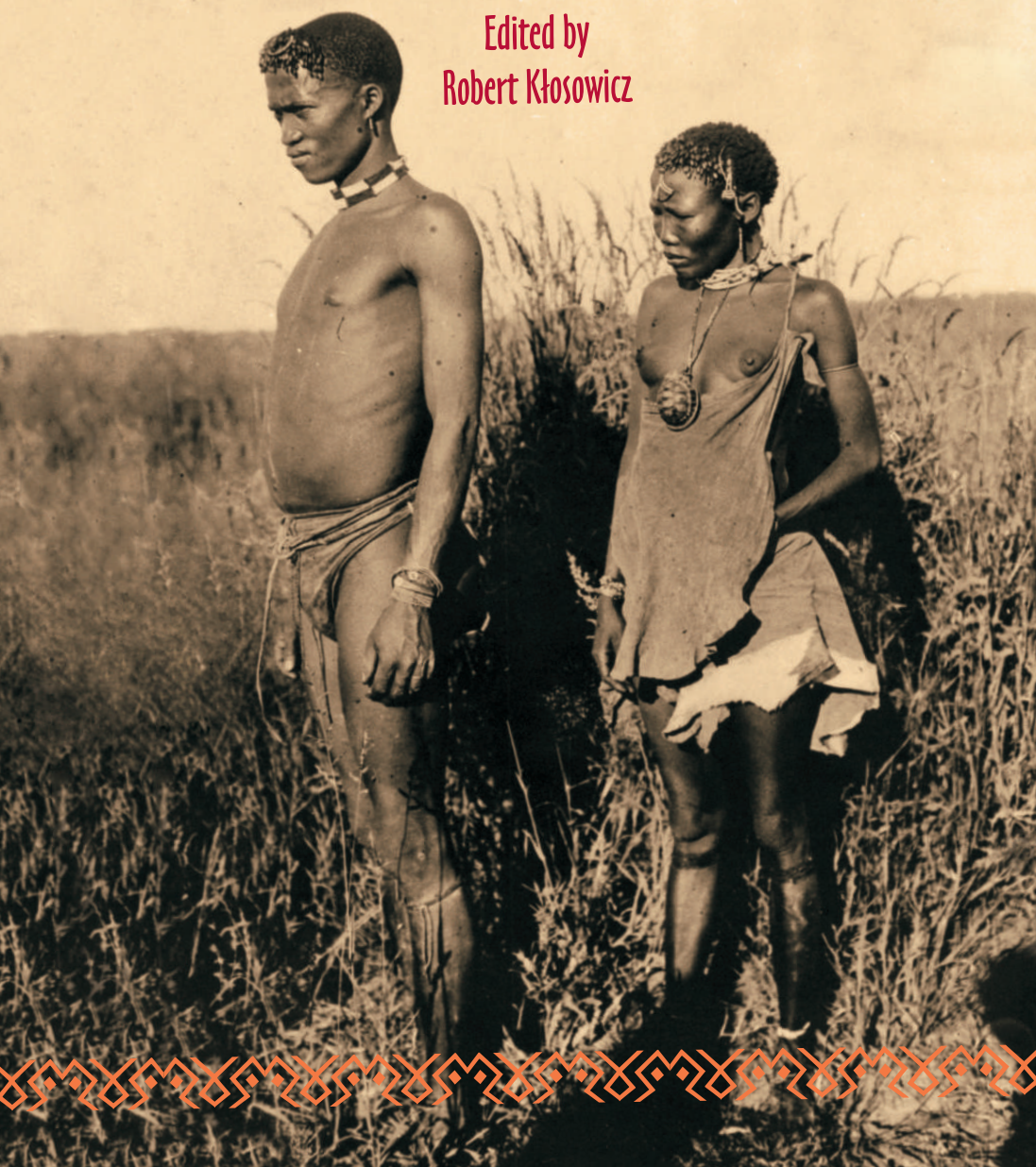


PIONEERS OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN KRAKÓW



Edited by
Robert Kłosowicz



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In memory of Professor Roman Stopa (1895-1995)



Edited by
Robert Kłosowicz



Kraków

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INTRODUCTION



THIS PUBLICATION, entitled *Pioneers of African Studies in Kraków*¹, aims to present the beginnings of African Studies in Kraków, which has currently been largely forgotten, while in fact it was in Kraków in the first decades of the 20th century that Bronisław Malinowski (1884-1942) launched his career at the Jagiellonian University, his first *Alma Mater*, at which he defended his PhD thesis in philosophy in 1908. This mention of Bronisław Malinowski within the context of the Kraków-based African studies is not without significance. Even though he is best known for his ethnographic research focusing on the inhabitants of the Trobriand Islands, in the 1930s he also became interested in the African continent. In 1934, he even made some field trips to East and Southern Africa, while during his doctoral seminar in the London School of Economics he worked with a group of PhD students interested in African studies, including the outstanding British

¹ The publication is a revised translation of the original Polish version – *Pionierzy krakowskiej afrykanistyki*, ed. by R. KŁOSOWICZ, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2017.

anthropologist Audrey Richards and Jomo Kenyatta – the first president of independent Kenya.²

For Kraków-based African studies, the 1930s were a turning point, during which the developing interest in Africa would bear fruit in the form of the first independent research projects conducted in the field – on the African continent. The best example would be the studies conducted by Roman Stopa (1895-1995), considered to be the father of Polish research into African linguistics, a professor of the Jagiellonian University, a world-renowned expert on click languages. In 1935, Roman Stopa conducted linguistic studies for a few months in the area of modern-day Namibia and Botswana among its indigenous inhabitants: the San and the Khoikhoi, at the same time collecting a significant amount of ethnographic material on the culture of the San peoples. Today, this unique collection is housed by the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. For many years, Prof. Stopa lectured at the Jagiellonian University in the present-day Institute of Oriental Studies (African languages, including Swahili, Hausa, Ewe, the Khoisan languages, and the comparative musicology of Africa). In the course of his long university career, he came to be known as the author of academic and popular science texts, including *Studies in African languages: (essays on phonetics, semiotics and meaning)*; *The evolution of click sounds in some African languages*; *Powstanie mowy ludzkiej w oświeceniu antropologii i językoznawstwa* [The forming of human speech in light of anthropology and linguistic studies]; *Tek-*

² Bronisław Malinowski even wrote the introduction to Kenyatta's text *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938) – an ethnographic study of the Kikuyu ethnic group.

sty hotentockie (Hai-/omn i nama) = Hai/omn- und Namtexte [Hottentot texts]; or *Mali ludzie z pustyni i puszczy* [The small peoples from the desert and the jungle].

Professor Roman Stopa's legacy is not only an important element of Polish input into African studies, but it also holds a significant position within global African studies. In 2014, during my visit in Basler Afrika Bibliographien – a renowned research centre focusing on studies into Namibia and South Africa with its headquarters in Basel, I learned of the huge admiration in which Prof. Stopa research is held. Professor Stopa was undoubtedly the first, paving the path for future Africanists in Kraków.

It is also worth mentioning that just before World War II broke out, Interdepartmental Colonial Studies were established at the Jagiellonian University at the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the aim to educate specialists in the area of agriculture, livestock breeding, tropical medicine and hygiene. Within the framework of the Studies, specialized lectures had been planned for future geologists, biologists and missionaries. The Maritime and Colonial League³ was to have participated in covering the costs of educating specialists, mainly in the form of financing internships for the academics, including in Sub-Saharan Africa in regions in which Polish settlement had been planned. It is worth noting that the then Docent Roman Stopa was offered the possibility of teaching a course at the institution “about humans in African colonies”.

³ Maritime and Colonial League (*Liga Morska i Kolonialna*) was a Polish social organization operating in the years 1924–1931, aiming to promote maritime issues among Polish society and to acquire land for settlement or future Polish colonies. In Africa, this encompassed the territories of Liberia, Angola, and French colonies.

It should also be mentioned that Kazimierz Nowak (1897-1937) a Polish traveller, correspondent, reporter and photographer gave a speech on African ethnography in 1937 at the Jagiellonian University, a presentation supplemented by photographs he had taken himself. He had just returned a few months earlier from his famous 1931-1936 expedition to Africa. At more or less the same time, another exceptional scholar, Professor Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992), a graduate of the University of Lviv, was also expanding his interest in Africa, albeit only those linked to its northern, Arab-speaking part. After completing his studies in Lviv, he settled permanently in Kraków and became affiliated with the Jagiellonian University, first as the director of the Department and then the Institute of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University. Despite being known primarily as one of the most renowned Polish specialists in Oriental and Arab studies and a medieval historian, from today's perspective Professor Tadeusz Lewicki could easily be referred to as a pioneer of Polish African studies. Just after World War II, another scholar from Kraków conducted fieldwork in Kenya (at the time British East Africa) for two years: a former PhD student of Bronisław Malinowski at the London School of Economics, the ethnographer Andrzej Waligórski (1908-1974). Yet another scholar to develop the tradition of African studies at the Jagiellonian University was Andrzej Zaborski (1942-2014), a linguist researching Cushitic and Semitic languages, who in 1976 defended the first habilitation in the world on Afro-Asiatic linguistics.

In reference to the rich tradition of African studies at the Jagiellonian University and in response to the increasing interest in Africa and Africans, the idea emerged to

form a research centre that would bring together Kraków-based Africanists, scattered across various University units. In November 2014, by the decision of the Jagiellonian University Senate, the Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies was created as an interdepartmental unit of the Jagiellonian University, formed thanks to the joint efforts of the Institute of Political Science and International Relations of the Jagiellonian University (the Faculty of International and Political Studies) and the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology (the Faculty of History). This unit of the university aims to become a platform integrating African studies researchers affiliated with the Jagiellonian University and representing various research disciplines, such as international relations, political science, security studies, ethnology, cultural anthropology, history, linguistics or cultural studies. The main aim of the Center is initiating, organising and coordinating various forms of scientific activities within the framework of interdisciplinary studies of Africa and Africans, as well as the promotion of scientific and research texts on African issues and conducting educational activities on Africa and Africans.

The official inauguration of the Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies took place on 13th May 2015 in the Michał Bobrzyński Chamber in the Jagiellonian University Collegium Maius during an academic conference organised jointly with the Institute of Political Science and International Relations – *Pioneers of the African Studies in Kraków: Roman Stopa – a portrait of an exceptional Africanist on the 120th anniversary of his birth*. The aim of the conference organisers was not only to present Roman Stopa's scholarly achievements, but also to be a voice in the discussion on

the present shape and future of the Polish African Studies. The idea emerged to prepare a publication dedicated to the pioneers of the Kraków-based African studies.

The first part of this book is dedicated to Professor Roman Stopa and consists of four articles, Paweł Siwiec's *Roman Stopa – Pioneer of Polish African Studies*, Arkadiusz Żukowski's *Roman Stopa's Research in Light of African Studies in Poland and Worldwide – Initial Considerations*, Marcin Brocki's *Hottentots and Bushmen – on the Margins of Roman Stopa's Ethnological Commentary*, Jacek Kukuczka's *Roman Stopa's Unknown Photographs. Sketching a Portrait of the Khoisan Peoples*. The second part is dedicated to the African studies in Kraków after World War II and includes the following chapters: Robert Kłosowicz's, *Tadeusz Lewicki's Academic Achievements in the Field of African Studies*, Joanna Bar's *African Topics in Andrzej Waligórski's and Leszek Dzięgiel's Research*, and Joanna Mormul's *Andrzej Zabor-ski – Researcher of Cushitic and Semitic Languages*.

I would like to thank the authors of the texts published in this book for providing insight into the biographies and academic achievements of the pioneers of African studies in Kraków, thus bringing the memory of them back to life.

Robert Kłosowicz

PART I

ROMAN STOPA'S AFRICAN RESEARCH



Professor Roman Stopa,
Photograph from Prof. Paweł Siwiec's archive

Paweł Siwiec 

Institute of the Middle and Far East
Jagiellonian University

ROMAN STOPA – PIONEER OF POLISH AFRICAN STUDIES



ROMAN STOPA was one of the most renowned world specialists in the field of Bushman-Hottentot languages. This would explain the words of another well-known Pole, Bronisław Malinowski, who referred to him as a world expert in clicks in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.¹ Without a doubt, he was the father of the Polish school of African linguistics.

In 1935, the book *Die Schnalze Ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung* [Clicks. Their Character, Development and Origin], the fruit of Dr Roman Stopa's six-year-long studies, was published by Polska Akademia Umiejętności (The Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences), prepared on the basis of his astute and wide-ranging analysis of the literature available at the time on the topic. The book was the first

¹ R. STOPA, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu*, Kraków 1987, p. 60.

such comprehensive study on click consonants,² characteristic for the languages of the Bushman-Hottentot group.³ The author did not limit himself just to providing a classification and a description of the articulation and acoustics. Using the comparative method, he also traced the phonetic changes, both within the Khoisan group itself and in some of the languages of the Bantu peoples historically neighbouring the Bushmen. In short, these changes were supposed to have involved the transition of click consonants into ejective, injective, labiovelar or – finally – expiratory sounds. References to these remarks, expanded by further analyses, were included in Roman Stopa's habilitation dissertation entitled *Teksty hotentockie (Hai-/omn i nama) = Hai/omn- und Namtexte*⁴ [Hottentot texts] and the article *Die Schnalzlaute im Zusammenhang mit den sonstigen Lautesten der menschlichen Sprache*.

After World War II, the article *Bushman and Hottentot among the Isolating Languages of Africa*⁵ was published, in which Roman Stopa convincingly showed that the Bushman-type languages with their characteristic clicks must have constituted the original basis on which the non-click

² Articulated independently of the respiration process, with a sucking movement of the tongue or lips. We can distinguish labial, dental, lateral, alveolar, cerebral and palatal clicks, marked using the following symbols respectively: ○, /, //, *, †, ///. Each of these clicks is articulated with two closures simultaneously: a front one (the lips, teeth, gums, palate) and a back one – velar.

³ The Khoisan language group according to Joseph Greenberg's classification.

⁴ R. STOPA, *Teksty hotentockie (Hai //omn i Nama) Hai //omn und Namatexte*, Kraków 1936, Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Komisja Orientalistyczna. Prace, no. 26.

⁵ IDEM, *Bushman and Hottentot among the Isolating Languages of Africa*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 1953, vol. 17, pp. 351-371.

languages of the Niger-Congo group developed.⁶ The most suggestive example of such an evolution refers to the languages of the Kwa subgroup, especially Ewe currently used, for example, in Togo and Ghana. Simultaneously, he refers to the rich evidence conclusively confirming his hypothesis. Here is a short but representative fragment of such a comparison cited from these publications:⁷

	Hottentot-Bushman	Sudanic
1. !kw, !w > kp	S ₁ !kwe 'perforated stone' N ₁ !ko: < * !kwo 'back' N ₃ !o 'back'	E. kpe 'stone' E. kpo 'back'
2. !gw, !kw > gb	S ₁ !kwa 'to break to pieces' S ₁ !koa, S ₅ !ga:-ana, N ₃ !k'a 'drum, pot'	E. gba, gba 'break' E. gbagba < * !gwa !gwa 'drum'
3. ⊙h > /k, /k > /' > f, v ⊙' > !k' > p' > p (f, f, h)	S ₃ /ku, C ₂ /u~ < * ⊙hu~ 'hair' S ₂ ⊙pwoinki, #i~, S ₆ /ki, S ₁ -⊙pwa, C ₂ -/kwa 'child', small'	E. fu, fu~ 'hair' E. vi 'child' (S. -bi, pi) Ibo mua 'to bear child'

The text *The evolution of click sounds in some African languages* was published a few years later,⁸ in which Roman Stopa presented the results of his research of an even wider scale, additionally encompassing the Bantu languages and the group of Atlantic languages of the Niger-Congo family – the Chadic languages.⁹ The rich comparative ma-

⁶ The author uses the older term 'West Sudanic languages'.

⁷ R. STOPA, *Bushman and Hottentot...*, p. 369.

⁸ IDEM, *The evolution of click sounds in some African languages*, Kraków 1960, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Rozprawy i Studia*, vol. 25.

⁹ At the time, categorized as Hamitic languages after Carl Meinhof.

terial (an analysis of the roots of the basic vocabulary in such languages as Zulu, Xhosa, Yoruba, Ewe, Hausa and Fula) revealed characteristic features indicating a relationship with Bushman-Hottentot roots or even that they are a continuation of these roots. On this basis, Roman Stopa corrected his earlier hypothesis, showing that the point of departure for the development of all the listed language groups was the Pigmy-Bushman substratum. The phonetic differentiating of the languages was supposed to have involved:

the transition of the expiratory-ejective-click system of the Hottentot-Bushmen system into:

1. 1. the expiratory-disjunctive phonetic system of the Sudanic group, the labiovelar click clusters *!kw*, *!gw* change into the disjunctive *kp*, *gb*;
2. 2. the expiratory-injective phonetic system of the Bantu group; $(m)k/g > (m)'b$, $(n)/k/g > 'd$, $(\eta)/k/g > (\eta)'g...$
3. 3. the expiratory-ejective phonetic system of the Hamitic group; $(m)!k' > (m)p'$, $(n) \neq k' > (n)t'$, $(n)/k' > (n)ts'...$ ¹⁰

Generally, according to Roman Stopa, the development of click sounds (click clusters) took place bi-directionally: predominance was achieved by either the frontal or back articulation elements. As a result, for example, the ejective *t'a* could have developed from the original click-ejective

¹⁰ R. STOPA, *The evolution of click sounds...*, pp. 99-100.

/k'a (hand), after which this could have changed into the expiratory *ta* or the ejective *k'a*, and finally the expiratory *ka*.¹¹

The conclusions derived from the comparative studies of the phonetic systems of the above-mentioned languages, supported by observations from the fields of ethnology and anthropology, led the researcher from Kraków to more comprehensive multifaceted research into the traces of genetic relationships on the linguistic map of Africa. This resulted in two extensive articles: *The genetic unity of African languages*¹² and *Bushman substratum or Bushman origin in Hausa*¹³, demonstrating that West Sudanic,¹⁴ Bantu and Hamito-Semitic¹⁵ languages constitute a developmental *continuum* with its sources in Bushman languages.¹⁶ This was evidenced by not only the in-depth analysis of comparative phonetic material,¹⁷ but also by the convincingly

¹¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 33-34, 72-73.

¹² IDEM, *The genetic unity of African languages*, "Folia Orientalia" 1966, vol. 7, pp. 227-273.

¹³ IDEM, *Bushman substratum or Bushman origin in Hausa*, "Folia Orientalia" 1968, vol. 9, pp. 151-234.

¹⁴ According to Joseph Greenberg's classification – the Atlantic languages of the Niger-Congo family.

¹⁵ Currently Afroasiatic.

¹⁶ Less than a decade later, a similar article about West Sudanic languages was published, cf. R. STOPA, *The evolution of click sounds in West-Sudanic*, [in:] *Wort und Wirklichkeit. Studien zur Afrikanistik und Orientalistik*, vol. 2: *Linguistik und Kulturwissenschaft* [Eugen Ludwig Rapp zum 70. Geburtstag], ed. by B. BENZING, O. BÖCHER, G. MAYER, Verlag A. Hain, Meisenheim am Glan 1977, pp. 65-88.

¹⁷ The author based his work on the following texts, among others: W.H.I. BLEEK (*A comparative grammar of South African languages*, Trübner, London 1869), D. WESTERMANN (*Die Sudansprachen*, De Gruyter, Hamburg 1911), M. COHEN (*Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamito-sémitique*, Champion, Paris 1947) and L. HOMBURGER (*Les noms égyptiens des parties du corps dans les langues négro-africaines*, "Comptes

reconstructed Bushmen genealogy of over 250 words from the Hamito-Semitic group.¹⁸

Parallel to his studies into African languages, especially the Bushman tongues, Prof. Stopa also researched glottology. His interest in the genesis of human speech goes back to the very beginnings of his academic career, as can be attested by the subject of the doctoral thesis he defended in 1927 “Uznaczeniowanie dźwięków indoeuropejskiej jedności językowej jako przykład powszechnych procesów mowotwórczych” [Significantising the sounds of Indo-European language unity as an example of widespread speech formation processes].¹⁹ Almost 30 years later, he dedicated a separate extensive article to this issue, entitled *Powstanie mowy ludzkiej w oświeceniu antropologii i językoznawstwa* [The formation of human speech in light of anthropology and linguistic studies].²⁰

However, this topic was most fully discussed, enriched by subsequent years of research into African languages, in two later books: *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*²¹ and *Studies in African Languages (Essays on*

rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres” 1928, vol. 72, no. 4).

¹⁸ R. STOPA, *The genetic unity of African languages*, pp. 251-252.

¹⁹ Incidentally, it was his thesis supervisor Prof. Jan Michał Rozwadowski, at the time Chair of the Oriental Studies Commission and the Anthropological Commission of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, who encouraged the young academic to begin research into the phonetics of Bushman and Hottentot languages.

²⁰ R. STOPA, *Powstanie mowy ludzkiej w oświeceniu antropologii i językoznawstwa*, “Przegląd Antropologiczny” 1956, vol. 22, pp. 333-469.

²¹ IDEM, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław et al. 1972, *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej – Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie*.

Phonetics, Semantics and Meaning),²² published two years before his death. It draws attention that the first of these texts was dedicated to the Italian linguist Alfred Trombetti (1866-1929), a known supporter and proponent of the theory of the monogenesis of languages. In his glottogenetic studies, the researcher from Kraków referred to acknowledged facts from the fields of anthropology, archaeology and ethnology, such as:

- Africa is the cradle of human life;
- all the levels of anthropological and cultural development are easily observable in Africa;
- the most archaic level of cultural development is presented by the Bushmen.

These facts led him to the self-explanatory conclusions that Africa should be considered the cradle of human speech, while the Bushman language – a living relict of the language of early man. This, in turn, in his opinion allows for the searching for traces and spores of primordial human speech behaviours, of which the Bushman languages are a rich reservoir, spreading far beyond the African continent.

In recent times, the concept concerning the evolution of human speech, stubbornly developed by Roman Stopa, even in opposition to the negative approach prevalent among a large part of the linguistic circles, has gained serious academic support. This occurred as a result of, for example, the studies done by the New Zealand researcher

²² IDEM, *Studies in African Languages (Essays on Phonetics, Semantics and Meaning)*, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych "Universitas", Kraków 1993.

Quentin Atkinson, who – on the basis of the analysis of the phonological systems of five hundred and four of the languages used worldwide – showed that phonemic diversity becomes smaller the more distance there is from Africa, similarly as in the case of human genotype diversification.²³

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²³ Q. ATKINSON, *Phonemic Diversity Supports a Serial Founder Effect Model of Language Expansion from Africa*, "Science" 2011, vol. 332, no. 6027, pp. 346-349.

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ROMAN STOPA'S RESEARCH IN LIGHT OF AFRICAN STUDIES IN POLAND AND WORLDWIDE – INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS



ROMAN STOPA (1895-1995), professor of the Jagiellonian University, was a linguist, Africanist, folklorist, specializing especially in Khoisan cultures. He completed his studies in the field of classical philology at the Jagiellonian University in 1920. He defended his PhD dissertation entitled “Uznaczeniowanie dźwięków indoeuropejskiej jedności językowej jako przykład powszechnych procesów mowotwórczych” [Significantising the sounds of the Indo-European linguistic unity as an example of common speech-forming processes] at the same university in 1927. He was granted his habilitation at the Lviv Jan Casimir University in 1936.¹

¹ Resolution of the Council of the Faculty of the Humanities dated to 26.11.1936, cf. *Skład Uniwersytetu w latach akademickich 1936/37 i 1937/38*, Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie, Lwów 1937, p. 41.

He studied the classical languages: Greek and Latin. He also knew German, English, French and Esperanto. He taught African languages: the Bushman (San) and Hottentot (Khoekhoe) languages, as well as Swahili, Hausa and Ewe. He also taught a class on the comparative musicology of Africa. He was founder and honorary chair of the Language Origins Society (1985).² He belonged to the Polish Linguistics Association, the Polish Folkloric Society and the Polish Oriental Society (since 1937).³

* * *

Placing Roman Stopa's research, especially against the backdrop of world African studies, is a daunting task. It is easier to place this research within African studies conducted in Poland. The aim of this article is also to show the reception of Roman Stopa's scholarly studies in the world, and especially in Poland. The article will also discuss the issue of the popularisation of and memory about Roman Stopa's academic achievements in Poland.

The article primarily focuses attention on Roman Stopa's research into the cultural past, as well as various phonetic and linguistic issues of the San (Bushman) and Khoikhoi (Hottentot) peoples, inhabiting the area of what was then referred to as South-West Africa (currently Namibia), partially Bechuanaland (currently Botswana) and the Union of South Africa (currently the Republic of South

² *Groby profesorów UJ na Cmentarzu Rakowickim*, "Dziennik Polski", 28.10.2011, [on-line:] <http://www.dziennikpolski24.pl/artukul/3074774,groby-profesorow-uj-na-cmentarzu-rakowickim-rst,id,t.html> – 10.04.2015.

³ *Kronika. Polskie Towarzystwo Orientalistyczne*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 1937 (1938), vol. 13, p. 222.

Africa). This territory constitutes part of the Southern African region. The discussed research encompassed issues from the fields of linguistics, ethnography and anthropology. Roman Stopa's interests also included West and East Africa.

* * *

Numerous events from his life undoubtedly had an impact on Roman Stopa's position in the field of African Studies around the world. First of all, one should mention his studies at the Jagiellonian University. He was a student of the renowned linguist and Indo-Europeanist Jan Michał Rozwadowski (who was Stopa's PhD dissertation supervisor). Thanks to Rozwadowski's support, Stopa established contacts with researchers from abroad, as well as received scholarships (e.g. to Hamburg), but primarily this enabled him to go on a research trip to Southern Africa.

His stay in Hamburg in 1933 was important. He was under the academic care of Carl Friedrich Michael Meinhof, referred to as the father of African studies, who gave a positive review of Stopa's text entitled "Die Schnalze, ihr Natur, Entwicklung, und Ursprung" [Clicks. Their Character, Development and Origin]. Roman Stopa spent his time there delving into the mysteries of the Khoekhoe language. He also had a meeting with Meinhof himself right after he made his journey to Southern Africa, i.e. at the beginning of 1936. During his one-and-a-half-month-long stay in Germany, Stopa consulted with some other professors: Denowolff and Giulio Panconcelli-Calzia.

As written in his biography, "the professor spent the entire year of 1938 and the first half of 1939 studying in Hamburg, Paris and London, where he met globally-re-

nowned scholars, such as Prof. Dempwolf [Denowolff – A.Ż.], Fouche, Marcel Cohen”.⁴ He was also in contact with the following researchers in London: George Percival Barger and Bernice Honikman. It has been emphasized that “he was the student and then the equal partner of many academic authorities in the field of African studies, of the same level as Marcel Cohen”.⁵ During his time in Berlin with Diedrich Westermann, one of the co-founders of modern research into African languages, he studied Swahili, Hausa and Ewe.

The fieldwork conducted in 1935 by Roman Stopa in present-day Namibia, Botswana and South Africa was highly significant for his academic development. He was also under the academic care of the acknowledged linguist Hermann Heinrich Vedder.

While staying in Cape Town, he met with the distinguished linguist studying the San (Bushman) peoples and author of the monumental dictionary of San speech (*A Bushman Dictionary*),⁶ Dorothea Bleek. He also pursued academic discussions with such renowned scholars as Gerard Paul Lestrade (expert in Bantu languages) and Isaac Schapera, author of the book *The Khoisan Peoples of South*

⁴ “Cały rok 1938 oraz pierwszą połowę 1939 spędził profesor na studiach w Hamburgu, Paryżu i Londynie, gdzie poznał autorytety światowej nauki, m.in. prof. Dempwolda, Fouche, Marcela Cohena”: W. KOWAL, *Profesor Roman Stopa*, Mikołowskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, Bielsko-Biała 1996, p. 10.

⁵ “...był uczniem, a później równorzędnym partnerem afrykanistycznych autorytetów, tej miary co Marcel Cohen”: R. OHLY, *Roman Stopa – światowej sławy uczony (Portrety polskich afrykanistów)*, “Afryka” 1995, no. 3, p. 7.

⁶ D. BLEEK, *A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, New Haven 1956.

Africa,⁷ as well as Douglas M. Beach, author of such books as *The Phonetics of the Hottentot*.⁸

His participation in the research conducted by Ida C. Ward of the London School of Oriental and African Studies was also important academically. In addition, Roman Stopa honed his knowledge of African languages there. He also met the world-renowned anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski in London and later maintained contacts with Malinowski's student – Andrzej Waligórski.

During the interwar period, his personal discussions with Father Trilles in Le Vésinet in France, an expert on the Pygmies, were also highly significant. In 1938, Roman Stopa began his cooperation with Cohen van Gilse from Leiden University. He also corresponded with the above-listed scholars, as well as with the renowned anatomist Raymond Dart. In addition, he exchanged correspondence with the editing staff of academic journals.⁹

A less significant influence on Roman Stopa's academic development resulted from his (sporadic) contacts with Jan Czekanowski, considered to be the most distinguished Polish Africanist. The same can be said about his contacts with Jan Kuryłowicz.

⁷ I. SCHAPER, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, Routledge & K. Paul, London 1965.

⁸ D.M. BEACH, *The Phonetics of the Hottentot*, W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge 1938.

⁹ For example, *Korrespondenz von Ilse Schwidetzky mit Autoren der Zeitschrift HOMO*, [in:] *Findbuch Best. 89 Institut für Anthropologie, Stand: Dezember 2014 (der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz)*, p. 4, [on-line:] https://www.ub.uni-mainz.de/files/2014/12/Best89_Anthropologie.pdf – 12.02.2016.



* * *

Another thing that should be mentioned is the aid Roman Stopa received during his research stay in Southern Africa from the Poles living there.

In June 1935, he stayed for three weeks at Mieczysław and Jadwiga Wiśniewski's farm in Gumuchab Ost not far from Mariental (north-east of Windhoek). He was conducting linguistic research among the representatives of the San (Bushman) and Khoikhoi (Hottentot) peoples employed there. Mieczysław Wiśniewski came from near Gniezno in Poland and travelled to Namibia as a soldier of the German army. He remained in the country and ran a vineyard near Windhoek and later bought a Karakul sheep farm covering an area of 80 km² in Gumuchab Ost.

Toward the end of September 1935, Roman Stopa, staying at the time in Windhoek, was in contact with Jan Ruziecki and his wife, and was even a guest at their house. Jan Ruziecki originated from nearby Łomża in Poland and came to Namibia *via* England. He had initially worked as a carpenter in the construction of the railway line from Karibib to Tsumeb. Thanks to Ruziecki, Stopa established contacts with Captain Octavus George Bowker, the chair of the Native Club, which allowed the Polish researcher to become acquainted with the songs and dances of the Khoikhoi and Damara.

He conducted linguistic research among the Nama people in the area near Keetmashoop, while staying at mission outposts. In addition, he was informed there about the Polish Catholic missionaries who had worked in the area in

the past – Father Stanisław Poraj-Królikowski (1866-1923) and Father Jan Malinowski (1872-1929).¹⁰

In turn, in Cape Town, where he stayed from the end of October until mid-November 1935, he met with Colonel Ludwik Roiński,¹¹ who had been a lecturer at the Marine School in Tczew. Roiński was very active in the community in Cape Town and promoted Poland there. He also wrote newspaper columns for newspapers back in Poland.

Roman Stopa was an active participant in world academic life. He was invited to international congresses for linguists, anthropologists and ethnologists. For example, he took part in the International Phonetics Congress in Ghent in 1938 and in Brussels in 1939, as well as in the World Congress of Anthropologists and Ethnologists in Philadelphia in 1956 and in Chicago in 1972. He was also a guest lecturer at universities in Berlin, London and Paris.

Yet another distinction Stopa experienced was his invitation to and participation in the world conference in Rome in Accademia dei Lincei, where – as one of eighteen researchers (the only one from the Eastern Block) – he presented a paper entitled “The Hominization of Language”. The paper was well received.

Even during those periods when it was difficult to maintain direct contacts with researchers from the West, Roman Stopa was able to do just that.

¹⁰ R. STOPA, *Hotentoci. Kultura, język, bajki, pieśni*, Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, Kraków 1949, pp. 42-43.

¹¹ IDEM, *Z badań nad ludnością i kulturą Afryki Południowo-Zachodniej*, Instytut Wydawniczy “Biblioteka Polska”, Warszawa 1938, *Prace Instytutu Naukowego Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, no. 1; IDEM, *Hotentoci...*, p. 6.

Roman Stopa also participated actively in Polish academic life. He took part, for example, in the conventions of the Polish Linguistics Association, the Polish Folkloric Society and the Polish Oriental Society (as of 1937), as well as other academic enterprises initiated by these associations, including participation in African seminars (e.g. in Wrocław in 1956, together with Jan Czekanowski and Tadeusz Milewski).¹²

* * *

Roman Stopa published his research results in Polish, German and English. The fullest chronological list of his academic and popular science publications has been compiled by Magdalena Szymańska. It was published in Roman Stopa's memoirs (2nd edition).¹³ A similar bibliography was also included in the first edition of Roman Stopa's memoirs. According to this compilation, the overall number of Roman Stopa's publications amounts to 100 positions, with one text having been translated into both German and English;¹⁴ one first published in German and then in Polish, with a shorter version appearing in "African

¹² *Historia Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego. Tablica chronologiczna*, 9-11.04.1956, African studies Seminar in Wrocław with the participation of Prof. Jan Czekanowski, Roman Stopa and Tadeusz Milewski, [on-line:] http://www.ptl.info.pl/?page_id=102 – 10.04.2015.

¹³ R. STOPA, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu. Kartki z życia człowieka opętanego muzyką, poezją, wsią i Buszmenami*, 2nd extended ed., Polska Akademia Nauk. Instytut Języka Polskiego, Kraków 1995, pp. 195-198.

¹⁴ IDEM, *Młaski, ich charakter, rozwój i pochodzenie*, Kraków 1933; IDEM, *Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung*, Kraków 1935, *Prace Komisji Językowej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, no. 23; IDEM, *Clicks. Their Character, Development and Origin with an introduction by Gyula Décsy*, Eurolingua, Bloomington 1986, *Bibliotheca Nostratica*, no. 7.

Abstracts”;¹⁵ one article in German published in two different collective works.¹⁶ The publications include 29 positions in English (some published in Poland), 15 positions in German (including the same article published in two different collective works) and one article in Italian. In addition, Roman Stopa himself mentioned that he had prepared a summary of his speech for a congress in Brussels in 1939. He was the author of one published review.¹⁷

A bibliographical compilation of Roman Stopa's texts was also prepared by Gyula Décsy in the English-language version of the Professor's text entitled *Clicks, their Character, Development and Origin*, published in 1986.¹⁸

A search through global library resources using on-line catalogues has shown that Roman Stopa's list of publications in the above-mentioned compilation is incomplete.

¹⁵ IDEM, *Das konsonantische Lautsystem des Zulu im Lichte der historischen Dialektologie*, Verhandlungen des Zweiten Dialektologen Kongresses, "Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung" 1965, vol. 4, pp. 771-787; IDEM, *Konsonantyczny system języka Zulu w świetle dialektologii historycznej*, "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego" 1967, vol. 25, pp. 155-168; IDEM, *Das konsonantische Lautsystem des Zulu im Lichte der historischen Dialektologie*, "African Abstracts" 1969, vol. 20, no. 500.

¹⁶ IDEM, *Kann man eine Brücke schlagen zwischen der Kommunikation der Primaten und derjenigen der Urmenschen?*, "Homo" 1968, vol. 19, pp. 129-136; IDEM, *Kann man eine Brücke schlagen zwischen der Kommunikation der Primaten und derjenigen der Urmenschen?*, [in:] *Über die Evolution der Sprache: Anatomie, Verhaltenforschung, Sprachwissenschaft, Anthropologie*, ed by. I. SCHWIDETZKY, Fischer Verlag, Frankfurt a. M. 1973, pp. 151-162.

¹⁷ R. STOPA, [Recenzja: W.W. Bunak, *Powstanie mowy według danych antropologii* (Akademia Nauk Z.S.R.R., *Prace Instytutu Etnografii im. N.N. Mikłuchowa-Makłaja*, new series vol. XVI. *Pochodzenie człowieka i pierwotne rozmieszczenie ludzkości*, Moscow 1951, pp. 205-290)], "Biuletyn Polskiego Towarzystwa Językoznawczego" 1954, vol. 13, pp. 193-206.

¹⁸ G. DÉCSY, *Roman Stopa's publications on clicks and Khoisan studies*, [in:] R. Stopa, *Clicks. Their Character...*, pp. xv-xviii.

According to the French database LLACAN,¹⁹ Roman Stopa published a text together with Gottfried Meinhold entitled *17 Satze in Nama-Hottentottisch, gesprochen von Eliphas Eiseb (Okahandja, Südwestafrika)*.²⁰ Another publication not included in this list is an article entitled *The role of clicks in the evolution of language*.²¹ Roman Stopa is also the co-author of a text entitled *Z czarnego lądu. Przysłowia, opowieści, zagadki: abisyńskie, murzyńskie, pigmejsko-khoisańskie* [From the Dark Continent. Sayings, stories, riddles: Abyssinian, African, Pygmy-Khoisan], which had two editions.²² This is an extensive selection of Amharic, Hausa and Swahili texts, as well as translations from Kwa and the Pygmy and Khoisan languages.

Roman Stopa strived to have his texts published in German, and after World War II also in English, which by then had become the *lingua franca* of the academic world. A perfect example of this approach is his text *Clicks, their Character, Development and Origin*, which was published in Polish in 1933, in German in 1935, and in English in 1986.

¹⁹ LLACAN. Langage, Langues et Cultures d'Afrique Noire, CNR-SINALCO, [on-line:] <http://sumale.vjf.cnrs.fr/Biblio/biblio.php?AUTEU=Stopa,%20Roman> – 22.02.2016.

²⁰ G. MEINHOLD, R. STOPA, *17 Satze in Nama-Hottentottisch, gesprochen von Eliphas Eiseb (Okahandja, Südwestafrika)*, "Nova Acta Leopoldina" 1975, vol. 24, no. 218, pp. 631-635.

²¹ R. STOPA, *The role of clicks in the evolution of language*, "Nova Acta Leopoldina" 1981, vol. 54, no. 245, pp. 753-761.

²² *Z czarnego lądu. Przysłowia, opowieści, zagadki: abisyńskie, murzyńskie, pigmejsko-khoisańskie*, original texts gathered and translated by J. MANTEL-NIEĆKO, N. PILSZCZIKOWA, R. STOPA, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1958, p. 242; *Z Czarnego lądu. Przysłowia, opowieści, zagadki afrykańskie*, original texts gathered and translated by J. MANTEL-NIEĆKO, N. PILSZCZIKOWA, R. STOPA, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1967, p. 191.

The recognition and esteem shown to a researcher is indirectly linked to the amount of his or her publications available in the largest and most renowned world libraries. In reference to Stopa's texts, the situation is as follows: there are only eight of his publications in the American Library of Congress.²³ The same amount of his texts are located in the British Library in London, while there are seven of his publications in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Only four of his books are available in the German Deutsche Nationalbibliothek. Even less, because only two of Roman Stopa's texts are accessible in the South African National Library. In turn, the Russian State Library (Российская государственная библиотека) has only one publication that he authored.

It is important to note that Roman Stopa's publications are included in global linguistic databases. In the global bibliography of linguistic texts for the year 1996, seven of Roman Stopa's texts were listed.²⁴ In turn, in a bibliographic database containing publications about Namibian languages, 11 of his texts have been included.²⁵ The situation is better in Poland in these regards. In the Catalogue of Polish Research Library Collections NUKAT, the list contains 22 of Stopa's texts, while the Distributed Catalogue

²³ Library of Congress Online Catalogue, [on-line:] https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/search?searchArg=Roman+stopa&searchCode=GKEY%5E*&searchType=o&recCount=25&sk=en_US – 12.03.2016.

²⁴ *Bibliographie linguistique de l'année 1996/Linguistic Bibliography for the year 1996: et compléments des années précédentes/and Supplements for Previous Years*, ed. by M. JANSE, S. TOL, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Dordrecht – Boston – London 2000, p. 1259.

²⁵ Electronic Bibliography for African Languages and Linguistics, NAMLOB – Namibian Languages Online Bibliography, The version dated 16 October 2008, compiled by J.F. MAHO, [on-line:] <http://goto.glocalnet.net/eball/namlob.pdf> – 11.03.2016.

of Polish Libraries KARO has 23 texts by this researcher. As a rule, research and university libraries have between a few and over a dozen publications by Roman Stopa (though the latter is quite rare). However, for example, the Library of the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn does not have even a single position by this researcher.

* * *

Following an initial and selective library search, it can be stated that Roman Stopa's texts have been quoted and reviewed in world academic literature.

The Rector of the Jagiellonian University Franciszek Ziejka emphasized that after Roman Stopa received his habilitation, his dissertation was discussed and reviewed by such world-renowned researchers as Antoine Meillet, Dorothea Bleek, Carl Meinhof, Diedrich Westermann, Archibald Norman Tucker, Lukas Tsitsipis, and others.²⁶ The Polish scholar's research received *very favourable comments*.

Roman Stopa's research (presented in the text *Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung*) was referred to in the 1930s by Prince Nikolai Sergeyevich Trubetzkoy, who was a Russian linguist, phonologist and one of the main founders of the Prague Linguistic Circle (or Prague School), modern-day phonology and structuralism.²⁷

Roman Stopa's publications appeared in prestigious linguistic studies, such as "Theorien vom Ursprung der

²⁶ F. ZIEJKA, *Foreword*, [in:] R. STOPA, *Studies in African Languages (Essays on Phonetics, Semiotics and Meaning)*, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych "Universitas", Kraków 1993, p. 6.

²⁷ N.S. TRUBETZKOY, *Principles of Phonology (Grundzüge der Phonologie)*, trans. by Ch.A.M. BALTAKE, University of California Press, 2nd ed., Berkeley – Los Angeles 1971, p. 134.

Sprache" [Theories of the Origin of Language]²⁸ or in the preface illustrating global linguistic achievements on the subject of the origins of human speech.²⁹ It quotes Stopa's opinion (referring to his text *Evolution und Sprache*)³⁰ that the clicks in the San language have their analogies in the sounds made by chimpanzees (*More than 100 years later, the Africanist Roman Stopa (e.g., Stopa 1974) maintains similar views, namely, that the various clicks in Bushman have analogs in the sounds produced by Chimpanzees*).³¹

Roman Stopa's publication entitled *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European* is quite often cited by contemporary researchers around the world, including Hadumod Bussmann,³² Helmut Gipper,³³ Éric de

²⁸ R. STOPA, *Hominization through the Rise of Symbolic Function in Language*, [in:] *Theorien vom Ursprung der Sprache*, ed. by J. GESSINGER, W. VON RAHDEN, vol. 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1989, pp. 177-195.

²⁹ E.F.K. KOERNER, *Foreword*, [in:] *Linguistics and Evolutionary Theory: Three Essays by August Schleicher, Ernst Haeckel and Wilhelm Bleek. New edition (Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics, 1800-1925)*, ed. by IDEM, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam 1983, p. XIV.

³⁰ R. STOPA, *Evolution und Sprache*, "Nova Acta Leopoldina" 1974, vol. 42, no. 218, pp. 355-375.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² H. BUSSMANN, *Khoisan*, [in:] *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, trans. and ed. by G. TRAUTH, K. KAZAZI, Routledge, London – New York 1996, p. 617. In the *References* Roman Stopa's publication was among four recommended texts, cf.: I. SCHAPER, *op. cit.*; R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław et al. 1972, *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej – Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie*; J.C. WINTER, *Khoisan*, [in:] *Die Sprachen Afrikas*, ed. by B. HEINE et al., Hamburg 1981, pp. 329-374; *New perspectives on the study of Khoisan*, ed. by R. VOSSEN, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 1988.

³³ H. GIPPER, *Wurzeln, Etyma und Wörter. Wege und Irrwege auf der Suche nach Urschprachen und Sprachursprung*, [in:] *Prehistory, History, and Historiography of Language, Speech, and Linguistic*, ed. by B. BROG-

Grolier,³⁴ Irenäus Eibl-Eibesfeldt,³⁵ Michael Knüppel,³⁶ Shane Moran,³⁷ and especially Fernando Poyatos.³⁸ Another example of a modern-day researcher who quotes Roman Stopa is the specialist on the languages of Southern Africa Rajend Mesthrie.³⁹

Mario A. di Gregorio, in his book on Ernst Haeckel, included two of R. Stopa's texts in the bibliography (*Kann man eine Brücke schlagen zwischen der Kommunikation der*

YANYI, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1992, pp. 29, 32.

³⁴ É. DE GROLIER, *Glossogenesis in endolinguistic and exolinguistic perspective. Palaeoanthropological data*, [in:] *Studies in Language Origins*, ed. by J. WIND, E.G. PULLEYBLANK, É. DE GROLIER, B.H. BICHAKJIAN, John Benjamins Publishing Co., vol. 1, Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1989, pp. 88, 107, 109, 117, 189. In addition, Roman Stopa is also cited in the second volume of this publication, cf. G.W. HEWES, *Relationships of language evolution to hominid population expansion from lower Paleolithic times onwards*, [in:] *Studies in Language Origins*, ed. by W. VON RAFFLER-ENGEL, J. WIND, A. JONKER, vol. 2, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1993, p. 30.

³⁵ I. EIBL-EIBESFELDT, *Human Ethology*, Aldine Transaction, New Brunswick 2007, pp. 529-530.

³⁶ M. KNÜPPEL, *Seit Lichtenstein nichts neues? – oder: zur Idee Einer Urverwandtschaft des Arabischen mit dem Deutschen*, "Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia" 2012, vol. 17, p. 182.

³⁷ S. MORAN, *Representing Bushmen. South Africa and the Origin of Language*, University of Rochester Press, Rochester 2009, p. 164.

³⁸ F. POYATOS, *Paralanguage. A linguistic and interdisciplinary approach to interactive speech and sound*, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1993, pp. 380, 461; IDEM, *Cross-cultural Study of Paralinguistic Alternants in Face to Face Interaction*, [in:] *Organization of Behavior in Face-to-face Interaction*, ed. by A. KENDON, R.M. HARRIS, M.R. KEY, De Gruyter Mouton, The Hague – Chicago 1976, pp. 304, 314; IDEM, *Nonverbal communication across disciplines*, John Benjamins Publishing Co., Amsterdam – Philadelphia 1993, pp. 141, 422.

³⁹ R. MESTHRIE, *Language and Social History. Studies in South African Sociolinguistics*, David Philip, Cape Town 1995, p. 51.

Primaten und derjenigen der Urmenschen? and The role of clicks in the evolution of language).⁴⁰

Thus, an overview of world literature in the field of linguistics focusing on African languages, and especially the San and Khoekhoe languages, shows that Roman Stopa's work is at the very least mentioned.

A similar opinion refers to the inclusion of the Polish researcher's scholarly achievements in international editions of dictionaries and language lexicons. For example, Roman Stopa's text entitled *Die Schnalze, ihr Natur, Entwicklung, und Ursprung* is quoted in the international dictionary of the lexicography of African languages (*XXX Lexikographie der Einzelsprache, XIV: Sprachen Schwarzafrikas*).⁴¹ It should be emphasized that this text is frequently quoted in academic literature on the topic, but it is outdated (*Often cited on this subject but long out of date is Stopa, 1935*).⁴²

Thanks to the world-renowned anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski, Roman Stopa's profile was included in the 1938 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

The academic world frequently reacted to Roman Stopa's most important texts in reviews published in international scientific journals. It should be emphasized that the reviewers were world-renowned researchers. For example, the world-famous linguist Archibald Norman

⁴⁰ M.A. DI GREGORIO, *From Here to Eternity. Ernst Haeckel and Scientific Faith*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 2005, p. 621.

⁴¹ E.P. HAMP, *Lexicography of the Khoisan Languages*, [in:] *Wörterbücher, Dictionaries, Dictionnaires. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Lexikographie. An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography. Encyclopedie internationale de lexicographie*, ed. by F.J. HAUSMANN, O. REICHMANN, H.E. WIEGAND, L. ZGUSTA, vol. 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 1991, p. 2656.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 2651.

Tucker wrote a review of Stopa's 1935 book in the prestigious periodical of the International African Institute "Africa" in 1937,⁴³ while in 1973 he reviewed another of the Polish researcher's texts in the same journal.⁴⁴ Roman Stopa's publication entitled *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European* met with an exceptional amount of responses, having being reviewed by four distinguished researchers.⁴⁵ In addition, it should be noted that Stopa's other texts were reviewed by such renowned researchers as Werner Vycichl,⁴⁶ Marcel Cohen,⁴⁷ Otto von

⁴³ A.N. TUCKER, [Reviews of books: *Die Schnalze, ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung. Von Roman Stopa. Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Prace Komisji Językowej, Nr 23. Kraków 1935. Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. XL pp. 198*], "Africa" 1937, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 492-493.

⁴⁴ IDEM, [Reviews of books: *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European. By Roman Stopa. London: Curzon Press, 1972, pp. 218, ill., map. (Polska Akademia Nauk – Oddział w Krakowie, Pr. Kom. Orient., 10.)*], "Africa" 1937, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 276-277.

⁴⁵ R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, Wrocław et al. 1972, *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej – Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie*. Reviews: G. MANESSY, "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 1974, vol. 68, pp. 489-491; A.N. TUCKER, "Africa" 1937, vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 276-277; A. TRAILL, "African Studies" 1974, vol. 33, pp. 263-266; E. DAMMANN, "Orientalische Literaturzeitung" 1976, vol. 71, pp. 304-306.

⁴⁶ W. WYICHL, [Rezension: *Roman Stopa, Z badań nad ludnością i kulturą Afryki Południowo-Zachodniej, Prace Instytutu Naukowego Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej 1, Warszawa 1938*], "Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes" 1939, vol. 46, pp. 301-302.

⁴⁷ M. COHEN, [Recension: *Roman Stopa, Bushman and Hottentot among the Isolating Languages of Africa*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 1951-1952, vol. 17, pp. 351-371], "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 1955, vol. 51, p. 168.

Essen,⁴⁸ Pierre François Lacroix,⁴⁹ John Kelly⁵⁰ and Vittore Pisani.⁵¹

Roman Stopa's academic achievements were also followed by the younger generation of world researchers, an example of which would be the review by Rainer Voßen from the Institut für Afrikanistik, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.⁵²

Without going too deeply into these reviews, Franciszek Ziejka's opinion about the positive response to Roman Stopa's research can once again be quoted. The reviews were polemic in nature, while some also contained critical

⁴⁸ O. VON ESSEN, [Rezension: Roman Stopa, *The Energy Producing Speech and the Types of Phonetic Systems*, *Prace Krakowskiego Komitetu Orientalistycznego PAN*, 1957, pp. 3-11], "Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung" 1958, vol. 11, pp. 99-100; IDEM, [Rezension: Roman Stopa, *From Clicks to Expiratory Consonants I. The Typical Sounds of Human Speech and their Functioning in the Phonetic System of Some African Languages*, "Lingua Posnaniensis" 1957, vol. 6, pp. 137-153], "Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung" 1958, vol. 11, p. 266.

⁴⁹ P.F. LACROIX, [Recension: Roman Stopa, *The Evolution of Clicks Sounds in Some African Languages (A Study of African Linguistics and Ethnology)*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Rozprawy i Studia* 1960, no. 25], "Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris" 1963, vol. 58, pp. 313-316.

⁵⁰ J. KELLY, [Reviews of books: R. Stopa, B. Garlicki, *Mały słownik suahilijsko-polski i polsko-suahilijski*, Warszawa 1966], "Africa" 1968, vol. 38, pp. 358-359.

⁵¹ V. PISANI, [Recensione: R. Stopa, *Clicks: their Form, Function and their Transformation, Or how our Ancestors were Gesticulating, Clicking and Crying*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 561, *Prace Językoznawcze* 68, 1979], "Paideia" 1979, vol. 34, p. 234.

⁵² R. VOSSEN, [Book review: Stopa, Roman (1986): *Schnalze. Ihre Natur, Entwicklung und Ursprung / Clicks. Their character, development, and origin (with an introduction by Gyula Décsy)*. (*Bibliotheca Nostratica*, 7.) Bloomington, Indiana: *Eurolingua*], "Language Origins Society Newsletter" 1989, vol. 8, pp. 14-16.

elements, such as, for example, J. Kelly's review (*Scholarly standards would be inappropriate here*).⁵³

Polish reviewers sporadically wrote reviews about Stopa's texts, including those by Jan Safarewicz,⁵⁴ Jan Slaski⁵⁵ or Mikołaj Rudnicki.⁵⁶

Based on this rather general overview, it can be stated that the Polish researcher's texts were not only known to the most renowned scholars, but also broadly commented in the most prestigious world periodicals.

* * *

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that among the 30 profiles of researchers who focused on such issues included in the 14-volume *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics* in the "African languages" section, Roman Stopa is not present.⁵⁷ In turn, the section contains the profile of Zygmunt Frajzyngier, who reviewed Stopa's texts.⁵⁸

⁵³ J. KELLY, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

⁵⁴ J. SAFAREWICZ, [Recenzja: R. Stopa, *Narodziny mowy i myśli ludzkiej. Studium z pogranicza psychologii, socjologii i praindoeuropeistyki*, Nauczycielska Spółka Wydawnicza "Książnica Powszechna", Kraków 1948], "Język Polski" 1948, vol. 28, pp. 158-159.

⁵⁵ J. SLASKI, [Review: *Symbolika dźwięków w niektórych językach afrykańskich*, *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, 1949, no. 50, pp. 46-49], "African Abstracts" 1952, no. 3, p. 92; IDEM, [Review: *Czy wolno zestawiać języki mlaskowe z bezmlaskowymi?*, *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, 1950, no. 51, pp. 265-269], "African Abstracts" 1952, no. 3, p. 92.

⁵⁶ M. RUDNICKI, [Recenzja: R. Stopa, *Powstanie mowy ludzkiej w oświeceniu antropologii i językoznawstwa*, "Przegląd Antropologiczny" 1956, vol. 22, pp. 333-469], "Lingua Posnaniensis" 1959, vol. 6, pp. 323-330.

⁵⁷ *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Second Edition)*, ed. by K. BROWN, Elsevier, Amsterdam – Boston 2006.

⁵⁸ Z. FRAJZYNGIER, [Review of Roman Stopa, "Mowa nianiek w Europie i Afryce", *Rozprawy Komisji Językowej (Wrocław)* 6. (1966), pp. 47-56],

Roman Stopa was also not mentioned in Soviet publications regarding research in the field of African studies.⁵⁹

Based on search conducted in Southern African library archives, it can be stated that South African dictionaries, encyclopaedias and lexicons do not contain Roman Stopa's profile or any information about him. The situation is identical in the independent countries of Namibia and Botswana, where the Polish researcher had in fact conducted his studies.

In the South African state archives, the only documents linked to Roman Stopa are those strictly regarding his arrival in and departure from the Union of South Africa. The same is true for the documents available in the State Archives of Namibia in Windhoek.

In summary, it can be stated that in Southern Africa there is little knowledge of Roman Stopa's presence there, and the situation is similar in terms of the availability of information concerning his academic input.

* * *

If we consider publications around the world, Roman Stopa's texts were cited much less frequently in later years. Jerzy Koch, a linguist and specialist in the Afrikaans language and its literature, looked for the causes behind this state of affairs in Stopa's thesis about the sounds (clicks) in the Khoekhoe language, "in my opinion, for this reason his scholarly achievements tend to be overlooked in

"Africana Bulletin" 1968, vol. 8, pp. 187-188; IDEM, [Review of Roman Stopa, "The Genetic Unity of African Languages", "Folia Orientalia" 7 (1966), pp. 226-273], "Africana Bulletin" 1968, vol. 8, pp. 185-186.

⁵⁹ For example, M.B. GORNUNG, J.G. LIPIEC, I.N. OLEJNIKOW, *Historia poznania Afryki*, trans. by J. KRYSZEK, PWN, Warszawa 1977.

the academic literature on the topic”.⁶⁰ This was due to the fact that Roman Stopa claimed that the clicks present in Khoekhoe languages and adopted also by Bantu languages are a means of expression, constituting the first stage of the development of human speech and something like an intermediate link, a ‘retraceable bridge’ between the ways in which animals and humans communicate.⁶¹

In turn, the linguist and Africanist Rajmund Ohly emphasized that Roman Stopa met with extensive criticism for the introduction and popularisation of his research results and it required a lot of determination and a profound conviction about the validity of his conclusions.⁶² Stopa even had heated debates with Meinhof, whose views he did not share. Roman Stopa’s ideas were “against the grain” to those of many research authorities and findings. This can be attested by indicating the discussion between the Polish researcher and Pierre de Villiers Pienaar and Clement Doke at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg in 1935.

In Poland, Roman Stopa’s research results were not fully accepted, especially his theories about the development and shaping of human speech. One example of this can be the discussion following Stopa’s paper at the convention of the Polish Oriental Society. The Polish researcher encountered especially heavy criticism for his text entitled

⁶⁰ “[...] jak sądzę, z tego powodu jego dorobek bywa w literaturze przedmiotu pomijany milczeniem”: J. KOCH, *Wenus Hotentocka. Fakty? Mity!*, [on-line:] http://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jerzy_Koch/publication/267921775_Wenus_Hotentocka._Fakty_Mity!/links/545cbb710cf27487b44bc8be.pdf – 10.03.2016.

⁶¹ R. STOPA, *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, Curzon Press, London 1972, p. 10.

⁶² R. OHLY, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, “Afryka” 1995, no. 3, p. 104.

Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European, "Prof. Stopa's thesis that the origins of Indo-European languages should be searched for in African languages was severely criticised".⁶³

It should be emphasized that Roman Stopa's academic and research activities were interdisciplinary in nature. Some of the researchers specializing in one subdiscipline did not share his views incorporating knowledge also from other academic disciplines, such as ethnology or anthropology.

* * *

In Poland, knowledge about Roman Stopa's academic achievements is diversified. The vast majority of studies about research in Poland in the field of African studies take into account his achievements and value him highly or very highly as compared to global research. This includes both encyclopaedic studies (also internet ones) and others. It is stated that "one of the world-famous and renowned specialists on click languages was the Polish ethnographer and linguist Roman Stopa (1895-1995). Before World War II, he studied the Bantu, Bushman and Hottentot peoples."⁶⁴ In the entry in Polish Wikipedia for *Roman Stopa*, we can find the following: "He was [...] a distinguished Polish specialist

⁶³ "...ostro krytykowano tezę prof. Stopy, iż prapoczątków języków indoeuropejskich należy poszukiwać w językach afrykańskich": IDEM, *Roman Stopa – światowej sławy uczony...*, p. 10.

⁶⁴ "...jednym ze światowej sławy i renomy specjalistów zajmujących się językami mlaskowymi był polski etnograf i językoznawca Roman Stopa (1895-1995). Przed II wojną światową badał on ludy Bantu, Buszmenów i Hotentotów": *Języki khoisan*, [on-line:] http://encyklopedia.naukowy.pl/J%C4%99zyki_khoisan – 12.04.2015.

on click languages”.⁶⁵ A short profile describing the Polish researcher (seven lines) was included in the *Encyklopedia powszechna PWN* from the 1970s, but without emphasizing his academic merits.⁶⁶ In turn, in the current *Encyklopedia PWN*, he is described as “a renowned expert on clicks”.⁶⁷ In other texts, it is only mentioned that “one of the Polish researchers studying Southern African click languages was Roman Stopa”.⁶⁸ However, as emphasized above, in the vast majority of the publications dedicated to Stopa, his globally acknowledged academic achievements are underlined.

Roman Stopa’s achievements were also taken into account by Stefan Gołąbek, who documented African studies conducted in Poland.⁶⁹ The herein discussed Polish researcher’s studies were also mentioned by Jan Reychman in the “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” journal.⁷⁰ Mention of him was also included in the texts written by Arkadiusz Żukowski.⁷¹

⁶⁵ “Był [...] wybitnym polskim specjalistą w zakresie języków mlaskowych”: *Roman Stopa*, [on-line:] http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_Stopa – 12.04.2015.

⁶⁶ *Stopa Roman*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, vol. 4, PWN, Warszawa 1976, p. 289.

⁶⁷ “...wybitny znawca problemów mlasków”: *Stopa Roman*, [on-line:] <http://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Stopa-Roman;3979973.html> – 22.04.2015.

⁶⁸ “Do polskich uczonych badających południowoafrykańskie języki mlaskowe należał Roman Stopa”: *Języki mlaskowe*, [on-line:] https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/J%C4%99zyki_mlaskowe – 12.04.2015.

⁶⁹ S. GOŁĄBEK, *Związki Polski i Polaków z Afryką do roku 1945*, PWN, Warszawa – Łódź 1978.

⁷⁰ J. REYCHMAN, *Polskie badania Czarnej Łądy*, “Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 1961, no. 1, p. 63.

⁷¹ For example, A. ŻUKOWSKI, *Stanisław Poraj-Królikowski – pierwszy polski prefekt apostołski*, [in:] *Losy Polaków żyjących na obczyźnie i ich*

It is quite significant to note the lack of any information about Roman Stopa in two Polish studies recording the contribution made by Polish researchers into broadening our academic knowledge of the world, including Africa. In Józef Szaflarski's text entitled *Poznanie Czarnego Lądu* [Discovering the Dark Continent], not only many Polish researchers but also various travellers were mentioned.⁷² The same is true for the monograph prepared by Wacław Słabczyński, entitled *Polscy podróżnicy i odkrywcy* [Polish travellers and discoverers].⁷³

Roman Stopa's academic biography was in general included in only a few publications, and only in some was it extensive. These were published primarily in Polish. They were mainly written based on the introductions to the Polish researcher's publications. It is worth noting the profile presented by Rajmund Ohly on the researcher's 75th birthday⁷⁴ and the description prepared by this same author of Stopa's scholarly achievements in the series *Portrety polskich afrykanistów* [Portraits of Polish Africanists], print-

wkład w rozwój kultury i nauki krajów osiedlenia na przestrzeni wieków. *Materiały III Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej*, Rzym 25-26 września 1998, ed. by A. & Z. JUDYCCY, Wydawnictwo Czelej, Lublin 1998, p. 341; IDEM, *Kontakty Krakowa i krakowian z Afryką Południową (do roku 1939)*, [in:] *Materiały V Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej*, Kraków 22-23 września 2000, ed. by A. JUDYCKA, B. KLIMASZEWSKI, Wydawnictwo Czelej, Lublin 2000, p. 420; IDEM, *Polskie badania etnologiczne w Afryce Południowej – próba syntezy*, [in:] *Polskie opisanie świata. Od fascynacji egzotyką do badań antropologicznych*, ed. by A. KUCZYŃSKI, Katedra Etnologii Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2000, pp. 129-130.

⁷² J. SZAFLARSKI, *Poznanie Czarnego Lądu*, PWN, Warszawa 1968.

⁷³ W. SŁABCZYŃSKI, *Polscy podróżnicy i odkrywcy*, PWN, Warszawa 1988.

⁷⁴ R. OHLY, *Prof. dr Roman Stopa. (W 75-lecie urodzin)*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1970, no. 75, pp. 239-244.

ed in the Polish Africanist Society's periodical "Afryka".⁷⁵ More or less concisely, information about Roman Stopa's academic achievements was published, especially just after he passed away. Rich repositories of information about the Polish researcher's life and scholarly achievements include his autobiographic article,⁷⁶ but primarily his memoirs *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu* [From under a peasant's thatched roof to a university chair] (two editions).⁷⁷

An extensive biography of Roman Stopa, including information about his research trip in Southern Africa, was published by Antoni Kuczyński.⁷⁸ Kuczyński added Stopa's account with the symptomatic title *Lud taki musi śpiewać, choć – może nieświadomie – spogląda w przepaść...* [Such a people must sing, even though – perhaps unconsciously – they are gazing into an abyss...] to the biography.⁷⁹ Short profiles frequently appeared in connection to conferences or exhibitions organized in honour of Roman Stopa.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ IDEM, *Roman Stopa – światowej sławy uczony...*, pp. 6-15.

⁷⁶ R. STOPA, *Z Woli Batorskiej przez Afrykę do Krakowa*, "Magazyn Kulturalny" 1982, no. 1-3, pp. 41-45.

⁷⁷ IDEM, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1987; IDEM, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu. Kartki z życia...*

⁷⁸ *Wśród buszu i czarowników. Antologia polskich relacji o ludach Afryki*, ed. by A. KUCZYŃSKI, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1990, pp. 407-409.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 409-417. The account came from R. Stopa's text entitled *Hotentoci*, published in the periodical "Lud" 1947, vol. 38.

⁸⁰ For example, *Konferencja naukowa: Pionierzy krakowskiej afrykanistyki: Roman Stopa – sylwetka wybitnego afrykanisty w 120. rocznicę urodzin*, prepared by J. MORMUL, [on-line:] http://www.jcba.uj.edu.pl/reportaze/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_Df4E/77927038/90604213 – 24.10.2015.

Gołąbek and Kuczyński emphasize that the texts based on his ethnological and linguistic research of the San and Khoikhoi peoples earned Roman Stopa international esteem, while in Poland his scholarly output is counted among the most prominent achievements of ethnological African studies conducted in Poland.⁸¹ Arkadiusz Żukowski wrote that "Roman Stopa's texts in the field of research into Bushman languages were of high scholarly value".⁸²

Stopa's research and his academic output was treated much the same by Polish linguists. His contribution to Polish academic knowledge was especially propagated by Rajmund Ohly, the Polish researcher's student.

As emphasized by the specialist in Iranian studies, Renata Rusek-Kowalska, "he was the first Polish Africanist, a pioneer of glottogony, an expert in the ethnography and ethnology of the Bushmen and Hottentots; founder of the Language Origins Society. His pioneering tests from the field of phonetics, *The Evolution of Click Sounds in Some African Languages* (1960), *Bushman and Hottentot Among the Isolated Languages of Africa* and *Structure of Bushman and Its Traces in Indo-European*, are a milestone in African studies research".⁸³

⁸¹ S. GOŁĄBEK, *Czterysta lat badań afrykanistycznych*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1970, no. 3, p. 210; A. KUCZYŃSKI, *Korzenie i współczesność polskich badań etnologicznych w Afryce*, "Etnografia Polska" 1994, vol. 38, no. 1-2, p. 115.

⁸² "...dużą wartość naukową stanowiły prace Romana Stopy z zakresu badań nad językiem Buszmenów": A. ŻUKOWSKI, *W kraju złota i diamentów. Polacy w Afryce Południowej XVI-XX w.*, PWN, Warszawa 1994, p. 152.

⁸³ "Był pierwszym polskim afrykanistą, pionierem glottogonii, znawcą etnografii i etnologii Buszmenów oraz Hotentotów; założycielem Language Origins Society. Jego pionierskie prace z dziedziny fonetyki: *The Evolution of Click Sounds in Some African Languages* (1960), *Bushman*

In summary, it can be stated that the Polish academia, including our own Africanists, appreciated and emphasized the value of Roman Stopa's research and writing.

* * *

It also seems worthwhile to mention Roman Stopa's other contributions to African studies, outside his publications. Both the Branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences Archives in Kraków,⁸⁴ and the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków have extensive descriptions of the ethnographic, photographic and phonographic collections he brought back with him from Southern Africa.⁸⁵ Part of these collections, presented by Roman Stopa as a gift to the National Culture Fund in Warsaw, was probably destroyed during World War II. In addition, Stopa's biography and the collection were described in the Annual of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.⁸⁶ Based on his handwritten notes, records kept from his travels, bills, tickets and other archival material located in the Archives of the Sciences of the

and Hottentot Among the Isolated Languages of Africa oraz Structure of Bushman and its Traces in Indo-European, stanowią kamień milowy w badaniach afrykanistycznych": R. RUSEK-KOWALSKA, *Z historii orientalistyki w Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim*, "Alma Mater", December 2009, p. 140.

⁸⁴ R. MAJKOWSKA, M. PŁATEK, *Spuścizny i materiały uczonych polskich przechowywane w Oddziale Archiwum Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie (nabytki za lata 1995-1997)*, "Rocznik Oddziału Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Krakowie" 1999 (1997), pp. 153-154.

⁸⁵ Prof. Roman Stopa's ethnographic and photographic collection in the archives of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, prepared by J. Kukuczka (xerox copy in the author's archives); J. KUKUCZKA, *Kolekcja etnograficzna i fotografie prof. Romana Stopy w zbiorach Muzeum Etnograficznego im. S. Udzieli w Krakowie oraz w Archiwum Nauki PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, Kraków 2012.

⁸⁶ "Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie" 1998, vol. 14.

Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, Roman Stopa's travel route and places of residence in Southern Africa have been established.⁸⁷

As emphasized by Jacek Kukuczka, Roman Stopa's collections "[...] are of enormous, priceless value. In addition, they testify to the contribution made by Polish science into the description and conservation of the cultural heritage of the peoples of present-day Namibia for future generations."⁸⁸

* * *

A good opportunity to remind people of Roman Stopa's achievements and to propagate them came on the anniversary of his birth, i.e. during an international conference with the participation of guests from abroad on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth. During such events, the conference title itself emphasized the Polish researcher's academic achievements.

An example of such an occasion, of a nationwide scale and not just a regional or local event, was the scholarly conference entitled *Pioneers of the African Studies in Kraków: Roman Stopa – a portrait of an exceptional Africanist on the 120th anniversary of his birth* (Kraków, 13 May 2015).⁸⁹

⁸⁷ J. KUKUCZKA, *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ "...posiadają ogromną, bezcenną wartość. Zaświadczają ponadto o wkładzie polskiej nauki w opis i ocalenie dla przyszłych pokoleń dziedzictwa kulturowego ludów obecnej Namibii": *ibidem*.

⁸⁹ The conference was for scholars from across the country. It was organised by the Institute of Political Science and International Relations of the Jagiellonian University and the Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies, which inaugurated its activities by organizing this event, cf. *Otwarcie konferencji "Pionierzy krakowskiej afrykanistyki: Roman Stopa"*,

In addition, Roman Stopa's legacy and information about his biography were also propagated in other forms.

At the University of Wrocław, a Master's dissertation was prepared, written in Afrikaans, dedicated to discussing the research conducted by the Polish researcher in Southern Africa.⁹⁰ At the English Philology Faculty at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, one of the compulsory subjects in the course of first-level studies included a seminar entitled "RSA – Cultural Studies", during which one of the obligatory set books was Roman Stopa's *Mali ludzie z pustyni i puszcy* [Little people of the desert and the wilderness].⁹¹ The aim of this course was providing a deeper understanding of the studied (Southern African) culture.

The distinguished composer and conductor, Krzysztof Penderecki, also became interested in Roman Stopa's research. In 1960, he composed a piece entitled *African Lyrics*, which he based on Hottentot texts (the Khoekhoe language) as presented by Roman Stopa, and it is possible that their clicks were the inspiration behind its creation.⁹² However, the composition was never actually completed.⁹³

[on-line:] http://www.uj.edu.pl/wiadomosci/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_d82lKZvhit4m/10172/87948187 – 22.02.2016.

⁹⁰ M. OSZCZYGIĘŁ, "Het Zuidelijk Afrika in de ogen van de Poolse onderzoeker. De belangstelling van Roman Stopa (1895-1995) voor de volkeren van het Zuidelijk Afrika", Wrocław 2002 (M.A. theses written under the supervision of Prof. Jerzy Koch, University of Wrocław).

⁹¹ RPA – *Studia kulturowe*, [on-line:] [https://usosweb.amu.edu.pl/kontroler.php?action=actionx:katalog2/przedmioty/pokazPrzedmiot\(kod:09-KULAFR-15\)](https://usosweb.amu.edu.pl/kontroler.php?action=actionx:katalog2/przedmioty/pokazPrzedmiot(kod:09-KULAFR-15)) – 18.03.2016.

⁹² *African Lyrics*, [on-line:] <http://ninateka.pl/kolekcje/en/three-composers/penderecki/audio/liryki-afrykanskie> – 18.03.2016.

⁹³ *Kalendarium życia i twórczości Krzysztofa Pendereckiego*, [on-line:] <http://docplayer.pl/8219270-Kalendarium-zycia-i-tworczosci-kpen-dereckiego-1.html> – 18.03.2016.

Following Roman Stopa's death, various Polish scholarly periodicals included commemorations, which spoke of the contribution the researcher had made to world science. The authors of these commemorations included the following: Rajmund Ohly,⁹⁴ Przemysław Piekarski⁹⁵ and Jerzy Reichan.⁹⁶ A commemoration note was also published in the periodical "Przegląd Orientalistyczny".⁹⁷ However, above all a conference commemorating Roman Stopa's academic achievements was organized, i.e. "Sesja naukowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Romana Stopy" [Scientific session in memory of Professor Roman Stopa] prepared by the Institute of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University and the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków (Kraków, 9 December 1995). A report was published following the conference.⁹⁸

Another means of honouring Roman Stopa's achievements came in the form of an article written by Alicja

⁹⁴ R. OHLY, *Professor Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, "Africana Bulletin" 1997, vol. 44, pp. 85-91; IDEM, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, pp. 103-104.

⁹⁵ P. PIEKARSKI, *Professor Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, "Folia Orientalia" 1995, vol. 31, pp. 5-6.

⁹⁶ J. REICHAN, *Śp. prof. dr Roman Stopa (8 VIII 1895 – 15 IV 1995)*, "Język Polski" 1995, no. 4-5, pp. 242-246. This short biographic description was later translated into English and included in the second edition of R. Stopa's memoirs (translated by Krzysztof Kwaśniewicz), cf. J. REICHAN, *Roman Stopa (8 August 1895 – 15 April 1995)*, [in:] R. STOPA, *Spod chłopskiej strzechy na katedrę uniwersytetu. Kartki z życia człowieka opętanego muzyką, poezją, wsią i Buszmenami*, pp. 201-204.

⁹⁷ "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1995, no. 1-2, p. 112.

⁹⁸ U. LEWICKA-RAJEWSKA, *Sesja naukowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Romana Stopy*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1996, no. 3-4, pp. 208-209.

Małecka in the *Golden Book of the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Philology*.⁹⁹

In addition, in March 1996, the Polish Africanist Society organized an exhibition in Warsaw in memory of Professor Roman Stopa. The Society also published a note about the exhibition in its academic journal "Afryka", with the symptomatic title *Roman Stopa – afrykanista światowej sławy* [Roman Stopa – world-renowned Africanist].¹⁰⁰

Roman Stopa's profile and his achievements were also presented at an exhibition entitled "Wiwat Polonia! Ślady Polaków w Afryce. Historia i terażniejszość. Nauczyciele, lekarze, podróżnicy, misjonarze, kolekcjonerzy" [Viva Polonia! Traces of Poles in Africa. Past and Present. Teachers, doctors, travellers, missionaries and collectors] in Warsaw in 2014.¹⁰¹

CONCLUSIONS

Roman Stopa's research was a significant contribution to world academic output. The anthropologist Bronisław Ma-

⁹⁹ A. MAŁECKA, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, [in:] *Złota księga Wydziału Filologicznego*, ed. by J. MICHALIK, W. WALECKI, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2000, pp. 491-500.

¹⁰⁰ *Roman Stopa – afrykanista światowej sławy*, "Afryka" 1996, no. 4, p. 97.

¹⁰¹ The exhibition *Wiwat Polonia! Ślady Polaków w Afryce. Historia i terażniejszość. Nauczyciele, lekarze, podróżnicy, misjonarze, kolekcjonerzy* was organized in the State Museum of Ethnography in Warsaw, ul. Kredytowa 1. The exhibition's curator was Dariusz Skonieczko from the Department of Ethnography and Non-European Countries. The exhibition was open from 2.04.2014 to 2.04.2016, cf. W. BOLIMOWSKA, *Wystawa o Polakach w Afryce – niewykorzystana szansa*, "Afryka" 2014, no. 39, pp. 132-135.

linowski referred to the Polish researcher as “the world expert of clicks”.¹⁰²

In 1985, the Orientalist Tadeusz Lewicki stated that “Professor Roman Stopa, [...] the first organiser of African studies in Poland, is not only an exceptional scholar, but also a noble person, full of humanitarian emotions, whose long life and academic goals deserve our special attention. [...] The 45th anniversary of his scholarly work in the field of African philology and linguistics is the perfect opportunity to offer our respect to this great teacher for his enormous knowledge and humanitarianism [...]”.¹⁰³

Without a doubt, it can be stated that Roman Stopa took active participation in global scholarly discussions and debates about the classification of language. He contributed to the development of glottogony – the science of the origins of human speech. He can even be referred to as a precursor in this field. He promoted an evolution-based linguistic theory and was interested in new trends in linguistics (cognitivism).

Roman Stopa's scholarly achievements were emphasized by the specialist in cultural studies, Anna Nadolska-Styczyńska, who wrote that “it would also be worthwhile

¹⁰² S. GOŁĄBEK, *Cztery lata badań afrykanistycznych*, p. 210.

¹⁰³ “Profesor Roman Stopa [...] pierwszy organizator w Polsce studiów afrykanistycznych, jest nie tylko wielkim uczonym, lecz także człowiekiem szlachetnym i pełnym uczuć humanitarnych, którego tak długie życie, jak i dążenia naukowe zasługują na naszą specjalną uwagę. [...] 45. rocznica jego pracy naukowej w dziedzinie filologii i lingwistyki afrykańskiej jest wspaniałą okazją do zaoferowania naszego szacunku temu wielkiemu nauczycielowi za jego wielką wiedzę i uczucia humanitarne”: T. LEWICKI, Speech given during the celebration of Professor Roman Stopa's 90th birthday on 23.08.1985 at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, qtd after: *Wśród buszu i czarowników...*, p. 409.

to emphasize that R. Stopa's research results were innovative and met with a lot of interest among ethnographers and linguists (not only Polish ones). The discussed book is to this day used as a valuable source of information about the culture of the Khoi-San peoples".¹⁰⁴

Finally, it is worthwhile quoting the statement made by the linguist, Aneta Wysocka, who stated that "when Roman Stopa began his work, the Polish tradition of African studies was very meagre. His predecessors, who conducted specialised research into the ethnic structure of Africa, consisted of two Poles: Jan Czekanowski and Bronisław Malinowski. Prof. Stopa was the third – and he was very unique. He was capable of reconciling fire with water, i.e. objectivity – so necessary in science – with a subjective approach to the 'object' of his observations, such as, e.g., his 'friends the Hottentots'".¹⁰⁵

Roman Stopa's contribution to world science is similarly perceived by other Africanists: Konrad Czernichowski,

¹⁰⁴ "Warto również zaznaczyć, że wyniki badań prof. R. Stopy były nowatorskie i spotkały się z niezwykle dużym zainteresowaniem środowiska etnografów i językoznawców (nie tylko polskich). Omawiana książka jest do dzisiaj wykorzystywana jako cenne źródło informacji o kulturze ludów Khoi-san": A. NADOLSKA-STYCZYŃSKA, *Kultury Afryki a działania naukowo-oświatowe Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, "Prace Komisji Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności" 2007, vol. 8, p. 199.

¹⁰⁵ "Kiedy Roman Stopa zaczął swoją pracę, polska tradycja afrykanistyczna była bardzo uboga. Jego poprzednikami, którzy dokonywali specjalistycznych badań nad strukturą etniczną Afryki, byli w zasadzie tylko dwaj Polacy: Jan Czekanowski i Bronisław Malinowski. Prof. Stopa był trzeci – i bardzo szczególny. Potrafił godzić ogień z wodą, czyli przedmiotowość – konieczną dla nauki – z podmiotowym traktowaniem «obiekta» swoich obserwacji, jakim byli m.in. «przyjaciele Hotentotów»": A. WYSOCKA, *Przyjaciel Hotentotów*, "Forum Akademickie" 2001, no. 2, [on-line:] http://www.forumakad.pl/archiwum/2001/02/artyku ly/21-gwiazdy_i_meteory.htm – 12.01.2016.

Dominik Kopiński and Andrzej Polus. They write that, alongside Bronisław Malinowski, he was counted among world-renowned researchers both in the pre-war period and after World War II ("Roman Stopa and Bronisław Malinowski were Polish world-class researchers in the inter-war period and after World War II").¹⁰⁶ They also noted that such world-renowned names "as Czekanowski and Stopa have begun to fade".¹⁰⁷

As summary of the findings presented in this article, let us cite the statement made by Roman Stopa's internationally renowned student, Rajmund Ohly, who wrote that "his scientific discoveries, presented at conferences abroad, in numerous articles and books, constitute an achievement which will long be the subject of discussions among scholars around the world".¹⁰⁸

* * *

The state of research establishing and situating Roman Stopa's legacy within globally conducted African studies is perhaps not at a completely initial phase, but we have surely only gone "halfway" along this route.

In the Polish dimension, Roman Stopa's legacy is quite well known, but detailed studies on the topic are still lacking.

¹⁰⁶ K. CZERNICHOWSKI, D. KOPİŃSKI, A. POLUS, *Polish African Studies at a Crossroads: Past, Present and Future*, "Africa Spectrum" 2012, vol. 47, no. 2-3, p. 168.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 179.

¹⁰⁸ "Jego naukowe odkrycia, ogłaszane na konferencjach za granicą, w licznych artykułach i książkach, stanowią osiągnięcia, które jeszcze długo będą przedmiotem dyskusji w środowisku uczonych na całym świecie": R. OHLY, *Roman Stopa (1895-1995)*, pp. 103-104.

The postulates to popularise the Polish researcher's scholarly output can be very practical. Roman Stopa, as a researcher with achievements on a global scale, does not yet have a profile on English-language Wikipedia, or in any other foreign languages, except Esperanto (despite publishing both in English and German). In addition, it would be worthwhile to expand Roman Stopa's very modest profile available on the Polish-language version of Wikipedia.

Polish databases documenting the Polish Africanist's output also require significant improvements. There are only five publications by Roman Stopa included in the electronic database *Bibliografia Etnografii Polskiej* [Bibliography of Polish Ethnography].¹⁰⁹ There is still no full list of his publications available in electronic form in Poland. In addition, it would be worthwhile to gather all of Roman Stopa's publications in one place (even in the form of offprints). The Jagiellonian University has the most numerous collection of his works (24 positions according to the on-line catalogue), but in reality this is still only one fourth of the researcher's entire written output.

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¹⁰⁹ *Bibliografia Etnografii Polskiej*, [on-line:] <http://www.serwer1444182.home.pl/cgi-bin/expertus.cgi> –18.03.2016.

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HOTTENTOTS AND BUSHMEN – ON THE MARGINS OF ROMAN STOPA’S ETHNOLOGICAL COMMENTARY



“LET ME MAKE IT clear that I am not saying that post-hunter-gatherers are either better than or biologically different from hunter-gatherers. I am saying the opposite, on both counts. Hunter-gatherers most closely represent natural humanity. We ourselves, post-hunter-gatherer peoples, are in a sense beyond ‘normal’ natural humanity. We have found ways of coping with our unnatural state. Instead of groups of 150, we have networks of 150. And there exist unnatural (anarchists would say ‘inhuman’) political structures to keep us under control. The state and the city are not part of human nature, though they may today be part of our ‘natural’ environments”.¹

These words, stated by the exceptional contemporary social anthropologist, Alan Barnard, specialist in the San

¹ A. BARNARD, *Social Anthropology and Human Origins*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011, p. 106.

and Khoikhoi cultures, Namibian honorary consul to Scotland, would be a perfect metaphor of what Prof. Roman Stopa stated in his 'ethnological commentary' on the subject of the so-called Hottentots and Bushmen.

First of all, I would like to draw attention to one obvious but very significant aspect: Prof. Roman Stopa was not an ethnographer (ethnologist, anthropologist); thus, the fact that he 'made use' in his texts of a generalised, caricature-like 'Bushman' or 'Hottentot' can be treated with much more understanding than in the case of similar practices applied in numerous anthropological studies. A caricature emphasizes traits that seem especially important to the observer; in this case, creating an image of a human whose carnality is suited to the rhythm of nature, and – as a result – who in general is, as in the above-quoted fragment of Barnard's book, closer to nature:

„At times, especially during the rainy season, a Bushman will eat enough (caterpillars or locusts) so that his stomach bulges and folds disappear, then again, during prolonged droughts, he starves and his stomach collapses and skin becomes wrinkled once again.²”

This image is significant in that Roman Stopa's entire text is subordinated to this vision of the naturality and primordialism of the Bushmen and Hottentots; for the author they fundamentally represent 'Palaeolithic cul-

² “Raz, zwłaszcza w porze deszczowej, naje się Buszmen (gąsienicy szarańczy) tak, że brzuch mu pęcznieje i fałdy giną, to znów w długotrwałej suszy całymi miesiącami przymiera głodem, a wówczas brzuch mu zapada i skóra marszczy się na nowo”: R. STOPA, *Z badań nad ludnością i kulturą Afryki Południowo-Zachodniej*, Instytut Wydawniczy “Biblioteka Polska”, Warszawa 1938, p. 5, *Prace Instytutu Naukowego Ligi Morskiej i Kolonialnej*, no. 1.

tures'.³ It should be emphasized that the Bushman topos as a 'living fossil', a modern-day form of the Palaeolithic human and model for interpreting archaeological material about the Upper Palaeolithic is widely present both in academic literature from very diverse fields of social studies or the humanities,⁴ and in journalistic texts, the media; it can thus be stated that it became dominant in the 'mass imagination'. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that this topos has for years been criticised as ignoring the fact frequently referred to by the renowned researcher of the !Kung, Edwin Wilmsen (the so-called revisionist thesis),⁵ which in essence states that the !Kung, like other San groups, have for centuries been in close contact with pastoral groups, while for the last 200 years they have been part of multicultural South African society, constituting a subclass in a modern-day state.⁶ It is also been emphasized that for hundreds of years there have been various strategies of adapting to living conditions, diverse settlement models, kinship principles, beliefs, etc. among the

³ IDEM, *Narodziny myśli i mowy ludzkiej (studium z pogranicza psychologii, socjologii i praindoeuropeistyki)*, Książnica Powszechna, Kraków 1948, p. 9.

⁴ Cf. e.g. B. SZAREWSKA, *Stare i nowe religie w tropikalnej i południowej Afryce*, Książka i Wiedza, Warszawa 1971, p. 75; S. KENT, *Ethnicity, Hunter-Gatherers, and the "Other". Association or Assimilation in Africa*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington 2002; R.B. LEE, I. DEVORE, *Man the Hunter*, Transaction Publishers, Chicago 1968.

⁵ E.N. WILMSEN, *Land Filled with Flies. A Political Economy of the Kalahari*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1989.

⁶ Cf. A. KUPER, *Wymyślanie społeczeństwa pierwotnego. Transformacje mitu*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2009, p. 9; Z. SOKOLEWICZ, *Wstęp do etnografii Afryki*, PWN, Warszawa 1968, p. 44; E.R. WOLF, *Europa i ludy bez historii*, trans. by W. USAKIEWICZ, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2009.

various San and Khoikhoi groups; in general, that there are no ideal “hunter-gatherers” who could serve as an ideal model that could be projected into the past.⁷ As Adam Kuper puts it, “no primeval hunter-gatherers existed, who by some magical means have survived to this day with intact institutions from the Upper Palaeolithic period, ready to be studied by the most adventurous of field researchers”.⁸ It is interesting to note that the motifs of the ‘living fossil’ and ‘humanity’s cradle’ tend to nowadays be promoted by the San societies themselves as an element attracting tourists and the tourism industry. As this has turned out to be the source of considerable income, today the identity of the ‘Bushmen’ is undergoing commercialisation, whereby they use the pejorative term enforced on them by the colonialists and have turned it into a South African trade mark.⁹

In Stopa’s texts, this topos serves to reinforce his own glottogenic theory, in which the ‘primitive’, ‘child-like’ and ‘ape-like’ physique, especially the shape of the chin, is supposed to have been responsible for the difficulties in producing speech sounds, and thus, for the persistence of archaic, almost quasi-human sounds in the clicks so characteristic for the Bushmen.¹⁰

⁷ Cf. A. BARNARD, *Anthropology and the Bushman*, Berg, Oxford – New York 2007.

⁸ “Nie istnieli żadni pierwotni łowcy-zbieracze, którzy w cudowny sposób przetrwaliby do dziś z nienaruszonymi instytucjami z okresu górnego paleolitu, gotowi do zbadania przez najbardziej żądných przygód badaczy terenowych”: A. KUPER, *op. cit.*, s. 10.

⁹ J.L. COMAROFF, J. COMAROFF, *Etniczność sp. z o.o.*, trans. by W. USAKIEWICZ, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2011.

¹⁰ Cf. R. STOPA, *Archaizm kultury buszmeńskiej*, Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, Lublin 1947, pp. 3-11; IDEM, *Narodziny myśli...*,

Another issue, important from the ‘anthropological point of view’, is Roman Stopa’s attachment to the large quantifier – Bushman, Hottentot. Such generalisations provide special fodder for their ‘exoticisation’, which unfortunately tends to be common practice in ethnology and cultural anthropology, and can even sometimes happen to the masters of thick description. Clifford Geertz, for example, used the generalised, collective term ‘Balinese’ in his texts, to whom he ascribed experiencing emotions, as if being Balinese was a computer programme releasing individuals from their personal emotional reactions.¹¹ Prof. Stopa himself admits in his introduction to *Hotentoci*¹² that it was his intention to depict the exoticism of the people so as to focus the reader’s attention on them. However, it is important to note that he does not only depict a world of curiosities, he does not flaunt their otherness just for the effect in and of itself; what is more, despite using such terms as ‘the indigene’ in the generalised description, he is able self-reflectively to neutralize the danger of the reader creating an overly simplified image of the native. He writes first, for example, of “the Hottentot, a born shepherd, owner of flocks, pastures and springs, currently vegetating

pp. 8-9; cf. also: R.K. HERBERT, *The Sociohistory of Clicks in Southern Bantu*, [in:] *Language in South Africa*, ed. by R. MESTHRIE, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2002, p. 297; B. SANDS, T. GÜLDEMANN, *What Click Languages Can and Can’t Tell Us about Language Origins*, [in:] *The Cradle of Language*, ed. by C. KNIGHT, R. BOTHA, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, pp. 205-206.

¹¹ C. GEERTZ, *Interpretacja kultur. Wybrane eseje*, trans. by M. PIĘCHACZEK, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2005.

¹² R. STOPA, *Hotentoci. Kultura – język. Bajki – pieśni*, Wiedza – zawód – kultura, Kraków 1949.

in service to the Whites or in reserves [...]”,¹³ etc. A moment later he notes that some among them were lazy, others hard-working and frugal, irresponsible and unreliable, given to drunkenness, so as – in the case of the Whites – they are not just a reverse image of the Black population. I wish to emphasize that in comparing the image and data about the so-called Bushmen and Hottentots presented by Prof. Stopa and that of professional ethnographers, especially those working in the period from the 1930s to the end of the 1950s, it becomes apparent what a careful and ‘compassionate’ observer we are dealing with in this case. The ability to perceive the details of their daily lives, essential for gaining an understanding of a particular society’s ‘imponderabilia’ of everyday life (as Bronisław Malinowski would say), and the capability of bringing these together into a meaningful whole make Prof. Roman Stopa’s texts an important source for ethnographic studies. This skill made it possible for him to provide reliable observations, which in turn allowed him to have a critical approach to theories too trusting in ‘armchair anthropology’-type considerations. For example, when he encountered an ethnographic obstacle in the form of ‘armchair anthropology’ typologies dividing peoples into hunter-gatherers and pastoral groups, not applicable to the observations he had just made, he showed that while pastoralism is the dominant social and economic type among the Hottentots, there are also gatherer and hunter elements, just as strongly impacting the organisation of their lives (he provides a similar de-

¹³ “Hotentot, pasterz urodzony, dawny właściciel trzód, pastwisk i źródeł, obecnie wegetujący w służbie białych lub w rezerwach [...]”: *ibidem*, p. 55.

scription of the Bushmen with the hierarchy of the types in this case reversed).

An element of Prof. Stopa's work just as significant and exceptional, especially in a period of quoted texts, is that he 'gives a voice' to those he studied, citing their statements using direct speech. This practice came to be appreciated in 1970s' anthropology and is valued highly to this day.

The ethnological commentary scattered across Prof. Stopa's texts have the value of being ethnographic material, even though it cannot always be accepted without debate, for a number of reasons. First of all, the folkloristic material ("Hottentot texts", songs, stories, etc.) he gathered, which is placed within a wider cultural context, is of the highest value. Secondly, his work can interest social and cultural anthropologists currently debating the possibilities and also sometimes the mode of a researcher's engagement in the studied community. This is because the idea appears in Prof. Stopa's texts that his work contributed to improving the fate of the societies he studied, yet not through the researcher taking on the role of a spokesperson for the subaltern and marginalised community, but rather through indirect intervention, through 'educating the reader' and forming sympathy for the described peoples.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, he is capable of achieving this plan in reference to the readers of his texts, which can be testified to not only by the author of this very article but also by careful and critical reviewers of his texts.¹⁵ This educational

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. D. WESTERMANN, *Studies on the Peoples and Culture of South West Africa*. By Roman Stopa. 1938. Warszawa: Instytut Biblioteka Polska, "Africa" 1939, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 258.

effect is rarely emphasized in contemporary anthropology. Anthropologists prefer to 'intervene' rather than insist on shaping the understanding of others, a much more complex route to take. Roman Stopa directly negates the possibility of intervening, writing that it is not his "thing to find a way to rescue [the Bushmen and Hottentots from extinction – note M.B.]. For me, a casual observer, this presents itself to be a problem within a series of other problems that Africa in general, especially South-West Africa, grapples with."¹⁶

We can find similar intentions to those expressed by Prof. Stopa in texts written by anthropologists, including in reference to this same field he was studying; however, these are usually studies that merge ethnography and biography.¹⁷ There are certain dangers inherent to the proposed approach, even though it is noble and worthy of support. Thus, it can turn out that while telling his/her story the author marginalizes or conceals anything that might be detrimental to this sympathy, anything that could shatter the image of the 'noble savage'. In fact, in Roman Stopa's texts we can find no information about normal banditry or thievery, recorded across the world, among the 'noble Bushmen' as well.¹⁸ Elisabeth Marshall Thomas, writer and daughter of the renowned researcher of the San peo-

¹⁶ "...jest rzeczą wynajdywać drogi tego ratunku. Dla mnie, przygodnego obserwatora, przedstawia się to jako problem w szeregu innych problemów, jakie w ogóle następuje Afryka, a Afryka Pd.-Zach. w szczególności": R. STOPA, *Hotentoci...*, p. 54.

¹⁷ M. SHOSTAK, *Nisa, the Life and Words of a !Kung Woman*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2000; EADEM, *Return to Nisa*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2009.

¹⁸ K. MOSZYŃSKI, *Ludy zbieracko-łowieckie, ich kultura materialna oraz podstawowe wiadomości o formach współżycia zbiorowego, o wiedzy, życiu religijnym i sztuce*, PWN, Warszawa 1951, p. 105.

ples, Lorna Marshall, wrote her book *The Harmless People* in a similar manner during the same period (the 1950s).¹⁹ Even though this text was held in some mild esteem among anthropologists and Africanists,²⁰ unfortunately the odium of mythmaking compromised its final evaluation.²¹ In the case of Roman Stopa's texts, the situation seems analogous – we are dealing with excellent observations and exceptionally valuable original texts, but we also have the above-discussed omissions.

The Africanist from Kraków also touches upon the issue already mentioned at the beginning of this article, that of the primitiveness of the Bushman and Hottentot cultures. In this scope, Prof. Stopa's ethnological commentary, even though frequently published in the years after World War II, bear clear traces of the anthropological approach from the interwar period or even earlier. Primarily, it is permeated by thinking in evolutionist categories (subordination to the glottogenic concept of the primitiveness of click languages), characteristic especially for German pre-war ethnology linking physical anthropology with social and cultural anthropology.²² In those years, it was almost universally acknowledged that the studies written

¹⁹ E.M. Marshall THOMAS, *The Harmless People*, Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, New York 1958.

²⁰ I. SCHAPER, *The Harmless People*. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, "American Anthropologist" 1960, vol. 62, no. 2, pp. 341-342; M. DOUGLAS, *The Harmless People*. By Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, "Africa" 1961, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 195-196.

²¹ Cf. R.J. GORDON, *The Bushman Myth. The Making of a Namibian Underclass*, Westview Press, Boulder 2000.

²² Cf. A. GINGRICH, *Kraje niemieckojęzyczne*, [in:] *Antropologia. Jedna dyscyplina, cztery tradycje: brytyjska, niemiecka, francuska i amerykańska*, ed. by F. BARTH et al., trans. by J. TEGNEROWICZ, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2007, pp. 114-116.

by German researchers were descriptive and objective, and they were not seen as ideologically shaped interpretations. As late as in the 1950s, the renowned Polish ethnologist Kazimierz Moszyński, in his monumental introduction to ethnography, linked the physical features of populations with their psychological features, referring directly to the work conducted by German pre-war anthropologists, especially the texts by Egon Freiherr von Eickstedt,²³ a foremost representative of Rassenkunde. “Moszyński’s *Man* was not read at the time as a book based on ‘improper’ literature, synthesizing knowledge from ethnological studies with suspect facts and effects”,²⁴ as both before the war and for many years after it, race typologies and hierarchies, as well as “cultural analyses conducted according to the race criterion did not meet with objections.”²⁵ It was in fact the accepted methodology, if not absolutely and undisputedly binding.

²³ K. MOSZYŃSKI, *Człowiek. Wstęp do etnografii powszechnej i etnologii*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław 1958, p. 360.

²⁴ “Człowiek Moszyńskiego nie został odebrany w swoim czasie jako ten, który opiera się na ‘niewłaściwej’ literaturze, który syntetyzuje wiedzę nauk etnologicznych z podejrzanymi faktami i skutkami”: Z. LIBERA, *Antropologia biologiczno-kulturowa i polityka rasowa III Rzeszy w działalności Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit*, [in:] *Antropologia i etnologia w czasie wojny. Działalność Sektion Rassen- und Volkstumsforschung Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit, Krakau 1940-1944, w świetle nowych materiałów źródłowych*, ed. by M. MAJ, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015, p. 31.

²⁵ “...prowadzenie analizy kulturowej według kryterium rasowego nie spotykało się ze sprzeciwem”: G. KUBICA, *Antropologiczny dyskurs rasowy: jego twórcy i dekonstruktorzy*, [in:] *W krainie metarefleksji. Księga poświęcona Profesorowi Czesławowi Robotyckiemu*, ed. by J. BARAŃSKI, M. GOLONKA-CZAJKOWSKA, A. NIEDŹWIEDŹ, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015, p. 96.

Thus, reading Roman Stopa's texts from the presentist perspective leads to the loss of an important historical context for his works. It should therefore come as no surprise nor in fact lead to feelings of indignation that on the first pages of his book dedicated to the culture of the Bushmen,²⁶ Roman Stopa writes that they were "backward" both in physical and cultural terms. "First of all, their silhouette is primitive in physical terms."²⁷ This results from the bodily features, which to a certain extent make certain tribes or some individuals similar to apes: a) the average height corresponds more or less to that of an anthropoid ape [...], d) the face similar to that of an ape, due to both the nose and chin being very poorly developed".²⁸ Stopa's Bushman is a 'natural human', following his/her instincts (like an animal): "[...] for a Bushman, 'the call of the steppe' is something like the instinct of migratory birds",²⁹ his life can only

²⁶ R. STOPA, *Archaizm...*

²⁷ In the footnote, Prof. Roman Stopa explains that the term "primitive" cannot be understood literally, that this does not refer to the absolute meaning, but rather that 'primitiveness' should be regarded primarily as a spiritual approach – inarguably standing due to backwardness or rather specialised in a certain direction and adapted to the conditions resulting from their physical build" ("prymitywny" nie może być czytane literalnie, że nie chodzi o sens bezwzględny, lecz 'prymitywność' należy tu pojmować przede wszystkim jako postawę duchową – bezsprzecznie stojącą w związku z zacofaniem czy raczej wyspecjalizowaną w pewnym kierunku i dostosowaną do warunków budową fizyczną"): *ibidem*, p. 1.

²⁸ "Po pierwsze, postać ich jest prymitywna pod względem fizycznym. Wynika to z ich cech cielesnych, które do pewnego stopnia zbliżają niektóre szczepy czy niektóre indywidua do małp: a) przeciętna wysokość ciała odpowiada mniej więcej wysokości małp człekokształtnych [...], d) twarz podobna do małpy, gdyż zarówno nos, jak i podbródek są bardzo słabo rozwinięte": *ibidem*, pp. 1-3.

²⁹ "[...] dla Buszmena «zew stepu» jest czymś w rodzaju instynktu u ptaków przelotnych" and the steppe "żłobi w duszy ludzkiej wrażenia głębokie i niezapomniane": IDEM, *Hotentoci...*, p. 81.

be understood, Stopa writes, through the joint consideration of the natural environment he lives in, and the people, as the steppe “carves profound and unforgettable impressions into the human soul”. “Against the backdrop of this nature, there is man in compliant, tacit collusion with it, perhaps even in league, primitive man with the psyche of a child, delicate hands incapable of work, [...] as if an ape-man [...], this is the Bushman”.³⁰ The comparison with a child, and thus the use of mythopoetic imaginations in the style of Vico, animals, and even the reference to being physical maladjusted to working serve Roman Stopa as means to emphasize primitiveness and naturality. However, they also indicate psychological features: “A Bushman is not at all capable of achieving a rational understanding of the world. This in essence is what differentiates him from civilized man”.³¹ As the framework imposed by language is not neutral, it should be remembered that for decades this type of narration served to strengthen European paternalism and the colonial presence in Africa, by suggesting that the ‘peoples’ or ‘tribes’ of Africa were ill-prepared nations, ‘not mature’ enough for independent existence.

It should be emphasized that Prof. Stopa’s views did not stand in opposition to stock views held by other scholars,³² especially German physical anthropologists and ethnologists, attempting to prove the similarity between the

³⁰ “Na tle tej przyrody człowiek w zgodnej, cichej z nią zmwowie, niejako w przymierzcu, człowiek pierwotny o psychice dziecka, o rękach delikatnych, nie umiejących pracować, [...] niby małpolud [...], to Buszmen”: *ibidem*, p. 54; emphasis – M.B.

³¹ “Buszmen nie jest w ogóle zdolny do rozumowego ogarniania świata. Tym zasadniczo różni się od człowieka cywilizowanego”: *IDEM, Archaizm...*, p. 5.

³² A. BARNARD, *Anthropology and the Bushman*, p. 2.

Nama and anthropoid apes,³³ and who a few dozen years earlier had been involved in the organisation of popular travelling ‘human zoos’ (also referred to as ‘ethnological expositions’), within the framework of which representatives of the ‘Naturvölker’ were presented publicly.³⁴ For example, in the slogan of the brochure advertising one such touring exhibition travelling around the Netherlands in 1900, one could read that in their appearance Bushman had more features similar to that of an ape than a human.³⁵

Simultaneously, German physical anthropologists, such as Eugen Fischer or Otto Reche, developed their racial theories, which ceased to be limited to registering physical differences between populations, but rather increasingly more distinctly referred to theories linking physicality with mental features, i.e. to the theories of Johann Blumenbach or Christoph Meiners.

In 1913, Eugen Fischer’s text about the ‘Rehoboth bastards’ was published, in which he attempted to prove that mixed marriages led to the birth of degenerate offspring, confirming in this way the 19th-century concepts of Arthur de Gobineau on racial purity. The latter used the example of the Bushmen, wanting to show that they could be taught civilised gestures and behaviours but their nature could not be modified.³⁶ Of course, Roman Stopa does not in any way

³³ M.W. KOWALSKI, *Antropolodzy na wojnie. O ‘brudnej’ użyteczności nauk społecznych*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2015, p. 108.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 103-104.

³⁵ R. CORBEY, *Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930*, “Cultural Anthropology” 1993, vol. 8, no. 3, p. 347.

³⁶ S. MORAN, *Representing Bushmen. South Africa and the Origin of Language*, University Rochester Press, Rochester 2009, p. 67.

refer to the herein listed studies and cannot be accused of racism; it was only my intention to show that the 'scientific atmosphere' at the time permitted an approach showing proximity between 'race and culture', frequently with the two terms applied synonymously.

In his research, Roman Stopa was in essence on his own, knowing little of the anthropological and ethnographic literature on the societies he studied, gathering ethnographic material on the margins of his own linguistic research, referring mostly to stock scholarly opinions and widespread ideas, yet despite this, a large part of his observations of their everyday lives, and especially his folkloristic material, remain to this day a valuable source of field data, a source which is still awaiting proper analysis.

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Photo 1. The San (Bushmen), South-West Africa (borderlands between present-day Namibia and Botswana), 1935. Photograph from Prof. Roman Stopa's collection. From the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

Jacek Kukuczka 

Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków

ROMAN STOPA'S UNKNOWN PHOTOGRAPHS

Sketching a Portrait of the Khoisan Peoples



*If I take a picture of a man
waiting for a bus at a bus stop,
the picture must show more
than a man waiting for a bus.*

Arno Fisher

FROM TODAY'S ethnographic perspective, Prof. Roman Stopa's profile could be presented as follows: a linguist, ethno-musicologist, the author of many scientific and popular science publications, expert in the languages and cultures of the Khoisan,¹ especially the San

¹ In the transcription of the term 'Khoisan' in Polish, there are a number of ways used to spell it: Kojsan, Khoisan, Koisan, Koi-San and Koin-San. The Polish-language article applied the Polonized version 'Koj-san', used by Zygmunt Komorowski in his text *Kultury Czarnej Afryki* [Cultures of Black Africa] (Ossolineum, 1994). In other Polish-language publications, e.g. in the collective work *Ludy Afryki. Przegląd regionalny* [Peoples of Africa. Regional overview] (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu

(Bushmen), but also the Khoikhoi (Hottentots). For many years, he was a professor and lecturer of African languages at the Jagiellonian University, one of the few Polish researchers and scholars to conduct independent research projects in Africa. In 1935, he spent some time in South-West Africa (currently Namibia and Botswana) among the San and Khoikhoi, as well as among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. In the course of his linguistic field studies in Africa, he gathered a unique ethnographic collection, presenting the material culture of the San, presently located in the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

If we were not to mention the photographs, in essence it would not matter much – the description would still seem complete. However, even though it was formed on the margins of the linguist's scholarly activities, this small collection (amounting to only 21 photographs) seems worth mentioning from the ethnographic point of view (especially from that of the dynamically developing subdiscipline of photographic anthropology). All the more so, as we are dealing here with a collection, which – on the one hand – is difficult to identify precisely, while – on the other – is unique for Polish conditions, casting light both on the ethnographic collection and on the context of Prof. Stopa's stay in Africa.

In contemporary anthropology/ethnography, and – more precisely – in anthropological reflections on depicting/representing the non-European world, photography is an excellent example, revealing different ways of per-

Warszawskiego, 1985), the spelling Khoisan is applied. In the English translation of this article, we have also used the spelling Khoisan.

ceiving and recording cultures. Photography, understood as images (icons) of culture, should in their definition be considered as:

- a tool for scientific description, enabling the sensory cognition of reality (an illustration to supplement a narrative description);
- an independent work of art with high aesthetic value;
- and – finally – a ‘statement’ forming an autonomous narration, which has to be seen as a story about the world, but also a project of viewing the world.²

Therefore, photography is treated not only as a document, registering cultural facts characteristic for a particular place, but also as a record of the ideational and aesthetic preferences of its creators. The photographs themselves may function not only as a documentary and scholarly illustration, but can take on the character of an informal story about the world.

If such a defined function of photography were to be applied in reference to the photos left behind by Prof. Stopa, they would without a doubt ideally fulfil the conditions of the first category, i.e. a tool for scientific description (an illustration supplementing a narrative description). However, taking into account the Professor's approach to the societies he analysed, the deep humanism he himself emphasized and the respect he showed the Bushmen and

² M. SZTANDARA, *Słów kilka o fotografii. Propozycje badawcze i możliwe interpretacje*, [in:] *Antropologia wobec fotografii i filmu*, ed. by G. PEŁCZYŃSKI, R. VORBRICH, Wydawnictwo UAM, Poznań 2004, pp. 27-36.

Hottentots, the photographs taken and collected by the Polish researcher of the Khoisan peoples can be treated as a project/way of perceiving the world. Professor Stopa underlined that in order to gain deep knowledge of a language, it is not enough to study its phonetics, grammar or literature, but primarily one should learn about the conditions in which the language functions within its own environment. Prof. Stopa owes such an attitude, among other things, to the above-mentioned humanism, but also to his own emotional approach towards Africans – an approach he never tried to conceal. It is worthwhile to cite a short fragment from Stopa's preserved notes, which provides a good overview of the 'mission' he perceived as part of his research in Africa:

„[...] this is not Livingstone's journey nor a trip in the style of the expeditions of the Prince of Mecklenburg (in which our distinguished Jan Czekanowski participated). The aim of my travels was primarily linguistic research among the Hottentots and Bushmen, especially phonetic studies into their pronunciation, into the way in which they 'click', how they connect these clicks with vowels and consonants, what types of clicks there are and what they express [...]. Humans, or relatively science, have the right and obligation to arrive at the sources of human speech [...], as speech is the prime tool of thought, human development and culture.³”

³ „[...] to nie jest podróż Livingstone'a ani podróż w stylu wyprawy księcia Meklemburskiego (w której wziął udział nasz wybitny antropolog Jan Czekanowski). Moja podróż miała na celu przede wszystkim badania językowe u Hotentotów i Buszmenów, a zwłaszcza studia fonetyczne nad ich wymową, nad sposobem w jaki oni 'mlaskają', jak łączą oni owe mlaski z samogłoskami i spółgłoskami, jakie są rodzaje tych mlasków i co one

One word is especially significant in this quotation: culture. Travelling to Africa, this relatively young, forty-year-old researcher was a well-prepared linguist, with knowledge of the language (languages) he was interested in. Less than a year later, he returned not only a linguist, but also an ethnographer – an experienced (due in part also to various failures and challenges) fieldworker, conscious of the significance of the social processes and cultural changes taking place, which – as should be noted – he wanted to record.

These concisely described circumstances have made it possible today, 80 years after his journey, to work on the ethnographic and photographic collection he gathered. However, the collection would not even have come into existence if it were not for the journey itself and – to use ethnographers' slang – if not for the so-called 'field'. Thus, it would be worthwhile to provide a short outline of the temporal, geographic and cultural background of Prof. Roman Stopa's stay in Africa, as the ethnographic collection and preserved photographs are the effect of events that took place in present-day Namibia and Botswana (and partially also South Africa) in 1935.

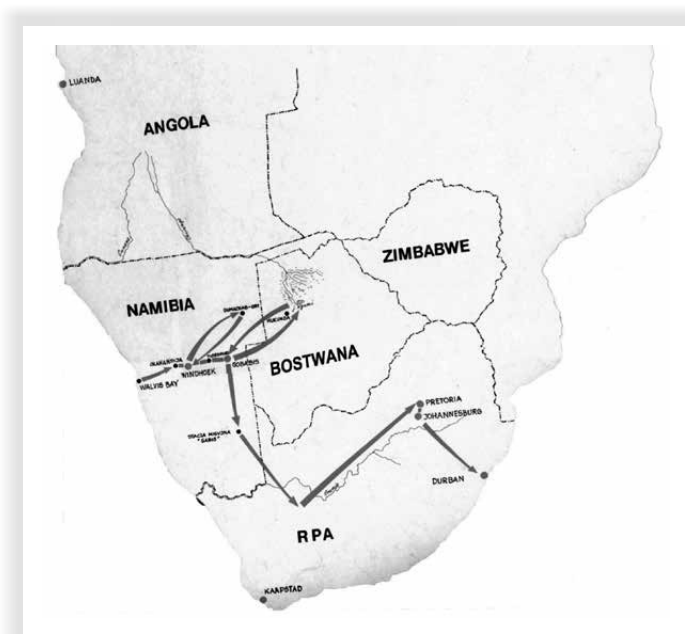
In March 1935, together with his wife, Maria (an important fact from his biography!), Roman Stopa – following a journey by ship along the western coast of Africa that took a few weeks – arrived in Walvis Bay, a strategic port

wyrażają [...]. Człowiek, względnie nauka, ma prawo i obowiązek dotrzeć do źródeł mowy ludzkiej [...], bo wszakże mowa to pierwszorzędne narzędzie myśli, rozwoju ludzkiego i kultury”: Quoted after the handwritten notes and records from his travels, located in the Academic Archives of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków (Roman Stopa K III – 125, ref. no. 16, 54 and 88).

in British South-West Africa (encompassing territories in present-day South Africa and Namibia). After taking care of the necessary official state formalities, the Stopas embarked on their trip to Okahandja, one of the oldest municipal centres (neighbourhoods) in Namibia at that time, where they stayed from 26 March to 14 May, as guests at Rhenische Mission, a Protestant missionary and research centre. It was there, surely after taking into account the suggestions put forward by Dr Vedder, a distinguished linguist and Roman Stopa's 'research advisor' while in Africa, that he planned his research and travel route. From Okahandja, the Stopas moved to Windhoek, the capital of present-day Namibia, from which they travelled to the Gumaxab Ost (Gumuchab Ost) farm, run by the Wiśniewskis, a family of Polish emigrants and farmers. For the three weeks of his stay there, Dr Roman Stopa conducted comparative linguistic studies among the San and Khoikhoi employed at the farm. On 30 June, Roman Stopa once again travelled to Windhoek, from which a few days later he and his wife set out east, to Gobabis, a mission and settlement on the edges of the Kalahari Desert. He spent over two months there. During this period, he embarked on possibly his only trip into the heart of the desert, reaching as far in the north-eastern direction as the Okavango wetlands (in present-day Botswana). During this journey lasting over a dozen days (in the context of the photographs, it is especially important to note that he probably did not travel alone), he encountered the San living still in relative isolation from the Whites and leading an almost nomadic hunter lifestyle. During his stay in Gobabis, Roman Stopa also bought a collection of photographs from a man called Rudebutz (?). In mid-September, once again via Windhoek, the Stopas travelled to Tsumeb and

the north-east territories of mandatory South-West Africa, where they spent a few days in the (Protestant?) mission there. Unfortunately, the inhospitable approach of the nearby German farmers towards the young Polish scholar made it impossible to do any research near either this settlement or neighbouring Grootfontein. However, in Prof. Stopa's preserved personal notes there is mention that during a stay lasting a few days in Grootfontein, he purchased more photographs from a German called Scheit. The Stopas once again spent the end of September in Windhoek, this time as the guests of another Polish family, the Rudzieckis. During this stay, Roman Stopa bought some pyrographs (made using a technique involving burning an image onto a wooden board with an iron tip – currently in the collections of the Kraków Ethnographic Museum) from some Ovambo staying in town. From Windhoek, Roman Stopa and his wife slowly moved in a southern direction, finally stopping in Keetmanshoop. There, the Kraków-based linguist was able to come in contact with some representatives of the Khoikhoi from the Nama group and conduct some research among them. In turn, during his stay in southern Namibia, Roman Stopa went on a few-day-long escapade to Lüderitz on the Skeleton Coast. Towards the end of October, the Stopas journeyed to Cape Town, where they stayed until mid-November 1935. From there, they moved to Johannesburg and Lake Chrissie, arriving in Durban on 11 December. They left Africa by ship, travelling to Hamburg, which they reached on 11 February 1936. He arrived in Poland, in his home town of Kraków, at the beginning of March.⁴

⁴ Prof. Roman Stopa's travel route and the places he stayed in South-West Africa have been established based on his handwritten



Il. 1. A schematic map depicting the places in which Roman Stopa conducted research or travelled to in 1935 within present-day Namibia, Botswana and RSA (Map from the exhibition “Bushmen and Hottentots. The archaic cultures of South-West Africa” held at the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków in 1995).

This concise description of the route he travelled and places where he conducted research is, of course, an extremely short overview of the seven-month-long stay. Some of the listed places are currently Southern African

notes, notes from his journey, receipts, tickets and other archival material gathered in the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and Polish Academy of Science in Kraków (Roman Stopa K III – 125, ref. no. 54).

metropolises or large – for Namibian circumstances – towns, while others are still only points on a map, difficult to identify (farms, stopovers on the route of his journey through present-day Botswana). However, the aim is not just to precisely reconstruct the ‘movements’ and destinations reached by Prof. Stopa during his research – like on a chessboard, but rather to take a broader look at the legacy he has left behind. It is important to note that Prof. Roman Stopa’s achievements are usually considered from the point of view of linguistics – as they naturally should, while it is in fact possible, and even necessary, to analyse them from different perspectives. For the purposes of this text, let us refer to these perspectives as anthropological or ethnological.

From the point of view of ethnography (ethnographic museology), during a period of linguistic research lasting only a few months, Roman Stopa was able to gather a unique collection, the only existing one within Polish ethnographic collections, consisting of objects illustrating the culture of the Khoisan peoples (mainly the San/Bushmen, but also the Khoikhoi/Hottentots).⁵ This collection was acquired directly by a researcher participating in a planned

⁵ Currently, the Museum collections contain 82 items, of which the majority (51) illustrate the material culture of the San (Bushmen), while the remainder (31) were acquired among the Khoikhoi, referred to colloquially as the Hottentots, the Ovambo and the Bakalahari (a Bantu group), as well as the Boers (Afrikaners), the white inhabitants of South Africa, descendants of Dutch settlers. The collection is currently lacking 15 natural items (jackal skins, ostrich eggs, etc.) and eight items of an ethnographic nature, which were either lost or destroyed during the German occupation (1939-1945), when the collections had to be partially moved. As a side note, it is worth mentioning the valuable collection of audio recordings – these are vinyl records registering Roman Stopa’s voice, his statements concerning the oral folklore (stories, tales and songs) of the

research project executed according to certain guidelines. In addition, upon his return, it was placed in museum collections and was later described and documented by Stopa himself as a consistent set of items. The beginning of World War II, as well as later issues with housing and organisational problems led to the collection being fully analysed and described only much later, in the 1998 monographic issue of the Ethnographic Museum's Annual, dedicated to non-European countries.⁶ However, these same items, regardless of the degree to which they have been described, analysed and published, have on many occasions been presented during temporary exhibitions both in the museum itself and outside Kraków.⁷

In the analyses of these ethnographic collections, the small but very valuable collection of photographs received from Prof. Stopa has been omitted (due in part to the doubts linked to how he came by them, as discussed further below). This collection of photographs (or rather iconographs, as they include, for example, a postcard) consists of only 21 items. In 1936, some of them ended up in

Khoisan peoples. In total, this collection consists of nine vinyl records (78 RPM).

⁶ J. KUKUCZKA, *Afrykańskie zbiory prof. Romana Stopy w Muzeum Etnograficznym w Krakowie*, "Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie" 1998, vol. 14, pp. 167-182.

⁷ Including *Bushmen and Hottentots. The archaic cultures of South-West Africa*, an exhibition accompanying the session dedicated to Prof. Roman Stopa, Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, December 1995 – January 1996; *Africa. The cultures of Namibia 100 years ago and today*, Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, July – September 2004; *Travellers. Collections of Polish travellers in the Seweryn Udziela Museum of Ethnography in Kraków*, Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, November 2001 – May 2002; *Polish descriptions of the world*, Museum of Ethnography. Branch of the National Museum in Wrocław, September 1995 – September 1996.

the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków along with the ethnographic collection, the remaining elements must have been handed over to the museum in the post-war period (or were only then inventoried). To this day, the photographs remain a mystery and a challenge for Africanists, while simultaneously – and without a shadow of a doubt – being an invaluable source of knowledge both about the San themselves and the social situation in the 1930s in South-West Africa. In addition, visual anthropology, which has been rapidly developing over the last decades, enables considering the recorded image as the source of a relationship between the researcher (linguist/ethnographer) and the researched subject (the San, the native people).

However, before we take a critical look at the iconographic material gathered by Prof. Stopa, it is necessary first to describe this quite random – as it seems at first glance – collection of photographs. As in the case of the items, most of them record the San people, their everyday lives, duties and encounters with the Whites, but also the population from other ethnic groups (e.g. the Bantu). The remainder consists of portraits of Khoikhoi (Hottentot) and Ovambo men and women, as well as scenes from the lives of the Herero people.⁸ However, the fundamental question remains whether Professor Roman Stopa himself ever took any of the photographs? This question might seem strange in connection to this collection of photographs, if somewhat small, which thanks to him made its way to

⁸ It is worth mentioning that the collections of the Archive of Science in the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków also contain a few other photographs taken by Roman Stopa (or a person accompanying him) or acquired (purchased) by him during his travels across modern-day Namibia and Botswana.

museum collections and archives. In order to disperse any doubts, we can state today that he did indeed ‘author’ some of these photographs, later using them, for example, in his article *Kalahari i jej mieszkańcy* [Kalahari and its inhabitants].⁹ Two out of the five shots published there can be found among the above-mentioned 21 photographs in the collections of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. In addition, at least another two out of the remaining 19 depict this same group of San members, taken in identical circumstances, and thus they most probably come from the same film, from the same author, which we think was Roman Stopa. Therefore, we are relatively sure about the authorship of four (sic!) photographs. What about the remaining ones? In this case, we can only speculate. We can find out from the archival preserved notes on the back of the cards onto which the photographs were at one point attached using glue (!) that the author of some of them was Captain J. Nickl. Unfortunately, we know nothing about this person, as he is not mentioned by Professor Stopa in his memoirs and there is no trace of him in the preserved archival material among the items left by the Professor in the Archive of Science in the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków.¹⁰

⁹ R. STOPA, *Kalahari i jej mieszkańcy*, “Kontynenty” 1974, no. 9, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰ Stopa’s notes and fragments of his diary only provide a partial answer to these questions. Among other things, we can find out that during his stay in Gobabis between the 3rd July and 12 September 1935, Roman Stopa bought photographs from someone called Rūdebu... (surname illegible). In the general list of expenses he kept based on receipts and his own notes, we can find information that he spent in total 1F and 16s (shillings) on the purchase of photographs. This included 10 photographs bought in Windhoek, 5 each in Gobabis and Grootfontein, as well

One exception is a postcard depicting a Bushman woman carrying a child on her back, signed at the bottom with an inscription in English and Afrikaans.

On the basis of the preserved archival material and the comparisons made, we can state that some (lesser) amount of the photographs were taken by Professor Stopa himself or by a person who accompanied him during his travels and who gave him the photographs (or took them for him). The remaining ones are most probably purchases made in photography studies in Gobabis, Windhoek, etc.¹¹ Unfortunately, such issues with establishing the authorship of the photographs seem quite impossible to resolve. Despite this, the question of what kind of Africa we can see on the photographs remains pertinent. What do they say about the San, the Khoikhoi, the Bantu and the Whites living in

as 8 each in Lüderitz and Kolmanskoop, which amounts to 36 photographs. However, this does not ultimately answer the question whether these would include those currently in the collections of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, and – if so – which ones and how many (Roman Stopa K III – 125, reg. no. 54).

¹¹ At the time, this was a natural procedure – travellers and researchers purchased prints from those living in the colonies and photographers rendering their services, frequently the only ones to do so for hundreds of kilometres. They usually had at their disposal their own atelier, but – most importantly – the appropriate equipment, which allowed them to photograph the so-called anthropological types (photos in profile, frequently portraits, against an appropriately selected background and in a particular staffage) or to take photographs in the field. In this context, it is worth mentioning the silhouette and activities of the Polish photographer, Kazimierz Zagórski, who in 1924-1937 lived and worked in Leopoldville (present-day Kinshasa). His photographs – taken and distributed in hundreds of copies – have made their way into many collections and archives. For more on these topic, cf., among other publications: C.M. GEARY, *In and Out of Focus. Images from Central Africa, 1885-1960*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 2002; K. MUSZYŃSKA, *Afryka zaklęta w fotografiach Zagórskiego*, "Fotografia" 2000, no. 19.



Photo 2. Farmers in a so-called donkmobil, South-West Africa (borderlands of present-day Namibia and Botswana), 1935. Photograph from Prof. Roman Stopa's collection. From the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

South-West Africa in the 1930s? And last but not least, why did a linguist need such photographs?

The answer seems to be strongly linked to the Professor's personality, and the 'effect of the terrain' – as it is referred to in ethnography – is also extremely important. Prof. Stopa, conducting his research in the 1930s, could not ignore the broader context, especially the fact that he was conducting it during a period when not only the culture of the Khoisan peoples but also their language was undergoing dramatic transformations. The specific character of the time and place of research, spread across a large area encompassing present-day Namibia and Botswana, must

have inclined him to gather items and register on film the state of the preservation of the archaic tribal cultures he was studying. The places he visited (towns, missions, farms, but also prisons) made it possible to observe not only the San and Khoikhoi, but all the inhabitants of South-West Africa, and thus also the Herero, Damara, Ovambo, as well as the white settlers.

Thus, aside from the linguistic notes and music scores, we can also find among the things he left behind unique items he acquired – which is important to note – directly from the San he encountered and valuable photographs documenting the meetings, the people and places along the way. In two of them – probably the best out of the whole collection – we can see how the encountered Sans were ‘arranged’ for the photograph. Some of them are smiling, trying to find a place for themselves in front of the camera, perhaps interested or shy, while the others are looking in the indicated direction or at another person (as indicated by the shadow captured in the shot). We can see that the photographer was standing close to those being photographed, and had managed to establish contact with them (imagine the surprise the Bushmen felt when they met a white man on the edges of the Kalahari Desert who spoke use their language fluently!). In addition, there is a high probability that part of the ethnographic items (a container for ‘powder’ made from a turtle shell, adornments made from crushed ostrich eggs, and perhaps also a leather apron) are the same as the ones captured on the photographs. In addition, we can observe a ‘neckband’ worn on the men’s necks, probably made from glass beads, and thus an item characteristic for the adornment of the Bantu Nguni (Ngoni) peoples. Therefore, through access-

ing these photographs, we are restoring the personality of the objects, we can see how they were worn, but primarily we can see their former owners. This is the added value of this modest photography collection.

Aside from the Bushmen and Hottentots, we can also find completely different scenes on the preserved photographs. This is rather the effect of the photograph being taken in such a way that the photographed subjects might not have even been aware that they were at that precise moment being immortalised on film. This is easily observable in the photo in which some Herero women are placing an organic mixture on the structure (thatch) of a hut. Even the child accompanying them does not see the camera lens (or at least he or she is not looking in the direction of the photographer).

These are everyday situations, unpretentious, almost random – but, as a result, real. Of course, there can be no doubt that Prof. Stopa devoted most of his attention to an aspect that could not be rendered by any object or photograph, i.e. changes in the language of the researched ethnic group. However, by studying click languages, he also noted something that was occurring parallel to the culture: mutability, borrowings, mutual influences. Thus, it can be stated that Prof. Stopa's photographs are an example of the typical use of an image for research purposes. Simultaneously, Roman Stopa, an expert on the peoples he described, on their language and culture, perceived the people photographed and immortalised on photographs as obvious; he was not interested in the uniqueness or 'exoticism' of the San, Khoikhoi or Herero. His photographs reveal and preserve for us an image of unembellished everyday life and the normality of existence. There



Photo 3. The San (Bushmen), South-West Africa (borderlands of present-day Namibia and Botswana), 1935. Photograph from Prof. Roman Stopa's collection. From the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

is no aura of mystery, exotic allure or theatrical staging. The photographs taken and gathered by the Polish linguist are a result of his research interests, personal sensitivity and involvement in the situation in which the studied Khoisan people were at the time. It is worth emphasizing that Prof. Stopa was free of the passion for discovering and immortalising cultures as untouched by the hand of white man as possible, so common among ethnographers (to this day). In contrast, for him the most important thing was language and it was not important whether he was speaking to someone dressed in ‘canonically pure’ attire, a modest leather hip apron and adornments made from crushed ostrich egg shells or whether the person was wearing fragments of clothing he or she had acquired from the Whites. This particular approach can also be observed in the collected photographs, in which – alongside the Sans and Khoikhois he met at the farms and in the deserts, their ‘more civilised’ kinsman – the Ovambo and the Herero – were also photographed.

We can note one more thing in the photos taken and acquired by Roman Stopa. This is in reference to a somewhat delicate subject, which might perhaps have influenced his later academic career. Professor Stopa was a staunch supporter of the thesis (if not to say the theory) that the San group, and – more precisely – their language is a remnant of ‘first fruits’, and in fact is an example of the “archaeology of human speech”. This controversial hypothesis required being grounded by other – anthropological and ethnographic evidence, as a result of which we can find such characteristic shots in the collection as a photograph of the San and a representative of the Bantu, which – by contrasting their height and body build – was supposed to



Photo 4. Herero women. South-West Africa (borderlands of present-day Namibia and Botswana), 1935. Photograph from Prof. Roman Stopa's collection. From the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

provide support for the linguistic theories on the primitiveness of the former.

Are Prof. Stopa's photographs (i.e. the photographs gathered and taken by him) thus only a record – a tool to support a scientific, linguistic description? Or perhaps some of them are also a 'personal statement', a form of telling a story about the world? It is difficult to provide a single answer: perhaps any person who comes in contact with the photographs will have to judge each one separately by him – or herself. However, regardless of this evalua-



Photo 5. San (Bushman) women and children and a Bantu man. South-West Africa (borderlands of present-day Namibia and Botswana), 1935. Photograph from Prof. Roman Stopa's collection. From the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

tion, thanks to these few photographs, we can today know much more about the people and cultures to whom Prof. Stopa dedicated most of his long life. Undoubtedly, from the perspective of time, the value of these photographs has only grown. They are perhaps 'sketches made on the margins' – seemingly only additional elements, somewhat less important, but nonetheless they reveal a reality difficult to render using just words. It is thanks to them, even more so than to the various objects and his scholarly publications, that a fragment of the world experienced by Prof. Roman Stopa in Southern Africa has been preserved.

Post Scriptum We cannot be 100% certain who took the photo published at the beginning of this text. We know neither the place nor circumstances in which it was taken. However, the photograph of the San group (family) in front of a *pontok* (a colloquial name used by Prof. Stopa himself to refer to their houses), if looked at from today's perspective, shows more (much more!) than simply a San group (family) in front of a *pontok*. This is precisely what makes photography so exceptional – the circumstances in which photographs are taken and the photographer's intentions are suspended and time reveals new fields for interpretations.

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PART II

AFRICAN STUDIES IN KRAKÓW
AFTER WORLD WAR II





Professor Tadeusz Lewicki,
Photograph from Dr Urszula
Lewicka-Rajewska's archive

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TADEUSZ LEWICKI'S ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE FIELD OF AFRICAN STUDIES



IN JANUARY 2016, we celebrated the 110th anniversary of the birth of an accomplished scholar whose academic achievements could be classified as part of the African studies field. Professor Tadeusz Lewicki, even though he is known mostly as one of the most renowned Polish Orientalists, a specialist in Arabic studies and medieval historian, could from today's perspective easily be referred to as one of the pioneers of African studies in Poland. When Professor Lewicki began to function as a fully mature researcher, African studies in Poland were only in the early stages of formation, which is why his achievements within the scope of African issues are usually classified as part of Oriental studies.¹ The researcher frequently referred to himself as a representative of African studies,

¹ In her memoirs, Dr Alicja Małecka, one of the professor's closest colleagues, refers to Lewicki as an "Arabist and Africanist", cf. A. MAŁECK-

which to his understanding was part of Oriental studies.² The aim of this chapter is to provide information about an accomplished researcher, an Arabist and Africanist, with a well-established international reputation and who was associated with the Jagiellonian University, with special note of his achievements in the field of African studies.

Tadeusz Lewicki was born on 26th January 1906 in Lviv (Polish: Lwów) in a family belonging to local intellectual circles and with gentry origins. His father was a renowned lawyer. In 1919, at the age of 13, Lewicki took part in the struggle for retaining the Polishness of Lviv against Ukrainian nationalists, joining the ranks of a group of Polish volunteers known as the Lviv Eaglets (Orlęta Lwowskie). In 1925, he graduated from Casimir the Great's 8th State Real Gymnasium in Lviv, while in 1927 he began studying law at the Humanities Faculty at the Jan Casimir University, in this way following family tradition. However, as he dreamt of pursuing a career in diplomacy in one of the Muslim countries, he left for Paris in 1928, where he studied political science and Eastern languages.³ At that time, he also travelled to Algeria for a few months, where he spent his time in an Arabic-speaking environment. He learnt the language and culture of the country in one of the oases near the town of Biskra, situated in the foothills of the Au-

KA, *Profesor Tadeusz. Wspomnienie o Profesorze Tadeuszu Lewickim (1906-1992)*, "Cracovia Leopoli" 1998, no. 15, p. 8.

² T. LEWICKI, *Najważniejsze problemy historiografii Afryki Subsaharyjskiej na Międzynarodowym Kongresie Historii Afryki w Dar es Salaam (26 IX – 3 X 1965)*, "Etnografia Polska" 1968, vol. 12, p. 225; interview with Dr U. Lewicka-Rajewska, Professor T. Lewicki's daughter, 20.06.2016.

³ A. MAŁECKA, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

res Mountains.⁴ During that period, he hiked through the Sahara to Tripolitania, wearing Bedouin clothing and accompanying camel shepherds. As he later recalls, this was when he came to the important decision to change what he was studying.⁵

Upon his return to Lviv, Lewicki quit his legal studies, and dedicated himself to Oriental studies under the supervision of the accomplished Arabist, Professor Zygmunt Smogorzewski (1884–1931), a former diplomat of the Russian Empire and earlier the Russian vice-consul in Algeria.⁶ From this last country, Smogorzewski brought a collection of previously unstudied Ibadi manuscripts.⁷ He also acquired a lot of information from Kalasanty Motyliński, a French expert in Arabic studies with Polish origins.⁸ As of 1930, Smogorzewski, who was having increasingly more issues with his health, found a successor in Lewicki and infected his student

⁴ In Antiquity, Biskra was a Roman city called Vescera, located at the crossroads of the caravan routes from the Sahara to the Mediterranean coast.

⁵ J. BUBKA, B. OSTAFIN, *Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992)*, [in:] *Studia Orientalia Thaddaeo Lewicki Oblata. Materiały sesji naukowej poświęconej pamięci profesora Tadeusza Lewickiego, Kraków, 17-18 listopada 1993*, ed. by E. GÓRSKA, B. OSTAFIN, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Instytut Filologii Orientalnej, Kraków 1994, p. 167.

⁶ *Zygmunt Smogorzewski*, *Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, [on-line:] <http://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/index.php/a/zygmunt-smogorzewski> – 16.05.2016.

⁷ Most of the manuscripts he collected later became part of the Lviv University collections.

⁸ Gustaw Adolf Kalasanty Motyliński (1854-1907) – the son of a Polish emigrant, born in French Algeria, a researcher of Africa, expert in Arabic culture and language, an Orientalist and traveller. As a translator in the French Foreign Legion, he went on numerous expeditions into the Saharan interior. Motyliński founded the Higher School of Arabic Studies in Constantine. He specialised in research into the Ibadi, cf. *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN*, PWN, Warszawa 2003, vol. 18, p. 147.

with an interest in the Ibadi from the Maghreb region.⁹ In 1931, Lewicki, who at the time was Smogorzewski's assistant, earned his PhD degree on the basis of a thesis about the history of North Africa during the early Middle Ages, written under the supervision of his master.¹⁰

In November 1931, Prof. Smogorzewski died and – due the lack of a successor – the Department of Oriental Studies at the Jan Casimir University in Lviv was closed down. Lewicki was then employed by the Department of Ancient History, directed by Prof. Konstanty Chyliński. In 1932-1934, Lewicki went on a scholarship to France, where he was able to study at Parisian universities – the Sorbonne and the Collège de France, coming into contact with such famous scholars as the renowned expert on Muslim mysticism Louis Massignon or the specialist in Arabic studies William Marçais. He then travelled to the main Ibadi centres in the Algerian Sahara – the oases M'zab, Beni Isguen and Ouargla, where he studied Ibadi manuscripts on site.¹¹ This research resulted in a series of articles in the most renowned academic journal specializing in Islamic issues – “Revue des Études Islamiques”.¹²

⁹ The Ibadi – a moderate Khariji sect, which appeared in Al-Iraq towards the end of the 7th century and spread primarily among the Maghreb Berbers, cf. J. SOURDEL, D. SOURDEL, *Cywilizacja islamu*, trans. by M. SKURATOWICZ, W. DEMBSKI, PIW, Warszawa 1980, p. 477.

¹⁰ Archive of the Jagiellonian University [herein referred to as: AJU], ref. no. III 246, T. Lewicki's personnel file, Statement about T. Lewicki's PhD written by Prof. W. Podlacha (21.03.1949) and Dr A. Klawka (23.02.1949); A. MAŁECKA, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

¹¹ Interview with Dr U. Lewicka-Rajewska, Professor T. Lewicki's daughter, 20.06.2016.

¹² A. ZABORSKI, *Min Bilād Aṣ-Ṣaqqālība Ilā Bilād As-Sūdān – od Słowiańszczyzny po Sudan*, [in:] *Studia Orientalia Thaddaeo Lewicki Oblata...*, pp. 7-8.

In the second half of the 1930s, Lewicki, employed as older assistant at the Department of Ancient History at the Jan Casimir University, became involved in research into the Arabic sources describing the history of the Slavic regions. These became an important field of his research also over the next years, and resulted in the book entitled *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle "Księgi Rogera", geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisiego (uwagi ogólne, tekst arabski, tłumaczenie)* [Poland and its neighbouring countries in light of "Roger's Books", by the 12th-century Arabic geographer, al-Idrisi (general commentary, Arabic text, translation)] published in Kraków in 1945, which later became the basis for initiating the procedures necessary to obtain his habilitation degree, completed by his habilitation colloquium in 1949.¹³ His studies into the Arabic manuscripts on the history of the Slavic regions led to him first becoming acquainted and then fast friends with the renowned specialist in Arabic studies from Kraków, Professor Tadeusz Kowalski, the director of the Department of Oriental Philology at the Jagiellonian University, which will have a significant influence on Lewicki's later post-war fortunes and his academic career.¹⁴

During World War II, Lewicki fought in the partisan forces in the Zamojskie region as a soldier of the Home Army (Armia Krajowa). He was also the editor of the partisan newspaper "Echa Leśne" [Forest echoes]. He

¹³ Archive of the Jagiellonian University [herein referred to as: AJU], ref. no. III 246, T. Lewicki's personnel file, Statement about T. Lewicki's PhD written by Prof. W. Podlach (21.03.1949) and Dr A. Klawka (23.02.1949).

¹⁴ Interview with Dr U. Lewicka-Rajewska, Professor T. Lewicki's daughter, 20.06.2016.

later participated in the Warsaw Uprising in the rank of sub-lieutenant as commander of the RPG platoon in the 1st sub-district in the “Chrobry II” group.¹⁵ After the uprising ended, he was a prisoner of war in the Murnau Oflag in Bavaria. After the camp was liberated by American forces, he remained in Germany for some time, serving in the picket in the American occupation zone. In 1946, he came to Italy and became a soldier of the Second Corpus. In Fermo, he taught Polish history and literature in the Gymnasium and Mechanical Lyceum of the Second Corpus of the Polish Military Forces in the West. He was then evacuated to Great Britain, where he stayed for a short time and then returned to his homeland in 1947.¹⁶

Upon his return, Lewicki settled in Kraków, where he started working in the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences. In August 1949, he was employed by the Jagiellonian University, where he worked until he retired.¹⁷ Initially, he taught the Arabic language, but after he obtained his habilitation degree in December 1949, he was appointed to the position of deputy professor in the Department of Oriental Philology at the Faculty of the Humanities.¹⁸ In 1951, he was appointed the head of the Department of Oriental Philology, which in 1972 was transformed into

¹⁵ Tadeusz Lewicki, [in:] *Powstańcze biogramy*, [on-line:] http://www.1944.pl/historia/powstancze-biogramy/Tadeusz_Lewicki_1 – 14.05.2016.

¹⁶ K. KOŚCIELNIAK, *The contribution of Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki (1906-1992) to Islamic and West African Studies*, “Analecta Cracoviensia” 2012, vol. 44, p. 243.

¹⁷ AUJ, reg. no. SIII 246, T. Lewicki’s personnel file, Work contract concluded with the Rector of the Jagiellonian University, 24.10.1949.

¹⁸ Ibidem, Deanery of the Faculty of the Humanities, Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Confirmation of Dr Tadeusz Lewicki’s habilitation in the field of Arabic philology, 29.12.1949.

the Institute of Oriental Philology.¹⁹ For many years, Professor Lewicki was the chair of the Committee of Oriental Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He is merited with having expanded Oriental studies at the Jagiellonian University and with the formation of African studies specialisations within its framework.²⁰

At the beginning of the 1960s, as a result of the decolonisation of Africa and the formation of independent states, interest in the continent increased, which led to the development of African studies and, in some countries, the formation of appropriate departments; such a situation also occurred in Poland.²¹ Thanks to his interest in the Ibadi and the history of medieval Africa, Professor Lewicki, as an accomplished expert on Arabic sources, was one of the few researchers in Poland to be well prepared for conducting studies into the history of Africa. It is no coincidence that Professor Lewicki published the highest amount of publications and participated in the largest amount of academic conferences on African studies issues during this period (1960-1970). His extensive proficiency resulting to the education he had obtained in the fields of philology and Arabic studies, including his fluency in Arabic, his broad historical and geographical knowledge of the region, expanded

¹⁹ Ibidem, Confirmation of the reception of the appointment of Dr Tadeusz Lewicki as director of the Department of Oriental Philology, the Ministry of Higher Education, Personnel Department, Department of Autonomous Academic Personnel in Warsaw, 20.08.1953.

²⁰ K. MACIUSZAK, *Z historii orientalistyki na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim*, "Alma Mater" 2009-2010, no. 120-121, p. 139.

²¹ The first African studies department in Poland was formed at the University of Warsaw in 1969 as the Department of Semitic and African Studies, cf. [on-line] <http://www.afrykanistyka.uw.edu.pl/o-katedrze> – 5.06.2016.

as a result of the research he did in the field in the 1930s, aided him in conducting comprehensive studies of Arabic sources on the history of Africa, which was reflected in his publications, such as *Arabic External Sources for the History of Africa to the South of Sahara*,²² *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Afryki na południe od Sahary* [Arabic sources on the history of Africa south of the Sahara],²³ *Dzieje Afryki od czasów najdawniejszych do XIV w. Wybrane zagadnienia* [The History of Africa from the most ancient times to the 16th century. Selected issues].²⁴ His interests, previously limited to North Africa, were expanded to include the study of areas south of the Sahara.²⁵ Especially his achievements as a researcher of the medieval history of Western Sudan place him among the most renowned experts on this topic in the world.

Lewicki was also fascinated by the political and trade contacts between the Muslim world and the inhabitants of Sub-Saharan Africa living both on the east and the west coasts of the continent, as a consequence of which the following texts were published: *Z dziejów handlu transsaharyjskiego. Kupcy i misjonarze ibadyccy w zachodnim i środkowym Sudanie w VIII-XII w.* [From the history of trans-Saharan trade: Ibadi merchants and missionaries in the western

²² T. LEWICKI, *Arabic External Sources for the History of Africa to the South of Sahara*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1969.

²³ IDEM, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Afryki na południe od Sahary*, "Etnografia Polska" 1965, vol. 9, pp. 221-293.

²⁴ IDEM, *Dzieje Afryki od czasów najdawniejszych do XIV w. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Uniwersytet Warszawski. Studium Afrykanistyczne, Warszawa 1969.

²⁵ IDEM, *Z przeszłości Zachodniej Afryki*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 1965, vol. 11, pp. 679-717; IDEM, *Pożywienie ludności Zachodniej Afryki w średniowieczu według źródeł arabskich*, "Etnografia Polska" 1963, vol. 7, pp. 31-191.

and central Sudan in the 8th-12th centuries];²⁶ *Najstarsza wzmianka o stosunkach Arabii muzułmańskiej ze wschodnim wybrzeżem Afryki* [The oldest mention of Muslim Arabia relations on the eastern coast of Africa].²⁷

In 1965, Professor Lewicki was invited to the International Congress of African History, organized by the University College in Dar es Salaam, in cooperation with the government of the United Republic of Tanzania and with the support of UNESCO. Over one hundred and forty delegates from around the world participated in the Congress, which took place from 26th September to 2nd October 1965. A debate was organized on issues related to the history of Sub-Saharan Africa and the teaching of history in African schools. The president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, took part in the opening ceremony of the congress. It is worth mentioning that Lewicki was the only Polish representative at the Congress and – as he himself put it – he represented Polish African studies there, presenting the paper *Arabic Sources for the History of Africa to the South of Sahara*.²⁸

One of the most important positions among the Professor's academic legacy is his research into the Ibadites. In 776, the Ibadites formed an independent and stable community in the centre of Tahert (currently Tiaret in Algeria), referred to as "small Al-Iraq". For one and a half centuries, this town was a centre distinguished by rich intellectual

²⁶ IDEM, *Z dziejów handlu transsaharyjskiego: kupcy i misjonarze ibadyccy w zachodnim i środkowym Sudanie w VIII-XII w.*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1961, no. 1, pp. 3-18; IDEM, *Z przeszłości Nubii* [On Nubia's past], "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1965, no. 3, pp. 215-228.

²⁷ IDEM, *Najstarsza wzmianka o stosunkach Arabii muzułmańskiej ze wschodnim wybrzeżem Afryki*, copied from: "Sprawozdanie z posiedzeń Komisji Oddziału PAN w Krakowie" 1962 (January-June).

²⁸ IDEM, *Najważniejsze problemy historiografii...*, pp. 225-264.

and economic output, from which the Ibadites controlled regional trade over large distances. In a short time, they brought the Berbers under their control in large areas of the Maghreb and Libya.²⁹ Lewicki's research showed that the north-western trade routes leading from the towns located by the Mediterranean Sea through the Sahara to Sudan (*bilād as-Sūdān*)³⁰ functioned mainly due to the Ibadites from North Africa. Thanks to the Ibadi settlements, the lands of Sudan maintained contact with the world, while the towns located on the caravan routes became richer thanks to the trade, within the frameworks of which salt from the Sahara mines was exchanged for millet, gold, ivory, horses and slaves from Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the Ibadites from the Tripolitania region maintained trade contacts with the inhabitants of areas surrounding Lake Chad. The merchants were followed by missionaries, who spread Islam to the area.³¹ Lewicki claimed that one of the earliest routes between Tāhert, Ouargla and Sudan was established at the turn of the 8th and 9th centuries.

²⁹ J. SOURDEL, D. SOURDEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 554, 570.

³⁰ Sudan, in Arabic *bilād as-Sūdān* – "The Land of the Black People". This term was used to refer to the lands of subtropical Africa, where Islam arrived in the Middle Ages. It refers to a geographical and historical land that covered the area between the Sahel and the equatorial (tropical) rain forests, as well as between the Abyssinian plateau and the Atlantic Ocean. Historical Sudan is divided into three parts: West Sudan encompassing the basin of Senegal and Central Niger, extending from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Chad, in contemporary times encompassing such countries as Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger; Central Sudan – from the borders of the present-day Republic of Sudan and covering most of today's Republic of Chad; East Sudan – encompassing the basin of the Upper Nile and presently constituting a large part of the current territory of the Republic of Sudan, cf. *ibidem*, p. 563.

³¹ K. KOŚCIELNIAK, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248.

More or less at this same time, a second trade route between Tādmekka, Ouargla, Tozeur and Qayrawān was established. Somewhat later, yet another, third trade route was opened, leading through the settlements of Ouargla, M'zab and Oued Righ.³² Lewicki's research regarding the Islamisation of substantial areas of Western Sudan and Central Sudan by the Ibadites between the 8th and the 14th centuries, based on an acute analysis of Ibadi sources, became an inspiration for many later researchers of these issues and add extensive amounts of information about the shaping of the relations between the Arabic-Berber population of North Africa and the Negroid population of Sub-Saharan Africa.³³ As a result, the Professor's interest in the Ibadites also included the history of Berber tribes and their Islamization.³⁴ One such example can be the research

³² T. LEWICKI, *L'État nord-africain de Tāhert et ses relations avec le Soudan occidental à la fin du VIII^e et au IX^e siècle*, "Cahiers d'Études Africaines" 1962, vol. 2, pp. 513-535. For more see: IDEM, *Traits d'histoire du commerce transsaharien. Marchands et missionnaires ibādites au Soudan occidental et central au cours des VIII^e-Xe siècles*, "Etnografia Polska" 1964, vol. 8, pp. 291-311; IDEM, *Les origines et l'islamisation de la ville de Tādmakka d'après les sources arabes*, "Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer" 1979, vol. 46, pp. 163-168; K. KOŚCIELNIAK, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

³³ T. LEWICKI, *The Role of the Sahara and Saharians in the Relationships between North and South*, [in:] *General History of Africa*, vol. 3: *Africa from the 7th to the 11th Century*, ed. by I. HRBEK, London 1992, p. 151; IDEM, *The Ibadites in Arabia and Africa*, "Journal of World History" 1971, vol. 13, p. 117; IDEM, *Les Sources Ibādites de L'Histoire Médiévale De L'Afrique Du Nord*, "Africana Bulletin" 1988, no. 35, pp. 31-42; K. KOŚCIELNIAK, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

³⁴ T. LEWICKI, *Un État soudanais médiéval inconnu le royaume de Zāfun(u)*, "Cahiers D'Études Africaines" 1971, no. 44, pp. 501-525; IDEM, *Les Noms Propres Berbères Employés Chez Les Nafūsa Médiévaux (VIII-XVI Siècle)*, "Folia Orientalia" 1972-1973, vol. 16, pp. 5-35; IDEM, *L'origine nord-africaine des Bafour*, [in:] *Actes du Deuxième Congrès International D'Étude des Cultures de la Méditerranée Occidentale*, Alger 1978, pp. 145-

he did into the African kingdom of Zawila, which was part of present-day eastern Fezzan, over which the Ibadi elites managed to gain control.³⁵

In 1974, an important publication by Prof. Lewicki was published in English – *West African food in the Middle Ages. According to Arabic Sources*,³⁶ which brought him fame internationally in African studies circles. To this day, Lewicki's research has a lot of significance for historians focusing on the economy of the West African peoples in the Middle Ages, as – based on the available written sources – he reconstructed the diet at the time of the inhabitants of this area before the arrival of plants from both Americas, such as corn, manioc, peanuts, red peppers or tomatoes. His book was published by Cambridge University Press and received 26 reviews by renowned scholars. Lewicki's research showed that the population in the described area ate mostly wild rice (currently almost forgotten), beans, and any vitamin deficiencies were supplemented by drinking baobab leaf juice.³⁷ As a result, by delving into the texts of medieval

153; IDEM, *Les Origines De L'islam Dans Les Tribus Berbères Du Sahara Occidental: Mūsā Ibn Nuṣayr Et 'Ubadyt Allāh Ibn Al.-Habḥāb*, [in:] *Ex fasciculo XXXII Memoriae J. Schacht Dedico "Studia Islamica"*, Paris 1970, pp. 203-214; IDEM, *Quelques extraits inédits relatifs aux voyages des commerçants et des missionnaires ibādites nord-africains au pays du Soudan occidental au Moyen Âge*, "Folia Orientalia" 1960, vol. 2, pp. 1-27.

³⁵ Fezzan (Fazzān) is a historic land located in the south-west region of present-day Libya, inhabited by the Berber Garamants, the descendants of the present-day Tuaregs, from the 5th century BC until the 7th century AD, cf. IDEM, *Z przeszłości Afryki zachodniej*, "Materiały Zachodniopomorskie" 1965, vol. 11, pp. 679-717.

³⁶ IDEM, *West African food in the Middle Ages. According to Arabic Sources*, Cambridge University Press, London 1974.

³⁷ IDEM, *Pożywienie ludności Zachodniej Afryki...*, pp. 65-70, 108-110.

Arabic historians and geographers, he managed to reconstruct a lot of information about the social and economic situation of the inhabitants of West Africa during this period, and – thus – contradicting the widespread opinion in the academic world at the time that no strong, organised state could have developed in Sub-Saharan Africa due to the lack of suitable food.³⁸ The conclusions gathered from the Arabic texts are to this day used in the research conducted by contemporary historians and ethnographers.

Professor Lewicki, inspired by the suggestions made by William Marçais, returned to his research into the remnants of the Romance language in the onomastics of North Africa. After analysing a series of Arabic sources, he noticed that in various towns in the Maghreb in which the local population had been Romanized during the period of the Roman Empire, remnants of the Romance language were preserved for a few centuries after the conquest of this region by the Arabs. Evidence of this can be observed, for example, in the writings of the Arabic geographer al-Idrisi, who in the mid-12th century stayed for a number of years at the court of the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II. Al-Idrisi noted that the inhabitants of Gafsa, a town located in southern Tunisia, used a Latin-African language, which would attest that the Romance language remained in use in some parts of the Maghreb in the 12th century. No texts in this language have been preserved; however, Prof. Lewicki analysed the Romanesque onomastic material contained in the Arabic sources, which was not easy as the

³⁸ According to the widespread opinion in the academic world at the time, a strong state cannot develop on the foundation of a gatherer or hunter economy, as only an economy based on the cultivation of plants can provide a basis for the construction of a functional state.

Arabic alphabet is not suited to rendering the sounds of the Latin-African language.³⁹ Tadeusz Lewicki's considerations were included in the dissertation entitled *Une langue romane oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord* published in the journal "Rocznik Orientalistyczny",⁴⁰ preceded by a statement announcing another dissertation, later issued in the bulletin of the Polish Linguistic Association in 1950 with the title *Szczątki języka romańskiego w północno-zachodniej Afryce w epoce arabskiej* [Remnants of the Romance language in north-west Africa in the Arabic era]. Prof. Lewicki's dissertation met with a lot of interest among linguists, as attested by the reviews published in the most prestigious scholarly periodicals.

An important position among the scholar's publications is one entitled *Arabic External Sources for the History of Africa to the South of Sahara* (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1969). This text contains an excellent analysis of Arabic sources on the history of medieval Africa south of the Sahara. The book was written on the basis of lectures Lewicki prepared to present at a university in Ghana, where he was invited as a visiting professor. However, he withdrew from going on the trip following the coup d'état that occurred in February 1966, as a result of which Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown.⁴¹

Tadeusz Lewicki also contributed to research into the historical geography of Africa through his studies into old

³⁹ W. MAŃCZAK, *Prace romanistyczne profesora Tadeusza Lewickiego*, [in:] *Studia Orientalia Thaddaeo Lewicki Oblata...*, pp. 15-17.

⁴⁰ T. LEWICKI, *Une langue romane oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord. Observations d'un arabisant*, "Rocznik Orientalistyczny" 1953, vol. 17, pp. 415-480.

⁴¹ A. ZABORSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 11; T. LEWICKI, *Arabic External Sources...*

maps and the identification on their basis of historical African states. The aforementioned maps were issued systematically in Europe as of the 13th century; however, the oldest preserved one originates from 1339. Those drawing the maps mainly consisted of Catalans from Majorca and Italians. They based their drawings on information provided by both European and Arabic merchants who at the time ventured further inland into the African continent.⁴²

During his long academic career, Lewicki conducted research in African countries: Senegal, Algeria, Mauritania, Cameroun and Tanzania. His last trip to Africa (Algeria – M'zab) took place in 1984, when the professor was 78 years old.⁴³

Professor Lewicki was a member of many scholarly associations, among which the following should be listed: the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Académie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Association Internationale d'Études des Civilisations Méditerranéennes, Royal Asiatic Society, Körösi Csoma, the Polish Oriental Society and Polish Folkloric Society.

It should also be mentioned that within the Polish Academy of Sciences he directed the Department of Numismatics, which he himself established within the Institute of Material Culture, later moved to the Jagiellonian University and renamed the Laboratory of Oriental Sources and Numismatics within the Institute of Oriental Stud-

⁴² T. LEWICKI, *Ze studiów nad geografią historyczną Afryki. Królestwo Organa map europejskich*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1970, no. 3, pp. 183-198.

⁴³ Interview with Dr U. Lewicka-Rajewska, Professor T. Lewicki's daughter, 20.06.2016.

ies.⁴⁴ Its aim was to conduct comprehensive research into coin findings in Poland. This resulted from the fact that Lewicki had noted the need for studies into the Arabic coins found in Poland and neighbouring countries, as he considered them to be an important source for research into the early history of the Polish state, especially since written sources from this period are scarce.⁴⁵ Due to his passion as a collector, he was a valued numismatist, considered in these circles to be an exceptional expert on the topic, which is also attested by his various academic publications, such as *Łamane ozdoby jako namiastka srebrnej monety we wczesnośredniowiecznym Maghrebie* [Broken adornments as surrogate silver coins in medieval Maghreb].⁴⁶ For many years, the professor was also the editor-in-chief of the academic journal "Folia Orientalia".⁴⁷

In recognition of his merits in the field of oriental philology, in February 1986, Professor Lewicki received a *honoris causa* doctorate from the University of Wrocław, which he valued highly, as he considered this university to be the successor of the Jan Casimir University in Lviv⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ AJU, reg. no. SIII 246, T. Lewicki's personnel file, Work permit for the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Ministry of Higher Education. Department of University Studies, Warsaw, 29.06.1954.

⁴⁵ U. LEWICKA-RAJEWSKA, *Pracownia Źródeł Orientalnych i Numizmatyki przy Instytucie Orientalistyki – zlikwidowana*, "Alma Mater" 2012, no. 150, pp. 43-46.

⁴⁶ T. LEWICKI, *Łamane ozdoby jako namiastka srebrnej monety we wczesnośredniowiecznym Maghrebie*, "Wiadomości Numizmatyczne" 1958, vol. 2/1, pp. 11-14.

⁴⁷ A. MAŁECKA, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁸ *Tadeusz Lewicki*, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, [on-line:] <http://uni.wroc.pl/o-nas/nagrody-i-wyr%C3%B3C5%BCnienia/doktorzy-honoris-causa/tadeusz-lewicki> – 11.05.2016.

Professor Lewicki was also awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta, the Gold Cross of Merit and the Medal of the Commission of National Education.⁴⁹

Tadeusz Lewicki died in Kraków on 22nd November 1992 and was buried at the Rakowicki cemetery. He led a rich life, filled with passion, which is reflected well in the fragment of his necrology cited in Alicja Małecka's memoirs: "[...] after a long and happy life, he died in Kraków".⁵⁰ He was remembered by his co-workers as an exceptionally hard-working person, an effective organiser and a distinguished scholar. He was also a fantastic educator, and his lectures were extremely popular with the students. Throughout the entire period of his activities at the Jagiellonian University, he was surrounded by an aura of patriotism and adventure. In the harsh grey reality of Socialist Poland, it seemed almost as if he was someone from another world.⁵¹

Professor Lewicki was a distinguished specialist in Oriental studies, which encompasses his achievements in the fields of linguistics, Arabic and African studies. In the field of African research, he specialized in the region of North Africa and Sudan, understood as a historical land extending to the south of the Sahel and referred to by the Arabs as Sudan, in Arabic – Bilād as-Sudan. In African studies circles, he was considered to be well-versed in these issues and a scientific expert on the topics, which led to him being invited to African studies congresses and being entrusted by an international editing team with writing one of the

⁴⁹ J. BUBKA, B. OSTAFIN, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173.

⁵⁰ "[...] po długim i szczęśliwym życiu zmarł w Krakowie": A. MAŁECKA, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁵¹ Interview with Dr A. Małecka, Kraków, 3.11.2016.

chapters of a multi-volume history of Africa published by UNESCO.⁵² A large part of his scientific activities can undoubtedly be included among the achievements of the Polish African studies, placing him among the most renowned representatives of these academic circles. It is significant to note that the last paper Prof. Lewicki presented in his lifetime, entitled “Z przeszłości Afryki na południe od Sahary – epoka przedkolonialna” [From the history of Africa south of the Sahara – the precolonial era] – at a scientific session of the Polish Oriental Society, was dedicated to the history of Africa.⁵³ Lewicki himself frequently referred to his own research as being part of African studies, while his home was not lacking in souvenirs and items linked to the African continent.⁵⁴

It should also be emphasized that Professor Lewicki was married to Anna Kowalska-Lewicka (1920-2009), an ethnographer, daughter of the distinguished Orientalist Professor Tadeusz Kowalski. Doctor Anna Kowalska-Lewicka conducted research in such countries as Senegal and Mauretania into the dairy farming of the nomadic Fulbe and Moors, inhabiting the Mauretania Saharan region.⁵⁵ She stayed there together with her husband within the framework of the scientific mission financed by the In-

⁵² J. HAUZIŃSKI, *Więcej niż jedno życie, czyli o profesorze Tadeuszu Lewickim (1906-1992)*, “Litteraria Copernicana” 2014, vol. 1 (13), p. 178, [on-line:] <http://apcz.pl/czasopisma/index.php/LC/article/view/LC.2014.012/4197> – 15.01.2016.

⁵³ A. ZABORSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Interview with Dr U. Lewicka-Rajewska, Prof. T. Lewicki's daughter, Kraków, 15.09.2016.

⁵⁵ A. SPISS, *Dr Anna Kowalska-Lewicka (1920-2009)*, “PAUza Akademicka” 2009, no. 59, p. 3, [on-line:] http://pauza.krakow.pl/59_3_2009.pdf – 12.05.2016.

stitut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire – IFAN in Dakar. She was also the author of the book *Mauretania* published in 1976⁵⁶ and of an academic article dedicated to the women of M'zab: *Modern changes of women's life in M'Zab, Algeria*.⁵⁷

On 17th-18th November 1993, an academic session took place in the Polish Academy of Sciences dedicated to the memory of Professor Lewicki.⁵⁸

LIST OF SELECT ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS WRITTEN BY
PROFESSOR TADEUSZ LEWICKI AND PAPERS PRESENTED
AT SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCES AND ORIENTAL STUDIES
COMMISSIONS OF THE POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
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List in chronological order according to the date of publication.

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⁵⁶ A. KOWALSKA-LEWICKA, *Mauretania*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1976.

⁵⁷ EADEM, *Modern changes of women's life in M'Zab, Algeria*, "Ethnologia Polona" 1991, vol. 15/16.

⁵⁸ B. MICHALAK, *Sesja naukowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Tadeusza Lewickiego*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1994, no. 1-2, p. 94.

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I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Urszula Lewicka-Rajewska, Prof. Tadeusz Lewicki's daughter, for participating in the interview and providing access to the family archives, and Dr Alicja Małecka, a long-term research and didactic employee of the Institute of Oriental Studies, for participating in the interview and sharing information about Professor Tadeusz Lewicki.

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Professor Andrzej Waligórski,
photo by J. Rys¹



Professor Leszek Dziegiel²

¹ The photograph comes from the publication *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy. Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne*, ed. by E. FRYŚ-PIETRASZKOWA, A. KOWALSKA-LEWICKA, A. SPISS, vol. 1, Wydawnictwo Naukowe DWN, Oddział Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, Kraków 2002, p. 298.

² Photograph from the collection of the Laboratory of Ethnographic Documentation and Information at the Jagiellonian University.

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AFRICAN TOPICS IN ANDRZEJ WALIGÓRSKI'S AND LESZEK DZIĘGIEL'S RESEARCH



THE POST-WAR PERIOD in Poland did not work in favour of organising field studies abroad, especially those conducted within the territory of colonial states, administered by Western European countries. Nonetheless, there was a group of Polish researchers who were able to become acquainted with non-European countries and study them. Chronologically, the first Polish anthropologist to conduct research on the African continent after World War II was Andrzej Waligórski, a PhD student of Bronisław Malinowski.³

³ In the text, the author uses the term “anthropology” as this Anglo-Saxon term (its creators were scholars from Great Britain and its political and cultural circles), understood as a synonym for “ethnology”, has begun to appear increasingly more frequently in Poland, replacing the thus far more commonplace terms “ethnography” and “ethnology”.

The aim of this article is the presentation of the scholarly profile and analysis of the academic achievements in the field of African studies of two Kraków-based anthropologists, first graduates and then professors of the Jagiellonian University, whose research was linked to African issues. Professor Andrzej Waligórski spent two years in Kenya (1946-1948) among the Luo tribe, conducting intensive field studies there. Professor Leszek Dzięgiel, his PhD student, as well as the co-author and continuator of his work, despite making such attempts was never able to visit Africa and admire its beauty personally.

The most important sources of information for this article are primarily two extensive interviews with Leszek Dzięgiel, conducted by the author in 2001 and 2005, as part of the international research programme *Wandel und Kontinuität in den Transformationsländern Ost- und Südosteuropas* [Change and continuity in the transitional countries of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe].⁴ These interviews contained information about his cooperation with Andrzej Waligórski and about how they jointly prepared the field study results Waligórski had brought back with him from Kenya. As supplements to the data obtained during the interviews may serve two monographs written by Leszek Dzięgiel: *Swoboda na smyczy. Wspomnienia 1946-1956* [Liberty on a leash. Memoirs 1946-1956],⁵ an autobiographic text, published in Kraków in 1996, and the less personal

⁴ This programme was executed in 2001-2005 within the framework of the international grant FOROST (*Forschungsverbund Ost- und Südosteuropa*) under the supervision of Prof. Klaus Roth from the Munich-based Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität.

⁵ L. DZIĘGIEL, *Swoboda na smyczy. Wspomnienia 1946-1956*, Wydawnictwo Arcana, Kraków 1996.

study, also dedicated to the Kraków-based intelligentsia *Paradise in a Concrete Cage. Daily Life in Communist Poland. An Ethnologist's View*.⁶

Among the texts commemorating Leszek Dziegiel after his death, it would be worthwhile to mention the articles written by Krzysztof Lalik (*Wspomnienie o profesorze Leszku Dziegłu* [Remembering Professor Leszek Dziegiel]),⁷ Eugeniusz Jaworski and Ewa Kosowska (*Leszek Dziegiel (1931-2005)*),⁸ Maciej Kurcz (*Profesor Leszek Dziegiel – antropolog niezapomniany* [Professor Leszek Dziegiel – the unforgettable anthropologist])⁹ and Marek Tracz (*Prof. dr hab. Leszek Dziegiel: 15 IX 1931 – 19 IV 2005*).¹⁰ They testify to Leszek Dziegiel's high position within the Polish academic world as a renowned anthropologist and distinguished expert on Kurdish issues. In turn, the author of this article, academically associated with African issues, was also able to become acquainted with the Professor's achievements and came to appreciate him as an expert on the issues of East Africa.¹¹

The profile and academic achievements of Andrzej Waligórski, who was generation older than Dziegiel, were presented in the publication *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy. Sylwetki, szkice biograficzne* [Polish ethnographers.

⁶ IDEM, *Paradise in a Concrete Cage. Daily Life in Communist Poland. An Ethnologist's View*, Wydawnictwo Arcana, Kraków 1998.

⁷ K. LALIK, *Wspomnienie o profesorze Leszku Dziegłu*, "Arcana" 2005, no. 3, pp. 85-88.

⁸ E. JAWORSKI, E. KOSOWSKA, *Leszek Dziegiel (1931-2005)*, "Lud" 2005, vol. 89, pp. 384-394.

⁹ M. KURCZ, *Profesor Leszek Dziegiel – antropolog niezapomniany*, "Arcana" 2006, no. 2, pp. 169-174.

¹⁰ M. TRACZ, *Prof. dr hab. Leszek Dziegiel: 15 IX 1931 – 19 IV 2005*, "Etnografia Polska" 2005, vol. 49 (1/2), pp. 219-222.

¹¹ A full list of Leszek Dziegiel's publications on African issues has been included in the bibliography.

Profiles, biographic overviews], in the first volume, in a biographical note written by Leszek Dziegiel,¹² as well as in numerous commemorative articles, written both by Dziegiel himself (including *Andrzej Waligórski 1908-1974*,¹³ *Andrzej Waligórski – etnograf szybko zapomniany* [Andrzej Waligórski – the quickly forgotten ethnographer],¹⁴ *Z perspektywy ucznia* [From the perspective of a student])¹⁵, and by his co-workers and students, including: Barbara Olszewska-Dyoniziak (*Profesor Andrzej Waligórski 28 XII 1908 – 8 VIII 1974*)¹⁶ and Andrzej Paluch (*Wspomnienie o profesorze Andrzej Waligórskim* [Remembering Professor Andrzej Waligórski]).¹⁷ The collective work *Antropologiczne wizje kultury. Praca zbiorowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Andrzeja Waligórskiego (1908-1974)* [Anthropological visions of culture. Collective work in memory of Professor Andrzej Waligórski (1908-1974)] was also dedicated to commemorating his life and work.¹⁸ Among Andrzej Waligórski's

¹² L. DZIEGIEL, *Andrzej Waligórski (1908-1974)*, [in:] *Etnografowie i ludoznawcy polscy...*, pp. 298-302.

¹³ IDEM, *Andrzej Waligórski 1908-1974*, "Etnografia Polska" 1975, vol. 19 (2), pp. 19-23.

¹⁴ IDEM, *Andrzej Waligórski – etnograf szybko zapomniany*, [in:] *Na egzotycznych szlakach. O polskich badaniach etnograficznych w Afryce, Ameryce i Azji w dobie powojennej*, ed. by IDEM, Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, Wrocław 1987, pp. 11-22.

¹⁵ IDEM, *Z perspektywy ucznia*, [in:] *Autorytety polskie*, ed. by B. GOŁĘBIEWSKI, Oficyna Wydawnicza "Stopka", Łomża 2002, pp. 70-71.

¹⁶ B. OLSZEWSKA-DYONIZIAK, *Profesor Andrzej Waligórski 28 XII 1908 – 8 VIII 1974*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Etnograficzne" 1976, vol. 9, pp. 11-17.

¹⁷ A. PALUCH, *Wspomnienie o profesorze Andrzej Waligórskim*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny" 1976, vol. 28, pp. 342-344.

¹⁸ *Antropologiczne wizje kultury. Praca zbiorowa poświęcona pamięci Profesora Andrzeja Waligórskiego (1908-1974)*, ed. by B. OLSZEWSKA-DYONIZIAK, Wydawnictwo "Studeu", Ustroń 2004.

African studies publications, only the most important monograph *Spółeczność afrykańska w procesie przemian 1890-1949 r. Studium wschodnioafrykańskiego plemienia Luo* [African society in the process of transformation 1890-1949. A study of the East African Luo tribe]¹⁹ will be mentioned here, while a list of the remaining texts on African topics has been included in the bibliography.

Andrzej Waligórski was born in 1908 in Kraków. In 1926, he began his studies at the Faculty of Philosophy at the Jagiellonian University, studying simultaneously philosophy, general linguistics and English philology. In 1931, he obtained a master's degree in philosophy with a specialisation in linguistics, after which – thanks to the support provided by Professor Roman Dyboski – he received two year-long scholarships from the National Culture Fund to study in London.²⁰

During his studies at the London School of Economics, fascinated by the seminars taught by Bronisław Malinowski, in which a group of members of the African intelligentsia participated, including the future president of independent Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, Andrzej Waligórski decided to focus his interests on a new area of research: African studies and anthropology – especially applying the approach of functional and economic anthropology.²¹

¹⁹ A. WALIGÓRSKI, *Spółeczność afrykańska w procesie przemian 1890-1949 r. Studium wschodnioafrykańskiego plemienia Luo*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1969.

²⁰ L. DZIĘGIEL, *Andrzej Waligórski 1908-1974*, p. 298; the cited biographical note was the basic source of the herein cited data on A. Waligórski's biography and scholarly activities.

²¹ A. KUCZYŃSKI, "Eleganci w białych garniturach, często z własnym rowerem...", *relacja Andrzeja Waligórskiego*, [in:] *Wśród buszu i czarowni-*

These were the years which best shaped both his research approach and his academic possibilities. He completed his studies at the London School of Economics by obtaining a PhD degree in 1938, after defending the dissertation "Język sugestii, magii i propagandy we współczesnym społeczeństwie brytyjskim" [The language of suggestion, magic and propaganda in modern-day British society], written under the supervision of Bronisław Malinowski.²²

Upon returning to Poland shortly before World War II broke out, Andrzej Waligórski began work at the State Institute of Rural Culture in Warsaw, while simultaneously giving lectures at the Faculty of Agriculture at the Jagielloonian University. After the war broke out, he participated in the 1939 September campaign. After escaping from a POW camp, in 1940 he joined the Polish Armed Forces in Paris, which were in the process of forming. However, due to his educational and academic contacts he was delegated to proceed with academic and political work in the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, where through various activities of an informational character, including giving numerous public speeches, he worked to further the cause for Poland.

After the war ended, he did not return home immediately, for one, because he was given the opportunity to undertake field studies in Africa, commissioned by the University of London. His trip to the province of Nyanza, located within the territory of what was then British East Africa, currently Kenya, was possible thanks to the me-

ków. Antologia polskich relacji o ludach Afryki, ed. by IDEM, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław 1990, p. 418.

²² L. DZIĘGIEL, *Andrzej Waligórski 1908-1974*, p. 299.

diation of Audrey I. Richards, already then a well-known researcher of Africa, who he had met through his participation in Malinowski's seminars.

Waligórski spent the period from June 1946 until April 1948 in one of the villages of the Nilotic Luo – the second tribe in Kenya in terms of its size. He was well prepared to conduct such research, not only thanks to the educational background he had obtained but also due to his knowledge of the language of the studied community. For two years, he studied the group using the participatory observation method, analysing the yearly cycle of work of the agricultural community. The subject of his research was broadly-understood economic anthropology, the processes of transformation linked to social and cultural modernisation and the cultural consequences of the economic transformation promoted by British colonial authorities; involving the transition from the traditional pastoral nomadic tribal economy to a commodity and monetary-market economy of sedentary farmers. As his student wrote many years later, "These were the first modern stationary empirical studies on the Dark Continent in the history of Polish ethnology".²³

²³ "Były to pierwsze w dziejach polskiej etnologii nowoczesne, stacjonarne badania empiryczne na Czarnym Kontynencie": *ibidem*; it is worth noting that in 1907-1909 Jan Czekanowski conducted anthropological fieldwork in Africa, but these were studies of a different character. During his two-year-long stay, Czekanowski travelled a distance extending from Mombasa via Lake Victoria to Rwanda, and then along the Central African Rift to Lake Albert, then further in the direction of the Ituri-Aruwimi and Uele river basin, thus dedicating only a few days at best to the studied communities. The type of exploration conducted by Czekanowski could be qualified as a "survey study", as such types of studies were later called by the British researcher W.H.R. Rivers. These involve staying among tribes inhabiting more extensive territories in

After completing the research, despite being offered employment at the University of London, Waligórski decided to return to his own country and his hometown of Kraków, where he took a job at the Department of Slavic Ethnography at the Jagiellonian University, from 1948 as an adjunct, and from 1955 as a docent, while simultaneously being active in the Polish Folkloric Society (PFS).

In evaluating his academic achievements from this period, one should take into account a number of important facts, primarily linked to the fact that as a result of the situation at that time Polish humanities were cut off from the international academic mainstream. There was no access to newly published Western books and specialist scientific journals. In the shadow of the growing pre-eminence of Marxism, the influence of the theoretical approaches that had been dominant before the war and vibrant in Polish scholarly discourse began to diminish, a situation in which – according to Jerzy Damrosz’s acute comment – “[...] disputing parties included the Marxists and all others”.²⁴

Research into non-European areas were abandoned, both due to the lack of any practical means of conducting them and for ideological reasons. African studies were linked with the colonial success of Western states, and

order to specify the issues requiring research. “Survey studies” are thus the opposite of “intensive studies”, which only became popular after Bronisław Malinowski.

²⁴ “[...] stronami sporu byli marksiści i wszelcy inni”: J. DAMROSZ, *Myśl teoretyczna w polskiej etnografii i etnologii w okresie powojennym (1945-1989)*, Instytut Kultury, Wyższa Szkoła Rolniczo-Pedagogiczna, Warszawa – Siedlce 1996, p. 76.

thus with imperialism, which functioned antagonistically to socialism.

Being cut off from foreign contacts imposed directing one's research interests towards national topics, but also in a limited scope. During the Stalinist period, sociology was also always in disfavour; it was impossible to do any work that would be on the basis of studies of public opinion. In practice, the social sciences were left with conducting research in a limited scope into the changes in urban and rural communities as a result of socialist transformations, as well as studies of material culture. In accordance with the spirit of the times, in 1950, the Material Culture History Centre was established at the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Philosophy and History. The Department of Ethnography was only brought back as an independent entity in 1956.²⁵

How then could Andrzej Waligórski, Bronisław Malinowski's student and a graduate of the London School of Economics, a British fellow in Africa, a proponent of functionalism – criticised by Marxism, have been perceived by the authorities?

This difficult situation only changed somewhat in the late 1950s, when – along with the competition over spheres of influence in the newly-founded African states – political correctness enabled directing one's interest towards the Dark Continent. In academic and popular science literature in Poland, increasing amounts of articles and dissertations dedicated to Africa paved the way, and the first monographs began to appear.

²⁵ *Historia Instytutu*, [on-line:] <http://www.etnologia.uj.edu.pl/institut/historia> – 15.04.2015.

This was when Andrzej Waligórski undertook giving lectures at the University of Warsaw to students of ethnography and in the newly-formed African Studies centre there. His position within the organisational academic structures also improved. In Warsaw, he became a member of the scientific council of the aforementioned African Studies centre, the Scientific Council of the Laboratory of Social and Cultural Issues of Modern Africa at the Polish Academy of Sciences. In Kraków, he was nominated to be a member of the Sociology Commission, the Oriental Studies Commission and the Ethnographic Commission at the Kraków department of the Polish Academy of Sciences. In 1962-1963, he held the post of chair of the Kraków branch of the Polish Folkloric Society, while as of 1966 he was a member of the Board of the American Studies Section of the Polish Folkloric Society. In 1968, Andrzej Waligórski was nominated to be associate professor at the Jagielloonian University.

Even though only a few months after he returned to the country, Waligórski submitted to a publisher his first article, which was linked thematically with his stay in Kenya (*Gleboznawstwo pierwotne* [Primary pedology]),²⁶ it was not until the 1960s that his first African studies-related publications were published (respectively: *Gospodarka chłopska na terenach kolonialnych i pokolonialnych* [Peasant economy in colonial and post-colonial territories],²⁷ *Studia nad więzią terytorialną i rodzinną wschodnioafrykańskiego plemienia Luo* [Studies into the territorial and familial

²⁶ A. WALIGÓRSKI, *Gleboznawstwo pierwotne*, "Lud" 1948-1951, vol. 39, pp. 181-227.

²⁷ IDEM, *Gospodarka chłopska na terenach kolonialnych i pokolonialnych*, "Przegląd Socjologiczny" 1965, vol. 19/1, pp. 61-95.

bonds of the East African Luo tribe],²⁸ *Kinship Terminology of the Luo*²⁹). It was not until 1969 that Andrzej Waligórski's monograph was published – printed by the Warsaw University Press, which summarized the results of his research conducted in Kenya, entitled *Spółeczność afrykańska w procesie przemian 1890-1949 r. Studium wschodnioafrykańskiego plemienia Luo*.³⁰

However, it is worth noting that in publishing his articles and monographs over the period of twenty years that passed from when he conducted his field studies, Andrzej Waligórski was capable of referring his results to the current state of research, probably thanks to his private contacts and obtaining access to newer publications. He was able to confirm the knowledge he thus gained about current issues in Kenya and thanks to his own observations that even on the eve of independence, the Luo, like no other tribe in the country, were able to adapt to the conditions created by the Europeans. They were able to increase the acreage of cultivated land, as well as benefit from a monetary economy, by selling agricultural and animal farming surplus and by becoming a labour force – as police officers, labourers, dockers. Thanks to their educational aspirations, they took over administrative posts and were involved in political activities and those aimed at achieving emancipation. By concluding that the social and economic system of the Luo he had observed “had been shaped based on three separate tendencies, springing from different sources and not har-

²⁸ IDEM, *Studia nad więzią terytorialną i rodzinną wschodnioafrykańskiego plemienia Luo*, “Etnografia Polska” 1964, vol. 7, pp. 299-362.

²⁹ IDEM, *Kinship Terminology of the Luo*, “Africana Bulletin” 1968, no. 8, pp. 57-63.

³⁰ IDEM, *Spółeczność afrykańska w procesie przemian...*

monized with each other: the Nilotic – pastoral tendency, the Bantu – agricultural tendency and – the much later – European technological civilisation”,³¹ he studied their interdependencies.

The abovementioned monograph *Spółeczność afrykańska w procesie przemian...*, published in the form of a coursebook/script, was simultaneously his last text to be dedicated to Africa. In his post-war research, Andrzej Waligórski explored three different thematic areas. As already mentioned, he analysed the results of his research in East Africa; he assumed that this was a model area for the future development of rural communities in Africa. He considered issues linked to the theory of culture, emphasizing the value of the functional method, and – finally – he analysed the history of cultural anthropology and was the author of the first Polish coursebook on this topic, entitled *Antropologiczna koncepcja człowieka* [The anthropological concept of the human being].³²

At the same time, he wanted to popularize the ideas and scholarly achievements of his mentor, Bronisław Malinowski, in Poland. Before the war, in 1937, he translated *The Sexual Life of Savages*, together with Józef Chałasiński.³³

³¹ “...ukszałtował się w oparciu o trzy odrębne, wyrastające z różnych źródeł i zgoła niezharmonizowane ze sobą tendencje: nilotką – pasterską, bantuską – rolniczą oraz – znacznie zresztą późniejszą – europejską cywilizację techniczną”: *ibidem*, p. 67.

³² IDEM, *Antropologiczna koncepcja człowieka*, PWN, Warszawa 1993.

³³ B. MALINOWSKI, *Życie seksualne dzikich w północno-zachodniej Melanezji. Miłość, małżeństwo i życie rodzinne u krajowców z Wysp Trobrianda Brytyjskiej Nowej Gwinei*, Wydawnictwo J. Przeworskiego, Warszawa 1938.

The idea to publish Malinowski's *Complete Works* only came to pass after Waligórski's death.

Andrzej Waligórski's last years were spent on intensive scholarly and organisational activities. In 1973, he became the director of the Department of Culture and Education in the Institute of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University, the chair of the reactivated that same year Commission of Ethnography affiliated with the branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, while simultaneously holding a seat in the Scientific Council of the Institute of Tropical and Subtropical Agriculture and Forestry at the Agricultural Academy in Kraków. He had many publishing plans and was in the process of preparing new study programmes. These plans were disrupted by his death. Andrzej Waligórski died in 1974. He left behind a group of students, fascinated by both the extensive knowledge and unique personality of a scholar who had pursued issues linked to non-European cultures. African studies topics were undertaken and continued by such scholars as Andrzej Paluch, the future founder of the Department of Social Anthropology at the Jagiellonian University Institute of Sociology, the director of the JU Institute of Sociology in 1988-1990, and the continuator of the concept to publish Bronisław Malinowski's *Complete Works* in Polish, as well as by Leszek Dziegiel, the director of the JU Institute of Ethnology in 1987-1999, who cooperated in the works to prepare the field material brought back from Kenya by Waligórski and the co-author of a publication on the subject.

Leszek Dziegiel was born in 1931 into a family from the intellectual circles of Mysłowice. In 1950, he passed his graduation exam and completed his education at the Adam

Mickiewicz Lyceum in Katowice. He had planned to begin his studies at the Jagiellonian University and to specialize in History. However, due to his social background and the fact that he did not belong to any of the pro-system youth organisations, and also despite his excellent results in the entrance exams, he was assigned to the department of Studies into the History of Material Culture. He graduated in 1955, upon defending his master's thesis, written under the supervision of Prof. Kazimierz Moszyński, and obtained an MA degree in ethnography.³⁴

In 1972, he received a PhD degree in historical studies at the Jagiellonian University Faculty of Philosophy and History, after defending a dissertation entitled "Rolnictwo chłopskie w Afryce Wschodniej – studium z zakresu etnologii antropologicznej" [Peasant agriculture in East Africa – a study in anthropological ethnology], with Professor Andrzej Waligórski as his thesis supervisor.

The relatively extensive, seventeen-year-long interval between the end of his studies and the defence of his doctoral dissertation was linked to the problems he had with finding work in his profession. The department of Studies into the History of Material Culture, formed in 1950 for ideological and political reasons, did not ensure its graduates either work in Kraków or the possibility of further academic development.

A job that was in accordance with the education he had acquired could only be found in provincial museums. Work allocation orders had during this period already begun to

³⁴ As has already been mentioned in the introduction to this article, the interviews done for the FOROST programme, conducted in 2001 and 2005 are the basic source of the data cited in the description of Leszek Dziągiewski's biography and his scholarly activities.

be a thing of the past, but – due to the even then proverbial “overproduction of representatives of the humanities” – they had in practice never included either ethnographers or archaeologists.

The Kraków university centre had at its disposal only a very poor range of jobs to offer its graduates, especially representatives of the humanities, while the city itself remained administratively closed off at that time. Almost all those who could not prove that they held permanent work positions had difficulties with registering as an inhabitant of the city, while – on the other hand – it was also hard to employ any person who could not certify that he or she had registered permanent residency in Kraków.

In the case of Dzięgiel, who was not from Kraków, hopes for being given the opportunity to stay in Kraków and continue the academic work he had initiated during his studies were linked to the theoretical possibility of undertaking doctoral studies, which – at that time – for a short period, were referred to as “aspirantura”, according to Soviet terminology. His excellent academic results, the field research he conducted during his studies under the supervision of the prominent Kraków-based professors: Kazimierz Moszyński, Roman Reinfuss, Kazimierz Dobrowolski, Andrzej Waligórski, and academic publications provided him – as it would seem – with real support for these ambitions. However, the negative result of the interview was caused by political issues and the lack of any backing from the appropriate party unit for the non-partisan graduate.

Over the next few years, Leszek Dzięgiel did various jobs, including as an editor of the travel journal “Ziemia” [The Earth], at the archaeological excavations near Nowa Huta, as an installer of lightening arrester equipment in

villages near Kraków, a Polish and history teacher in the Lower Theological Seminar in Katowice, a tourism and sightseeing instructor in the Youth Palace in Katowice or in the Upper Silesia Museum in Bytom, in which he performed the function of the supervisor of the construction of an open-air heritage museum (Skansen).

Despite his difficult life circumstances, his personal determination led to him maintaining contacts with the academic world. Thanks to keeping his friendship with Prof. Andrzej Waligórski, he received a proposal to prepare a query and a scholarly study of some of the research results the latter had brought back with him from Kenya.

As already mentioned, after 1969 Andrzej Waligórski decided to temporarily suspend further work on the publication of the studies dedicated to Africa, while the remaining uninterpreted material from the fieldwork was handed over to Dzięgiel. These were used in the doctoral dissertation Dzięgiel wrote, in which they were the basis of the introductory chapter, as a point of departure for considerations about the later evolution of the East European peasant,³⁵ as well as in the article published as authored by both scholars *Roczny cykl produkcyjny chłopskiej zagrody zachodniokenijskich Luo* [The annual production cycle of a West Kenyan Luo peasant farm].³⁶

Even though Andrzej Waligórski gave lectures on social anthropology at the Jagiellonian University until 1974, he did not have too many possibilities to help his doctoral student in his university career. However, he helped him

³⁵ A. KUCZYŃSKI, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

³⁶ L. DZIĘGIEL, A. WALIGÓRSKI, *Roczny cykl produkcyjny chłopskiej zagrody zachodniokenijskich Luo*, "Lud" 1974, vol. 58, pp. 41-72.

get his first permanent job of an academic nature – in the newly-formed Institute of Tropical and Subtropical Agriculture and Forestry at the Agricultural Academy in Kraków. Leszek Dzięgiel worked there until 1983, first as a research and technical worker, then as an adjunct and finally as a docent. The research unit offered its employees the possibility to develop themselves academically, by providing access to their collection of books with a series of valuable thematic publications in English acquired from abroad; to a large extent referring to Africa. The institute also made it possible for its employees to learn and become more fluent in English. However, despite such plans and preparations, Dzięgiel never went to Africa. By coincidence, Asia became the area of his later research interests.

In 1974, Leszek Dzięgiel received a year-long scholarship from the government of the Republic of Afghanistan. Yet another opportunity to make a research trip appeared three years later, in 1977. At that time, he was able to execute the first in a series of three trips to Iraqi Kurdistan, where he collected original field material, acquired in about 80 villages in the north-eastern province of Iraq, which aided in the preparation of his habilitation dissertation “Społeczność wiejska współczesnego Kurdystanu irackiego u progu modernizacji”, defended in 1982 at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. The dissertation was later published in English under the title *Rural community of contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan facing modernization*,³⁷ as a result of which its content met with a lot of interest among

³⁷ L. DZIĘGIEL, *Rural community of contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan facing modernization*, Institute of Tropical and Subtropical Agriculture and Forestry, Agricultural Academy in Kraków, Kraków 1981, *Studia i materiały*, no. 7.

the Kurdish diaspora in the West. After being translated into the Kurdish language – Sorani, it remains to this date an important position among the books discussed at universities in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The habilitation was the final step in gaining the status of a senior (independent) member of the academic staff. Its defence coincided with a personnel and organisational crisis in the Department of Slavic Ethnography at the Jagiellonian University, which was in danger of being dissolved due to the lack of a sufficient number of senior academic staff members. In 1982, Leszek Dziegiel took up employment at the Jagiellonian University Institute of Ethnology. In 1987, due to Prof. Anna Zembrzycka-Kunachowicz falling seriously ill, he assumed the position of director of the unit (which in 1995 was renamed the Institute of Ethnology) and remained in this post until 1999. After retiring in 2001, he continued to perform the function of the director of one of the Institute's departments, at that time called the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology. It is during his time working at the Jagiellonian University that he was awarded the degree of professor: the post of associate professor at the Jagiellonian University in 1992, the title of associate professor in the humanities at the Jagiellonian University in 1995, and finally the post of full professor in 2000.

During this period, Leszek Dziegiel became interested in yet another area of study, the third in his professional career, which he himself referred to as research into the influence of "real socialism" on the daily lives and culture of Poland and other post-socialist countries in Central and Eastern Europe (especially in urban areas and among the intelligentsia), also conducted on the basis of his own experiences.

Leszek Dzięgiel was actively involved in the Polish Folkloric Society, a member of the Commission of Ethnological Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences and of the Kraków Branch of the Ethnographic Commission of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He died in 2005. The author of these words was his doctoral student, one of a group of people, whom he infected with his passion. Dzięgiel contributed to directing the author's research interests towards Africa.

* * *

In conclusion, it would be worthwhile to draw some attention to the contemporary significance of knowledge about the tribes inhabiting Kenya and South Sudan. It is extremely important in order to gain an understanding of the genesis and specific conditions of the ethnically-motivated disputes and conflicts that cyclically break out in this region. In East Africa – similarly as in other regions of this continent – the citizens of individual states frequently place more value in their tribal identity than their national one. It suffices to recall that in practice during the presidential elections that took place in Kenya on 27th December 2007, the choice of the president was decided by two ethnic groups. Mwaki Kibaki, who was running for re-election, represented the interests of the Kikuyu tribe, while Rail Odinga, the leader of the opposition party, the ODM, Orange Democratic Movement, was sure of gaining the votes of the Luo tribe. The Luo, having lost their privileged position from the colonial period, have for years accused the Kikuyu that they have dominated the political landscape in the country since Kenya's independence was announced in 1963. In December 2007, as a result of acts of violence

caused by ethnically-motivated political conflicts, about 300 people died, while more than 800 over the course of the next month.

Knowing the genesis of intertribal conflicts breaking out in this part of Africa between the previously migratory Nilotic pastoral population and the sedentary Bantu farmers is also important for gaining an understanding of the background of the civil war in South Sudan. It also explains South Sudan's presently observed gravitational pull towards the states of the East African Community, considered to be the result of the centuries-long tradition of the migration of Nilotic peoples across territories without any clear-cut geographic obstacles.

In contemporary times, all signs of instability, both in South Sudan and in Kenya, have a lot of significance, for instance, for US foreign policies, due to the strategic importance of both these countries in the face of the growing threat of Muslim fundamentalism. The network of dependencies is nonetheless exceptionally complex, as the fact that President Obama's family comes from the Luo tribe shows.

Andrzej Waligórski and Leszek Dzięgiel's research into the social and economic transformation of the Luo during the 1940s, a breakthrough moment for many African countries, constitute not only a valuable contribution to developing our knowledge of the processes of social and economic change in the studied period, but also aid in understanding the contemporary ethnic conflicts in the region.

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Professor Andrzej Zaborski,
Photograph from Maria Gawron-Zaborska's archive

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ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI – RESEARCHER OF CUSHITIC AND SEMITIC LANGUAGES



ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI was born on 7th October 1942 in Kraków as the son of Roman and Bolesława (of the house Róg) Zaborski, a lawyer and a teacher, respectively. In 1960, he passed his school graduation exam at the Jan Kochanowski General Education Secondary School in Kraków. In 1965, he graduated with a degree in Oriental studies (Arabic philology and African studies) from the Department of Oriental Philology at the Faculty of Philology of the Jagiellonian University. A year later, he was employed at this university unit as an assistant.¹ In 1969, also at the Jagiellonian University, he defended his PhD thesis entitled *Biconsonantal Verbal Roots in Semitic*,²

¹ Archive of the Jagiellonian University [hereinafter AJU], reg no. DSO II, A. Zaborski's personnel file, Andrzej Zaborski's biography written by the author himself, 25.07.1977.

² Ibidem, copy of PhD diploma from 11.11.1963, 8.02.1973.

written under the supervision of Prof. Jerzy Kuryłowicz. His linguistic masters during this early stage of his academic career also include such people as Aleksy Klawek, Tadeusz Lewicki, Tadeusz Milewski and Zenon Klemensiewicz. In 1976, Andrzej Zaborski received his first habilitation degree (from Semitic studies) on the basis of his dissertation entitled *The Verb in Cushitic*,³ defended at the Jagiellonian University. This was the first postdoctoral thesis to be dedicated to Afroasiatic linguistics in the world. Its reviewers included: Jerzy Kuryłowicz from the Jagiellonian University, Karel Petráček from the Charles University in Prague and Robert Hetzron from the University of California in Santa Barbara.⁴ On 1st March 1978, Andrzej Zaborski was appointed as docent in the field of African studies. The creation of a post especially for him was motivated by the desire to develop the African studies department at the Jagiellonian University.⁵ In 1984, he received his second habilitation degree at the Vienna University (this time in

³ A. ZABORSKI, *The Verb in Cushitic*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1975.

⁴ K. DUFGOVÁ, V. BLÁŽEK, *Andrzej Zaborski (7.10.1942 – 1.10.2014)*, "Linguistica Brunensia" 2015, vol. 63 (2), p. 137; AJU, reg. no. DSO II, A. Zaborski's personnel file, Application to the Central Human Resources Qualifying Committee attached to the Prime Minister in Warsaw, 24.08.1976; ibidem, Motion of the Jagiellonian University Rector, Prof. dr hab. Franciszek Ziejka on appointing Prof. dr hab. Andrzej Zaborski to the position of associate professor in the Department of Arabic Studies in the Institute of Oriental Philology of the Jagiellonian University, 1.03.2000.

⁵ AJU, reg. no. DSO II, A. Zaborski's personnel file, Document of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology appointing Citizen dr hab. Andrzej Zaborski to the post of docent, 14.03.1978; ibidem, Document of the Director of the Institute of Oriental Philology of the Jagiellonian University on the development of the African studies department, 16.03.1977.

African studies). In 1989, he received the title of associate professor, in 1995 – professor of the humanities, and in 2000, he was awarded the title of *Professor Ordinarius*.⁶

For many years, Professor Zaborski was the editor-in-chief of the “*Folia Orientalia*” journal, published by the Kraków branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and also of the series *Oriental Languages in Translation*, in this way pursuing one of his academic passions – translation theory and its practical implementation. In his musings into theoretical issues linked to the translation of texts, he rejected the concept of “philological translations”, perceiving it as unhelpful and holding the opinion that every translation must differ from the original in structural terms, if only due to the differences between the languages themselves.⁷ In 2002-2004, Prof. Zaborski was also a member of the editing board of the “*Rocznik Orientalistyczny*” journal.

Professor Andrzej Zaborski was also very actively involved in various scientific societies. As of 1997, he performed the function of the chair in the Oriental Committee of the Kraków branch of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He was also a member of the Committee of Oriental Sciences at the Polish Academy of Sciences (in 1999-2002, and then its vice-chair in 2007-2010) and a member of

⁶ N. PAWLAK, *In memoriam: Profesor Andrzej Zaborski (1942-2014) klasyk semitystyczno-afrykanistycznego językoznawstwa porównawczego*, “*Afryka*” 2014, no. 40, p. 7.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 10. For more information see: A. ZABORSKI, *Nobody Translates Untranslatables, Or Untranslability Does Not Exist*, [in:] *Oriental languages in translation: proceedings of the international conference Cracow, 7th-8th April 2008 dedicated to the memory of Władysław Dulęba*, ed. by A. ZABORSKI, M. PIELA, vol. 3, Polish Academy of Sciences Press, Kraków 2008.

the Polish Oriental Society (1961-1989).⁸ For many years, he represented Poland in the International Organisation Committee of the most important Ethiopian studies conferences – the *International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies* (ICES).⁹ He was also a member of various international academic societies, such as Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Centro di Studi Camito-Semitici, Association Internationale de Dialectologie Arabe.¹⁰

During his long academic career, Prof. Zaborski proved himself to be an exceptional linguist – a specialist in comparative studies and language reconstruction. Even in his master's dissertation entitled "The Medieval History of the Beja Tribes according to Arabic Sources", he presented his interest in Semitic and African studies issues, which in the future were to develop into broad comparative studies within the scope of these two fields.¹¹

He was to gain international recognition in African studies circles as a result of his broad research into Cushitic languages, as well as his comparative studies in the field of Afroasiatic linguistics. Andrzej Zaborski's most important texts include the dissertation on the basis of which he was awarded his first habilitation degree. This was a mono-

⁸ *Profesor Andrzej Zaborski (1942-2014)*, necrology published on the webpage of the Committee of Oriental Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, [on-line:] <http://www.kno.pan.pl/index.php/nekrologi/257-profesor-andrzej-zaborski-1942-2014> – 20.03.2016.

⁹ 19 ICES. *Conference Manual*, 19th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies: Ethiopia – Diversity and Interconnections through Space and Time, Warsaw, 24-28 August 2015, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰ N. PAWLAK, *In memoriam...*, p. 8.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

graph published in 1975 entitled *The Verb in Cushitic*,¹² a review of which was published in the “Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies” in 1977, acknowledging this text to be a pioneering work in the field of comparative linguistics studies. He also met with positive opinions concerning the historical and comparative methodology he applied in his work, as well as for the material he collected from the Cushitic languages, of which some had been published for the first time.¹³

In 1986, in Vienna, one of Andrzej Zaborski’s most important publications – *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in the Cushitic Languages* – was printed,¹⁴ to this day cited by Afroasiatic linguists and treated as one of the fundamental sources of knowledge about the morphology of Cushitic languages. Within the scope of his research in the field of Afroasiatic linguistics on the issues of the reconstruction and internal classification of Afroasiatic languages, Prof. Zaborski was of the opinion that the Omotic languages¹⁵

¹² A. ZABORSKI, *Studies Hamito-Semitic. The Verb in Cushitic*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1975, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Językoznawcze*, no. 48.

¹³ F.R. PALMER, [Andrzej Zaborski: *Studies in Hamito-Semitic, I. The verb in Cushitic*. (*Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, CCCXCVII. Prace Językoznawcze*, z. 48) 184 pp. [Kraków]: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, [1975]], “Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African”, February 1977, vol. 40 (1), pp. 198-202; N. PAWLAK, *In memoriam...*, p. 8.

¹⁴ A. ZABORSKI, *The Morphology of Nominal Plural in the Cushitic Languages*, Afro-Pub, Wien 1986.

¹⁵ The Omotic languages – languages from the Omo River Basin, which were derived from West Cushitic languages; they include the following languages: Aari, Hamar-Banna, Karo, Dime, Dizi, Sheko, Mocha, Yemsa/Janjero, Gimira, Wolaytta/ Wolamo, Gamo, Gofa, Basketto, Male, Chara. At the beginning of the 21st century, there were only slightly over one million users of these languages, see: N. PAWLAK, *Języki afrykańskie*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 2010, p. 26.

were not a separate group within the family of Afroasiatic languages. Thus, he opposed the views of some linguists (e.g. Harold Fleming), who considered them to be a separate branch within the Afroasiatic family,¹⁶ stating that the Omotic languages belonged to the western offshoot of Cushitic languages, which were under the strong influence of languages from the Nilo-Saharan family. In his research, he attempted to investigate the genealogy of Afroasiatic languages by analysing their morphological features.¹⁷

Andrzej Zaborski was also the co-author (together with Mohammed Ali) of one of the few coursebooks (probably the only one when it was published in 1990) for learning the Oromo language – *Handbook of the Oromo Language*.¹⁸ This was the first practical coursebook for learning the Oromo language published after World War II. It was based on the eastern dialect of this language (referred to in the literature on the subject as Eastern Oromo, Harar Oromo or Ittu Oromo), and thus the only coursebook of this type for learning Harar Oromo that had ever been published. The preparation of this coursebook was based

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷ EADEM, *In memoriam...*, p. 9. For more information see: A. ZABORSKI, *Ethiopian Languages Subareas*, [in:] *Unwritten Testimonies of the African Past. Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Ojrzanow near Warsaw on 7-8 November 1989*, ed. by S. PIŁASZEWICZ, E. RZEWUSKI, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1991, *Orientalia Varsoviensia*; IDEM, *Językoznawstwo afroazjatyckie albo chamito-semickie pod koniec XX wieku*, "Przegląd Orientalistyczny" 1996, no. 1-2, pp. 15-30; IDEM, *What Type of Typology of Afroasiatic?*, "Folia Orientalia" 2013, vol. 50, pp. 377-381.

¹⁸ M. ALI, A. ZABORSKI, *Handbook of the Oromo Language*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław et al. 1990, *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej – Polska Akademia Nauk. Oddział w Krakowie*, no. 21.

on work with one informer – Mohammed Ali, an indigenous user of the Oromo language in the Harar dialect, who taught the Oromo language at the University of Warsaw in the 1980s.¹⁹

In 1974–1975, Andrzej Zaborski was in Cairo on a scholarship, while at the turn of 1978/1979 he spent some time in Damascus and in 1982 in Algeria. In 1982–1983, he lectured as a visiting professor at the University of Vienna, where he taught classes on linguistics and the two main Cushitic languages – Oromo and Somali. In 1983–1985, as a recipient of a scholarship from the Humboldt Foundation, he spent some time in Cologne. During this period, while conducting research for his habilitation thesis (1984), he travelled to Kenya and stayed there two months to study the Dahalo language from the Cushitic language family – currently strongly in danger of disappearing.²⁰ Next, he once again

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. IX–X. In terms of the grammar, M. Ali and A. Zaborski based their book on the grammar of the Oromo language (the Eastern dialect) published five years earlier: J. OWENS, *A Grammar of Harar Oromo (Eastern Ethiopia)*, Helmut Buske Verlag, Hamburg 1985. Among Andrzej Zaborski's publications, we can also find a coursebook and phrase book for learning the Egyptian dialect of Arabic, as well as translations of medieval Arabic texts, see: A. ZABORSKI, *Dialekt egipski języka arabskiego. Kurs praktyczny*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1982; IDEM, *Rozmówki arabskie. Dialekt egipski*, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 1988; *Wspaniały świat Oceanu Indyjskiego Sulajmāna Kupca, Abū Zajda as-Sirāfięgo i Buzurga Ibn Šahrijāra: od literatury faktu do przygody i fantastyki (IX–X w.)*, trans. from Arabic with an introduction and commentary by IDEM, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 1998.

²⁰ The Dahalo language is considered to be an East Cushitic language. Against the backdrop of other Cushitic languages, it stands out due to the presence of click phonemes (four of them). The data from the last decade of the 20th century indicate that there were still about 400 indigenous users of this language alive at that time. Currently, according to the portal *Ethnologue*, it is possible that there are none remaining. The small population of the Dahalo people (ca. 2800) has in majority adopt-

lectured in Vienna and Kraków, in 1986 – in Turin and a year later – in Udine. In 1989, he conducted research in Sudan for two months, mainly focusing on Beja²¹ and the Nubian languages,²² going back to his research interests from the period when he was preparing his Master's thesis. He spent the 1990/1991 academic year at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, where he conducted research within the framework of the research team "Living Semitic languages and comparative Semitic linguistics", led by Prof. Gideon Goldenberg. He was at that time appointed a full fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies. He also lectured at the University in Heidelberg, Mainz, Saragossa²³ and at the University of Warsaw. Among the courses taught by Prof. Zaborski, the predominant ones were those concerning Cushitic languages (Oromo, Somali, Beja) and Afroasiatic linguistics, but he also taught classes on Swahili, Amharic, the Tuareg and Masai languages,²⁴ as well as

ed Swahili, cf. N. PAWLAK, *Języki afrykańskie*, pp. 26, 73; *Dahalo*, Ethnologue. Languages of the World, [on-line:] <https://www.ethnologue.com/language/dal> – 15.12.2016; *Dahalo in Kenya*, Joshua Project, [on-line:] https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/11471/KE – 15.12.2016.

²¹ The Beja language (Bedawiyet, Bedawi) – a North Cushitic language used in Sudan, Egypt and Eritrea, cf. N. PAWLAK, *Języki afrykańskie*, p. 26.

²² Nubian languages – languages from the Nilo-Saharan family, used in southern Egypt and Sudan – along the Nile and in the provinces of Darfur and South Kordofan. They developed out of the Old Nubian language of the Nuba Kingdom, cf. *ibidem*, p. 30.

²³ AJU, reg. no. DSO II, A. Zaborski's personnel file, Academic employee evaluation form – Andrzej Zaborski, 2006/2007 academic year.

²⁴ 19 ICES. *Conference Manual*, pp. 24-25; N. PAWLAK, *In memoriam...*, p. 8.

on extinct Afroasiatic languages, such as Syriac, Akkadian, Old Egyptian and Aramaic.²⁵

From the beginning of 2001, Prof. Zaborski was the director of the Department of Afroasiatic Linguistics²⁶ at the Institute of Oriental Philology of the Jagiellonian University, which was dissolved after he passed away.²⁷ In 2013, he retired at the age of 71, but he remained academically active until the end. He died on 1st October 2014 in Kraków. As Prof. Nina Pawlak wrote in her eulogy in memory of Prof. Zaborski published in the journal “Africa”, the Professor’s death took everyone in Polish academic circles by surprise, as he remained academically active till the last, be it as a reviewer during the procedures for gaining a habilitation degree or in academic journals, or as a participant in planned conferences.²⁸ Kristýna Dufková and Václav Blažek from the Masaryk University in Brno added an impressive 18-page bibliography of his texts to their eulogy in memory of Andrzej Zaborski, published in “Linguistica Brunensia”. They also confirm the Professor’s intense academic activities up until his final days – as late as to-

²⁵ M. PIEŁA, *Professor Andrzej Zaborski (1942-2014) – Obituary*, “The Biblical Annals/Roczniki Biblijne” 2015, vol. 5 (1), p. 278. As a doctoral student at the Institute of Political Science and International Relations of the Jagiellonian University, I was able to participate in a monographic lecture *Introduction to Swahili* conducted by Prof. Zaborski in the summer term of the 2012/2013 academic year in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Jagiellonian University.

²⁶ A Jagiellonian University unit formed in October 2000.

²⁷ AUJ, reg. no. DSO II, A. Zaborski’s personnel file, Letter from the vice-rector of the Jagiellonian University in charge of staff and financing policies, prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Królas, appointing prof. dr hab. Andrzej Zaborski as Director of the Department of Afroasiatic Linguistics, 22.12.2000.

²⁸ N. PAWLAK, *In memoriam...*, p. 7.

wards the end of September 2014, he wrote an e-mail to one of the above-mentioned authors that he had to write a few reviews for "Folia Orientalia" (which he was able to complete), even though he was already preparing for a serious operation involving the removal of tumours in his pancreas.²⁹ The Professor's former student, the Hebraist, Dr hab. Marek Piela, wrote after his death that "Professor Andrzej Zaborski was a wise master, witty erudite and avid sailor, with a certificate of competency as Master of Foreign Going Ships"³⁰ (managing to infect his son with this sea-loving passion).³¹ In many ways, these words provide a good summary of the Professor's active life and reflect his versatility, as it would be hard not to agree that Prof. Andrzej Zaborski's academic achievements constitute a valuable contribution equally to African and Oriental studies, both in Poland and globally.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mrs Maria Gawron-Zaborska, M.A., Prof. Andrzej Zaborski's wife, for talking with me about her husband, for her comments to an earlier version of this article and for providing access to a photo of Prof. Zaborski.

²⁹ K. DUFKOVÁ, V. BLAŽEK, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-156. A selected bibliography of texts written by Prof. A. Zaborski in 1961-2012 was also included in: *Prof. dr hab. Andrzej Zaborski. Selected bibliography 1961-2012*, "Folia Orientalia" 2012, vol. 49, pp. 13-24; Conversation with M. Zaborska-Gawron, M.A., Prof. A. Zaborski's wife, Kraków, 3.03.2017.

³⁰ "Profesor Andrzej Zaborski był mądrym mistrzem, dowcipnym erudytą i zapalonym żeglarzem, posiadającym patent kapitana żegluga wielkiej"; M. PIELA, *op. cit.*, s. 278.

³¹ Conversation with M. Zaborska-Gawron, M.A., Prof. A. Zaborski's wife, Kraków, 3.03.2017.



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For Kraków-based African studies, the 1930s were a turning point, during which the developing interest in Africa would bear fruit in the form of the first independent research projects conducted in the field – on the African continent. The best example would be the studies conducted by Roman Stopa (1895-1995), considered to be the father of Polish research into African linguistics, a professor of the Jagiellonian University, a world-renowned expert on click languages. In 1935, Roman Stopa conducted linguistic studies for a few months in the area of modern-day Namibia and Botswana among its indigenous inhabitants: the San and the Khoikhoi, at the same time collecting a significant amount of ethnographic material on the culture of the San peoples. Today, this unique collection is housed by the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków.

In reference to the rich tradition of African studies at the Jagiellonian University and in response to the increasing interest in Africa and Africans, the idea emerged to form a research centre that would bring together Kraków-based Africanists, scattered across various University units. In 2014, by the decision of the Jagiellonian University Senate, the Jagiellonian Research Center for African Studies was created as an interdepartmental unit of the University.

Excerpt from *Introduction* by Prof. Robert Kłosowicz

