

Solche Vorstellungen haben offenbar das portugiesische Interesse an Ungarn genährt und die Reise Dom Pedros nach Ofen (nach 1424) mit veranlaßt. Dom Pedro dürfte nach den von Domenico Mellini bearbeiteten zeitgenössischen Quellen mit seiner Reise nach Mitteleuropa ein Gelübde erfüllt haben³⁾. Sein Geleit aus 800 Rittern bestehend fand im Türkenkrieg den Heldentod. Mellini erwähnt ihren weißen Mantel, der mit einem roten Kreuz geschmückt war, die Tracht der Kreuzfahrer. Sie kämpften unter dem Befehl von Pippo Spano († 1426), der die Führung der ungarischen Donauarmee inne hatte. Mellini zufolge hatte Pippo 1414 eine diplomatische Mission an den französischen, spanischen und portugiesischen Höfen zu erfüllen⁴⁾. Es ist also anzunehmen, daß seine Reise nach Portugal den Auftakt zur Mitteleuropafahrt Dom Pedros bildete. Aber auch die innerpolitische Lage Portugals und seine Schlüsselposition den Osmanen gegenüber (Ceuta) waren gewiß von Einfluß auf den Entschluß des Infanten. Er wurde wohl in den Plan Siegmunds eingeweiht, Venedig vom Mittelmeerhandel auszuschließen. Der Held von Ceuta, Dom Pedro, hat in den Reihen der ungarischen Armee bei Golubac 1428 tapfer gegen die Türken gekämpft. Er stand hier an der Seite des ungarischen Königs Siegmund, dessen Leben dank der Heldentat Caecilia Rozgonyis gerettet wurde.

Paris

Paul de Csikay

Radiation of Ancient Cultures

Bibliographical Notes*)

Dr. J. Kunst, an authority on Indonesian music (author of „Music in Flores“, Leiden, 1942), begins his very interesting and thought-provoking study on „the Cultural-Historical Relations between the Balkans and Indonesia“ with a vivid description of the Yugoslav folk dance festival which was held at Opatija (Abbazia) in September 1951. Dr. Kunst attended as a representative of the Netherlands government. Among the features of the festival which he discusses

³⁾ Vita di Filippo Scolari volgarmente chiamato Pippo SPANO scritta di Domenico Mellini. Fiorenza appresso Giorgio Marescotti MDLXX S. 71 „Piero fratello del Re di Portogallo ... il quale Portogallo per sodisfare un voto era dall'estreme parti del mondo venuto con gran Pompa, & apparato di ottocento huomini d'arme, con sopraveste di drappo bianco & con una croce rossa nell'armadura, i quali tutti furono morti.“ ... S. 62—63.

⁴⁾ Mellini, a.a.O.

*) Kunst, J., Kulturhistorische Beziehungen zwischen dem Balkan und Indonesien, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Mededeling No. CIII, Afdeling Culturele en Physische Anthropologie, No. 46 (Amsterdam, 1953). (Revised edition in English, Cultural Relations between the Balkans and Indonesia, same series, No. CVII—47 [1954]).

Arbatsky, Yury, Beating the Tupan in the Central Balkans (Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1953).

Id., The Roga, a Balkan Bagpipe, and its Medico-Magical Conjurations. Read at the Annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Chapel Hill, N.C., on December 30, 1953 (mimeographed).

were the kolo (round dance), the singing of folk songs, the performances on the tupan (drum) and zurla (shawm), and a sopele duo (sopele is a kind of double flute). Dr. Kunst then says: „Aber es blieb nicht bei dieser Freude über das Gehörte und Gesehene: ganz unvorbereitet erwartete mich obendrein eine große Überraschung. Ich glaube, daß sie wichtig genug ist, Ihre Aufmerksamkeit für einige Augenblicke darauf lenken zu dürfen. Als ich nämlich da im großen Saal des Hotel Kvarner saß, all dies über mich kommen ließ und meine Augen einen Moment schloß, wähnte ich mich plötzlich auf Ost-Flores bei dem abgelegenen Béléng-See und kurz danach auf West-Flores im Lande der Nagé. Es war dieselbe Musik, die ich hier hörte, im buchstäblichsten Sinn des Wortes. Ich meine, daß in einzelnen Fällen hier nicht nur die Rede war von einer gewissen Übereinstimmung oder Parallelität, nein, es war da zuweilen eine vollkommene Identität“.

We must be grateful to Dr. Kunst that, following this revelation, he decided to investigate the problem of this identity in music in more detail against the general historical background of the ancient cultures of Eurasia. His study is amply illustrated with both musical examples and pictures of musical instruments and art patterns. He points out in detail the striking parallels between the melody of the East Flores songs and the melodic style of certain Croatian folk songs (Addenda to p. 4). Of great interest is Dr. K.'s discussion of the similarity of the Indonesian musical instruments and those of the Balkan area. He compares the West Flores double flute to that of the Yugoslavs (figures 4 and 5). It may be added in this connection that in Russia this instrument is known as *svirel'* (N. Findeisen, *Muzyka v Rossii*, I [Moscow and Leningrad, 1928], p. 205). Another type of double flute is that which has unconnected pipes (West Flores, fig. 14 c; Chinese, fig. 14 b; Ukrainian, fig. 14 a). In Russian folk music it is known as *žalejka* (Kunst, p. 4; see a picture of it in Findeisen, I, p. 206, fig. 68). The Serbian idiochord (*gingara*) made of maize stalk (Kunst, fig. 12) is very similar to the Indonesian bamboo idiochord (fig. 10).

Regarding decorative arts, Kunst presents many remarkable parallels between the art of Indonesia and that of the Balkans in the ornamentation not only of musical instruments but of textiles as well as in stone carvings. His emphasis is on the ritualistic and magic motifs and scenes. Among these, the snake symbol is of considerable importance. It is often used in Yugoslavia for decorating the *gusle* (a kind of viol) (figures 51 and 53). There is a similar motif on the crossbeam of a Javanese gong (fig. 54). The „house snake“ (*domačica*) was venerated in Dalmatia until recently. This is to be compared to the cult of the „King of Snakes“ in Indonesia and India (p. 10). According to Dr. Arbatsky's letter to Dr. Kunst (Kunst, Addenda to p. 10, Note 32 a) there existed in the Balkans until recently a special magic rite, the snake dance, known as *smrtno kolo* (death round dance). This term became a taboo and was replaced by the term *bezimeno* („unnamed“), but even this term is uttered only reluctantly. Another magic motif mentioned by Dr. Kunst is the funeral ride of the souls of the departed. They are represented as birds riding either on horses or on deer (Bosnia, Addenda, figures 48 a and 61; Sumba, fig. 62; Kroé, fig. 37). In this connection Dr. Kunst also refers to designs on Turkmenian textiles (fig. 38), as well as to Russian folk embroideries (fig. 35). On these we have an additional theme, that of the Tree of Life.

I would like to point out here one more aspect of international parallels in folk music in addition to those established by Dr. Kunst, namely that of the expansion of the pentatonic scale. Its importance was emphasized by the late Prince Nicholas S. Trubetzkoy (see the collection of his essays entitled „K probleme ruskogo samopoznaniya“ [Prague, 1927], pp. 29 and 39). A considerable part of the Great Russian folksongs, including some of the oldest ritual and wedding songs, is based on that scale. The scale is supposed to have originated in China (R. Lachmann, *Musik des Orients* [Breslau, 1929], p. 37) and plays an important role in Indo-Chinese music¹). It is also widespread among the Turkish peoples of Central Asia, Siberia and the Volga basin, including the Čuvaši, in that latter region. In Western Europe it appears only among the Keltic peoples — the Irish, the Scots, and the Bretons.

Let us now turn to Dr. Arbatsky's two studies listed above. Each is a monograph on the role of a particular instrument in Balkan folk music. Both studies are based on the author's careful research in the field during his sojourn in the Balkans from 1933 to 1942. I am convinced that Arbatsky's „Beating the Tupan“ will be considered a classic in musicological literature in this field. He has penetrated deeply into both the spirit and the technique of folk music. In his opinion „A true conception of the folk music cultures of southeastern Europe can be formed only after long and close collaboration with the folk artists themselves. The scholars must practice the music with the native masters“ (p. 5). Arbatsky strongly objects to considering the folk music of the Balkans merely a „naive imitation of primitive nature“ as do some scholars. He says: „We cannot speak of naiveté or spontaneity where there exist inflexible rules and conventions“. The rules, however, are not so easy to discern since one of the primary characteristics of this kind of music „is variability within a pattern; and the very vitality of the music is a result of the principle of improvisation. A folk artist will never repeat the same song in the same manner: on the contrary, he will strive for variety“ (p. 5). The scholar has to look for a „certain fundamental form“, a scheme in the musician's mind which is followed and elaborated upon quite consciously.

Arbatsky came to these conclusions after four years of study (1933—37) with the famous Balkan tupanist, Mehmed of Špinadija near Prizren, an Albanian. Arbatsky vividly describes this remarkable old man whom he found „ignorant of reading and writing, very cautious and distrustful of strangers“, but kindhearted (p. 8)²). During his period of study with Mehmed Arbatsky kept a diary of his own progress as a folk musician. The path of this progress was tortuous. At first Mehmed repeatedly refused to accept Arbatsky as his pupil on the grounds that Arbatsky „was already spoiled“ (by Western music) (p. 8). „The first lesson was a complete failure“ (p. 9). It was only after hard

¹) According to information published in *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* (New York), April 7, 1954, French archeologists have recently found in Indo-China and brought to Paris a lithophone of the stone age consisting of eleven thin stone plates which sound at the lightest touch. When put in order they correspond to the pentatonic scale.

²) Mehmed was killed in 1938 by a bullet when trying to cross the Yugoslav frontier west of Djevdjelija.

exercises which lasted for about two years that Arbatsky started mastering the technique of beating the tupan. After that things went easier.

The tupan belongs to the category of percussion instruments which are popular in the whole Near East as well as in India. The Indian dudi (or edaka) and the Arab darabukka bear the closest resemblance to the tupan. All these percussion instruments are not used for beating the rhythm or for accompaniment. „Their role is much more important: they have independent tasks“ (p. 3). The tupan is used only rarely as a solo instrument but almost always played in combination with one or two shawms. The Balkan shawm (zurla or zurna) is similar to the Arab zamr which derives from the Persian zurna (pp. 3—4). The tupan is also known as goč which term may be compared to the Persian goš-darida (tambourine). The name „tupan“ itself may derive from the Greek tympanon.

According to Arbatsky, the technique of beating the tupan „usually alternates between hollow and clear beats and is characteristic of Near Eastern playing in those territories influenced by Arabian culture“ (p. 6). As to the peculiar times which constitute the most striking feature of the folk music in some parts of the Balkans, Arbatsky thinks that in this respect „the technique of beating the tupan was influenced by the Arabian art music“ through the Turks (p. 7). He refuses to accept D. Christov's opinion that the peculiar times of tupan beating were introduced by the Bulgars who invaded Thrace in the 7th century. Arbatsky attempts to refute Christov's views with the following arguments: „In the first place, the Bulgarian culture of that time was decidedly inferior to that of the people then inhabiting the Balkans; and second, the number of the invaders was too small for exercising such a pervasive influence on the native culture. The language of the natives remained as a whole unchanged after the invasion; so we may assume that the invaders were assimilated by the native inhabitants and not vice versa. Thus it is most improbable that the Bulgarian time systems in music prevailed. Indeed, if we compare the Balkan times with those of the Tartar tribes living on the Kama and the Volga, it should be possible even today to trace these times to the music of these Tartars. But there is a more significant factor in this; for whatever similarities occur between the music of the Tartars and that of the Balkan peoples, these similarities must be traced to general Islamic influences“ (p. 6).

Christov's study „Tekničeskaja strojež na Bŭlgarskata musika“ is inaccessible to me; besides, not being a musicologist, I am not competent enough in the technical problems of the history of music to make any definitive statement on this controversy. As a historian, however, I have to take exception to Arbatsky's thesis in this case. In terms of general history of European civilization the culture of the pagan Bulgars was certainly inferior to the Christian Byzantine civilization. However, the region occupied by the Bulgars in the late 7th and the early 8th centuries (Moesia and Thrace) had been at that time populated mostly by Slavs mixed with the remnants of Hellenized Thracians. Most of the Slavs were still pagan in this period and were still little affected by Byzantine culture. Besides, as Arbatsky himself insists in his general appraisal of the significance of folk music, a primitive people may possess a highly developed artistic culture. The Bulgar horde which invaded the Balkans was a fragment of Khan Kurt's (Kubrat's) Great Bulgarian Empire which had flourished

in the North Caucasian and Azov area in the first half of the 7th century. That Empire was a federation of tribes in which several ethnic elements were represented: Turkish, Magyar, Alanic, and Slavic. Therefore we may suppose that there was intermixture of various cultures. In the second half of the 7th century the Bulgar Empire broke under the pressure of the Khazars and the Bulgars divided into several hordes which migrated in various directions. While one group of them went to the lower Danube area, another moved up the Volga River and settled in the region of the middle Volga and the lower Kama River (the so-called Volga Bulgars). We may agree with Arbatsky that the Danubian Bulgars were eventually assimilated by the Slavs and that the new Bulgarian language was basically a Slavic language. However, there still are remnants of the Old Bulgar in Slavic, among them such an important term of social history as the „boyar“ which also entered the Russian language (bojarin, from boljarin, plural boljare; in the old Bulgar the plural is bojilar). It is quite likely that traditions of the Old Bulgar music were preserved in the Balkans through the intermediary of the descendants of the priests and musicians of the pagan cult. Arbatsky's remarks on the possible influence on the Balkan times of „those of the Tartar tribes living on the Kama and the Volga“ contradict his own thesis. The Čuvaši living in that region are descendants of the Volga Bulgars. The Danubian Bulgars must have used the same time systems in music as the Volga Bulgars. Consequently, the parallel trends in the Balkan and Čuvašian music seems quite natural.

Arbatsky's study of the roga deals with elements of Hebrew culture in the Balkans, although the name roga itself is apparently Slavic (rog, „horn“). Roga is a kind of bagpipe used for the playing of medico-magic conjurations and for achieving religious ecstasy. This type of music is called šafra which is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew šofar. The roga has an ambit which suggests its relationship to the bagpipes used both in Istria and in East Turkestan. „The teaching practices connected with the roga are the same as those generally used by folk musicians in the Balkans“ (p. 4). The roga was used until recently by the musicians of two small Balkan tribes, the Djoj and the Bejdbejta. The Ava (spiritual leader) of these tribes used to reside in Skutari. Information collected by Arbatsky on the roga is of great importance, especially since this music is now a thing of the past. Arbatsky himself never succeeded in approaching the Ava. Finally, Arbatsky's two students contacted the Ava pretending to be survivors of the Birko tribe (that tribe was exterminated by Yugoslav frontier guards when they tried to cross the border into Albania in September, 1937³⁾). It was they who recorded the roga music for Arbatsky.

According to Mr. Kučuk Ullagaj, an Orientalist whom Arbatsky consulted, the language of the Djoj was „a dialect of Farsi-Tatic possibly related to the Tajik language“. The language of the Bejdbejta, „though somewhat Turcoid, could not be classified in any way“ (p. 2). Both tribes used Hebrew

³⁾ As Dr. Arbatsky explained in his letter to me of April 9, 1953, spiritual authority of the Ava was originally recognized by seven small tribes including the above mentioned Djoj, Bejdbejta, and Birko. The four other tribes had disappeared before Arbatsky's coming to the Balkans. The Birko spoke an archaic Slavic (Macedonian) dialect.

for divine services. I would like to add in this connection that the Tatic is the language spoken by the mountaineer Jews of Daghestan in the Caucasus. It seems possible that the Djoj were a fragment of this group.

It is typical of the occult nature of the roga playing that on the chanter of the Ava's roga the girana, a symbol whose meaning was taboo, was branded. It was used in the Balkans in the snake cult and also in the conjuring of vampires (p. 2; see also the quotation from Arbatsky's letter in Kunst, Addenda to p. 10). The roga itself was never to be called by name during fool moon (p. 3).

The works of Arbatsky and Kunst are of great value not only for musicology but for cultural history at large, since they contain much novel material for the study of radiation of ancient cultures. For the explanation of parallel trends in the cultures of the Balkans and Indonesia Kunst follows the hypothesis recently presented by Professor Robert Heine-Geldern in his article „Das Tocharerproblem und die pontische Wanderung“ (Saeculum 2 [1951], pp. 225 — 255). According to Heine-Geldern, a great migration of peoples took place in Asia in the late 9th and the first half of the 8th centuries B.C., in the eastward direction. It eventually reached both China and Indo-China. Heine-Geldern speaks of it as of a Tokharian movement in the sense that peoples connected with the Tokhars, linguistically or otherwise, participated in it. While remnants of the Tokharian language have been located in Central Asia, that region was not the starting point of the movement according to Heine-Geldern. In his opinion it started much farther west, in the Pontic steppes because of which he also calls it the Pontic migration (see the map attached to his article, fig. 37; reproduced in Kunst, p. 20, fig. 21). He thinks that the background of the movement lay even more to the west; among the peoples who took part in the drive, he lists, besides the Cimmerians, the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Germans (see his map for his location of all these peoples). Heine-Geldern has arrived at these conclusions on the basis of an extensive survey of both archeological and linguistic data bearing on a variety of ancient cultures of Europe and Asia. In his opinion, it was as a result of this migration that patterns of East European culture penetrated into China and Indo-China. Kunst likewise is inclined to think that the similarities between the Balkan music and art and those of Indonesia may be explained by the eastward expansion of the Illyrian civilization.

While Heine-Geldern's thesis seems very impressive and logical, it is not acceptable to me. In my opinion it is much more likely that most of the ancient migrations of both peoples and cultures did not go the whole way from Occident to Orient or vice versa but started in a central area from which they expanded in various directions — east, south, and west. That central area stretched from the Azov-North Caucasian region eastward to the Altai Mountains and East Turkestan. Its hub was in Khorezm (Chwarism). We may perhaps call it the Alanic-Tokharian cultural sphere. The excavations conducted by Russian archeologists in this area during the last twenty years have brought remarkable results showing the antiquity and continuity of cultures. The following works, none of which is listed in Heine-Geldern's bibliography, may be mentioned here in this connection: S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnij Khorezm* (Moscow, 1948) (See R. Ghirshman's French resumé of Tolstov's work in *Artibus*

Asiae, XVI (1953), pp. 209—237 and 292—319); S. P. Tolstov, ed., *Trudy Khorezmskoj arkheologo-etnografičeskoj ekspedicii*, I (Moscow, 1952); S. V. Kiselev, *Drevnjaja istorija južnoj Sibiri* (Moscow, 1951). A number of patterns of art and music must have originated in that central area and then expanded both eastward and westward. In other cases the peoples of the central area may have served as intermediaries between East and West⁴).

Let us consider from this point of view the expansion of the pentatonic scale. As has been mentioned, it was preserved in the folk music of the West European peoples only in the extreme north-west of Europe — in Brittany, Ireland, and Scotland. It seems hardly possible that the Irish brought the pentatonic to Indo-China (which would be logical from the point of view of Heine-Geldern's thesis). Rather we must think that the Kelts brought the pentatonic to Ireland from the Pontic region where they had been in contact with the peoples of the Alanic-Tokharian cultural sphere. A remarkable evidence of the possibility of such a contact is the identity of the root of the Ossetian word for „hero“, Nart, and that of the Irish nert, „strength“ (see H. W. Bailey, *Analecta Indoscythica I*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1953, p. 107). Furthermore, the similarity of the names Ir (the Irish) and Iron (the Ossetians) may be not a mere coincidence. As to the Yugoslav folk music and magic arts, we have likewise to consider the possibility of the influences on them of patterns of the central cultural sphere. It seems certain that both the Serbs and the Croats migrated to the Balkans from the North Caucasian area or even, in the case of the Croats, from Khorezm through the Azov area (see F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* [London, 1949], pp. 273—276; G. Vernadsky, *Das östliche Slawentum bis zum Mongolensturm*, forthcoming in *Historia Mundi*, IV).

Among the alleged Illyrian prototypes of the Indonesian art Kunst mentions a representation of the peacock in „West Russian“ embroideries as well as „the West Russian“ concept of the Tree of Life (p. 7 and figures 29 and 31). For Kunst West Russia is the old area of the Illyrians („Stammland der Illyrier“). This is highly problematical. Kunst's illustrations are taken from Dr. Elsa Mahler's remarkable book, *Altrussische Volkslieder aus dem Pečoryland* (Basel, 1951). The Pečoryland is part of the old Pskov area. It lies far more to the north than the supposed Illyrian area in Belorussia. Besides, the motives of the embroideries in question are not peculiar to the Pečory region. They are characteristic of the whole old Russian folk art and may be found on embroideries of North Russia and Central Russia as well. They derive not from the Illyrians but from the Scytho-Alanic art of the Caucasus and the Pontic steppes (among the recent works on the subject see L. A. Dinces, *Drevnie čerty v ruskom narodnom iskusstve*, in: *Istorija kulturej drevnej Rusi*, Vol. II [Moscow and Leningrad, 1951], pp. 465—491).

⁴) In the revised English edition of his work (p. 13) Dr. Kunst seems ready to consider „West Central Asia“ a possible source of at least some of the magic and artistic symbols and parallels in the interplay of cultural influences. „My objective in particular“, he adds, „has been to reveal the existence of such parallels — so far as I am aware, for the first time — in the field of music.“

The important role of the Alanic-Tokharian sphere in the development of mythology and folk epos of the neighbouring peoples is likewise obvious. Slavic mythology, including that of the Balkan Slavs, is permeated with Iranian elements (see R. Jakobson, *Slavic Mythology in: Funk and Wagnalls, Standard Dictionary of Folklore*, II [1950], pp. 1025—1028). Furthermore, it would not be amiss to note the expansion of the motif of the sacred deer which played such an important role in the mythology of the Alans and the Saka. The deer motif penetrated into Ferdovsi's *Shah-nama*; into the Indo-Buddhic literature; and into Indo-Chinese tales (see G. Vernadsky, *Anent the Epic Poetry of the Alans, Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, IV [1953], pp. 520—522, and the literature quoted there).

Another case of expansion and interchange of themes in mythology and folklore ist that of the legends of Loki and Odin. In his study "Loki" (Paris, 1948) George Dumézil hat established striking parallels between the adventures of Syrdon in the Ossetian cycle of the Narts and those of the Scandinavian Loki in Nordic mythology. Recently Dzambulat Dzant'y has published a French paraphrase of an Ossetian legend of Odin and the latter's journey from the Caucasus to Scandinavia (*Oss-Alanes* [Clamart, France], fasc. 2 (1953), pp. 11—13). Until the publication of the Ossetian text of this legend no definite conclusions can be based on it, but it may prove to be of great significance.

New Haven

George Vernadsky

Zwei Bücher über Philosophie in der Slowakei

Zu den ganz unerforschten Seiten der slowakischen Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte gehört u. a. die Geschichte der Philosophie und des philosophischen Unterrichts vor allem der älteren Zeit. Voraussetzungen für die Beschäftigung mit der Philosophie gab es in der Slowakei genug: die Stärke des Luthertums, die mit der herrschenden katholischen Religion mehrere ideologische Kämpfe auszufechten hatte —, beide Seiten brauchten dafür philosophische Waffen, der zahlreiche Besuch der ausländischen Universitäten, vor allem der Wittenberger durch die Protestanten aus der Slowakei, die Entstehung eigenen protestantischen (in Eperies) und katholischen Universitäten (Tyrnau, 1777 nach Budapest verlegt), — das alles führte zu einer Bekanntschaft mit der ausländischen theologischen und philosophischen Literatur, zu einer Aneignung der philosophischen Ansichten der ausländischen Schriftsteller, endlich zu der Ausbildung einheimischer philosophischer Lehrer. Von den philosophischen Werken, die in der Slowakei erschienen sind, erfahren wir aus alten und neuen Bibliographien, wobei neben den alten z. B. Klein, Szabó-Hellebrand usw. jetzt die neuen Bibliographien von Rizner und die zahlreiche Ergänzungen dazu bietende von Mišianik heranzuziehen sind. Über den Inhalt der philosophischen Werke, die außerhalb der alten Grenzen Ungarns fast völlig unerreichbar sind, konnte man bis jetzt kaum etwas Zuverlässiges erfahren. Es gab in der älteren Literatur gelegentlich unbestimmte Hinweise z. B. darauf, daß der Eperieser Professor Johannes Bayer ein Anhänger Bacons war oder daß sein Kollege Elias Ladiver von Komenius beeinflusst wurde und ähnliches mehr.