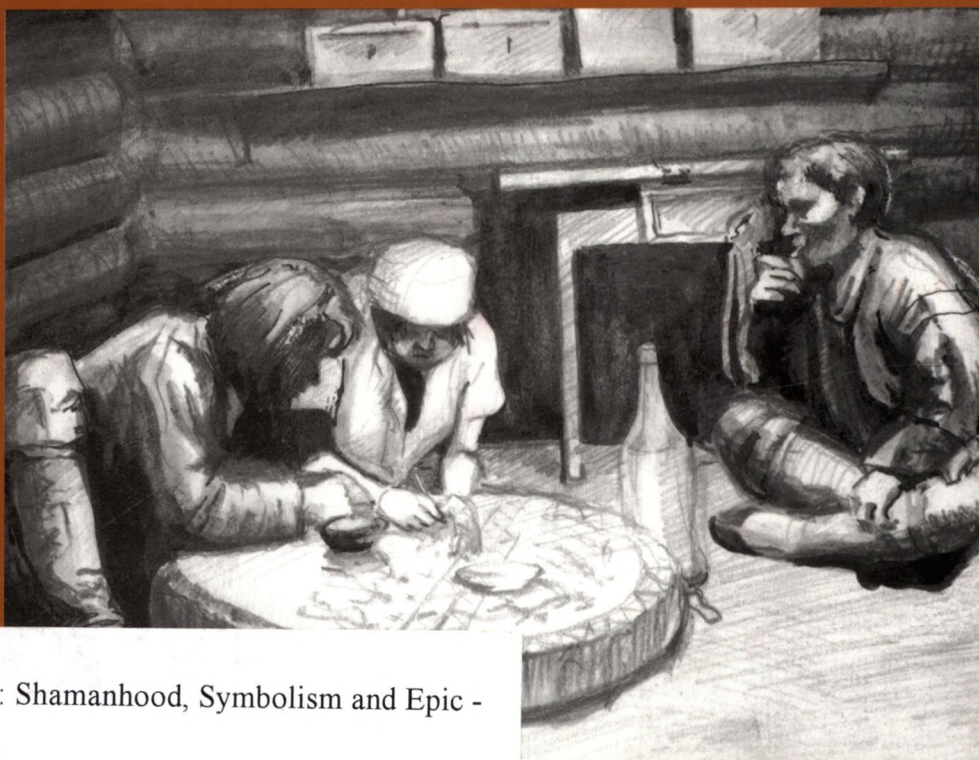


SHAMANHOOD SYMBOLISM AND EPIC

Edited by
Juha Pentikäinen

in collaboration with
Hanna Saressalo and Chuner M. Taksami



Pentikäinen: Shamanhood, Symbolism and Epic -
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**SHAMANHOOD
SYMBOLISM AND EPIC**



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Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

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Front cover picture:

Drawing made on the unique photo taken by Nadezhda Petrovna Dyrenkova
in the 1920s–1930s. The drum is painted with mineral colours to a shaman-to-be by the
members of a Katchines family in their log cabin in Khakassia.

She was an ethnographer on Siberian folklore, languages and shamanism,
born in 1899, died of hunger in the surrounded city of Leningrad.

N. P. Dyrenkova's personal archive from the Museum of Anthropology and
Ethnography (Kunstkamera), St. Petersburg.

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PREFACE

This volume with contributions of contemporary research on symbolic and epic expressions of shamanism is based on the scientific work related to the unique exhibition titled SHAMANS – THE SECRET WORLD OF SIBERIA'S PEOPLES at the Vapriikki Museum Centre in Tampere between May 16th 1998 and January 31st, 1999. It was for the first time when the superb shamanic collections of Kunstkamera, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, dedicated to Peter the Great, its founder on the 1720s, were so extensively displayed anywhere. The exhibition which got good reception and great publicity both in Finland and abroad was the culmination of the shamans' year with a lot of happenings, book exhibition, series of lectures, film and theatre weeks, evenings with shamanic gastronomy, etc., detailed by Toimi Jaatinen, Director of the Museum Centre, in this volume.

The philosophy behind the exhibition is in the focus of this book. It was planned in the course of the intensive team work of the working group, most often in the inspiring atmosphere in the midst of the findings from rich stores of Kunstkamera, between the shelves of the archives under the learned guidance of J. A. Alekseyenko, V. P. Dyakonova and L. R. Palvlinskaya, and at the teatable of the office of Chuner Taksami, Director of Kunstkamera, and finally under the erection of the exhibition at the Vapriikki. Toimi Jaatinen's article with pictures taken by Timo Lehtinen introduces the brief outline of the exhibition with its ambitious effort to offer not only the display of rare shamanic items as such, but ways of experiencing SHAMANHOOD as well. This concept proposed by Juha Pentikäinen 1998, is not aimed to replace the terminologically overloaded term of SHAMAN-ISM, but rather is offered, at least, to emphasize the anti-dogmatic nature of the phenomenon and its comprehensive personal and cultural connotations, manifold symbolic and spiritual expressions in their ecological milieu, besides nature in their social and cultural environment and, last but not least, as a personal and family matter among people within shamanic cultures. The study of shamanhood is the way to interpret the WAY OF KNOWING, and to better understand shamans, those who know and who share the knowledge of shamanic language, its vocabulary, folklore and music in their oral memory.

Most contributions of this book have been written by the members of the team or were delivered in the SHAMANS – EPIC AND ECOLOGY colloquium held in Tampere on January 14th–16th, 1999, with 50–100 participants, both as the conclusion of the SHAMANS exhibition and as the first

international symposium at the 150th anniversary of the New Kalevala. George Charles or Mr. Kanaqluk, according to his native Yup'ik name, is a bearer of shamanic song traditions in various generations of his family line. He came from Fairbanks, Alaska, to give a lecture accompanying his presentation with a drum and songs learned from her grandparents and parents. Besides to them, some articles have been invited from experts who have presented their ideas on comparison between shamanism and world epics in other contexts: Vilmos Voigt from Budapest discusses the history of epic and Hungarian vocabulary on heat in relation to shamanic concepts, Bayir Dugarov from Ulan-Ude deals with a Buryat-Mongolian sutra in shamanic context, Apostolos N. Athanassakis, a professor of classics from Santa Barbara, writes on the Homer as shamanic epic, Robert A. Erickson, a professor of English from Santa Barbara and Fullbright fellow at the Department of Comparative Religion, the University of Helsinki in 1999–2000, on his special topic: Milton's Paradise Lost.

Åke Hultkrantz, Professor Emeritus of History of Religions at the University of Stockholm, and the h.c. member of the exhibition team writes in his introductory article to this volume: "Shamanism is one of those old institutions of mankind that for a long time was little known to others than very few specialists, the shamans themselves, their assistants, and some researchers." Accordingly, several articles of this book are based on long-lasting field and archival work carried out by the researchers of shamanism in respective milieus of their expertise. It is the result of the fruitful interaction with the indigenous peoples, between those who know and those who have had time and patience to learn to listen to the language of the shamans and people near to them, to understand and interpret the symbolism of these messages, sacred to them and secret to the others.

Siberia may be characterized as the cradle of shamanism on linguistic basis; the word SAMAN with a network of concepts related to shamanizing and the shamans' designations and attributes come from Manchu-Tungusic and Nivkh languages. The history of the development of Russian attitudes are summarized by Elena Glavatskaya in this volume. A great number of the articles of this book have been written about symbolism and world view of Siberian shamanism by the generation of ethnographers who started their field work for Kunstkamera during the Soviet era. L. P. Pavlinskaya writes that "the decorative symbols and figures depict the cosmological and cosmogonical views of northern Asia, as well as the various stages in the development of shamanism". She proposes a historical typology of the cultural regions of Siberian shamanism based on the research of the shaman costume. Since the drum belongs to the essence of shamanic paraphernalia it is natural to have an expert's article on its symbolism, written for this volume by E. Alekseyenko on the basis of her field work with the Ket. Chuner Taksami, a scholar with Nivkh origin, Director of Kunstkamera, studies the shaman's path to heaven on the

basis of his ecohistorical analysis of material elements indicating the shaman tree: amulets, costume, mask, sacrifice cloths, drum, hut, shaman headdress. Female shamanism of the Tuvans is scrutinied in two papers. V. P. Dyakonova started her field work in postwar Tuva with 725 registered shamans in the 1940s, out of whom 411 were men, 314 women. The roles of Tuvan female shamans are described by her, and Matpa Onder is portrayed as an example of a professional shamaness. S. Solomatina also tells about mainly female Tuvan shamaness traditions in her article on the protection of Tuvan children. Mihály Hoppál's concluding article on cosmic symbology of Siberian shamanism is based on Central Siberia materials as well.

The section on shamanic epic starts with two papers written by Finnish ethnomusicologists from the University of Tampere. Jarkko Niemi's musical notation on the dream songs of the Forest Nenets is an important continuation to the versification of Samoyedic and Ob-Ugric texts carried out by John Lotz, Robert Austerlitz, Péter Hajdú, Eugene Helimski, Eva Schmidt and others. Niemi shows how the presentation patterns of the secular songs greatly differ from that of the narrative and shamanic songs performed by the singer of sacred texts, shaman called "tadyebya". According to Timo Leisiö, the octosyllabic metric pattern recognized by Niemi in the sacred singing of the Nenets is typical of shamanic singing throughout Eurasia. Giving examples from the Finno-Ugric, Samoyedic, Turkic, Buryat Mongolian, Tungusic, Paleo-Siberian Leisiö proposes that the octosyllabic singing is the archaic prototype of shamanic singing. On the lines of Matti Kuusi and Eugene Helimski he emphasizes the role of a shaman as the conservator of old language idioms. Since this same octosyllabic pattern is known as the so-called Kalevala trochaic meter expressed by the Finnish, Karelian and Estonian epic, which also have carried strong sacred meanings, we maybe are faced towards some interesting hypotheses which certainly will bring forward new indicators for the definitions of the age of the poems and their sacred functions. Matti Kuusi even suggested their Neolithic origin. i.e. the age of the oldest petroglyphs at the White Sea, Onega islands and at the banks of the Vyg river, Peurasaaari (Deer Island) idols, etc.). Kuusi writes that "some Pre-Finnic code for performing of mythical epics and ritual texts based possibly on unfixed or four-stressed lines characterized by alliteration and repetition". Helimski thinks that the octosyllabic singing was a natural part of Uralic languages ever since the Proto-Uralic period back to 6000 years. The religious context becomes manifest from the conservative aspect of shamanic tradition in their relation to sacred contexts. Contemporary research on Siberian shamanism shows that before a language dies, its last breathing takes place in the sacred codes of shamanic rituals.

The SHAMANS colloquium with these contributions indicates fresh ideas in contemporary research on shamanism. The phenomenon of shamanism is also undergoing changes and new interpretations. Joan B. Townsend gives a

proposal towards a typology of modern traditional and invented shamanism. Kira van Deusen exemplifies the rebirth of Khakass shamanic culture in Siberia on the basis of her analysis of a narrative on "The Sleeping Warrior".

The editors appreciate the fruitful cooperation with the Department of Cultural Affairs of the City of Tampere under the guidance of Docent Lassi Saressalo, and the Museum Centre of the City of Tampere, which made this publication possible. Dr. Mihály Hoppál included the collection of these papers into the distinguished BIBLIOTHECA SHAMANISTICA.

In the spirit of the steam (Finnish *löyly*, Hungarian *lélek*) in the sauna of the newly established headquarters of the Museum Centre Vapriikki of the City of Tampere.

Juha Pentikäinen

Hanna Saressalo

Chuner M. Taksami

Åke Hultkrantz

SHAMANISM: SOME RECENT FINDINGS FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

On a gloomy December day in 1998 when these lines were written the radio news reported that a marvellous palaeoanthropological find has been made in a cave in South Africa: a complete skeleton of a man, 3.7 million years old, well-preserved in all details. This find from the beginning of mankind is what scientists have longed for, but scarcely believed that they would ever encounter. We are also reminded here of a find from Finland last summer, a place to live for Palaeolithic man—certainly revolutionary for our judgement of the human age in this Circumpolar area. Such discoveries instil new enthusiasm into research, also in humanistic disciplines. The finds I refer to are perhaps not so applicable here, but they concern such scholarly gains as new ideas, and insights which also fire our imagination in other fields. The particular field I have in mind is the study of shamanism.

Shamanism is one of those old institutions of mankind that for a long time was little known to others than very few specialists, the shamans themselves, their assistants, and some researchers.¹ However, the situation has changed rapidly towards the end of this second millennium. The once hidden world of shamanism has, during the last decades, opened wide its doors: new facts, theories and conclusions are pouring out. Perhaps because we are now so many dealing with shamanism, perhaps because the accumulated knowledge expands our visions.

It is my intention in the following to give a glimpse of some new knowledge, particularly in so far as it has influenced my own research, or at least has been observed and commented upon by me. My particular geographical fields have been North America and Northern Scandinavia (the Sami), but my interests also include Northern Siberia and South America. And, of course, they also comprise the general discussion of shamanism.

The Definition and Range of Shamanism

A look at the many articles and books on shamanism that now overflow the market evidences the observer that there is no conformity in scholarly opinion on how shamanism should be interpreted. Eliade's classical definition, "one of the archaic techniques of ecstasy" (Eliade 1964: XIX), has often been criticised for being both too narrow and too wide. It has on one hand been pointed out that it does not allow other sides than the pure ecstatic experience to be included (Pentikäinen 1998:11), and it is on the other hand considered to be only applicable to experiences of the shaman's soul flights to another world. In fact, the spirits may come down to inform the shaman, and in certain cases they may even possess him/her (Hultkrantz 1973:34, 1993:6).

The last correction is easier to comment upon. It concerns the content of the shaman's experiences as they are perceived by the shaman, or ideally interpreted by him, or ideologically taken for granted by his assistants and his surrounding tribesmen. We must thus admit that it is not always certain that the shaman himself has gone through the experiences which he reports; as for instance Tor Andræ has stated, there is a fine borderline between reality and imagination in shamanic experiences (Andræ 1926:304). Behind all narratives of shamanistic séances there is a tradition handed down from one generation to the next about what to expect in these performances, not least about the states of the shamans. One of the main points is the ecstasy, or trance, since this condition differentiates the shaman from other jugglers and doctors. That is, he is always supposed to be able to have this capacity. To my understanding, this causes him to stand apart from the general medicine man. And ecstatic shamans have usually, of course, a higher social standing than a common medicine man, or an old healing kinsman.²

At the same time, ecstasy is not the only expression of shamanism. There is also the ritual structure which provides the setting for the shamanic performance. Some writers, in particular Finnish and French, consider the analysis of ritual a very important task. And it is possible that in our days when ritual studies, stimulated by social anthropological theory, are in fashion more attention should be directed to shamanic ritualism.

This study started in Finland with a publication on role theory in shamanism by Lauri Honko (1969). He developed his theory on the basis of the findings of George H. Mead (1934) and Ralph Linton (1936). Honko insists that, in distinction to the shamanic novice,

the practising shaman must adapt himself more than hitherto to the demands of the community and must keep an eye on the role expectations directed to him; it is not enough that he has visions or is in a state of trance—he must himself formulate interpretations of them which will serve the community. In the shamanistic séance itself role-takings go simultaneously in both directions, from the other side (supranormal) and from this side (audience) (Honko 1969:39).³

Honko illustrates his argument with examples from Siberia, the homeland of classical shamanism. Honko's fine discussion of the shamanic role in Siberia has been followed up by Anna-Leena Siikala in a very scholarly work (Siikala 1978). She takes up a central question on which Honko's article is based, "what is the art of ecstatic transformation or the art of social role-changing?" (Siikala 1978:29). She also asks what does "ecstaticism" mean in the shaman's performance? And how do role changes link up with the shaman's ecstatic behaviour—are they structured to the *séance*, or "does the *séance* as an entity take shape on completely different bases?" Clearly associated is the question, "How does the social and economic structure of the community or its ecological adaptability effect the shaman's position or the form which shamanism takes?" (Siikala 1978:30). It is problems like these that Siikala tries to solve in her important work. Her results are that the shaman operates within extant tradition. The rhythmical stimulus from the drum acts on the nervous system and gradually actualises the taking on of supernatural roles. Siikala notes that

role-identification, the playing of a dual role or verbal description of a counter-role, are on the one hand typical behavioural models bound to tradition,

whereas on the other hand

the intensity with which the shaman lives a counter-role varies even in the course of one *séance* (Siikala 1978:330 ff., 333, 337; see also Siikala in Siikala and Hoppál 1992:31 ff.).

It is obvious that both Honko and Siikala in their role-explanations join with what Siikala calls "the western line of interpretation centring around ecstasy" (Siikala 1978:23 f.). This is not the case, however, in the French scholar Roberte Hamayon's interpretation of the shamanic role. In a flaming article this interesting author, well-known through her monumental work on Buryat and Mongol shamanism (1990), recommended that shamanologists should do away with trance, ecstasy and "similar concepts" (Hamayon 1993:3–25). She maintained that terms such as trance and ecstasy are "an obstacle to the anthropological analysis of shamanism" (Hamayon 1993:4). She denies their utility "to serve, first, as descriptive tools, and, secondly, as analytical concepts" (6). One wonders how the author wants to explain the frequent use of trance in medical science.

It is another thing to state that in situations of shamanistic performances it may seem impossible for an untrained observer to conclude that the shaman is really entranced. There is some evidence that shamans themselves have performed *séances* without being true believers. One example is, as Dr. Hamayon points out, an admission from a Kwakiutl Indian of Northwest America, quoted from Boas by Claude Lévi-Strauss.⁴

This case is famous among both anthropologists and students of religion. A particular Kwakiutl man who was sceptical to the competence of medicine men describes how he was trained to become one in the woods outside of his village. Among other things he was taught by his shamanic instructors how to suck out a pretended disease object from a patient's body. He had to place a downy feather in his mouth, and when he pressed his lips hard on to the wound or diseased spot he forced his gums to bleed from the incision that the sharp end of the feather had made. He could then remove the bloody down and show it to the public as the disease spirit or object. Boas's text provides the most blatant evidence of shamanic fraud. The question is, of course, to what extent it shows that shamans are deceivers, and whether such acts really presuppose that such shamans were not necessarily in trance.⁵

In the case referred to, the new shaman despised his shamanic career as long as he lived.

To Hamayon, there is no place for a discussion of trance within the cultic machinery: 'As a matter of fact, the shaman does nothing other than respect the model of behaviour prescribed for his function' (Hamayon 1993:14). "The shaman 'in trance' is like the actor on the stage" (15). In my estimation Hamayon is completely wrong here. First of all, she depreciates the trance as being 'condemned, marginalized or absorbed by all transcendental religions', forgetting Catholic mysticism, Islamic Sufism, and Buddhist meditation. She purports that an entranced person shows that he does not master his nature, he is a primitive individual, and he is ill (18). Secondly, she ignores the fact that shamanism springs forth from the shaman himself. It is possible that the mass shows in connection with Mongolian—Chinese—Korean shamanic displays have led her in the wrong direction. If we look closer at the shamanic displays in simpler societies—in North Asia or America—the shamans often lead the séances due to their experiences and particular endowment. There are often only a few people present at curing ceremonies—these persons being the closest relatives of the sufferer. The trance is here made more apparent than the conventional social drama.

Behind Dr. Hamayon's conviction lies her idea that only a sociological theory can explain shamanism. Moreover, only this theory stands for an anthropological interpretation. The search for an explanation of the beliefs and the personality inclinations of the shaman is not anthropological, it is psychological. This is, however, an arbitrary judgement of the meaning of anthropology, and is not shared by, for instance, American anthropologists.

The debate between Professor Hamayon and myself had its climax in a controversy in a recently issued book on the philosophy of anthropology.⁶

The Question of the Shaman's Psychopathology

Until recently many scholars presumed that shamans were psychologically insane. The specific, neuropathic sensitivity among many shamans was thus interpreted as both an emotional and an intellectual weakness. Most scholars had, however, another opinion, registering shamans as healthy and normal individuals.⁷ They found that shamans were temporarily affected during their calling period, and during their soul flights and sucking rites, but otherwise completely normal. The calling implied a transformation of the shaman candidate's psychic situation, a transitional loss of harmony; the curing—whether soul flight or sucking—brought back the disharmony, but ended in harmony.

The idea that shamans were mentally deficient was spread among scholars in the beginning of the twentieth century and then among Soviet Russian shamanologists. Even excellent critical scholars like Marie Antoinette Czaplicka in England (1914:307 ff.) embraced the same thought.

The general idea is that the seemingly crazy behaviour of a person in trance, and particularly when possessed by a spiritual being, leads one to think of a mad man.⁸ There might be other reasons as well. Hamayon, for instance, means that beside the "devilization" there is "medicalization", an expression of "otherness" in curing, as Hamayon suggests (1993:18 f.). Juha Pentikäinen rightly observes, concerning the efforts to explain shamanism as a mental disorder, that "the formulation implied in such a statement puts the cart before the horse" (Pentikäinen 1998:60).

Today no leading shamanologist holds the opinion that shamans are mentally deranged. In my own conversations with medicine men and shamans I have found that these functionaries are just the same as other human beings, and often more intelligent and sensible than the rest of their community. It is only during the shamanistic séance that they give a more distorted impression because of their inner experiences and, certainly, their dramatic acting. It is to Honko's and Siikala's great merit that they have demonstrated how these two factors operate together, and sometimes condition each other.

Historical Reconstructions

Scholars writing on shamanism have mostly avoided the problem of the history of shamanism, or only touched on it in passing. The reason for this is obvious: our written sources are fairly recent, and oral tradition does not cover far into the past. Our results of an historical overview are mostly conjectural. In the old days they could be supplemented with evolutionistic data, but such reconstructions are not acceptable to modern historical students.

In dealing with remote historical problems, such as the possible place and time of the origin of shamanism, we cannot, of course, say anything. Many

theories have been produced, but they are of little consequence. Thus, to select two examples, neither Ohlmarks' theory of a high Arctic beginning or Schmidt's idea of an origin in a matrilinear animistic society is persuasive. Ohlmarks (1939:38) unconditionally coupled shamanism with Arctic hysteria—no doubt a similar complex, but not a necessary appendage. Schmidt (1930:67) found the first traces of shamanism in the mixture between Tibetan social structure and the North Asiatic dread of dead ancestors. Such imaginary reconstructions have little value and have indeed for a long time obscured the Austrian and German discussion of shamanism.

There is today an understanding that it was in the ancient Palaeolithic hunting world that shamanism once took form. There are ever so many indications that account for this conclusion. First of all the conceptual world of shamanism is richly filled with animal spirits of all sorts (looking like the animals of the respective zoological zones). Most guardian spirits are, as we know zoomorphic. Furthermore, the shaman, or his soul, flies like a bird (and in the guise of a bird) over the skies to the world beyond. In Siberia, the shaman appears in animal attire, in the likeness of a bird, a reindeer or elk or bear. As is well known, the shaman behaves like an animal (his protective spirit), and imitates its sound.

Secondly, the ritual death and revival ceremonies associated with the shamanic initiation are modelled upon the rituals used to revive an animal after its death. There is, furthermore, a mysterious connection between the drum and the shamanic bow among Siberian shamans (cf. Eliade 1964:174 ff., Ensheimer 1964:28–49).

It should be added that the first author who saw the dependency of shamanism on hunting symbolism was Andreas Lommel (1965:18–33).

Shamanism has extended over great areas in the ancient world of the hunters, perhaps with exceptions in Africa and parts of Australia. It is not easy to know what has happened within this enormous geographical field, but it is possible to make some observations of specific developments.

Thus, we can make a distinction between a basic, general shamanism and a special shamanism, coloured by its influence from the Asiatic high culture (cf. Hultkrantz 1978, 1996). The basic shamanism of, for instance, the American Indians is characterized by its reliance on psychedelic stimulation and an uncertain line between shamans in full ecstasy and medicine men with a lighter ecstatic experience. Far to the North, among the Eskimo, the shamanic ecstatic depth is reminiscent of the one in Northeastern Asia. There is a puzzling connection between Mapuche shamanism in southern Chile and the shamanism of the Lamut in Northeastern Asia (Hultkrantz 1991:20 ff.), not least when it comes to the figure pattern on the drum skin.

Of particular importance is the Shaking Tent complex, a divinatory ritual in the dark where the shaman, bound and muffled, calls on his guardian spirits to give him desired supernatural information.⁹ This fascinating ritual among Algonkian Indians, Salish, Sioux and Eskimo seems to be a direct continuation

of the shamanic techniques among North Siberian tribes and the Samoyed of Northern Russia (Hultkrantz 1967, 1981:18).

In my earlier writings I have too hastily supposed that the coming on of pastoralism has had consequences on shamanism. I now admit that I was probably wrong. My investigations of Sami religion (Hultkrantz 1985) have revealed that the passage to nomadism did not basically change the religious configuration.

There is more evidence that the Circumpolar shamanism was influenced by the rise of high cultures in Asia, from about 5000 B.C. It is true that the European and Near Eastern high cultures had little impact on shamanism, probably because the contact with the old shamanism had been superseded by the values in an agricultural milieu. Furthermore, the strong authoritarian and hierarchic culture in the Near Oriental, Jewish and Christian states might have prevented the growth of shamanic ideas.

In southern and eastern Asia, however, the situation was different.¹⁰ In India, Hinduism and Buddhism were attached to the same psychical background as shamanism. The archaic *rishis* are said to have received the supernatural knowledge from the gods by sacred beholding (Gonda 196:9, etc.)—their interpretation as shamans is close at hand. We know that the systemisation of yoga meditation was developed in ancient India and finally refined in Buddhism. We also know that the Hindu word for an ascetic, *śramana*, is considered by many to be the basis of the word “shaman”. Similarly, the Buddhist scheme of meditation could very well have inspired the shamanism in the areas North of India: Tibet, Mongolia etc. This is, however, uncertain. What is certain though is that the absorption in meditation has influenced all these countries, and made shamanism an acceptable form of religious institution. In this way the eastern shamanism adopted beautiful clothes and rich ritual equipment. Even the sovereigns were incorporated into the shamanistic system. (cf. Hultkrantz 1989:48, Waida 1976a and b, 1984).

In simpler form the Circumpolar peoples of Asia imported much of the underlying symbolism of the southern shamans.

Endnotes

¹ On the history of shamanic research, see Hultkrantz 1997.

² The differences between various types of American Indian healers and wonder-makers have been given in Hultkrantz 1992:18–19. Although the reference is to North American Indian spiritual leaders it also encompasses in general those from Siberia.

³ Perhaps here I should mention that in many cases there is a particular assistant who interprets the shaman's vision while he himself lies in a trance, apparently unconscious (cf. Honko 1969:46).

⁴ Hamayon 1993:11f.; Lévi-Strauss 1963:175ff.; Boas 1930 I:9 f.

- ⁵ In this connection Hamayon refers to Huizinga's idea that a person may be both knowing and playing at the same time. Hamayon quotes Jean Pouillon's thesis that believing and doubting are closely tied up together—which I think is quite correct.
- ⁶ Wautischer 1998:163–190. See here articles by Åke Hultkrantz (163–173), (188–190), Roberte Hamayon (175–187).
- ⁷ See for instance Arbman 1970 III, in particular pages 404–408. Arbman has, in my view convincingly, shown the close connection between the shamanization and the hysterical attack.
- ⁸ I am less certain that the illustrations of shamans in action—see the excellent portfolios in Hoppál 1984 and 1989—have been influential, as some scholars have argued.
- ⁹ This séance may also be called Spirit Lodge since one of the Algonkian characteristics—the shaking of the tent—do not appear among, for instance, the Sioux (Lakota) and the Arapaho.
- ¹⁰ Also in Iran where many scholars have found Zarathustra and other religious leaders equal to shamans.

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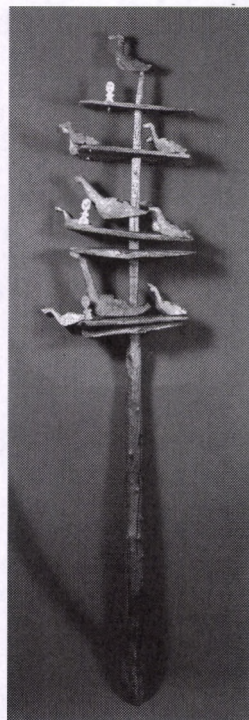
Chuner M. Taksami

THE SHAMAN'S PATH TO HEAVEN

Requesting for a child's soul from the spirit of heaven, the upper world, was among the most important duties of a shaman. For this ritual, a special tree (*tura*) was made, which the shaman used to ask the spirits for the soul of a child. The shaman tree unites all three levels of the universe; the upper world, the temporal world and the underworld. The shamans used to ask the spirits of the upper world for foetuses of children and cattle.

This Dolgan tree represents the universe. It comprises six "heavens"—clouds (the cross bars). The shaman's helper spirits wait on the cross bars and help him get to the upper world. The ritual began on the ground, near the shaman's hut; it was here the shaman embarked on his long and taxing journey. The shaman stopped to rest on each "heaven" and left his helper spirit there, either in the shape of a bird or a human being. On the top of the tree sits the mythological two-headed bird, which symbolises the beginning of a man or a woman. The bird guards the spirits of children (foetuses) in the nest. In order to reach the top of the tree and the nest, the shaman had to sacrifice to the spirits of the upper world and give them gifts. After getting hold of a foetus (the soul of a child) the shaman hid it in his drum or in his clothes.

The birds sitting of the cross bars of the tree are not mythical, but can be found in the forests of Siberia. Originally the birds had wings, but they have not been preserved. Each bird had its own meaning on the shaman's journey to the upper world, to the nest of foetuses. The shaman's journey was long and taxing. Evil spirits tried to prevent him from reaching the top of the tree. In order to beat the evil spirits, the shaman used, in addition to the birds mentioned above, the spirits of forefathers (here small human figures). After a successful journey, the shaman transferred the child-soul (the foetus) to the woman wishing to have a child.



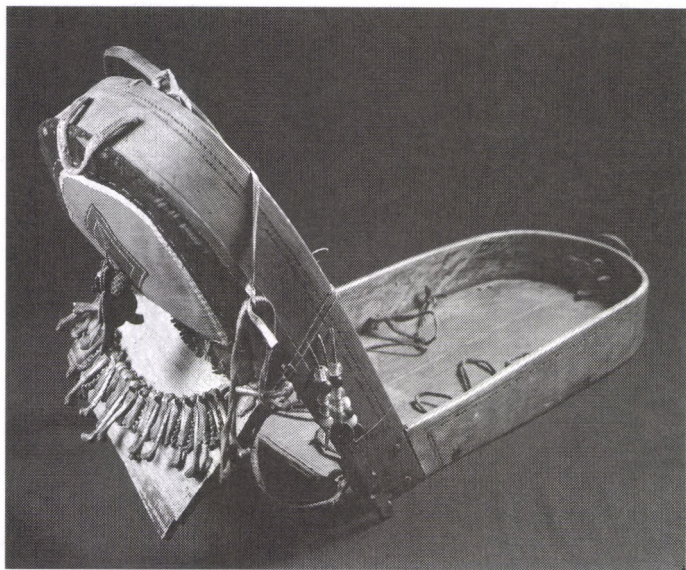
1. Representation of the shaman's path to the sky. Eastern Taimyr. MAE 4128-37/5.

The arrival of the child was anticipated and preparations were made, for example, by making a cradle for the child. This cradle was carved out of wood. The rope has many as many knots as there were children in the family who had slept in the cradle before. Before the child was put in the cradle, the cradle was consecrated ("revived") by placing a lamb or a puppy in it for a while. Some northern peoples consecrated cradles with images of god or figures of home protecting spirits.

Above the cradle is a child's amulet comprising a long leather strap, a hook and sacral objects. The leather pouches contain the souls off all children who had slept in the cradle. The pouches were closed with the children's umbilical cords. The "soul pouches" of boys were of the shape of an arrow, and the pouches of girls the shape of cubes. This cradle comes from the Terengite people in Altai. It belonged to an old woman who could no longer give birth to a child. The large number of knots in the strap that was used to fasten the cradle indicates that this had been a lucky cradle; there had been many children in the

family. If a family gave their lucky cradle away it meant losing their luck, i.e. losing their children.

Procreation was very important for the northern peoples of Siberia. The peoples were few in number and lived in extremely harsh conditions. In order to guarantee their existence the people



2. Orochen cradle. Manchuria, MAE 2646-33.

ancestors and the universe for help. The presence of spirits in dwellings was vitally important. The shaman was a very important character in the lives of his or her people: the shaman was the only person who could perform rituals and to bring down child souls from the upper world. Shamans could also heal people and protect them from evil spirits.

The birth and well being of a child was very important to the northern peoples of Siberia. The child was protected in many ways: since birth, the child had several protective amulets, for example, a bear's tooth at the foot of the

turned to the spirits of their

cradle. The Siberian peoples believe the bear to be a very powerful magical animal. Its paws, skin and teeth are the most powerful protectors of children.

Judging by the number of knots in the strap, this cradle is more than 100 years old.

Shaman Costume

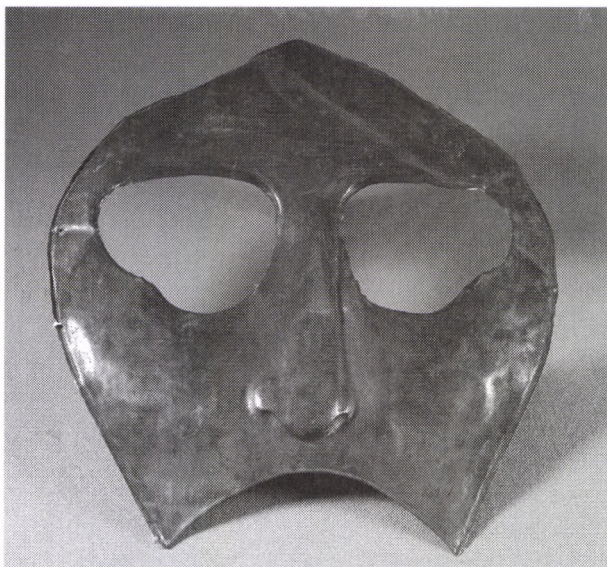
A complex set of a shaman's costume was found in Tuva in the Kysildag mountain region (Red mountain) in 1963. The costume comprises a drum, a rattle and a headdress. The items belonged to a famous female shaman Matpa Ondar, a member of an old shaman family. Matpa Ondar was married twice, and her second husband was a lama. That's why she was buried into the ground instead of "a shaman grave". Her costume and ritual implements were buried inside a cave on top of a high mountain. The costume and the implements are proof of her fame; the costume comprises two "snake bundles" (*chelan* in Tuvan). The snakes were the shaman's assisting spirits that assisted her in her rituals to enter the upper world or the underworld. The metal pendants resembling arrows symbolise the shaman's ability to beat evil spirits. The Utte chimes symbolise the powerful spirits that she mastered.

The headdress is a mask representing one of the shaman's ancestors. The headdress is decorated with feathers and plumes which symbolise the shaman's ability to journey to the upper world, which was relatively rare among female shamans. The bronze horns attached to the headdress symbolise the shaman's powers and her ability to beat her enemies and the shamans of the underworld. The images on the handle of the shaman's drum depict an ancestor and the snake spirit. The same snake spirits are depicted on the costume itself. The shaman costume (*kuyak*) is both the spirit of the shaman's ancestors and a war attire, a shield that protects the shaman in battles.

Burying a female shaman into the ground was very unexceptional. This was mainly due to the prevailing ideology of the time, which caused shamans to be banned and persecuted. It was not a coincidence, however, that the grave of Matpa Ondar was found. On their expeditions in the Altai region, researchers visited many villages and talked with many old villagers, who provided them with information regarding the possible location of the grave. One villager told the researchers that the grave could be located in one of the caves on the Sacred mountain. On the request of the expeditionists, a group of local men climbed up the mountain and searched the caves. This unique shaman costume was found in one of the caves. It has been part of the collections of the Kunstkamera since 1963 when it was found. (Cf. the picture in V. P. Dyakonova's text in this volume.)

Mask

This mask, the mask of an Evenki shaman, dates back to the 18th century. It resembles the masks that shamans used to wear in their rituals. The museum has a few masks of this type in its collections. This particular mask is 200 hundred years old and is believed to have represented an ancestor spirit. The mask was held on the face of a figure posing as an ancestor, and it protected and brought luck and success to the members of the family. The shaman would perform rituals for the ancestor spirit asking the spirits for health for women and for the



3. Evenki mask representing a dead ancestor or spirit helper of the shaman. MAE 869-1.

Some shamans did not wear masks, although they did have masks of ancestor spirits which they always carried with them and which were used as decorations on the shaman's costume. The headdress mentioned above is a good example of a mask made for ancestor spirits. Some spirits masks were attached to the shaman's clothes. Without the mask, the shaman could not perform one single ritual.

souls of children. The mask is made of copper, a sacred metal traditionally favoured by gods, and it was forged by an Evenki blacksmith.

A shaman's mask is an important cult implement, a sacred object. Wearing a mask the shaman could pose as an ancestor which was profitable, as ancestors had more power, experience and magic. The mask also served to protect the shaman's spirit, as evil spirits did not recognise the shaman and mistook him for some other spirit.

Ket Praying Ground

In 1900 a Russian scientist named Ostrovsky brought to the museum a few wooden figures and some photographs he had taken in a Ket praying ground. Here is one of them, a figure representing a woman. Compared to the other, rather massive figures, this one is more delicate with legs, hand and breasts.

From the photograph one can see that once the figure was decorated with beads and colourful strings, also called "sacrifice cloths" (these have not been preserved), The figure was brought to St. Petersburg in 1900 and since 1901 it has been part of the collections of the Kunstkamera museum. The figure represents an Ostyak female god called Holai. Holai is a praying ground where members of a family gathered at Summer solstice. The holy ground had to have a tall larch, sometimes as many as three of them, which represented the hostess Holai. People brought gifts to the larch and decorated it with sacrifice cloths and beads. They left food offerings at the root of the tree. Men offered valuable iron arrow-heads.

At the same praying ground, figures representing a bear and a man were found, but they are less significant in value.

The goddess Holai is the hostess of the praying ground and the protector spirit of the riverside; people prayed to her for fishing luck. The praying ground was renewed every year, when old figures and statues were replaced by new ones. The photograph from 1902 shows a bear statue and some 50 bird-headed stakes at the same praying ground.

Researcher visited this praying ground for the last time in 1959, by which time it had already been abandoned. The statues found during that visit were brought to the museum. In reality, this praying ground ceased to be a place of worship during the Second World War; as all the men in the family had been sent to the front, there was no-one left in the village who could have performed the ritual. Setting up a praying ground is always solely the duty of male family members.



4. Ket Athropomorphic figure.
MAE 614-1.

Drum

The drum (mae 1048-62) is a good example of the rich and varied cultural tradition of the Ket. It is described by Ye. A. Alekseyenko (see picture 1.) in this volume as an important part of the museum's collections since 1908.

The drum is the instrument of a shaman's rituals. On the other hand, for many northern peoples the drum is an essential part of life, it is born, grows and dies with the people. As it grows, the drum changes its shape and content. The shape of the drum depends on its use. The shaman and the drum are inseparable;

if the drum is broken, it means the death of the shaman. Drums were always made of living wood (cedar wood). The drum represents a buck reindeer, the shaman's draught animal. The handle of the drum symbolises the reindeer's breastbone and the outer rims the reindeer's backbone. The drum can also represent a doe reindeer, the shape of which the shaman takes in rituals. When the shamans performs rituals in the temporal world, he is not holding a drum but a doe reindeer. When the shaman embarks on journey to the upper world, he uses the reindeer as his draught animal. Thus, the drum can symbolise three different things: a buck reindeer, and doe reindeer and the universe.

The horizontal strings symbolise the three layers of the universe. First of all, seven leather straps are tied to the drum: they symbolise the seven heavens. As the shaman learns and progresses, the leather straps are replaced with wires which are then decorated with small objects, which symbolise the shaman's helper spirits. The more helper spirits the drum has attached to it, the better the shaman is able to help his or her relatives. The pendants representing birds, humans and reindeer symbolise the shaman's journeys in different worlds. The universe has also been depicted on the outer side of the drum: here are the solar signs of the upper world: the sun and the crescent moon. In the centre of the drum is an anthropomorphous figure that symbolises the first, mythical shaman who connects the three worlds. The images on the drum resemble ancient cave paintings.



5. Evenki shaman hut. Construction and picture by Timo Lehtinen for 1998, Tampere, Shaman Exhibition.

Hut

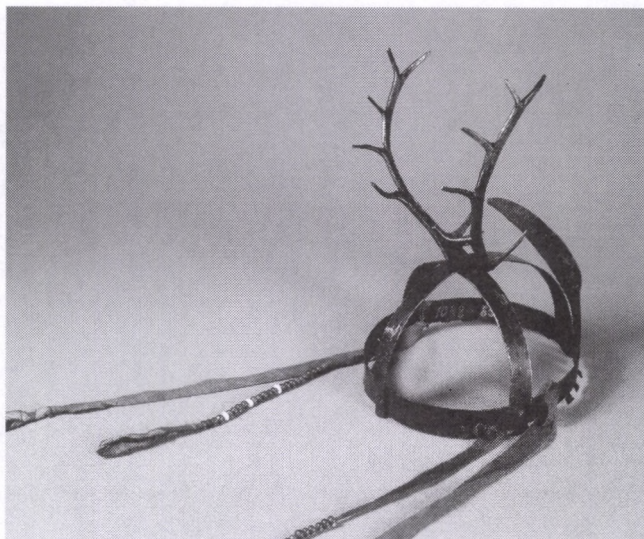
A hut was set up in the face of difficulties, such as an epidemic in the family, illness, death, etc. A shaman hut is a ritual in itself. The hut of a shaman is larger than a usual hut, because during rituals it had to be able to accommodate several people. On the eastern side of the hut was the entrance (*darpe*), and on the opposite side, the *onan*. The hut symbolised the family's river: the eastern side, *darpe*, symbol-

ised the headwaters of the river, and the *onan* the lower course. The headwaters of the river represented the upper world and friendly spirits, the shaman's helper spirits, whereas the lower course represented the underworld. In front of the hut is a statue of a reindeer (*kalir*). In Evenki mythology, *kalir* reindeer is one of the most important helper spirits of the shaman. The reindeer statue was placed sideways at the entrance of the hut. Large wooden statues representing trout were placed on top of the reindeer statue. Together the statues formed a bridge across which the shaman and other ritual participants entered the hut. After a ritual, the wooden statues were left in place; for each ritual, new statues were carved. The statues were made by the male members of the family according to the shaman's specific orders.

Shaman Headdress

A headdress of a Ket shaman comprises a metal crown-shaped band, two crossing bows decorated with reindeer horns and a sword at the front. The headdress and its decorations represent the cosmic views of northern peoples: the metal band symbolises the universe, the world of men, the world of cultural traditions. The two bows for a cross which bear the same meaning as it does in the Christian faith. At the same time, the bows symbolise the four cardinal points united by the world of men. At the centre is the centre of the sacral world crowned by a pair of reindeer horns.

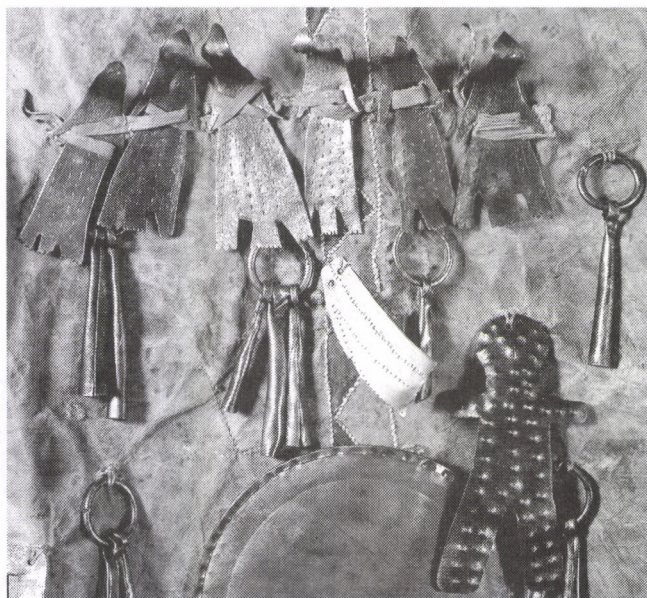
The shaman's costume has three different animal figures: a reindeer, a bird and a bear. The reindeer horns in the shaman headdress symbolise the ancient world-view of the shaman's people. The reindeer figure has been present in the culture of the northern peoples since the Neolithic period. It symbolises the sun and the universe. According to an ancient myth of the northern peoples, the sun reindeer chased by a bear races across the sky from East to West as if it were following the sun. The bear always catches the reindeer



6. Selkup shaman headdress.



7. Enets ritual parka from Taimyr Peninsula.
MAE 5706-1.



8. Representations of ancestor shamans and spirit helpers.
Cf. the picture above.

and kills it, however. But the next day the reindeer is born again and starts following the sun again.

The image of a sword at the front of the headdress is there so that the shaman could cut clouds on his way to the upper world. The shaman headdress is an imitation of the headband of the Sarmats. It too comprised a metal band with engraved images of the world-tree surrounded by two reindeer figures. A similar kind of headdress with a metal band, decorated by four world-trees whose tops meet at the centre, was found in Korea; the headdress is believed to date back to the 6th century. The bows of this headdress, which used to belong to a Ket shaman, symbolise the four world-trees and the four cardinal points.

Juha Pentikäinen

WHEN A SHAMAN DIES

NANAY VOICES ON DEATH AND IMMORTALITY

At a Shaman's Grave

After the agreement on the SHAMANS exhibition in Vapriikki, the Museum Centre of the City of Tampere 1998–1999, had been signed, next ambitious effort was to plan the philosophy of the exhibition started in 1997 as the cooperation between the expert team of KUNSTKAMERA Ethnographical and Anthropological Museum dedicated to Peter the Great and the VAPRIIKKI exhibition group. The plan introduced in the catalogue 1998, by Ye. A. Alekseyenko, V. Dyakonova, T. Jaatinen, L. Romanova, C. Taksami in this volume as well as in T. Jaatinen's and L. Saressalo's contributions into "Ethnography is a heavy rite"—Festschrift 2000, was thoroughly discussed in the inspiring and unique atmosphere at the top floor of Kunstkamera museum building between the shelves of its enormous stores. It was great that scientific planning took place as a significant part of the exciting search for the exhibition objects from the shelves. Since the collection of items was much more abundant than the space available in Tampere, it was necessary to make a difficult choice between the available items. All the wishes of the Vapriikki team could in general be negotiated and smoothly solved. For instance, when it became clear that the huge shaman tree and other items nailed at the vestibule hall of Kunstkamera museum were not any more in a transportable condition they were replaced by smaller ones to be sought for the exhibition.

One delicate problem, however, remained unsolved: that concerning our request for a shaman's grave. When we were taken to the shelves with the remains of the coffin of a shaman, we were told how everybody felt some uneasiness of transferring or even touching the coffin. Painful questions and memories shared with performers and narrators on the shamans' immortal presence in the rituals and soul trips arose. Somebody said that she even felt the presence of the spirit of the dead shaman in his coffin and expressed her opinion that the shelves might not be empty. The coffin remained, of course,

untouchable. A silent ceremony including the sprinkling of vodka drops at the shelves took place before we were led to the photo archives of Kunstkamera. Some old pictures of shamans' graves in different milieus were shown to us and a permission was given to produce them into the exhibition publications as well as to build up a construction of a shaman's grave after its exact Tofa model.



1. A Tofa shaman's grave. The picture shot and measured by V. N. Vasiljev in 1909 in its natural milieu in Nizneudinsk district.

The place of the construction of the shaman's grave in the exhibition hall between the sectors IX and XII dealing with healing and escorting the souls to the abode was easy to solve and its reasoning as easy to comprehend. We coming from outside, of course, knew how the team of our distinguished collaborators in St. Petersburg had started their field work with Siberian shamans from Leningrad city during the Soviet era in the 1940s–1950s. They had been able to see the graves of the well-known shamans in nature wherever they had been hidden due to the persecutions of the Soviet exile. Some had even been present to eyewitness a secret funeral of a shaman in their fields. Scholars who had in their youths listened to the life histories of the shamans they knew, and about the painful stories of the persecutions of the shamans of the previous generations could not, of course, depart from their memories shared with the people they knew and loved.

The spirit of immortality described above seems to be a significant part of the phenomenon called shamanhood. It is even a touchable, always present

essence of the shamanic rituals and mythologies. This article has been written remembering my own personal field experiences related to narratives and ceremonies about dying and death in some shamanic cultures of Siberia in the 1990s. After a narrative on a Khanty shaman's death at the Ob river has been told, Nanay voices from the Lower Amur region are listened on the dying of a person who is a shaman, the last great shaman to be remembered, and the shamanhood of a people when its language dies with the surrounding polluted water.¹



2. The Tofa shaman's grave's reconstruction 1998 which became one of the great specimens of the SHAMANS exhibition, a spiritual item to be re-experienced and re-interpreted to the exhibit visitors.

The Narrative of a Khanty Drum in Russkinskie Museum

It was in January 1990 we were introduced to the collections of a local museum in Russkinskie, a Khanty village in Northwestern Siberia, during the tour of my first Khanty expedition with the team of linguists from Akademgorodok in Novosibirsk (Oleg Donskijh, Natalya Koskharova, Elena Kovgan) guided by V. I. Maier, the last President of Surgut district of the Soviet era. There were two

drums in the museum: one quite old with oval shape, apparently heavily used, with dark skin due to smoke and fire and sacrifice food poured on its surface, another quite new and bright, made out of still clean reindeer skin by a local Khanty man with a clear intention to put it on sale. I was encouraged to beat the new drum with a hammer, and a photo was, of course, taken from this show.



3. Picture from the field tour (Jan. 1990).

The old drum remained untouchable to us. The museum guide, a Khanty woman said not to be sure if it was empty yet. Its story was told. The drum with its hammer had been found during the previous spring from a cabin in the North. It had belonged to an old man who had been found deadly frozen in a cabin during his winter hunting trip. Although everything was not told in the presence of the Communist authority, I, of course, knew why the man had been found with a drum in his hand? He was a local shaman whose final intention had been to go to bury his drum before his soon expectable death. The target of his journey should have been the

mythical river of his clan what he had tried to reach skiing to follow the ancient custom, to bury his drum at his clan river as long as he was still able to do so. This was everything I then was able to write into my diary.

Recalling this encounter and re-reading my notes later on I understood that my narrator had behaved in a proper Khanty way. She did not want to tell us more than necessary. The main thing was that the drum was not empty and safe yet. The name of the shaman was necessary to be left unmentioned as well. After having been time enough without (his) breathing (soul) he had already become a member of the group of the deceased ones. So he was without a name, the main characteristic of being a person or an individual alive (his ego). Although he now was physically dead, one of his spirits was still regarded alive on its journey to the final abode destination. There is a mythical river of death

narrated by the Khanty, to be reached by the deceased members of the clan at their own time to depart the village of the living. Before arriving at the clan river there was an interval period, dangerous both for the homeless departed and his/her family. The name of the river was left untold to the foreign visitor as well as the location of the cabin where the drum and hammer had been found. I understood how we were by purpose left ignorant on the mythical space, time and reasons on details of a shaman's death: why, where and when he had departed to his journey.

The story of the departure of the Khanty shaman who had been the owner of the Russkinskie drum well fits to the mythical Arctic scheme of voluntary death, called by them as a 'single battle'. Under the influence of modern medical death statistics (more thoroughly in Pentikäinen 1983 and 1989) this ancient tradition typical of many Arctic and shamanic peoples became labeled as a suicide.

The death of a shaman is a special case in shamanic world views. Real knowledge on the coordinates of the topography of the river of death and abode in the narratives of shamanic cultures is said to belong to the 'knowhow' of the shamans only. Since they must take care for the role of the 'navigator' of the spirits of their clans to the abode it is important that they themselves are extremely careful for their actions related to their own death and afterlife. The drum has a special position in these beliefs. It is said to be the horse or spirit (soul) of the shaman, an essential part of his/her personal ego, identity. The number of the drums which have been found has remained quite low since so



4. Photo of the author with a new drum from the field tour (Jan. 1990).

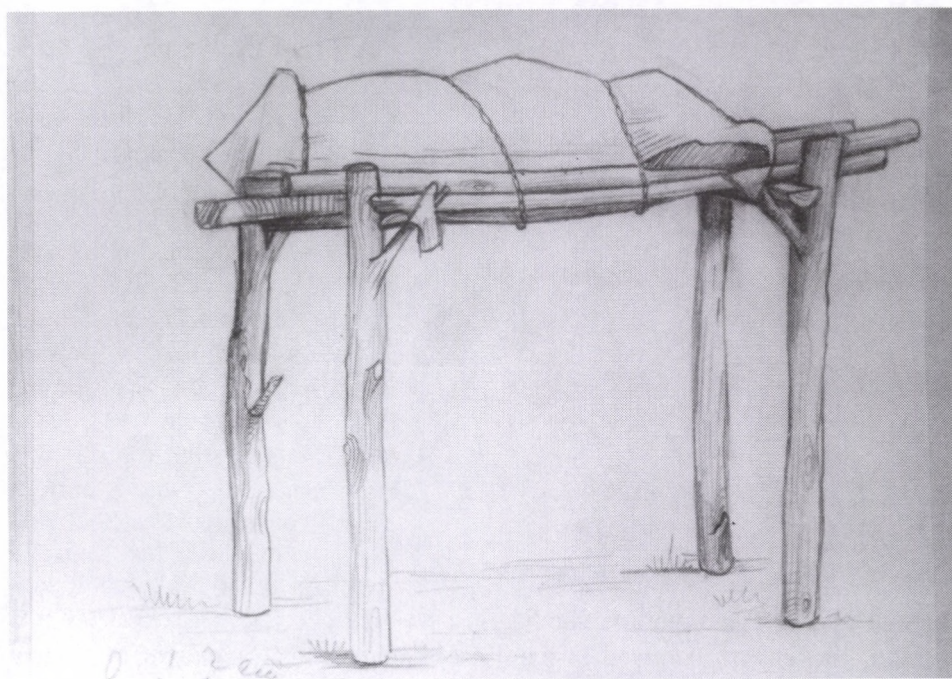
many shamans have succeeded in their final efforts to bury their drums when they still were able to do so. A buried drum made out of skin and wood soon becomes rotten if it had not become frozen in the cold Siberian North,—sometimes found with the shaman himself as a mummied body frozen to death. The noise-making metal parts of the drum with amulet figurines of their spirits have been better preserved in shamanic graves than the drum itself; a Finnish example was found from a shaman's grave in Kuusamo from the 16th century when it still was a Lapp territory.

In the shamanic world views on a tripartite structure of the universe the target of the shamanic journeys to the abode is usually the destination behind or under water. Going through the liquid element means the re-birth of the spirit of the dead one in the abode, comparable to childbirth through the liquid of the female body. In order to be able to reach this destination the shaman needs helping spirits from water element, and he or she should be able to transform himself/herself into the bodies of animals who are able to swim (fish, snake, whale, water bird). The animals whose capacity includes both strong and fast moves on the surface, swimming or diving underwater, flying in the air and the universe as well as climbing on the twigs of the tree of life are particularly important in shamanic myths: water birds, snake, flying squirrels, even mythical bear, elk or (rein)deer.

Reasoning is here related to another destination in the mythical tripartite structure of the universe becoming manifest in the constellation maps, illustrations of tree or pillar of life as well as in the stab of the shaman in the upper world. The spirit of the shaman is said to fly as a bird, in a cloud or to climb on the twigs of the tree of life or on the steps of the stab of the shaman again in various shapes, e.g. eagle, raven, water birds, or snake or bear because of their climbing skills. The drum in shamanic mythologies is compared to the elk, horse, reindeer reflecting the constellation map (Orion, Perseus, Polar Star myths) while the shaman is riding on the Milky Way in the neighborhood of the Polar Star and Great Bear (cf. Pentikäinen 1998). Greek historians since Herodot have written myths about *terra hyperborea incognita*: the Arctic peoples have been defined on the basis of the constellation of Great Bear. In accordance with a Greek word *arctos* meaning a 'bear', those peoples have been called Arctic which have been thought to have lived under that constellation in the neighbourhood of the Polar Star in the North. One significant parallel to shamanic mythologies lies in the fact that North is also the direction of the abode in the universe; Pohjola in Finnish shamanic epics is Tuonela—the location of the abode Beyond. It is the target of such shamans' voyages as Väinämöinen, Lemminkäinen, Ilmarinen, at the gate of the mythical dangerous empire of Louhi, the Mistress of Pohjola.



5. A shaman's burial place found in a taiga by the hunters of the Czarist Russia army.



6. A drawing of a shaman's burial place, Tuva. Pictures from Kunstkamera.

When a Shaman Dies Talks with Lindzja Beldy, a Nanay Shamaness

I learned to know Lindzja Beldy, a Nanay shamaness, in September 1991 and worked with her during the six Nanay expeditions with Tatyana Boulgakova, an ethnomusicologist from St. Petersburg, until Lindzja's death in 1999. Lindzja Beldy (born probably 1909 with no birth certificate) belongs to the generation of the few Nanay shamans who survived the severe Communist persecutions of the 1930s. She survived because she at that time only had a by-role in shamanic

ceremonies of her community, as a young *taochi* shamaness. This is the third category in the classification of Nanay shamans: 1. *kasa tai* shaman, leader of *kasa* ceremony; 2. *herghen* shaman with a capacity to lift up the souls; 3. *taochi*, healer. She was probably in her mid-20s while eyewitnessing the last *kasa taori*, the classical Nanay departure ceremony of the deceased for their long journey to Buni, Nanay abode, during its last traditional performance led by *kasa tai* shamans dated to fall 1937.

Lindzja herself had in her youth been pressed to join the Communist party but she had refused though the refusal was fraught with serious consequences. She was convinced that being a shaman was incompati-



7. Lindzja Beldy, a Nanay shamaness (born ca. 1909, died 1999). Picture by the author.

ble with being a communist. She had lost her husband and her son at the war time of the 1940s and lived in the 1990s when we met summers in a small paper-wall cabin behind the house which belonged to her son-in-law Khariton (born ca. 1943) with whom she lived wintertime. Khariton in Lindzja's words



8. Preparations for *kasa taori* of Fall were led in the itoan tent by Nesulta Geiker and Mariya Vasilevna Beldy.



9. The dog made out of grass in front of the sledge is the symbolic animal of the Zaksor clan, needed to pull the sledge with the *mugden* spirits to the *buni*, Nanay abode.

was atheistic like all other people of his generation. He did not allow Lindzja to shamanize and sometimes even interrupted her invocations. Once he had thrown away her shamanic belt which resulted, as she believes, in her backache. All her life Lindzja had been haunted with fear that she might get punished for her shamanic practices. Typically enough, after the shooting of *kasa* was over in 1991, she had even asked from Tatyana Boulgakova if I was going to send someone to arrest her.

In spite of the delicate matter that there was no *kasa tai* shaman left due to the persecutions of the 1930s when all the shamans belonging to the 1st and 2nd categories had been killed Lindzja finally decided to take with Ivan Torokovich and Mariya Vasilevna Beldy and Nesulta Geiker a leading role in the 1st revived *kasa taori* of fall 1991 and also the 2nd in 1994. After the successful performance of the 1st revived *kasa taori* ceremony the following discussion took place about a shaman's death and the fate of Nanay shamanhood.

In text quotations produced from Nanay into English by a team (Raisa Beldy, Nanay teacher, Naikhin; Tatyana Boulgakova, ethnomusicologist, St. Petersburg; Lyuba Tarvainen, interpreter, Novosibirsk and myself) contemporary Nanay voices are listened to. These authentic texts reflect recent opinions of shamans and other people about their shamans and their significant roles in the process of survival battle or dying out of their shamanhood as a part of the painful process when a language dies and nature is polluted. The chosen texts translated into Finnish by Johanna Pentikäinen have also been produced by Antti Pentikäinen into a documentary film "Sielut lintuina nousee", (Spirits are lifted up as birds). The transcript references are made to the original videos (here 2, 9/91). [To preserve the taste of the originality of these unique voices commentary remarks have been minimized to the translations of the Nanay concepts only, marked accordingly.]

L(indzja): All the genuine shamans have died out. What can I tell you about? Shamans have ceased to be. What is to be recalled about them? In the old days there used to be female shamans and male shamans. They all are deceased now and with their death everything has come to an end. And now what?

T(atyana Boulgakova): Other shamans will come in their stead?

L.: Who will come in their stead? They all died out and everything has come to an end with their death. What is to be done now? They all died out and everything has come to an end with their death.

T.: They did die before but new shamans came into their stead. And now new shamans will come into being.

L.: New shamans? Where from?

T.: From young people.

L.: Young people do not wish to become shamans any more. They are neither able nor willing to.

What a great misfortune it was! Shamans were being killed, they were arrested. And nobody even speaks on their behalf now. Nobody in the whole village is interested in them. But it did happen and people remember that. The shamans were caught, tied off and thrown into the water. First they were shot down, then

thrown in the water. Who needs shamans any longer? That did happen, and there will be no more shamans.

T.: But, maybe, there will be some?

L.: After we die everything will be finished. There will be no more shamans. Nobody needs shamans any longer. The people were crying about their fathers. Everybody had someone to cry about. A great many of people were suffering. How could people be interested in becoming shamans having seen the shamans led to be killed? They could not be. They could not be. Those who were taken away were crying, those who remained at home were also crying. People who stayed at home were crying. People who were arrested were also crying. Could people be eager to become shamans having seen other shamans being led to be murdered? Who would be?

And what had the shamans done to get killed? Shamans heal, they just healed sick people, that's all. Shamans never throw people into the water. If a shaman performs *taochi* [healing] to a person who is deadly ill, the person will die all the same. And if a doctor heals with some medicine a person who is deadly ill, the person will die, he will die. All the same. All the same. But if the doctor cures the person who was deadly ill, then the person is cured. All the same. All the same. If, however, he is to die, he will die.

There used to be shamans in this country. But people burnt down all their *sevens* [idols of spirits] and their owners died out, as a result. The genuine shamans were arrested and became extinct. Am I a shaman? Nobody needs such a shaman even for free.

T.: Why not?

L.: Nobody needs me. I'm ill, I have become such a person that ... What's the use of a sick and weak shaman?

The shamans were arrested and murdered. Who would like to become a shaman after that? All that might happen again, someone might start killing shamans again. Nobody knows. Shamans might get killed again.

I am not able to do anything. I am not able to do anything more. I'm so sick, I'll soon die.

They are scared. People are scared. Those who have vocation for shamanizing, those young people who might become shamans, they are scared to. "I don't want to! I don't want to!" They just keep on refusing. After we die, everything will come to an end.

When the shamans were arrested, people were watching it. They were watching it. Could they wish to become new shamans? They could not. They would not.

T.: It's a long time since shamans have not been arrested any more.

L.: It really is, but people do remember. People remember everything. And they are no more interested in anything, they don't want to do anything, they do not get excited about anything.

Today in the morning my son (Khariton) told me that there were no spirits, there existed nothing like that. But if there exists nothing like that, then how can people be cured? What shall I do with the people who come to me from here and there and everywhere?

The shamans were arrested, tied off and thrown into the water. What wrong had they done? The shaman could find a wandering soul, he could perform the

rite of *kasa*, and then he just went away. Were the shamans to be blamed? But they were all arrested.

The same might happen to me as well. The laws are being changed every day. I might get arrested because I'm a shaman. They might arrest me and drag me towards the water.

T.: Did you see the shamans being thrown into the water?

L.: Other people did. How could I see it from here? People told me about it. They tied them down and threw them into the water. It was winter, and first they had to make a hole in the ice ...

Who needs shamans any more? The same might happen to me as well. I don't want that happen to me, I say. I don't want it. I can do *taochi* [healing], I can do anything ... Many, many people came to me last summer. From everywhere, from all places. There was a sick woman who hardly managed to get to my place. All they kept on saying: "We need, need, need, need your help!" All right, you need my help. If you need a shaman, then become a shaman and do everything yourself!

What I did see were the arrested shamans being led away.

T.: You did, didn't you?

L.: I really did. I saw them being led away.

T.: What were their names?

L.: Grandfather Bogdan was arrested, grandfather Sandir was arrested. Then they tied them off and ... People told about it. How could I see it from here? They led them far away.

Russian people did it all. Someone informed them about our shamans and the shamans were taken up and murdered.

Why do then people ask shamans to do *taochi* [healing], to do *ningmachi* [seeking for the soul]? The shaman never comes to people himself. Doesn't he have other things to do? His day is scheduled to a minute with his own affairs. But people keep on coming to him from everywhere.

Mythical Narratives on the Death of the Last *kasa tai* Shaman

The main target of the 1930's Soviet persecutions at the Lower Amur region were *kasa tai* shamans, the highest category of Nanay shamanhood with most publicity—which was considered especially dangerous by the local organization of the Communist power. The whole generation of *kasa tai* shamans were arrested and killed, either shot or drowned with stones bound around their legs into the icy hole of the Amur. The reason for their death sentences was they had been reported to have practiced public shamanizing. They were told to have played main roles in the annual *kasa taori* ceremonies which had brought together hundreds of Nanay to the ceremonies starting the fishing season each September. Such ethnic rituals as Nanay *kasa* or Yakut *ysyakh* (Shamans Exh. catalogue 1998) were condemned as manifestations of hostile nationalism and agitation against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

Discussion with Lindzja quoted above brought forward information about these persecutions, the names of two prominent *kasa tai* shamans who became killed and about shamanic practices carried out secretly during the period of its decline. Lindzja's story also indicates strongly felt ethnic deprivations caused by the persecutions. Her narratives are quite pessimistic, and she feels to be the very last shamaness of her people underestimated by her atheistic minded nearest kin and her village community.

Next conversation took place just after the performance of the revived *kasa taori* in 1991 at a fire on the background of the sacred arena. She was asking as if an excuse from the real *kasa tai* shamans for the performance just happened, which in her mind was false, due to her identity as a *taochi*, not a real *kasa tai* shaman. She felt that what just happened might be the very last performance of *kasa taori*. While now sitting alone down and smoking her pipe she started pondering us the heavy past and dim future of the whole Nanay shamanhood quite spontaneously. This video portion (2/91: 30.40–31.22) also concludes my documentary The Final Departure 1998:

L.: *Kasa tai* shamans were all murdered. Where can you get now such shamans from? They have become extinct.

T.: Why don't new shamans come into being? Nobody has been murdering shamans for a long time.



10. *Kasa taori* ceremony in Dada, a Nanay village, in 1909. A MAE photograph.

L.: Do you think that everyone can become a shaman? This is an extremely rare phenomenon when a new shaman comes into being. And so we have no shamans now. They all were arrested and murdered. Where can we get new shamans from?



11. A *kasa tai* shaman in his traditional dress from front.

Lindzja's opinions reveal deep feelings of deprivation. The destiny of Nanay shamanhood is to die with their *kasa tai* shamans, arrested and killed, and finally when she dies herself as the last real Nanay shamaness. Other participants took part in this discussion during the public *kasa* sacrifice meal in the sacred itoan tent where the main acts of the *kasa taori* had just been performed. These peak moments of socially shared mythical narration connect this unique performance of the just revived 1st *kasa taori* of September 1991 to the sacred chain told about previous *kasa taori* rituals and the *kasa* narratives remembered about the fates of the last

kasa tai shamans they had kept in their own generational memory and in family histories secretly retold at home circles during the Soviet exile.

The main figure in the memory of this generation is Bogdan Oninka. He is told to have been the last real *kasa tai* shaman who was the son of another more famous Nanay shaman by name Toakunga. One healing song of Bogdan Oninka recorded as a handwritten note August 1909 by Benedek Baráthosi Balogh, a Hungarian ethnographer, and published by Vilmos Diószegi in his last article at the year of his death in 1972, will be studied by the present author in another context.

In this paper the voice of Elikén Oninka, a relative to Bogdan Oninka, is listened next. His sudden arrival at the 1st revived *kasa taori* was a surprise to those who arranged the ceremony. He came with strong memories and stories

which had been remembered and re-told within Oninka clan about arresting Bogdan Oninka and his obscure later fate. Elikén Oninka maybe came, on the level of his feelings at least, to send the still homeless soul of his relative, the last and most famous *kasa tai* shaman Bogdan Oninka on his Final journey to the Buni as a member of the extended age group of the Zaksor and Kile clans' deceased accompanying Impika and his wife (Video 2: 1.06.05–1.06.34) who were now being departed from this level of existence to the Buni world Beyond the Pihza River and the Sikhote Ali Mountain range:

T.: How did Bogdan Oninka die?

E.: He was first arrested.

T.: So, he was arrested. Did they later release him?

E.: No, they didn't release him. I don't know. He was arrested long ago. He was already old when he was arrested. I don't know where they brought him to, either. We don't know what they had done to him. I don't know it.

T.: Did he return?

E.: He did not. It was in 1938.

Another variant of this narrative was told next May 1992 (Video 3/6: 1.31.00) by another clan member Asya Nikolaevna Oninka. She had travelled a long journey from Amursk, a Pacific coastal town, to Lindzja's home village Dada to get her help as shamanic treatment to her disease. She tries to locate, date and find reasons to the disappearance of her relative Bogdan Oninka:



12. A *kasa tai* shaman in an traditional dress from behind.
Pictures from MAE archives.

A.: He did not return. And how can we know where he was taken to?

T.: Was he a *kasa tai* shaman?

A.: He was a *kasa tai* shaman. Then people took him away and he became perished.

T.: In what year?

A.: How do I know? I can't remember.

T.: Just approximately?

A.: It was the time when kolkhozes (collective farms) were being organized. His only daughter lives now in Amursk, Darya Bogdanovna, Geiker by husband. That's all I know. I know nothing more.

Juha: When did it all happen?

A.: It was when kolkhozes were just starting to be organized in our village. All it happened at that time. I don't remember the year.

Juha: What happened to Bogdan Oninka?

A.: Bogdan Oninka was taken to Khabarovsk and he never returned, I say, he never came back. How do I know what they did to him? Shamanizing was against the law. And since the law forbade it, so did the local council, the head of the kolkhoz, the local party and komsomol organizations. They declared shamanism completely forbidden. It is only recently that we have started shyly shamanizing again. Do you understand it? That's all. What shamans can we have now? There can be no shamans any more.

When I got to hospital, my blood test was bad. When I returned home having been treated there, my blood test remained bad. I didn't get better until she (Lindzja) shamanized. How can I not believe in it? That's it. I was even sent to a health resort in Shmakovka. I bought this skirt there. I'm still wearing this skirt.



13. Buni, Nanay abode, is supposed to locate behind the rapids of Pihza river.

But it was only when I returned home and shamanized that I got better.

T.: Did the health resort help you? Did it?

A.: The health resort didn't help me. How is it possible to understand it? How is it possible to believe in it? I can tell only about myself. I don't know about the others. Some people do not believe in it, some people do, like me. That's it, my dear.

“Without Our Shamans We, the Nanay, Are the Lost People”

Lindzja, after having carefully listened to the speech of her patient, suddenly takes the floor and makes a statement about “the old days” of the Nanay past. The mythical golden era in Nanay historical calendar lasted as long as their great shamans were still acting and, at least, alive. Its end is dated to the 1930s, and coincides with the catastrophic extinction of all their *kasa tai* shamans who had been the spiritual leaders of the Nanay people. The future of Nanay shamanhood in 1992 seemed, however, to be brighter than in the previous talk. Lindzja's mind is clearly delighted at the coincidence of our visit this time with my son Antti who was shooting with another video camera and the frequency of patients coming from far away.

The talk between the two generations, an old shamaness and her patient, a city Nanay from far away, brings forward valuable information about the inheritance and the succession of shamanic skills within clans during previous and—if the Nanay so wish—even in contemporary generations (Video 3/6: 1.36.07):

L.: I wish the people of the old days were alive now.

A.: What do you say?

L.: I wish the shamans, the old people were alive.

A.: If shamans had not been forbidden, there would have been a lot of shamans now. But they were forbidden and nobody survived. Some young people get now and then ill, because the gift of shamanizing is still being passed over from generation to generation. They get ill because they are unwilling, you see, to accept this gift. Moreover, there are no more shamans who could perform the initiation ceremony. There is no one left able to do it.

I say: Without shamans we, the Nanay, are the lost people. We have no doctors of our own. Shamans used to be our doctors.

Nanay Shamanhood, “Dreaming” in the Mother Tongue of the People

The Nanays are living at the Amur and its tributaries in Russia (ca. 10.000) and in China (2.000). Since the number of Nanay speakers is rapidly decreasing, the future of Nanay people and language seems to be a burning question which is spontaneously repeatedly related to the fate of their shamans. The same matter

was discussed between us and two other Nanay women. Both of them had different leading positions and roles in their communities.

Raisa Beldy is a Nanay teacher of history in the local secondary school having roles of mother and grandmother at home. Born in 1946 she in her 40s had in May 1992 been suddenly put in front of a difficult choice of either accepting the painful vocation into shamanhood or refusing from that. The situation became problematic. Old women in the community said that Raisa was endowed with a shamanic gift. In her dreams, she was being visited by shamanic spirits, and she was aware of her shamanic abilities herself. She told to us that once she cursed a man who was going to kill her dog. Some time later the wife of this man and his children fell ill and died, one after another. Left alone, this man had to sell his house and go away. Raisa is not sure, however, if it was not a mere coincidence. Raisa being history teacher at school regarded herself as rather atheistic. She told us to have been using her shamanic abilities in modern ways. For instance, she had used her hands to cure people as people with extrasensory perceptions do. Each time Raisa raises her hands to heal someone, she tells that her daughter Katya (who promises to become a clairvoyant) gets frightened as if she was then seeing something horrifying between her mother's palms.

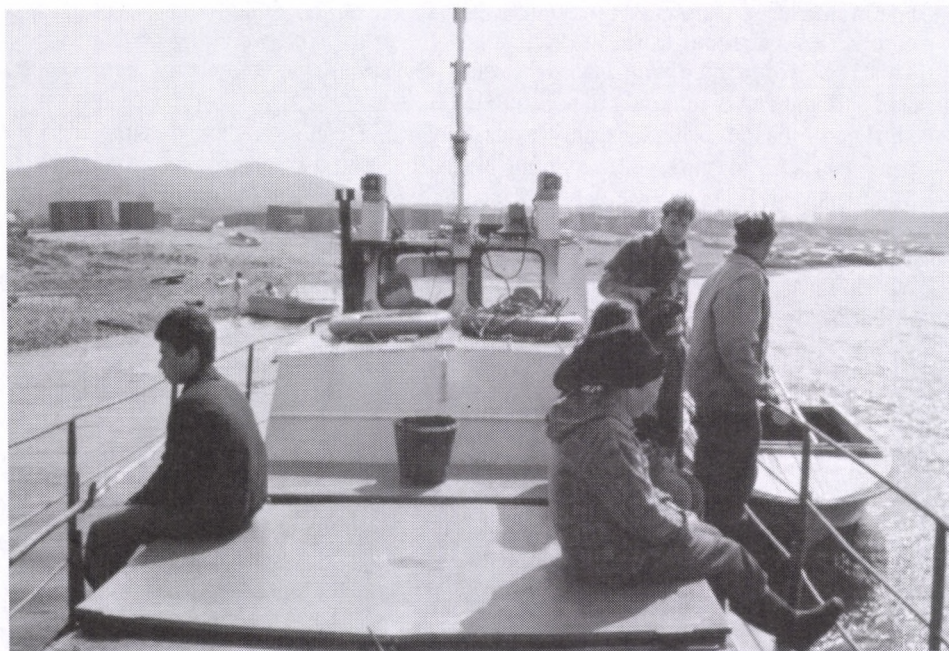
Nesulta Geiker, born ca. 1920, has been rewarded with the honorary title of the heroine of work due to her long career as a worker of the local fishing sovhoz. After her retirement she had become the family elder of the Zaksor and Kile clans. This status—which did not mean that she was a shamaness—had



14. Lindzja Beldy discussing with the guests of *kasa taori* (1991) in front of the *itoan* tent.
Pictures by the author.

meant activity in the sacred roles of her clans. It included taking the responsibility of treating the clan shaman called Danya at the saola vessel preserved behind her pillow in her bedroom as well as other sacred symbols of her shamanic clans. She also had the main duty of arranging shamanic ceremonies both in her clans and within the whole Troickaya territory. Her fame as someone who knows how to lead shamanic ceremonies became very clear throughout our field work at the Lower Amur region.

The dialogue between the two women starts from problems of Nanay identity, the minority pressures under overwhelming Russian majority, reasons for their lost self-esteem and moves to the need of new shamans for a better future. An important question to be discussed concerns the relationship of language and shamanhood. Is it possible to be a Russian shaman. Text has been deciphered from video 4; 7, 1.56–2.32:



15. Raisa Beldy sitting on the right side of the Amur river boat is pardoning the fate of her Nanay people with her Nanay friends worried about the pollution of the Amur.

Picture by the author in 1992.

N(esulta): We, the Nanays, have become nothing... The Russians do not respect the Nanays. The Nanays have been reduced to become nothing more than a duster. We, the Nanays, have grown humble. Our people have sunk lower than the ground level. We are worse than fools now. Everywhere the Nanay children study (in Russian) ... We all have been studying. But I am not capable of doing anything. I cannot even write my name properly. So, what's the difference? In the old days the Nanays used to be a vindictive people. If someone offended us, he was sure to get his revenge for it. That's the way the Nanay used to be.

Our next question is: Are the shamans who are still acting at present the last ones?

Nesulta Geiker speaks in the role of a religious authority of her community. She is someone who knows, leads the ceremonies in her clan and community teaching those who don't know. Raisa Beldy takes part in the interview session for the first time in the role of a possible shamaness-to-be. During our field work in Lidoga one week ago, an old shamaness Kada had just stopped her drumming and dancing in front of Raisa, embraced her and said: "You'll be my successor in this office." Being at first shocked with several nights without sleeping at all she had now started pondering what she had really heard and what she should do. The third participant is A(lexei) E(gorevich), Nesulta's husband who usually helps his wife in ritual arrangements at their home. Being most often silent he now joins the group with his fresh comments. We discuss the role of Nanay language in shamanizing and the future of Nanay shamanhood at the time when most Nanays can't any more speak their mother tongue but rather or only communicate in Russian both with Russians and among themselves. Nesulta emphasizes the significance of dreaming in the process of becoming a shaman. This is in accordance with Nanay beliefs: your dreams are more true than you see, and you can dream only in your mother tongue.

N.: People become shamans only when they are sleeping, in their dreams. If a person is able to cope with anything in his dreams he can become a shaman. Shamans can be bred by no one, shamans can be taught by no one. People become shamans by themselves.

T.: Will people continue becoming shamans if the language disappears?

N.: How can one know? They might turn into sorcerers, like Russian ones. They might become like Russian sorcerers.

J.: Sorcerers?

N.: Sorcerers.

R.: Of course, shamans will have to undergo changes. There will be no more authentic Nanay shamans.

T.: Then you're also undergoing changes.

R.: (laughing): Then I'm also undergoing changes!

N.: People become shamans in their dreams. They come to know everything from their dreams.

T.: Do you have dreams of shamanic kind? Are the spirits you see in your dreams disgusting?

N.: No, they are not, and they slowly disappear. They do not stay long. If the being that chooses a future shaman among people comes to you in your dreams, it disappears quickly.

R.: No, that's impossible! I'll never be able to become a shaman. How can I interpret what I see in my dreams?

N.: The being that comes to you in your dreams will tell you how.

R.: Such a being could try to teach me in my dreams but I don't think I would be able to understand it.

A.E.: Why not?

R.: In their dreams people are singing in a shamanic way, people are going ... How can I cope with it, how can I interpret it?

T.: But if you were able to interpret it, Raisa, if you were able to interpret it, would you like to become a shaman? Just here and now?

R.: This is a difficult question, of course. This is hardly possible.

T.: Will you please speak about yourself, about your personal feelings.

R.: I believe it is necessary to help the people who need shamanic help. If this is not beyond my powers ...

A.E.: But this is within your powers! Come on!

R.: ... then I, perhaps, would like to become a shaman.

A.E.: Well! Then you would! That's right! Thank you!

Although the collective choice has already been made by a shaman and the leading members of the community Raisa Beldy, as one of the few other Nanay women, feels to be in front of a difficult personal choice, either accepting—as the Nanays call it—"the painful vocation of shamanizing", and going through the training of a novice, a shaman-to-be, or refusing from that. The choice is particularly problematic for an academic woman who has been educated to be a teacher in an atheistic community. She feels to have had symptoms, typical of shamanic narratives, both in her dreams and in her healing experiences. The discussion quoted above seemingly was both for herself and her community a part of the long lasting process which has gone on since 1992 with no final decision so far.

"A People without Its Own Language Is No More a People"

Next consideration is related to the great responsibility the women feel for the future of Nanay identity.

R(aisa): We are very few now, the Nanays.

N.: Those Russians are everywhere ...

R.: ... are oppressing the Nanays very much.

N.: They are.

R.: Nowadays the Nanays have even forgotten their mother tongue.

N.: How everything has changed! The children of the Kile family are studying the Nanay language at school. I told them: "You're Nanay snouts! So, you should learn to speak your language!" The answer was simple: "We don't want to!"

R.: Nowadays the Nanays are living like the Russians are. They are living only by the Russian rules.

N.: I don't like it.

R.: Now all Nanay children speak only Russian. They cannot speak any Nanay.

N.: In the old days the children of this land used to be so proud about themselves!

Question: Do the Nanays have any future?

N.: After we die, the Nanay language will disappear. Only Russian people will remain here. Nowadays Nanay children speak only Russian. It is only people like us who can speak Nanay. Try to say something in Nanay to those who are working in the local councils and schools and they will be confused.

R.: But I'm talking to you in the Nanay language!

N.: You don't understand old words!

R.: That's true. I don't understand old words at all.

N.: Nobody, nobody does! After we die everything will disappear.

R.: Nothing can disappear completely. Something will be preserved.

N.: Our children are studying Nanay but they don't understand it.

R.: Whether they understand it or not ... But if the Nanay language disappears, the Nanay will also disappear.

N.: The Nanay can survive even without their mother tongue.

R.: The people without its own language is a people no more.

N.: We're becoming like the Russians ...

Endnote

- ¹ The complex problematics on dying among the Nanay have been discussed in my ethnographical documentaries (1994–95): *We still remember—on Nanay death; Shamans are flying again; The pains of my people—a Nanay shamaness*. The revival of *kasa taori* in 1991, a Nanay shamanic ritual forbidden by Stalin in 1937, was told in the film *The Final journey* (1998); its textual analysis: Finnish in my book *Samaanit, Pohjoisten kansojen elämäntaistelu* (Jyväskylä 1998), English in the article “I lift you up, the dry throats”—on Nanay shamanic epic, *Textualization of Oral Epics*, ed. by Lauri Honko, Mouton de Gruyter, Trends in Linguistics No. 128, The Hague 2000, pp. 161–190).

Larissa R. Pavlinskaya

CULTURAL REGIONS IN SIBERIAN SHAMANISM

The shaman costume plays an integral role in the sacral culture of the Siberian peoples. The decorative symbols and figures depict the cosmological and cosmogonical views of northern Asia, as well as the various stages in the development of shamanism.

E. Prokofieva has conducted extensive studies concerning the ritual implements of Siberian shamans. Her work *Shaman costumes of the Siberian peoples* deals with Siberian shamanism and mythology, and is a valuable tool in studying the history of the North Siberian peoples. This article focuses on the shaman costume and compares it to other ritual implements of the Siberian peoples.

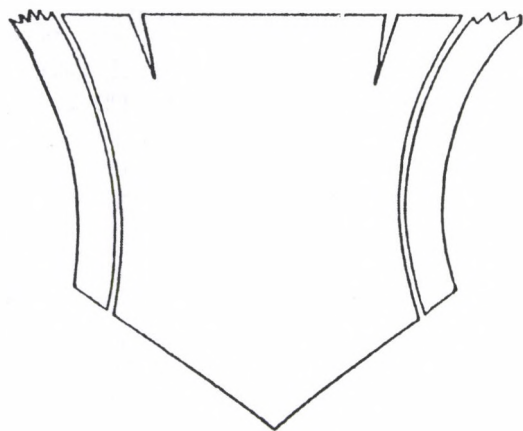
Based on comparisons, Siberian shamanism can be divided into specific cultural regions which, in turn, are linked to the ethnical and cultural history of Siberia. As a sacral-cultural phenomenon, the shaman costume comprises various kinds of information: material, manufacturing technique and the decorative ornaments and figures and their semantics. This article discusses the entire ritual costume (cape, headdress and shoes) of a "great" shaman.

In the 19th and early 20th century the various Siberian peoples used different kinds of materials in making shaman costumes: the Nentsy, the Entsy, the Nganasany, the Ket, the Evenki and the Eveni, the northern Yakuts (whose livelihood was reindeer husbandry), the Dolgany, the Yukaghir, the Chukchee, the Tuvan-Todzhins and the Tofalar used reindeer skin to make shaman costumes. This group also includes the Negidals and the Udeghes, who sometimes made shaman costumes out of elk hide. In summary, reindeer or elk skin was used by the peoples whose livelihood depended on reindeer husbandry and hunting. A few more peoples may be added to this group, namely the Samoyed peoples including the Turkic-speaking Samoyeds of East Sayan, the Ket, the Tungus, the paleo-Asians and the northern Turkic peoples as well as some peoples of the Amur region. All Amur peoples used elk hide to make shaman belts which is one of the most important items in the shaman costume. We know that the Selkups and the Ket had costumes made of bear skin. Wearing a costume like the ones described above, the shaman embarked on a "journey" to the underworld. The Turkic cattle-herders of South Siberia (the

Khakass, the Altaians and the Tuvans) used sheep skin and sometimes also roe-deer skin to manufacture shaman costumes, and the Yakut cattle-herders of Central Siberia used calf skin for the same purpose. This group also includes the Mongolian-speaking population of the Buryat. In South Siberia, cloth was also used to manufacture shaman costumes, although the Buryat, for example, only used cloth for the headdress of novice shamans. The Altaians and the Khakass used cloth to make shaman capes and square-shaped decorations in the back of the shaman costume. Light-coloured cloth was used for the costume of a "white" shaman (the Altaians, the Yakut and the Buryat). A majority of the Amur peoples whose main livelihood depended on fishing and hunting used cloth to make shaman costumes (the Nanay, the Udeghes, the Ulchis, the Orochi and the Oroks). Before cloth, these peoples used to make shaman costumes out of fish skin and the skin of wild animals, such as foxes, bears and raccoons. In summary, the shaman costumes used in Siberia can be divided into three categories: 1. North: the Samoyed, the Yeniseyans, the Tungus, the paleo-Asians, the Udeghes and the Negidals – reindeer/elk skin; 2. South: the Turkic peoples and the Buryat – sheep and/or calf skin, cloth; 3. South-east: the Tungus-Manchus: the Nanay, the Ulchis, the Oroks, the Orochi – cloth. The use of cloth in the shaman costumes in South Siberia and the Amur region was the result of the influence of the Eastern culture.

The cape is an interesting part of the shaman costume. There are five different types of capes:

- The Ket and the Samoyed used an entire animal fur to make a shaman costume. Similar costumes can be found among the Selkups, the Ents, the Nganasany, the Dolgany, the Evenki, the northern Yakuts, the Shors of northern Altai and the Tofalar of Sayan as well as the Amur peoples: the Udeghes and the Negidals. The design of this type of costume was very simple: the top and

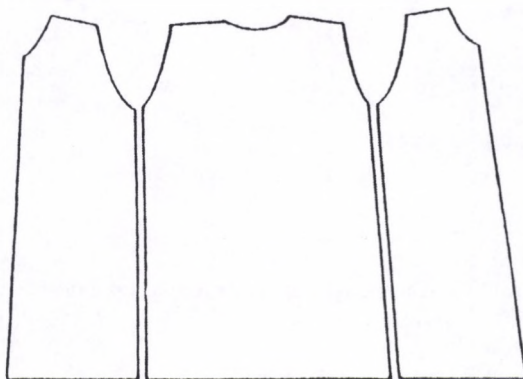


1. Ket or Samoyed type of the shaman's costume.

sides of the skin were slit open; sleeves were then attached to the side slits. The narrow frontpieces joined at the throat and were fastened with strings. The Evenki, the northern Yakuts and the Dolgany cut the bottom part of the hide open and attached pieces of fur to the slits, thus making the costume bell-shaped. The piece of skin covering the chest was an essential part of this type of costume. The headdress that went with the costume (the Samoyed, the Ket, the Dolgany and the Tungus) was made in

the shape of a garland: the headdress was a "sweatband" fastened with string at the back of the head. The headdress was decorated with reindeer horns made of metal. The "great shamans" of the Ket and the Selkups wore garlands made entirely of metal, called "crowns". Sometimes the crown was decorated with a bird figure (the Ket). The highest shamans of the Buryat also wore iron headbands although the shaman costume itself was completely different. The Udeghes and the Negidals used a so-called "capote" headdress which was decorated and ornamented with reindeer horns and numerous pieces of animal fur. The headdress used by the Tofalar was a headband made of cloth and decorated with feathers.

- The costume of a Turkic shaman was cut according to a set model: the costume had separate back and front side and sleeves. This type of costume was used by the western Tuvans, the Todzhin, the Altaians, the Yakut, the Dolgany, the Baikal Evenki and the Buryat. The Yakut, the Dolgany, the Baikal Evenki and the Buryat completed the costume with a separate chest-piece, whereas the Turkic-speaking peoples of South

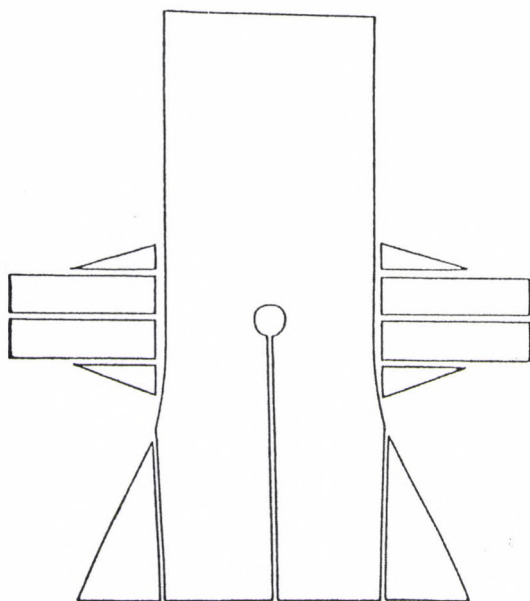


2. Turkish type of the shaman's costume.

Siberia (the Altaians, the Tuvans and the Khakass) did not use the chest-piece. The shaman costume used by the above mentioned peoples comes with two types headdresses: the headdresses of the Turks of South Siberia were cupola-shaped (the Khakass, the Altaians) or made of a square-shaped piece of cloth (the Altaians, the Tuvans, the Todzhin). The shamans of the Tofalar wore dead pieces of similar shape. Among the Buryat, a cupola-shaped headdress was only worn by a novice shaman.

- A tunic costume (*kimono*) is not cut; instead a large piece of cloth is worn over the shoulders as such. This type of costume was found among the Khakass, the Tuvan-Todzhins and the Baikal Evenki, who complemented the costume with a chest-piece. The Turks and the Evenki used headdresses described above with the costume.

- The shaman costume includes a skirt and a tunic shirt (the Nanay, the Udeghes, the Oroks and the Orochi). Each ritual rite had its own headdress. When performing a healing rite, the shaman wore a headband made of wood chips. When seeing the spirit of a dead person off to Buni, the realm of death,



3. Kimono type of the shaman's costume.

the Nanay and the Udeghes shamans wore a soft capote headdress with numerous leather strings and a pair of reindeer horns attached to the centre.

- The shaman cloak was made of two hides, with sleeves attached to the side seams (the eastern Nentsy and the Chukchee). The costume was richly ornamented. The Chukchee costume had four vertical slits at the bottom—at the front, in the back and in the sides—which made it look like a frock. The Nentsy used a cupola-shaped hat, the Chukchee a capote headdress decorated with strings and pendants.

Siberia can be divided into four different cultural regions with their typical shaman costumes and headdresses. The eastern Nentsy and the paleo-Asians form their own separate region. The regions have many similarities, but there are also differences.

To summarise, the Siberian fisher peoples and reindeer farmers, and to some extent also peoples living in the Far East used a costume made of one intact reindeer skin and a garland-shaped headdress. The Tofalar of Sayan complemented this costume with a Turkic shaman headdress: a cloth headband or a square-shaped piece of cloth decorated with feathers. The Siberian cattle herders (the Baikal Evenki and the Dolgany) used a cut shaman costume with separate front and back pieces and sleeves. On the other hand, the Turks and the Buryat made their shaman costumes out of sheep and calf skin (sometimes roe-deer skin), whereas the Evenki only used reindeer skin. Unlike the Altaians, the western Tuvans and the Khakass, the Dolgany, the Yakut, the Buryat and the Evenki wore a separate chest piece, which is typical of the shaman costumes of the Ket and the Samoyed. The lower shamans of the South Siberian Turks and the Buryat complemented the costume with a cloth hat decorated with feathers; the higher shamans used a garland-shaped headpiece or a "crown" decorated with a pair of reindeer horns. The shaman costume of the Amur peoples, complete with a skirt, a shirt and a wood chip headband forms a cultural area of its own, much like the unique shaman costume of the eastern Nentsy and the Chukchee: a "dress" made of two reindeer hides.

Among the shaman costumes of each cultural area, there is a "classical" main costume with its original design and a headpiece matching only that particular costume. The more peripheral regions do not have such "classical" costumes; instead, their costumes show influences of neighbouring cultures. These costumes combine numerous elements borrowed from other cultures, such as the chest piece of the Yakut and the Buryat shaman costume or the garland headpiece of a Buryat shaman. Both of these two elements have been borrowed from the culture of the Samoyed, the Yeniseyans and the Tungus. In some cases one people may have two shaman costumes of different type like, for example, the Dolgany, the Khakass, the Tuvan Todzhins, the Baikal Evenki, the Udeghes and the Negidals. This is yet another proof of the fact that the shaman costumes of the Siberian peoples reflect the ethnical and cultural changes and developments that have taken place in the course of centuries. Furthermore, it is a source of information regarding the date of origin of the ritual costumes and the more general developments of the shamanistic world view.

During the 19th and early 20th century the shamans' costumes of the Siberian peoples differed greatly from their everyday garments. The everyday costume of the Samoyed people had several parts. The costume of Turk men included a long coat (caftan) with double right front side; the women's costume included a caftan with a seam at the waist which was worn right front side over the left front side. The Buryat used a typical Mongolian costume: men wore a caftan with double left front side; women used a caftan with a seam at the waist, left front side worn over the right front side. The Amur peoples used a Manchurian caftan. We have quite a lot of knowledge of the origin of the garments of the Ket and the Samoyed, for example, the reindeer skin costume of the Ket and the Evenki, and the everyday clothing of the Samoyed peoples (the Selkups, the Enets, and the Nganasany). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the shaman's reindeer costume was used as an everyday costume as well. The shaman always wore a chest-piece which became a part of the shaman costume and was later adopted by the Yakut and the Buryat as part of their completely different shaman costume. This again proves that the Samoyed shaman's ritual costume originated and evolved quite independently, and now forms a unique cultural area in Siberia.



4. Turk oriental robe type of the shaman's costume.

The Amur shaman costume, comprising a skirt and a shirt, has been studied extensively. The costume originates in the history of the peoples of South and South-east Asia; similar two-part costume can be found in the ancient cultures of China. Emperors of ancient China depicted in tomb monuments can be seen wearing a costume typical of the time: a tunic shirt and a wraparound skirt or a two-seam skirt made of hand-woven material. It is important to note that the skirt used by the Amur peoples was made of two pieces of cloth.

The ritual tunic costume used by the Baikal Evenki, the Khakass and the Tuvan-Tocizhins originates in the culture of early farmers; the nomads of Central Asia adopted it as early as 1000 BC, and later it became the everyday costume of the Turkic Kidanis, The Mongols and the Manchus. The tunic costume used by the Khakass and Tuvan-Todzhin shamans is also quite an interesting piece of clothing: it is a two-part costume, comprising a tunic shirt and an attached skirt with two or more wedge-shaped pieces of clothing. Although the long coat, or caftan, was traditionally considered the typical Chinese ritual costume, it had an alternative: an indigenous Chinese two-part costume comprising a skirt and a shirt. Unfortunately we are not familiar with the origin of the "Turkic" costume type. The ritual costume of the shamans of the Turkic peoples of Siberia (the Altaians, the Tuvans, the Khakass, the Yakut, and partly the Dolgany) as well as the shamans of the Buryat and the Vilyuy and Baikal Evenki is unique, which is an indication of the costume's evolution.

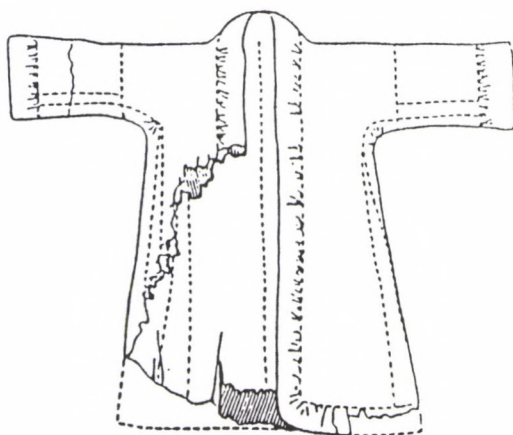
Semantics plays an integral part in the shaman costume. The ritual costume of the South Siberian Turk shaman is decorated with bird or snake figures. Most of the pendants hanging from the costume are made of soft natural materials, such as cloth, felt, feathers, etc. The costume has only a few metal pendants, mainly copper bells. The ritual costumes of Tofalar and Tuvan-Todzhin shamans belong to the same group. The main figure in the shaman costume of the northern Samoyed peoples (the Seikups, the Enets, and the Nganasany), the Ket, the Evenki and the Eveni, the Dolgany, the Yakut, the Buryat, the Udeghes and the Negidal is a reindeer or a bird. These ritual costumes are richly decorated with metal ornaments. The shaman costumes of the Samoyed, the Ket, the Evenki and the Eveni have very few soft pendants made of cloth or felt. This is somewhat contradictory, as the Samoyed had no traditions in metal processing in the 17th–19th centuries, whereas the Turkic peoples of South Siberia have been excellent metallurgists since ancient times. For some reason the Turks did not use metal in the decorations of their shaman costume. This, in turn, proves that the shaman costumes of both groups evolved independently. The Yakut, the Dolgany, the Buryat and the Vilyuy and Baikal Evenki used both metal objects and soft pendants to decorate their shaman costumes. These peoples for their own cultural group between the above mentioned groups, thus combining the cultural areas of the North and South.

The same symbols and figures were largely used in all shaman costumes. These symbols and figures are the shaman's anthropomorphic "helper" spirits, images of the mythical draught animal or the spirit of the shaman's forefathers. The "pars in proto" principle was widely used in the ornaments of the costumes:

a very small element, such as a bird's leg, for instance, was used to symbolise the bird; similarly, the reindeer horns in the shaman's headband symbolised the entire mythical animal. However, the pars in proto principle is not present in the shamans costumes of the Amur peoples (shirt and skirt). All the mythical figures in the costume (bird, snake, toad) have been drawn on the cloth using some sort of a felt pen. This particular feature indicates a higher level of abstraction and step-by-step evolution influenced by the eastern civilisations. The ornamental figures on the Amur shaman costumes include amphibians and insects. The shaman costumes of the Amur peoples and other Siberian peoples have many similarities. Firstly, snakes and birds are popular ornamental figures in the costumes used by both the Amur peoples and the Turkic peoples of South Siberia. Secondly, among the most important part of the costume is the belt; without the belt, the shaman could not perform a single ritual. Thus, the belt is one of the most characteristic elements of shamanism among the Amur peoples. The Amur peoples (the Nanay, the Udeghes, the Ulchi, the Orochi and the Oroks) were the only ones to use a belt as part of the shaman costume. Other Siberian peoples used the belt merely as a decoration (the Enets, the Selkups, the Ket, the Evenki, the Yakut, the Dolgany and the Altaians). The belt was sewn on the waist of the costume it had to be shorter than the waist measurement, thus making the belt look untied. As to the semantics of the belt, the belt symbolising the macrocosmos, tied around the waist, represented a closed circle i.e. the limits of the world of men and women living on the Earth. By opening untying the belt during a ritual, the shaman opened the gate from the world of men to the world of the spirits. The meaning of the belt as a part of the shaman's ritual costume is the same. The belt was sewn on the costume so that it could not be tied. The shamans of the Amur peoples always wore their belts tied, thus giving the belt a specific symbolic meaning.

The ritual costumes of shamans evolved in four independent ethno-cultural regions in Siberia: the central taiga (the Samoyeds, the Yeniseyans, the Tungus), South Siberia (Turco-Mongolians), the Amur region (the Tungus, the Manchus) and the North-east (the Samoyeds, the paleo-Asians). The eastern Nenets and the Chukchee, whose sparsely ornamented shaman costume resembles the everyday garments worn by these peoples, live in western and eastern Siberia respectively. Between the two peoples live the Yeniseyans and the Tungus with their ancient shaman traditions. If we place all types of shaman costumes on the map, we find out that peoples with highly developed shamanism have, in the course of time, moved from the south to the north thus forcing the peoples with more ancient shamanism move to the edges of the continent.

Both ethnic unity and the Hun culture played an important part in the development of the shaman costumes of the Samoyeds and the Tungus. This historic monoethnic unity including its traditions in metal processing has had a great impact on the evolution of a uniform shaman costume among various peoples (the Selkups, the Enets, the Nganasany, the Ket and the western Evenki). The shaman's metal headdress (the "crown"), decorated with reindeer



5. Hun oriental robe type of the shaman's costume.

horns, dates back to a period of time from 1000 BC to 1000 AD. Its earliest versions were the headdresses worn by Korean emperors in the 6th–7th century. Thus, we may conclude that the shaman costume used by the Turkic peoples, which is made of soft materials, is of earlier origin. This suggestion is supported by the design of the costume (separate parts sewn together) and the sewing techniques used as well as its semantics. The shaman costumes of the Ket

and the Samoyed were made of intact reindeer hides, whereas the Turks used smaller pieces of leather. Based on their semantic decorations and ornaments, the shaman costumes can be divided as follows:

- The costumes of the Ket and the Samoyed reflect the ancient hunters' views on the cosmic significance of the reindeer/elk. Reindeer, which was the main source of material for costumes, was also the main game animal and, at the same time, the central figure in the cosmological world: the reindeer symbolised the universe. Maintaining balance in the universe has always been deemed important. Consequently, maintaining cosmic balance was the purpose of all ancient cults and rituals and their sacral rites. The reindeer hide was a mystical entity, and, when wearing it, a human being was part of immaterial eternal life.
- The semantics of the Turkic shaman costume is more complex; it represents the cosmic unity of man's sacral rites and the birth of the universe.

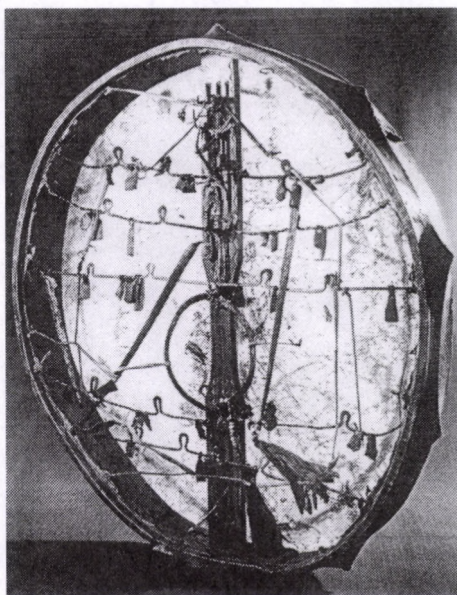
The shaman's ritual costume symbolises the universe and its sacral centre. Making a costume equalled, in a way, the creation of a macrocosmos: cutting the reindeer hide = the division and destruction of the world; sewing the pieces of the costume together = creation of a cosmic whole.

Yevgenia A. Alekseyenko

SHAMANISM AND WORLDVIEW: A KET CONTRIBUTION TO THE ISSUE

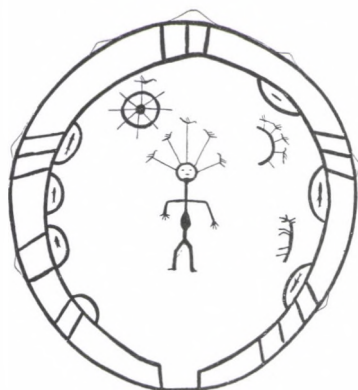
The central piece among the 21 Ket items exhibited at the 1998 Shamans Tampere Exhibition by the St. Petersburg Kunstkamera (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences, or MAE) was the shaman's single-headed drum (Shamans, Item 77, pp. 122–123). This MAE Collection Item No. 1048–67 is associated with the work of V. I. Anuchin, the founder of ethnographic historiography of the Kets, in the first decade of the 20th century. His 1905–1908 field trips to Turukhan Territory were carried out in the framework of a program initiated by V. V. Radlov and L. Ya. Sternberg and funded by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, whose objective was a comprehensive study of the Yenisey Ostyaks (Kets) covering their language, physical anthropology and ethnography. Time has shown, however, Anuchin's systemic ethnographic collections and his field notes about them to be the most essential result of this work. Items collected by V. I. Anuchin provided the core of the MAE's Ket collection that took shape later.

V. I. Anuchin worked at a time when the Kets' centuries-old cultural traditions and life style were still intact. Notions and ideas stemming from their mythology-based world outlook penetrated household and social spheres providing behaviour guidelines and spiritual values. Thus it was only natural that a bulk of V. I. Anuchin's collections was built by materials reflecting cultural symbols of the nationality and more specifically the shamanic heritage.



1. Ket shaman's drum (MAE 1048–67).
Cf. also C. M. Taksami's text in this volume.

Next to all these materials, including the drum No. 1048–67 under discussion, were published in 1914 in Anuchin's well-known monograph *Treatise on Shamanism of the Yenisey Ostyaks*. The work goes far beyond the scope of Ket culturology proper and thus remains a source of primary importance for all students of Weltanschauung or worldview problems. In addition, an abundance of professional illustrations by MAE Artist S. M. Dudin has made the treatise a sort of a catalogue of the MAE collects.



2. A Ket shaman's drum
(MAE 1048–67).

V. I. Anuchin's heritage in general and the last-mentioned feature in particular were of great methodological value for field workers and acted as a vital time link in the 1970s and 1980s when shamanism materials were further collected (Alekseyenko 1981; 1984). However, those were days when the life style of the Kets kept changing radically and when the people were fast losing their traditions and language. A bulk of new information was obtained from those who were not immediately involved in shaman practices. Actually, very few such practitioners were left by that time, and their performance lacked such crucial external signs as



3. Ket family.



4. Ye. Sutlin, the primary informant on the Ket shamanism in the 1970s.
Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.



5. Ye. Sutlin with his family. Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.

collective rites or a complete set of clothing and attributes. Local administration no longer regarded shamanism among Turukhan Kets, Selkups and Evenks as an issue of any political or social importance.

The fact that some informants exhibited an insight into intricate cultural symbols of their people came as an outright surprise under these conditions. It was astonishing that a common person who first time ever saw an illustration of a ritual object, manufactured and used late in the nineteenth century, had an easy access to its complex polysemy and elaborate symbolism.

It took some time to realize that images and notions perceived by an outsider as purely shamanic were backed by fundamental ideas, concepts and categories of the people's worldview tradition, which assures a systematic perception of shamanic rites, attributes and performances. A variety of codes were used to record cardinal conceptions of the world and transmit the cultural message across time, permitting Kets to retrieve information from objects no longer found in their everyday environment.

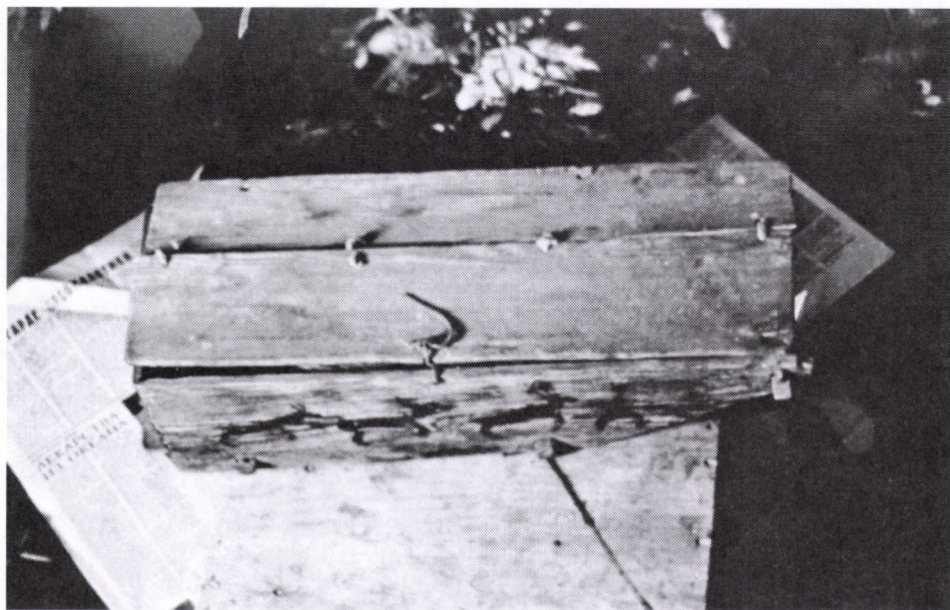
A shaman's *kamlanie*, or ritual performance, displayed his shamanic status and thus his sacral capabilities manifesting whether he had been through a complete cycle of his vocational growth or part of it; the cycle was set by the shamanic tradition to last 21 years split into seven three-year terms. Outward signs of the shaman's status were his attire and attributes; a complete set of the former included a breastplate, footwear, mittens, a parka, a headband and a headdress, while the main items of the latter were a drum rattle, a drum and a staff. The audience could easily read the signs showing the number of renewals, i.e. public ceremonies accompanying the first and further initiations of the shaman and acquisitions of his new insignia. The purpose of renewals was not only to recognize the shaman's new status but to let the interested tribesmen enjoy his greater aptitudes as well.

A person late for the start of a *kamlanie* or a visitor in the village could easily grasp the situation and get involved in the performance. It sufficed to see the shaman's attire and attributes for understanding what was embodied by him, in what part of the universe he was acting, what were the rank and the number of spirit helpers assisting him, and so on. These messages were conveyed likewise by the whole set of insignia and by each component attribute, by each individual item. However, the drum, with its symbolic polymorphism and a diversity of its sign language occupied a particularly important place.

Ket drums were the subject of numerous studies which, however, dealt mostly with their typology, history and genetic relationships (Prokofyeva 1961, 439), with emphasis on the design, ritual functions and associated rites. Less attention was given to ways and means permitting the audience to recognize one or another semantic image of the shaman's drum, such as: a living organism; the shaman's life cycle; the shaman's male reindeer; the female reindeer as an incarnation of the shaman during his performance; the universe. This article deals with some of the material related to worldview aspects of the drum.

A worldview approach to the analysis of the shaman-and-drum package was prompted by the information obtained in 1970–1971 from Yegor Sutlin, a fifty-year old hunter and fisherman, who resided then in Alinskoye, a village in the Yenisey basin. The informant was offered to comment on the drawing of the MAE drum under discussion.

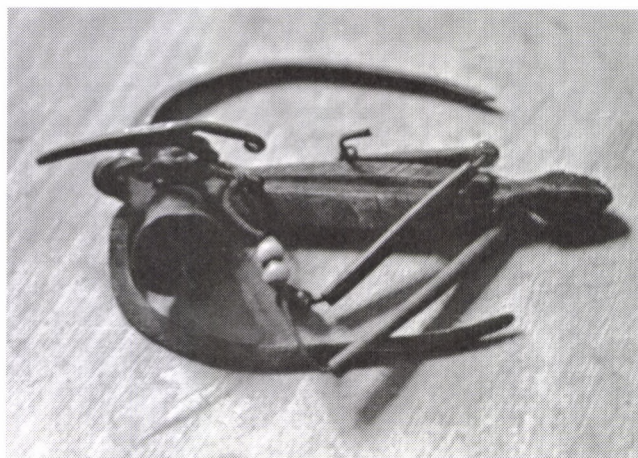
According to V. I. Anuchin, when a “great shaman in full attire” died the residents of his village had to manufacture a true copy of a complete set of this attire within seven days. The Kets are known to hold the view that a shaman could resurrect before seven days passed, this belief stemming from the root idea of human immortality. The duplicates had to be left near the burial place



6. 1–5 spirit helpers of a Ket shaman. Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.

while the originals were intended for paternal next of kin. If no such relatives were available, the prototypes were inherited by those of a more remote degree of relationship but always by kinsmen. V. I. Anuchin's list of “shaman's attire” includes, along with the clothing, footwear and headdress, i.e. the attire proper, a staff, a drum rattle and a drum. It may be assumed from the context that the drum now under discussion could be a posthumous duplicate of the one owned by Shaman Kopsal who died in 1908 (Anuchin 1914, 32–33).

V. I. Anuchin's treatise is the only source of information about the funeral rite alternative of the shaman's attire. Even in the late 1980s predominantly metal parts and components of ritualistic objects could frequently be found in



7. Sledge-shaped container
for spirit helpers.
Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.



8. Spirit helpers.
Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.



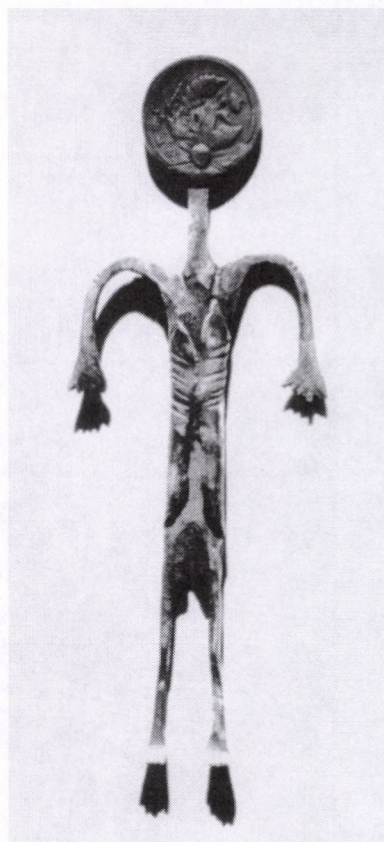
9. Spirit
helper.
Photo Ye. A.
Alekseyenko.

possession of shamans' descendants among other household lucky pieces, best known of which are old women *allelas*, and regarded similarly as family charms. However, emotions associated with such objects, arrangement of talismans in dwellings and other actions in their respect varied widely.

As for Ye. Sutlin he interpreted the drawing as a picture of the drum of a practicing shaman; thus, granting the special funeral rite purpose of the MAE exhibit, it must be stressed that a copy had to be true to the original. After inspecting the drawing thoroughly the informant said that the drum looked like one after five renewals, its owner practicing at least 20 years and reaching the rank of a "great shaman".

Other facts that were established by the informant from his visual inspection of the drawing agree on the whole with V. I. Anuchin's report (Anuchin 1914, 48–60). Thus Ye. Sutlin succeeded in reading a message sent several decades before his birth. Given below are a few examples illustrating the media that made it possible.

While describing the frame-bending technology the informant mentioned that each of the seven drums, to which a shaman was entitled over 21 years of his progression, was larger than its predecessor. V. I. Anuchin had also reported two to seven changes of the drum (Anuchin 1914, 51). Interviews with Ye. Sutlin revealed a substantial new detail: each succeeding new-made drum, after being revived in a special collective rite, was regarded to be the very same attribute that the shaman first obtained after the earliest triennium of his practice. At this initiatory stage he could only use a drum rattle with functions of its own; female shamans whose sphere of influence was limited to the earthly lower world had no drum at all. Granting of the first drum to the shaman symbolized his admission to the sacral upper world. A larger size of each successive drum and associated changes in its arrangement, primarily in the number, position and pattern of pendants inside, were interpreted to be signs of the drum's life, growth and physical changes similar to those in a person's appearance as he/she grows up, matures and gets old. Only the seventh drum was regarded to be adult.



10. The primary spirit helper.
Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.



11. Family spirit protectors — allelas.
Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.

The drum's seniority was expressed both quantitatively, by its increasing size, larger numbers of details etc., and qualitatively, by a semiotically important upgrading of the drum's material, from reindeer chamois to iron and finally to copper. For instance, the drum's semantic image of the universe was rendered by seven parallel cross ties symbolizing seven tiers (skies, strata or circles) of the upper world. The first (youngest) drum had six chamois straps and only one iron cross tie for expressing this seven-fold arrangement. As the shaman rose in rank, straps were gradually replaced by iron pieces at triennial rebirth, or renewal, ceremonies.

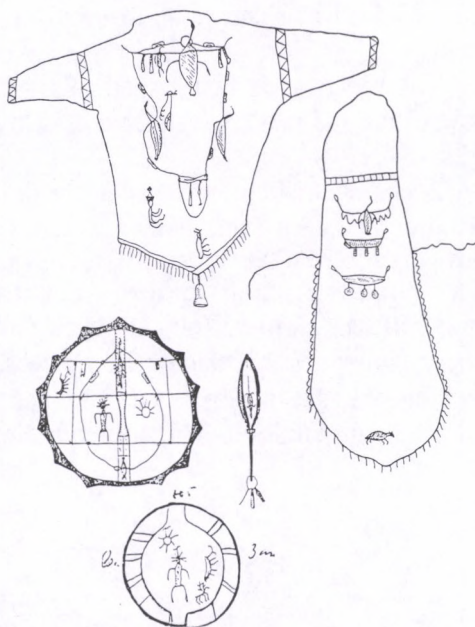
Chamois, iron and copper had important sign role in the mythological and ritual system of the Kets. Chamois was a material semantically related to the earthly origins and the lower world



12. Family spirit protectors made of stone. Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.

(Alekseyenko – Grishina 1997). Chamois straps on the drum symbolized this world, which, similarly to its superior counterpart, was believed to have seven parts presented by seven river bends (the shamanic version of the horizontal, or watercourse, organization of the two-world universe in the Kets' mythological tradition). Chamois alone was used to make items of the ritual clothing of a shaman who had not yet gained access to the sacral upper world: none of these (the headband, the headdress in the form of a strapped ring or the breastplate) had any metal pendants, although the place for those could be marked with ochre. According to Ye. Sutlin, these first signs of shamanic status were granted to the candidate by his symbolical mother, whom the would-be shaman addressed during the *kamlanie* as Big Mother and Mother Earth.

Iron in the shamanic symbolism expressed a bond with the upper world and the patron known as Earth's Son or Big Blacksmith. His representation, a central anthropomorphic image with a rays-emitting head, was always placed on the outside of the drumhead. Arranged at the head level were solar signs of the sun and the moon with birds on their rays (Ye. Sutlin said that these were black cocks singing at dawn), and at the bottom, "earth



13. Pictures by Ye. Sutlin. The author's field data.

14. Drum rattle.
Photo Ye. A.
Alekseyenko.



animals" (bear, elk, reindeer). The shamanic cosmogony assigned Earth's Son the role of the link between the upper and lower worlds. This role is performed in the tale of wanderings of Earth's Son in search for his wife, Heaven's Daughter, disguised as a female reindeer. Its image can be also found on the drumhead. That is how Ye. Sutlin explained meditative implications of this image with rays around the head: „His feet are on the earth where he was born, and rays and birds are because he went to the sky”.

Copper components on a drum, such cross ties and pendants, indicated that the shaman held a top rank and was granted access to Es himself, the supreme deity of the Ket pantheon, the personified heaven. Informants were at a loss to name a specific shaman of that rank but invariably mentioned a legendary Dogh.

The root idea is that a shaman's drum is a living creature which is born, grows, dies and gets revived. In a certain sense the drum portrays the life cycle of its owner.

A characteristic notion is that the drum had had to conform to the physical condition and age of the shaman. A failure to comply with this requirement was considered to be a bad omen. By way of illustration, the following situation can be visualized. In the past, a very old shaman had had seven renewals of his drum and several more triennial cycles adding new seniority symbols, such as copper components replacing iron pieces, at respective rites. As he weakened reaching old age, however, the drum had to be remade to comply with his age and physical condition. This had to be implemented through abatement of the



15. Shaman's headdress in copper. Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko.



16. A Ket sacred place with wooden anthropomorphic figures of the spirits.
Photo P. E. Ostrovskich 1902. (MAE 885-31).



17. Ket people — owners of the sacred place.
Photo P. E. Ostrovskich 1902. (MAE 885-27).

drum's force, again at triennial intervals. Because the drum's force was symbolized by various iron and/or copper pendants on the inside, their number that had kept growing with the growth of the drum, now had to be diminished in the same proportions and at the same intervals, to denote the temporal regression.

A senile person was regarded by the Kets as a baby, and thus a shaman in this condition was denied access to this drum. In a similar way, a young man who had previously announced his intent to be initiated to shamanhood and had been nominated by the tribe was not permitted to use the drum of an old man, even that of his father, for practicing unless, according to Ye. Sutlin's comment, "its force was diminished".

In addition to the above signs showing the drum as a living being with a dynamic capability to change its size, quality and quantity, an essential existential indicator was its integrity. Various mythologemes stress the importance that the drum as a living being be whole and undamaged, to warrant good health and life of the instrument's owner. Damage to the drum, for example, by fire "heralded the shaman's death. V. I. Anuchin writes that "according to legends, in old day, if such a shaman did not die immediately, he was killed (Anuchin 1914, 60). This integrity criterion is complied with in a number of rules pertaining to manufacture of the drum.

The same general idea of a living drum underlies symbolical reindeer images of the instrument, including the shaman's riding male stag and the female reindeer to which he transforms during the *kamlanie*. In this context the



18. Graveyard, River Eloguj. Photo Ye. A. Alekseyenko. 1970s.

drum handle was regarded to be the reindeer's backbone, pendants on both sides of the handle were seen as ribs, and resonators on the frame became hooves (or vertebra, according to some informants). Individual pendants could denote reindeer breathing or movements. The notion of a drum as a living reindeer explained the ban to use scrapers for unhairing the hide intended for the drumhead (it could only be depilated by a long-term soaking), to dip the hide using a brake, or to dry it close to fire, in other words, to hurt the reindeer drum in any way. Wooden pieces for the drum frame, handle and resonators could only be taken from a rooted, or living tree. The finishing touch in recognizing the drum a living being was to animate it in a public revival or renewal ceremony.

As for presentation of the universe by the drum, the vertical arrangement of two worlds appears to be more pronounced in its image, with the horizontal, or watercourse alternative of the world space traceable but occasionally. The drum's sign system emphasized, in particular, the center, or navel of the universe, which was the iron ring marking the middle of the handle (for the reindeer of a drum version it was the reindeer's navel), and the hierarchic tiers of the upper world. The tier hierarchy was interpreted as the shaman's ability to increase the number of his assisting spirits and patrons. High ranking patrons were known by name. The shaman let the audience know about his meeting with them by a change in the rhythm and force of blows of his drum rattle. Again, blows in one or another part of the drum indicated in what part of the universe the shaman was acting. Besides the drumhead drawings and subjects that were mentioned above, the upper and lower worlds were opposed by colour (red and black) or by location of the drawings (on the top or bottom or on the right or left side). Red and black paints were made with the help of ochre (or gunpowder or soot diluted by fish glue).

The above example permits identification of only a few but apparently most significant media of recording and transmission of cultural information among the Kets. The carriers could be material, shape, size, quantity, topography and colour. Also mentioned should be symbolism of action, rhythm and behaviour. All these elements, apparently unrelated, insignificant and incoherent for representatives of a different culture, were intrinsic contextual parts of the mythological vision of the world for Kets bearers of the tradition. Worldview codes of greatest importance for the nation's cultural heritage and self-awareness proved to be more enduring than code-bearing objects, either extinct and gone forever or preserved only in the sheltered world of museums.

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Vera P. Dyakonova

FEMALE SHAMANS OF THE TURKIC-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN SIBERIA

The majority of the Southern Siberian peoples are Turkic-speaking ethnic groups, including the Tuvans, Shors, Altaians and Khakass. The ethnic history of these peoples is related to the political, economic and cultural development of the entire Siberian region. The period of ancient Turkish ascendancy (6th–9th centuries AD) left a deep imprint on the culture and economy of these peoples.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Southern Siberian peoples were characterised by strong syncretism, which manifested itself in contradictory views on nature, society and man. This was the very point when the 'worshippers' of the old cults, the shamans, emerged. As an independent phenomenon of society, shamans have a long history. Shamanism was practised by both men and women.

In the 1930s and 1940s, there were 725 shamans in Tuva, of whom 411 were men and 314 women. Conversely, the Tofalar had no male shamans at the beginning of the 20th century. The Altaians and Teleuts, had several female shamans, whose ancestors had been canonised; these were regarded as the revered ancestral spirits of the women. There were also more female than male shamans in Yakutiya, where female shamans were deemed to be better healers. A similar sex ratio also existed among the Central Asian and Kazakhstan peoples. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the majority of Uzbek and Tajik shamans were women. Conversely, female shamans were rare among the Kazakhs. The Kyrgyz had both male and female shamans.

There is a Tuvan tale about a woman who could transform herself into a bear and work magic. Among the Teleuts, Altaians, Khakass, Tuvans and Kazakhs, female shamans co-existed with their male counterparts on an equal footing.

The most important cult implements for female shamans included fans, cloths and sticks. In cultural rituals, these functioned as the shaman's helper spirits, foretelling the future. All the necessary information was only obtained from the spirits by the female shaman during the rituals. At other times, no

questions or requests were presented to the shaman, since between the rituals she was an ordinary human being.

Female shamans have always been both healers and fortune tellers; due to the latter gift, many acted as advisers to khans and princes. Chinese annals mention a young female shaman by the name of Deuhun, with the epithet 'the Frenzied One' (she could fall into a trance and achieve ecstasy). This female shaman was the 'Councillor of State' to Cheune Khan. Among the medieval Mongols, male and female shamans belonged to society's ruling circles. It is known that Genghis Khan's son Chagatai and his wife were shamans.

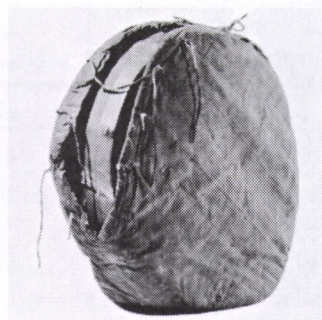
Female shamans belonged to the group of udagan shamans. They existed among the Turkic (Altaic and Yakut), Mongol (Buryat and Mongol) and Tungus (Evenk) peoples. According to the Buryat peoples, this group of female shamans was related to fire-worship. In the shamanism of the Altaic peoples, the origin of all life was born from the goddess of fire ('Ene'). For the Tungus, fire was represented by an old woman', the protector of home, the mistress of animals. In the rituals, a male shaman was not allowed to look at the fire; this was forbidden. For the Yakut, female shamans were either 'white' (deriving their gifts and powers from good spirits) or 'black'. Consequently, the white female shamans of the Yakut performed their rites together with male shamans 'm' the Ysyah feast.

Many female Udagan shamans had their own divine spirits. In the heroic epic of the Yakut, the Olonho, the female udagan shaman Aijy Umsur is one of the divine spirits of the Upper World. She is the enchantress of the Ninth Heaven, i.e., the High Shaman of Heaven. Udagan Umsur is the clairvoyant, protector and helper to the principal hero of the epic.

Female shamans played an important role in the selection of a prospective shaman. At the early stages of a shaman's progress, the daughters of the female shaman Aora Darhan hunted the soul of 'heaven' (Salgyn Kut). The instruction and education were the responsibility of both the above mentioned shaman and an evil-spirited female shaman by the name of Udagan Byrgestei. Female shamans were elected in the same manner as male shamans. Among the Altaic, Tuvan and other Southern Siberian peoples, the shamanic gift passed from mother to daughter, had there been any shamans in the mother's family.

The revered ancestors of shamans played an important role in the families of Altaic male and female shamans. In each family, there was an equal number of male and female ancestral and guardian spirits. After a few years of marriage, an Altaic female shaman by the name of Bardan (who became a shaman at the age of 18) also managed to include her husband's revered ancestors into the family's ancestral spirits. The shamans of the Altaic peoples regarded it as important to have female shamans in their family tree. They called female shamans 'flying female shamans'. If a family lacked female shamans, they were adopted from other families. A central role in the shamanic rites was played by female spirits, or the nine maiden spirits of heaven, whose images were on the shaman's dwelling, drum and clothes. During the rituals, the shaman was told to have had sexual intercourse with the female spirits.

1. Drum in the sheath. Matpa Ondar. 1970th, Tuva.



2. Matpa Ondar shaman's costume.
1970th, Tuva.



3. Shaman's tomb. 1960th, Tuva.

Professor Potapov was told about an Altaic shaman, whose trousers dropped down on the ground during a ritual, because the female spirit Kanyam demanded him to have sexual intercourse with her. This theme was also symbolised by the drum handles (for the Tubalar and Kumandins) in the shape of two-headed images: the upper image represented the shaman, the lower image his 'wife'. The shaman's ability to unite with female spirits helped him to communicate with the creator of all life, Ulgen, and the ruler of the Lower World, Erlik. Female shamans had sacral and latent gifts, which male shamans lacked. Therefore, male shamans often used women's clothes and wore their hair as women did. This was characteristic of Altaic and Yakut shamans, as well as of Central Asian shamans. Female shamans had their own ritual costumes and attributes.

It was not possible to refuse the shaman's duties. In the 1920s, the practice of shamanism was banned, and it became a political taboo with violations leading to punishment. In spite of all this, some shamans continued practising secretly, under the protection of their relatives and villagers.

In the 1950s, there were professional female shamans practising in Tuva, who had received a good shamanic education and mastered the traditional attributes of rituals. West of Tuva (in Kara Hol), there was a powerful centre of shamanism with practising shamans, who were originally local girls. In the 1950s and 1960s, shamanism was forbidden in this area. At that time, there was a female shaman by the name of Seren Kuzheget practising in Tuva. She was the daughter of a famed female shaman Altchi Ham and exceptionally possessed two drums. She used the black-flecked drum for exorcising evil spirits and the other for her healing rites. When the militia confiscated both drums, she started to use a whip instead. Her husband said, 'I'm not the least bit annoyed that my wife no longer has a drum. Using a whip is better in that none of the official people can't hear it.'

As such, the whip does not occur among the neo-shamans' attributes. However, like rattles, wands, sticks, spoons and other such implements, whips have always been part of shamans' cult ceremonies. Whips were often used by shamans especially in healing rites. The whip was a ritual implement of the Kyrgyz, Karachay, Yakut, Buryat, Tuvan and Altaic shamans. It was used by the shaman to exorcise evil spirits. It protected the shaman against evil spirits during his or her journeys into the Lower World. A horsewhip can be compared to the rattle of a drum.

At the early stages of his progress, a shaman at first received a rattle. Some Altaic shamans only performed their rituals with a rattle by beating it on the palm when necessary. Like a drum, a rattle had its own master in the form of an animal. For the Shors, the master of the rattle was represented by a rabbit for the Buryat and Yakut, a wolf. If the drum functioned as the shaman's draught animal, the rattle was his whip, which he used to run the horse (the drum) during his journeys in the worlds of the universe.

One of the most well-known and famed female shamans was Matpa Ondar. She was born in 1900 and died at the age of 60. She was among the shamans



4. Female shaman. 1920th, Tuva.



5. Modern shaman. Altai, Teletskoe lake.



6. Female shaman without costume and drum. 1970th. Tuva.



7. Shaman Aldip Herea with his son. 1970th, Tuva.

who continued practising their rituals even during the years of persecution and preserved their shaman costume, headdress, drums and rattles, as well as their helper spirits. She practised in the central area of Tuva (Sut Hol), where she herself was from. She had inherited her shamanic gift from the shamans of her maternal Ondar family. Matpa was married twice. Her first husband was a Mongol lama and practised medicine in Tibet. After he died, Matpa married a shaman by the name of Sotilkai.

All Matpa's shaman costumes were found in a cave of the Kyzyl Dag range, where they had been hidden on the day of her death. The villagers and other shamans who had attended Matpa's rituals explained the semantics of her shaman costume. Her costume represents a draught animal—a horse, whose tail is symbolised by the decorative fringe of the hem. On the other hand, the costume represents the goddess, the origin of all life. The twists falling down from the shoulders symbolise the origin of the man and those falling down from the waist towards the hem that of the woman. The twists of the hem stand for the 'young generation'. In ritual ceremonies, a female shaman acted as the goddess of fertility.

Shaman Matpa's costume resembles a war outfit. On the back of the costume, there are pendants representing a bow and arrows, and the jingle of the small bells resembles the whistle of flying arrows. The arrow pendants were the most powerful attributes of the costume. The female shaman could 'shoot' them far, even beyond distant mountains. Similar pendants adorn the crosspiece of her drum; they have the same purpose as those on the costume, but in this case it was the crosspiece that functioned as the bow. These 'weapons' were used by the female shaman for fighting evil spirits when she travelled into the Lower World. She also used the same weapons for destroying other shamans' helper spirits, if they became dangerous both to her and to her helper spirits. The pendants on the back of the costume (at the left-hand bone) represent the shaman's helper spirits in the form of birds. They helped her to cross mountains and rivers. After the shaman's death, the bird pendants remained in the family for her successor. After shaman Matpa's death, the pendants were left on the costume. Some of the pendants of the costume symbolise the shaman's healing powers: these include tobacco pouches, where the shaman placed the soul of a sick person.

The pendants (or some of those) on Matpa Ondar's costume had a 'diagnostic' purpose. The cross-shaped pendants on the left side of the costume symbolised the moon sign or mensis, i.e. woman. When a female shaman's patient was a woman (of whatever age) or a person suffering from intense bleeding, she used this pendant in her healing rites. The pendants on the upper part of the costume (from shoulders to waist) were made by the shaman herself, those of its lower part (from waist to hem) were made by the shaman's relatives. Consequently, the upper pendants with their symbols served the shaman, whereas the lower pendants served her relatives and those she had helped.

The Tuvan female shaman Matpa Ondar was a genuine professional. During her lifetime she had performed numerous shamanic rites to heal people.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to bury her in the traditional fashion, i.e. in a 'shamanic grave'. She was buried at the foot of the sacred Kyzyl Dag mountain revered by the Tuvans. Her ritual costume was hidden in one of the caves of the same mountain.



8. Shamanic mystery in the tent. 1920th. Tuva.



9. Matpa Ondar shaman's headress. 1970th, Tuva.

Pictures are in this article from MAE's and the author's collections.
Cf. also C. M. Taksami's text in this volume.

SHAMAN TRADITIONS AND PROTECTION OF CHILDREN AMONG THE TUVANS

Tuvan folktales talk about famous female shamans, many of which were the only surviving child, the only girl and the youngest child in their family. The task of a female shaman is to protect the life of a child, to "strengthen" its "soul power" (*urug kudu*) and to assist in childbirth, in other words, to act as the midwife. A female shaman knows how to talk with the spirits of land and water, she understands their language. A skillful "midwife" is connected to the underworld. The bear often appears as the female shaman's helper spirit which works in this world. This helping bear-spirit (*adyg zeren*), like the bear-paw, protects women during pregnancy, helps in childbirth and attends to the health of both mother and child.

Skillful midwives who relied on the help of a bear-paw, sometimes possessed these same faculties. If the shaman was not connected to the world of child souls, she used the bear-spirit in other rituals. The "midwife" performed women's rituals and kept a placenta in a place which was close to the bears' natural habitat. The bear provided a connection between the temporal world and the world of child souls. The bear also protected the child and its life especially in those families who had lost a child. Before childbirth, the shaman brought a bear figure to the mother's hut; the purpose of the figure was to help the mother in childbirth and to "hold" the child in the hut. The bear figure was present in many child births, and the bear was considered to be the protector and defender (*kamchalar*) of pregnant women and newborn babies. The bear figure possessed its own sphere in which its powers took effect in the hut of the woman about to give birth: the area between the entrance to the hut and the lower part of the bed. This was the area where also the powers of the (fertilizing) netherworld took effect. Childbirth rituals were only performed by powerful male or female shamans, who could journey to the upper world, the world of child souls.

Twining, knitting and sewing were the everyday tasks of women. The Tuvan shaman performs the same tasks in the séances for capturing the child's soul; as the shaman selects the child's soul from among living souls, she cuts a "head" and "body" for the child from felt and cloth and dresses them in a frock.

Curing childlessness was one of the most important duties of the shaman. The shaman used various symbols when performing rituals for this purpose. For example, she placed a small pouch full of beads on the pillow. Making such a bag paralleled having a child (beads = fetuses; bag = uterus). Hairs bore the same symbolic meaning (a fetus in a closed space). The shaman found the hair (a "golden" one, a fair one) in a bowl of milk and in her drum. Finding the hair and storing it are important elements in healing ceremonies, too, when trying to make the soul of a sick person or animal to return back home.

In 1995 a protective amulet for the child's soul was found in Tuva; it was a small patterned rug with a pouch attached to it (*toi chayan* — the fate of the members of the family). This small pouch attached to the rug resembles the small cushions which were used for storing a child's umbilical cord. The contents of this particular pouch, found in 1995, is not known. On the outside of the pouch, is a small metal amulet depicting a calf. The pouch was made by a female shaman on the request of a childless woman. It is known that in the same year (1990) this family adopted a little boy. The *toi chayan* pouch was tied to a bed curtain together with a cushion containing the umbilical cords of three children (the umbilical cords were borrowed from a related family with several children). The pouch was placed between the second and the third cushion. The rug is ornamented with the images of a reindeer calf and a dragon (*amur ga*), which symbolize the universe. The first image is above the line of umbilical cords, the second one below it. The rug also has a pair of earrings and a string of beads attached to it. The rug was placed at the foot of the bed. Outside the picture is a whip (*kymchy*) wrapped in pale cloth. Hanging on the other wall, are the umbilical cords of children later born to the related family. The sealed pouch or cushion containing a child's umbilical cord had an important role in the rearing and protecting the child. In the childbirth ritual the umbilical cord is a connecting link: the umbilical cord connecting the child to the placenta—a belt. They represent the same connections (life, fate, soul) on different levels (vertical row). On the horizontal row, are the symbols representing the life of the child (ribbon patterns). As the family grows, more ribbons are added to the pattern. These new symbols were tied to the cradle with leather straps (*tin* — bridle; *kipish* — bow string). They can be compared to the "uterus hairs", which had the same symbolic meaning.

The female shaman Vorbak-Kara (the Mongun-Taigin region) used bundles of "uterus hairs" from families with several children in her rituals for the protection of a child (*urug hayach*). During the ritual, the bundles were out in a bag, inside which a puppet figure (*urug kudu*) was also attached. When the child's hair was cut for the first time, a few hairs were put in the bag too. Later, when the child grew older, other symbolic objects were added to the bag, or, for example, a tuft of the child's hair was sewn on a small cushion which was then tied to the bed.

Various symbols, such as knots and pouches and their isomorphic images (beads, buttons, small moon symbols, pouches of millet, pouches containing umbilical cords, etc.) were used to protect the child. In her rituals, the shaman

uses the same symbolic objects as the mother when caring for the child. For example, the Tuvan women living by the Lake Tere-Hol tie a string of beads, buttons and pebbles to their child's cradle. These objects have a gender-related significance. If a young child died, the shaman (not the mother nor the midwife) made a "toy" (*oinash*) for the new baby, using the above mentioned objects. The female shaman Tezhit made the toy in the following way (information dates back to the 1980s): she took three cleaned and polished hoof joint bones and three sphere-shaped copper buttons. Then she tied each bone to a red ribbon and tied all three copper buttons on the fourth ribbon, after which the shaman tied the four ribbons together with other colorful ribbons. This "toy" represented a specific symbolic image, and on the other hand, new sacral objects could later be added to it, such as a bundle of short and long strips of cloth tied to a button at the other end, and a string of beads attached to the button. Further, objects such as the shell of a cowrie, a Chinese copper coin, a piece of wool string and a pouch of millet could later be added to the toy. These sacral objects were tied to the center and the hanging end of the belts of anthropomorphous figures. The figures were divided into males and females, and both sexes had their own symbols: the symbols of the male figure included a bow and an arrow, a lasso and a whip, and the symbols of the female figure a ladle, a spoon and a whisk. The figures even had their own type of clothing depending on the sex. These figures, or puppets, form an original pattern, which can be interpreted as follows:

1. A union between man and woman = the myth of the one father-mother. Twining and tying equals tying the hair of a married woman into a bun among the women of Sayan and Altai. Another example comes from the Bai-Taigin region and dates back to the year 1989: a string of beads, a bear paw, parts of a child's rattle and a child's umbilical cord had been tied to a baby girl's cradle with white strips of cloth. Two joined cushions filled with sheep hairs had been tied to the ends of the strip of cloth. The other cushion contained a child's umbilical cord. Each other pair of cushions (four of them, as there were four children in the family) was tied to the previous pair at their upper corners. In the first pair of cushions (gold-colored pair) the umbilical cord of a girl is placed in the left hand—women's—row. In the second pair (pale blue cushions), a girl's umbilical cord is placed in the right hand—men's—row. In the third pair (gold colored cushions), a boy's umbilical cord is placed in the left hand row, and in the fourth pair, a boy's umbilical cord is placed in the right hand row. It is interesting how the umbilical cord consistently shifts from the left hand row to the right hand row and vice versa. The child's (to whom the umbilical cord belong) sex and the respective row do not match until the very end. The joined cushions symbolize the lives of the child's soul and the married couple together. By sewing a girl's umbilical cord on the men's row, the family expressed a wish for a male child. The male and female symbols are not always accurate, however. Thus, a symbol representing the child's gender may in some other contexts represent a child in general. The symbols for couples may represent a man or a woman or the soul of a child and its vitality.

2. The ritual acts of a shaman always include "twining and tying". When a child was ill or the family wished for a child of either specific sex, the shaman made a small cushion, which contained the symbol for the child's soul: an arrow for a boy, a copper plate for a girl. In a child's healing ritual the cushion represented the child's umbilical cord. If a figure in the row of symbols had helped a couple to have a child, more symbols were added. The shaman twines such a row of symbols, in which new symbols complete previous ones.

3. A dynamic row creating a row of symbols equals putting things in order. Adding a new symbol to the row brings new positive energy and power to the entire row.

4. Selecting "fixed point". The "first" is the fixed point for subsequent symbolic images and actions. This principle is evident in the internal logic of Tuvan shamans. The female shaman Irgit Vorbak-Kara from the village of Mugur-Aksy reveals the main reasons for making a ritual pouch and an anthropomorphic figure:

"If the firstborn child of a family dies, he may take the ones coming after him with him."

"Newborn babies die. A child is born in the upper world, lives in the central world and finally departs for the underworld. After a while he is again born in the upper world. If in some family newborn babies die one after another, it is said that the one baby is born and then dies over and over again."

By making new symbolic objects the shaman is trying to find a fixed point from which to "go on". Among the Khakass, a dead child "returned" to the family by the shaman acts as a fixed point. If the first two children of a family survive and grow older, they guarantee the wellbeing of the entire "row" (family). The symbols representing the first and the second child are so-called fixed points, the other children find a place between them. If the first and the second child were of different sex, it was considered a good omen.

5. The opinions on the length of the row of symbols are multiple and conflicting. Some peoples (Turkic-speaking) made their rows of symbols very long, which is typical of the rituals of Turkic nomads. Others think that long rows are inefficient, and consequently it was not customary to make extremely long rows of symbols. Creating a row of symbols means the intertwining of good and bad symbols.

The "visions" of Siberian shamans are cosmogonic in content. The shaman uses various symbols to twine them into complex "patterns"; the ritual actions of a shaman reflect his or her world-view, according to which all objects and actions are interlinked.

Mihály Hoppál

COSMIC SYMBOLISM IN SIBERIAN SHAMANHOOD

The Shaman as Mediator

One of the most important characteristics of Siberian shamans was the fact that they mediated between the world of humans and the spirit-world; and they would do it in an altered state of consciousness, and always in the interests of some definite collective goal (cf. Hultkrantz 1984:34). The shaman was the religious specialist, because among most Eurasian peoples, there were several persons performing different, specific sacred functions and several kinds of shaman, each having a special function, whose function it was to maintain communication between the world of daily routine and the transcendental world, i.e. between the microcosm and the macrocosm.

That is the kind of large oppositions that mythopoetic thinking tends to operate with, describing, as far as possible, everything in the form of dual oppositions, such as black–white, up–down, male–female, left–right, cold–hot, light–dark. It is no accident that the social structures of daily living, the clan organization, the interrelationship between families and tribes, we defined in these terms, in the terms of oppositions; and that the narrative structure of creation myths, too, are characterized by dual oppositions (for a more detailed exposition of this see Zolotaryov 1980; on the Ob-Ugrian examples Veres 1975). The way of describing the world that mankind used before modern scientific thinking (and partly still uses) is called “mythopoetic” by semiotic research (Hoppál 2001). On this, V.V. Ivanov writes: “One of the most characteristic features of the mythopoetic model of the world is the portrayal of the world by means of two polarly counterposed strings of symbols—i.e. a dual symbolic classification. The universal dual oppositions include the counterposition of the two halves of the day (day–night) and the two seasons of the year (summer–winter).” (Ivanov 1984:393). In the opinion of the Russian scholar, that was the way of thinking that encapsulated archaic cultures, defining the sense of mythical origin not only of endogamous groups but also the divergence of ritual practice (e.g. the eating of raw and cooked meat), also pervading physical culture. Religious consciousness, the world view of the shamans also conforms to the rules of the mythopoetic cognitive mode; thus we

may find good examples of this in world of Siberian shamanism. Let us review the ritual paraphernalia of the shaman: his garments (primarily the shaman's cloak and the cap and/or the crown), and then some either important attributes.

The Shaman's Garments

The ritual garments — both in their entirety and in their details are a carrier of symbolic meanings. Given that the shaman would, in the course of the ceremony, act as a go-between the micro- and the macrocosm, this mediator role did manifest itself in the symbolism, too, of his/her garments. The shaman has the capacity to cross the boundary of worlds; and the symbolism portrayed this permanent intermediary condition, the transition, the dual character (Ripinsky-Naxon 1998:124–125).

As Mircea Eliade baldly put it: "In itself, the costume represents a religious microcosm qualitatively different from the surrounding profane space. For one thing, it constitutes an almost complete symbolic system, for an other its consecration has impregnated it with various spiritual forces and especially with 'spirits' ... the shaman transcends profane space and prepares to enter into contact with the spiritual world." (Eliade 1964:147.).

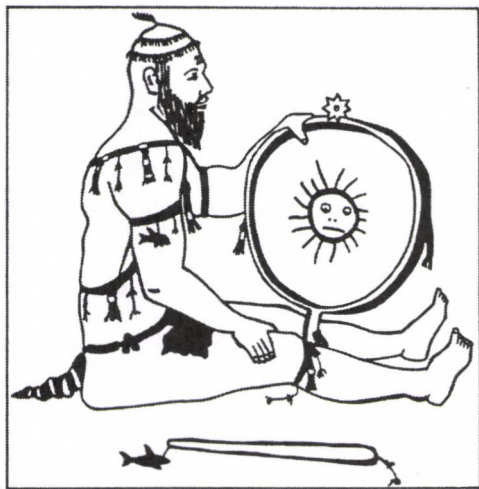


Fig. 1.

Indeed, that was the nature of the very starting-point—i.e. ritual nakedness (the "zero degree" of dress!), which was, in effect, a attribute of the state of being outside society. There are data to prove that the shaman's cloak could be donned only on the naked body (e.g. the Chukchee shaman — cf. Hoppál 1994:15. picture) (Fig. 1.).

Given that it was the shaman's cloak that came into contact with the spirit-world, it was particularly important that should, in every

detail, answer that purpose—i.e. that it should ensure the transition between worlds. Therefore the right side of the shaman's coat of the famous Nganasan shaman Demnine Kosterkin (1913–1980) was coloured with red dye, the left side with black. The former stood for spring and day, the latter symbolized night, winter and darkness (Grachova 1978:319; see Hoppál 1994:131. illustration). The Russian Ethnographical Museum of St. Petersburg has an Even (Lamut) shaman's cloak (inventory number 2245–303), whose symbolism was described by T.Yu. Sem. The Russian researcher stated that each piece of

the Even shaman's garments consists of two parts—one of a lighter, and one of a darker colour (white and black, red and black, white and red). The Even material makes it manifest that the darker, left side is the feminine side; while the lighter, right side is the masculine side (Sem 1993:135). Some researchers hold the view that such a colour-based dichotomy of the masculine and feminine principles was present as early as the Paleolithic age (Ivanov 1982), and that it can be traced back to the biological bases of the beginnings of the creation of human signs and symbols.

Dying was not the only method used in making the two-coloured garments of shamans; a more simple technique was to make it from reindeer skin of a light (white) and red (dark brown) colour (*Fig. 2.*), with the face of the skin outside. The right side was sewn using the cut normally used in men's dress, while the left side would be fashioned using the style of women's dress. A Yukagir shaman's cloak displays, on its left side, two anthropomorphic figures—figures symbolizing the shades of the dead ancestors of the shaman—; while, on the right side, we see two bird figures, the shaman's soul-escorts or

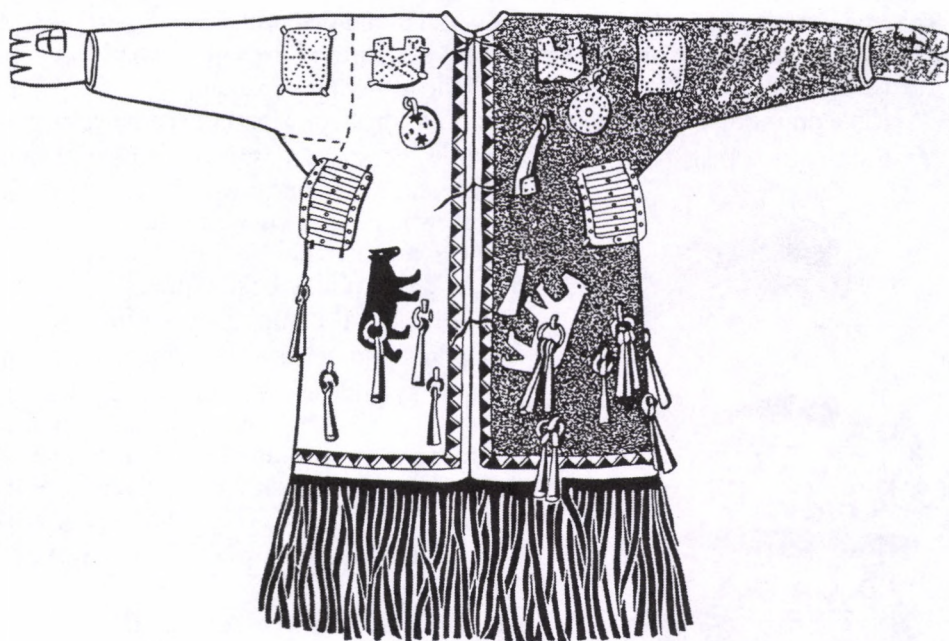


Fig. 2.

spirit helpers. S. Serov concluded that the left side, the side of the shades, symbolizes the world of the ancestors; while the right, the light side stands for the world of humans (Serov 1988). The cloak, on the back, is cut into two parts by a three-level, tree, which symbolizes the world tree conjoining the world of humans (the microcosm) and the world of spirits (the macrocosm). This cloak—according to the evidence of the card in the archive—used to belong to a

Yukagir by the name of Igor Shamanov, who said when he put on the cloak he was transformed into the shamanic ancestor depicted on the left side, and could also change into a bird (Serov 1988:248).

There are many legends about the mythical ability of Siberian shamans to change their form—and also concerning their androgynous character, i.e. the fact that they consist, at once, of a masculine and a feminine part. He stands on the borderline between the two genders (cf. the “third gender” in Eskimo shamanism — Saladin d’Anglure 1992); this is why he is capable of mediating between the worlds. A semantic attaches to the ritual division of the bear at the bear feast led by shamans of the Nanay, living along the Amur river. Here, the lower portion of the bear is given to the women; the upper portion to the men; the left side is given to the women, the right side to the men (Sem 1933:135).

Concerning the mythology of Nenets shamanism, an excellent monograph was written by Leonid Lar, who is himself of Nenets origin. He writes, in his book, that the Nenets shaman’s dress is some sort of model of the universe, because the head-dress symbolizes the upper world, the cloak symbolizes the middle world, with the footwear standing for the lower world (Lar 1998:30). The two extreme elements are in opposition to the one at the middle, the world of humans. He presumably deduced his observations from the experiences of the inside observer, and that is how he came to summarize them.

Concerning the symbolism of the ritual dress of Siberian shamans, it can fairly be argued that, on the whole, they suggest the cosmogonic picture that

corresponds to the world concept of shamanistic peoples. In short: the ritual dress of the shaman symbolizes the universe, and the middle of it may be interpreted vertically along the spinal chord, as a world axis. As L. Pavlinskaya states: “The shaman’s ritual costume symbolises the universe. Making a costume equalled, in a way, the creation of a macro-cosmos: cutting the reindeer hide = the division and destruction of the world; sewing the pieces of costume together = creation of a cosmic whole.” (Pavlinskaya 2001:41–48).

It can often be observed that the garments or the shaman’s coat are of two colours, are dyed in two colours: white—black (dark brown), red—black, light (the colour of the skin)—red. We find examples of this binary opposition also in the case of the cloak and the breastplate. It is a general rule that the lighter colour would be put on the right side—this was regarded as belonging to the male and a symbol of the



Fig. 3.

upper world—; while the darker colour was the colour of the feminine, the lower world. The Yukagir shaman's cloak also consists of two pieces, and the left side of it is adorned by seven human-shaped figures (the shades of the shaman's ancestors) (*Fig. 3.*) and seven cross-shaped figures (symbols of the soul-escorting shaman's birds) (cf. the ornaments of the Selkup crown). This symbolic opposition of meanings deriving from a dichotomy of colour may be observed in the shaman's insignia of the Even, Koryak, and other peoples, sometimes in the opposition of spirit world/human world, sometime between good/evil, and sometimes in the light/dark or male/female opposition. The shaman, as an individual having an androgynous nature, carries within him the antithetical characteristics and is, indeed, capable of resolving the contradictions.

In Siberia, the shaman, among several peoples—because of his androgynous character—is a personality consisting of a masculine and a feminine part; and it is precisely this borderline position that renders his activity strong and effective. According to some researchers, the dichotomy of red/black, right/left, male/female is clearly traceable already in the world of the Paleolithic pictographs, and this notion (and, naturally, the data) can be used when trying to assign a date to the development of shamanism.

The Shaman's Head-dress

Another important appurtenance of the ritual dress was the shaman's cap. The Nenets, the Ket—inhabiting the district along the Yenisey—, and the Evenki considered the cap to be the most important part of the shaman's dress, because the shaman's strength resides in the cap. The headgear of the Even (Lamut) shaman displays a cross-shaped rosette, with a circle at its centre, from which there rises a small rod (the object can be seen in the collection of the Russian Ethnographical Museum of St. Petersburg); these presumably serve the maintenance of contact with the sky, the cosmos. If the rosette is a symbol of the universe, with the cross symbolizing its centre, then the shaman stands at the centre of the world, from where he/she may start the ceremony. In this force-centralizing position, the shaman really becomes a go-between the world and the cosmos. An added reason why the headgear is so important is the belief, held among certain peoples (e.g. the Udeghe and the Nivkh), that the soul of man can make its exit through the top of the head; so the shaman has to be protected in the heated state of the trance. The small horn protruding from the cap symbolize the maintenance of communication with the cosmic forces.

The shaman's cap had another function as well—namely, that it protected the shaman's head, under the crowns, from the iron bands (e.g. among the Evenki). In certain cases, the symbols of the helping spirits were attached to the cap; in the north (among the Samoyed), these resembled the antlers of a stag;

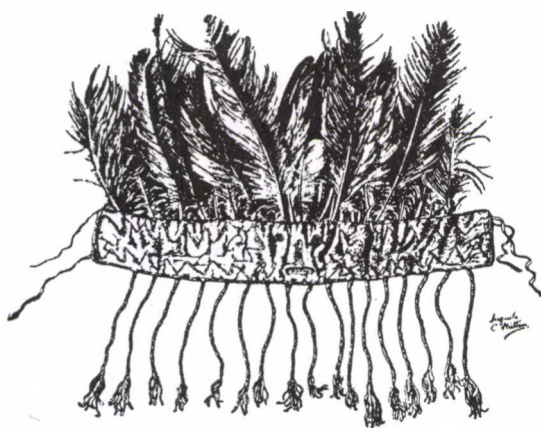


Fig. 4.

importance. Not only did the shaman or the shaman woman consider the eagle or the swan to be his/her principal helper; they would also indicate this by displaying the feathers of the chosen bird, most spectacularly in the head-dress, in the plumes of the headband. The head-dresses of the Tuva shamans displayed the plumes or feathers of wild duck, wild geese, cranes, falcons, buzzards, eagle-owls (*strix bubo*) (Fig. 5.), and eagles. The eagle, as the bird of shamans, is well known in almost the entire Siberia; indeed, the birth of the first shaman is attributed to the impregnation of a woman by a gigantic eagle-like bird; this theme appears in Yakut and Manchu stories. The deeper meaning of the ornithomorphic symbolism is the fact that the shaman reports having intense experiences of flying during the trance, which he reinforces by the bird



Fig. 5.

while in the south (among the Turks of the Altai) they mostly consisted of feathers.

This is the point where a few words are in order as to the symbolic meaning of head-dresses. When discussing the shaman's dress, it was already mentioned that—especially among the Turkic peoples of the Altai (Fig. 4.) (e.g. the Teleut, the Tartars of Minusinsk, the Khakass, Karagas)—the bird symbolism was of outstanding importance.

The shaman symbolically becomes one with the animal whose characteristic features he assumes—i.e. he identifies with the helping animal.

Finally, there's another aspect of bird symbols that deserves mention—namely, that the feathers, by virtue of their lightness and because of the ability of birds to fly—birds being the masters of the air—are also associated with the symbolism of light. The feathery head-dress encircles the shaman's head like a halo, because—in terms of the symbolism of the entire dress—it is, indeed, this part of the apparel by means of which the shaman communicates with the upper world.

The Shamans' Crown

The crown is a most prominent piece of the shaman's equipment—in both the physical and the wider sense of the word. When I saw a shaman for the first time in my life, one of the things I was most struck by was the crown he was wearing on his head. It happened back in the mid-1970s, in Moscow, in the film archives of the Ethnographical Institute of the Russian—or Soviet, as it was then—Academy of Sciences. Here, colleagues were recording on film the ceremonies of shamanizing among a small people of the north, the Nganasan. The filmmakers (Alexander Oskin and Yuri Simchenko) were filming the last shaman members of the Ngamtuso clan. They were responsible for the documentary profiling the sons of the last great Siberian shaman Dyukhodie Kosterkin, filming them on the Tamyр peninsula. At a particular point during the ceremony, after the enlivening of the drum, prior to setting off on the journey to the next world, the shaman put the crown on his head. By this

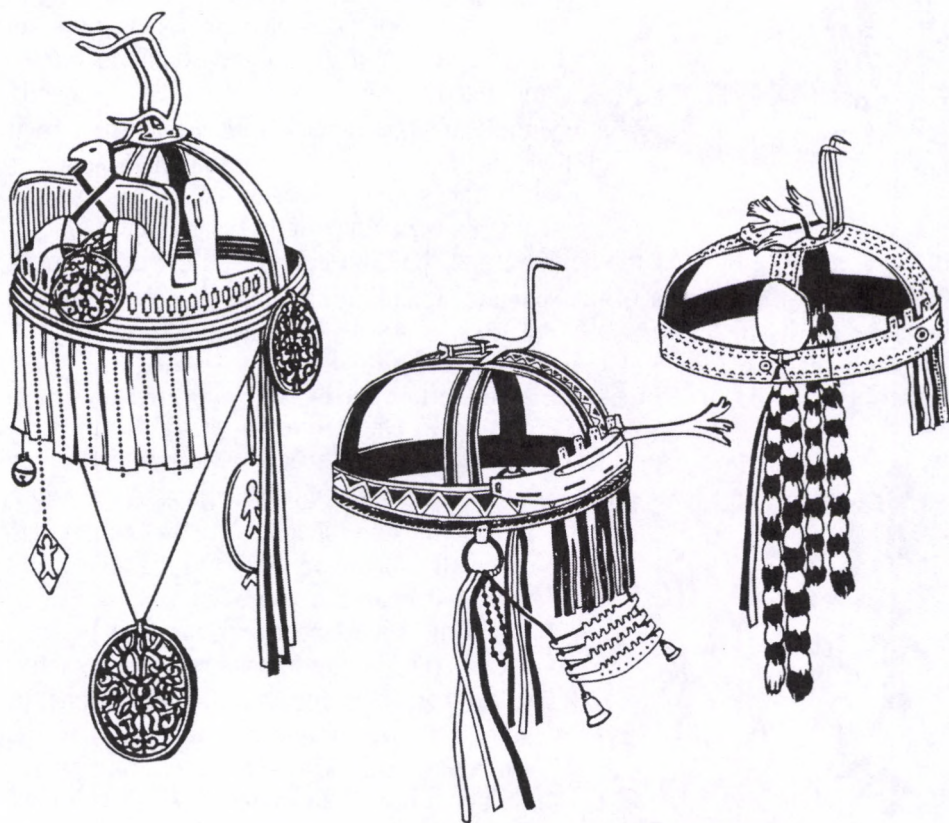


Fig. 6.

gesture, he fortified himself, as it were, for his symbolic journey to the other worlds, the upper or the lower world.

Researchers have recorded that the Nganasan shamans used three kinds of crowns (*Fig. 6.*), depending on which world they turned towards, and with what purpose, in the source of the séance. In this way, they had a crown for the journey to the upper world, another one for the journey to the lower world, and a third one that they would use during a childbirth. Similarly, they had three different drums and three shaman's cloaks. They would use the crown which



Fig. 7.

featured an eagle-like figure and two protruding horns for communicating with the spirits of the upper world. The horns symbolized the stag of the sky—the mythical being of extraordinary power which helped the shaman fly into the sky.

It was recorded among another Samoyed ethnic group, the Nenets, that the hoop of the shaman's crown symbolizes the sky, the spherical vault of the firmament, embodying the four cardinal points, as it were. The crown, as the uppermost portion of the shaman's dress, symbolized—as part of the cosmic symbolism—the upper world; it was the crown that enabled the shaman to maintain contact with the upper world. Concerning the shaman's crown having horns collected among

the two ethnic groups at the beginning of the 20th century—, it was recorded that this was the insignia of the shaman, signalling his ability to communicate with the spirits of the upper world. Its strength was shown by the number of branches that the iron crown had—according to the collecting data of V. I. Anuchin (*Fig. 7.*), the three—yearly initiation cycles were repeated on seven

occasions. On the crown, at the front, there is a blade, which was the weapon, sword or knife of shaman, which he used in the battle against hostile shamans. This latter was especially characteristic of the Ket and Selkup shaman's crowns.



Fig. 8.

This type of headgear can also be seen on Siberian pictographs—or, more exactly, researchers presume that the depictions of human figures found on the rock walls, when they wear a headgear featuring horns, are portrayals of shamans. A. P. Okladnikov (1949) discovered, near the Lena river, rock engravings of this type, where the picture cut into the rock included a shaman wearing a

headgear ending in horns with several points, his drum and his helping spirits. (This picture was adopted as the emblem of the International Society for Shamanistic Research — ISSR.) (Fig. 8.)

According to the latest research (L. Pavlinskaya 2001), the horned crowns of Siberian shamans are, based on data suggesting the appearance of metal working, probably to be dated to the centuries before and around the beginning of our era.

The crown adorned with horns is, as regards its symbolism, a badge of the strength and virility of the shaman, and, conjunctly, a symbolic weapon in the battle against the shaman rivals, as was observed

among the noble stags in the animal kingdom. In other words, the shaman's antlered head-dress represented the stag-shaped animal helper. Some researchers posit the existence in Eurasia of a highly ancient veneration of the stag, traces of the worship of the "stag of the sky" (Martynov, 1991). This can be traced in the pictographs and, subsequently, after the advent of metal-working, also in the archeological material. In other words, the shaman derives his strength from the sky; the antlered crown is a symbol of the belonging to the sky. Another possible explanation holds that the tiny horns of the crown symbolize the flames of fire—that is to say, these too, like the feathers, are symbols of light.

The most elaborately crafted and most intricately decorated crowns were worn and are still worn—by the Manchu shamans (Fig. 9). On the branches of the crowns, there are tiny birds and many tiny decorations, rustling

leaflike metal ornaments, which are greatly reminiscent of the gold crowns of the royal burials dating from Korea's age of the Silla (Fig. 10.). The crowns featuring a "world tree" of the royal graves resembling the kurgans of the Altai region were the insignia of the sacred shaman-king. This is natural, given that he was the mediator between the world of the gods and that of human beings; presumably that is the reason his crown was adorned with the symbol of "sacred trees".



Fig. 9.

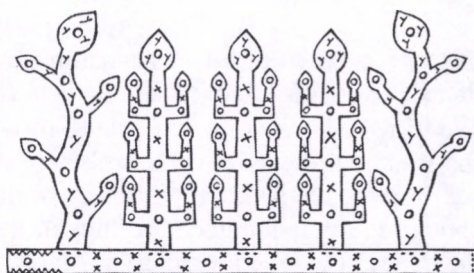


Fig. 10.

The Shamans' Belt and Footwear

Where there was no characteristic shamanic dress, "ritual nakedness" was widely practiced in many places throughout Siberia; and it was especially frequent among the northern peoples of regions having an Arctic climate (in North America, the Eskimos had similar practices). The ritual meaning of this nakedness is this, that shamanizing cannot be practised in ordinary clothes, and at least a belt must be put on.

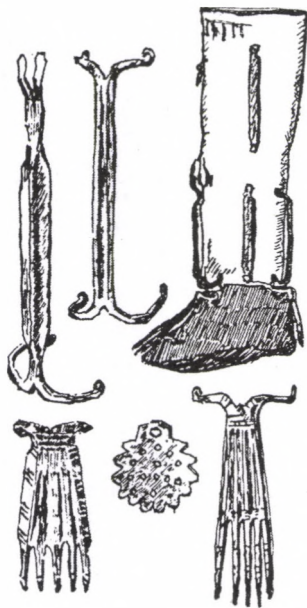


Fig. 11.

Among the Nenets of the tundra, the young shaman used his belt instead of a drum; the belt featured pieces of metal depicting the spirits of birds and other animals, birds' claws, bear's claws and teeth, bells and knives. These objects were all designed to protect the shaman during his hazardous journeys of trance to the other world. According to another Nenets data, the shaman's belt helps one reach other worlds. In the symbolism of the complete shaman's dress, the belt is the boundary between the upper world and the lower world, separating the upper masculine part from the lower body, which is the feminine, impure, lower world.

In the system of the symbolism of the Siberian shaman's dress—if it is taken to be a mirroring of the macrocosm—the footwear corresponds to the lower world. Even collections from the beginning of the 20th century—for instance, a photo of a Ket shaman by Uno Harva (*Fig. 11.*)—clearly show that the skeleton costume ornament continues on the footwear as well (Harva 1938:513. Abb.79.). V. I. Anuchin recorded that the portrayal of bones on the footwear represents the shaman's reincarnation in the other world. As for the bear's paw, the symbolic meaning of this is that the human foot is not strong enough to overcome the hardships of the journey to the other world, therefore the bones of a bear are required. Among the Selkup, the bear's paw was simply a sign that the shaman was also capable of descending to the lower world.

The long irons attached to the boots of the Nganasan and the Enets shaman symbolize the leg-bones of the mythical stag helper.

The right boot, in the context of the costume, represents the "sunny" side; while the left boot stands for the world of evil spirits. The footwear of the Nenets shaman was a symbolic conduit serving to channel the negative energies from the world of human beings into the nether world.

Summing up: because the human body was viewed as a reduced replica of the Universe, the shaman's dress and the making of it were regarded as a

symbolic act of the creation or recreation of the Universe. The upper portion of the ritual costume of the shaman, the headgear, is an equivalent of the sky; while the trunk underneath corresponds to the earth, with the feet, the shaman's boots corresponding to the lower world.

The Shaman's Tree

The tree is one of the central organizing principles of the world view of Siberian shamans. In the world model, it joins the diverse worlds and the celestial layers. They imagined a gigantic tree—which, for instance, according to the Mongols, grows on the top of a huge mountain reaching to the sky. This cosmic tree became to the shamans, the “road” joining the sky and the earth, the road he has to traverse in the course of the trance. The climbing of the tree represented the ascent of the shaman to the sky.



Not only the initiation, but also the raising of the young shaman happened on a tree (*turu*) (according to the belief of the Evenki) (*Fig. 12.*). The great shamans are raised by the eagle on the top; the middle ones lower down, and the weak ones on the lower branches.

The importance to shamans of the bird symbolism was intended to strengthen “the ability of flying”. It was particularly the cult of the eagle that was very strong, since the Yakut believed that the first shaman woman conceived from an eagle. The eagle helped the white shamans, the raven helping the so-called black shamans. In general, the various birds on the top or the shaman's trees symbolized the bird-shaped helpers of the shamans (*Fig. 13.*).

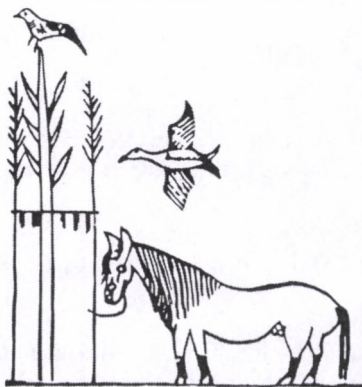


Fig. 13.

The tree was a graphic symbol to shamanism, given that it modelled the mediation by joining, through its roots, the lower—underground—dark world with the tree-trunk (the middle world, the world of human beings), with the crown (the upper, the sky world, the world of birds and light, and, ultimately, of super-natural beings). It is a mediator just like the shaman. This universal character of the tree, whereby it modelled the cosmos with a single tree from the immediate environment, explains why almost everywhere, especially among the Turkic and Mongolian peoples, the veneration of the tree was so widely observed (Baldick 2000). We

would often stop on our journeys across Siberia to offer some small sacrifice at shaman's trees (in Yakutia) or at the *obo* (in Tuva and Mongolia). The historical depth of the cult is indicated by the fact that the veneration of the tree is present also among the Tungus peoples, the Manchus, indeed, even among the Koreans—so much so that, at the entrance to villages, beside the road, there are spirit poles with bird-shaped ends (*sottae*) of this kind guarding the entrance to the villages, to avert evil. Throughout Eurasia, the shaman's tree, topped with birds, is presumably designed to symbolically ensure contact with the spirit-world.

The shaman's tree was standing in the middle of the world and connecting earth and sky, microcosm and macrocosm, as shamans do.

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ON THE OCTOSYLLABIC METRIC PATTERN AND SHAMANISM IN EURASIA

Introduction

The octosyllabic pattern refers to any song resting on a melody which uses 8 morae per line. A *mora* is a minimal unit of musical pulse and of metrical time. Each mora has equal duration. In this paper, the concept of mora is practical since it is simultaneously the equivalent of many aspects of a song: it corresponds to (a) metrical foot, (b) syllables materializing the feet by singing, (c) musical tones materializing the feet and the syllables, and (d) musical pauses materializing musical time and pulse. For instance, an English double line *I saw three ships come sailing by—on New Year's Day in the morning* may be seen to follow the double-verse pattern of 15 morae, each taking the same duration of time: the foreline has eight morae, the afterline has seven. The metrically stressed morae are underlined:

The morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	I	<u>saw</u>	three	<u>ships</u>	come	<u>sail-</u>	-ing	<u>by</u>
	on	<u>New</u>	Year's	<u>Day</u>	in the	<u>morn-</u>	-ing.	

The counting of the underlined stresses gives 4+3, and the sum total of the morae is 8+7=15. The interpretation is not correct, however, since there is one additional factor in music which has not usually been taken into account. This factor is a time factor, and I call it *metrical gap*. Its time length is always the length of the mora present in a song.

If a text line ends with one, two or three morae not filled with any text, these morea are *metrical gaps*, since they are out of the metric structure, and nothing takes place in the text of the poem. This is not the case in the process of singing which always *proceeds in time*. A metrical gap has a durational parameter, and a singer can fill it up with three types of element. It can be filled up (a) with a musical pause, (b) with a prolonged tone, or (c) with an anacrusis

which corresponds to a musical upbeat. If there are no gaps, there is no room for any anacrusis to emerge, no prolonged tone, no pause. In time, each gap is as long as morae filled up with a word or a syllable. In point of fact, this English song has two metrical gaps (ø ø). The first one is always materialized with a pause, while the second gap is the starting point of the next double line as an anacrusis (words *I, And, Three*):

The morae:

(gaps 1 & 2:)

1 2 | 3 4 | 5 6 | 7 8 || 9 10 | 11 12 | 13 14 | ø ø |

I

saw three ships come sail-ing by, on New Year's Day in the morn-ing, Ø And what do you think was in them then, on New Year's Day in the morn-ing, Ø Three..

From this point of view this unit of two lines is composed of $2 \times 8 = 16$ morae in such a way that the latter line terminates in two metrical gaps (ø ø). The 8- or 16-morae patterns seem fairly "natural" for a human being when creating or sensing organized time like a song. The radical difference of the German, English and Scandinavian eight-morae pattern from that of the Baltic Finnic octosyllabic pattern is, that *there are no gaps* in the latter. Neither can there be any anacrusis (upbeats) in Kalevala songs. This kind of octosyllabic pattern, having continuously 8 morae = 4 stresses a line, seems not to have belonged to any older Indo-European metrical singing.

There are two basic motives for this paper. First, the western Baltic Finnic singing was heavily based on the Kalevala metre, a syllabic and strongly alliterative metric system composed of four trochaic feet¹ (which make eight morae a line). Many researchers have written on the possible origins of this trochaic tetrameter, and, for instance, Matti Kuusi has suggested a Neolithic origin for the pattern. He wrote that there was "some Pre-Finnic code for performing of mythical epics and ritual texts based possibly on unfixed or four-stressed lines characterized by alliteration and repetition".² The most specific theory was offered by Eugene Helimski, a specialist in Samoyedic languages, according to whom the octosyllabic system was a natural part of Uralic languages³ ever since the Proto-Uralic period back to 6000 years. Moreover, it was the shaman who had maintained this metric pattern so closely connected to the most holy texts.⁴

Helimski sees that his view "is only a possible hypothesis". According to him, the octosyllabic meter is closely connected to the shamanic traditions both in Samoyedic and Baltic Finnic cultures. The language systems make it easy for singers to use octosyllabic lines because the words are mainly composed of two or four syllables. For instance, Finnish and Karelian *kala* 'fish', Saame *kuollē* the Nenets *xal'a*, the Nganasan *koli*, the Enets *kare*, the Karagass *kalè* and the Selkup *qeli* 'fish' are still in its two-syllable form like was Proto-Uralic **kala* 'fish'. In many Volga Finnic and Ugric languages, on the other hand, the final vowel was dropped as in Mordvin *kal*, Mari *kol* Hungarian *hal* and Mansi *χūl*. It seems that shamanism was strong among peoples who kept their words in their

original form, while there are no strong traditions left of earlier shamanism in cultures having lost the final vowel. That is why Helinski poses a question: to what extent may the activity of a shaman have influenced these languages to maintain their archaic structures? Helinski does not say this directly but he suggests that, in fact, many ancient forms of language have remained in cultures where shamanism has been powerful even to the present time.⁵

The theory is tempting but problematic. Mikko Korhonen wrote an article on the genetic relation of the Kalevala meter to one Mordvin octosyllabic pattern.⁶ His basic point of departure was linguistic. The Mordvin language is the closest relative of the Baltic-Finnic languages. The two linguistic groups parted about 35 centuries ago. Korhonen concluded that the octosyllabic Kalevala meter cannot be related to the Mordvin octosyllabic pattern but the two have emerged independently of each other. A short comment is needed.

According to Korhonen, the Proto-Uralic language was *stress-timed* and the stress of each word was always on its *first* syllable. The normal speech (the prosody) proceeded from one stress to the next. The number of unstressed syllables inbetween did not matter. That is, it resembled the modern feature of English or Russian, except that in these languages the main stress may be situated in variable positions in the words. The Uralic languages continued to be stress-timed until about the late Neolithic and early Bronze Age back more than 3 millenia. It was in those days that the Baltic Finnic and Volga Finnic (= Proto-Mordvin, Proto-Marian) populations were parting linguistically from each other. If the Uralic peoples had some metric system, it must have been a dynamic one: there was a stressed syllable following a variable amount of unstressed syllables, followed again by a stressed syllable etc. And, as Matti Kuusi thought, the number of *stressed* syllables per line was presumably four. This all means that the number of syllables per a line varied all the time, which still is the case in the Baltic-Finnic lamentation (*itku*) in which also the number of stressed syllables varies. Korhonen presumed that a change took place in the 2nd millenium B.C. The language system transformed in a *syllable-timed* direction, that is: each syllable started to matter, and when in the Proto-Baltic Finnic language the main stress remained on the first syllable, the third and the fifth syllables also became stressed while the second, fourth and sixth syllable remained unstressed. The pattern is always the same as seen in the table in which + represents a stressed and o an unstressed syllable (or: a mora):

+	o	+	o	+
<u>ka</u> -	la			
<u>ka</u> -	las-	taa		
<u>ka</u> -	las-	ta-	ja	
<u>ka</u> -	la-	par-	ves-	sa

'a fish'
'to fish' (a verb)
'a fisher'
'in a shoal of fish'

The changes in prosody affected the metrics: the dynamic pattern transformed into the syllabic pattern. This was the basic reason for the emergence of the Kalevalaic tetrameter. The same process towards a syllabic prosody also took

place in Mordvin but independently of Baltic Finnic. Therefore, the formation of the Mordvin octosyllabic pattern took place independently of Baltic Finnic—since a syllabic meter cannot emerge in a stress-timed language.

Lauri Honko has also interpreted some of the similarities by stating: “However, compared with the tight syllabic structure of Kalevala meter poetry, the verse form of Mordvin and Ob-Ugrian epic poetry appears to be based more often on accent and associated initial assonance, and variable parallelism.”⁷ He does not suggest a genetic relation. Now the basic questions are: where are the octosyllabic versification known; are the practices genetically related, and what are their relations to supranormal aspects of life? All in all, we shall encounter here the dilemma of polygenesis vs. monogenesis.

1. The Finno-Ugric Song

1.1. The Baltic Finnic *Rúno* (*Virsi*)

The Kalevala meter is a Baltic Finnic speciality which seems to have emerged more than 3 millenia ago. It never diffused to all the areas inhabited by the speakers of the Early Proto-Baltic Finnic. That is why it is not known either among the Sami nor among the easternmost Karelians, Ludians, Vepsians or Livonians (in modern Latvia). The Kalevala meter is rather a complex one. Anyhow, all the other morae are filled with one syllable but the first two which may also be realized by two syllables. Along with other solutions, a mora is usually filled with one tone. There are no stanzas, and the last mora of any line is followed by the first mora of the next line because there are no metrical gaps inbetween the lines.

Example 1.

An Estonian myth on the creation of the Universe (Tampere 1964, pages 54–55). In the 4th line the second mora is materialized by two syllables (*o-li* ‘was’). The myth tell about the Cosmic Bird laying eggs which are the beginning of the heaven and earth. The Karelian myth tells how Ukko = Ilmarinen (The god of heaven and thunder) creates fire by shooting a thunderbolt to the earth from the 9th level of the heavens. (Kuusi 1977, poem no. 9, page 99). Here, too, the 2nd mora is materialized by two syllables in line 1: *is-ki-pä* ‘[Ukko] did stroke’.

The morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Estonian:	<i>Si -</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>sir-</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>lin-</i>	<i>nuk-ke-</i>	<i>ne</i>	1
	<i>si -</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>sir-</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>kul-</i>	<i>de- kir-</i>	<i>je</i>	2
	<i>len-</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>mei-</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>pe- lis-</i>	<i>se</i>	3
	<i>kolm</i>	<i>o-li</i>	<i>põe-</i>	<i>sast</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>pe- lis-</i>	<i>sa -</i>	4
Karelian:	<i>Is-</i>	<i>ki-pä</i>	<i>tul-</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>Il-</i>	<i>ma- ri-</i>	<i>nen</i>	1
	<i>vä-</i>	<i>lä-</i>	<i>hyt-</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>Väi-</i>	<i>nä- möi-</i>	<i>nen</i>	2
	<i>pääl-</i>	<i>lä</i>	<i>tai-</i>	<i>vo-</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>ka- hek-</i>	<i>san</i>	3
	<i>il-</i>	<i>mal-</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>hek-</i>	<i>sän- nel-</i>	<i>lä -</i>	4

The Kalevala meter became popular and it was used in various contexts but the elementary use concerned the mythology and shamanic lore. Actually, there is not much verbal information left on Finnish or Karelian shamanism remaining exterior to the Kalevalaic code. The metre was mainly (and the epic and lyric texts solely) performed by singing.⁸ Some realizations of this tradition are shown in Example 1.

1.2. The Permian and Volga Finnic Areas

Still during the 1st millenium AD there was a belt of Finno-Ugric populations living from Scandinavia to the Urals. Those living mainly along the Volga river system are called *Volga Finns*. Those living to the north of them are called the *Permians* (presumably referring to their occupation as fur traders), and they were the ancestors of the present Komis, Komi-Permians and Udmurts. The data of the present paper is thin, so far.

Example 2.

The octosyllabic realization of an Erzä Mordvin song with additional syllables underlined. Each line is closed with a refrain (Boyarkin 1984, no. 43).

<i>Sju-dof, sju-dof,</i>	<i>ška-en' sju-dof</i>	<i>oj, er-zən a-vas' (aj)</i>
<i>jol-mas-ta (ej) i-ləds'</i>	<i>(oj) a-läš-nä-da</i>	<i>oj, a va-nə-da (aj)</i>
<i>od-nəs-ta (ej) i-ləds'</i>	<i>(oi) sju-dofs' va-sen'</i>	<i>oj, po-la-nə-da (aj)</i>

As stated above, the MORDVINS had an octosyllabic tradition of their own. In the collection of Nikolay Boyarkin there are songs following this pattern.⁹ The song in Example 2 differs completely from the Baltic Finnic style since the singers use polyphonic techniques specific to the Mordvins but with obscure origins. If we ignore the refrain (underlined in Example 2), and if we ignore the additional syllables having no true meaning (underlined in paranthesis), we may see that the text goes follows the octosyllabic metric pattern.

Example 2 shows clearly how this pattern works. As in the Kalevala meter, the first two morae may be materialized by one or two syllables (like in *jol/-mas-ta* where the *jol-* materializes the first mora while the *-mas-ta* the second mora). But unlike in the Baltic Finnic system, also some other morae accept additional elements (underlined in brackets). However, the octosyllabic core of the text goes as follows:

- | | | |
|---|--|---------|
| 1 | <i>Sju-dof, sju-dof, ška-en' sju-dof</i> | 8 morae |
| 2 | <i>jol-mas-ta i-ləds' a-läš-nä-da</i> | 8 morae |
| 3 | <i>od-nəs-ta i-ləds' sju-dofs' va-sen'</i> | 8 morae |

In many cases it is not possible to understand any metric system if the verbal text is separated from the musical text. In this case, it is easy to see that the

second mora in the line 2 is filled with two syllables (-*mas-ta*). The same takes place in line 3 (-*nəs-ta*). Elsewhere the singers used only one syllable for one mora. The pattern is clear.

Another Mordvin example comes from a mythical song containing Mesolithic and Neolithic elements. The song itself was connected to the beginning of the growing season. Thunderstorm and the struggle between matriarchal and (newer) patriarchal forces. It tells about a maiden called Lotova, who was lifted up to the heaven by the thunder god and married there either to him or his son, the lightning. As can be seen the text proceeds according to the octosyllabic pattern:¹⁰

The morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
- - -	vaj	syñ	tukš — nošt	nej	ki —	sõn — zõ,		
	ko — da		mol' — ekš	— ñešt'	ki —	sõn — zõ,		
	ko — so		l'i — to — va	son		aš — ti?		
	vaj	úe — ré	úe — ré	u —	tot — co.	- - -		

Among the UDMURTS (Votyaks), the octosyllabic pattern is known but not frequently used.¹¹ During the 20th century it was mainly a part of many different kinds of pattern such as of the *chastushka* which—in my mind—is composed of one or two or three octosyllabic lines terminating in one seven-syllable line having one metrical gap in the end. It also seems that, unlike among the Baltic Finns, the octosyllabic pattern had no specific status among the Udmurts. In spite of the fact that the MARI (Cheremiss) music was influenced by Turkic thinking, it seems clear that, genetically, the strong pentatonic system in Mari music represents the same line of tradition as that of the ancient Balto-Finnic thinking. If we accept the theory that the Baltic Finnic gene pool and archaic culture descend directly from the eastern Cro-Magnon Man,¹² it might be understood that the Baltic Finns lost their pentatonic mind because of ancient Indo-European influences. The Maris kept hold of their ancient pentatonics because of the contacts with their Turkic neighbours, the Bulgars, the Tartars and the Chuvashes, the conglomerate of Volga-Finns and Turks. The Maris seem to have had an octosyllabic system of their own. They did not use it, however, as any kind of special code. An example of the Mari octosyllabic treatment is seen below. This lyrical song in 4/4 metre takes after an archaic Proto-Indo-European¹³ hemitonic mode $c^2 - a^1 - g^1 - f^1 - e^1 - \underline{C}^1$. The text goes:¹⁴

Example 3.

A Mari song following the octosyllabic versification (after Kul'šetov 1990, no. 33).

The morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Ly — štaš		ĩo — gen		py —	ty — me — ške		
	e — re		ken — geš		ve —	le šo — nem		
	<u>ĩo-lta-še-myn</u>		ve — sym		mu —	me — šky — že		
	e — re		<u>my-ĩy-nak</u>		ve —	le šo — nem.		

Usually there is only one syllable for a mora but the morae 1, 2 and 3 may also have two syllables. The KOMIS of the Northeuropean Russia also know the system, but its position and functions are unclear to the author. In Example 4 there is a Komi song popular around the city of Ukhta and the River Izhma. Even though the song is defined as “lyrical” there are some interesting points in it. First, the melody is widely used in the Izhma Komis epic songs. Secondly, this song is an autobiographical story, which brings the Arctic genre of personal songs to mind. Thirdly, the song is called *Vede* according to the name of the main character. There is no *vede* either in modern Komi nor Russian, but in Old Slavic there was the form *viedie* ‘I know’¹⁵ related to Proto-Indoeuropean **uoida* ‘to know’ (e.g. Sanskrit *vēda* ‘knowledge’, Swedish *veta* ‘to know’, English *wise* or Lithuanian *vėizdmi* ‘I see’). It is quite possible that here we have an early loan to Komis adopted from the early Slavs. Perhaps *Vede* was a wise man, ‘a knower’ (= a magician), and the idea of this kind of personal song was that there was some ‘knowledge’ about the life history of a person in it.

Example 4.

A Komi autobiographical song (Mikushev and Chistalëv 1994, song 22). The text goes: My Vede was in the forest, and succeeded in hunting a lot, but when he returned home, his wife lay dead on the bed (etc.). The mode *e-d-ċ-h* represents one of the Proto-Slavic modal roots going back to the Indo-European root modality no. I: *e-d-ċ-h*—g. (See Lükö 1964.)

The morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	<i>Ve-</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>me-</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>ja-</i>	<i>gyn</i>	<i>vö-</i>	<i>li</i>
	<i>ö-</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>da,</i>	<i>vö-</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>da</i>
	<i>prö-</i>	<i>mys</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ky-</i>	<i>jis</i>
	<i>gor-</i>	<i>tas</i>	<i>ses-</i>	<i>sja</i>	<i>su-</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>vo-</i>	<i>is.</i>

1.3. The Ugrians

The Ugrian KHANTY and MANSI live along the West-Siberian water system of the River Ob. A. O. Väisänen postulated that the main stock of their archaic songs is characterized by an iterative form of one or two lines having four stresses a line.¹⁶ This suggests the octosyllabic system. Väisänen could identify some parallel melodies both in Ob-Ugrian and in Baltic Finnic area, but he claimed that there was no genetic relation between the similarities. On the other hand, Gábor Lükö¹⁷ has postulated direct genetic relations between Hungarian, Ob-Ugrian and Mari songs.

Example 5.

An Ob-Ugrian melody after Katalin Lázár (1988, 290, Ex. 9, line 3).



Katalin Lázár¹⁸ has studied one and two line melodies and noticed that the singers inserted all kinds of extra sounds in a line. For instance, one singer produced the line seen in Example 5. There is one additional word, *je-n(ə)*, seen as rounded in the note, and one additional phoneme *a* at the end of *nĩ-rəŋ* extending the two syllable word to three syllables *nĩ-rəŋa*. The musical phrase seems rather complex but the underlying pattern of the text is purely octosyllabic: *we—ti nĩr—pi | nĩ— rəŋ —o—sa*.

There are many reasons for the Ugric song language appearing as it is. In both lines of Example 6, the text is augmented by many additional elements. If they are given as underlined, the text looks like as follows:

χu-χə-tə-ta pa-ja tũ-wə šĩ-jə χo-šə-ta-ta = 14 syllables
na-wə-rə-ta pa-jə-tũw šĩ-χoš-tat. = 10 syllables

When the additional elements are excluded, what remains is purely octosyllabic:

χu-χə-t-ta pa-tũw šĩ-χoš-tat = 3+2+3 = 8 syllables
na-wə-r-ta pa-tũw šĩ-χoš-tat = 3+2+3 = 8 syllables

Example 6.

Two Ob-Ugrian double lines composed of two octosyllabic text lines.

The examples are taken from Lázár 1988, page 290, Example 8.



Not all the texts are hidden behind complex techniques. Example 7 demonstrates a simple structure of one textual double line and two melodic lines A + B. The excerpt has the form of ABB ABB BBB ABB, and there is the *la*-pentatonic modality (*E-g-a-h* added with *f#*) as the modal root of the melody of the line 1. Line B transforms the mode to the Aeolian pentachord. The transformation may be due to an East-Slavic influence and the atmosphere becomes close to the Baltic Finnic Kalevala style.

Example 7.

A Mansi song. The melody and the text was transcribed by the author. Therefore, the text is in an unreliable form and is written according to what the author heard the man singing. (The source: Department of Folk Tradition, University of Tampere, Mansi recordings no. 2.)

jaŋ-- mo jaŋ-ki jem-- ho snoi-jo haŋ-mo jaŋ-ki jem-ho sna-ti

nŋa- mo jaŋ-gin ti-jen na- vðn

tem tut na- ga tem tut na- fa

te- ma ke-so ja- jem no-hot

tam-to xn- ta te- mi je- hot

ta-ma- ho xm-ta te- mi je- je gö-sö raŋ- so raŋ-müi ho-to

At the moment it is unclear to the author if there are some genres connected with the octosyllabic pattern in the Ob-Ugrian song tradition. It was used when singing so-called "personal songs" (which were used like identification cards in Arctic societies). There also are suggestions that it was used on ritual occasions, but the data is still too scarce to say anything more.

Example 8.

A Hungarian four-line octosyllabic dance song after Kodály 1973, No. 278 (from Bukovina). The text suggests that the song used to be a dramatic dance of youth acting according to its epic text in a medieval fashion.

*A – nyám, a – nyám, é – dës a – nyám,
Mëg këll hal – jak I – lo – na – étt,
I – lo – ná – nak szép – ség – gö – étt,
Az ö kar – csú dë – rö – ka – étt.*

*Kej fël, kej fël, é – dës fi – am,
ka – pud – ba van, kiet mëg – hó – tal!
Kej fël, kej fël, é – dës fi – am,
ka – pud – ba van, kiet mëg – hó – tal!*

The HUNGARIANS are culturally the westernmost Ugrians. The octosyllabic pattern was known in some of the isometric songs in an archaic style having 4 lines a stanza, each line sharing the same amount of syllables. It was not in regular use but it did exist (Example 7). All this suggests that the octosyllabic pattern is shared by all the Ugrian branches, and there is no reason to doubt that some kind of metric system based on four stresses a line existed already during the Proto-Ugrian era, when the forefathers of Hungarians, Hantıs and Mansıs were still living around the southwestern Urals about 15 hundred years ago. In Hungary there also is an archaic concept of *regös*, referring to all kinds of processional songs of calendaric, sacral or otherwise social character. Among them many obey a steady octosyllabic pattern like:¹⁹

*E-re lőt-ték füöd-nek nyo-mát,
Ki há-za-ez? Jám-bor-ej-jé,
Jám-bor em-ber la-kik ben-né —*

An interesting detail is seen in the statement of Lükő,²⁰ according to which there is a lot of Romanian folklore which is a substrat of the local Hungarian populations which have changed their language. The calendaric Romanian New Year song, *kolinda*, is a genre with a lot of Ugric elements in rhythm, melody and textual themes, and formally they are either composed of hexasyllabic or of octosyllabic lines, as are the Hungarian *regös* songs. These songs contain a lot of mythological motifs and themes frequently met with in Ob-Ugric and Volga-Finnic songs as well as in Hungarian folk art.

2. The Samoyedic Song

The Proto-Samoyeds started to separate linguistically from the Proto-Finno-Ugrians about 6000 years ago. Today they are living in a huge triangular area from northeastern Europe to Taimyr in the east and to the Sayan mountains in South Siberia. Still two millenia ago the Proto-Samoyeds were living between the Upper Ob and Mid-Yenisey having Yeniseian, Ugrian, Tungusic, and Turkic tribes as their closest neighbours.

The largest among the Samoyedic tribes is the NENETS (singular). Jarkko Niemi²¹ has clearly proven that the sacral code of the Nenets traditions is the octosyllabic singing of the shaman during his séance. There also are other kinds of song using the same metre, but they are all clearly connected with shamanism or other mythical themes like sung fairy tales. The main point is that it is the supranormal world, and the direct messages of the spirits and gods, which are communicated via this very code of octosyllabic pattern.

An interesting detail in the Nenets shaman song called *sámbadabts* is the techniques a singer uses when producing the lines. Dr. Niemi found that "the meaningful syllables of a text line are scattered among and between the multitude of supplementary, synsemantic syllables".²² The point is that the foundation of shamanic songs is strictly isosyllabic but it is hidden behind complex transformations. One method of hiding the code is close to that used by the Ugrian singers in Examples 5 and 6: the use of additional syllables extends the length of a line. If the octosyllabic line is marked with numbers 1–8, and additional syllables as letter *A*, a sung line may appear as:

$$\begin{array}{l} 1+2 \mid 3+4 \mid A \parallel 5+6 \mid 7+8 \mid A \mid \\ 1+2 \mid A+3 \mid 4+A \parallel 5+6 \mid A+7 \mid 8+A \mid \end{array}$$

The other techniques result in what Niemi calls an "echoed line" because the singer not only inserts additional syllables in the text but also repeats some syllables already sung before. Hence, a line may be structured as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} 1+2+A \mid 3+4+5+6+7+8 \mid 5+6 \mid 7+8+A \mid \\ 1+2 \mid 3+4+5+6+7+8 \mid A \mid 7+8+A \mid \\ 1+2+3+4 \mid 1+2+3+4 \mid 5+6 \mid 5+6+7+8+A \mid \end{array}$$

It is clear that when listening to this kind of hidden metrics, the outsiders, like the researchers, could not understand the system. That is why it was generally stated that the Samoyeds did not know any metrical patterns. Techniques of an analogical kind were also used by the eastern Sami singers, especially the Skolts, as demonstrated by Mikko Korhonen.²³ The Skolts have obviously never used the octosyllabic pattern but the Nenets system has certain parallels both to the Hungarian octosyllabic isometrics and the Ob-Ugrian way of transforming the basic pattern into sung language.

Example 9.

Four lines of a Nganasan shaman song. Outsiders hear the text as written on the left. The number of syllables per a line varies from 5 to 7. On the right there is the Nganasan way to hear the text because of their inherent knowledge of the locations of the glottal stop ° which equals an extra vowel (now extinct in prosody). The octosyllabic system is perfect.

THE ORIGINAL TRANS- LITERATION		THE DEEP PHONOLOGICAL TRANSLITERATION. THE GLOTTAL STOP IS MARKED WITH °	
ma řē-la-wa nē-jēr-w!	6	ma-řē-la-wa nē-°jēr-w°!	8
xu-nā-nānt xāw-nān?	5	xu-nā-nān-t° xāw° nā-n°?	8
nā-ře ta-l'e mē-fi-cun!	7	nā-ře ta-l'e mē-fi-cu-n°!	8
sa-l'ē māl nē-jēr-w!	5	sa-l'ē mā-l° nē-°jēr-w°!	8

The North-Samoyedic ethnos of the NGANASANS (plural) live in Taimyr to the east of the Nenets. As first clearly demonstrated by Eugene Helimski, the holy code of the shamanic Nganasans was the octosyllabic versification.²⁴ The shaman used it when possessed by God or a Spirit during the séance. More precisely, *when God spoke directly to the audience, he used the voice of the shaman, and all he said, was sung according to the octosyllabic pattern.*

There also is a Nganasan genre called allegorical songs by Helimski, which is based on a hexasyllabic pattern. The singers used to treat the text exactly as the Nenets singers when using the “echoing techniques” as described above. The Nganasans, however, formed pure octosyllabic lines. They were not identified as octosyllabic (by researchers) since the Nganasan language changed over time, and one of the results is that certain vowels have been contracted. These vowels are no longer pronounced, but the Nganasans know that these vowels are there. Instead of the reduced vowels they produce the glottal stop. When analyzing the shamanic versification and when the glottal stops are taken into account, the number of syllables changes. A one-syllable word becomes a two-syllable word, and a three-syllable word becomes a four-syllable word. The identification of this deep phonological factor²⁵ made it possible to discover out that the octosyllabic system is perfect. Using an example of Helimski,²⁶ the system is demonstrated in Example 9:

It is still an open question whether the South-Samoyeds made use of this metrical pattern. However, it seems plausible to assume that it will be identified at least in the SEL'KUP material which is unfortunately small at the moment.

3. The Turkic Song

Octosyllabic versification seems fairly well established among the Turkic populations. There are contradictory theories concerning the origins of the Turks. According to the traditional view the Proto-Turks lived 25 hundred years ago mainly from the upper Ob and Yenisey to western Mongolia and Lake Baikal having the Samoyeds to the north and the Mongols to the east of them. Juha Janhunen has recently published a hypothesis according to which Proto-Turkic culture originally emerged in western Manchuria and eastern Mongolia.²⁷ The Turks started to invade large areas in Eurasia and now they are divided into many subgroups: the southern Turks, the Chuvashes on the Volga, the middle Turks, the eastern Turks and the northern Turks.

3.1. The Southern, Middle and Eastern Turks

The peoples like the OSMANS, TURKMENS, AZERIS and BALKAN TURKS are counted as southern Turkic peoples. The OSMANS only invaded modern Turkey in the 13th century AD, and the present Turkish culture is a fusion of Turkic and numerous local cultures like those of previous Kurds, Greeks, Lydians, Mysians, Karians and Celts (Galatians). However, octosyllabic versification abounds in Osman Turkish folk song. The Pre-Muslim genres seem not to be present but the pattern was used in many other genres and in many forms. In the Turkish collection of Béla Bartók there can be found all kinds of solution of this pattern, with and without additional syllables and refrains. When drawing his analytical conclusions, Bartók stated that "the text lines of the Turkish rural folk poems are based on a syllable-counting metrical structure, generally unchanged during the entire poem, with the main accent on the first syllable whether or not it coincides with the spoken accent."²⁸ The present author is of the opinion that these lines cover much of the Turkic musics anywhere. Moreover, Bartók concluded as follows: "The seemingly oldest, most characteristic, and homogenous part [of the melodies transcribed]—consists of the isometric four-section melodies with eight- or eleven-syllable text lines". The form of "four-section" was present in the Hungarian example above. (It seems to be of a Turkic origin in Hungarian singing.) And Bartók points out that the Turkish pentatonic modalities are also found in Hungarian and Mari melodies.²⁹ Only two types of line are given here as an example.³⁰

	1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	
	Ö-	küz	al-	dīm		go-	şa-	ma-	dīm	
	Ye-	ğid	ol-	dum		ya-	şa-	ma-	dīm.	
Hey!	San-	dī-	ğī-	mī		ma-	ça-	ma-	dīm	Ley-le
	San-	dī-	ğī-	mī		ma-	ça-	ma-	dīm	La la

An archaic part of the AZERI culture is the *Köroğlu* = *Kuroğlu* = *Kuruğli*, also known by Osmons and TURKMENS and by some middle and eastern Turks like the UZBEKS, KAZAKS, KALPAKS. These stories were told by a professional *aşyg*, who sang his song accompanying himself with a long necked lute, *saz*. He narrated his story by speaking—*except when the main heroes were in voice*. These dialogues were always performed by singing and by using the octosyllabic metric pattern.³¹ In the following there is an excerpt of an AZERI *Köroğlu* with a strong octosyllabic basic pattern clearly divided in two by a caesura.³² The melody, not given here, is composed of stanzas of four lines.

<i>A-la qöz-lü</i>	<i>ni-qar xa-nym</i>
<i>ü-zün män-dän</i>	<i>ni-jä dön-dü</i>
<i>Sä-n- gur-ban</i>	<i>ši-rin dža-nym</i>
<i>ü-zün män-dän</i>	<i>ni-jä dön-dü</i>

The pattern is also known by the CHUVASHES, the middle Turkish TATARS and the BASHKIRS,³³ all being Muslims and living from the Volga to the east of the Urals. It seems as if they used it in their lyrical songs and often embellished the pattern by inserting additional elements (underlined below) into the text. As an example there are two lines of a Bashkir lyrical song having additional syllables (marked with letter A):³⁴

1	2		A-A		3	A	4...		5	A	6	A		7	A	8	A	
<i>Jä-sl-lä</i>	<u><i>gə-nä</i></u>		<i>sa - na,</i>		<i>zän-gä - gä-rä</i>		<i>du -</i>		<i>ya,</i>									
<i>kils-šä</i>			<i>tü-sü-tü</i>		<i>hə</i>		<i>baj</i>		<u><i>da</i></u>		<i>ka-šə-</i>		<i>ka-ya.</i>					

If the present author has interpreted the text correctly, the octosyllabic core is the following. The 2nd mora of the upper line is filled with two syllables: *-səl-lä*.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>Jä - səllä</i>	<i>sa - na,</i>	<i>zän - gār</i>	<i>du -</i>	<i>ya,</i>			
<i>kils - šä</i>	<i>tüs - tü,</i>	<i>hə -</i>	<i>baj</i>	<i>kaš -</i>	<i>ka.</i>		

3.2. The Northern Turks

The TUVAS live in the eastern Sayan mountains. They are sometimes called Tofa(lar) or Karakash but their indigenous name is Tuba. Originally they were Northern Samoyeds who emigrated south and assimilated into the Turks. Like many Turkic groups, also they practice two-voiced natural tone singing.³⁵ However complex the song, each line is opened with an octosyllabic verse, as seen in Example 10, in which the text goes as follows:

<i>A-vam bi-le</i>	<i>a-čam yš-kaš</i>
<i>a-my-ral-dyg</i>	<i>čü-vem-ne čok.</i>
<i>A-zy-rap kaan</i>	<i>ma-lym yš-kaš</i>
<i>a-myr to-dug</i>	<i>čü-vem-ne čok.</i>

Example 10.

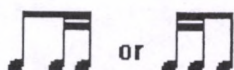
A Tuvín natural tone melody in the *sygyt* style. It is composed of an octosyllabic line which introduces the two-voiced singing. Originally transcribed and published by A. N. Aksenov (1964, No. 71).

$\text{♩} = \text{n.76}$

a-- vam bi-le a-tšam yš-kaš,o,

a- my-ral-- dyg tšü-vem-ne tšok,o.

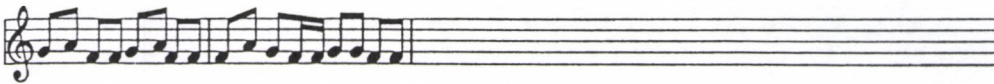

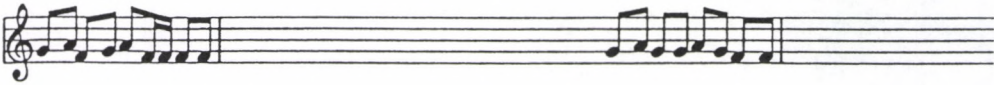

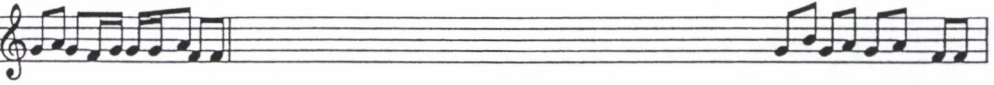
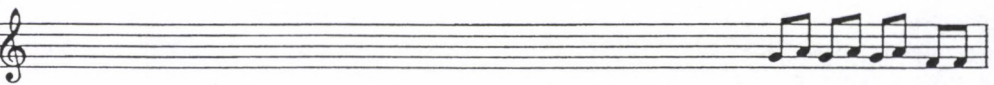
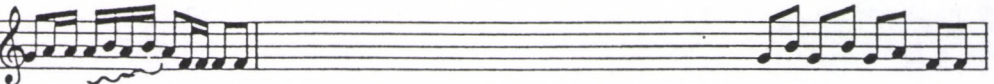
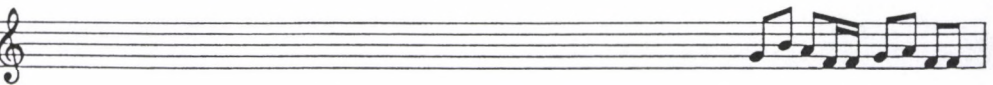
The octosyllabic pattern is also found in many other kinds of Tuvín song in pure form with no additional elements in them, and some of the songs are very complex.³⁶ In spite of the treatment of the basic pattern, there are some common elements in all the octosyllabic solutions among the Tuvas: (1) the singers use only a few tones, (2) the text of one or two lines corresponds to one or two melodic lines, and (3) the amount of variation is very low during a song. If a mora is filled up with two syllables, it is demonstrated by double mora units



The YAKUTS (Sakhas) have conserved their ancient Turkic culture which they had in their homeland around Lake Baikal. They started to move during the 14th century and reached northern Central Siberia mainly after the 17th century, that is, at the time when the Russians were also starting to conquer Siberia. They still have strong contacts to shamanism, and they have a lot of songs based on the octosyllabic pattern. The songs are not so embellished as among the Tuvas and the style is close to the Baltic Finnic style. Example 11 is a song of festivity sung in a strictly syllabic manner. Sometimes there are one or two additional syllables per a line which is seen as the following notes in Example 11:

Example 11.

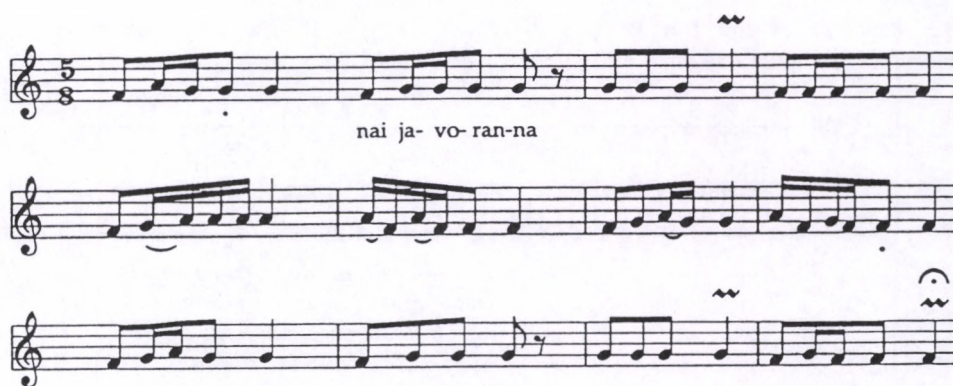
A Yakut realization of an octosyllabic song. Each note corresponds to one syllable. Each line has two text verses (2x8 morae) and the form is the combination of five different melodic verses (A, B, C, D and E). The source: YMF, side A, band 2, transcribed by the present author.

A	B	C	D	E
				
				
				
				
				
				
				
				

Example 12 is a ritual drinking song performed as a male solo and echoed by a group of men in an even tempo and exact rhythm.³⁷ The Baltic Finns have also known the same kind of responsorial singing in feasts and ceremonies. Unlike Example 11, here it remains unclear whether the text can be defined as octosyllabic.

Example 12.

A Yakut responsorial drinking song in which the chorus repeats the soloist's part. The recording is a copy of the original one in the archive of the Novosibirsk Conservatoire. The text represents nothing else but the aural experience of the present author of what the singers were pronouncing. The author is not well informed on any Turkic language.



4. The Mongolian (Buryat) Song

Here, the Mongolian song is analyzed only from the point of view of the Buryat heroic epics, the *uliger*. Many of the tales are both shamanic and supranormal by content and imagery. The Buryats story-teller recited his epos. In specific contexts of certain epos the audience may have acted as an echoing chorus. There are many long epos, each having a melodic style of their own. We may ask whether the text is to be interpreted as heptasyllabic, as is traditionally done by researchers. If we analyze the relation of the text and melody in the *Naital Mergen* epos,³⁸ we may find some specific traits. First, the metre of the melody is 5/4 (= 3+2/4). Whichever way the singer treats the rhythm, the metric pulse keeps steady. It is therefore possible to assume that the number of morae in a verse is always 10. The other point is that the number of syllables varies a lot in separate verses. This means that the singers keep changing the treatment of these 10 morae all the time. Though the melody is melismatic, and because there is a strong feeling of a metrical pattern, this variation is difficult to understand.

If we study the variation, we can find one interesting regularity: words ending with a long vowel or a diphthong³⁹ are inserted either at the end of a line or into a position where the vowel in question can be sung on two different tones. It may be that at least in some cases the surface structure of the text only seems heptasyllabic but the singers treat the text according to the octosyllabic metric pattern. Let us look at Example 13. The melody has two verse patterns, A and B, both having 10 morae. The last two morae of verse B are filled either with one tone followed by a pause, or with one long tone only. When there is one long tone, it is sung with a syllable having either a diphthong or a long vowel. If a vowel is not sung *nai* but *na-i*, the number of vowels is increased and the unpredictable variation turns out to be only ostensible.

Example 13.

The structure of the Buryat epos of *Naital Mergen* if interpreted basically as octosyllabic. Source: Dugarov and Sheikin 1991, 44–45.

	A										B										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
8	sa-[a]-e ryuu-ni					sa-ga-tu,					U-----rya-- xa-nai					ny-rua <u>na-i</u>					8
											vai - gaa ge-he					uymui <u>da-a</u>					8
											ta - li-man sa-gaan					hee <u>re-i</u>					8
											ta---hal du-nda					bo-lo-hof-ol]					8
8	ta-ma žan-ša-ra					hy-žyy-rai,					bel--šer du-nda					huu-buu- <u>da-a</u>					8
											buuda-laar e-he					buu-buu da					8
											by-ra-haar e-he					to-gto-bo					8

The musical treatment of the *Guldemei* epos sounds astonishingly Baltic Finnic even though the singer uses both the melismatic and syllabic method. The modality is descendingly *la*-pentatonic ($e^2-d^2-c^2-A^1$) augmented by an additional sixth (f^2). The steady, peaceful pulse obeys 5/4 metre (2+3/4). The present author interprets the metrical arrangement differently from Russian researchers mainly because of the accentuation of the singer.⁴⁰ The new transcription is given in Example 14.

Example 14.

An extract from the Buryat epic *Guldemei*. The form is constructed of verse patterns A ja B. Line A both *starts* and *ends* with the first syllable of two text lines. Therefore line B starts with the second syllable of a text line and ends with the first syllable of the following text line. This construction makes the melody of A sound somehow unbalanced since the counterpoint of the text and melodic lines creates excitement in a listener. The formal principle is “A + a varying number ^N of Bs”, that is: $AB^N+AB^N+AB^N$ —. The transcription is simplified. It tells only the basis of the two melodic verses but not how the singer modified it by minor changes.



Na---rin Hy-zyyn, Gu-lde-meĩ. Na-----žin hu-byyñ šan-yuu daĩ. Haa-
 -niiš ty-loo bo-lo---ho. Ha---
 -ha huu-ha-ma ge-----že. Ha---
 tuĩ-ši e-he ty-----hee. Ha---
 -ha ty-rhem ge-----žen. Tu---
 -hee---re-že bai-bal daa.
 Ge-----že ha-naĩ he-lhe-de-n. Ho-----hon sa-gaan ho-ri boor. Ho---
 -nsi nso-ro to-nši---žo. [etc.]

The main function for this phenomenon is to keep the durational mora system in balance with the metric pattern of the text, since no enjoyable singing tolerates any disturbance in pulse. The same happens in Baltic Finnic singing all the time: sometimes the singers sing *ku-doin*, sometimes *ku-do-in*. What matters, is the steady pulse.

There is only one octosyllabic verse in Example 14: *Ge-žee ha-naĩ he-lhe-de-n*. Its last word is divided into four syllables: *helhe-de-n*. At the end of the first line there is *Gu-lde-meĩ*. According to the hypothesis above a diphthong and a long vowel can be divided in the art of the Buryat *uliger* into two separate syllables. It even seems that a short vowel can also be interpreted as a long one if it terminates a word. Hence, *Gu-lde-meĩ* can also be imagined or sung as a four-syllable construction of *Gu-lde-me-ĩ*. However, the structure of the song suggest an other kind of explanation.

As seen in Example 14 there are two melodic lines, A and B, both having 10 morae. In this case the textual line never starts on the two first morae of lines A and B. A textual line always occupies the last morae of a melodic line. Now, it seems that whatever the number of syllables, the basic pulse is steady because the first syllable of any text line is interpreted by singers, poets and listeners to be a unit of dimora, that is, a unit of two morae. That this explanation is not artificial may be seen in the fact that the first syllable of a text line (*Na-*, *Ha-*, *Haa-*, *Tu-* etc.) is always realized with two melodic morae. If interpreted this way all the lines have the underlying pattern of eight morae—whatever the number of syllables per a line.

<i>Na-a-rin Hy-zyyn, Gu-lde-meĩ</i>	8	<i>Na-a-žin hu-byyñ šan-yuu daĩ.</i>	8
<i>Ha-a-niiš ty-loo bo-lo-ho</i>	8	<i>Ha-a-ha huu-ha-ma ge-že.</i>	8
<i>Ha-a tuĩ-ši e-he ty-he</i>	8	<i>Ha-a-ha-a ty-rhem ge-žen</i>	8
<i>Tu-a-he-re-že bai-bal daa</i>	8	<i>Ge-že ha-naĩ he-lhe-de-n</i>	8
<i>Ho-o-hon sa-gaan ho-ri boor</i>	8	<i>Ho-a-nsi nso-ro to-nši-žo.</i>	8

The deep structure ensures that the basic pulse keeps steady whichever way the singer treats the text and the rhythm. It seems that over centuries or even millenia the singers have hidden the original octosyllabic pattern mainly for

artistic reasons behind the heptasyllabic surface structure. A song becomes complex and unpredictable if the pattern and its concrete materialization contradict each other. It gives a listener aesthetic pleasure. It also gives a singer an endless amount of options for improvisation. As can be seen the melodic morae and textual morae evince a contrapuntal relation. This pattern is firm:

The melodic morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
The textual morae:							1	2
	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2

5. The Tungusic Song

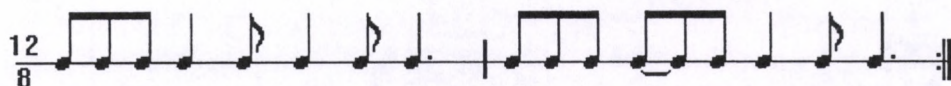
5.1. The Upper Tunguses

According to the hypothesis put forward by Juha Janhunen, it is possible that the Mongolians and the Tunguses are descended from the same linguistic unity defined by archaeological findings as the Neolithic Hongshan Culture (ca. 6000–5000 BP), and having the southern part of the Greater Khingan Range in Manchuria as its main area.⁴¹ According to this Khingan Hypothesis, Proto-Tungusic started to differ from Proto-Mongolic only after those days. The present Tunguses live in a huge area in Central and Eastern Siberia as eight diverse tribes but being only some 57,000 in number. The biggest Tungusic population is the Manchu, whose number exceeds three million and who live in Manchuria, now governed by China. Today many linguists do not accept the hypothesis that also Turkic is also genetically related either to Mongolic or to Tungusic.⁴² The Tunguses seem to have wandered all around Central and East Siberia during the past few millennia giving influences to the Mongolians, Turks and Samoyeds, from whom they also received influences. Like Uralic, Mongolic and Turkic, Tungusic is also agglutinative⁴³ in construction. And, generally speaking, the Tungus cultures know a great variety of metric patterns along with the singing not regulated by any clearly identifiable metre. Like the Mongolian, Manchu-Tungusic⁴⁴ also have long vowels and diphthongs.

The EVENKIS are the largest among the Tungusic tribes in Central Siberia. Example 15 is an extract of a song constructed of three verses *ABB ABB --*. The melodic verses correspond to both a 12/8 metre and to 12 morae. The text is an exact realization of the octosyllabic metre.

Example 15.

An Evenki song on the hunting of wolverine. Transcribed by the author after MSS, Side 2, Band 35. The text is unreliable but tries to demonstrate the train of syllables as heard by the author, who is not familiar with Tungusic.



n'ar-gan tei-ya n'u-go y'u-y'o, yaŋ-ta gi- kor-ča-ko ru-t'ə,
n'ar-gan tei-yai-tə-g'o y'u-y'oi
gan-ta ras-ya t'a-ga gor-yo ye-kun du- ka-il-ča səl-le
n'ar-gan tei-yai-n'u-g'o y'u-y'oi

The Ewenkis have a special genre called *ikēwūn*, which can be sung in three isosyllabic versification having 8, 10 or 12 syllables a line. The form of an octosyllabic *ikēwūn* can be *AAAA--*, or *AB AB AB --*. The genre must be ancient since among the transcribed texts there are refrains composed of such archaic a language that a modern Evenki no longer understand it. Another genre is *niŋmakan*, which refers to tales in which the singer speaks the main story but sings (recites) the lines of the hero(s). The same genre of *song tales* was also known by the EVENS (Lamuts), the northern and eastern relatives of the Evenkis.⁴⁵ Example 16 presents one of their songs. It resembles the Baltic Finnic *runo* song, and has actually quite a close parallel among Karelian melodies⁴⁶ used as hunting songs and a spells with the bear as object. There are not too many Tungusic songs which obey the octosyllabic pattern as perfectly as in this melody.

Example 16.

An Even song called 'A Running Reindeer Herder'. Transcribed by the author after YFM, Side 1, Band 7. The text is missing but it goes according to the octosyllabic pattern. One note line corresponds to two text verses having 8 morae in each. One mora is filled either with one tone and one syllable, or with two tones and two syllables as demonstrated by *nai ja-vo ran-na*, in which *ja-vo* fills one mora.

solo	kuoro
 wo- ho koid-do ro- ho-ho ko- i	 wo- ho koid-do ro-hu-wə ko- oi
 dö-hö gaid-da nə-hə-hə gai- i	 dö- hə gaid-dö nə-hə-hə gai- hi-hi
 mi- nə daid-dum bar-habs saŋ-	 mi- nə daid-dum ba- ra- ha-
 si- lit- te- le si- nə-hä nän- n	 si- lit- te- le si- nə- nə- n
 sie- dä reid-dir be-jä-hä lä- äh	 sie- dä reid-dir be-jä- hä lä- ä
 si- rin doid-du myr-dy- hy gä- är	 si- rin doid-du myr-dy- här——

5.2. The Amur Tunguses

In the southeastern corner of Siberia there live many Tungusic tribes along the Amur river system. The tribe of the NANAI (Goldi) live to the east of the Lower Amur. It is presumed that their ancestors were originally either Nivkhs (Gilyaks) or Ainus, who became Tungusized. One of their song genres is the *ninman* a mythical or otherwise epic song tale (like animal and heroic tales).

Octosyllabic deep structure is found in the Nanai culture which can be seen in a large publication of their tales.⁴⁷ Example 17 tells about old man and woman living by the River Amur. *Eden*, the God of Earth, gives the woman peas to eat. Even though she is old, she becomes pregnant and gives birth to two

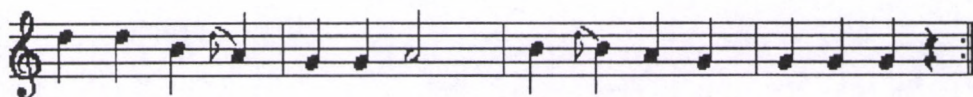
kinds of non-biting snakes, whom she rejects and abandons in a forest. Later on the couple encounters them. They became a young maiden with a long snakey hair, and a young lad, her brother. They live in a house and they possess magical powers. Throughout the story it is the words of this young maiden which are sung. And all these songs are questions to her *aga* 'brother': mother/father came to visit us, how shall we treat her/him/them?

The structure in Example 17 is typical of Tungusic tradition: a line is composed of a four morae text + a four morae refrain (PAI-PAN-ČO-O). It may also be met frequently in Ainu, Mongolian and Finno-Ugrian songs. — Whatever, here we have a mythical tale, in which the words of the snakey-hair girl (generated by the God of Earth) are always sung by the storyteller as seen in Example 17.

Example 17.

A Nanai song tale *Mujki, djabdan* 'A Brazen Serpent and a Grass Snake' according to NF, n:o 28 (pages 300–307). The song is composed of a four morae unit with a four morae refrain *paipanèo* added, which only looks a three morae unit because it has three syllables only. Sometimes the singer inserted extra syllables in the 3rd or 4th mora (underlined above).

Morae:	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
A-	ga,	a-	ga,			PAI-PAN-ČO—			
e-	nie-	ve-	ke,			PAI-PAN-ČO—			
si-	diem	<u>ui-ke-</u>	<u>le-ke,</u>			PAI-PAN-ČO—			
i-	vem	<u>bu-ri-</u>	<u>nu, e,</u>			PAI-PAN-ČO—			



A- ga, a- ga, PAI - PAN-ČO—, e-nie- ve- ke, PAI - PAN -ČO,

Quite another kind of Nanai tradition analyzed here concerns a song describing a person going through a beautiful passage (Example 18). This *re*-pentatonic song has three melodic units, A, B, and C in such a manner that the C is always the cadencing one. The three seem freely to form all kinds of combination which here are

ABB
AAB — C
BB — C
AAAB — C
BAAB — C

Each verse takes 8 morae and when the singer stresses the first mora of each bar the verses *A* and *B* have a clear structure:

Example 18.

A Nanai lyrical song about travelling through a beautiful passage. The source: MSS II: 44. The text is unreliable but tries to demonstrate the train of syllables as heard by the author, not familiar with Tungusic.



šö nō mō- lö- n na-ma naŋ- na-na na—a,
nik-ke ōau-vani šei-je če-ni.



šen-de ho jän-de l'e-ni,
ōau-van-ōo p'at-ti de-ni, ōau-van-ōo—ma-la l'e-ni, um-me ho— wen-den-de.
na mo-dan šav-vani mo-ra he-e
šuk-ku wō— fo-re ne-ni kō-ō ŋōn— ŋa-na na! Na



bai-kan dölö za-ra sel-dim, nih-tō lum-be jō-zō ze-ni, ko —naŋ — ŋa-na na!

In Example 18 there are some characteristics typical of many Tungusic songs. The last row gives the key. The text of the song does not seem to follow any metric pattern but the last row shows that at the bottom of the song there is a pattern having four stresses and eight morae a line. A singer may fill any mora with one syllable, or (s)he may treat any vowel ending a word as a long vowel which means that one vowel fills up two morae. The table here starts with the last line of Example 18.

Some verses of a Nanai lyrical song already given in Example 18. The stress pattern shows the accentuated (+) and nonaccentuated morae (O). The morae are numbered from 1 to 8. The mora No. 4 of the 3rd line is filled with two syllables (-*va-ni*). Otherwise the three first lines materialize well the octosyllabic pattern. From line 4 on No. 4 is filled with the phonemes *o*, *n* or *ŋ* which were treated by the singer as a long one. Lines 7–9 are the lines C. They seem to be constructed of 7 syllables, but they are always continued by an additional syllable, which the singer always materializes after the pause (/ /) as if it were a kind of upbeat (or anacrusis). It seems not to be an anacrusis preceding a line but the 8th mora ending the line.

Stress pattern:	+	O	+	O	+	O	+	O
Morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Verses:	<i>bai-</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>dö---</i>	<i>lō</i>	<i>za---</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>sel---</i>	<i>dim</i>
2	<i>nih--</i>	<i>tō</i>	<i>lum-</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>jō---</i>	<i>zō</i>	<i>se---</i>	<i>ni</i>
3	<i>nik--</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ḍau-</i>	<i>va-ni</i>	<i>šeĩ--</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>če---</i>	<i>ni</i>
4	<i>šen--</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>ho---</i>	-----	<i>jān--</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>l'e---</i>	<i>ni</i>
5	<i>ḍau-</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>ḍo---</i>	-----	<i>p'at-</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>d'e--</i>	<i>I</i>
6	<i>ḍau-</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>ḍo---</i>	-----	<i>ma--</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>l'e---</i>	<i>ni</i>
7	<i>um--</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ho---</i>	-----	<i>wen-</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de //</i>	<i>Na</i>
8	<i>kō---</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ŋön-</i>	-----	<i>ŋa---</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na!//</i>	<i>Ne</i>
9	<i>gō---</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>döŋ-</i>	-----	<i>ŋa---</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na!//</i>	<i>No</i>

Because the pulse and the mora system keep steady time throughout the song in Example 18, it is quite possible to interpret it as a Tungus version of the octosyllabic pattern. The first verse is a good example of how to expand four syllables: *šö—nō—mō—lön*. Each syllable takes two morae.

The opposite banks of the River Amur is the homeland of the UDE(GHE). The Ude women are excellent tellers of long song tales in which the dialogues of the main actors are performed by singing. One of these mythical tales is about a young *Yegdýga*, and the story is known as *Kilayē* ‘Seagull’ in Udeghe. The next excerpt is the beginning of this story according to the translation by Kira Van Deusen.⁴⁸ (The musical transcription in Example 19 is by the present author.)

Example 19.

The Ude(gh)e song tale *Kilayee* after the recording of the song of Valentina Kyalundzynga by Kira Van Deusen

There lived one Yegdýga. He lived, he caught animals, he caught fish. Once Yegdýga learned the news that beyond the sea lived seven girls. He walked and walked and arrived at the shore of the sea. From the other side of the sea the girls asked Yegdýga:



Kil-lai-ye-e-, Kil-lai-ye-e-, on-no, on-no dau-ga-ηai-i,



on-no, on-no dau-ga-ηai-i, se-i- gi-me-li gəg-di-və-ə,



ka-da-gi-meli gəg-di-və-ə, on-no, on-no dau-ga-ηai-i,



on-no, on-no dau-ga-ηai-i, Kil-lai-ye-e-, Kil-lai-ye.

Yegdýga said to the girls from the other shore of the sea:



Bi—la—, bi— la—, sa-i- gi-məli gəg-di-və-ə



sai— gi-məli gəg-di-və-ə gu-hə-mə-gə uη—lt—gi-i,



čo-u-lil-lə čo-u-lil-lə čo-u-lil-lə dau-ga-ŋa-i.



Kil-lai-ye-e-, Kil-lai-ye.



ka-da-gi-meli bo-noi və-ə, ka-da-gi-meli bo-noi-və.



Na-da yo-ho xə-gi-ni-i, gian-ŋ-gu-tat-tā, gian-ŋ-gu-tat-tā,



gian-ŋ-gu-tat-tā, dau-ga-ŋa-i. Ki-lay-ye-e-, Ki-lay-ye!

[The story goes on: Yegdýga is described to cross the sea to meet the seven maidens and to marry the one with “her face white and round like the moon”. Then he escorted her safely to his home.]

Table

The deep and surface structures in Udeghe song tale singing.

The Udeghe text when sung The literal transcription in Simonov 1998

	No. OF SYLLABLES		No. OF SYLLABLES
<i>Kil-lai-ye-e</i>	4	<i>Kilaie</i>	3
<i>on-no, on-no,</i>	4	<i>ono, ono,</i>	4
<i>dau-ga-ŋai-i</i>	4	<i>daughanai</i>	3
<i>čo-u-lil-lə</i>	4	<i>čaučača</i>	3
<i>Na-da yo-ho xə-gi-ni-i</i>	8	<i>Nada yoxə xəgini</i>	7
<i>gian-gu-t-tat-tā</i>	4	<i>giangutata</i>	4
<i>dau-ga-ŋa-i</i>	4	<i>daughai</i>	3

In the table above it can be seen that what seems to be a word with three syllables is materialized by a singer as a four-syllable word. What seems obvious is that the prosodic conventions differ from the song language, and it is the song language which aims at octosyllabic lines.

The metric pattern seems to be a verse with eight morae. Sometimes the pattern is actualized as

<i>gian-gut-tat-tā, gian-gut tat-tā</i>	4+4 = 8 morae = syllables
<i>gian-gut-tat-tā, dau-ga-ŋa-i</i>	4+4 = 8 morae = syllables

This pattern is broken by a line with seven morae only. The metrical pattern of seven morae is real because in musical structure there always is a pause attached to it. This can be seen at the end of Example 19 having the mora structure of “8+7+pause” (*Kil-lai-ye-e, Kil-lai-ye-//*) at the end each section. It differs from the opening double line which has the mora structure of “8+8” (*Kil-lai-ye-e, Kil-lai-ye-e*). This suggests that the basic nature of the song is octosyllabic. From all the different metrical patterns among the Udeghe, the singer chose this very pattern for the song tale to emphasize that it is the main characters speaking at this very moment. The point is that both the musical and the poetical material go hand in hand according to the eight-morae pattern. The first part of the *first song* is composed of seven octosyllabic lines ending with a line with seven syllables + a pause (*Kil-lai-ye-e. Kil-lai-ye-//*). The first part of the *second song* (that of Yegdýga) has the form of “(6x8 morae) + (a seven-syllable line + pause)”.

The contents of the two poems is interesting. According to the translation by Kira Von Deussen, the lines attached to the present tune go as follows:

[THE SEVEN MAIDENS ASK:]

*Seagull, seagull,
how will you cross [the sea]?,
[If] hail falls like rocks,
how will you cross [the sea]?
[If the sea] burns salty,
how will you cross?*

[YEGDÝGA ANSWERS SHOUTING:]

*I will, I will
cross the sea!
When hail falls like rocks,
I will put on seven pots,
I will cross with a rumbling!
Seagulls, segulls,
If the salt sea burns,
I will put on the ice boots,
with a sizzling I will cross!*

The same elements are heard in another Udeghe version of this song⁴⁹ augmented with the plan of Yegdýga: "I'll go and build a big stone barge, and cross over". In this version the singer opened her song by singing: "Seagull, seagull, you cross the mountains and ocean". It seems to me that here we have a song loaded with shamanic elements. The seagull seems to represent the soul of a shaman. The shaman visits the Otherworld which is beyond the ocean, and this Otherworld is the Kingdom of Death beyond many dangers. Here it is behind the sea which is hit by hail falling down like rocks. The shaman covers his head with seven pots and crosses over. The sea is burning but the shaman puts the ice boots on. And he constructs a boat out of a big stone and sails over the ocean. (In Finland, too, there are stories of people who crossed the waters in a stone boat.) And all this the shaman carried out as a *kilaie* 'the seagull'. Fire, ice, snow, shoes and a boat (of stone), all are typical elements in Eurasian shamanic lore connected to the road to Hades. The whole tale can be seen as an allegory of a shaman to collect a soul or information from the Otherworld. And any time the shaman (Yegdýga) or the souls (7 maidens) are speaking, the singer flags the dialogues by singing and using the octosyllabic metric pattern. All in all it can be said that the choice of this metre was not accidental. It may be that the singer followed an ancient Udeghe pattern of storytelling.

Example 20 demonstrates a song tale during which a female teller sang this melody any time the hero was speaking. The melody is very Baltic Finnic in style, but as the non-Finnic element is the *wauwand'ee* section (c) inserted after every four morae. Therefore the octosyllabic line is doubled in length as seen in Example 19: *acbc acbc* --. The number of the morae is 8+8 since the refrain *wauwand'ee* also takes 4 morae.

Example 20.

An Udeghe song tale, in which the lines of the hero were performed by singing. The metric pattern is clearly octosyllabic. The Arabic numbers refer to the morae of the octosyllabic main text and the Roman numbers to the morae of the refrain. The song was recorded by Yuri Sheikin and the copy of the tape is also in the Department of Folk Tradition, University of Tampere. The text is unreliable but tries to demonstrate the train of syllables as heard by the author, not familiar with Tungusic.

<i>a</i>				<i>c</i>				<i>b</i>				<i>c</i>			
1	2	3	4	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>	5	6	7	8	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>	<i>IV</i>
<i>ḍau-je</i>	<i>ḍau---</i>	<i>je</i>		<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>				<i>ḍau-je</i>	<i>ḍau---</i>	<i>je</i>		<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>			
<i>aka-ḍi</i>	<i>hulem-ḍä</i>			<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>				<i>tuvə-d'e</i>	<i>hulem-ḍä</i>			<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>			
<i>daj-m'e</i>	<i>hulu-je</i>			<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>				<i>goi---</i>	<i>d'a—nə</i>			<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>			
<i>d'ag-da</i>	<i>dela-v'e</i>			<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>				<i>dau-wa</i>	<i>halə—</i>	<i>an'e</i>		<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>			
<i>ba-m'e</i>	<i>ba—m'e</i>			<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>				<i>hoh-to</i>	<i>na---</i>	<i>we</i>		<i>WAU-WAN-D'E-E</i>			

It seems as if the Tunguses do not use the octosyllabic versification as such but vary it in different ways. In my mind the singers think in the framework of the octosyllabic pattern but they improvise in ways which may obscure the pattern. From this point of view the Tungus tradition resembles the Buryat one, as suggested above. However, it is easy to find extracts of song which are close parallels to the Baltic Finnic singing style materializing the octosyllabic pattern in an orthodox way.

6. The Dravidian Song

The Dravidian family of languages is spoken by more than 150 million people mainly in Southern India. According to some linguists it is genetically related to the Uralic family.⁵⁰ An interesting detail is that the negative verb 'do not' connects the Uralic, Dravidian, Tungusic and Mongolian languages which is possibly an indicator of an ancient genetic relation. The Dravidians lived in the Indian Subcontinent before the time of the Aryan Invasion. Southwest Indian Kerala of our days is inhabited by Dravidians using the language of MALAYALAM. According to Professor Govindapanicker Gopinathan,⁵¹ the local people still use to travel by boats, and they have an old genre of songs known as *vanci pāttu* 'boat song', one type of which is based on the metre called *naḍōnnata* (or *natōnnata*). The genre is still in use when men are rowing their boats when making longer journeys or during boat festivals in Kerala waterways and backwaters. One of the songs is in Example 21.

Example 21.

A stanza of a boat song from the Lake Alleppey district, Kerala, sung by Govindapanicker Gopinathan in the Malayalam language.



The song tells about a beautiful maiden with long hair living by the lake of Kuttanat, Alleppey, and about her future marriage which is referred to with suggestions like *kottu* 'beating drums', *kuḍal*⁵² 'a pipe' and *kurava* 'the yelling of women', all being elementary in any wedding. As a rowing song, the pulse may be imagined so that the oarsmen starts pulling the oars in the beginning of the words *kutta*, *koccu*, *kottu* and *kurava*. The metric pattern of the stanza is composed of (8+8)+(8+5) morae. However, Professor Gopinathan continued the last syllable, *-nam*, with three additional morae when spelling it out at the moment he wrote. But when he sang the song he acted differently, as can be seen in the Example 21: after the syllable *-nam* he had a pause—plus an additional bar as if as an extra shout before the beginning of the next stanza.

The metric system is, and is not, octosyllabic. If we imagine the oarsmen working, we perhaps understand that when rowing and singing, they need a break to breathe. This compulsory pause is created with an additional bar (*Hoi, hoi!* etc.) which most probably does not always take the time of one bar only but of two bars, so that the beginning of the next double line starts when the men begin to pull their roars again. The point is that these songs are a part of the Malayalam Dravidian folk culture. It is probable that they had reformed their former octosyllabic pattern because of the rowing movement, and that this reformation had taken place in some ancient time. However, we do not have any record of it before the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries AD, when a learned man, Ramaparath Varier, composed a song known as *Kucelavrttam* to his King Krishna about a poor Brahman Kucela and his friend on a journey they were having by boat.⁵³ There are no reasons, in my mind so far, to doubt that this system belongs to the most ancient ones of the Dravidian traditions.

The melody goes on in the metre of 2/4. The modal world seems to have had an Aryan impact because of the movement d^1 - fi ¹- g ¹, which might be, according to the theory by Gábor Lükö⁵⁴, a relic of the Proto-Indo-European pentatonic system of a hemitonic nature. On the other hand, the tone e^1 suggests a background of an unhemitonic nature of the mode—which might be more rooted in the Dravidian tradition. In this context the main problem, however, is

the metric pattern. The moraic system of the *natōnnata* (literally meaning: 'down-high') is 8+8+8+5, not 8+8+8+8 as it is expected to be. This genre had no connection to shamanism. The Malayalams do have traces of shamanism, which is still a living tradition in Kerala among some castes and hill tribes. But because of the fear of State law, it is hidden from official society but active in folk culture. Black magic using 'mantras' is also a living tradition. The present sorcerer is known as *otiyān*, but not much is known of his secret activities. Interestingly, the word for a 'hunter', *nāyāti*, literally meaning 'the one who goes with a dog' (*nāy*), is formally close to the Lappish *noaidi*, Finnish *noita*, Vepsian *noid* or Mansi *hoait* etc. all referring to a spiritual hunter or 'shaman; sorcerer' but having an obscure origin. According to personal communication with Professor Gopinathan,⁵⁵ the Hunter God in Kerala is called *Muttappan* and is associated with magic and ritualized trance to achieve a cure. He will always have a dog with him. His worship is done with toddy and fish. The priest or oracle goes into a trance and utters benedictions and makes prophecies.

Because of many parallels between the two language families, it is possible that here we have one more travelling word also adopted by some Fenno-Ugrian groups: the shaman was assisted by his power animal when searching for the knowledge from the Otherworld. He was a kind of hunter of knowledge, 'the one who goes with a dog'. Moreover, the secret place in Kerala is *Muttappan kāvu* 'The [sacred] grove of Muttappan'. The grove refers to a shamanic tunnel into the Underworld. On the other hand, the Malayalam *kāvu* 'grove' is quite possibly a word connecting the Dravidian, Mongolian and Uralic languages because of a possible common factor, which is the ancient verb for 'to dig': a Mongolian 'spoon' is a "digger"; the Malayalam *kāvu* 'grove' may correspond to Uralic words for 'spoon' and 'grove' like Finnish *kaivo* 'a hole digged in the earth' = 'a well'. The main point is: the shamanic entrance to the Underworld. I would not go further in this, since the view is too large. But the possibility remains, and this is worth mentioning for researchers of language. More data is needed.

7. The Paleo-Siberian Song

The term *Paleo-Siberian* is obscure. It refers to minor populations whose languages seem not to have relatives in Eurasia. I have not, so far, come across any traces of the octosyllabic pattern in sources having melodies of the ALEUTS, YUPIKS (= Siberian Eskimos), CHUKCHIS, NIVKHS (= Ghilyaks), ITELMENS, KORYAKS and KETS. An interesting detail is that the NIVKH singing is sometimes materialized by hexasyllabic meter⁵⁶ which may be of Japanese origin. All the other languages mentioned but the Ketic are agglutinative.⁵⁷ Actually, Ainuic is only partly agglutinative because it also has a strong inflectional character with a clear tendency towards analyticity.⁵⁸ Therefore, it

may be possible that the octosyllabic system will be recovered in some of the Paleosiberian traditions.

However, the AINUS seem to have used the system. They are an archaic people whose relation to other Eurasian peoples continuous to be unclear.⁵⁹ Example 22 presents a song which was sung during lunar and solar eclipses. The melody proceeds with a steady pulse in 2/4 metre. In the middle and at the end of octosyllabic lines there is an exclamation *hoi!*.

Example 22.

An Ainu song performed during a lunar or solar eclipse. The melody comes from an anonymous collection of Ainu melodies published in Japan. Apparently from page 42.

2
4

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

chupu-ga- mu- i (ho-i) hi-kari- ga- mi (ho-i)
kaku-- re-- ta --zo (ho-i) chupu-ga- mu- i (ho-i)
de----te--- ku--re (ho-i) ka-kure- zu- ni (ho-i)
de-----te -- ku-re (ho-i) chupu-ga- mu- i (ho-i)
hi---- kari- ga-mi (ho-i) ka-kure- zu- ni (ho-i)
de----te -- ku-re (ho-i) de-te- ku- re (ho-i)

Another Ainu song was performed by a soloist and a chorus when working with mortars. The metric system can be seen in Example 23. The metric organization is not trochaic but is combined of a trochee foot and two dactyl feet: 2+3+3. Therefore the pattern does not directly represent the octosyllabic pattern system.

Example 23.

An Ainu song performed by a solo and chorus when working with a mortar. The melody comes from the same anonymous collection of Ainu melodies as the previous one. Apparently from page 46.

Solo: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 *Chorus:* 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Hes-sa tsu- ke-jo tsu--ke-jo, u--su tsu- ke -jo tsu-ke- jo,

2
4

The YUKAGHIRS are a people which lived in Siberia already during the latest Ice Age. There are data enough to presume that Proto-Yukaghir and early Uralic were had some kind of interaction with each other still after the Ice Age,⁶⁰ which suggests that the Tundra from western Europe to eastern Central Siberia was populated by people speaking two agglutinative languages, Pre-Uralic and

Pre-Yukaghir. In the 17th century the Yukaghirs still lived in large areas from Yenisei to and beyond Lena in the east. Now there are only a few hundred of them living mainly along the River Kolyma by Middle-Lena.

The Yukaghirs know the genre of song tales (*čūul'd'ii*). Example 24 is about the rabbit and an old woman, a tale which is much loved by the Kolyma Yukaghirs.⁶¹ When the old lady asks the rabbit to come to her, the teller sings the text with this octosyllabic versification:

Example 24.

A simplified pattern of a Yukaghir song belonging to the song tale *Čolgoraadie čūul'd'ii* (The Tale of a Rabbit). Reformed after Ignat'eva and Sheikin 1993, No. 11. It is the old lady, the main character, whose speech is expressed by singing and by using the octosyllabic versification. The tale is mythical and goes back to the ancient epoch when animals still communicated with humans by speaking.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
“ <i>Ō</i> , čal-go-ro, kee-luk kee-luk!							
<i>Ē</i> , čal-go-ro, kee-luk kee-luk!”							

In the same collection of songs there is a lyrical song (*jakhte*) called *Mottuškadie* ‘Pinky Gull’⁶² describing young maidens moving gracefully like gulls which are slowly flying above a river. It clearly adheres to the octosyllabic pattern: 16 syllables = 16 morae.

Example 25.

A double line of a Yukaghir song (*Mottuškadie*) after Ignat'eva and Sheikin 1993, nr. 2. The swinging melody proceeds as 2/3 units which coincide with the octosyllabic 2/8 units. The *sol*-pentatonic mode has *g*¹ as an additional tone and *do* (= *a*¹) as the final tone.

1 – 2 – 3	1 – 2 – 3	1 – 2 – 3	1 – 2 – 3	1 – 2 – 3	1 – 2 – 3	1 – 2 – 3 – 4	1 – 2 – 3	
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<i>Un-mun</i>	<i>em-mei</i>	<i>jum-kul</i>	<i>gan-gan,</i>	<i>om-mon</i>	<i>gir-run</i>	<i>ga-tšu—</i>	<i>u—up</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

8. Conclusions

It is easy to the human mind to measure musical time with units of eight morae.⁶³ In the huge area populated by peoples speaking agglutinative languages in Eurasia there can occur song genres based on the fundamental octosyllabic versification according to which there are eight morae a line, and each mora is filled up with one syllable only. On a theoretical level it can be said that the true octosyllabic system is structured so that the morae 1, 3, 5 and 7 are stressed (+) while the morae following them (2, 4, 6, 8) are metrically unstressed (o). This picture, however, is ideal.

Any vital artistic activity rests on rules and patterns. Deliberate rejections of rules make a piece of art interesting because breaking the rules (without rejecting them) gives pleasant surprises. When using the material from separate Eurasian cultures, the present author can not be certain of what the true rules are and which traits can be defined as artistic licence. However, the following hypothesis is offered for more competent specialists to revise.

It is probable that Proto-Indo-European was a tonal language⁶⁴ as still are, e.g., Ketic in Yenisey, Chinese, and the Bantu languages. It also is possible that the octosyllabic system does not fit to tonal based language systems even though the time organizing the unit of 8 morae is found everywhere as a length of a melodic line. This means that it is easy for any culture to measure time by eight-morae units but it is not easy for many cultures to fill these eight morae with eight syllables.

The octosyllabic pattern is treated in various ways among the peoples using it. Possibly we may deduce the typology of three main methods to materialize this versification.

TYPE OF REALIZATION OF THE PATTERN	OCTOSYLLABIC PATTERN:															
	+	o	+	o	+	o	+	o								
A. PUNCTUAL	si — ni -	sei - nān	siir — tā —	māt — tā	Gāā—lā	cer- dēn	ke- li-	rim — de	Io-lta še-myn	ve — sym	mu — me	šky — že	chu-pu- ga	mu — i	hi— ka-ri	ga — mi
B. CONTRACTING	e — mā	au — ta	las — ta --	nes——	šen - de	ho——	jān — de	le — ni	Bi——	la——,	bi——	la——,	sai—gi-	mə- li	gəg- di-	və - ə,
C. EXTENDING	we — ti	je — nə	ni — rəŋ	ɔ — sa		nir— pi										

(A) The Turkic and Baltic Finnic singers have materialized the octosyllabic pattern so that a song text corresponds to the pattern as can be seen as *TYPE A* in the box. This can be called a *PUNCTUAL MATERIALIZATION OF THE PATTERN*. It also exist in Samoyedic singing as can be seen in Nenets song tale about the hare and the wolverine.⁶⁵

te—wa-syi—kow man—ti-nyi-wei, te—wa-syi—row' sa—la—ko—ra'.
 ye—dye-bya-kowm' lya—da—pa-syei, te—wa-syi—kow ha—dye-tor-
 ngow,
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Characteristic of the punctual type is *condensation*: a mora is sometimes filled up with two syllables which thickens the texture of the melody. This form of type A can be found everywhere in Eurasia from South India to North Siberia and from the Baltic Sea and Hungary to the Pacific Ocean. Another way to vary the basic pattern is *refraining*. This is typical of the Tunguses but can be found elsewhere, too. A refrain is inserted either in the middle and the end of a line (4 morae + a refrain + 4 morae + a refrain), or at the end of a punctual line.

In the Dravidian case in which the text proceeds in units of 8+8+8+5 morae, the pattern remains, however, octosyllabic. The explanation may lie in the context of singing, which is the rowing of a boat (Example 21). One stroke of the oar takes the time of one line. The last line of 5 morae gives the singing rowers a change to take a breath for two bars, composed of an exclamation *ho-hoi!* and a pause of 4 morae which lasts the period of the fifth oarstroke. Hence the singing proceeds in sequences of five lines = five oarstrokes. And the last two oarstrokes (8+8 morae) always correspond to this:

ku-ra—va vë— nam—, Hoï, hoï—!
 The morae: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

(B) Peculiar to Tungus singers is *TYPE B*, called here a *CONTRACTING MATERIALIZATION OF THE PATTERN*: a singer does not fill two successive morae with two syllables but suspends the latest syllable, and when doing so, as if reducing the number of syllables of the line. The point here is that when contracting a singer does not materialize the mora with a pause but with a sustained tone. This can be found in Baltic Finnic as well as in other Eurasian singing. And as seen in the first example of the Type B in the box, the Estonian singer sustained the last word of the line ending with a consonant: instead of singing *-nes-se* she sung *-nes* suspending the phoneme *-e-* to cover the time of

the next mora (= *-nees*). This means that when a singer reduces (contracts) the *number* of syllables in a line (s)he makes it by expanding the *duration* of syllables. Therefore it can be stated that (1) the pulse does not change and (2) the number and duration balance each other (3) to keep the octosyllabic pattern steady. As a final suggestion it can be said that the contraction is an artistic subterfuge. Even though the number of syllables in one line is 6 or 7, this does not transform (or modulate) the underlying pattern neither hexasyllabic nor heptasyllabic. The underlying pattern remains octosyllabic.

As a special treatment of the contraction is found in Buryat song. It is difficult for the author to judge the true possibilities of materializing the octosyllabic pattern in the Buryat language, but it seems distinctly possible that many songs of the genre of the *uliger* follow the octosyllabic pattern. Whatever the interpretation of the researchers of folklore and poetry, the ways the singers treat their text tell of the existence of the true octosyllabic architecture in the minds of the singers. There are two ways to interpret the Buryat solution, in which the text lines start in the mora no. 7 of the melodic line. Either the contraction takes place by suspending a syllable over the morae 7 and 8 of the melodic line (like *Na-[-a]-* and *Ha-a-*). Or the contraction takes place by suspending a syllable over the morae 4 and 5 of the melodic line (like *ge-[-e]-*). Whichever way this happens, the pulse keeps steady and the contrapuntal dissynchrony between the textual and melodic lines creates a wonderful tension.

Textual morae:						1	2
	3	4	5	6	7	8	1 2
Melodic morae:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 8
							<i>Na- [-a-]</i>
	<i>-žin</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>byγn</i>	<i>šan-</i>	<i>yuū</i>	<i>daĩ.</i>	<i>Ha- a—</i>
	<i>-niiš</i>	<i>ty-</i>	<i>loo</i>	<i>bo-</i>	<i>lo-</i>	<i>ho.</i>	<i>Ha- [-a-]</i>
	<i>-fia</i>	<i>fiuū-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ge-</i>	<i>že.</i>	<i>Ha- [-a-]</i>
	<i>-fia</i>	<i>ty-</i>	<i>rhem-</i>	<i>ge—[-e-]</i>	<i>-žen.</i>		<i>Tu- [-u-] [etc.]</i>

If we look at the Ude song in Ex. 19 the chain of octosyllabic lines is stopped with a line of "7 syllables plus a pause". The unit still has 8 morae. This "7+ a pause" line has a special function: it marks the end of a section. First it terminates the repartee of the maidens, who ask Yegdýga two questions. Then it divides the answer of Yegdýga to two sections because he gives two answers. The beginning of Yegdýga's first answer starts with a strongly contracted line of 4 syllables: *Bi-la, bi-la* 'I will, I will'. This seems to be a normal procedure in Tungusic singing, and here, too, we meet the techniques of suspension in the context of octosyllabic versification.

(C) *TYPE C* is called an *EXTENDING MATERIALIZATION OF THE PATTERN*: a singer inserts additional elements into the octosyllabic verse. This technique is typical of Ugrić and Samoyedic singing and, as the result, the octosyllabic regularity is hidden since the number of syllables exceeds 8 and may vary a lot

in a line. As a technique the extension is different from condensation, in which the number of morae remains 8 but exceeds 8 by extension. For instance in Example 5 the addition of the word *jenə* makes the number of morea 10: *we-ti je-nə nir-pi ni-rəŋ o-sa*. The same can be met in Nenets shamanic songs as can be seen in the following example with the additional syllables underlined:⁶⁶

*nyi-Lyi-lyo-o-o na-ngi-yem- e-či-ye shyi-dyang-ka-lyo-o-ma om ka-tye-yung
ko-uw-uw-o-a-ka a-kow-ko-a ow
ka-ta-a-a-a nga-nyi-ye ai-nga-a pe-ta-La-to-o-nga ma-tyi-a-ye ng-ko-ow-ko-ow
a-a-aw-ko aw-ko-ko a-wo.*

The shaman had sung a rather complex octosyllabic double line hiding the sacral code behind a long row of additional syllables. He was singing about his drum which was not given to him by his Otherworld grandmother to be a toy. The double line can be written:

*nyi-Lyi-na - ngi shyi-dyang-ka-ta
ka-ta nga-nyi pe-ta ma-tyi*

As the result of Type C the musical outcome may become very complex having no other relation to melodic lines typical to melodies of Types A and B. Because the Turkic Bashkirs on the eastern slopes of the Ural have also used this technique, it may be that it is a substrata of the Proto-Ugrian music from the time when the Hungarians had not migrated southwards from the Ural yet.

A special subtype of extension is *echoing*:⁶⁷ a singer not only inserts some additional syllables in the line but also repeats syllables already sung. Because this is typical of Northern Samoyeds, it is possible that the treatment of the sung text was developed by them from more original methods of extension.

The Nganasans also know the techniques of *dismembering*: the natural order of syllables is broken and confused by some additional syllables. This technique seems not to have been used by the Samoyeds when the versification was octosyllabic.

The CONTEXTS for using the octosyllabic versification are many. It must, however, be pointed out that there are quite a lot of different metrical patterns in Eurasia. Among them all, the octosyllabic pattern is used clearly in certain contexts only. From Estonia and Finland to the rivers Kolym and Amur the messages of gods and spirits have been sung with this code in shamanic or other kinds of ritual. It has been used in epic or religious song tales in which the dialogues of the gods and main heroes were always sung in octosyllabic pattern, even though the rest was related by speaking. The shamanic element is entirely obvious in the Samoyedic and Baltic Finnic songs, and among the last mentioned this pattern was the main code, because nearly all of the shamanic or mythic

lore was sung with this code. In Turkic areas the connection of the octosyllabic pattern to shamanism is not clear to the author. A. N. Aksenov pointed it out that "The Tuvins make no connection between throat singing and shamanism."⁶⁸ It is, however, clear that it was used in epic songs and songs of all kinds of feasts and rituals and, perhaps, it was also used in shamanic occasions. Its connection to shamanism was to be seen in Tungusic traditions and among the Ainus it was used in celestial rituals. The Dravidians know it and use it especially in the context of festivity and the Yugakhirs at least when singing mythical song tales. Moreover, Ugrians have used it in a sacral context and when singing their personal songs. The Hungarians have used the pattern in many of their *regös* songs, and many mythical songs of Hungarian origin in North Rumania concur in this.

All in all it seems that even if the present research material is quite thin, the contexts of octosyllabic versification are more or less parallel. It seems to have been used as the code of mythical, sacral, supranormal and ritual elements throughout Eurasia among populations speaking agglutinative languages. It seems, however, that the most northeastern Paleosiberian peoples have not used it (even though it is far from impossible that it will be identified in some of their songs).

The QUESTION OF THE ORIGIN of the octosyllabic system must be left open. The author could not find any reliable data to prove anything. In spite of this there are some hypotheses which may give ideas at least to pose questions. The Hungarian János Pusztay has pointed out that northern Eurasia is populated by Uralic and Palaeo-Siberian languages speaking peoples, and these languages share many similarities. He suggests that there was no Proto-Uralic unity which later divided into Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric subfamilies. Instead, he says, it is more probable that there was a chain of peoples from Scandinavia to Kamchatka which had active east-west interaction with each other. Originally, Poland, Ukraine and Central Russia were populated by early hunters speaking Pre-Proto-Finno-Ugric or using it as their lingua franca. After the Ice Age some of the West-Asian peoples also started to use Finno-Ugric as their language because new southern populations were pushing them westwards and this decreased their ties to their eastern relatives and neighbours. These were the forefathers of later Proto-Samoyeds and Proto-Ugrians. Much later the Hungarians separated from the Ugrians and moved southwards. The same was done by the early Mordvins who migrated westwards to the Volga.⁶⁹

This hypothesis makes sense because it explains the huge genetic difference between the eastern and western Uralic speakers. It would also make it rather easier to understand why there are surprisingly many archaic similarities between the two most peripheral Uralic languages, Finnish and Nganasan. It also gives an explanation for the fact that there are big differences in musical thinking between the eastern and western traditions. And if there is any truth in this hypothesis we may guess that after changing their language the eastern Uralians still retained many elements of their earlier traditions of

expressive communication like singing. Therefore, there were clear differences in song traditions already 7000 or 6000 years ago when, presumably, the peoples were living a period of Proto-Uralic culture. In the field of singing, there was *no* common "prototradition" even though there were stylistical similarities in northern Eurasia because of (1) ancient roots going back to common humanity, and (2) continuous social interaction between the (sub)arctic peoples (such as between those of Finland and the Urals).

Another interesting set of hypotheses was raised by Juha Janhunen, who has stated that Tungusic and Mongolic are genetically related and, possibly, go back to the Khinganian protolanguage spoken in Neolithic South-Manchuria. To the west of them were living Pre-Proto-Turkic populations who mainly inhabited modern West-Mongolia and North-China. Turkic is related neither to the Khinganian protolanguage and, hence, neither to Tungusic nor Mongolic. The common elements in these three languages are because of continuous areal contacts over the millennia.⁷⁰

The northern neighbours of the Proto-Turks were the Proto-Samoyeds living on the upper Ob and Yenisei to the north of Altai. As Eugene Helimski has stated, there are many Proto-Turkic loans in Proto-Samoyedic and vice versa. There are also linguistic proofs of the contacts between the Proto-Tunguses, Proto-Mongolians and Proto-Samoyeds already long before the beginning of our era.⁷¹

From these standpoints there has been multicultural east-west interaction of the peoples from Manchuria to Mongolia, south-north interaction from Mongolia to Samoyeds and Ugrians, and, again, east-west interaction from the Ob to Finland. This makes sense because there are archaic parallels between Tungusic and Baltic Finnic cultures. But this also may explain something of the past of octosyllabic versification.

Tungusic and Mongolic octosyllabic singing is heavily *contracting*. Turkic and Uralic singing is typically *punctual*, as well as is Ainuic, Yugakhiric and Dravidian. Samoyeds and Ugrians do know the punctual practice but their speciality is the *extending* treatment of the pattern. The extension is found among the Bashkirs (possibly of a Proto-Hungarian origin) but not among the Hungarians. The Hungarian octosyllabic punctuality may be so strong as it is because of the later Turkic influence. Be that as it may, we may presume that the punctual materialization of the pattern is more or less Pan-Eurasian but not the most usual in many areas like in Tunguso-Mongolian singing.

The Mordvin case suggests that the octosyllabic versifications could have emerged in two separate areas independently about 35 centuries ago. This seems probable but is not a fact. Therefore it is possible that, because of linguistic similarities, the octosyllabic versification emerged independently in many areas in Eurasia. But how is it possible that when it occurs, the contexts happen to be parallel in all this huge area? This is a fact which is difficult to explain in the light of the Polygenetic Hypothesis. If there was once a population who first invented this versification and started to use it on sacral and mythical occasions

as the marker of holiness, what then? The road of diffusion from the Pacific Ocean to Finland is not imaginary but more or less a fact. Moreover, the hypothesis might explain why it is difficult to find it in Kamchukotic (like Yupik and Chukchi) singing: they were too peripheral.

It is possible that during the European Neolithics if not before, there was singing resting on a pattern governed by four stresses a line, and that it was used in sacral contexts especially by the shamans. This hypothetical pattern must have been an alternatively free mora system. An evolution occurred when the four stresses were connected to eight morae. If we turn to the Monogenetic Hypothesis, it is possible that the evolution occurred among the Proto-Turks who passed it on their neighbours. This does not, however, fit with the facts that we think we know about the Mordvins and the Baltic Finns—except if it was the Proto-Mordvins who disseminated the Proto-Turkic invention to the Baltic Finns ca. 35 centuries ago. If they did not, then we are bound to rule out the Monogenetic Hypothesis and think if there were two parallel areas of invention, The Proto-Baltic Finnic and the Proto-Turkic. It seems that an eight-morae system may exist only in syllable-timed languages. But as yet we know too little. In this question the case is checkmate.

An important theoretical result is the relation between a language, a mora and a syllable. Firstly it seems that the concept of *mora* is more important in the analysis of poetry in any agglutinative language than that of a syllable. Therefore it may be reasonable to avoid the word *octosyllabic* as a general term since the number of syllables varies a lot when the pattern of eight morae is materialized as a song. Secondly, we may ask why the Kets do not use this pattern even though they are surrounded by peoples representing four families of agglutinative language, all making use of this pattern. Ketic is a tonal language with no agglutinative features. Therefore it seems that the concept of syllable—or even mora—is not useful at all when analyzing some other kinds of language than agglutinative because they may have quite different kinds of linguistic factors which are crucial when treating musical time, that is, when a song is created or reproduced. In the beginning of this paper there is an English children's song obeying the pattern of eight morae. Does a mora or a syllable have any validity at all as a vehicle of song text analysis of non-agglutinative languages? This question remains to be answered. However, the concept of mora is useful when musical time is under analysis since the human mind is uniform whatever the language system. As long as we lack answers to these two basic questions it is difficult to make any true analysis of folk song on any general basis.

Finally I revert to Eugene Helimski's question about the role of a shaman as the conservator of old language idioms. Even though the present data are far from sufficient, it seems that each and every society had its individual and complex history. For instance the Nganasans and Finns speak fairly similar Uralic languages even though they have never met each other: biologically they represent very different origins. Moreover, the Finns abandoned their shamanic

practices during the 1st millenium A.D. and transformed them into the 'institution of the knowers' after the Celtic and Germanic runic traditions. However, the languages of the two peoples have remained unchanged—to the extent that many Finnish words still are as they were 6000 years ago in the so-called Uralic protolanguage. The North-Eurasian societies were, and are, small in number, that is, some few thousands or less. It is more than probable that the members of any small society had the shaman as one of their ideal models. However, it seems that it is not only the shaman which was the reason for the conservation of oldest features in any culture. Helimski seems to be right up to a limit, though. What we need to know is that what the other possible factors are for the conserving or non-conserving trend in the culture of a society.

Endnotes

- ¹ For further information on the Kalevala metre see Kuusi 1977, 62–65.
- ² Kuusi 1978, 223 *et passim*.
- ³ The Uralic language family is composed of Samoyedic and Finno-Ugric subgroups. The two started to separate from each other about 4000 BC. There still are, however, a lot of common linguistic features even among the easternmost Samoyeds (the Nganasans of the Taimyr Peninsula) and the westernmost Finno-Ugrians (The Baltic Finns).
- ⁴ Helimski 1994; Helimski 1998, 43–46; Helimski et Kosterkina 1992.
- ⁵ Helimski 1998, 45–46.
- ⁶ Korhonen 1987, 175–192.
- ⁷ Honko 1993, 55.
- ⁸ There is one exception, the magical spells, which were mainly mumbled, that is, recited or spoken. Because the tradition lived through singing, the ordinary folks who were asked by the researchers only to speak the poems, could not “speak them out”. Therefore the transcriptions became quite damaged. This tells us that the *song language* was something special.
- ⁹ Boyarkin 1984, melody nr. 43.
- ¹⁰ GB no. 448 and page 767.
- ¹¹ Gippius and Eval'd 1989, 19.
- ¹² A valuable source for these questions is Julku and Wiik 1998.
- ¹³ This modality concurs with the pentatonic root number I in the theory of Gábor Lükő (1964, 237–289). It may be a relic of the contacts of the Volga Finnic groups with early Indo-Iranians.
- ¹⁴ Kul'setov 1990, page 49, nr. 33.
- ¹⁵ Fasmer, s.v. *védat* ‘to know’.
- ¹⁶ Väisänen 1939.
- ¹⁷ Lükő 1999.
- ¹⁸ Lázár 1988, 281–296.
- ¹⁹ Kodály 1973, nr 54 and page 54.
- ²⁰ Lükő 1999.
- ²¹ Niemi 1998, 72–77 *et passim*.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 74.

- ²³ Korhonen 1983, 133–152.
- ²⁴ Helimski 1988, 1989, 1994, 1998 as well as Helimski and Kosterkina 1992.
- ²⁵ It was originally identified and defined by Juha Janhunen (1986).
- ²⁶ Helimski 1998, 38.
- ²⁷ Janhunen 1996.
- ²⁸ Bartók 1976, 196.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 211.
- ³⁰ Ibid., numbers 8e (page 81) and 47 (page 141).
- ³¹ Mamedov 1984, 39–40.
- ³² Ibid., 39, music example 11.
- ³³ It is worth mentioning the hypothesis according to which the ethnonym *Bashkir* is related to the totemic character known as *Pashker* in Khanti and Mansi myths. As a corollary, the present Bashkirs might be a Proto-Hungarian population, which decided to stay in their Uralic homelands but later on changed their identity and became more Turkic than Ugric. If so, the ethnonyme *Bashkir* originally meant ‘The Tribe with the Glutton [Wolverine] as their Totemic Ancestor’.
- ³⁴ Vikár 1984, nr. 96.
- ³⁵ On natural tone singing see Aksenov 1973.
- ³⁶ See, for instance, Stoyanov 1980, numbers 1 and 5. Nos 13 and 30 are very complex.
- ³⁷ The Archive of the Department of Folk Tradition, Cassette C: Yakut 1–13, B.
- ³⁸ The example is from Dugarov and Sheikin 1991, 44–45.
- ³⁹ The Buryat language has both long vowels and diphthongs. See Darbeeva 1997, 40–41.
- ⁴⁰ The transcription published in Dugarov and Sheikin 1991, 42, the verse B starts at the beginning of the text verse and ends with a pause. This does not correspond to the thinking of the singer.
- ⁴¹ Janhunen 1996, 220–225 and 249–253. The common factors cannot be seen clearly, yet, but there are elements like the enlargement of the negative verb **e-* ‘does not’ to **ese-* ‘does not’ which make this hypothesis one to be taken seriously.
- ⁴² There is, however, a possibility that Janhunen’s Khinganian proto language was in closer relation both to Pre-Uralic and Pre-Turkic. This would take us back to the Upper Paleolithic.
- ⁴³ Agglutination refers to a system in which all the grammatical elements are “glued” or suffixed onto the stem of a word. When an Englishman says *in my hand*, the important elements stand in front of a word. A Finn says the same by glueing the same elements after the stem *kāde* ‘hand’: *kāde-ssä-ni*, that is ‘hand-in-my’. Because of this Finnic (as well as Inuit) words may become very long. If the stem is *tie* ‘road; way’, the Finns form the verb *tie-tää* ‘to be in clear road’ which means ‘to know’. Therefore one may form the word *tie-tä-mä-ttö-myy-de-ssä-ni-kään* meaning ‘even being ignorant, I’.
- ⁴⁴ Sunik 1997, 155.
- ⁴⁵ This general information is taken from Levin and Potapov 1964.
- ⁴⁶ SuKSäv, nr. 173 from Suistamo.
- ⁴⁷ NF, n:o 28, pages 300–307. The singing can be heard on a separate CD disc.
- ⁴⁸ Warm thanks to Kira Van Deusen for letting me use her translation of the performance by Valentina Kyalundzyga, an Ude researcher and artist, in Vancouver, Canada, in 1998. A text transcription published by M. D. Simonov 1998, 217–221, served as auxiliary material. The present author is, however, responsible for the final transliteration published here.

- ⁴⁹ MDM 5: n:o 20.
- ⁵⁰ Hock and Joseph 1996, 488–491, 497–503, 405–410; Crystal 1991, 308. Propable similarities are like Proto-Uralic **käte-* = Proto-Dravidian **kay-* ‘hand’, or P-U **kele-* ‘speech’ = P-Dr **kēl-* ‘speech’ or P-U **sūkese-* ‘autumn’ = P-Dr **čuk-* ‘autumn’, or the fact that in both families there is a verb expressing negation: P-U **äl-* ‘do not’ = P-Dr **al-* ‘do not’
- ⁵¹ Professor Gopinathan works at the Calicut University in Kerala. When working as a visiting professor in Finland he was interviewed by Ilpo Saastamoinen and the author on February 13th, 1999. He also sung us the song published here. The copy of the tape is at the Department of Folk Tradition.
- ⁵² Professor Gopinathan wrote the word as *kuzha* but pronounced it *kúḍa* [= *kúṭha*].
- ⁵³ The story was told by Professor Gopinathan on February 13th, 1999.
- ⁵⁴ Lükö 1964.
- ⁵⁵ A letter on April 30th, 1999.
- ⁵⁶ As heard in MSS, Side 3, Bands 62–64.
- ⁵⁷ Puszta 1998, 161–167.
- ⁵⁸ Alpatov 1996, 129 *et passim*.
- ⁵⁹ See Janhunen 1996, 242–245 *et passim*.
- ⁶⁰ Puszta 1990, 236–238 and Puszta 1998, 161–167; Nikolaeva and Helimskii 1997, 155.
- ⁶¹ Ignat’eva and Sheikin 1993, song nr. 11 and comments on page 39.
- ⁶² Ignat’eva and Sheikin 1993, song nr. 2.
- ⁶³ This does not mean that this capacity has been in active use everywhere and always.
- ⁶⁴ Wiik 1997, 86.
- ⁶⁵ Niemi 1998, 166–167.
- ⁶⁶ The example was published by Jarkko Niemi (1998, 73–74: Example 8).
- ⁶⁷ The term is coined by Niemi 1998.
- ⁶⁸ Aksenov 1973, 12.
- ⁶⁹ Puszta 1998.
- ⁷⁰ Janhunen 1996, 217–256.
- ⁷¹ Helimski 1998, 7–21.

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Jarkko Niemi

DREAM SONGS OF THE FOREST NENETS¹

The Forest Nenets

The Forest Nenets (*Nyeshá*) are a distinct areal group of the Nenets people. The reindeer-herding, hunting and fishing Forest Nenets occupy mainly the Pur river and its tributaries in Western Siberia, located between the massive river systems of Ob' and Yenisey.

While the Nenets (altogether 34,000) are the largest, and culturally and dialectally surprisingly uniform ethnic group among the speakers of the Samoyedic languages, the Forest Nenets comprise a minority (appr. 1,500) within the total figure of the Nenets. Forest Nenets differs from Tundra Nenets as sharply as, for example, German from Dutch, beyond the level of mutual understanding.

The ethnic neighbourhood of the Forest Nenets includes the Eastern Khanty (Kanty) groups in the south, Taz river Selkup Samoyeds in the east and Tundra Nenets in the North. As regards to the *song styles*, however, the Forest Nenets are closer to their Tundra relatives, than their other adjacent neighbours.

Studying the Song Culture of the Nenets

After studying several years the singing style of the Tundra Nenets (see: Niemi 1998): the Siberian Nenets of Yamal peninsula, the mouth of Yenisey, the Polar Ural and the European Nenets of Malaya Zemlya and Kanin peninsula, I made my first field expedition to the Pur river Forest Nenets in autumn 1998. Before this I had only had indirect contacts with the Forest Nenets singers. While Forest Nenets songs are left practically unexplored (see, however, Vakhitova 1989, 147–150; Skvortsova 1997; Niemi 1998, 70–71; 73–74), linguistic studies on their language exist.²

In general, my primary research objective with the Nenets songs has been to analyze the melodic structures of the songs and their interrelationships with the song texts. This work can be regarded as continuation of the research on the

versification of the songs of the Samoyedic and Ob-Ugrian peoples, conducted earlier by John Lotz (1954), Robert Austerlitz (1958), Péter Hajdú (1978), Eugene Helinski (1988; 1989) and Éva Schmidt (1995).

The very core of the problem is to try to understand the structural logic of the songs, examining both the musical structures and song texts. Much of the research mentioned above is based on analysis of the documented *texts*, instead of auditive sources. Now, when a reasonable amount of auditive material is at hand, new perspectives appear in the understanding of the oral traditions. The method of analysis combines quantitative syllable analysis of the song texts and the metric analysis of the melodic paradigms.

As a representative of the music cultures of the Arctic, the music culture of the Nenets is based on vocal music in solo performance. The fundamentals of the song genres are: the *narrative* songs, *shamanistic* songs and owned *individual* songs. The themes in the narrative songs include stories about giants, tribal warfare, quest for wife or sufferings of an individual person. The sacred shamanistic songs are closely connected to the ritual of the Nenets shaman, *tadyebya* (*tachyipyra* in Forest Nenets). They may be calls for gods or for the spirit-helpers of the *tadyebya*, or they may tell about his journeys. The concept of individual song means songs authored and owned by an individual person, like one's individual name. While the epic and shamanistic songs have much in common as regards to the performance, the epic songs and individual songs have structural features in common. The narrative and shamanistic songs are performed to the public according to specific performance rules and the performer, whether a *tadyebya* or a singer, has to be specialized in performance. However, the narrative and individual songs as secular songs differ sharply from the sacred songs by their verse form: the text meter of the secular songs is hexasyllabic, but that of the sacred songs octosyllabic.

As regards to the individual songs, a secondary objective for me has been to examine the possibilities of herited melodies. Especially the future analysis of Forest Nenets songs seem to give promising perspectives. Considering the traditional Nenets exogamy, traces of melodic expressions of different family lineages could be found. Having already attempted this (Niemi 1998, 96), it would be interesting to continue the quest for "lineage" melodic types in Forest Nenets songs, because many of the people still live in lineage communities. In the following there is a short summary of the clans and information about the lineages of the Pyahk and Ngäywashyeta clans I visited in Tarko-Sale and Ayvasedapur area.³

Clan:	Lineage:	Proposed etymology of the lineage name: ⁴
PYAHK	Na/Ama Pyahk	ne/Am 'north'?; Nařim? Most probably, however, river Narma on .Lyamin side, i.e. on Ob side (see: Lehtisalo 1956, 281).
	Ngitunta Pyahk:	"Ngida" => Nřda?; 'hunters of the wild reindeer'.
	Ngäywaxey Pyahk:	'Leading-the-way-Pyahk', the Pyahk, who went everywhere as the first; the aggressive, militant Pyahk.
	Panxey Pyahk:	'The border-Pyahk', neighbouring the Kħantř at the frontier between the Pur and Ob' river systems.
	Siba Pyahk:	'Siberia', 'syixřtya'?
NGÄYWASHYETA	Dyi/Ayina Ngäywashyeta	'The living': wealthy reindeer owners.
	Dyangg/Ayota Ngäywashyeta:	'The ones departed (long time ago) from their leaders'.
	Dyam Ngäywashyeta:	'The dam-fishers of the great Pur'.
	Dyohtat Ngäywashyeta:	'The dam-fishers of the Ayvasedapur and Dyohtupur
	Lämkyi Ngäywashyeta:	'The family of the "last saved one" '.
	Noysama Ngäywashyeta:	'The ones, the shamans of which covered their faces with a cloth' like the shamans of the Nganasan.
	No/Ama Ngäywashyeta:	See: Na/Ama Pyahk.
	Ngaxanyi Ngäywashyeta:	The river Agan (Ngaxang)?
WE"LA	(The We"la are nowadays living at the western tributaries (Pyakupur) of the Pur.)	
DYIWSHYI	(The Dyiwshyi are the most isolated of the family groups of the Forest Nenets, living nowadays mainly at the northern tributaries of the Middle Ob', neighbouring the Kħantř.)	

The Dream Songs of the Forest Nenets

During the field trip to the Pur river Forest Nenets, I had the occasion to meet Lyalya Īnhkovich Panxey Pyahk in Tarko-Sale. Lyalya Īnhkovich (b. 1941) lives near the river Upper-Chaselka, which is a tributary of the river Taz, in the Selkup territories. He is born in the family of shamans and he is considered to be a *dyuti/Atana*, a seer of dreams. He can travel into the world of spirits in his dreams and contact the world of the dead, in order to send back souls of ill people, for instance.

Lyalya Īnhkovich calls his dream songs either as *dyuti/lo"ma* ('dreaming'), or as *tachyipyatma kinawsh* (shamanistic song). His songs were actually overtures, introductions to depictions of shamanistic trips proper (see Ex. 2). As there was no ritual context, he could and deemed proper to sing only the introductions. He stopped the songs, before the performance would have needed a serious concentration, gradually resulting in trance. Despite, he had no drum which he would have needed in the continuation. His closing words were to these songs: "without the tree of a drum-handle (i.e. the shaman drum *pyensha/1*) in my hand, I can't continue further from this point". In fact, he implied that he is fully capable of performing shamanistic séance, if necessary. However, he openly said that he wouldn't do that anymore. (Pyahk 1998.)

In general, the stories told in the dream songs, have a certain basic scheme, typical to the songs about journeys to the spirit world. As such, the topography of the spirit world is not alien, but corresponding to the human world. Similar stories and depictions of shamanistic journeys are recorded e.g. from the Taimyr Nganasan in the famous works of A. A. Popov (1968, 137–145; 1984, 96–108) and G. N. Grachëva (1983, 134–135).

The roots of the shamanistic practices are not lost among the Forest Nenets. There are both active *tachyipyas* and people, who have merged the traditional worldview into their contemporary one, resulting in a sort of neoshamanism. This kind of contemporary shamanistic worldview contains elements from popularized south Asian meditation, astrology, parapsychology, etc.

As points of references I have chosen to present here also a secular song performed by Anna Nyahkuchevna Pyahk (Ex. 1) and a shamanistic song performed by Polina Gilevna Turutina (Ex. 3). Anna Nyahkuchevna is a forest dweller, living near the village of Kharampur with his man Sol'u Weysivich and their extended family. Polina Gilevna is a widely known folk artist and collector of local traditions among the Forest Nenets. She has learnt, documented, memorized and composed a remarkable repertoire of Forest Nenets songs and other oral tradition, both in her private archive and in museum of Tarko-Sale.

The Song Transcriptions

The key to identify the recurring melodic units in Nenets songs in general is their isometric structure. This means that a text lines correspond systematically to melodic lines (marked with bar lines) in a song. Furthermore, the line structure is iterative: if there is only a one line in a song it tends to be repeated as such, from the beginning to the end. If there are two or (rarely) more melodic lines, they usually form a similarly repeated line group (e.g. AB, AB,...; ABA, ABA,...; AAB, AAB,...). These line groups do not necessarily coincide with the semantic grouping of the song text.

Space permitting, I have chosen to write the identical line groups aligned vertically in the transcription. I have defined a melodic line as “different” („B”-line), if there is at least some kind of constantly repeated variation in relation to another melodic line (“A”-line). However, as the following examples all happen to be basically one-line songs, I have not used any letter symbols for melodic lines here. As regards to the pitch transcription, I have not written the pitches in more detail than a half-step. I have also tried to present the interval leaps only in outline, as they tend to be sometimes quite free and processual. Furthermore, if there is a notable raising of the overall pitch level in the song, some of the interval leaps may, at places, vary substantially. As to the time values, I have followed similar principles, occasionally presenting the time values in more

detail, if I have discerned any recurrences. I have preferred not to label the songs with time signatures, although in some cases the musical meter seems quite undisputable. The slurs refer to relatively strong merging of tones.

Example 1.

Lyubkang kinawsh (Lyuba's song). Perf. by A. N. Pyahk (née DyanggAyota Ngäywashyeta; b. 1924). Rec. in the autumn camp of S. W. Pyahk, near the lake Kalya-To and the village of Kharampur, 28. 8. 1998. (The short vertical lines in the transcription mark the places, where the performer makes short breaks in the singing.)

J. = 60 "gl"=gl-al

Lyub-kow dyam-bey nye-ngey, tan-so-wa-dyey-na-ngow,

Lyu-ba-dey dyam-bey nye-Low, nya-xar nyan-sa-we-yey,

chya-xa-now xa-yo-sya-ngey, A-nga-rey ka-yow-sye-ngey,

A-cho cha-xow me-tey, nyi-Ley cha-xow me-tey,

Lyub-kow dyam-bey nye-ngey, xar-wey sya-key La-byow,

la-byam-dow nya-wey-pyi-ngey, nyi-Ley cha-xow me-tey,

xar-wey sya-key La-byow, la-byam-dow nya-wey-pyi-ngey,

Lyu-ba-dey dyam-bey nye-row, tan-so-wa-dyey-na-ngow,

nya-xo(w)x nyan-sa-we-yey, chya-xa-now xa-yo-sya-ngey,

dyam-bey chy-dyow(m) pum-now, pya-syey ngey-tow-(m)a-yey,

so-yow si-rey-la-xow, Pya-ko-dyey man-tey-nga-ngey.

Lyubkow dyambeynye(ngey),
 tansowadyeynangow,
 Lyubadey dyambey nyeΛow.
 nyaxar neynsawe(ye)y
 chyaxanow xayosya(ngey)
 Angarey kayowsye(ngey).
 Acho chaxow metey
 nyiΛey chawow metey!
 Lyubkow dyambeynye(ngey),
 xarwey syakey Λabyow,
 labyamdow nyaweypyingey...
 (ngey)
 nyiΛey chaxow metey!
 xarwey syakey Λabyow,
 labyamdow nyaweypyingey...
 Lyubadey dyambey nyerow,
 tansowadyeynangow.
 nyaxo(w)r nyensawe(ye)y
 chyaxanow xayosya(ngey) –
 dyambey, chyidyow(m) pumnow,
 pyasyey ngeytowma(ye)y
 soyow sireylaxow.
 Pyakodyey manteynga(ngey).

Lyuba is a well-built woman,
 she can even dance,
 Lyuba is your well-built woman.
 (Behind) three (straight) river stretches
 (ahead of us he already) went
 Angar, (already) went.
 Acho, further on
 come on, let's go, faster!
 Lyuba is a well-built woman,
 first to row with a larch paddle,
 her paddle she is holding (really)...

Come on, let's go, faster!
 First to row with a larch paddle,
 her paddle she is holding (really)...
 Lyuba is your well-built woman,
 she can even dance.
 (Behind) three (straight) river stretches
 (ahead of us he already) went –
 (I am) behind my dear brother,
 like a let-loose-from-foot-gag
 young winter (reindeer) calf.
 Pyahk is speaking like this.

The first example characterizes an “ordinary” individual song, in order to provide a point of reference regarding the following shamanistic songs. In this example there are crystallized some of the very fundamental structural and metric features found not only in the Forest Nenets individual songs, but also among the Tundra Nenets. Anna Nyahkuchevna, chose to sing this kind of “safe” and “simple” song, since this song belonged to the initial phase of our recording sessions.

First, the melodic movement is represented in the transcription as a constantly undulating one, attached systematically to the three stress groups of the text line. The melodic microvariation not taken into account, the melodic motifs consist simply of either ascending (g^1 - b^1 - g^1) or descending leap (g^1 - $f\#^1$ - g^1). The initial motif is—as usual—an exception with its signalling descending movement (b^1 - b^1 - g^1). I have chosen to approximate the tones in the transcription with the notes presented, although in reality both the upward leap from the basic tone (g^1 - b^1) and the downward leap tends to vary according to the width of the corresponding interval (b^1 - h^1 and $f\#^1$ - f^1). Due to the lack of space here, the intriguing question of the logic of the distribution of these motif types is not discussed. It suffices to state here only, that the singer aims to keep the melodic conduct fresh and unexpected with masterful variation of these two melodic motifs.

Second, as stated above, the text line is a typical hexasyllabic line in Nenets secular songs, individual songs in particular. The metric fundamental scheme yields a system of three stress groups, each consisting of metric space for two syllables, the first of which is stressed. This is natural, as the primary

syllabic stress falls to the first syllable and secondary stresses to the next unpaired syllables in Nenets. This kind of stress pattern can also be called as a 'trochaic foot'. As I have pointed earlier (Niemi 1998, 35–41), this scheme has its own natural laws of gravity and degrees of allowed variation. The most important to remember here is the feeling of continuity and equilibrium created by the stressed syllable and the following syllable, which is unstressed from the point of language prosody, but adopts a musical stress, which emphasizes its position firstly by length and, to some extent, by stress. And as a speciality of the Nenets sung language, particularly these unstressed syllables are transformed into long syllables. It is also possible to create an additional syllable in that position, if there are not enough syllables in the text line. For example, the initial line contains the following words in spoken text: *Lyubka dyamb ne*. Here the synsemantic word *ngey* has also the special function as a final complementary word in a short text line.

The most characteristic poetical equilibrium, however, is created by the interplay of the two line types, differing in the location of their word-borders and thus, in their stress patterns. The first of these is the type with words having a paired amount of syllables (like the first line with words of 2, 2 and 2 syllables). This line type is in a sort of opposition with the lines containing three-syllable words (like the 5th line with 3 and 3(+1) syllables). The opposition between these line types has different realizations in different songs, but the feature in common is that the words have to conform to the musical stress. In this song the initial three-syllable words are compressed into the first stress group. This leaves the end of the line lacking a syllable, which is fixed by the synsemantic syllable-word *ngey*. However, as *ngey* is derived from *nga* ('to be' => 'is'), its status as a synsemantic, additional lexical element is often quite blurred, because sometimes it is a part of the text line with its lexical meaning, sometimes not.

The opposition of the text line types can be presented as a syllabic scheme, where the stress groups are aligned vertically according to the musical stress, and where the main rhythmic realizations are shown. The vertical alignment also shows clearly the unstressed syllabic positions with transformed sung syllables:

Lyub -	kow	dyam -	bey -	nye -	(ngey),
tan -	so -	wa -	dyey -	na -	ngow,
Lyu - ba -	dey	dyam -	bey	nye -	Λow.
nya -	xar	nyen -	sa -	we -	yey,
chya -xa -	now	xa -	yo -	sya -	(ngey),
A - nga -	rey	ka -	yow -	syey -	(ngey),
A -	cho	cha -	xow	me -	tey,
nyi -	Λey	cha -	wow	me -	tey,
Lyub -	kow	dyam -	bey -	nye -	(ngey),
xar -	wey	sya -	key	Λa -	byow,
la - byam -	dow	nya -	wey -	pyi -	ngey...
nyi -	Λeyey	cha -	xow	me -	tey!
xar -	wey	sya -	key	Λa -	byow,

la - byam -	dow	nya -	wey -	pyi -	ngey,
Lyu - ba -	dyey	dyam -	bey	nye -	row,
tan -	so -	wa -	dyey -	na -	ngow,
nya -	xo(w)r	nyen -	sa -	we -	(ye)y,
chya - xa -	now	xa -	yo -	sya -	(ngey),
dyam -	bey,	chyi -	dyow(m)	pum -	now,
pya -	syey	ngey -	tow -	(m)a -	yey,
so -	yow	si -	rey -	la -	xow,
Pya - ko -	dyey	man -	tey -	nga -	(ngey).

(variants in the durational scheme):



Example 2.

Lyalyang dyutiAo"ma (Lyalya's dreaming). Perf. by L. Ī. Panxey Pyahk.
Rec. in Tarko-Sale, 1.9.1998.

$\text{♩} = 60$

xa xa ngey, nyi-w(äy)-(tow) nga nga ngey,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, shyi"i-wey nu-mey ni - nyi ni - nyi... ey,
 xa xa xa ngey ta -n(e)-ko -da ta -dya - (ngey) - nga - sycy,
 xa xa xa ngey, nyin-Lyi dya-xa te -wa - (ngey... ey) -dya - nga,
 xa xa xa ngey dya-lyang xä-m(a) ma-si - (ngey) - nyuw -(nge),
 xa xa ngey, wäy-ma dya-Lyan dyoly-sh(ye - ngey) - ka - dyey,
 xa xa xa ngey, nya-ta - ko... (speech) m,
 xa xa xa ngey, pyang-g(i)-sye(y-dy)i ma-L(e) - (ngey) - xa - na,
 xa xa xa ngey pyi -Lyi käy-nyi ta-(nga) ta -t(e)-(ngey) - La - ma... a,
 xa xa xa ngey syi-chyi-na kan-La-nyi" dya-xa"tä-w(ä)-dya-m(än) tä-w(ä) - (ngey) - dya -
 xa xa xa ngey, dya-Lyan-sye-L(än) kyi-Lyi - (dyow) - nga - tcy,

xa xa xa ngey, nyiw(äy)(tow)nga nga ngey,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, shyi"iwey numey ninyi,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, tan(e)koda tadya(ngey)ngasyey,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, nyinΛyi dyaxa tewa(ngey)dyanga,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, dyaΛyangxäm(a)masi(ngey)nyuw(nge)
 e ngey, wäyma dyaΛyan dyolysh(yengey)kadyey,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, nyadakoy...

(Yes it is...)
 Through the seven spheres of the earth
 there was a ladder (a way to ascend).
 In another world they went
 The Sun-eye said:
 – When a bad day comes

(mana ngan syit' nyatasut)

(I shall help you).

xa xa xa xa ngey, pyang(gey)syedyey maΛ(engey)xana,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, pyiΛyi käyni tat(yngey)Λam(a),
 xa xa xa xa ngey, (shyichyina kanΛanyi") dya[xa"]
 täw(i)dyam(an) täw(i)(ngey)dyam(ey),
 xa xa...a xa xa ngey, dyaΛyansyeΛ(in) pyΛyi(dyow)ngatey, I went around the deceased sunwise,
 xa xa xa xa ngey, pya(dy)i myat(än) chunΛyi(ngey)nyiwey, into the wooden hut I came.
 xa xa xa xa ngey, punyamna(dye)y(m) tamun(ey)Λinga,
 xa xa...

With the head of the (drum)stick,
 those completely gone I send back.
 Into the land of those escorting us
 we arrived (the kingdom of death).
 I went around the deceased sunwise,
 into the wooden hut I came.
 Behind me the door closed.

(tiΛyimawunochy, chye mipsanΛ dyaxant
 sit(i) täwΛanay piwat mi syit chunΛyingey
 shan nyin kän)

(– You have come here to live with us
 forever, we don't let you go, you don't
 leave here anymore.)

xa xa xa xa...

(chyiΛsha pyay myat dyaΛyanyangi,
 käwxana myat kaniΛmana konuΛshyeyxam)

(That kind of house it was,
 but I found a hole on the side of the
 sun.)

xa xa xa xa ngey, tapk(a)tany dyolysh(engey)kä(dye)y
 xa xa xa xa ngey, many ta□yam' kyityipyop(i)na(dye)y.

In the time of the Powerful,
 I was part of it.

Having the previous example in mind, it is possible to understand the fundamental differences of the Nenets shamanistic songs at least at the structural level. Whether *dyutiAo*"ma songs or shamanistic songs proper, these songs have to stand out and make difference to the ordinary songs. Here, the most important difference is the octosyllabic basic meter.

However, the opposition of secular and shamanistic songs is not that clearly heard in the *musical* structures. This song uses a tritonal anhemitonic scale (E-G-A) very common also in secular songs. Also the duple meter itself is not as such "shamanistic". It is rather the way that the peculiarities of the octosyllabic meter are reflected to the musical structure (and vice versa).

The characteristic feature in the Nenets shamanistic songs in general is the way the text line is "wrapped" with a far more complex combination of synsemantic syllables than in the secular songs. Here the synsemantic elements can be located in the beginning and the end of the line, but also in the middle of the words. Whatever the syllabic combination is, it is maintained throughout the song like a code. The durational scheme shows the syllabic code in this song. Special to Lyalya İnikovich's song is the group of initial synsemantic syllables (*xa xa xa xa ngey*). There are no final synsemantic syllables, but a medial one,

usually in the middle of a word. In general, there are lots of lines deviating from the proposed syllabic code. This is either because the performer has a momentary memory lapse or he is adding spoken (the 7th line) or recited (the 11th line) passages in the song.

The following scheme shows the manifestation of the syllabic code more clearly than the transcription, where the graphic overview is somewhat shaded by the various spoken passages and stops:

(xa xa xa ngey)				nyi -	w(äy) -	(tow) -	nga nga ngey,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	shyi-"i -	wey	nu -	mey	ni -	nyi...	(ni - nyi),
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	ta -	n(e) -	ko -	da	ta -	dya -	(ngey) - nga - syey,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	nyin -	Λyi	dya -	xa	te -	wa -	(ngey) - dya - nga,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	dya -	Λyang-xä -	m(a)	ma -	si -	(ngey) -	nyuw - (nge),
(e ngey)	wäy -	ma	dya -	Λyan	dyoly-sh(ye -	ngey) -	ka - dyey,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	nya -	da -	koy...				
	(spoken text):						
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	pyang-(gey) -	sye -	dyey	ma -	Λ(e -	ngey) -	xa - na,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	pyi -	Λyi	käy -	ni	ta -	t(i -	ngey) - Λa - m(a),
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	(spoken text):						
	tä -	w(i) -	dya -	m(an)	tä -	w(i) -	(ngey) - dya - m(ey),
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	dya -	Λyan -	sye -	Λ(in)	pyi -	Λyi -	(dyow) - nga - tey,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	pya -	(dy)i	mya -	t(än)	chun -	Λyi -	(ngey) - nyi - wey,
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	pu -	nyam -	na -	(dye)y(m)	ta -	mu -	n(ey) - Λi - nga,
(xa xa...)	(spoken text):						
(xa xa xa xa...)	(spoken text):						
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	tap -	k(a) -	ta -	nyi	dyoly -sh(e -	ngey) -	kä - (dye)y
(xa xa xa xa ngey)	ma -	ny	ta -	Λyam' kyi -	tyi -	pyo-p(i) -	na - (dye)y.

(the basic durational scheme):

(♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪) ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ (♪) ♪ ♪

This *dyutiAo"ma* of Lyalya Īnihkovich repeats the same thematic elements as his other songs too: the shaman or *dyutiAtana* is capable of transcending into the world of spirits, helped and guided by his spirit-helpers, which are usually animals. In this particular song the initial reference is specifically to ascension („a ladder”).

The arrival to the spirit world is usually depicted with the words of wonder and awe: “what is this land?” or “where am I?”. While the *dyutiAtana* may encounter supernatural monsters in his dreamworld, the scene is usually a mirror vision of the real world, with reindeer-herding people living in their tents like people in our reality.

The *dyutiAtana*, however, navigates there aided and possibly rescued by his spirit-helpers, but also by his own wit. In this introductory part he ends up trapped in the hut of the dead, but succeeds in escaping due to his transformational abilities: he turns into a feather and hovers out from a small hole in the wall.

Regarding its content, this song was left as the most cryptic of Lyalya Īnihkovich's performances. Like the many other *dyutiAo''mas* he performed, this is also an introductory song. The purpose of visiting the land of the dead is not revealed, but most probably he goes there in order to save an ill person, whose soul has been taken there and who can't get out from there without help. His helping spirit is a mysterious Sun-eye. In this song Lyalya Īnihkovich actually refers to the powers of a mighty shaman, who is able to travel to the spirit world with the help of his drum and who is able to send back seriously ill persons from the land of the dead. This can be regarded as token of discourse with the roles of the shaman: sometimes it may be useful to act openly as a shaman, sometimes veiled as *dyutiAtana*. The fact is, however, that a *dyutiAtana* can usually perform a shamanistic act, if needed.

Example 3.

DyanggAyota Ngäywashyeta Aku Seyhkuvichang dyutiAo''ma kinawsh (D. Ngäywashyeta A. S.'s song-vision). Performed by Polina Gilevna Turutina (née DyanggAyota Ngäywashyeta).

Recorded in Tarko-Sale, 9. 9. 1998.

J = 108 "cl" = cl-bb2

shyo-w(l) (tan) shya - w(l) (ngey) wyl - tyl (ngey) dyo - L(a)... L(a) (ngey) nye - (ngey) nye (nga) (ngey),

shyl... nyl-myl (ngey) nyl - myl (ngey) ngu - low ngu - la - (ngey) ma - L(l) (ney) ma - L(l) - (ney) - xa - k(a)... n k(a) (ngey),

shyl-chyl-dye shyl - chyl (ngey) - dye - dey (ngey) xal- wyl (ney) xal- wyl (ney) ta - (ngow) ta... n ta - (nga) (ngey),

chya-xl (ney) chya - xl (ngey) wyl - tyl (ngey) dyo - L(a) (ney) dyo - L(a) (ney) - ka - now ka... ng ka - ne (ngey),

wyl-ta (ney) wyl - ta (ney) chal - na (ngey) chyl - (nge) (ngey) k(a) - na... na (ngey),

ta (ney) tan - L(l) (key) dya - (nga)m (ngey),

pya-a(l) - dya pya - a(l)-dye (nga)- m(a) (ngey) wyl - tyl (ney) wyl - tyl (ney) dyo - L(a)... n L(a) (ngey),

ma - wu (kow) - no - ta (ngey),

ka - xa ka - xa nga... ngey ka - xa kow ka - xow ngey,

shye''ew wyityi dyoΛ nye⁵
 nyimyi nguta maΛxat
 shyichyidye''y xaΛwiyta
 chyaxi wyityi dyoΛxana
 wäyta chalna chyikänye
 tanΛ dyam pyiΛyingäy
 wyityi dyoΛ mawunota
 nyeΛnyang xangu kadya
 pyimshyey kuchyaku
 dya tadyiΛaspya
 shyichapäy Λatadya''ay
 nyachy nyimnya kamyakuxung
 nyans xaΛs kamyakuxung
 xo xo xo xo xo xo xo
 wyi ma(n)sy kä''äΛtä
 – taΛte xiΛnyi chyon nyemya
 kushyiΛaΛyi nyi kon
 putanay xaΛnay
 taΛte xiΛnyi chyon nyemya
 wotpoy xaΛwita
 syomyakoy maΛxat
 chyon nyemya kalstä
 punye dyom kalstä.
 tishyi wyityi dyoΛxat
 chyon nyemya xanyitäy
 Λangg nying xanyitäy
 xiΛnyi taΛta paΛngata
 Λangg nyimnya tanyati
 waΛku nyemya tanyati
 mat nyumta watkush
 many chyiki kaΛaxana
 waΛku nyemyang nyung ngäsy
 syemyimtäy nyung ngäsy
 waΛku nyemyam mityikana
 chyam chyetang lompanam
 lompanas myindyatam.

Woman of the seven depths of the water
 she grabbed my hand
 she grabbed helpless me.
 There, in the depths of water
 water splash, nothing seen.
 We are approaching a dark land
 woman of the depths of the water said.
 He looked ahead —
 horror:
 the earth begins to tremble (under the water).
 Two plates of rock
 are moving
 towards each other moving.

His wits told him like this:
 – Mother-fox with fur of gold,
 perhaps she found out—perhaps she hears?
 (On his) last breath
 mother-fox with fur of gold
 grabbed him in the last moment
 by the tip of his hat.
 Mother-fox quickly hurried back
 hurried back.
 From the depths of the water
 mother-fox jumped onto the shore
 jumped up on the shore,
 shook her golden fur.
 On the shore runs,
 a mother-bear runs,
 accomanied by six bear cubs.
 I, meanwhile,
 transform myself into mother-bear's child,
 into the seventh cub.
 Behind her heels
 I try to run as the first one now,
 running and stumbling.

This example is performed by Polina Gilevna Turutina. She is not a *dyutiAtana*, but her uncle, Aku Seyhkuvich DyanggAyota Ngäywashyeta was. This song is based to Polina Gilevna's story about her seriously hydrophobic uncle and to what she remembered about his uncle's singing (Turutina 1998):

"The motif is clear, I remember it all my life, these words gave me Shotlya Weysivich Pyahk. Shotlya gave me the words, he remembered these words. The original song was made by Aku Ngäywashyeta. This was a whole story, from the beginning to the end... In the end he meets the bear, which is considered as one of the greatest spirits, our guardian, and he ran after her and survived. This song is not called as a *tachyipyatma kinawsh* or *kinawsh*, it is just a song-vision.

Aku was not a *dyutiAtana*. He didn't go to the water at all. He didn't go into boat or shore. They (his relatives) said that if he had to cross a water, he had to be blindfolded, so that he didn't see the water. When we had crossed the water, escorting him by hand from

both sides, and had walked away from the shore and took out the blindfold, he began to have these attacks.

First, he fainted into a state of unconsciousness. We ran for water and poured some water on him. When he reached his consciousness, he began to have these visions. He sang all his visions either sleeping or after these attacks. He got the song, when he falled down in exhaustion and fainted. When he gained his consciousness, he sang this song. When he had sung the song, he reached his normal consciousness. When they asked him to envisage, he sat a long time in a half-sleep and, after a while he reached the altered state of consciousness and began to sing. When he stopped singing, he raised himself sitting and sat a long time in silence. They gave him something to drink. Then he started to tell what he saw. He just told them as they were visions from dreams. He also used to foretell, interpreting good and bad signs from the stories. He also could foretell to someone else, whether there where good or bad omens. Sometimes he wasked specially asked to dream and foretell. He just sat and... now I consider that he was meditating. He called his spirits. Then the song came out of him, while he was sitting. But he didn't beat this (gesticulates the beating of the *pyensha*!), he didn't use drum at all.

He had no assistant during his performance. He just said: don't come here [where he slept], don't make noise near me, so as not to frighten me [while he was dreaming].

It was not long ago, when he died. I heard his songs also myself, because he was my uncle. His father, Seyhku, also used to dream and travel..."

The song itself centers to the horrors of a hydrophobic person. The personal enemy spirit of *Aku*, the woman of the seven depths of the water succeeds in grabbing him into the depths of water. As if this is not enough, he almost gets smashed by giant underwater rocks. To his luck, his animal spirit, the Mother-fox rescues him and leads him to the shore where he can enter into protection of the Mother-bear.

While the story and horror is very effectively expressed here, also Polina Gilevna's performance was full of unprecedented emotion.

Especially concerning the initial objective of this analysis, the correspondence of the metric structures melody and text, this song is one of the most striking. Its melodic substance is quite simply based on the upward and downward leaps of fourth in a combination, by which the melodic line can be interpreted to consist of two parts or half-lines, separated by a vertical double line. The pitch level of the performance raises dramatically: a fifth already at the beginning (see the transcribed part). The half-lines are further divided into two stress group sections. Although Polina Gilevna tends to sing this song in her own version of it, she is aiming at a constant syllabic code, which is one of the most complex I have ever encountered among the Forest Nenets. It is hard to present this song as line paradigms due to the length of the line. The length is caused by the complex syllabic code with lots of medial synsemantic syllables and echoed repeats of stress groups in the following manner:

The stress group section I contains first and second syllable of the octosyllabic text line with a default synsemantic syllable (*tan, ngey, dye, ney* etc.) after them. After them comes an optional echo of the first two syllables + synsemantic syllable.

The stress group II contains the third and fourth syllable of the text line and an default synsemantic syllable. These are only occasionally echoed here.

The stress group III contains the fifth and sixth syllable of the text line, again followed by a synsemantic syllable. Again, these are occasionally echoed.

The stress group IV contains the seventh and eighth syllable of the text line, also occasionally echoed. Peculiarly, the echoed places are reversed here because of the end of the text line.

The scheme of approximate durations of the syllables is shown at the bottom of the page. Again, the synsemantic syllables are put into parentheses, as well as the echoed elements (which itself contain both meaningful and synsemantic text elements):

I		II		III		IV	
she"e - w(i) (tan)	she"e - w(i) (ngey)	wyi - tyi (ngey)		dyo - L(e) (ngey)		nye - (ngey)	nye - (nga) (ngey),
nyi - myi (ngey)	nyi - myi (ngey)	ngu - tow ngu - ta (ngey)		ma - Li (ney) ma - Li (ney) -		xa - t(e) (ngey),	xa - t(e) (ngey),
shyi - chyi - (dye)	shyi - chyi (ngey)	dye - dye (ngey)		xaL - wiy (ney) xaL - wiy (ney)		ta - (ngow)	ta - (nga) (ngey),
chya - xi (ney)	chya - xi (ney)	wyi - tyi (ngey)		dyo - L(e) (ney) dyo - L(e) (ney)		ka - now	ka - na (ngey),
ngëy - ta (ney)	ngëy - ta (ney)	chal - na (ngey)		chyi - (nge) (ney)			kë - na (ngey),
				ta - (ney) tan - L(i) (key)			dya - (nga)m (ngey)
pya - n(i) - dya -	pya - n(i) (dyey)	nga - m(a) (ngey),		wyi - tyi (ney) wyi - tyi (ney)			dyo - L(a) (ngey)
				ma - wu (kow)			no - ta (ngey),
ka - xa	ka - xa	nga (ngey)		ka - xa (xow)			ko - xow (ngey)
				nye - L(i) (ney) nye - L(i) (ngey) -		nya - ng(e)(...)	(nya - ng(ey))
xa - ngu (ney) (-)	xa - ngu (ney) -	ka - dya (ngey),		pyi - m(i) (kow) pyi - m(i) (kow) -			she - dye (ngey)
				ku - chya (ney) ku - chya (ney) -			ku - (dyey) (ngey),
dya' - (kow)	dya' - (kow)	ta - dyey -		La - s(e) (ngeym)		pya - (ngow)	pya - (nga) (ngey),
shyi - chya (ney)	shyi - chya (ney)	pëy (ngey) pëy (nga) (ngey)		La - tow -			dya" - dye (ngey),
nya - chyey	nya - chye (ngey)	nyim - nyow nyim - nyow (ngey)		ka - myow -			dyuLy - she (ngey),
				nyan - sey			xaL - s(e) (ngey)
[pyi - Le -		nga - ch(e) (ngey)]		ka - myow - ka - myow			kun - Li (ngey)
				[dya - tey			dya - te (ngey)],
				xo - xo (xow)			xo - xow (ngey)
				xo - xo (xow)			xo - xow (ngey),
				kä - (tow)			(nga) - La (ngey),
wyi - (chyey)		ma(n) - syey		chy - nyey			nye - mya (ngey),
taL - tow		xiL - nyi (ngey)		ku - shyi (ngey) -			ku - shyi (ngey) -
ka - xa (ngey)		ka - xa (ngey),		ko - ney			ko - ne (ngey),
-La - Lyey		nyi - (ngi) (ngey)		xaL - (tey) -		na - (dye ngey)	-na - (dye ngey),
pu - ta -	na - (dye) (ngey)	(ngey)		taL - tow			xiL - nyi (ney)
				chy - n(i) (kow)			nye - mya (ngey),
wo - t(i) (ney ngey)-	wo - t(i) (ney) -	po - dye (ngey)		xaL - wey -			ta - (nga ngey),
				sy - mya - ko-ey sy - mya - kow... (ngow) (ngey)			(dyey)
				ma - L(i) (ngey) -		xa - te	-xa - te (ngey),
chy - n(i - ko) (ngey)	chy - n(i - ko)	nye - myow (ngey)		kal - s(i) (ngey)			(pyi) - tey (nga ngey),
				pu - nye (ney) pu - nye (ngey)			dyo - mey
				kaL - s(i) (ngey) -		tä - (dyey)	-tä - (dyey) (ngey),
ti - shy (ngey)	ti - shy (ngey)	wyi - chyey		dyo - L(e) (ngey) -		xa - tey	-xa - te ((ngey),
chy - n(i - ko)	chy - n(i - ko)	nye - mya (ngey)		xa - ney -			tä - dye (ngey),
				Lang - g(i) (ngey) Lang - gi (ngey)			nyim - nya (ngey)

xiL - nyi (kow)	xiL - nyi (kow)	taL - tow	taL - ta (ngey)	xa - ney (ngey)		ta - dyey (ngey),
Lang - gi (ngey)		nyim - nya (ngey)		pa - Li (dyey) -		nga - ta (ngey),
				ta - nyow -		ti (nga ngey),
ta - nya (kow)	ta - nya (kow) -	ta - se (ngey)		waL - ku (nyey)	waL - ku (nye ngey)	nye - mya (ngey)
				ta - nyow	ta -	ngo... na (nga ngey),
				ma - t(e) (kow)		nyum - ta (ngey)
				wa - t(e) (ney) -		ku - sh(ya) (ngey)
				ko xo (xow)		ko xow (ngey),
ma - nyi (ta) (ngey)		chyi - key		ka - La (ngey) -	xa - now	-xa - na (ngey),
				waL - ku (kow)		nye - mya ng(ey)
syé - myim (ney) (ngey)-syé - myim (ngey)		-tä - (dyey) (ngey)		nyu - ng(i ney)		ngä - s(ye) (ngey),
				nyu - (ngi ngey)		ngä - s(ye) (ngey),
				waL - ku (ney)		nye - myam-(ngey)
chya - (tem) (gey)		chye - ta-ng(ey)		mi - tyi (ney) -	na - m(ey)	ka - na (ngey),
				lum - pa (ngey) -		-na - me (ngey),
				lum - pa (ngey) -		na - s(e) (ngey)
				dyi - Lyi-(ney) -		nga - t(e) (ngey)
				ko xo (xow)		ko.
♪ ♪ ♪)	♪ ♪ ♪))	♪ ♪ ♪)	♪ ♪ ♪)	♪ ♪ ♪)	♪ ♪ ♪)	♪ ♪ ♪)

Conclusion

This presentation is a modest beginning to explore the wonders of the songworld of shamans and *dyutiAtanas* of the Forest Nenets. However, it is argued here, that when the underlying metrical and structural principles can be said as solved as meaningful structural codes, also the future in-depth semantic and contextual of the songs, performance and belief system in general can benefit from this structural understanding, because the code schemes offer a way to identify text elements with primary meaning from the elements with a secondary or only metrical meaning.

Furthermore, although realized in perplexingly complicated forms, the Nenets octosyllabic “shamanistic meter” seems this far to be a very uniform system, lacking the multitude of different metrical basic schemes as in, say, Khanty sacred (and also secular) songs. In her detailed study on the meter of the songs of the Northern Khanty, Éva Schmidt (1995, 136–137) has worked out a typological system of clearly different metrical systems among them. She, however, argues, that they all can be said to originate from a metrical system of four stress groups (which, in the Nenets case is also the basis of the octosyllabism). This may be a vague evidence to point to the ancient connections of the Uralic native peoples of the Western Siberia, maybe even essentially wider distribution of the four stress system among them, linked most obviously also with the similar metric schemes among the Altaic peoples.

Endnotes

- ¹ This article complements and continues the discussion on the topic in question (see: Niemi 1999).
- ² E.g.: Verbov, G. D. 1973, *Dialekt lesnikh nentsev, Samodiyskiy sbornik*, Novosibirsk, 3–190; Popova, Ya. N. 1978, *Foneticheskiye osobennosti lesnogo narechiya nenetskogo yazika*, Moskva: Nauka; Pusztay, János 1984, *Die Pur-Mundart des Waldjurakischen: grammatikalischer Abriss aufgrund der Materialien von T. V. Lehtisalo*, Studia Uralo-Altaica 23, Szeged; Sammallahiti, Pekka 1974, *Material from Forest Nenets*, Castrenianum in toimitteita 2. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- ³ Note on the transcription of Forest Nenets words: although based to the system used by most of the language specialists (explained in Niemi 1998, 9), I have chosen to use some special symbols here: “ʌ” stands for a voiceless l and “h” for a h-sound appearing (quite predictably) between a vowel and a voiceless stop (e.g. a + k => ahk, as in Pyahk). A syllable-initial glide tends to get an additional „d” before it (e.g. -yu- => dyu-; yiw- => dyiw-), which is also quite a predictable phenomenon. I have used combination of “ä+y” to denote to a distinct diphthong-like sound combination, close to “e+y” (e.g. Ngäywa-).
- ⁴ Discussions with Polina Gilevna Turutina in Tarko-Sale, September 1998.
- ⁵ In order to illustrate the difference between the sung (see the transcription) and spoken languages, the original words are written here in their dictated (spoken) form.

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Interviews

- Pyahk, L. I. 1998. Interview recorded in Tarko-Sale, 1.9.1998. (Personal archive of the author.)
- Turutina, P. G. 1998. Interview recorded in Tarko-Sale, 9.9.1998. (Personal archive of the author.)

GESER BOYDA-YIN SANG: A LITTLE- KNOWN BURYAT-MONGOLIAN SUTRA

One of the most esteemed epic heroes whose cult has assumed a religious character among the Mongolian people is Geser Khan. According to the epic, his main mission as the envoy of the sky-dwellers was to eradicate evil and establish good and justice on earth. Historically he was a divine being to the Mongolian tribes, and he protected warriors and the owners of the countless herds that were the source of pride and wealth among the nomadic steppe habitants. Moreover, the revering of Geser has a protective function. For instance, Buryat shamanists have a superstition that it is good to talk about Geser Boyda Khan in hard times when there is dangerous illness because it fights back the various evil spirits that send illness and misfortune to people. Furthermore, listening to the poem about Geser Khan before setting out on a journey is a good sign since it would grant a man safe travel and good luck in business.¹

The first of the scholars to actually publish the Mongolian texts related to the Geser cult was the academian B. Rintchen.² In the 1950s two manuscripts were published by this scholar: "Geser boyda qayan-u sang", "Geser qayan-dur sang takil ergüki yosun ene bolai", and the block-print "Geser-yin ubsang neretü sudur", originally printed in Beijing.

The most important works about the Mongolian Geser cult belong to W. Heissig. In his monumental work³ the German scholar made a comparative study and source description of the Mongolian written texts and published in transliteration four cult texts ("sang"), which have Chakhar, Oirat, and Khalkha origins respectively, as well as a fragment of a Geser Khan prayer. Moreover, he published a facsimile of the three Mongolian texts and a table of the contents identity of the six manuscripts.

As for the Buryat ritual dedicated to Geser, until recently they have not been familiar to Mongolian scholars. However, a group of texts, 12 in number, of the type "Geser boyda-yin sang" are kept in the Mongolian fund of the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences, now the Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhology and Tibetology of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IMB and T). Ts. P. Vanchikova⁴ investigated these texts in an article in which she gives the transliteration and translation in Russian of the

manuscript "Geser qayan-u sang orusiba", as well as transliteration of 8 more not so large ritual texts dedicated to Geser.

Thus a condensed overview of the available literature concerning the Mongolian texts on the Geser cult has been made above. The purpose of this information is the introduction of one more little known copy of the Buryat-Mongolian sutra "Geser boyda-yin sang" ("Incense Burning Prayer for Holy Geser Khan").

This has been found recently in the private collection of A. Zh. Dyrzhinov living in village of Orlik in the Oka region (Buryatia), whose father was a connoisseur of ancient Mongolian texts in his homeland.

The manuscript has a bothi format, fastened together with a yellow cotton band around the middle. The size of the manuscript is five pages. The paper is Russian, and has become yellow with age. The pagination is Mongolian, in the pages the title and the text itself are double framed, the frame is red in color. The size of the sheets is 7 x 20.5 cm; the size of the text is 5 x 16.4 cm. There are 16 lines per page. The text is written in black Indian ink, and the edges of the manuscript, the right one in particular, has become dark from frequent usage. On the facial and last pages there are marks made with black Indian ink and pencil in the ancient Mongolian writing—Tsamdan, which probably is the name of a rewriter or compiler.

When this text is compared with the texts in the Mongolian fund in Ulan-Ude there is some similarity between this manuscript and the "Geser boyda-yin sang-un sudur orusibai" (N BM 605). This allows us to make some speculations about the interrelations between the origins of these two ritual works.

The fact that this manuscript turned up in the Oka region is worth considering. In connection with this I would like to remind you that the Oka region is where in 1929 the scholar G. D. Sanjeev discovered the epic novel in the ancient Mongolian language "Khan Kharangui", an important discovery for Mongolian studies at that time. He discovered a scattering of different Mongolian manuscripts during the Oka expedition, copied by local literate people.⁵

Also in the Oka region the oral tradition of Geser epic songs existed side by side with the literary version of Geser which have rise to the Beijing xylograph edition of 1716. Coexistence of these two traditions—oral and script—may be explained by the special geographical position of the Oka region, which links Mongolia with western Buryatia (Priangaria), where Geser existed in the oral epic form only.⁶

It is clear that there is a connection between the Geser epic and the Oka manuscript of the Geser cult. The "Geser boyda-yin sang" is material which contributes to the understanding of the evolution and geographical dissemination of the Geser cult among Mongolian tribes, including the Buryat Mongols. In this particular case we can say that the Oka region, located in the center of the Eastern Sayan Mountains, remained within the area of the all-Mongol cultural-ethnic space despite its remote and inaccessible location. The complement of the Oka Buryats (mostly Khongodors) has Mongolian origin.

In conclusion I submit the English translation of the Oka manuscript "Geser-un boyda-yin sang" and its transliteration.

Incense Burning Prayer for Holy Geser Khan

Om-a-a-hum (say 3 times)

[You] of the red descent
with the reddish brown face, golden topknot,
one face, and two fists,
with an arrow with the sign of the garudi⁷
in the right hand,
and a bow with the sign of the tiger
in the left hand,
with a helmet like the sun,
a shield like the moon on your shoulder,
and armor like the stars on your body,
with the sharp sword of knowledge in your hand,
with a saddle studded with lapis
on your bay horse Beligen,
holy Geser Khan,

I invite you from your pure land at this moment.

Geser with the *dongrob sirabuu*⁸ name,
with your thirty heroes and 360 companions
of the vanguard I invoke you,
gathering the essence of a hundred billion beings
I offer a beautiful pure offering for cleansing.

*Arsa, zandan, gügöl, agi, surgar, and dali*⁹

I offer to the lord of the ten directions
benevolent Geser Khan.

In the upper body having the strength of all the gods,
and in the lower body the strength of
the eight master spirits of waters and the earth,
to Geser Khan I make a purifying offering.

He who crushed the ferocious demons,
to the mighty benevolent Geser Khan I make a purifying offering.
So that the deeds of religion and of the state are not confused
I make a purifying offering to Geser of the *sirabuu dongrub* name.
To him who exterminates and annihilates the enemies and demons
that trouble the state and religion,
to Geser Khan I make a purifying offering.

In danger from fire you are like water,
In danger from wind you are like a mountain,
In danger from water you are like a boat,
In the face of the enemy you are like a thunderbolt,
To you fearsome holy Geser Khan I make a purifying offering.
In times of games of giver of *kiy morin*,¹⁰
In archery the giver of accuracy,

In wrestling the giver of extra strength,
 to you benevolent Geser Khan I make a purifying offering.
 You gave speed to my favorite horse,
 You became the spirit of my weak body,
 protecting me like a hat
 you followed me like a shadow with dignity,
 to you benevolent Geser Khan I make a purifying offering.
 Riding a blood red horse on the red cliff,
 To pure Jamsaran's¹¹ incarnation I make a purifying offering.
 With the yellow dog going before and a flying raven
 I worship the nine Dalha *tengger*,¹²
 Guardian of limitless power of the white direction,
 to the master of the forested *Dogjing-garbuu*¹³ mountain
 I make a purifying offering.
 To the *tengger*, water spirits, and nature spirits of this mountainous world
 I make a purifying offering.
 To Dyan Dekeriki¹⁴ of unequaled power and your companions
 I make a purifying offering.
 Devastate the enemies of the state,
 Annihilate the enemies of religion.
 Strengthen the state and religion.
 Grant us peace and happiness.
 Make windhorse spread.
 Increase spiritual merit.
 In business grant magic power to find profit.
 In our travel grant opportunity for gain.
 On the hunt may we find game
 and may the saddle straps be full.
 Please make these things happen quickly.
Gi gi süü süü lha-a yi luu
Gündü sarvan duu duu hum.
Bajar ayuki suuq-a.
Manggalam.

Geser boyda-yin sang-un sudur orusibai

(1v) Om-a-a hum yurban-ta ögüle.
 Ulayan-u ündüsü ulayan qongyor čirai-tu
 altan šira üsnir-tü nigen niyur-tu qoyar mutur-tai,
 barayun mutur dayan garudi-yin šinji-tu sumu-ni bariysan,
 jegün mutur dagan baras-un šinji-tu numu-ni bariysan,
 naran metü duuly-a-yi terigün-degen asayaşsan,
 saran metü banbai-yi mürün-degen ayuluysan

odun metü (2r) quyaɣni beyen-degen emüsügßen,
 qurça iretü belge bilig-ün ildü-ni mutur dayan dalaiysan,
 vinduri-a erdeni-yin erbeljitü belig-ün keger morin kölge-tü,
 Geser boyda qayan-a,
 yučin bayatur, yurban jayun jiran qoşıyuçi nüküd
 seltes-ün qamtubar-ni urin jalayad,
 jayun (2v) jiva toɣ-a-tu amtan šim-e-ni büriddügßen,
 ariyun sayıqan takil-bar ariyulan takimui.
 Arça zandan gügül ba agi surgar dali-bar arban
 jüg-ün ejen açitu Geser qayan-a ariyulan takimui.
 Delekei dakin-ni ejelegßen,
 degedü tngri-nar-un qubilyan
 açitu Geser boyda qayan-a ariyulan takimui.
 Degedü beyen-dür inu qamuy burdaq-un küçün tegüsügßen,
 douradu beyen-dür inu naiman (3r) luus-un qad-un küçün-ud
 tegüsügßen Geser qayan-a ariyulan takimui.
 Doɣşırayсан šimnus-ni doroyitayulun daruyçi,
 aya-a küçün tegüsügßen,
 açitu Geser qayan-a ariyulan takimui,
 šašin torü-yin üile-dü šingdaral ügei jidkügsen
 širabuu dongrab neretü qayan-a ariyulan takimui.
 Törü šašin qoyar-ni tedgügçi dayisun totgar-ni tayosun
 toburay bolıan sünügegçi Geser qayan-a (3v) ariyulan takimui,
 ɣal-un ayul-du udu metü,
 salkin-u ayul-du ayula metü,
 usun-u ayul-du onɣoça metü,
 dayisun-u çay-tu ayungy-a metü,
 ayuqu metü Geser boyda qayan-a ariyulan takimui.
 Nayadum-un cay-tu kiy morin-ni delgeregölügçi
 Quarbuqu çay-tu mergen onol-ni ügegügçi
 barilduqu çay-tu auɣ-a kücün-ni nemegölügçi
 açitu Geser boyda qayan-a ariyulan takimui.
 Dour-a-du (4r) morin-dur minu qurdan güyidel nemegßen,
 turaqan beyen-dür sülde boloysan,
 malayau netü sakiyçi
 següder adali dayayçi sür jibqulang tegüsügßen
 açitu Geser boyda qayan-a ariyulan takimui
 çon ulayan qadan-du çisun jegerde mori-tai,
 çoqum jimsaran-yi-yin qubilyan
 çimai-yi yuyan maytan ariyulan takimui.
 Emün-e eçe sira noqau tegülgegçi üjeskülöeng-tü-yin
 qara šibayu (4v) nisgegçi yisun sülde tngri-iyen ariyulan takimui
 çayan jüg-ni sakiyçi çaylasi ügei auɣ-a küçütü,
 boyda qangyai dongjing garbuu-dur-iyen ariyulan takimui.
 Tngri luus sabday kiged kükün-ni qangyai

delekeu-yin ejed-ni ariyulan takimui.
Tengsel ügei yeke kücütü ubasi dayan degeriki
čimai-yi nüküd seltes-ün qamtubar-ni ariyulan takimui.
Törü (5r) yin dayisun-ni tamtalan soyurq-a
šašin-ni sayisun-ni šingetelen soyurq-a.
Törü šašin-ni batudqan jokiy-a.
Tübšin jiryal-ni edlegülün jokiy-a.
Kiy morin-ni delgeregülün jokiy-a.
Kešig-ün küriyen-ni batudqan jokiy-a.
Qudalduyan-dur ašiytusatu idši-yi ügegün soyurq-a
Ayan-dur ali olja-yi ildum-bar učirayulun soyurq-a.
Aba-dur ang görügesü erkebeši (5v) učirayulju
qayan qaririlan yangjuyalayulun soyurq-a.
Sanaysan бүгүде-yi түрген бүтөге
Gi gi süü süü lha-a yi luu
Gündü sarvan duu duu hum.
Bajar ayuki suuq-a.
Manggalam.

Endnotes

- ¹ M. N. Khangalov, "Sobranie sochinenii", Vol. 2, Ulan-Ude 1959, pp. 320–321.
- ² B. Rintchen, "En marge du culte de Guesser Khan en Mongolie", *Journal de la Societe Finno-ougrienne* 60, Helsinki 1958, pp. 1–51.
- ³ W. Heissig, *Mongolische volksreligiose und folklorische Texte*, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 23–29, 140–150.
- ⁴ Vanchikova, Ts. P., "Mongoloyazychnye orbyadovye teksty kulta Gesera", *Kultura Tsentralnoi Azii: Pismennyye istochniki*, Vyp. 2, Ulan-Ude 1998, 111–144.
- ⁵ Sanjeev, G. D., "Mongolian story about Khan Kharangui," *Trudy Instituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR M-L*, 1937, vyp. 22, pp. 6–7.
- ⁶ Dugarov, B. S., "Bytovanie eposa" "Geser v Okinskih Buryat", *Sovremennost i Traditsionnaya kul'tura narodov Buryatii*, Ulan-Ude 1983, pp. 114–115.
- ⁷ Garudi — a giant bird, the king of the birds (mythological).
- ⁸ *Dongrab sirabuu* — a Tibetan divinity.
- ⁹ *Arsa, zandan, gügöl, agi, surgar, dali* — the names of plants and aromatic substances used in rituals.
- ¹⁰ *Kiy morin* — literally "windhorse" — a ritual flag with the picture of a horse, the personification of spiritual power.
- ¹¹ *Jamsaran* — a Tibetan divinity, a patron of warriors.
- ¹² *Dalha* — in Mongolian "sülde tengeri", divinity of happiness and blessing.
- ¹³ *Dongjing garbuu* — a Tibetan divinity, also the master spirit of thee Boyd Uul (Holy Mountain) just south of Ulaanbataar in Mongolia.
- ¹⁴ *Dayan Degeriki* — one of the most powerful shamanist spirits of Northern Mongolia with relation to Buddhism.

Kanaqluk (George P. Charles)

YUUYARAQ (THE WAY OF THE HUMAN BEING)

AS INTERPRETED BY A CONTEMPORARY
YUP'IK FAMILY

*Yuk eliskuni, qanrqyutni-llu maligtaqukuniki
nalluyagutevkenaki, tauna yuk
umyuartuarkauguq.*

If a person learns and follows what he
is taught and does not forget it, that person
will be wise.

Kaligtuq (Marie Nichols)

Introduction

Yupiugua (I am Yup'ik). I am the third son of *Ayaginar* (One Who Leisurely Travels) my father from *Qaluyaaq* (Place of the Dipnet-Nelson Island) and *Nengqeralria* (One Pleasantly Extended), my mother, from *Nunacuar* (Place of the Little Land). My first given name is *Qugcuun* (One Who Gathers) given to me by my maternal grandfather *Makqalria* (One Who Remains Sitting Up) after one of his deceased relatives, my second name *Akagtaq* (One Who Was Rolled Over) was also given to me by my maternal grandfather after another deceased relative, my third name *Uksuqaq* (Suddenly Little Winter) was given to me by my mother's grand-aunt, and my fourth name is *Kanaqluk* (Muskrat) was given to me by my father after my paternal grandfather died. This first person statement is the protocol followed by my family when introducing themselves to others and to elders. Even now, the speaker sometimes elaborates when needed by adding the grandparents' genealogies and places of birth. This introduction protocol and other notions such as a belief in the recycling of spirits both human and non-human is 'a tip of the iceberg' which reflects some

axioms inherent in *Yuyaraq* (the Way of the Human Being) as understood by my family. The following remembrances of my immediate and extended family were drawn sometimes from my own recollections of stories told to me by my relatives, from tape recordings made from family members telling stories and or singing songs, and more recently from video recordings and some film footage.

Some excellent ethnographic and research work has been done by Dr. Ann Fienup-Riordan, a University of Chicago trained anthropologist, who learned to speak *Yup'ik* and has collaborated with trained and experienced *Yup'ik* translators, namely, Marie Meade, David Chanar, Ann Jacobson, Louise Leonard, and Elsie Mather to name but a few. Their work is of the highest caliber with attention to detail and accuracy. Some of my family members, especially my father, have been subjects of their important work. The stories from my own recollection have been verbally verified for accuracy by asking immediate and extended family members about the particulars related to a specific event or incident in the family stories. I am a participant observer, an insider, whose primary language was *Yup'ik* and who later became a bilingual speaker with English as a second language. These family remembrances were told in the *Yup'ik* language which required interpretation and translation and they have been verified by family members and by Dr. Marianne Mithun.

The Nuna (Land) and Yupiit (*Yup'ik* People)

The Central *Yup'ik* occupy an area about the size of Washington State. Presently there are approximately 23,000 *Yupik* people with 15,000 still speaking the *Yup'ik* language. Prior to contact by the non-Alaska Native, the Central *Yup'ik* lived on their homeland for an untold number of centuries following rules of living that had been passed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. Each family told their stories and each generation left its own mark for the next to carry along. In those eons of time, the *Yup'ik* learned to survive in a harsh and often hostile unforgiving environment living off the sea and the land. By observation of their physical environment, nature and its cycles, the animals, other human beings, and by trial and error the *Yup'iaq* (the *Yup'ik* Eskimos) learned to find meaning and purpose to their lives. Nature provided most of the material needs for the *Yup'iaq*: food, clothing, and shelter. To the *Yup'iaq*, nature was much more than what was physically seen, touched, or felt. Nature was alive, it had spirit. The *Yup'iaq* world was surrounded by forces and powers, seen and unseen.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, most of the non-native external forces that would begin affecting the *Yup'iaq* world were well underway. Missionization by the Russian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholics and the Moravian Church was one of those external forces that invaded the world of the *Ayaginar* family. Prior to contact, the *Yup'ik* of the Yukon-Kuskokwim River delta lived mostly isolated except for the *Malemuit* (Inupiaq) to the North, the *Ingalik* (Athabaskan) to the northeast, and *Alutiiq-Sugpiaq* to the southeast.

Trading and exchange occurred between these groups and this activity had its own influences on the culture of the *Yup'ik*, although not as dramatic as that of missionization and other external forces.

The Ayaginar Family

My father, *Ayaginar* (One who leisurely travels, Nicholas A. Charles) was a *Qaluyaarmiu* (from Nelson Island) who was born in 1912 and my mother, *Nengqeralria* (One Pleasantly Extended-Elena Nichols Charles) is a *Nunacuarmiu* (a person from the village of *Nunacuar*) near the present day village of *Kasigluk* who was born in 1918. They were married in 1936 in the home of the Reverend Ferdinand Drebert, a Moravian missionary. *Ayaginar* later converted to Catholicism. I am the third living son of 17 children born to *Nengqeralria* and *Ayaginar* in 1941. Out the seventeen children, seven children survived. Most of the children died young from measles, influenza, and tuberculosis because there was little medical care in the early years of the late 1930s and 1940s. In those days almost all of the marriages were agreed upon by the parents. Many of my friends were married in that way.

It was not unusual for a person to have several names and in my family both parents and children followed this traditional pattern of name giving. In my mother's case, a formal announcement was made during one of the giving rituals much like the potlatch of the Northwest Coast where the origin of her name was elaborated upon before the community in the *qasgiq* (men's community house). My maternal grandfather had honored my mother with three giving feasts in her life time. In fact the last giving feast in *Nunacuaq*, much like the pre-contact ceremonies was done in *Kassiggluq* (*Kasigluk*) in the middle 1920's. There is a belief that the deceased returns to the family in the new born and to this day my mother refers to my brother, Bob, as „Old man”, after her father, *Makalralia*. This name was given by my maternal grandmother *Kaligtuq* to my brother Bob who was born not long after my maternal grandfather died. There is also another belief that the essential attributes of the deceased are carried on by the newly named family member. When some family member passes on, more than one child is named after that person and both *Yup'ik* and English names are passed on. The *Yup'ik* names are passed on more than the English names. At present, in our family for example, there are three Mary Charles's, each being named after my father's sister who died in the 1930s. This caused some paper work problems in school and other government offices so middle names were given to alleviate the confusion and my sister became, Mary Margaret Charles, one cousin became, Mary Alice Charles, and the last became, Mary Francis Charles. Each of them also had their own *Yup'ik* names.

My blood line relationship is important since it connects me with two different and important *Yup'iaq* groups that traded and exchanged essential resources, namely seal oil, seal skin for boots, natural coloring pigments from

the coast, fish and furs from the tundra. It is still the custom of the *Yup'iaq* when introducing themselves to trace their lineage. This process establishes where the individual is located in the *Yup'iaq* society. While the individual is important, the familial location is more meaningful. The issue of survival was based on the support and inter-dependence of the individuals within the community he or she was located. There is still some friendly teasing especially between cousins and spouses stemming from ethnocentric notions on where one is from. One well-known story was an incident between a husband from the coast and a wife from the tundra. The husband had in a derogatory tone teasingly referred to his wife's people as the great hunters of the muskrat and how they throw those "big" animals to the front of the open kayak of *nunapik* (tundra) people. The wife countered with „and it is known that the *cenarmiut* (coastal people) rub their bodies with seal oil before going out to hunt. Everyone knows how big muskrat are and how seal oil gets rancid and quite repugnant when exposed to the open air. Humor was, and still is, a mechanism to help people face conditions beyond their control.

Songs

In the early years on the tundra and on the rivers, I heard songs sung by my immediate and extended family. Some were simple songs that told of life in the *Yup'ik* world, some humorous and others serious. Most of the songs I remember were those sung by my father, mother, grandparents, and other extended family members. Some of these songs were recorded on audio and on video tapes. The song that makes this thesis possible was my paternal great-grandfather's medicine song passed on to my father. This song is one of several songs on a video tape of my father singing older songs that date back to pre-contact times.

The Medicine Song

The medicine song was composed by my paternal great-grandfather before contact, a time before the coming of the non-Alaska native to Alaska. When the non-natives descended upon the *Yup'ik* there was some tension caused by the clashing of the cultures. There was some resistance to missionization, a few individuals were killed in the early missionization efforts. *Yup'ik* rituals and practices were classified as works of the devil by the missionaries. The masked dances and the giving rituals, much like that of the potlatch of the Northwest Pacific Coast, were curtailed by the missionaries and teachers. Despite efforts by the missionaries, teachers, and administrators of the territorial government of the United States some of the rituals returned in a modified form. One of the other devastating effects of contact was "the Great Death", the time when many Alaska Native people died due to the diseases brought by the colonizers. After Russia sold Alaska to the United States, the *Yup'ik* were under the domain of

the United States Government through the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The Alaska Native people were all classified as Indians. The policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs program of education, acculturation, assimilation, and relocation contributed to the turmoil that ensues when different cultures meet. Later new laws enacted by the newcomers regarding hunting would conflict with traditional hunting for ceremonial and traditional uses. Despite all these external restrictive changing forces, the *Ayaginar* family medicine song survived.

The effects of the culture clash are still being played out and this will be the subject of another study. For the present, this analysis will deal only with the dynamics of the medicine song and its related elements within the context of the *Yup'iaq* culture as reflected within the *Ayaginar* family. My father was the last one in this family to be traditionally taught in the *qasgiq* (men's community house). Prediction stories were told of these different people who were not *Yup'ik* coming to their land. These remembrances as they relate to the family have been translated from *Yup'ik* to English and are the free translation format. The narratives in Chapter One and Chapter Two follow the *Yup'iaq* traditional nonlinear storytelling structure of repetition, digression, and circumlocution. The medicine song translation will follow a linguistic analysis method used by Dr. Marianne Mithun of the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB) Linguistic Department. The personal lens through which the family members see and express their culture will give some sense of how the greater *Yup'iaq* group perceive themselves. This thesis will also show how many of the original practices and lifestyles, although modified, still remain within the *Yup'iaq's* mental universe despite the influences of the western world. This not to say that the *Ayaginar* family is totally representative of the greater *Yup'iaq* group. There is the reality that some concepts may have been misinterpreted by myself or my family. There also may be some unintentional filtering or gate-keeping of information as it is passed on from person to person or from generation to generation at least in the *Ayaginar* family. This study is partial and illustrative rather than exhaustive and extensive and reflects the world view seen by one family.

This paper explores the different levels of experience of my paternal greatgrandfather's medicine song and why the song still has significance for the family. This paper will not elaborate on how one becomes an *angalkuq* (medicine person). Contextual cultural knowledge and a linguistic analysis of the medicine song is central to gaining some insight into the inherent power of the song. I am not attempting to encompass the whole of *Yup'iaq* ideology, but to narrow the field of vision to the *Ayaginar* (Nicholas A. Charles) Family. I will attempt to translate the concepts across different cultures, from *Yup'ik* to English, a problematic task. Any errors in the transcription and the translation of the material are solely mine. My late father, *Ayaginar*, entitled the song, *Yut Quyalingnaqluki* (Trying To Make Something For People To Be Thankful For). The ritual associated with the medicine song was one example of many rituals

in the larger arena of *Yuyaraq*, (the Way of the Human Being), in essence, *Yup'ik* spirituality.

In order to gain some understanding of the meaning and significance of the medicine song, we will first have locate ourselves in the realm of the *Yup'iaq* world, seeing the natural terrain bounded by the ocean, the sky, and the landscape and the *Yup'iat* (real human beings) in their cultural and natural ecology. What is physically seen can be perceived with ordinary vision. To the *Yup'iaq*, there is yet another field of vision coupled with the *ellum iinga* (eye of awareness) which perceives the unseen. The non-physical world of spirits and other forces is seen through the eyes of its *angalkut* (medicine people). It is these medicine people who had the capability of making contact with the supernatural. This paper will attempt to navigate through and between the seen and the unseen. In doing so, one will begin to apprehend the meaning, the inherent power and significance of the medicine song for the *Ayaginar* family. I was given permission by my father to write on our medicine song. He felt that this family knowledge should be shared with *mikelnguput* (our children) and *allatlu* (and others). He wanted his grandchildren to know that they have a culture that they can be proud of.

A comparative analysis will be the topic of another study which will compare the families' microcosmic knowledge with the macrocosmic ontology of the larger area of "*Yuyaraq*" as stated by other first person accounts from different parts of the Central *Yup'ik* homeland and from secondary documents from library and archival sources. The musical and dance notation will be included in another study. An analysis of the mask and its significance to various rituals will also be examined in a later study.

The Land and The Seasons As Seen By The Family

Ellangellumnek (from the time I became aware) I remember hearing *qulirat* (stories) making references to *nunaput* (our land) a word that obviously has a communal essence to it. My family would go to our various seasonal camps and we had the sense of freedom on our land. To my family, the *nuna* belongs to all *Yup'iat* and it was the land created by *Tulukaruk*, aka *tamani* (a long time ago at that place).

Kiak (Summer)

My father was born *kiagmi* (in summer) at a summer fish camp near *Qaluyaaq* (Nelson Island) where the land was covered by *nunapik* (tundra—a thick vegetative growth of various plants and tiny shrub like floral). On it were the edible berries, the *atsalugpiaq* (salmon berry), *curaq* (blueberry), *kavirlit* (red berries), and the *puyuraarpak* (raspberry), and the berry referred to by my

mother as *teppeggcaun* (one that has a pleasant smell). This berry is mixed with the salmonberry to give it a pleasant smell. Other edible plants such as the wild celery, lake tubers, a bean sprout like plant in the lakes, and wild rhubarb were also gathered. Some plants were eaten raw with seal oil and some plants were added to soups of meat or fish. Summer was a time of plenty with pleasant weather. It was the time to harvest fish and gather berries for the winter. Fish was gathered for both people and as feed for dogs. Summer salmon on the *Kuskokwim* River had to be caught with nets, cut, dried, and smoked. This was a family activity and all members each did their part in the summer food harvest. It was in the summer that my father once built a *qugnillnguq* (cottonwood) smoke house for my mother. My father was especially skilled as a carpenter and later as an ivory and mask carver. My father had a team of twelve dogs so in the summer they were fed, watered and fattened up before Fall. If the dogs did not have the extra fat by freeze up, they would grow leaner faster and be weaker as working dogs, some died in winter when not properly fattened. Mosquitoes abound appearing to be a gray cloud like buzzing mass and during this time smudge fires had to be constantly lit to keep them from killing the dogs. I remember that well as it was my job to keep those fires lit. That summer I saw dog's bodies floating down the *Kuskokwim* River who had been killed because the mosquitoes had bitten them literally to death. Summer was also the time to hunt various waterfowl. Along the coast, tom cod, halibut, flounder, clams, mussels, herring and herring eggs on kelp would also be harvested.

Uksuaq (Fall)

In the *Uksuaq* (Fall), the final gathering of wood took place. Sometimes wood would be vertically stacked at various locations to be retrieved later by boat or by sled after freeze up. By the time I was aware of my surroundings, we had flat bottom open wooden river boats with outboard gasoline engines. My relatives would use their boats to gather what wood could be found on the banks of the *Kuskokwim* and *Johnson* Rivers. Large rafts of logs would be made and towed by boat back to the village, for my tundra relatives it was to *Kasigluk*. White fish were caught by dip nets in the tundra villages. Pits would be dug and lined with grass and the white fish would be placed in these pits after they were gutted. After a short while the white fish would be removed from the pit and placed in grass baskets and stored in the food caches. The white fish would have stayed in the pits just enough to have a slightly fermented odor. The white fish livers and stomachs would be cooked and the oil surrounding the intestines would ooze out to an olive oil like consistency. The eggs of white fish would also be used in soups or mixed with the cooked fish liver and berries for a rich dessert. The white fish oil would sometimes be used to soak the smaller dried/smoked white fish and stored in seal skin containers for later use. Pike fish were also caught and dried without being smoked. The skins of salmon and pike were sometimes used as waterproof boots. I watched my mother preparing

king salmon skins for my father's waterproof boots. Along the Kuskokwim River, rabbit drives were held to make use of that food source. These drives were a community affair. Just after freeze up my mother would gather tops of lake plants to be added to soups by scraping them up with a shovel. Moose and caribou would be hunted in the fall mostly along the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers. Along the coast several varieties of seal and walrus were hunted. Occasionally a beached whale would be found and if it was fresh, it was butchered and shared with the community.

Uksuq (Winter)

In *Uksuq* (Winter), after freeze up my family would hunt for furs in their winter camps in an area between *Kasigluk* and *Qaluyaaq*. One particular place was beyond the portage near the *Paqpalaq* Lake. This is when most tundra families would be spread out on the land each with their own hunting areas. My father would hunt the fox, mink, land otter, wolf and an occasional weasel would be caught. I had the opportunity to travel with my father on many trips with a dog team to check his fur and fish traps or when he went to get fire wood. Sometimes we would chase a fox to its den where my father would set a trap. Winter travel was fun and one could go straight in any direction. Winter was also a treacherous time when one could still fall through the ice in places where water movement kept the ice from thickening. My mother also set fox traps using partially dried salmon eggs as bait. My paternal grandmother made nets to catch *aqesgiq* (ptarmigan) in the stand of willows not far from our winter sod house. As I recall she made a significant contribution to our food supply. My paternal grandmother also made hand made dip nets so that my father would dip for needle fish in the many little sloughs near where we had our winter home. That winter I watched my grandmother twist dried caribou sineu into home-made thread to be used when making fur parkas. On the coast, where fish skin was not readily available, they would use seal oil to soak the seal skin boots to make them waterproof. Winter camp was an activity-filled time of catching fur bearing animals, skinning them and preparing them for drying. While checking fish and fur traps one was always on the look out for ptarmigan, a tasty little ubiquitous bird and snow shoe rabbits. In my father's fish traps one would catch mostly blackfish, pike and barbot. The tundra land traversed by my family was mostly flat with some rolling hills with stands of willow and alder trees. Numerous lakes and slow moving sioughs abound the winter landscape. In the whiteness of winter was seen *tulukaruk* (raven) flying in the coldest of windy days seemingly without a care in the world. Occasionally, we would see the mysterious *anipak* (snowy owi), the messenger of Spirits, flying leisurely, but yet intently over its domain. The wing feathers of the *anipak* (snowy owl) are still used on the dance fans.

Despite the bleak snowy and ice filled appearance the land was, and remains teeming with life, the well adapted flora and fauna providing life-giving

food for its human inhabitants, the *Yup'iaq*. All members of the family, young, old and in between participated and gave meaningful contribution to the families' food supply in this seemingly uninhabitable land. After the evening meal, the favorite time of the day for me began, the telling of stories by the elders, especially when a traveling hunter stayed overnight going to *Qaluyaaq* or towards *Kasigluk*. I would stay up with them as they re-created the past in our minds' eyes. However, I would be told that I had to go to bed lest I miss out on being able to catch the animal or animals that would allow themselves to be caught by me, if I was worthy of them.

One winter my family and the Oscar family, went up the Kuskokwim River to hunt beaver, an activity quite unusual for a mostly coastal hunter. My father's brother, *Naulallaria* (One Who Grows), helped with towing our boat by dog team up the river. We stayed one night with one of my father's distant relatives, the Peter family, in *Akiakchuaq*. My uncle returned to Bethel after helping to tow my father's boat to the winter beaver camp. We wintered in a place above the village of *Tuulkessaaq*. This was an adventure, as I had only been familiar with the flatness of a mostly treeless tundra. Spring in that upper Kuskokwim River area was mostly colorful in my mind's eye. The spruce trees seemed a dark green and hills full of color and mystery. Besides my parents was my sister, Mary, and my mother's youngest brother, *Elaqaq* (Evon). I remember one day the Jesse Oscar children, my uncle, my sister and I having to run back to the boat because there was a brown bear venturing too close during our berry eating excursion. We hurried back to the camp where and my father and Jesse Oscar went back to kill it. I still remember the beaver my father caught, the brown bear, the colorful mallard ducks and the giant size pike that were caught in our nets. There were also many edible berries, mostly blueberries and wild raspberries. I watched my father use spruce tree sap, melting it in a can to use as a glue to patch the open canoe. Later that summer we returned to Bethel by boat being towed by Jesse Oscar who had a gasoline engine. What was significant about the trip was the warmth, hospitality, and generosity of people along the way. My parents would go up river every fall to hunt moose and relive the up river spring and summer experience of that original beaver hunting experience. Moose hunting was my parent's favorite time of the year. They were able to live off the land, catching different fish which my mother would can. They caught the large pike which was drying while they were hunting for moose. They would gather birch bark for baskets and a supply of *kumakaq* (a tree fungus whose ashes were used with chewing tobacco). In the central villages sites, *Uksuq*, was usually the time for holding ritual feasting and gift giving.

Up'nergak (Spring)

In *Upnergak* (Spring), I remember the greening of the *nuna*. On the Kuskokwim River was the annual spring break up of the ice when it sufficiently melted to break apart and flow down the river. When the down flowing ice would jam, the

level of the water would rise causing some flooding. The annual spring river breakup brings to the treeless western coastal areas of Alaska the all important drift wood. The *Yup'ik* learned to use this resource to a high degree in the making of many useful items needed for daily living. It was said in myth that *Tulukaruk* after making the *nunarpak* (the earth), with its mighty claws carved out the *Kwigpak* (Big River-Yukon) and *Kusquqvak* (Kuskokwim) rivers and designed the seasons so that drift wood would be available for the *Yup'ik*. Just after break up the dip netting of *qusuut* (smelt) would take place. Shortly thereafter would come the mighty *taryaqvut* (king salmon) followed by the other salmon species. The catching of fish would only take pulling up the net instead of chopping through thick ice to get to fish traps. It was a time of great joy as food was plentiful and easier to obtain. The birds and the waterfowl would return. Egg hunting trips would take place near the many islands near *Kasigluk*. It was a time of what seemed to be continual family picnicking when days would even be longer. Men one found a nest of eggs, one would leave one egg in the nest, grabbing a handful of feather down and spitting into it saying, "so that you will come back again". Later, when the young waterfowl would be grown almost to full size but yet not fully winged, it was the time for *unguyaq* (driving of waterfowl in the tundra lakes to be harvested), I had the opportunity to take part in one these bird drives. After a mostly meatless winter, fresh tasty meat was most welcome by all. I remember seeing one end of the lake black because it was covered with hundreds of waterfowl. There were noises of different bird species being heard over laughing and happy human voices. I recall the face of an eider who told me to remember to give thanks for this gift of the land. It was a time of great joy but it was shortly thereafter that such activities were banned by the outsiders.

After the happiness of *Uknergag* (Spring), the cycle of the seasons would repeat themselves as they have since *Ellum Yua* (Spirit of the Universe) represented by the metaphorical *Tulukaruk* (Raven), *ak'a tamani* (a long time ago at that place), made the *Ella* (Universe), *nunarpak* (earth), the seasons, *Yup'iat nuniit* (people's land), *ungungsiit* (animals), *Yup'iatlu* (and the *Yup'iaq*). Along with the knowledge of the seasons and the land, there was the knowledge of the lunar cycles. There were names for each of the twelve months and awareness for the shortest day. I am not knowledgeable about the lunar events although I have heard from my mother the names associated with them.

The Early Years of the Ayaginar Family

My Early Years

My early years in the 1940's were spent on the tundra near Bethel and on the Kuskokwim River when my family was hunting, fishing, traveling by dog team and by boat depending on the seasons. The village of *Kasigluk* in the later 1940's was visited by a traveling non-native Moravian missionary, Ferdinand Drebert, by dogsled several times a year from Bethel. I met this gentleman on several occasions when he would visit my maternal grandparents. I spent considerable time with my maternal grandparents usually in the spring. During that time while on a spring egg hunting trip, we passed the old burial grounds near the old village site of *Nunacuar* near the present site of *Kasigluk*. My grandparents would tell me that some were my relatives. They were buried above ground with posts on which some of their personal belongings were attached. I remember seeing old sleds, spears, even some guns, pots, pans, and cups at these grave sites. There were some old graves with poles of human like faces carved on them. Most were rotting, had fallen down and now were covered with tundra growth. My parents remembered another grave site where a man who was considered to be wealthy had the usual utilitarian personal items but also had numerous trade bead necklaces at his grave. Later, one of the non-native school administrators came with several other non-natives and took the items away and they were never to be seen nor heard of again. I have heard this story from other people in the village of *Kasiguk* and they referred to this as "the great grave robbery" and saying that those people had no respect for the dead.

I saw evidence of the "giving back to the earth ceremony" where someone from the old village had left in the earth, a large swan and a large barbot right at land's end where the earth was sinking into the lake covered with tundra grass. This incident was in the summer of 1978 during a sentimental visit to the old village of *Nunacuar* where my mother had spent her early childhood. My deceased cousin, Nicky, had taken us by boat from *Kasigluk* to the old abandoned village. I had seen this village in the late 1940s and at that time there were houses and a Moravian Mission Church there. Most of the land had sunk and my mother was visibly surprised and saddened that so much of the old village was gone. We had also found some human skulls on the ground. My mother tenderly made a nest of grass and faced one of the skull towards the sun saying that was probably one of our relatives. According to my mother, this was done to show respect for the deceased.

As a child I watched my maternal grandfather, *Mukalria*, put a small piece of dry fish in the tundra while we had lunch on the bank of the slough near *Kasigluk* during a short hunting canoe trip in the fall. *Mukalria* stated that a small gift was always given to the spirit of the land and the animals. I had also watched my grandfather make the large fish traps using spruce wood gathered

in the spring just after break up. Much like my father, I watched and observed while my grandfather used the *mellgaq* (bent blade knife with a ivory handle), his *kepun* (adz), and various sized wooden wedges to break down the spruce log for making the fish trap. The completed fish trap was set at the upper end of the village on the river that passed through *Kasigluk* near his house. One early spring, I helped by grandfather and uncles set the fish trap by first driving poles into the muddy bottom perpendicular to the river and then inserting barriers of wooden weirs to direct the fish into the fish trap.

In spring, during the harvesting of birds in the *tevyaraq* (portage area between two lakes that connects *Qaluyaaq* and the tundra villages), I had found a small seal oil lamp with the symbol of the universe (concentric circles) incised in the inner rim of the clay lamp. It was also at such time much earlier that one of my paternal ancestor's had the experience of spearing a waterfowl with a bird spear that symbol became my family's property marking, in essence a family crest.

Immediate and Extended Family Stories

Ak'a tamani (a long time ago at that place) is a phrase that begins most *Yup'iaq quirat* (stories). My earliest recollection was my father using that phrase, a phrase which to me is synonymous with being a *Yup'iaq*. It was, and still is, a phrase used by all *Yup'iaq* storytellers. My father told many stories in his life time and the following are just a few of them. The *ciuliat* (elders/ancestors) according to *Ayaginar* and other elder story tellers told of *Tulukaruk* (Raven), the Creator of the Universe who was also a trickster, *nuna* (the earth), the *Yup'iaq* (the Real People), the *angalkuq* (the medicine people), the *cingssiit* (the little people), *ircenrrat* (human like beings who had power to transverse with great speed on and through the earth, and *tuunraq* (shaman's spirit). The elder's *qanemcit* (stories) told of *Yuyaraq* (The Way of The Human Being) and of *Ellum iinga* (the Eye of Awareness). The elder's told of *Elriq* (the Great Feast of the Dead) and *Nakaciuq* (the Bladder Feast), the two most sacred and spiritual ceremonies of the *Yup'iaq*. The *Elriq* honored the deceased human beings and the *Nakaciuq* honored the animal spirits. When a person died, the next of kin practiced what was called *yaagluteng* (a practice of mourning the death of a family member by abstaining from certain activities such as preparing or cooking food). The closer kin usually looked after you and saw to your needs during your grieving.

In the *Nakaciuq* ceremony, the inflated bladders of the animals caught by the hunters were put under the ice after freeze up so that the spirits of the animals could return to their spirit place and later return to be reborn again in the physical world. *Ayaginar*, and later I, would hear the elders' ongoing dialogue and discourse on *Yup'ik* ideology in the *Yup'iaq* culture. The acquisition of food was an energy and time consuming activity during different times of the year. The window of opportunity for the harvesting of food such as

the fish was sometimes narrow. The people learned to manage and balance their time well between activities of gathering plants and hunting by observing nature and its seasons. Some major events were remembered by reference to the seasons. When one was not observant and missed the chance to harvest food when it was available, that person and his family would be hungry. There were usually no second chances. On a number of occasions my maternal grandmother and my mother would state that thought that the *neqngyaraq* (way of the acquisition of food) was the most important activity. Food gave you energy and life to help you carry out the other rules of living and related ceremonies. The survival of the community depended on this important endeavor. The food source were the animals and plants that according to my maternal grandfather, sacrificed themselves so that the *Yup'iaq* would live.

Nengqeralria (One Pleasantly Extended) also remembers the gathering of grass before Fall. They would be tied up in bundles and stacked. Grass was used in many ways. To this day my family still uses grass in winter boots to insulate the feet from the frozen ground, ice and snow. *Issrat* (food containers) were made of grass which would hold the white fish that were caught in the fall. I took part in the fall harvest of white fish in *Kasigluk* on several occasions. A fish weir would be placed perpendicular to the river on the lower end of the village. Large dip nets would be used to catch the white fish. All members of the village as well as people from some other villages participated. Each family would dip for fish until they caught what they needed to last them through the winter.

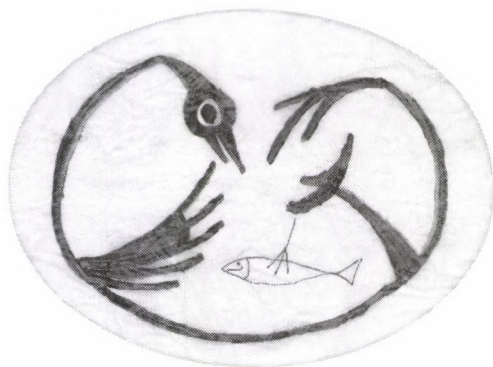
Nengqeralria remembers the story of hunger of the *Nunacuaq* ancestors when the run of white fish did not return. It was the ubiquitous and seemingly unimportant little black fish that helped people to survive that winter. To this day the descendants of the people of that area have a small blackfish tail symbol sewn into the back tassel of the fancy women's parka to commemorate that important occasion. It is a reminder that the animal beings are important to and needed by the *Yup'iaq* for their survival. Small wonder that rituals showing respect to the animal and plant realms were celebrated and carefully observed.

The *ciuliat* told of *Kelek*, the inviting in feast, where people were invited and given a feast. My mother, *Nengqeralria*, was honored during the *Kelek* festival by her father, *Makqalria*, at the *Kelek* festival. *Makqalria* gave away what was considered to be wealth—furs, clothing, food, sleds, kayaks, guns, blankets, etc.—to the invited guest. These material goods were accumulated to be given away. My mother stated that she was honored in this way by her father three times in her life. On one occasion one of her great uncles composed a song and dance which, in a way, was teasing my mother, as one who was a little spoiled because she was sometimes quick to verbally respond to her relatives. The last giving and honoring feast in *Kasigluk*, much like the pre-contact ritual, was given in honor of my mother by her father. According to my mother this last *Kalukaq* occurred around early or middle 1930s.

Nengqeralria was named after one of her father's relatives and her father honored her with a feast in the *qasgiq*. During the ceremony one of the elders

would proclaim, "Who would *Nengqeralria* chose to do her bidding?". A relative would give her a sip of water and name the lake or place from where the water came from. A small piece of food usually fish, was also given to her by the same relative again naming the place where that piece of fish came from. *Kaligtug*, *Nengqeralria*'s mother, also remembered at such as an honoring ceremony that she was given a bowl of *akutaq* with her personal symbol drawn on the surface of the *akutaq*.

In the ceiling of the *qasgiq*, *Nengqeralria* remembers seeing a *kuvyaq* (seal skin net) hung in such a way that it could be pulled by a rope to make it move in synchrony with the beat of the ceremonial drums. The net structure, *ellanguaq* (pretend or model of the universe) had white feathers tied to it representing the stars. When sleds or kayaks were given away my mother remembers seeing the tips of them being shown through the overhead window of the *qasgiq*. They were moved in and out in synchrony with the beating of the drums.



Yup'ik symbol.

In these festivals, there would be as many as ten to twenty drummers in the *qasgiq*. The surfaces of the drums were walrus stomachs. My mother still wonders how so many walrus stomachs were acquired for these gatherings. Sometimes according to *Nengqeralria*, the large drums would overlap one another because their were so many drummers sitting side by side. My mother remembers the vibration of the beating drums permeating her being.

Sometimes when the *qasgiq* was not large enough to hold all the guests, part of the side and roof of the *qasgiq* were opened so the guests could still participate and observe the festival and ceremonies from the outside. *Nengqeralria* remembers running out of the *qasgiq* and going outside to look in to see what that point of view was like. My mother admits she was curious and remembers with great joy her exploration to experience *ella* (the elements of the universe). She even admits to being somewhat spoiled because she had the freedom to explore and see for herself the ceremonial activities around her. *Nengqeralria* one day watched the making of a new *qasgiq*, in a ritual of renewal that she referred as *Ingulaq*. The entire community worked together to build the new *qasgiq*. The material included new logs, floor and wall planking, and new seal skin windows.

Nengqeralria remembers in great detail these feasts and related ceremonies such as the *Qaariitaaq*, a masquerade like festival, where her face was colored with white clay and the soot from the fire pit. She and other children and her would stand on top of the *qasgiq*, face the wind to dry the clay make-up and

say, "Umpa, Umpa". She and the other children would go from house to house in the village and were given water and food by the hosts. Later, the adults would do the same thing. My mother took part in many ceremonies during her early years. She remembers that her maternal grandmother would smudge her before all these rituals with *ayuq* (Labrador Tea plant) and say, "No bad spirits and sickness will touch you, while these visitors are here". The *ayuq* smudging was a purification and protection ritual. *Ayaginar* also related a similar ritual where the smoke of the *ayuq* was permitted to permeate the boys' parkas for the same purification and protection ritual. He remembers letting the smoke of the plant enter his parka at the lower part of the parka and leave out through the neck. Powerful words of affirmation, purification, and protection were uttered by the elders in the smudging ritual. *Nengqeralria* also learned about medicinal plants, such as the *qanganaruaq* (pretend squirrel plant) and the bark of *cuukvaguaq* (alder tree).

Ayaginar and *Nengqeralria* were taught by their elders that words and thoughts are real. The words had power when spoken with conviction and clear intent. They were taught that feelings also had power. Happiness attracted happiness. So one was careful not to injure the feelings of others. Gratitude was also one of the more powerful emotions. Feelings, according to my parents, were felt by the human as well as the non-human. I have heard many elders telling one to give unselfishly to others especially elders, widows, and orphans, of food and physical assistance where required, packing water or chopping wood, etc. According to my ancestors, the gratitude of the recipients was so powerful that good things happened to the unselfish giver. These ideas were also reiterated by *Kaligtuq*, and *Makqalria*. Statements of *Yup'iaq* truth, rules of behavior, *Yuyaraq* (Way of the Human Being) were repeated over and over again. The younger members of the community would have to listen without comment even though they had heard them numerous times. Silence and respect were taught and instilled in the teaching of the young. One did not look directly into the eyes of the elders and most of the time the young did not initiate an idle conversation with an elder. It was proper, however, following strict protocol to ask questions especially ones regarding the acquisition of knowledge.

Kaligtuq told the story that she was the last of her siblings and the people from the old village did not want her family to live in the main village because the causes of the death of her siblings may affect the entire village in a negative way. The *angalkuq* in the village told her parents to move to an island across from the main village. The *angalkuq* had her ears and nose septum pierced and caribou twine was attached to them and tied to a small stick in the ground as a protective measure so that her spirit would not be taken away preventing death.

Kaligtuq also taught *Nengqeralria* to stand on top of the "ena" (house) and putting her little fingers in her mouth as if to whistle, lifting her arms and outstretching them above her head and symbolically tearing open the sky. This was to change the weather. In another incident, during a summer trip when the waters on the lake were rough with high waves, *Nengqeralria* was told to sip a small amount of seal oil and spit it out on the water. As countless *Yup'it* have

seen, oil when dropped on water tends to spread out on the surface of the water in all directions. This would help to calm the waters. These individual rituals imply some personal control over nature but in actuality were performed to show respect to the more powerful forces of nature. The *Yup'iaq* learned to work with nature and developed an attitude not of submission but of respect.

My maternal grandmother would tell short stories that taught a lesson relevant to survival. One such story dealt with careful eating of dry fish. One did not carelessly eat dry fish lest a small part may fall on the ground and get stepped on. I remember my grandmother emphasizing the point and moving her head as if she was the fish and looking at the careless eater and saying, "you are not showing my kind respect, I will tell my kind that not to go to you". I especially remember one of the prime *inerquteq* (a word close to a law—prohibition), *yutruq cuqcaqunaki* (do not measure people—do not judge people) stated in strong intonational tones by my grandmother. The suffix "*ruq*", in the word *yutruq* is a hearsay suffix derived from the sayings of the ancestors. I have heard several versions of that rule from different relatives through out my life. Along with these short stories were, what I refer to as, fable songs. My mother is one of the last true fable song singers since most of the elders in her generation have passed on. Some of these songs were humorous and some subliminally taught some important lesson related to survival. One such humorous song had to do with a child who for whatever reason chopped the face of a wooden doll near its mouth. This resulted in the doll singing back with a slightly slurred sound since part of its tongue was chopped off. As a boy, I also watched the young women with storytelling knives drawing the images and symbols of their story-line on mud. From what I could remember, they all had a consistent way of drawing familiar images, such as a human figures, houses, etc. Stories being told with the *yaaruiq* (story knife, usually ivory) by the young women would mesmerize the younger listeners including myself. The storytellers would go from screen to screen, as each important story element finished, it was erased with spitting on the picture and the knife smoothing the surface of the mud screen. The telling of stories in this manner is seldom seen in these days and is a great loss to the next generation who are mesmerized by television.

My father, *Ayaginar*, left the women's *ena* (house) at the age of nine and went to the *qasgiq* to begin his training in the *Yuyaraq* (The Way of the Human Being). Every morning, his sisters would bring him food to eat with a little bit of water. *Ayaginar* learned by watching *ciuliani* (his elders). He watched his elders making tools, hunting implements, sleds, kayaks, bowels, fish traps, dance fans, seal oil lamps, spears, bows and arrows, paddles, drums, and masks. He learned by imitating his elders, no formal classes were conducted. Occasionally a designated elder would tell stories that taught the many aspects of being a *Yup'iaq* (human being), stories of animals and their behavior. *Ayaginar* and his *ilurat* (cousins) were taught about *ella*, a word with many meanings, the universe, reality, weather, nature, memory, awareness, land and the earth. They heard stories of when *nunum amia* (the earth's skin) was thin

and in that distant time the animals and human beings were able to talk to each other. This was the time when transformation from one to the other was more possible. They learned that human beings were part of nature along with the animals, however, sometimes the animals were superior to the human being. *Tulukark* (Raven) was the mythical creator of the *Yup'iaq* universe. In other stories by the elders, *Ellum Yua*, (the person or spirit of the universe) was mentioned as the creator.

The elders of *Ayaginar* taught that spirits of the animals were aware of human behavior. So *Ayaginar*, his cousins and his friends learned to watch their behavior and attitude knowing that some spirit was watching. They learned about *ellum yua* (the spirit of the universe), *ellam iinga* (the eye of awareness) how we are born with it, how it can close, and how it can be reopened. They learned to inscribe or make *ellanguaq* (symbols of the universe) on the many utilitarian pieces they made for themselves and their families on such items as, the *uluq* (women's carved knife), *kenuraq* (seal oil lamp), *taruyamaarutet* (dance fans), and *kegginaqut* (masks). The symbols of the *ellanguaq* (pretend universe) were a constant reminder of the sacredness of the *Yup'iaq nunarpak* (*Yup'ik* world). My father helped elders with little chores around their houses.

Ayaginar would stay up at night with several other boys, most usually his cousins, to keep the water hole opening from freezing over during the cold and windy Arctic coastal nights. Much precious energy was expended in making the hole in the ice for water, it was easier to keep the existing water hole open than to make another hole. These helpful chores insured that the elders were taken care of in their later years. All elders were given respect and honored for their knowledge as well as their very survival to reach that age. *Ayaginar* was also taught about *alerquutet* (serious rules—prescriptions). One such rule was to take care of widows and orphans by providing them with food and support. He also learned about *inerqutet* (word close to laws—prohibitions) such as not to waste food. My mother, now being a widow, still marvels how generous people are to her. Her freezer is filled with gifts of food from the land and the sea. These gifts were given by relatives as well many who are not related to my family.

There were stories of *nukalpiat* (men in their prime but more importantly an implication of a "true/real men"). A *nukalpaiq* has demonstrated in his life the exemplary values, beliefs, behaviors, knowledge, respect for all living and sentient beings, and *Yuyaraq*. The designation of *nukalpiaq* was not, and still is not, earned by virtue of age or survival, but is a term of respect consensually given by the individual's community. My maternal grandfather, *Makalria*, has been designated by the *Kasigluk* community as a *nukalpiaq*. I especially remember Irvin Brink referring to my grandfather saying, "*nukalpiaruamiugwa*" (because he is a *nukalpiaq*). *Makalria* was known for his generosity, thoughtfulness, and kindness. *Makqalria* was well known as a wolf hunter and in his younger years was seen catching a snow rabbit with his bare hands after chasing it in a stand of willow trees. I had on one occasion in the fall seen my grandfather skating up the river from the village carrying a pack sack, rifle and

the ever present ice pick as he went off on a day's hunt. None of the other elders of his age took up ice skating, but used the sled and dogs instead.

Many stories dealt with respect. Children were taught to respect all elders and strangers. The *Yup'iaq* society was, and is, an egalitarian society where men and women were considered equal, each dependent on the other for survival. This concept is also implied in the non-gender names of individuals. Since the *Yup'iaq* believe in rebirth of the deceased, the children were loved and respected, since they were usually named after a respected and much loved deceased relative.

During group hunting such as in the waterfowl drive in the large tundra lakes near *Kasigluk*, a designated *nukalpiaq* or elder temporarily held the position of leader. There were no designation or notions of chief. All decisions that affected all the important community were made by consensus. Once a consensual decision was reached all members of the community gave it full and unquestioning support.

One of *Ayaginar's* close *iluraq* (cousin) from the village of *Cevv'arneq* (Chefomak), remembers that he and his relatives were told by his elders of the task of cleaning the porches the *enat* (the houses). They were to remove the soiled straw that the dogs slept on during extreme cold winter nights which was often along the coastal areas. The notion of being told refers to "*qanellrif*" (what they said) by *ciuliaput* (our first ones—ancestors). They were told to rub on their chests the straw that the dogs laid on. The boys were not ordered explicitly to do this but were told that the rewards of those actions resulted in clearing their *tumyaraq* (path) so that they could be good hunters. The stories told of how such activities also resulted in a glow being seen at night coming from the exposed chest and neck of the those who performed those selfless deeds. Mr. Alexie also recalled traveling with his father on the tundra in the fall finding a mouse colony with a storage of *anlleret* (mouse food—the roots of marsh grass) which had a sweet tasting white center and was used in soups and in *akutaq*. When they dug up the mouse food, they found that the earth worms were eating the roots. Mr. Alexie's father told him to kneel down and put his hands into the mass of the wiggling worms. The worms would have melded into his body and it was believed that he would have acquired the power to heal. And as he put it, "I would have even been able to heal broken bones". He said with a smile that he just couldn't do it, "*qungvagnarqisciyagtellrut*" (they were just too ticklish). He was modest and did not even directly say he could have been an *angalkuq* if he had allowed himself to meld with the earth worms. According to him being an *angalkuq* takes great responsibility and implied he was not ready at that time to undertake such great and perilous responsibility. He, however, performs the *Yup'iaq* surgical procedures known as *qapluqi* (poking). He locates by sensitive touching with the tips of his fingers an area of disposition along the spine of his believing and willing patient. He pierces the folded epidermal skin with a scalpel like instrument which has been stretched tight by an assistant. He then manipulates the pierced area and a milky white bloodless liquid substance is squeezed out. He had performed this procedure on my father several times

according to my siblings. I had also watched this procedure being performed by my father on this youngest brother. In February of 1994 when I had to return to Bethel, Alaska on a personal family emergency, I attended the First Traditional *Yup'ik* Healing Conference where two *Yup'ik* elders spoke about this "poking" process and how they still practice it. They are recognized traditional healers. In the audience were medical practitioners from the local health organizations and two of nursing instructors from the University of Alaska, Anchorage.

In the *qasgiq*, my father learned about the creation myth and later about *agayuliluteng* (masked dances performed with songs to help make animals available for the hunters). In the *Yup'iaq* creation myth *Tulukaruk* created the universe and all sentient beings. To the *Yup'iaq* this includes the animals, the human beings, and the spirits of all that was created. *Tulukaruk* explained to the *Yup'ik* where they fit in the schema of *Yup'iaq* cosmology, that all creatures, seen and unseen are related, that the *Yup'iaq* is not superior to the animals, that there is a cycle of birth, life, death, and rebirth of the human and the non-human. From the beginning *ak'a tamani* (a long time ago at that place) *Tulukaruk* stated that all its creations were sacred.

The stories tell of how a passage was made to connect the concrete to the abstract, from the physical to the spiritual realm. This passageway is symbolically located in the window of the *qasgiq*, or the window of the *ena*, (women's house).

According to *Ayaginar*, a wooden staff colored white with appendages of feathers and *Yup'iaq* symbols of *ellanguaq* (models of the universe) was placed in the center of the *qasgiq* directly under the window during the various ceremonies. The *ena* (women's house) is symbolic of the womb, it gives life, gives birth, nourishment, and protection. The life giving food comes through the umbilical cord to the fetus. This symbolism also translates to the spiritual force that comes from *Ellum Yua* (the spirit of the universe) through the gateway from the spiritual to the physical world. The *qasgiq* and the *ena* are the sacred microcosmic symbols of *ella* (the *Yup'iaq* universe). When one stands in the arctic starry night one can sense the feeling of the dome above. It stands to reason the connecting symbolism is seen inside the *qasgiq* between the micro and the macro of *Yup'iaq* cosmology.

Narratives About *angalkut* (Medicine People)

My parents learned that the *angalkut* (medicine people) were endowed with special powers as healers, teachers, and spiritual leaders. They were also mediators between the concrete and the abstract, between the physical and spiritual realms. With their spirit helpers, the *angalkut* transcended the physical and spiritual realms to accomplish various tasks to benefit the *Yup'iaq* communities. It was known to the *Yu'piaq* that there were good and bad medicine people. *Tulukaruk* made it known that there were consequences to one's behavior, a cause and effect, good for good, bad for bad. Small wonder

that all members of the society had to be aware of their behavior knowing that consequences would affect them individually as well as their community.

The *angalkut* also used the *kegginaquq* (mask) in the ritual such as the one my great-grandfather performed. A transformation occurs and the wearer not only looks like the intended symbol, but actually becomes that image. According to my father, the *angalkut* would have a *kegginaquq* (mask) carved by a skilled carver, or if skilled himself such as in my grandfather's case would carve it from the vision he received either in a dream or in trance.

The *angalkuq* also used a seal gut rain parka as part of the ritual regalia during some ceremonies. In this particular case, I did not ascertain whether my great-grandfather used the seal gut rain parka in the ceremony honoring Grandma Link when he sang his medicine song. The seal gut rain parka indicates a symbolic connection to the ocean, a powerful place where some of the important animals needed by the *Yup'iaq* reside. With a mask and a seal gut rain parka, the *angalkuq* is symbolically transformed before the participants in the ceremony. The ceremony was held in the *qasgiq* with whatever light would come through the seal gut window in the central ceiling. Seal oil lamps were used to give additional light.

The *angalkut* also used the drum. For the *Yup'iaq*, according to *Ayaginar*, it was the instrument that helped the *angalkut* to transport themselves between the physical and spiritual worlds. The vibrations of the drum are magical and mysterious and they help to provide the link between different worlds. The mind's eye conjures the many unseen elements of the *Yup'iaq* world, the spirits of human and non-human beings and the forces of nature that exist are a drum beat away.

The movement of the body through dance transforms energy and distorts space. The visual symbolic representation of the mask and regalia coupled with the collective mind power all of the participants of the specific ritual transcended time and space. In the ritual dancing, the dancers had in their hands the *taruyamaarak*, two circular dance fans, one for each hand. The dance fans used the black and white wing feathers from the *anipak* (snow owl, the messengers of spirits). In the ritual dance, the men danced on their knees and the women stood behind them symmetrically moving in synchrony with each other to the beat of the drums. Along the back wall of the *qasgiq* were the benches where the drummers sat. There is powerful imagery in the movement of the dance fans with the snowy owl feathers accentuating the symbolism of body language. For the *Yup'iaq* participants, the movements of the dance spoke a timeless language of their own.

The *angalkut* used the power of the spoken word coupled with the all powerful vibrations of the song. The spoken word and song were created by *Tulukaruk* at the time of creation. It is understood that *Tulukaruk's* creatures are a vibration away through the spoken word, song, drum, and ceremony. *Tulukaruk* taught that thoughts are real and that words have power and warned that words have to be used wisely and carefully. Since thoughts are real and words have power, it stands to reason that *Tulukaruk's* creations not use words

to injure the feelings of each other. It is taught that the feelings generated in the receiver, the words spoken to her or him, have power and will return to the speaker in the manner spoken.

Years later in 1994, my father, in memory of past *agayuliluteng* (masked dances with songs so that the animals would be available) festivals, carved a *napartaq* (staff) painted white with appendages representing the *ella*. The *napartaq* was to be used in the *Cama'i* Dance in Bethel, Alaska and was another symbol used in ritual to show respect to nature. He even used the word, *ellum yua* (the spirit or person of the universe) in this regard. In pre-contact ceremonies, the *angalkut* oversaw the ritual to insure that proper protocol was being observed. Today, designated elders are chosen by consensus to oversee the protocol in regional dance festivals. My father's cousin, *Allranaq* (Joe Chief, Sr.). has been the honorary elder opening the *Cama'i* Dance Festival since my father has passed away. In the 1994 *Cama'i* Dance Festival, *Allranaq*, speaking for my father, explained the use of the *napartaq* (staff) to the audience. The 1996 *Cama'i* Dance Festival was held in my deceased father's honor as one of the original members of the Bethel Native Dancers, a reviving dance group in which was started in 1960.

Family Legends as a Folklore Genre and in Change

My family has a property marking with its own legend. According to *Ayaginar*, one of his ancestors, during the *unguyaq* (the lake driving of waterfowl for harvesting in the spring) speared a bird with a bird spear. When he retrieved his spear the bird had transformed into a barbot. A book, entitled, *Eskimo Artists* by Dr. Hans Himmelheber mentions painter Charles (*mal* Charles in German) with a reference to a person probably from the coast. The book also shows the drawing made by this painter which is quite similar to the symbol as drawn by my father. Painter Charles' symbol showed the fish from above with the wings of a swan on the sides of a barbot. My father's drawing showed a side view. The story according to the Himmelheber book was almost exactly the way my father told the origin of our property marking and it is most likely that painter Charles was my grandfather. Our English surname is Charles.

My maternal side of the family has a wolf song and dance which according to my mother is "*ak'allaupiatuq*" (it is very old). *Nengqeralria* still performs this dance in memory of her *ciuliat* (ancestors). The dance honors one of her ancestor's known for his skill in catching wolves. In the dance motion, she describes the wolf trap, the wolf being caught, taken home, and strung up with a rope. In the dance she shows how long the shoulder furs are and shows the honoring of the wolf. As a boy, I remember seeing my grandfather skinning a wolf. I looked at my grandfather and he had a small white bandanna covering his nose. When I mentioned this story to my mother, she laughed and she that for some reason my grandfather could not tolerate the smell of wolf because it made him nauseous.

Nengqeralria's parents also had a *ellivek* (food cache on stilts). In it was a small wooden statue complete with parka and, boots holding a bowl. Most people had these food caches when I was a boy, but at present most people no longer have them. These food caches were designed with floor boards separated by less than an inch of space between the boards. This design allowed cool air to flow through and circulate inside the food cache. I remember going up there in the summer and being cool. *Nengqeralria* would place a small amount of food in the wooden bowl as she left the cache for the day's meal. The next day, my mother would see that the food would be gone. The Moravian missionaries told her family to remove the little wooden man saying "it was the work of the devil". The missionaries eventually convinced the family to remove the wooden image from the food cache. According to my mother, before the removal, the family would hear crying from the direction of the food cache. The wooden image was finally placed in the stand of willows behind the family *ena* (house). The family said they heard crying from the direction of the stand of willows. Sound seemed to be carried far in those days. Soon there was only silence.

My great-grandfather, *Kanaqluk*, also had a sister who was able to predict the weather with her drum and doll. The drum was designed to hold a doll under the drum handle. The doll would be disappear after a ritual drumming and would come back with signs that were interpreted to indicate the weather forecast for the coming season. In the Fall, if the doll came back with frost on its parka ruff, it would be a cold winter. In the Spring, if the doll came back with sand in its boots, it would be a dry summer. In Summer, if the came back with wet boots, it would be a rainy summer. This drum is on loan to the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka, Alaska. According to Rita Blumenstein, (*Ayaginar's* first cousin), her grandmother, the weather specialist, was also gifted with the power of seeing things in a distance by using a wooden bowl filled with water. She would cover herself with a grass mat in the women's house and saw images of people a distance away. Rita remembers being told that a glow could be seen coming from the direction of her grandmother under the grass mat as she looked at the water-filled bowl in the darkened part of the *ena*. Rita also recalls the story by her grandmother that three medicine men were demonstrating how powerful they were by flying around inside the *qasgiq*. When the third medicine man was flying around inside the darkened *qasgiq*, someone threw a rosary at the flying medicine man. According to Rita, her grandmother said that the medicine man fell down and she could hear the man groan loudly when he landed.

According to *Ayaginar*, his grandfather, *Kanaqluk*, *angalkulrulinami* (because he apparently was a medicine person) *yut ikayungnaqqelrui* (he tried to help people). *Ayaginar* described *nerevkarilrani* (when he gave a feast) honoring of his great aunt, Grandma Link (Lucille Link), that after the final gifts were given out to the people in the village, *Kanaqluk* stated that the "giving of gifts was not over" after he had song a medicine song. The people left the ceremony not knowing what was meant by his parting words. Later that summer, all the hunters who attended the honoring ceremony caught as many as

ten *cetuaq* (beluga whale). This is the medicine song that is being linguistically analyzed in this study. My father also has a personal medicine song given to him by a medicine man while he was in his mother's womb. My father's personal *inruq* (medicine) will be the subject of another study. At present I know of no other personal *inruq* such as my father's.

Ayaginar was an award winning master carver, singer-drummer, and tradition bearer. He was a hunter, reindeer herder, master carpenter, commercial and subsistence fisherman. He was ordained as a Catholic deacon in 1976. As a deacon, he assisted the priest in the mass, read the gospel in *Yup'ik* and delivered a mini sermon at every mass following mostly the teachings based on *Yuyaraq*. He would wear his traditional parka during the mass. He would attend to the sick in the Bethel Hospital and deliver the host (communion) to those who were sick at home. He attended numerous retreats with his fellow deacons where they would dance and sing their old songs upon the completion of their training. One of the Jesuit priests, Fr. Rene Astruc, learned to dance. In 1990, he was formally retired as deacon in a community celebration. He died on July 30, 1995. During the Catholic funeral mass for my father, the Bethel Native Dancers performed in the recently built Immaculate Conception Church. It was the first time that *Yup'iaq* dancing was performed in the Bethel church. The Bethel Native Dancers were joined by the *Yup'ik* deacons as well as some of the extended family members. Up until his death, my father continued to believe in the traditional teachings of *Yuyaraq* and seemed to have no conflict with Catholicism.

My mother, *Nengqeralria* is a recognized dancer-singer, storyteller, skin sewer and crafts person. She was first a Moravian, but followed my father's inclinations and ended up being a devote Catholic. She commented how she still loves the Moravian church songs sung in *Yup'ik*. My mother still dances and sings with the Bethel Native Dancers. She has attended numerous conferences related to cultural preservation in such places as Washington, D.C, Arizona, New Mexico and Anchorage, Alaska. She has songs recorded with Smithsonian Institution traditional songs albums. She had been featured in numerous video and radio recordings with the KYUK radio-TV station in Bethel, Alaska. She continues to teach *Yup'ik* singing and dancing as well as demonstrate her crafts. She has been nominated for an honorary doctorates degree in the Arts with University of Alaska's Kuskokwim campus. She continues to sew, making parkas and boots for her grandchildren and telling them stories, occasionally, breaking into song and dance.

Despite all the external changing forces, *Ayaginar* maintained the basic values and beliefs of his *ciulat* (ancestors) up until his death in 1995. *Nengqeralria* like my father still maintains her belief in the medicine song.

The Medicine Song

Transcription and Translation of a Yup'ik Medicine Song

The *Yup'ik* language of my family is spoken on the Yukon-Kuskokwim River delta area of southwestern Alaska. I am able to converse with people in Unalakleet, the northern most boundary of the *Yup'ik* speaking area, with people from the mouth of the Yukon River up to Holy Cross, up as far as Stony River on the Kuskokwim River, with people in the Dillingham area as far as Lake Iliamna the southern and easterly boundaries of my people's homeland and all points in between. I am also able to converse with people from Port Graham of the Prince William Sound area who are considered to be Alutiiq-Sugpiaq speakers, a related language group that appear to separate the Central *Yup'ik* from the Aleut.

This study will not examine the phonology of the *Yup'ik* language. *Yup'ik* words, particularly verbs often contain more information than English words and often constitute a full clause in themselves. *Yup'ik* is a suffixing language with an initial root word with postbases and suffix endings. In English, the standard sentence structure is Subject Verb Object (SVO), in *Yup'ik* the word order is much less important because grammatical endings on the words identify the subject, object, and other grammatical categories. English has two grammatical numbers, the singular and the plural, *Yup'ik* has three, the singular, dual (two) and the plural. *Yup'ik* also does not have genders in pronouns whereas English has the she/he or her/him. The *Yup'ik* tense is relative, in which the reference point of tense expression, or deictic center, is movable. The phenomenon occurs in *Yup'ik* past narrative, where the deictic center is transposed into a past context. The tense refers to an area rather than a specific point in time. The narrative takes the listener with them to the past and the past becomes the present. From there, notions of the past, present, and future are expressed. *Yup'ik* became a written language in the 1960's at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

The orthography used to write the medicine song was developed by the Alaska Native Language Center and the *Yup'ik* Language Workshop. This translation was accomplished with the help of Dr. Marianne Mithun, a linguist at the University of California Santa Barbara. The second line designated as 'mr' is a *morpheme by morpheme* etymological break down of each *Yup'ik* word. The third line, 'gl', represents the gloss or meaning of each morpheme. The fourth line, 'ft', represents the *free translation* from *Yup'ik* into English. The last step in the translation is the most problematic where the translator usually uses some analogies closest to the English meaning. The translator attempts to retain the original form, structure, and content. Analogies can be problematic especially if one side unduly affects the other's imagery or one privileges the other. Brian Swann states: "If translation itself is problematic, the translation of Native American literatures is twice so. To questions of

paraphrases and metaphrases, parataxis and syntactic, to epistemological, aesthetic, and theoretical considerations, are added problems of transcription and recording, as well as moral and political dimensions... Students and scholars need constantly to be aware of their own "cultural subjectivity", and of what A. Irving Hallowell has called "categorical abstractions", even when it phrases itself as openness, when it calls for cherishing "otherness"—part of a Western essentializing need". (1975:144)

I have attempted to translate from the *Yup'ik* paradigm point of view looking within to explain its own categories and terms contextually. There is an assumption that *Yup'ik* has its own autonomous notions of knowledge, truth, and belief systems justified with its own free standing rhetorical categories, philosophies, ontologies, and epistemologies.

The Translation of the Medicine Song

"Yut Quyallingnaqlukli" (Trying To Make Something For People To Be Thankful For). This was the title given to the medicine song by my father.

First Stanza:

	Aaa-ayagayaraan				kan'a.
mr	aaa-ayag	-a-	yara	-n*	kan'a
gl	go-	-repeatedly	-way of-	you/it	down there.
ft	Your path down there.				

*-n- morpheme-you/it = both possessive (possessor & possessed) transitive, involves two elements.

	Ulivyaran				kan'a.
mr	uiv	-yara-	n		kan'a.
gl	around - way of		you/it		down there.
ft	Your way around it down there.				

First Chant: Aya ya ri ya anga ara i i i.

The first stanza was song twice.

Second Stanza:

	Yugyayuk			Ullagamkaan.	
mr	yug-yag	yuk		ullag-	-a- ken.
gl	people-many	thing like N.		approach-trans.indic.	statement-I/you.
ft	Many human-like beings, 1 approach you.				
	Imavagkun			arviirlua.	
mr	imag- vag-	kun*		arvig-	lu a.
gl	content-big by way of			cross over-subordinate mood**-	I.
ft	By way of the big ocean, I cross over.				

*kun = vialis = linguistic term used by Steven Jacobson = by. or by way of.

** subordinate mood - stylistic device in *Yup'ik* - part of larger action/event, in this case, a subordinate event to the approaching of the human-like beings.

	Issurirpak		alluku.	
mr	issuriq-	-pak	at'e-	lu*-ku.
gl	spotted seal	-big	put on	subordinate mood- -it
ft	Putting on the big spotted seal.			

*another subordinate event to the approaching of the human like beings.

	Pissuryulriit		quyaliranka.	
mr	pissur --- yug	Irii-*	t quya-	lir- a** nka.
gl	hunt- -want-nom* -plural		thankfuI-make-trans. ind-them/I.	
ft	Those that want to hunt, I make them thankful.			

*nominalizer = makes a noun = the one who = ones.

**transitive indicative = 2 parties involved, also mood & statement.

Second Chant: Aya ya ri ya ran ka ara I - I - I
Repeat first stanza

Third Stanza:

	Yugyagyuk		Ullagarnkaan.
mr	yug -yag- yuk		ullag- -a- -ken.
gl	people - many	thing like N.	approach-trans.indic.statement-I/you.
ft	Many human-like beings, I approach you.		

	Nunavagkun		atrarlua
mr	nuna -vag -kun	atrar-	-lu-- a
gl	land -big - way of	descend -	sub. -I.
ft	By way of the big land, I come down.		

	Tunturpak		alluku.
mr	tuntur -	pak	at'e lu*-ku
gl	caribou	-big	put on-- subordinate mood- -it
ft	Putting on the big caribou.		

	Pissuryulriit		quyaliranka.
mr	pissur -yug Irii* t	quya-	lir- a* nka**.
gl	hunt -want - nominalizer* -plural	thankful-	make -trans. ind. * them/I.
ft	Those that want to hunt, I make them thankful.		

*transitive indicative mood statement = statement that says there are 2 parties

**n = them, ka = I.

Final Chant: Aya ya ri ya ran ka ara i i i.
The song was accompanied by a drum/s and dancing in the „qasgiq”.

The Analysis of the Medicine Song

This analysis explores the different levels of experience of my great-grandfather's medicine song that my father entitled, *Yut Quyalingnaqluki* (Trying To Make Something For People To Be Thankful For). With some

background of *Yup'ik* cosmology, iconography and ideology we can begin to analyze the medicine song.

The first line in the first stanza, states, "Your path down there", locates the *angalkuq* in a spiritual space above the people, the animals, and the land. There is an assumption that the *angaluq* was a man with special gifts and the capability to connect with the supernatural. There is a further assumption that a drum, mask and regalia were used in this song. In this song, there is an assumption that the *angaluq* was transformed to a spiritual being by use of his mask, drum, regalia, song, and ritual.

The second line, "Your way around down there" has the same location but implies a choice that people have in their lives. The clear path for future catch of animals for food and clothing is reminiscent of *Ayaginar's* lesson of following the path of *Yuyaraq*. The acquisition of food is a very important *Yup'iaq* activity which requires a great expenditure of energy and time. The thought was vocalized by my maternal grandmother and mother when they commented that the idea of getting food was one of the more important life activities. If the animals were offended or not respected, they did not offer themselves to the human being. In *Ayaginar's* early lessons in the *qasgiq*, he was told that human beings were being constantly watched by the spirits of animals and spirits of nature itself. The first lines of the first stanza are emphasized by repetition.

The chant after the first stanza has some interesting implications. I was not able to get any definite information on the chant at this time. I contend, however, that chanting such as in this song is not some meaningless collection of words that fill out space for symmetry of structure. I sense that the chanting in this song enables the singer to leap across the space between the physical world and the spiritual realms. Words while powerful in normal activity sometimes give specific images by association, I posit that these chants while having no specific meaning are more powerful since they do not lend themselves to any one specific image or meaning. In the *Yup'ik* language there are mechanisms for the dual tense of nouns and verbs that act as nouns. I have sensed double meanings in some of the other songs. The *Yup'iaq* make implicit musical statements which appear to express more power than the explicitly expressed non-vocal phrases.

The first line in the second stanza, "Many human-like beings, I approach you", implies a transcendence from the spiritual to the physical realm or at least some kind of communication. A powerful idea that makes a connection between the boundaries of the spiritual to the human realm. This phrase also seems to imply a statement that a creator would make. The words "human-like beings" may refer to the animals that took the form of human beings in the old stories. This imagery can relate to the time when the earth's skin was thin, when the animal and the human beings were able to talk with each other and when they were able to transform from one to the other. There were stories of human beings that had gone to the animal world where they learned from the animal beings. These animal beings in some cases appeared to be human. Important

lessons or knowledge was gained to help the human beings survive in the physical world.

The second line of the second stanza, "By way of the big ocean, I cross over" still maintains the transcendent connection from the spiritual realm to the physical in this case the ocean and implying a journey between them. The ocean is an important element of *ella* (the world) where food sources are available. The ocean is also the source of great power according to the old beliefs. Some elders have stated that the ocean is more important than the land. Another mystery, since the human can not exist for any length of time on the ocean. The sea is the domain of the many animals important to the *Yup'iaq*, the seal, whale, sometimes the polar bear, the walrus, and the many species of fish. At the edge of land where it meets the ocean is the source of clams, mussels, sometimes the crab, scalpin, and herring eggs.

The third line of the second stanza, "Putting on the big spotted seal" is a powerful visualization of an important food source and a transformation phrase. The *angalkut* were given the power by *Tulukaruk* to act as mediators. This metaphor is a command to transform from the human-like being to a specific animal, in this case to the big spotted seal. When the *Yut* showed proper respect, the animals would allow themselves to be caught by choice and were then able to return. *Ayaginar* had seen on many occasions, the giving of water to the seal before it was butchered. This ritual demonstrated the respect and proper treatment of the animal that had allowed itself to be caught by the human being. The phrase "putting on the big spotted seal" suggest a paradox. Is it the human like being? Is it the creator? Is it the *angalkuq* metaphorically representing the creator or the human like beings who are the animals that take on the appearance of human like form?

The fourth line of the second stanza, "Those that want to hunt, I make them thankful". is a powerful statement suggesting that the maker of the universe gives to the *Yup'iaq* their just reward for respecting the animals that they need to survive. In turn, the gratitude of the *Yut* has power in that the self-sacrificed animals receive benefits of higher evolution of their species. Dr. William Lyons, a former anthropology professor at the University of Alaska Fairbanks and Jesuit, refers to the idea of "the super seal", "the super caribou" and "the super fish" to symbolically represent the specific animal. So it is the super spotted seal or the super caribou that sees the behavior of the *Yut*, "those that want to hunt"; hunting with proper intention, not one of accumulation for individual use alone, but of eventual communal sharing of the self sacrificed food source. The notion of reciprocity is also implied in the statement. It is curious that a more explicit statement was not made, such as, "the hunters, I will give them something to be thankful for". Again a double meaning or paradoxical metaphorical statement consistent throughout this song.

The chant of the second stanza is slightly different from the first chant. The words "*ran ka*" has the connotation of I will "or I did", a more powerful affirmative statement by the chanter who was transformed into the role of provider, the giver of life in keeping with the idea of reciprocity.

The third stanza is similar to the second, but is a couplet to the former, "By way of the big land, I approach you". This time the approach is by land, the opposite of the sea. Another couplet is apparent with the big caribou, "Putting on the big caribou", a land creature and another important food source. Both animals provide food and material for clothing and tools. Again the idea of transformation is inherent in the medicine song along with the previous metaphor of double or multiple meanings about who is putting on the big caribou. The last line repeats the phrase, "Those that want to hunt, I make them thankful.", a statement that the creator will continue to provide as long as the *Yup'iaq* continue to maintain respect for its creations. This statement also expresses the notion of free will, giving people choices in the phrase, "those that want to hunt". And being purposefully redundant, gratitude has power and is most certainly reciprocal between *Tulukaruk/Ellam Yua* and all its creations.

The analysis of the medicine song can only be contextually translated. In a cross-cultural dialogue, the translator is compelled to use approximations and analogies to formulate what is perceived in one culture and attempts to transpose that perception in the language of the recipient. Cross-cultural translation is a problematic task. In some instances this problem leans toward the ineffable. The Sapier-Whorf hypothesis states that linguistic categories structure perceptual and cognitive ones. The position states that our language structures our perception of the world. Whorf demonstrates this with his work on Hopi Indians, who appeared to have different concepts of space, time, and matter than the so-called standard average European language speaker. This implies that the Hopi are acutely attuned to their environment and that a non-Hopi would be unable to completely recognize these aspects of the Hopi world view. The strong version of the hypothesis is now rarely accepted, but debate still continues about where language ends and material culture and social culture begin. Roger M. Keesing states: "The boundary between a speaker's knowledge of a language and his/her knowledge of the world poses deep and still unresolved analytical problems. Semantic systems and pragmatic rules build on and presuppose basic cultural assumptions about cosmology, time, causality—about the world described and manipulated by language. The cognitive economies that make linguistic communication possible rest on what the native speakers know about their world, which they need not then encode directly in utterances. Languages viewed as formal systems, sentences viewed as formal objects, are cut off from these cultural takens-for-granted, which consequently remain hidden and unanalyzed."

This suggests that the final translation from *Yup'ik* to English is then only an approximation and better analyzed by someone culturally and linguistically knowledgeable and close to the reality being perceived. *Ayaginar* and his ancestors and their descendants believe in the meaning of the medicine song. It encapsulates the essence of *Yuyaraq*, the Way of the Human Being. W. B. Kristensen states: "Let us never forget that there exists no other religious reality than the faith of the believer. If we really want to understand religion, we must refer exclusively to the believer's testimony. What we believe, from our point of

view, about the nature or value of other religions, is a reliable testimony to our own faith, or to our own understanding of religious faith; but if our opinion about another religion differs from the opinion and evaluation of the believers, then we are no longer talking about their religion. We have turned aside from historical reality, and are concerned only with ourselves.”.

Conclusion

The essence of power emanating from the spiritual realm to the physical realm and notions of ritual transformation are apparent in the analysis of the medicine song. The medicine song is interpreted contextually from the *Yup'ik* paradigm of *Yuyaraq*, the Way of the Human Being, as seen and interpreted by the *Ayaginar* Family. The double or multiple meanings and the presence of paradoxical statements in the medicine song lean toward the notion of ineffability and power. The mysteries inherent in the medicine song resist reductionism. The fact that this song still remains is itself evidence of its inherent power as an instrument of creation which transcends time and space. The background material and analysis has demonstrated the deep nature of the *Yup'iaq* (real human being) and *ella* (universe). Like the Hopi Indian as studied by Whorf, the *Yup'iaq* are acutely attuned to an environment that the non-*Yup'iaq* would be unable to completely understand. The *Yup'iaq* had to be attuned to their environment or they would not have been able to survive for as long as they have. This fact demonstrates its own inherent body of timeless *umyuartaq* (*Yup'ik* ontology) as expressed by my maternal grandmother, *Kaligtug*, in the introduction of this thesis. The *Yup'ik* language itself has inherent concepts of realization as expressed by the various suffixes that mean “hearsay” or “apparently” that are spoken by the fluent, eloquent, and much respected *ciuliat* (ancestors). These *ciuliat* are known for their honestly and lying according to them had grave consequences for the speaker. Roger Keesing's statement, “The cognitive economies that make linguistic communication possible rest on what the native speakers know about their world, which they need not then encode directly in utterances”, has been demonstrated clearly in the analysis of the medicine song for the *Yup'iaq* audience it was intended for. The *Yup'iaq* intimately knew their world and their reality. I have heard elders not related to me define their basic definitions of *Yuyaraq* (the Way of the Human Being) and they are similar to those expressed by my immediate and extended family. This demonstrates *Yuyaraq* as a universal system of living, a system that is hard to change despite external forces. W. B. Kristensen stated so eloquently, “Let us never forget that there exists no other religious reality than the faith of the believer” has been amply demonstrated by *Ayaginar*, his ancestors and descendant's belief in the authenticity of the medicine song. The similarity of the basic definition of *Yuyaraq* demonstrates its built-in mechanism and resistance to change. This

mechanism still exists in the mental universe of the present day *Yup'iaq*. My great-grandfather, *Kanaqluk* and his generation, lived "*Yuyaraq*" in its pristine form. The descendants of *Kanaqluk* are evolving and adapting to new experiences and gaining new knowledge, but also carrying on the basic definition of *Yuyaraq*. The present day definition still carries the ethos of the past. The *Yup'iaq* is part of nature. The elements of respect and reciprocity still exist between them. The notion of *Ellum Yua* (the spirit of the universe) is still important to this family. This paper by its existence will ensure the transmission of the meaning of the medicine song to the descendants of *Kanaqluk*.

My paternal great grandparents were the first to be exposed to the external influences of Western Civilization. My father was one of the last in his generation to be traditionally taught in the *qasgiq*. Beginning with my grandparents, most of my family became Christianized. My paternal grandparents were Catholic and my maternal grandparents were Moravians. Other members of the extended family were practicing members of the Russian Orthodox Church. Each of my elders were devout Christians, but I also sensed their belief in, and commitment to the old traditions. There have never been any conflicts within the immediate and extended family over the various denominations. My elders accepted some of the essential notions of Christianity, such as the Golden rule, a notion not too foreign to them. The notions of loving and respecting are mostly in both Christian and *Yup'ik* traditions so there is not too much conflict there. There appears to be more tolerance on part of the *Yup'iaq*, especially seen in the concept of *takumcukluki* (having empathy, forgiveness, compassion, and understanding for them) for the missionaries than the missionaries had for the *Yup'ik*. I want to emphasize that the *Yup'iaq* were not a perfect people, we are still capable of error and wrong behavior like all people of the world. What I will state is that there are exemplary rules that were created through the eons of time as in many other peoples from various sources to the *Yup'iaq* that stem from *Ellum Yua* (the spirit of the universe).

My generation had never seen the *angalkut*, the rituals, and the masked dances in their original form, but had only heard of them in narratives. *Yup'ik* dancing has been revived with the *Kalukaq* type feasting. The giving of gifts is still practiced and the notions of sharing and reciprocity still persist. I have seen and heard *Yup'ik* elders express their belief in the old teachings while maintaining their Christianity. The notion of non-judgment, *cuqcaqunaki* (do not measure them) and *takumcukluki* are still being expressed by the present day elders. There are underlying elements which permit a blending of beliefs which incorporate some of the old beliefs with some elements of Christianity. I have sensed a yearning for the past, but have also heard how hard it was physically and yet was a fulfilling way of life. My father had often remarked in a tender phrase of "those dear old ones who had to work so hard just to live". They tenderly remember their deceased relatives and see these relatives in their children and grandchildren who carry their names. I have seen my elders transform when telling their stories of those distant times in the past. *Ak'a*

tamani (a long time ago at that place) a phrase which transports the listeners to a different time and place. The past becomes the present in their mind's eye and in their spirit.

During the first training days of the *Yup'ik* Catholic deacons, many of them would stay in my parent's Bethel home. After the deacon workshops, the elder deacons would spend the evenings telling the old stories, mixed with singing and drumming of the old songs. I heard and saw the belief in their voices and faces. These stories and the revived dances and modified ceremonies still bind the *Yup'iaq* as they did in the past. In Bethel, there is the yearly *Cama'i* Dance festival which brings hundreds of people from many places to revisit the past in the dances. Some of the dances are changeless but some of them are new to express experience in the present and changing world.

There are some *Yup'it* who have lost part of their heritage, who are in dysfunction and under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Some *Yup'it* are still in their dark night of despair. Yet I have seen others who have found their back from the darkness and who reclaim what was lost. They are learning to dance and others are learning to drum and sing but it is hard to say what will happen in the next segment of time.

In my family, my sister, Elizabeth Ali works part time for the University of California Santa Barbara as a *Yup'ik* translator for the Linguistic Department. She is a writer and poet soon to publish her material. My sister, Mary Stachelrodt, is a *Yup'ik* dancer and works as an alcoholism counselor in Bethel, Alaska. My brother, Nicholas Charles, Jr., is an award winning carver, dancer and singer with the Bethel Native Dancer and is vice-president of the Association of Village Council Presidents, a non-profit social service and political organization that works on behalf the 56 *Yup'ik* villages. My brother, Frank Lewis Charles is a talented carver of wood and ivory and is computer expert. My sister, Susan Charles, who earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Alaska, is a social worker. Susan is a talented skin sewer and carver. My youngest brother, Peter Brink, presently lives in the village of *Kasigluk* with his son and is the most traditional of my siblings. He speaks fluent *Yup'ik* and still hunts and fishes much like his ancestors. My mother continues to tell her stories, teaching dancing and singing, and demonstrating her craft skills as an artist and skin sewer. We are by no means the ideal family, we have had our share of dysfunction and experienced the long dark night of despair. What we are doing individually is not by design as a group or is it a planned effort. But at least for me this paper is my way of giving back to our community, the many gifts it has given me and even now continues to give me. I feel as many of my family members feel that we have received more than what we can hope to give back.

The *Ayagina* family will continue to see their world in their terms. They will find new meanings to their existence based on their new knowledge system, the wisdom of the timeless elders and the knowledge of the new. They will continue to redefine what their reality is by consensus. The journey into the cultural world view of the family is still being first told by word of mouth as it

always had been but coupled now with the printed and recorded sounds of the present.

The coming of the western influence was predicted by an *angalkuq*. The following story translated by Elizabeth Ali (sister of this author) and John Active (a distant cousin, an experienced radio-television narrator and storyteller) in 1982 speaks as follows:

“Long ago there was a shaman named *Issisaayuq* who directed his people to carve a mask depicting a freight ship. This was unfamiliar to the people, but they followed his instruction even so. On the forehead of the mask was a boat with three masts. The center mast had a platform with a man in it. On the deck of the ship was a caribou. The following summer a ship, exactly like the carving, arrived from the sea. On the sides of the ship were images of half human faces. When it arrived at the mouth of the Kuskokwim River the people warned each other not to desire or want the goods from the boat because they would come to no good. One day one of the men came to the boat, he noticed that the eyes on the faces were turning towards the sea. The ship sailed away and all the trade goods acquired disappeared. *Issisaayuq*'s daughter cried for a necklace that she saw on the boat. Since she would not stop crying for a necklace, *Issisaayuq* instructed his wife to spread a skin outside. When she did so, it began to hail. The hail that landed on the ground melted but the hail that landed on the skin did not. They brought these into the *qasgiq* and made a necklace for the daughter. The ornament did not last for long and the following summer a real freight ship arrived as prophesied by *Issisaayuq*.”

The *Ayaginar* family thanks their ancestors, their immediate and extended family, and the many new friends they have made for their love and support. They feel that *Yuyaraq* is still paramount in their lives, it continues to guide them as individuals and as a family. The medicine song as a gift from the past will continue to have meaning and purpose for the *Ayaginar* family who still believe its inherent power and transformation.

Aladellrukuma pitsaqenritamci. (If I erred, I did not act toward you that way on purpose.)

QUYAVIKUNKA CIULANKA. TUA'INGRITUQ.

(I AM THANKFUL TO THEM MY ELDERS. THIS IS NOT THE END.)

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Glossary of terms

- agayuliluteng*: masked dances performed to the accompaniment of songs of supplication
ak'a tamani: a long time ago at that place
ak'allaupiartuq: it is very old
Akagtak: (proper name) One Who Rolls. Second Yup'ik name given to George Charles by his great uncle
Akiachuaq: the village of Akiachchuk spelled with the orthography developed by the Alaska Native Language Center
akutaq: that which was mixed, a dessert made with tallow and berries
allatlu: and others or other too
Allranaq: (proper name) in this case, Joe Chief, Sr. cousin of Ayaginar
angalkullruginami: because he was apparently a medicine man
angalkuq: medicine man or woman
angalkut: the plural of angalkuq
anipak: snowy owl
anlleret: that which came out, mouse food, tuber
aqesgiq: a type of ptarmigan, a bird
atsalugpiaq: salmonberry
Ayaginar: (proper name) One Who Travels, the father of George Charles, Nicholas A. Charles
ayuq: a plant called Labrador Tea, in this case a plant used for purification
Cama'i: greeting
cenarmiu: a person from the coast
cetuaq: beluga whale, white whale

Cevv'arneq: the village of Chefornak, spelled with the orthography developed by the Alaska Native Language Center

Chefornak: the village of Cevv'arneq

cingssiit: little people with pointed headed

ciuliani: his ancestors

ciuliaput: our ancestors

ciuliat: ancestors

cuqcaqunaki: do not measure them, do not judge them

curaq: blueberry

cuukvaguaq: alder tree

ella: the universe, weather, outdoors

ella maliggluku: following the path of the universe from east to west

ellam iinga: the Eye of Awareness or the Eye of the Universe

ellam yua: the person or spirit of the universe

ellangellumnek: from the time I acquired awareness or memory

ellanguaq: the model or symbol of the universe or pretend universe

Ellaqag: proper name stemming from Ellar, relating to universe. The younger brother of Nengqeralria

ellivek: a place to put things, a food cache on stilts

Elrig: the Great Feast of the Dead which honors the spirits of the deceased human beings.

ena: house, in this case, a woman's house

enat: the sod partially underground houses

iluraq: kinship term meaning cousin

ilurat: plural of iluraq

inerquteq: a word close to law, prohibition, rule

inerqutet: the plural of inerquteq

Ingalik: an Athabascan Indian from the Upper Kuskokwim and upper Yukon Rivers

Ingulaq: a ritual of renewal by the rebuilding of the *qasgiq* the community house

inruq: medicine, in this case the personal power essence of a person given by a medicine person to an individual

Inua: the northern Eskimo word for Spirit

Inupiaq: a northern Alaska Eskimo

ircenrrat: superhuman beings that are able to traverse on land and underground

Issisaayuyq: (proper name) the Kuskokwim River medicine man who predicted the coming of the first white man

issrat: grass containers usually for fish

Kaligtuq: (proper name) the maternal grandmother of George Charles

Kalukaq: a feast

Kanaqluk: (proper name) Muskrat. The name given to George Charles by his father Ayaginar (Nicholas A. Charles) was also the name of his paternal grand and great-grandfather

Kassigluk: refers to village of Kasigluk using the orthography developed by the Alaska Native Language Center

Kasigluk: a village on the Johnson River near Bethel, Alaska

kavirliit: that which is red, a red berry

kegginaquq: a wooden mask

kegginaqut: the plural of kegginaquq

Kelek: the Inviting In Feast where one is honored such as a rite of passage

kenuraq: in this case, a seal oil lamp
kepun: that which you cut with, an adz
kiagmi: in summer
kiak: summer
kumakaq: a tree fungus used with chewing tobacco (ash of the fungus)
Kusquqvak: Kuskokwim River
Kwipak: big river, Yukon River
Makqalria: (proper name) One Mo Remains Setting Up From the Prone Position, the maternal grandfather of George Charles
mal: a German word meaning painter
Malemiut: northern Alaska Eskimos, the Inupiat
mellgaq: a bent blade knife
mikelnguput: our children
murellqelluki: watching them
Nakaciuq: the Bladder Feast which honors the animal spirits. The bladders of the animals are blown up with air and saved. In the Fall after freeze up, a ceremony honoring the animals is conducted. The bladders are put under the ice so the spirits of the animals can return to be reborn.
napartaq: that which is raised, in the case, a ceremonial staff
Naullallria: proper name of a person, One Mo Grows, in this case the youngest brother of Ayaginar whose English name was Ben
Nengqeralria: (proper name) One Pleasantly Extended, Elena Charles, the mother of George Charles
neqngyaraq: the way of acquiring food
nerevvkarilrani: when he or she held a feast
nukalpiaq: a man in his prime with implication of a true man. This title is not earned by virtue of age or mere survival. A man who had demonstrated exemplary values, knowledge, and respect is given this title by his community by consensus. It is an honored title.
nukalpiaruamiugwa: because he is a nukalpiaq
nukalpiat: the plural of nukaipiaq, true man or a man in his prime
nuna: the land
Nunacuar: village of the Little Land near Kasigluk, this village is all but disappeared sinking into the lake. This is the village where the mother of George Charles was born.
Nunacuarmiu: a person from the village of Nunacuar
nunarpak: the earth or the big land
nunapik: tundra covered land
nunaput: our land
Nunivak: the island thirty miles off the southwest coast of Alaska opposite Qaluyaaq, Nelson Island
nunum amia: the earth's crust
Paqpalaq: a lake near Nelson Island, near Baird Lake
Petugtaq: a gift giving festival, where small models of material items were tied to a stick. These items were the desired material items by individuals. During the Petugtaq the actual items was given to the people making the request.
puyuraarpak: wild raspberry, a reddish berry with a pleasant smell

Qaaritaaq: a masquerade festival where the children's face are painted with white clay and marked with soot. Later the adults would follow and be received by the individual households with food and drink

Qaluyaaq: Nelson Island, the Place of the Dip Net

Qaluyarmiut: a person from Qaiuyaaq, Nelson Island

qanellrit: what they had said

qanemciit: stories

qanganaruaq: pretend squirrel, a medicinal plant

qapluki: poking them, a healing procedure performed with a scaple

qasgiq: men's community house where firebaths and ceremonies are held

Qugcun: (proper name) One Mo Gathers. The first name given to George Charles by his maternal grandfather, Makalria (Nicoli Nichols).

qugnillinguq: cottonwood tree

qulirat: stories

qungvagnarqisciagtellrut: they were just too ticklish

qussuut: smelt, a small silver fish caught in the spring just after the ice has broken up and drifted down river

-ruq: hearsay suffix

takumciutluk: empathy, sympathy, forgiveness, understanding

taruyamaarutek: two dance fans

taruyamaarutet: dance fans

taryaqvut: king salmon (plural)

tepkeggcaun: that which makes a pleasant smell referring to the wild raspberry added to salmonberries

tevyaraq: the place of portage, where boats were pulled over between lakes, this is located between

Tulukaruk: the metaphorical Raven who created the Universe. Raven was also a trickster

tumyaraq: path

tumyaraq maligluku: following the path. Staying on track, in harmony and balance.

tunraaq: the shaman's spirit

Tulikessaaq (place name) Tuluksak on the Kuskokwim River

uksuaq: fall

Uksukaq: (proper name) Suddenly Winter or Fall. The third name given to George Charles by his mother's great aunt.

uksuq: winter

uluq: the slate curved women's knife

umyuartaq: a word close to knowledge, that which will be thought

Unalakleet: place name in Western Alaska, present boundary between the Yup'ik Eskimos and the Inupiaq Eskimos

ungungsiit: animals

unguyaq: bird drive

Up'nergaq: that which will be prepared in the future-summer

yaagluteng: when they would follow the practice of mourning by abstaining from certain activity

yaaruiq: young girls storytelling with a story telling knife

Yup'iaq: a real human being, a true Yup'ik

yup'iat: the plural of Yup'iaq

yup'iatlu: and real Yup'ik people

Yup' iit Nunaa: the land of the *Yup' ik*

Yup' ik: the Central *Yup' ik* Eskimos of southwestern Alaska

yup' iugua: I am *Yup' ik*

Yut: the people

yut pitciryariat: people's ways

Yut Quyalingnaqluki: Giving the People Something To Be Thankful For

yutruq : people-heresay

Yuyaraq: the Way of the Human Being - *Yup' ik* ontology

Vilmos Voigt

OLD HUNGARIAN CONCEPTS ON SHAMANIC BELIEFS

Hungarian cultural history offers an unparalleled insight into early comparative religion, even in a few cases when the Hungarian data do not belong directly to the topic in question: *sauna* as a Finnish cultural institution. Hungarians, notably, are not a *sauna*-folk. Even, if we want to name that phenomena, we use a very recent loan-word (of course from Finnish): *szauna* (pronunciation as /sa'una/), and the first sauna-cabins into Hungary have arrived only recently, again, as direct imports from our friendly relatives, Finns.

But Hungarians, who speak a Finno-Ugric language (more precisely a Uralic one, a unique representative of a "western" Ugric branch) at least during the last four thousand years, boast with a relatively long European background too. They have arrived to the Carpathian basin 11 centuries ago, and their turn to Christian Europe happened about a millennium ago, at the time of the first King-Saint of Hungary, *Stephanus Rex*. Despite if heavy losses of written and untangible cultural heritage—due to constant wars, rebels and foreign rule in Hungary—there are numerous valuable documents available in order to reconstruct early forms of Hungarian beliefs and customs.

The common word in Hungarian for 'belief' is *hit* or *hiedelem*—and the second word means clearly 'cool/ed situation'. According to the ingenious etymology by Professor Gedeon Mészöly¹ the development of the meaning of the Hungarian word was: 'cool' > 'to make cool, to chill' > 'to make comfortable' > 'to be in a protected place' > 'to be in God's heaven'. The etymology is somehow bizarre. We can refer to data from Hungarian language history. In his Hungarian translation of the *New Testament* (1536) Gábor Pesti translates the well known story of the Rich Man and Lazarus with the term (*meg*)*hívetsítse az én nyelvemet* (Luke XVI, 24: where the rich man from the hell, seeing Abraham far off and Lazarus in his bosom, cries "Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame"). 'To cool my tongue' in the Hungarian translation 1536 is "*hywelîche*" = about the same understanding as in modern Hungarian 'let be made cool' (my tongue). But, if

we consult the earlier Hungarian translation of the gospels (the so-called "Hungarian Hussite Bible") in the Codex from Munich (*Müncheneri kódex* p. 149, about or before 1466) we find the following wording: *hyedelmezie meg én nyelvemet* 'to cool (in fact: to believe!) my tongue'. "Coolness is the place for belief"—it is an old idea of old religions. *Refugium* means in Latin not originally 'shelter or protection from danger', but it is inseparable in religious vocabulary from *refrigerium*.² By an average understanding of the hot Mediterranean religions one could see that the 'cool shelter' = 'place for believing' will not be effective in Siberia. In Hungarian written documents from the 16th (etc.) centuries there are numerous references on 'Holy Virgin's coolness' (*hiedelem*) e.g. for the dead persons: a case irrelevant e.g. in Siberia.

Hungarian philology has studied the vocabulary of "early" Hungarian Bible translations from different points of view.³ Professor László Hardovics has recently demonstrated⁴ in a very careful study that the Hungarian "Hussite" Bible translations refer to "contemporary" Czech and German translations (from Bohemia), and, on the other hand, in many cases contain Hungarian religious vocabulary established even before the Hussite times. There is a German translation of some parts of the New Testament, now in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (*codex Germanicus Monacensis* [= cgm/ 5018], dates by 1434–1435, by two scribes, out of whom we know the name of the second person, as "Johannes Viler" (Viller, or with modern orthography: Weiler). We do not know much about the scribe(s), but Wilhelm Walther, the best systematizer of medieval German translations of the Bible mentions that the family name Weiler occurs in several cases among Waldenses.

In order to illustrate the problem I quote the arguments by Hardovics concerning the Hungarian word *hideglelés* 'shivers, intermittent fever'. The Latin term *febris* was translated by Viler as *riete* or *ritt* in other cases as the German word from Latin: *fieber*. Hungarian *hideg lele/s/* could not come from Latin *febris* or German *Fieber/Rite*. It is interesting to notice that the word for "intermittent fever" will stress the "cold" phase of changing temperature. There are early German texts, which use *die kalt sucht*, *dye kalde seuche* forms, good parallels to medieval Hungarian *hideg lelés*. Even in earlier Hungarian texts we find for the Latin *febricitare/febricitans* Hungarian *hideg lelet*.⁵ According to older Hungarian etymologists the "fever finds the sick person", which is a "heathen view on wandering illness". German *Kalt-Sucht* and Hungarian *hideglelés* (both meaning word by word 'cold-finding') are excellent calques but do neither lead us back to Siberia, nor to the ancestors of Hungarians. It seems to be a medieval European form of the idea that heat-and-cold (as in intermittent fever) "is searching and finding" the patient.⁶ However, this topic will need a further, special analysis.

As for the 'heat' in early Hungarian religious vocabulary is concerned, the key term is **reg*. Hungarian linguists and Finno-Ugrists have connected the widely spread forms of Hungarian *reg*, *regös*, *rejt*, *révül* etc. with Latin 'species, figura, forma, transfiguratur' etc., and finally with terms of shaman's

ecstasy. Already Pál Hunfalvy, organizer of Finno-Ugric linguistics in Hungary has quoted as parallels Vogul sentences (*Târom réj täuen johts* 'the God/Tarom's *rej* appeared upon him / i.e. upon the shaman/'). The Vogul *rej*, *re* was explained as 'Wärme, Hitze, warm werden, sich wärmen' and was combined with Ostyak 'Hitze, Wärme, Schwüle, Dunst', Zyrian 'Dunst, Dampf, warmer Dunst' and even with Finnish *räkki* 'Hitze, Qualm'. Hungarian *rekkenő hőseg* 'extremely hot weather', *révül* 'is in ecstasy, falls into ecstasy', or even *részeg* 'drunken' have been connected with this 'heat' etymology, referring to old beliefs and customs in Siberia. According to the great master of Hungarian etymology, Dezső Pais, the Finno-Ugric nomen-verbum **reky* 'hot' underwent a definite development in meaning 'to heat' > 'to fall into /religious/ ecstasy'. According to Pais, all the Hungarian data contain a 'magical' touch in their actual meaning.⁷

Pais in his second paper on *reg* (1958) scrutinizes old data on Ob-Ugric shamanism and the "heat-and-smoke" complex of their shamans' seance.⁸ According to him, J. B. Müller (*Das Leben und die Gewohnheiten der Ostiaken* — 1716–1721) and Zujev (1778) described the Ostyak magician as situated at the great fire in a tent, giving answers to various questions "as long as a blue fog or smoke will appear above him". Then the magician will dissolve the seance. Professor Pais admits that Ob-Ugric shamans will use the great-heat-giving fire for their ceremonies, and explains the 'ecstasy, state of possession' by that. He is accepting the opinion of another Hungarian linguist, János Balázs, who spoke of a more elaborated complex of "shaman's heat", but Pais in fact is very careful in accepting the wider horizon in explaining "heat-and-dust" of the shamans.

János Balázs in his excellent study (in Hungarian 1954, in German 1863, finally in English in 1968)⁹ deals with very many different aspects of Finno-Ugric shamanism. Just to mention his views closest to our topic, he says that the "bluish flume or smoke" of the Ostyak shaman (described by Zujev) can be understood as produced by "inhaling the smoke of various narcotics" by the shaman.¹⁰ According to Balázs, people throw plants and other material on the fire, and those cause the particular "fume and smoke". As for further explanation, Balázs is quoting the famous paper by Karl Meuli, *Skythische Schamanen bei Herodot* (1935). Book IV of Herodotus, writing about the funeral ceremonies of the Scythians, describes the purification rites after the funeral: "Three stakes are fixed in the ground so they incline towards one another, and around them pieces of felt are stretched, as tight as possible. Inside this booth they put a dish, into which a number of red-hot stones are placed. Then the Scythians take some hemp-seed, and creeping under the felt coverings, throw them down upon the red-hot stones; immediately the seeds begin to smoke, and give out such steam as no Grecian steam-bath can exceed. The Scythians enjoy it and make a tremendous noise shouting."¹¹

Of course, this well-known text is the oldest—at least about 2450 years old—description of the *sauna*. Scythians used for after-burial-purification rites a

somewhat extraordinary technique in steam-bath—they might have used in a more simple form in their everyday life. Professor Pais, in his “cold” and restricted summary, was stressing the fact that it is very difficult to combine data about different ages, regions and peoples—but he was too narrow-minded to realize the fact that “inside-in-close-room” heating was a well-known technique both for steam-bath and shaman seance. (Perhaps, it is unnecessary to say, and Balázs did it already that recent archeological excavations of Mountain-Scythian tombs in Altai region show us their building constructions (“crypts”) with bronze vessels, filled with stones.¹² If this is true, *sauna* constructions also are at least 2500 years old.)

Before we go over to another important Hungarian etymology, I have to report that the most up-to-date (Finno-Ugric and Hungarian) etymological surveys to accept the ‘heat’ etymon for Hungarian **reg*, but with many modifications as regards the Finno-Ugric comparable words. As I can see, the recent works do not explain their opinion on the origin of Hungarian word *hiedelem*.¹³ However, they do not mention the ‘sauna-complex’ as behind the words.

Seemingly it is a more complicated case to speak about the Hungarian word *lélek* ‘soul, spirit’, connected with the verb *lélegzik* ‘to breath’. It is, by all the pertinent investigations a Uralic word (or, more precisely a Finno-Ugric word: *lewle* ‘Atem, Hauch, Seele’).¹⁴

As it is well-known, the Hungarian word(-group) is akin to Finnish *löyly* ‘Badehitze, Dunst, Dampf’, Lappish (N) *lew’lu* ‘Dampfbad’, Estonian *leil* ‘Dunst, Dampf, besonders der heisse in der Badestube, ...’ etc. Cognate words in Wotyak, Zyrian, Vogul mean only ‘spirit, soul’ etc., and are not connected with ‘steam’ or ‘steam-bath’.

As far as I can see, Finno-Ugric linguists did not study the possibility of interpreting this group of words in terms of *sauna*-terminology. But, if we are free of preconceptions, we should admit that the Finnish-Estonian word—which was probably borrowed from the Finnish and Lappish *löyly* – *leil* – (*lew’lu*) belongs to “sauna terminology”. How could it have been developed?

One might think that Finnish-Estonian people, when learning the technique of *sauna*, have transplanted their word for ‘breathing, inhaling etc.’ to the ‘hot air in the sweat-bath’. In other words, ‘smoke, spirit, soul etc.’ are so old “religious” terms that they are capable to undergo various modifications: originally older than the New Testament, they are able to express Christian ideology (see e.g. *Szentlélek* ‘Spiritus Sanctus, the third person of Holy Trinity’ in Hungarian, well documented in the Middle Ages).¹⁵ I would not say that the imposing atmosphere of steam-bath will cause the relations between Finnish ‘sauna-dust’ and Hungarian ‘spirit, soul’. But from the aforesaid remarks we should not exclude the possibility. But, on the other hand, one should never forget that religious terminology is always a very complicated topic, with exceptions and awaited borrowings.

To summarize the aforesaid, from very different Hungarian data (thanks to historical and comparative linguistics) we could state that once the term for 'belief', *hiedelem* had the meaning 'cool, coolness', it was referring to a religious idea that God gives the *refrigerium* 'shelter'. It might be a tempting solution to connect the Hungarian 'belief' = 'refrigerium' phenomenon with Finno-Ugric and Siberian parallels, but the data suggest that the common background is the Vulgar Latin terminology, known also in the *Vulgata* (and also in its sources).

But Hungarian **reg* originally perhaps 'ecstasy, trance' can be connected with 'heat in magic, especially during the shaman's *sëance*'. If we compile descriptions on Siberian shamanism, there is a striking similarity between the terms of the steam-bath and those of the shaman's *sëance*.

Hungarian *lélek* 'soul, spirit' is a Finno-Ugric word, and the Finnish and Estonian (perhaps Lapp) parallels of that family of words today directly refer to 'vapor in sauna'. We cannot know, how old this meaning is. According to the latest etymological dictionary of the Finnish language,¹⁶ Finnish *löyly* is practically a key term in sauna-life. Why are the Permian and Ugric words with a different meaning (namely only 'soul'), and why Volga-Finns do not know the same word? — I am unable to explain.

It would be a challenge to construct the dichotomy between old words for 'coolness' versus 'heat' (as *hiedelem* versus *reg* in Hungarian) and interpret them in terms of early religions. But the data available today do not necessarily support this assumption. But, in general, there are striking similarities between old sauna-terminology and terminology of the ancient folk religions.

Endnotes

- ¹ Mészöly, Gedeon: A hit szó eredete és rokonsága / Ursprung und Verwandtschaft des ungar. Wortes *hit* 'Glaube'. Szegedi Füzetek III/1-4. (1936 Jan.-ápr.) 1-18, 83-84. Reprint with a short note ("megjegyzés") concerning Marót's paper (see note 2 below): Mészöly, Gedeon: Népünk és nyelvünk. Válogatott tanulmányok (Hungarian people—Hungarian language. Selected Papers). Budapest 1982. Gondolat, pp. 62-79. Mészöly's quoted data: p. 2 (reprint p. 62-63). Here and in the following cases I have slightly simplified the orthography of old Hungarian or Finno-Ugric quotations.
- ² Marót, C.: Refrigerium. Acta Litterarum ac Scientiarum Reg. Universitatis Hung. Franciscus-Iosephinae – Sectio: Geographico-Historica, Tom. III. Fasc. 2. (Szeged 1937) 95-135, together with a German version: 136-163. Marót agrees with Mészöly and quotes G. van der Leeuw's paper (Refrigerium – Mnemosynes Bibliothecae Classicae Bataviae III. ser. 3. tomus /1936/ 125-248) which deals with the prototypes of the Christian (vulgar) Latin term *refrigerium*. Marót adds earlier Greek and Old Testament Hebrew parallels. His argumentation comes from historical semantics and from history of religion. His favourite ecotype for 'cool /water/' > 'haven in religious context' is finally Ancient Egypt.

- ³ See e.g. Büky, Béla: A pszichikumra vonatkozó szókincs korai rétege a magyarban / Early strata of "psychologic" vocabulary in Hungarian/. Budapest 1986. Akadémiai Kiadó. In fact Büky does not say much directly of our theme.
- ⁴ Hadrovics, László: A magyar Huszita Biblia német és cseh rokonsága / German and Czech affinities of the Hungarian Hussite Bible/. Budapest 1994. Akadémiai Kiadó. (Nyelvtudományi Értekezések 138.) Both Hadrovics (and Büky) give good references to earlier studies. There are three Hungarian codices of the "Hussite Bible": *Müncheneri kódex*, *Apor kódex* and *Bécsi Kódex*. Hadrovics has most extensively used the texts of *Müncheneri kódex* (Munich codex), and dealt with the third book (*Bécsi kódex*) only in a projecting way. Thus there remain further questions to be solved.
- ⁵ Hadrovics *op. cit.* p.33–34, point. 33.
- ⁶ See the most recent Hungarian etymological dictionary, which is in fact an updated German version of a Hungarian three-volumes book, a quarter of century ago. See: Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen, Herausgeber: Loránd Benkő. Band I. Lieferung 3. Budapest 1993. Akadémiai Kiadó, s.v. "hiedelem" p. 557–558. The dictionary separates the words "hiedelem" and "hit" (see, *ibidem* p. 563).
- ⁷ The classical paper by Dezső Pais was published first in 1948. The reprint edition, in a volume of his collected papers, gives some corrections. See: Reg /1./ A régi magyarság szellemi életének kérdésköréből / Reg. First part. From the problems of spiritual life of Ancient Hungarians/. In: A magyar ősvallás nyelvi emlékeiből / From linguistic heritage of Old Hungarian Religion/. Budapest 1975. Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 15–33, the quoted data on pp. 16–17.
- ⁸ Pais, Dezső: Reg. /2./ reprint in (1975) 109–142. This form is more complete, with many additions and parts unpublished earlier. The quoted data: 111–112.
- ⁹ Balázs, János: A magyar sámán révülete (Die Ekstase der ungarischen Schamanen). Ethnographia LXV (1954) 416–440.
Balázs, János: Über die Ekstase des ungarischen Schamanen. In: Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker. Herausgegeben von V. Diószegi. Budapest 1963. Akadémiai Kiadó, 57–83.
Balázs, János: The Hungarian Shaman's Technique of Trance Induction. In: Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia. Edited by V. Diószegi. Budapest 1968. Akadémiai Kiadó, 53–75. In fact his argumentation is the same as in 1954, and he was not including new references. In his other, later papers he does not give further analysis either.
- ¹⁰ Balázs 1963, 61.
- ¹¹ Balázs 65. Herodotus' description thus comes from a triple translation.
- ¹² See S. I. Rudenko (1953) on The Culture of the Population of the Corny Altai in Scythian Times (in Russian, p. 8) in Balázs 65–66. Since 1953 much new, pertinent archaeological material became known. The early Scythian "sauna" will need a special study.
- ¹³ See e.g. Rédei, Károly: Uralisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch Bd. I. Lieferung 4. Budapest 1987. Akadémiai Kiadó, 423, s.v. ren 3 (rek3) 'warm, Wärme, Hitze'. Rédei admits the Ugrian etymology, but questions the Uralic etymology if that group of words.
- ¹⁴ Rédei *op. Cit.* 247–248.
- ¹⁵ It is surprising that Hungarian medieval texts with the word *Szentlélek* 'Holy Spirit', word-by-word 'saint soul' are neither numerous nor very early. Its first occurrence (as a place name from about 1335) as a glossary in a German–Hungarian vocabulary

from about 1430. We know some controversy in translating *Sanctus Spiritus* in the Hungarian Hussite Bible.

- ¹⁶ Suomen sanojen alkuperä. Etymologinen sanakirja 2. L–P. Päätoimittaja Ulla-Maija Kulonen. Helsinki 1995. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura – Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus. s.v. "löyly" 131–132 (entry written by Kirsti Aapala).

Lélek appears in contemporary Hungarian words, e.g.

Szentlélek, Fi 'Pyhä henki' = 'pyhä löyly'; holy spirit;

Lélektan, Fi 'psykologia' = 'löyly-oppi'; psychology, lélek doctrine;

Lélekbúvár, Fi 'psykiatri' = 'löyly-sukeltaja'; psychiatrist, lélek-diver;

Lelkes, Fi 'innostunut' = 'löylyläinen'; enthusiast; lélek person.

SHAMANISM AND AMBER IN GREECE: THE NORTHERN CONNECTION

By the end of the first century AD the Romans had set foot in Britain more than once. Their knowledge of the island and of its relative geographical position was deficient, vague, and even inaccurate, but they were there, and some of them had even heard accounts of the brief and bright nights and of the eerie twilight in the extreme north of Britain. Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul took Roman armies as far as southern Holland and Belgium. In his *de Bello Gallico*, which was published well before 46 BC, Caesar describes not only the Celtic Gauls of France (Gallia), but also the Germans who had invaded Gaul and had settled in it, or had been invited to take part in its internecine wars.¹ However, it was in the reign of Claudius, in the year 43 AD, that the Roman legions conquered the southeast of Britain and the Isle of Wight. Agricola, father-in-law of Tacitus and Britain's most eminent administrator, became governor of Britain in 77 AD.

The *Germania* by Tacitus remains the most famous work of Antiquity on Germany and the Germans. This impressive treatise is a description of the German tribes to the north of the Rhine and the Danube. The Romans came to know the Germans during the last decade of the second century BC. The Cimbri and the Teutoni left Jutland in 113 BC and, within a few years, they moved south enough to meet the Roman Consul Scaurus in battle and defeat him in 108 BC. The Cimbri to whom Tacitus refers in *Germania* ch. 37 as living next to the ocean must be the ones discovered by the fleet of Tiberius in the extreme north of Jutland in 5 AD. The Suiones of *Germania* ch. 44, are more or less the ancient Swedes and the only Scandinavians known to Tacitus.² We are told that, beyond the Suiones, there is another sea, one that is believed by some to gird the whole earth. In this region the brilliance of the setting sun lasts till dawn. The unknown lies beyond it. The Aesti lived along the east coast of the Baltic, perhaps as far as the Gulf of Finland. They were Baltic or Balto-Slavic Indo-Europeans, ancestors of the Old Prussians, Lithuanians, and Letts. The Aesti, writes Tacitus, were "the only people who collected amber (*succinum*)—*glesum* in their own language—both in the shallows and on the shore of the sea".³ Amber is central to some of the ideas proposed in this study, and I shall return

to it. The last tribe to which Tacitus makes memorable reference are the Fenni who “eat grass, wear animal skins, and sleep on the ground”. It is rumored, says the historian, that only monsters live beyond their territory.⁴

Neither Homer nor Hesiod knew anything about northern Europe. The only Europe known to the Greeks of the Homeric epics as well as to the Greeks of the Archaic Age was the continental trunk of Greece, especially the Greek northwest and a part of Thessaly. The rest of the Hellenic world consisted of the Peloponnese and the islands. The landmass that was washed by the Ionian Sea



1. Church of St. John Prodromos (The Forerunner) perched on top of the Oracle of the Dead near the River of the Dead (Acheron). A vaulted chamber beneath served as the entrance to the Underworld. Communication with the dead and prophesy were practiced here. Structure dated to end of fourth century B.C. Culture practices could be at least one thousand years old.

was also called *ēpeiros*, ‘continent’.⁵ The Achaeans of Homer seem to have been familiar only with a tiny part of Asia, namely the larger area of Troy and the surrounding territories. The word *asios*, ‘Asian’, occurs only once in all of Homer in *Iliad* 2.461 in reference to the “Asian meadow” of the second great simile of Book Two. The Achaeans had knowledge of Egypt, but the rest of Africa was unknown to them, and they referred to it as *Libyē*, Libya. They had heard that the Ethiopians lived there and that the Olympian gods visited them on

occasion to feast among them and to receive huge sacrifices.⁶ Sicily was most likely known to the Achaeans through their trade with the Phoenicians. Lands to the west of this large island, it seems, were entirely unknown to them. Cyprus was colonized in the thirteenth century, and most of Crete was conquered by the Dorians well before the end of the tenth century. By then most of the islands of the Aegean and much of the coast of Asia Minor were in Greek hands; a few small settlements, mainly for trade, had been established in the Black Sea as early as that. However, the spectacular expansion of the Greek world took place between the eighth and sixth centuries when the Greeks went to Sicily and South Italy in great numbers and even founded towns on the shores of Southern France (e.g. Nikaia, Massalia) and southern Spain (e.g. Emporium, Hemeroscopium). Herodotus reports that the Phocaeans set out from their city in northern Asia Minor to open up the Adriatic and to sail as far west as Liguria (Southern Gaul) and Spain where they founded many colonies. It was from Massalia, their most important colony in Southern Gaul founded around 600, that the navigator Pytheas sailed to Cadiz and then to Cornwall. At some point between 310–306 he circumnavigated Britain and sailed on to *Thule*, which might be either Iceland or Norway.⁷ The Atlantic Ocean was known to the Greeks by the time of Herodotus, Plato, and Aristotle, but the far reaches of both western and eastern Europe remained unknown to them.⁸



2. Herakles wrestling with the river god Acheloos (vase painting, British Museum). Serpent and man-faced bull, Acheloos here is a creative fusion of stages of transformation.

Tin and amber came to the Greeks and to much of the Mediterranean from the north. The chronology of their arrival in the Hellenic world cannot be reconstructed with great precision, but amber at least found its way to Mycenaean strongholds during the early part of the second millennium BC. Indeed, archaeologists have discovered Baltic amber in Mycenaean shaft graves that date as far back as 1700 BC. Tin may have been transported to Mediterranean shores almost as early. The Ulu Burun shipwreck, located and investigated in the early eighties, by Professor George F. Bass and his team of collaborators, has provided us with precious evidence about tin and Baltic amber reaching the coast of Asia Minor around 1400 BC, the approximate date of the shipwreck.⁹ Just as we cannot be sure about the sources of tin for the Hittites, so, too, we cannot know with any certainty the sources of the tin the bronze-coated Achaeans carried in their formidable armor. Yet, for the second millennium, especially the second half of that millennium, Spain and Britain are likely to have exported tin. Phoenician traders realized the value of this metal for making bronze and pewter and they risked their lives for high profit. Exactly where and how they obtained tin is not known to us, but there is very little doubt that they did it and that it was their ships that carried it to the Mediterranean coast.¹⁰ Britain, especially Cornwall, is a very likely source for tin after 1500 BC. Interestingly enough, tin (*kassiteros* in Greek) is not mentioned in the *Odyssey*, while amber, electrum (*electron* in Greek) is not mentioned in the *Iliad*. Amber is mentioned four times in the *Odyssey*,¹¹ while the *Iliad* offers us abundant evidence for the importance of tin. Thus, in Agamemnon's corselet, there were ten circles of cobalt, twelve of gold, and twenty of tin (11.25). Hephaistos uses tin as one of the main metals for making the Shield of Achilles (18.474).¹² There is a very important mention of tin in Hesiod's *Theogony* 859–66 (Cf. pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield* 206–9). Herodotus states that he has no dependable information of the extreme west of Europe, or of the Tin Islands “from which tin comes to us”, or—for that matter—of a sea beyond Europe to the north and west. Yet, says the historian, “it is from these ends of the earth (extremities) that tin and amber come to us”.¹³ My inclination to agree with this ancient view is shared by many scholars today. It seems that tin was brought to the Adriatic by means of an overland route that originated on the coast of the North Sea. During the Iron Age, Baltic amber was carried overland down the Vistula and the pathways offered by other great rivers to the north Black Sea and thence overland to the Adriatic, and by sea elsewhere to Mediterranean ports. No accurate charts of the routes of tin and amber can be produced. The earlier Bronze Age routes seem to have reached the Adriatic mainly through Germany. Yet, implicit in the statement by Herodotus is the existence of trade routes that connected the shores of the North and Baltic Seas with the larger Mediterranean coast.¹⁴ It seems reasonable to suppose that over the lengthy millennia, with precious merchandise, a few stories, a few rumors, a few religious ideas, and perhaps even a few words reached the Mediterranean

world from the north. A brief inquiry into such matters may yield no more than the most tentative speculations, but it may also point to new perspectives.

Let us start with the Hyperboreans, the legendary race that lives “beyond the North Wind,” in the extreme North. They are visited by Apollon who favors them and spends time with them. Herodotus mistrusts all accounts of them, but he is intrigued by stories told by the Delians. According to these stories, offerings from the Hyperboreans wrapped in wheat-straw were taken to Scythia and thence, across Europe, to the Adriatic, and from there to Dodona and to Delos. These mysterious offerings were sent to the temple of Apollon on the island where he was born.¹⁵ The oldest mention of the Hyperboreans is to be found in Hesiodic fragment 150¹⁶. Lines 21–24 of the fragment possess a special significance in that they connect the Hyperboreans with amber. One may well wonder whether the story Herodotus relates about sacred offerings wrapped in wheat-straw may preserve the memory of trade or at least transportation of amber from the Baltic all the way to Mediterranean waters.

In the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, we come to the delightful, yet outlandish, story of Proteus (4.351–586). In this story we learn that the Spartan king Menelaos cannot sail home because his fleet is stranded somewhere off the coast of Egypt. From Eidothea, daughter of the sea god Proteus, he learns that only her father can set him and his men free from whatever powers hold them back. Proteus must be caught and bound. To this end, Menelaos and three of his men must sleep in a special place indicated by the mermaid. At dawn, Eidothea dives into the sea and brings out four seal skins. The four men have to lie down in four shallow pits or lurking places which she hollows out of the ground for them. She protects them against the stench of the seal skins by daubing their nostrils with a drop of ambrosia. Suddenly, great flocks of seals



3. Cybele beating a drum (fourth century B.C. / Museum of Thessaloniki). The goddess's drum and the ecstatic states that were part of her cult deserves special attention.

come out of the sea. Proteus, too, the Old Man of the Sea, comes on land not long thereafter. Menelaos and his companions catch him by locking arms around him. However, Proteus proceeds to manifest his supernatural powers. He turns into a lion and then into a serpent. In no time at all he also turns into a leopard and then again into a wild boar. As if this were not enough, he also becomes water and, finally, a tree. He reveals to Menelaos the death of his brother Agamemnon and of his war comrade Ajax. He gives him information on the whereabouts of Odysseus, and he foretells Menelaos' special destiny of eternal life in the Elysian Field. What Menelaos and his three companions do has all the makings of a seal-hunting ritual. The abundance of seals in this particular epic narrative is very remarkable since seals have never been a frequent sight in the Mediterranean, and ancient Greek poetry hardly takes note of them.¹⁷ It should be noted here that Herodotus knows of primitive men who live on raw fish and are dressed in seal skins. These men live near the northern coast of the Caspian Sea.¹⁸ Proteus is the Old Man of the Sea. He is immortal but not ageless. He is not an Olympian god but rather a lesser marine divinity, a vassal of Poseidon, who can see into the past, the present, and future.¹⁹ The ability he possesses to change shapes is his "crafty skill" (4.455), something that would make him at home among tricksters. In the *Odyssey* Proteus is from Egypt (4.385). Herodotus in his own creative version of the story makes him an Egyptian king (2.112–19).²⁰

Egyptian religion does not present us with a single god or goddess of the sea, and parallels to various elements of the story of Proteus in the *Odyssey* could be more profitably sought where they seem to abound naturally, indeed, very far to the north of Egypt. It is in the extreme north, all the way from Alaska to Siberia, that seals are plentiful and seal hunting most important. One of the Alaskan shaman's duties is to perform rituals that attract animals and bring them within hunting range.²¹ To this end, the shaman may put on a coat made of sealskin:

By way of the big ocean, I cross over
 Putting on the big spotted seal.
 Those who want to hunt,
 I make them thankful.²²

The French anthropologist Jean Malaurie informs us that in Greenland a shaman would hide his face behind a sealskin and then begin to talk. He might fall into a trance during which he would visit the realm of the dead and see Nerrivik, the great goddess of the waters. He then would return from this magic world with good news for the seal hunters.²³ From his companion and informant Pualuna, Malaurie heard that there are special occasions on which the shamans turn themselves into birds, seals, foxes, or walruses.²⁴ Pualuna told Malaurie, "The *angakok*, the shaman, was the most important person among us. He was the *anga*, the elder, the one who is first, who precedes... A shaman is

immortal... what I mean is, he can come back to life, if need be.”²⁵ Pualuna’s language cannot but tempt one to think of Proteus, “the First One”, the Old Man of the Sea, an immortal who can change shapes, the master of great flocks of seals. Old Irish literature is rich in lore that involves the transformation of great, legendary heroes into various animals.²⁶ It seems that there is hardly any major



4. Orpheus playing his lyre, enchanting the animals (mosaic, third century B.C.).

area in the North that does not offer examples of seers and magicians who are shape-changers. The Norse gods Odin and Loki are very typical of divine wonder-workers.²⁷ The oral literature of the Sami people of Finland seems to have been the belief source of many *runes* sung by Finnish and Karelian rune singers. It was a veritable goldmine for Elias Lönnrot, composer of the national epic of Finland, even to a greater extent than Lönnrot himself recognized. In it we encounter magicians whose songs can cause almost anything to materialize. Väinämöinen, the central hero of the Kalevala epic, can transform himself into a reptile or a snake.²⁸

It seems reasonable to classify the transformations of the oral and written literature of the north as shamanic in origin and typology. Professor Juha Pentikäinen of the University of Helsinki has demonstrated beyond doubt that the heroes of the Kalevala epic go back to the shamans of the Sami and even to the Ob-Ugric traditions in Northwestern Siberia.²⁹ Mircea Eliade paid special attention to shamanism among the peoples of the Altaic regions. He informs us that among Siberians and Altaians they [the shamans] can appear in the form of bears, wolves, stags, hares, and all kinds of birds". He also reports that there are ceremonies during which the "Lord of the Sea" is invited to attend.³⁰ Let us return to Proteus. Burkert calls him "master of animals, master of the fish of the sea,"³¹ but where did this master of the sea come from? Is it possible that he came from the north? His name, Proteus, means the "First One," which he is not, as I have already indicated. Etymology comes with risks. Yet it is worth pointing out that Lithuanian *protas*, 'mind', 'spirit', and Norse *fródr*, 'wise', may be creditable cognates. Both are well-situated in northern Europe.³²



5. Dionysus riding a panther (mosaic floor from Pella 325–300 B.C.)

Two of the very essential features of shamanism are the ability to change identity by assuming the form of an animal and the profoundly significant journey to the underworld. Major features of shamanic belief and practice are bound to have their own peculiarities and even to appear fragmented or even somewhat incongruous. This may be due to the very real possibility that they were imported from different sources at different times. The origin of Orpheus will probably never be entirely clear. Yet all accounts point to Thrace whose Eastern shore is bounded by the Black Sea. At the very center of the myth of Orpheus one can easily detect both belief in and preoccupation with the afterlife. Orpheus himself, oldest poet and prophet of Greece, descends to the underworld to bring back Eurydice, his bride. The poet's song has power over nature and can enchant both animals and plants. For many centuries, *Orphica*, poetry composed under the name of Orpheus, added new dimensions to the concept of the transmigration of souls (*metempsychosis*) which involved the reappearance of the same soul in a different plant or animal each time:

I have already been a young man and a maiden,
a bush, a bird, a scaly fish leaping out of the sea.³³

Dionysus is a very complex god, foreign in origin and yet very Hellenic. Wine is both essence and emblem for Dionysus. The more primitive god, the one whose origin is veiled in almost complete mystery, may have required some other intoxicant of his worshipper. Although certain aspects of his worship may point to Crete and to several areas of Asia Minor, especially Phrygia, most etymologists have produced strong arguments for the Thracian origin of *Dionysos* and Semele, his mother.³⁴ Such conclusions are in keeping with Ancient Greek tradition which considered Thrace to be the god's original home. The great variety of the functions of Dionysus and the multitude of the borders he can cross go well beyond the limited scope of this presentation. Homeric Hymn 7 (To Dionysus), a poem composed as early as the sixth century BC, may suffice to illustrate the power Dionysus possesses to transform both himself and others. Pirates have seized the god and have tried in vain to bind him in shackles that would come loose. As the captain tried to sail away, wine started running in streams everywhere, and then a vine spread about all over the ship. The god himself, at this point looking like a strong and handsome young man, suddenly becomes a bear, and then a lion that seizes the captain. Except for the helmsman, who is a good man, the pirates leap into the sea where they turn into dolphins. Such acts of transformation cannot be viewed apart from the acts of ritual madness which infects the followers of the god when they submit to his power. Incidentally, Homeric Hymn 7 mentions the Hyperboreans.

Is it, we may ask, of any significance that, according to the weight of ancient tradition, both Orpheus and Dionysus were born not too far from the Black Sea?

We know next to nothing about cultural and religious ideas that reached the Black Sea before the foundation of an impressive number of Greek colonies in the seventh century BC. It is now widely accepted that the Greeks sailed into the Black Sea and, quite likely, even founded some trading outposts many centuries earlier. The great saga of the Argonauts who sailed all the way to mythic Aia (Colchis) in the Black Sea was dated by the ancients to the middle of the thirteenth century BC. The mention of the Argo, the ship that made the fabulous voyage, in *Odyssey* 12.69–72, creates a depth of time that carries us to the mist of prehistory. Traders from the Baltic Sea may have reached the Black Sea quite early, but the saga of the Argonauts does not contain a hint in support of this possibility. The Vikings proved that such a thing was possible. Indeed, between AD 500 and 1000, the Vikings opened up long trade routes that took



6. Scene inspired by the theme of Homeric Hymn 7.
Dionysus is reclined on the boat of the pirates who have kidnapped him.
He has transformed the pirates into dolphins and caused the miraculous
appearance of the vine and the clusters of grapes that hang over him
(from Athenian vase painted by Exekias, 540–530 B.C.,
Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich).

them to Russia and to the Black Sea which became accessible to them through a combination of overland travel and travel by raft or boat down the great rivers that drain into the Black Sea.³⁵ It may seem like a reckless thought, but the thought is worth pondering at least. What happened during the peak of Viking expansion could have happened two or three millennia earlier. We do know that in historical times Baltic amber came to Olbia, one of the colonies the Greeks planted on the north coast of the Black Sea.³⁶ The peoples of the Baltic Sea and their north Germanic neighbors to the west exerted a powerful influence on the people of southern and southwestern Finland between 2500–1500 BC. Proto-Finnish was born in these areas of Finland, whereas the language of the ancestors of the Sami (Proto-Sami) was confined to the sparse population of the subarctic north. It is very clear from all this that Finland with its Finno-Ugric population was not off limits to the Balts and Germans even in remote antiquity. Ideas and words traveled both north and south.

The possibilities brought up in this paper are so spread out over vast stretches of space and time as to lack the cohesiveness that is necessary for supporting a theory. More than fifty years ago E. R. Dodds spoke of Greek shamans, especially in one of the lectures he gave at Berkeley in the fall of 1949.³⁷ Dodds, quite correctly, looks to Scandinavia and to Eurasia, and especially to Siberia as the huge cradle of shamanism. The Greek shamanic phenomenon he considers derivative, with Thrace and, more so, Scythia serving as lands of fruitful contact. My brief paper is more narrow in its scope. I wish to add Proteus and his transformations to the argument for shamanism in Greece. I have suggested that his flocks of seals and even his name, a Baltic name perhaps, speak for his northern origins. Significant aspects of the Orphic and Dionysiac religions are, through their origins in Thrace, linked with the Black Sea and its visitors from the north. It should be mentioned here that Crete and Cyprus, both distinctly southern with respect to Greece, offer no evidence for shamanism. The Phoenicians carried tin to the Mediterranean, but no religious ideas. By contrast, the trade routes that brought Baltic amber to the Adriatic and to the Black Sea seem to have acted as pathways for the movement of a few religious ideas. The sacred offerings that left the land of the Hyperboreans to reach the Adriatic and, eventually, the temple of Apollon on Delos were not carried by mute couriers.

Endnotes

- ¹ For ethnographic details on Britain see Furneaux, H., *Cornelii Taciti de Vita Agricolae* (Oxford 1898), esp. chs 10–12 and the notes on them in the second edition by J. G. C. Anderson, with contributions by F. Haverfield (Oxford 1922). For a translation that also offers a valuable introduction see Mattingly, H. (Penguin Books – Penguin Classics 1948). Caesar's *de Bello Gallico* is an invaluable source of information for Gaul, Britain, and Germany. In the old commentary on Books I–VII by St. George Stock (Oxford 1898), pp. 85–176 are devoted to Gaul, Britain, and Germany. S. A. Hanford's translation in the Penguin Classics Series titled *Caesar: The Conquest of Gaul* comes with a most helpful introduction (London 1953).
- ² Latin *Suiones* for the Swedes matches well both Swedish *Svear* and Norse *Sviar*. *Sviar* originally referred to the northern Swedes. The official title of the Swedish king, "Svea Och Göta Konung", preserves the old distinction to this day.
- ³ The name of the *Aesti* lives on in the name of the modern Estonians. The information on the bright nights and the precious reference to amber are found in *Germania* 45.
- ⁴ *Germania* 46. The Fenni of Tacitus, both in terms of geographical location and ethnic origin, are not to be confused with the Finnish people of our days.
- ⁵ For the earliest mention of Europe see the *Homeric Hymn to Apollon* 250–251, 290–291. The distinction between continental Greece and the Peloponnese, more narrowly Argos, can be found in *Odyssey* 1.344; 4.276; 4.816. Hellas was originally only a portion of Thessaly which, most likely, included the adjacent area of Dodona and, eventually, the region between Dodona and the Acheloois river. See *Iliad* 9.395, 477–478, 16.595–596. For *ēpeiros*, see *Odyssey* 16.84, 116, 21.308.
- ⁶ The Homeric belief, more precisely, speaks of *Aithiopes*, 'Shining Faces', dark/black people who live far away where the sun rises and also where the sun sets (*Odyssey* 1.21–25; 5.282; cf. also Hesiod's "black men" in *Works and Days* 526–528).
- ⁷ The writings of Pytheas have been lost. The scant evidence we have comes from the works of such later writers as Strabo, Diodorus, and Pliny, who doubtless owe much to Posidonius (135–51 BC). However, what is left of Posidonius is so fragmentary that it is impossible to know how much of the works of Pytheas was woven into his ethnographic and ethographic narratives.
- ⁸ By contrast, the conquests of Alexander the Great took the Greeks as far east as the Indus river.
- ⁹ Ulu Burun is a sheer and forbidding promontory jutting out of the Turkish coast southeast of modern Kas and across from Rhodes. For details about this extremely important shipwreck see Bass, George F., "Oldest Known Shipwreck Reveals Splendors of the Bronze Age," *National Geographic* 172, no. 6 (1987) 699.
- ¹⁰ For contact and trade between Phoenicians and Greeks in Homeric times see Stubbings, Frank H. in Wace, Alan J. B. and Stubbings, Frank H., *A Companion to Homer* (New York 1963) 539–544. For the problem of tin supplies during the second millennium BC see Macqueen, J. G., *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*, revised edition (New York 1986) 42–43. The likelihood of Britain as a very ancient source for tin is addressed on p. 43. See also Bryce, Trevor, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (Oxford 1998) 30–31, 86.
- ¹¹ 4.73, 15.460, 18.296

- ¹² The shield of Agamemnon displays twenty knobs of tin (*Iliad* 11.35). The fence in the vineyard depicted on the Shield of Achilles is a "fence of tin" (*herkos kassiteroio: Iliad* 18.565). Cf. also *Iliad* 18.612; 20.271; 21.592; 23.560–561; 23.503.
- ¹³ Quoted text is taken from 3.115–116. Some still think that the Tin Islands of this passage are the Scilly Islands off the coast of southern Britain. For a dissenting view and a detailed analysis of the problem see Stock (above, note 1) 114–119.
- ¹⁴ For a comprehensive treatment see Spekke, A., *The Ancient Amber Routes* (1957).
- ¹⁵ From the fourth century AD commentator Himerus we learn that Alcaeus told how Apollon once left Delphi to go to the Hyperboreans on a chariot drawn by swans. See Lobel, Edgar and Page, Oscar *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta* (Oxford 1968) Fr. 307 on pp. 259–260. Pindar informs us that Perseus reached the Hyperboreans (*Pythian* 10.30 ff), while the late mythographer Apollodorus tells us that the golden apples of the Hesperides were kept in the land of the Hyperboreans (II. 113, 120). For the Hyperboreans as simply a distant people see *Homeric Hymn* 9 (to Dionysus) 29.
- ¹⁶ Merkelbach, R. and West, M. L., *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967) fr. 150.21 ff on p. 74.
- ¹⁷ There is seal lore in Aelian, *NA* 4.56, 3.19, 9.59, 10.50, 11.37, 15.2. Aristotle's many references to seals are of a zoological and anatomical nature. See Bonitz, H., *Index Aristotelicus* (Gratz 1955) s. v. *phoke*. Both Aelian's *NA* 10.50 and Aristophanes' *Pax* 758 are clearly inspired by the fourth book of the *Odyssey*.
- ¹⁸ Herodotus 1.202
- ¹⁹ In terms of his gift of triple sight, Proteus is like other famous Greek seers, such as Calchas and Teiresias. His lower status with reference to Poseidon is clear in *Odyssey* 4.384–386.
- ²⁰ Diodorus Siculus copies Herodotus. In an effort to explain Proteus' animal transformations he mentions the animal "masks" Egyptian kings would wear on their heads as symbols of their rule (1.62). See also Breadstead, Henry James, *A History of Egypt* (New York 1905) 318–319.
- ²¹ Interesting details are reported by Oswalt, Wendell H., *Bashful No Longer: An Alaskan Eskimo Ethnohistory, 1778–1988* (Norman, Oklahoma 1990) 35–39.
- ²² I thank George Charles for allowing me to excerpt these lines from his father's medicine song. Details can be found in his unpublished MA thesis, *Yut Quyalingnagluksi: An Analysis of a Yup'iaq Medicine Song. A Yup'iaq Family's Interpretation* (University of California, Santa Barbara 1997) 27–31
- ²³ Malaurie, Jean, *The Last Kings of Thule* (original title: *Les derniers rois de Thulé*), trans. Adreinne Foulke (Chicago 1985) 320. See also pp. 99, 108, 122–123, *et passim*. The account of the journey to Nerrivik is given on pp. 57–58. Many interesting details on sealskins in Greenland can be found in Millman, Lawrence, *Last Places* (Boston 1990) 138–139, 158, 195 (hunters neutralizing the fear of seals by playing seals). Some information on seals in Iceland can be gleaned from Katharine Sherman's book *Daughter of Fire: A Portrait of Iceland* (Boston–Toronto 1976) 92–93.
- ²⁴ Above note 23, pp. 61–62.
- ²⁵ Ibid. pp. 57 (for the shaman as the elder, the first one), 59 (immortality of shaman).
- ²⁶ The relevant examples are vast. Only two examples are given here. Fintan changes into a salmon, an eagle, and a hawk. Tuan becomes a wild boar, a great sea-eagle, and a salmon: MacCarra, Proinsias, *Celtic Mythology* (Hamly Publishing Group

- 1970) 57 (Fintan); Rolleston, T. W., *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race* (London 1911) 254 (Tuan).
- ²⁷ Davidson, Ellis H. R., *Gods and Myths of the Viking Age* (New York 1981) 141–142. For the story of Loki see Hollander, Lee M., *The Poetic Edda* (Austin 1962) 90 ff.
- ²⁸ See Lönnrot, Elias, *The Old Kalevala and Certain Antecedents*, trans. Magoun Jr., Francis Peabody (Cambridge, Mass. 1969). Poems 5 and 9 are representative of the many examples.
- ²⁹ Pentikäinen, Juha, *Kalevala Mythology* (University of Indiana Press 1989, Revised edition 1999), transl. Poom, Ritva
- ³⁰ Eliade, Mircea, *Shamanism* (Princeton 1964) 88–89
- ³¹ Burkert, Walther, *Structures and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 96.
- ³² For the underlying connection between Norse *fródr* and Lithuanian *protas* (and Old Prussian *prātin*, ‘sense/mind’) see De Vries, Jan *Altnordisches etymol. Wört.* (Leiden 1977); also Pokorny, Julius *Indogerm. etym. Wört I* (Tübingen 1994), 844 under *prāi*. More details on the etymology of Proteus as well as of Phorkys and Nereus, who are also Old Men of the Sea, are given in my article in *Gaia*, N. 3 (forthcoming).
- ³³ This is Empedokles, fr. 117. See Diels, Herman/Krantz, Walther, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1966) p. 359. Very useful information can be found in Guthrie, W. C. K., *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (Princeton 1993) 171 ff.
- ³⁴ Frisk, Hjalmar, *Griech. etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1973) under the Greek equivalents of *Dionysos* and *Semele*. See also Chantraine, Pierre, *dict. étymol. de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968). Under *Dionysos* Chantraine writes “Le dieu Dionysos est un dieu nouveau, populaire, qui vient p.-e. de Thrace.”
- ³⁵ The Vikings traveled farther south to Byzantium and beyond, and they carried on a flourishing trade with the Arabs. Goods from England, Greenland, and Lapland reached Baghdad and North Africa. The Dvina, the Dnieper, and the Don, and well as Lake Ladoga, offered the Vikings pathways to the Black Sea. For details, see Foote, P. G. and Wilson, D. M., *The Viking Achievement* (London 1970) 191–231, esp. 220–229.
- ³⁶ See map 7a in Hammond, Nicholas G. L., *Atlas of the Greek and Roman World in Antiquity* (Noyes Press 1981)
- ³⁷ The lecture in question became ch. 5 in his book *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1966). Under “The Greek Shamans and the Origin of Puritanism”, (ch. 5, pp. 135–178) Dodds also discusses the doctrines of Pythagoras, Epimenides, and Empedokles. He also points to such remarkable figures as Abaris, who came from the north, riding an arrow “as souls, it appears, still do in Siberia”, and Aristeas, who was capable of bilocation and of leaving his body at will (both are mentioned on p. 141). Herodotus is the original source for the stories of Abaris (4.36) and Aristeas (4.13 ff).

Robert A. Erickson

“RAPT ABOVE THE POLE”

MILTON’S *PARADISE LOST* AND SHAMANISM

I will begin by describing a dramatic performance. The actor begins by chanting certain ritualized formulas for calling up spirits who will assist him in his attempt to transcend the natural world and ascend to the divine world. He enters a state of trance or rapture in which he takes on both female and male gender roles, and seems to have left the world of the living. He has entered heaven, or the Upper World, and sees the gods in conversation with each other. He describes this conversation at great length, and also includes an account of how the gods fought a war in heaven, and how they expelled a rebel god and all his followers to a Lower World, or hell. The actor then describes how the leader of the rebellious gods made a dangerous journey from hell to the Middle World, earth, located between heaven and hell, in order to seduce the inhabitants to disobey the God of heaven and become adherents of the rebellious gods in hell. In this process of seduction, the rebellious god adopts the disguise of a variety of animals, including a cormorant, a toad, and a snake.

The performance I have just described could apply equally to the activities of an Asian shaman and to the author of the most famous epic poem in English, Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, published in 1667.¹ What did Milton know, if anything, about Nordic shamanism? Even though he never uses the word “shaman” (it did not come into English usage until the end of the seventeenth century), Milton was both fascinated and repelled by all forms of demonic or transgressive behavior, and much of this fascination is distilled in his figures of Comus and Satan.² He was familiar with Robert Burton’s



Milton was sixty-two when William Faithorne engraved his portrait on the front-piece of *History of Britain* in 1670, three years after the publication of *Paradise Lost*.

Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), the great compendium of lore about everything relating to the mind and emotions as they were understood in the seventeenth century. As Gloria Flaherty points out in *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century*, Burton gave accounts of “ecstatic trances in which the practitioner sometimes lay for days ‘like a dead man, void of life and sense’. Upon recovery, the man would tell of his strange visions in a way Burton found very similar to the witches’ accounts of their dancing and cavorting after long aerial journeys”.³ Drawing upon authorities like Saxo Grammaticus and Olaus Magnus (with which Milton was also familiar), Burton asserted that it was not at all unusual “for witches and sorcerers, in Lapland, Lithuania, and all over Scandia, to sell winds to mariners, and cause tempests... These kind of devils are much delighted in sacrifices” and operated from ancient times to the present day.

Milton’s profound and lifelong interest in the geography of the known world in general, and in things Nordic and Asian in particular, is further evidenced in his brief history of “Moscovia” (written about 1648), which was based on wide reading in the travel literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially Samuel Purchas (1577–1626), who in *Purchas His Pilgrimage, Or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages and Places Discovered, from the Creation unto this Present* (1613), gives one of the first detailed accounts in English of a shamanic seance (based on an account from 1577), a description with which Milton was most likely familiar:

“And first the Priest doth begin to play upon a thing like to a great sive, with a skinne on the one end like a drumme; his drumme-sticke is about a span long, and one end is round like a ball, covered with the skin of an Hart. Also the Priest hath as it were a white garland on his head, and his face is covered with a peece of a shirt of male, with many small ribbes, and teeth of fishes and wilde beasts hanging thereon. Then he singeth, as we use here in England to hollow, whoope, or shout at Hounds, and the rest of the Company answeare him with this Outes [Oath] *Igha, Igha, Igha*, to which the Priest with his voice replieth. And they answeare him with the self-same words, so many times, till in the end, he become[s], as it were, madde, falling downe as he were dead, having nothing on him but a shirt, and lying on his backe, I perceived him yet to breath, and asked why he lay so: they answered, Now doth our God tell him what we shall doe, and whither we shall goe.”⁴

Milton’s profound interest in Scandinavian lore is perhaps best evidenced in one of the most powerful and memorable passages in *Paradise Lost*, the so-called allegory of Sin and Death in Book Two (*PL* 2. 650–815).⁵ Sin is described as an amphibious being, a kind of hideous mermaid who is a beautiful woman to the waist but below a scaly serpent, with many folds, ending in a mortal sting. Around her abdomen a gang of hell-hounds continually barks, and whenever they wish, crawl into her womb, and kennel there, and chew on her Bowels, then burst forth again to terrorize her in endless cycles. These dogs of hell are compared to others who follow the Night Hag, Hecate, when she is called in secret, riding through the air and lured with the smell of infant blood

by Lapland witches casting spells so potent that they cause an eclipse of the moon. Furthermore, as Ethel Seaton has shown, the idea of the hell hounds “returning to kennel in the monster’s body” (a detail not in Ovid’s description of Scylla, Milton’s primary source) may have come to Milton from Purchas (whose writings Milton knew well, according to Seaton), where one finds an account of the “Dogge-fish, which putting his head out of the Sea, barketh and receiveth his whelps sporting in the Sea againe into his belly, while they come to more growth. It is significant that Sin’s hell-hounds immediately recall to Milton a northern parallel, the famous dance of the Lapland witches in the moon’s eclipse.”⁶ For everyone in early modern England, “Lapland was renowned as a centre of withcraft”, and Lapland witches were thought to sacrifice infants for the sheer joy of doing murder as well as to use their blood to make magic concoctions.⁷ Lapland witches were also thought to have power over the moon, the emblem of feminine change and female power over reproduction, and power over the winds and weather.

Let us compare the following passage from the *Kalevala*, runo 45. Mistress Louhi in Pohjola, meditating revenge and doom on Väinämöinen and Kalevalanders, prays to Ukko, and begs him to strike her enemies down with the pestilence. Ukko silently responds with a wind that impregnates the blind ogress Loviatar, the dark maid of Tuonela and the “nastiest” of the daughters of Tuoni, the god of the underworld. She is described as being “the source of every evil, Cause of myriad disasters”.⁸ As with Milton’s Sin, we have here a hideous birth narrative.⁹ Loviatar bears the growing burden in her womb a full nine months and still is undelivered. This “whore of hell”, as the narrator calls her, tries unsuccessfully to bear her children in several desolate places:

Now the nasty wretch was weeping,
Hideous monster loudly wailing,
Being baffled where to go,
Where to ease her aching womb,
Where to birth her urgent offspring.

With Louhi’s help she finds a sauna for the purpose and bears nine ravenous “brats”, each embodying a virulent disease. They are loosed on the land of Kaleva and swiftly infect the inhabitants. Väinämöinen needs all his magic and knowledge to battle these diseases and heal his people. The ghastly birth narrative of the *Kalevala* has a happy ending, but the brood spawned by the incestuous union of Sin and Death in *Paradise Lost* has permanent consequences for humankind when, after the Fall, Sin and Death make their way on a huge bridge—or highway—of their construction to infect all of Adam and Eve’s progeny.

Väinämöinen, at the end of the *Kalevala*, reminds me of Shakespeare’s King Lear. He is the primordial image of the strong paternal figure who has made terrible mistakes, especially with regard to young women, but his potent words, ascending with the vapor in the sauna, eventually speak of healing and

compassion. King Lear learns the healing words from Cordelia, his youngest daughter and the one most like the earth maidens of the *Kalevala*: Cordelia begins the search for her lost father with the incantatory invocation of

“All blest secrets,
All you unpublish’d virtues of the earth,
Spring with my tears! Be aidant and remediate
In the good man’s distress! Seek, seek for him.”

We are still seeking for those blest secrets in these two great poems.

In this paper, I will argue that there are certain intriguing points of contact between Northern shamanism, as described by Mircea Eliade, Juha Pentikäinen (and others), and Milton’s activity as an unorthodox Christian poet, chiefly in his self-representation as the Narrator of *Paradise Lost*. My overall project is not to turn Milton into a shaman—although I do see Milton as a very special kind of “shamanic” poet—but to show that examining Milton through the lens of shamanism affords new insight into his poetry and into his role as a poet—from the point of view of his own sense of himself as a poet and from ours. The first thing to note is that Milton and the shamans are working with materials drawn from that vast pool of human knowledge and experience we designate by the terms “myth” and “magic”, or more precisely by the *language* of myth and magic. My starting point is Northrop Frye’s account of words of power in ancient conceptions of the nature and power of language:

“I think we can see in most Greek literature before Plato, more especially in Homer, in the pre-Biblical cultures of the Near East, and in much of the Old Testament itself, a conception of language that is poetic and “hieroglyphic”, not in the sense of sign-writing, but in the sense of using words as particular kinds of signs. In this period there is relatively little emphasis on a clear separation of subject and object: the emphasis falls rather on the feeling that subject and object are linked by a common power or energy... The articulating of words may bring this common power into being; hence a magic develops in which verbal elements, “spell”, and “charm”, and the like, play a central role. Words in such a context are words of power or dynamic forces.”¹⁰

Both the shaman and Milton are dedicated to formulating and articulating words of power in an oral context. The word, or rather special combinations of words, become acts of power in the physical world, as I will show toward the end of the paper. I would like to point first to a few similarities between Milton and the shaman, and conclude with a comparison between how a shaman achieves connection with the divine world, and how Milton achieves it.

Just as Eliade, in his classic study of shamanism, begins by defining shamans as uniquely different from other magicians, medicine men, and healers, so am I trying to describe Milton in *Paradise Lost* as a special kind of poet—one with shamanlike cosmic vision and powers. Eliade points out that the shaman is “a psychopomp [ie a conveyor and guide of souls in the other world], and beyond this he may be priest, mystic, and poet”, in addition to his central

role as healer.¹¹ At the very end of his book, Eliade seems to sense that his great labor of assembling and delineating the varieties of global shamanism has taken him to a new threshold. He notes that more than once, "we have discerned in the shamanic experience a 'nostalgia for paradise' that suggests one of the oldest types of Christian mysticism" (508). In one of those earlier recognitions, he noted that "it was not until after a primordial catastrophe, comparable to the 'Fall' of biblical tradition, that man became what he is today—mortal, sexed, obliged to work to feed himself, and at enmity with the animals" (99; cf. also 133). In another work, Eliade re-formulates the notion that the shamanic "ecstasy reactualizes... the original state of mankind. In this respect, the mystical experience of primitives is equivalent to a journey back to the origins, a regression into the mythical time of Paradise Lost. For the shaman in ecstasy, this present [fallen] world... is done away with".¹²

He emphasizes not only the important place of shamanism in the history of mysticism, but the essential role shamans have played in „the psychic integrity of the community. They are pre-eminently the antidemonic champions.... The military elements that are of great importance in certain types of Asian shamanism... are accounted for by the requirements of war against the demons, the true enemies of humanity. In a general way, it can be said that shamanism defends life, health, fertility, the world of 'light', against death, diseases, sterility, disaster, and the world of darkness... What is fundamental and universal is the shaman's struggle against what we could call 'the forces of evil'" (508–509). Or as René Girard puts it in his book *Violence and the Sacred*, "shamanism is like a theatrical performance in which one actor plays all the roles at once. The lead role, however, is clearly that of commander in chief of the forces of Good, which finally rout the forces of Evil".¹³

Eliade's discussion has a tantalizing premonitory relevance to Milton and *Paradise Lost*, almost as if Eliade were on the verge of moving into a discussion of that poem as the next logical stage of his argument. Milton saw himself as the poetic champion and even as a kind of poetic savior of the souls of the English nation, and in Milton's poem we have a nostalgia for, and a remarkable recreation of, unfallen "paradise", a cataclysmic War in Heaven in which the fallen angels are thrown down into the massive dungeon of Hell, and throughout the poem we witness a profound battle between the Narrator, an epic hero himself, backed by the power of creation, light, life, and fertility, against Satan and the forces of darkness, miscreation, and death, culminating in the fall of humankind and the promise of their eventual salvation and restoration to divine wholeness and health.

It is especially important to note that Eliade makes an explicit connection between the shaman's adventures in the other world and the adventures of the heroes of epic literature. This is one of the chief links between shamanism and *Paradise Lost*: the shaman and the Narrator of the poem both see themselves as epic story tellers. Eliade speculates that a large number of epic subjects or motifs, as well as many characters and images of epic literature, may have their origin in shamanic narratives.¹⁴ He also suggests that "the pre-ecstatic euphoria"

of the shaman „constituted one of the universal sources of lyric poetry,” and that the spectacle of the shamanic seance may coincide with the origins of drama (510). He redefines, in this highly suggestive epilogue, the shaman as poet, and offers a brief comment on the nature and function of poetry, one that inadvertently describes Milton’s own poetic practice and his preoccupation with the poet’s freedom and autonomy:

“In preparing his trance, the shaman drums, summons his spirit helpers, speaks a ‘secret language’... He ends by obtaining a ‘second state’ that provides the impetus for linguistic creation and the rhythms of lyric poetry. Poetic creation still remains an act of perfect spiritual freedom. Poetry remakes and prolongs language; every poetic language begins by being a secret language, that is, the creation of a personal universe, of a completely closed world. The purest poetic act seems to re-create language from an inner experience that, like the ecstasy or the religious inspiration of ‘primitives,’ reveals the essence of things.” (510)

In a wistful final paragraph, Eliade remarks, “What a magnificent book remains to be written on the ecstatic ‘sources’ of epic and lyric poetry, on the prehistory of dramatic spectacles, and, in general, on the fabulous worlds discovered, explored, and described by the ancient shamans.” (511). In a powerful and transhistorical sense, that “pre-history” has already been written in *Paradise Lost*.

Let us look more closely at some of the possible parallels between Milton and shamanism. For both Milton the epic poet and the shaman, certain artful combinations of words, or “words of power” afford the speaker the ability to summon helping spirits who will enable him to enter a supranormal world, either a divine upper world (heaven) or a lower world (hell). One of the most striking connections between *Paradise Lost* and shamanism is their shared spatial construct of the cosmos. In both we have a three-tiered cosmos, an upper world, a middle world or earth, and a lower world, beneath the earth.¹⁵ Nearly every other Christian conception of the cosmos puts hell in the middle of the earth, with Dante’s version as perhaps the most memorable. This shared spatial construct of the cosmos, and the summoning of helping spirits, is the central phenomenological connection between the world of *Paradise Lost* and the shamanic world view. Shamanism is not a religion, but the shaman is thought to possess the ability to enter the divine world, draw upon the power of divine spirits, and effect change in this world. That is what the shaman does and that is what Milton’s Narrator does in *Paradise Lost*. Milton is an unorthodox seventeenth-century Christian poet who adapts Scripture and many other sources to fashion his own unique version of the Christian myth in his epic poem, and his own version of the exceptional poet who achieves a vision of the divine world.

In qualifying Eliade’s view of shamanism in the light of more recent studies, especially those of Pentikäinen, the Asian shaman is perhaps best defined not as a magician, psychopomp, or technician of ecstasy, but as “one who knows”; in Finnish, *tietäjä*, a knower or seer.¹⁶ Milton’s conception of the

poet is very similar to the idea of the shaman as knower. For Milton, the poet—informed by the Holy Spirit—is knower and maker. The poet is one steeped in the mythological lore and traditions of his own people, especially their religious traditions, and one who—if he is knowledgeable enough and is afforded God's grace—is capable of forming those traditions into an epic poem which encompasses the origin and destiny of the human race. These are grand claims, but Milton believed in this conception of the poet, just as the shaman believes in his or her own efficacy in the world. As Pentikäinen has said, "The status of the shaman was often given to the person who knew the myths [of his people] best".¹⁷ Both Milton and the shaman are masters of the myths of their respective cultures.

Furthermore, both the shaman and the poet must undergo a long and rigorous apprenticeship and preparation before they can become authentic practitioners of their respective arts. The shaman usually learns his craft from his father who teaches him the tribe's songs and traditions. The shaman is often identified at birth as being born with a caul, the signifying mark of his special destiny. He is often dreamy and withdrawn or isolated, going off on his own to meditate. From his earliest years, Milton was considered a prodigy. He had an astonishing linguistic gift, and had mastered several languages by the age of twelve. His father, a well to do scrivener or lawyer and a gifted amateur composer and musician, gave his remarkable son the finest classical and European education available in early seventeenth-century England. After Milton's years at Cambridge, his father (who seems to have wanted his extraordinary son to become a priest of the Church of England) afforded him the quiet lodgings and the means to continue his ambitious self-education for the next six years, an education in which young Milton was consciously preparing himself, through an intense study of his spiritual fathers, the great poets of antiquity, of the European Renaissance, and of England, to become a major English poet, and ultimately an epic poet.

Another salient point of comparison between the shaman and Milton that I will touch on here is the androgynous nature of each. The shaman may be a male, a female, or more commonly, an actor performing an androgynous dramatic spectacle, consciously representing male and female elements in dress and in oral performance. Milton represents both female and male elements of his poetic persona all through his poetry, contriving what might be called a poetics of chastity in his early poems, and a poetics of blindness in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's representation of sexuality, his own and that of the major characters in his epic poem, has been the subject of intense speculation in recent criticism.¹⁸ Milton's self-representation as a poetic androgyne is exceedingly complex and can only be mentioned here briefly. When he was a student at Cambridge, Milton was referred to as "The Lady of Christ's", possibly in reference to his delicate complexion and his apparent assertion of his virginity, which he regarded not as a limitation but as a source of poetic power. It is generally accepted now that the figure of the chaste Lady in Milton's great masque, *Comus*, is a self representation of simultaneous poetic power and

vulnerability. In several of his works all through his poetic career, including *Paradise Lost*, he links himself with Tiresias, the ancient seer who had experienced life both as a man and as a woman, and who in his blindness, became a great prophet.

In his remarkable autobiographical fragment, "The Letter to a Friend", we have a window into the young poet's internal struggle, at age twenty-three, with his priestly and poetic callings, and with his burgeoning sexuality. Milton links the hours of the night with his own existence, worried that his life is still obscure and unserviceable to mankind. There is a deep sense of guilt at tardy moving, of not performing well enough, that essentially "Puritan" sense of being required by God to perform, of having something to show for what was so abundantly given to him. His watchful friend, who may have been Thomas Young, the tutor whom Milton respected, has admonished him that the day is at hand wherein Christ commands all to labor while there is light. The allusion here to the blind man in chapter nine of the gospel of John is suggestive: Milton's use of this image long before going blind himself and his conscious use of the image again at the opening of *Paradise Lost* suggests a deep continuity of poetic intuition. From the beginning Milton sees his own mind as the conventionally feminine Psyche, like a Muse dictating, and Psyche was also the Greek goddess of the soul. The struggle in Milton's mind is whether he should follow the calling of Anglican priest, or poet, or both, and whether he should at this point settle down with a wife and have children. Milton will not give a formal set "apology", but will let his mind declare herself at her ease. Then he elaborately defends himself against the charge that he is too much in love with learning itself, dreaming away his time like Endymion, the youth who sleeps all morning, and then is found by Diana who makes love to him in a poetic fantasy world.

A third point of comparison between Milton and the shaman. Nearly all shamanic activity includes a phase of self-mutilation and injury, sometimes represented as dismemberment or disembowelment, in which the shaman achieves a newly reintegrated bodily self capable of authentic intercourse with the divine world. Milton suffered all his life from a variety of physical ailments, especially intestinal ones, but in his late thirties he began to lose his sight gradually, first in his left eye, and then his right, until at the age of forty-four he was totally blind. In that same terrible year of the completion of the process of his full blindness, Milton lost his wife Mary in childbirth, and his only son John, still an infant.¹⁹ Milton lived ten years watching his sight slowly slip away, watching the death of his world of sight, and at the end the loss of his sight coincided with the deaths of the two people, his wife and son, who were closest to him, and meant the most to him. He must have looked at the images of the visual world as if he were seeing them for the last time, and imprinting them for the future, but at the same time he must have been enuring himself to their loss in the hope that he would be compensated with a new and deeper insight and vision. The shaman experiences a deep personal crisis, ritualized in an initiation ceremony in which "the candidate must watch his dismemberment with his own

eyes" (37). In this "symbolic death" the candidate's old inner self is replaced with the new inner self of the master shaman. Milton's blindness was a kind of symbolic death experienced in his year of deepest personal crisis in relation to his family. He may have thought that his blindness was self-inflicted from too intense visual and intellectual labor in the cause of Cromwell's government when he was Latin Secretary, and he certainly uses this notion to rhetorical effect in his prose. In a remarkable passage in his *Second Defense of the English People*, originally written in Latin, Milton describes his blindness in these terms: "It is not so wretched to be blind as it is not to be capable of enduring blindness... Shall I mention those wise and ancient bards whose misfortunes the gods are said to have compensated by superior endowments...?" Milton compares himself to the blind, androgynous seer, Tiresias, and mentions the blind prophet Phineus, who revealed the divine purpose to men, not fearing even Jupiter.²⁰ Milton then goes on to say, responding to his enemies,

"Let them consider that my situation... is neither an object of my shame or my regret, that my resolutions are too firm to be shaken, that I am not depressed by any sense of the divine displeasure; that, on the other hand, in the most momentous periods, I have had full experience of the divine favor and protection; and that, in the solace and the strength which have been infused into me from above, I have been enabled to do the will of God... But, if the choice were necessary, I would, sir, prefer my blindness to yours; yours is a cloud spread over the mind, which darkens both the light of reason and of conscience; mine keeps from my view only the colored surfaces of things, while it leaves me at liberty to contemplate the beauty and stability of virtue and of truth... There is, as the apostle has remarked, a way to strength through weakness. Let me then be the most feeble creature alive, as long as that feebleness serves to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that obscurity, in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines; then, in proportion as I am weak, I shall be invincibly strong, and in proportion as I am blind, I shall more clearly see. O! that I may thus be perfected by feebleness, and irradiated by obscurity! And, indeed, in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree the favor of the Deity, who regards me with more tenderness and compassion in proportion as I am able to behold nothing but himself. Alas! for him who insults me; who maligns me merits public execration! For the divine law not only shields me from injury, but almost renders me too sacred to attack; not indeed so much from the privation of my sight, as from the overshadowing of those heavenly wings which seem to have occasioned this obscurity; and which, when occasioned, he is wont to illuminate with an interior light, more precious and more pure."²¹

In this amazing outpouring of a carefully constructed inner resolution and confession of faith, Milton bears remarkable resemblance to the Eliadic shaman who sees himself, after a torturous inner dismemberment and regeneration, protected and enabled by the divine spirits who manifest their power most often in the shape of a powerful bird. Michael Lieb does not overstate the case when he says that Milton exhibits "a sparagmatic mentality to pervasive that its

presence underlies every aspect of his thinking and personality. Sparagmos is at the heart not only of Milton's conduct as a writer but of the way he views himself in relation to the world. Its impact, in short, is inescapable".²² Milton the poet is preoccupied with "sparagmos", the literal dismemberment of the poet exemplified in the myths of Osiris and especially Orpheus, which may lead to bodily reintegrations and new creative wholeness and harmony, and this preoccupation culminates in the representation of the Narrator of *Paradise Lost*. Michael Lieb does not overstate the case when he says that Milton exhibits a sparagmatic mentality so pervasive that its presence underlies every aspect of his thinking and personality. Sparagmos is at the heart not only of Milton's conduct as a writer but of the way he views himself in relation to the world. Its impact, in short, is inescapable. Lieb devotes two chapters of his book to a study of the "pervasive" manifestations of the Orpheus myth in Milton from his earliest Latin poetry to *Paradise Lost*. In Milton's elegiac poem "Lycidas," the horrific fate of Orpheus—his decapitation at the hands of enraged Maenads—is a reminder of the possible fate of the poet. Eliade notes that the myth of Orpheus "displays several elements that can be compared to the shamanic ideology and techniques. The most significant is... his descent to Hades to bring back the soul of his wife, Eurydice.... Orpheus also displays other characteristics of a "Great Shaman: his healing art, his love for music and animals, his "charms" [over animals and nature], his power of divination.... A final detail of the Orpheus myth is clearly shamanic. Cut off by the bacchantes and thrown into the Hebrus [river], Orpheus's head floated to Lesbos, singing.... the skulls of the Yukagir shamans also play a role in divination" (391). In Milton's Christocentric vision, the ultimate version of the dynamic of dismemberment and resurrection is of course the narrative of Christ's Passion, but Orpheus is the most important mythic prototype and model of the poet for Milton's own poetic self-construction from "Lycidas" to *Paradise Lost*. There is a powerful mythic version of dismemberment and reintegration in the Kalevala in the story of Lemminkäinen, and the Finnish scholar Martti Haavio has theorized plausibly that "the origin of the Lemminkäinen rune lies in ancient Egyptian mythology, including the Osiris myth".²³ I can only allude to this connection now, but the motif of Osiris-Orpheus in Milton's writings and the story of Lemminkäinen's death and literal re-collection is one of the most intriguing links between Milton and Finnish mythology.

A fourth point of comparison between *Paradise Lost* and shamanism concerns the poet's and the shaman's medium of expression. As Juha Pentikäinen has said, the shaman is "a mediator between worlds, a traveller between the various levels consciousness", and his drum is the central symbol of his art and power, "a kind of liturgical handbook of shamanism".²⁴ The drum is the key to the shaman's cosmology. He has an intimate creative relationship with his own drum, which is often made by him. It is his artifact and the vehicle for his art of shamanizing, the singing, narrating, and rhythmic bodily gyrations that constitute the shamanic performance. The complex figures inscribed on the drum's outer surface serve as a kind of cognitive map for the trip of the

shaman's ego-soul between the three levels of the universe. "At the same time it was the collective side of the drum, open to the public to be observed collectively and interpreted publicly by the shaman to the audience who shared the same cosmologic beliefs."²⁵ The figures on the inner side of the drum, however, seems to have been an expression of the shaman's private, inner life, and of his inner powers, issuing from the heart and blood. The shaman's drum is both his instrument and his artifact. The corresponding instrument for the lyric poet is his lyre and his pipes; for the epic poet the instrument becomes divided into three components: the lyre of the Muses, the poet's voice, and the Muse herself as a cooperating poetic agent. The ultimate objectification of the poet's lyre, voice, and Muse is the poem itself, an artifact which serves, in the case of *Paradise Lost*, as a cognitive map of the Miltonic cosmos and an iambic poetic work that the poet plays upon in his own oral performances of the poem. In *The Language of the Heart* I stressed that *Paradise Lost* is essentially an oral epic, not one that is composed of oral legends of the folk but one that is written to be performed by the human voice.²⁶ We know that Milton rehearsed and performed the poem aloud over and over to himself, to his amanuensis, and to other listeners as he composed it in his blindness, and he intended the poem to be read aloud by the reader. We might say that the epic poem *Paradise Lost*, in its public form as an artifact and in its private subtext of agony and creation known only to the poet, is Milton's infinitely complex version of the shamanic drum and dramatic oral performance, an object played upon by the poet's voice in repeated oral performances (presumably with the aid of a sighted reader), and a performance reiterated by the reader of the poem in the public world or in private. Again with reference to the *Kalevala*, I am reminded of the illustrations of Lönnrot transcribing the singing words of his inspired shamanic informant.

The final connection between *Paradise Lost* and shamanism I shall discuss here is also the most difficult to articulate, and the most challenging. Looking at the poem through the medium of Nordic shamanism has reinforced my intuitive sense that *Paradise Lost* is ultimately an epic about healing. Implicit in all the actions and multiple roles of the shaman is the sense that he or she (or he/she) is primarily concerned with the spiritual health of the community, and with that of the individual "patients" who comprise that community. This concern is manifested primarily in retrieving and restoring the wandering souls of the afflicted or the dead. It is now generally accepted that Milton was creating a radical new form of epic in *Paradise Lost*, one that transformed the values of traditional epic, centered on male honor, pride, warfare and conquest (and exemplified in Milton's Satan), into the Christian values of patience, compassion, love, and heroic martyrdom (exemplified in various ways by Adam, Eve, and the Son), without regard to gender. What has not been emphasized enough, or even recognized, is that Milton, as a "shamanic" narrator, attempts to bring the hearts and souls of his contemporary readers (and posterity) to a right understanding of the ultimate relationship, or "justification", of the ways of God to man, that is, the ultimate form of godhead which transcends the Father, Son, Spirit paradigm into a new trinity of "joy, love, and

truth" (*PL* 3.338). The agent of this transformation is the Son, the "one greater Man" of whom the Narrator sings in the opening lines of the poem and who, as Christ, the *theanthropos*, or God-man, will "restore us". The word "restore" has always had the strong medical sense of "to bring back to health and strength".

I have tried to show in *The Language of the Heart* that the author of *Paradise Lost* demonstrates a profound interest in the human body (often expressed in geographical metaphors)²⁷ and particularly in the representation of the human heart in all its figurative forms. This concern with the body and the heart is expressed in the four invocations of divine power in the poem, and is carried over in Milton's concern about the fate of the soul. In surveying the origins of Indo-European shamanism, Eliade tries to find examples or "vestiges of an ideology and technique that are shamanic in the strict sense of that term" (376), that is, which exhibit what he considers to be the essential features of the shamanic performance. These essential features include an ascent to heaven, a descent to the underworld, and the evocation and incarnation of spirits in order to undertake the ecstatic journey. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton as the narrator invokes the Holy Spirit and Holy Light as Muses who conduct him, respectively, first to the eternal Underworld of Hell in Book 1 and then to the Heaven of God the Father and the Son in Book 3. In the invocation beginning Book 7, the poet describes himself as having been "rapt", or ecstatic, in the experience of relating his otherworld visions: "Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole, More safe I Sing with mortal voice" (*PL* 7.21-4), and thus represents all the essential features of Eliade's strict definition of shamanism. In addition, all four invocations invite the divine presence (always some aspect of the Heavenly Muse) to inspire a particular organ, sense, or function of the body: in Book 1, the first and primary bodily source of inspiration is the heart; in Book 3, the eye and the mind; in Book 7, the voice; and in Book 9, the ear. As we have seen, the most important classical model of the poet for Milton is the original psychopomp, Orpheus, who can also be considered, in Eliade's view, the archetypal cultural hero of shamanism in his journey to the underworld to retrieve the soul of Eurydice, in his power of magical song and his ties with epic (Orpheus was the son of the Muse of epic poetry), and in his healing art. Milton the scholar-poet was immersed in all the archaic techniques of poetry. As the narrator of *Paradise Lost* he recreates in himself the Orphic power of the shaman who retrieves and restores the human soul in his self-appointed role as poet of the new God—the union of god and humanity through the Son, when God "shall be all in all" (*PL* 3.341).

I shall conclude with a brief comparison between the shaman's preparations to transport himself into the divine world and Milton's attempt at the opening of his poem to invoke the sacred muse who will exalt him in his attempt to justify the ways of God to man, and who will then guide him into the eternal underworld of Hell to see and describe the activities of Satan, the great adversary of God and man.²⁸

Eliade recounts a variety of ways in which the shaman summons his helping spirits; the method of the Altaic shaman, or *kam*, is representative. In a

long and complex ceremony, the *kam*, while fumigating his drum, begins to invoke a multitude of spirits who answer in turn: "I am here, kam!". These spirits include the Lord of the Sea and Mother of the family of Bai Ulgan, the great Spirit. After a long invocation, he addresses the birds of heaven: "Thou, the mother of the nine eagles... Come to me, singing! Come, playing, to my right eye, Perch on my right shoulder!" The shaman imitates the bird's cry to announce its presence... And as he does so, he drops his shoulder, as if sinking under the weight of a huge bird" (193–194). When the shaman finally receives a favorable reply from the spirits, he continues beating his drum, convulsing his body, and speaking in poetic incantations. At the end of the ceremony he is in a state of exaltation and ready to begin his ascent, by stages, into heaven.

To illustrate how Milton creates his own magical language of power in *Paradise Lost* we shall take a close look at the opening invocation, which like the shaman's summoning of the spirits, is also long and complex. The narrator imagines the Muse's habitation not in Greece but on the top of one of the holy mountains of Israel. Milton believed that "The spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than scripture", but first the Spirit must be invoked. The voice pauses, as if waiting for a reply. None is forthcoming and he changes the scene to Sion hill, Mount Zion in Jerusalem. Still there is no answer. The poet then moves away from the city and focuses his attention on the inward Spirit given to all human beings, the Holy Spirit who prefers "th' upright heart and pure" before all man-made expressions of worship or devotion. The Spirit was present from the first and is thus identified also with the Sister of Wisdom or Sophia in Proverbs 8 (the "Sister" who is also invoked at *Paradise Lost* 7.10), the feminine spirit who played in the Almighty Father's presence and who knows everything, the ultimate *tietäjä*, or knower of the divine mysteries, the mighty spirit who like a dove brooded over the vast abyss and made it pregnant in the first act of creating the world. In successfully invoking an androgynous Spirit (that is, one who combines the masculine force of impregnation with the image of the sister of Wisdom) imagined in the form of a mighty bird who will impregnate, illuminate, and eventually lead him to the supernatural worlds of Hell and Heaven, Milton enacts the primordial shamanic ritual.

Endnotes

- ¹ A version of this paper was first given as a public lecture at the University of Helsinki in October, 1998. It was designed for an audience not particularly familiar with Milton or *Paradise Lost*, and I have tried to keep that audience in mind in revising the paper for publication in this volume.
- ² It is not likely that Milton was aware of the work of Johann Schefferus, whose *Lapponia* first appeared in English in 1674, the year of Milton's death.
- ³ Flaherty, *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1992), p. 32.
- ⁴ Flaherty, *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century*, p. 35.

- ⁵ John Milton, *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), pp. 247–52.
- ⁶ Ethel Seaton, *Literary Relations Between England and Scandinavia in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1935), pp. 328–29; see note to PL 2.665 in Hughes's edition of Milton.
- ⁷ See Fowler's notes to "Lapland" in *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London: Longman 1968), p. 539.
- ⁸ *The Kalevala: Epic of the Finnish People*, trans. Eino Friberg (Helsinki: Otava, 1988), p. 329.
- ⁹ I have explored the manifold literal and figurative functions of the metaphor of birth in narrative in *Mother Midnight: Birth, Sex, and Fate in Eighteenth-Century Fiction* (New York: AMS Press, 1986).
- ¹⁰ Northrop Frye, *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1982), p. 6. See also my discussion of this passage in *The Language of the Heart, 1600–1750* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), p. 95.
- ¹¹ Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard Trask (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1964), p. 4. All subsequent citations to this work appear in the text.
- ¹² Eliade, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries* (New York: Harper Collins, 1957), p. 66.
- ¹³ Girard, *Violence and the Sacred* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1977), p. 286.
- ¹⁴ Cf. Pentikäinen: "shamanic performances could also be dealt with as epic narratives which consist both of various manifest and visible ritual acts and symbols as well as of latent, invisible world-view elements", *Shamanism and Culture*, 3rd ed. (Helsinki: Etnika, 1998), p. 59.
- ¹⁵ Connecting these three planes is a "Cosmic Tree or the Axis of the World" (120), a "World Tree" or "Tree of Life" linked to the feminine that has intriguing associations with the "Tree of Life" and especially with the "Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil" in Milton's paradise (see 271–272). See my discussion of the "Mother Tree" in *The Language of the Heart*, pp. 135–139.
- ¹⁶ Juha Pentikäinen, *Shamanism and Culture*, pp. 12, 82.
- ¹⁷ Juha Pentikäinen, *Kalevala Mythology*, trans. Ritva Poom (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1989), p. 194.
- ¹⁸ See in particular Michael Lieb, *Milton and the Culture of Violence* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1994), chaps. 3–6.
- ¹⁹ Despite the sensitive psychoanalytical studies of John Shawcross and William Kerrigan, there is still no especially useful or perceptive examination of the phenomenon of blindness, and how blindness was experienced in the seventeenth century, with respect to Milton's sense of his own blindness and its relation to his poetic craft and accomplishment.
- ²⁰ Milton refers to these two figures, and to blind Thamyras and Homer, hoping to be "equalled with them in renown", in the invocation of Light opening book III of *Paradise Lost* (3.35–6).
- ²¹ Compare Kierkegaard's famous rhetorical formulation of strength through weakness in *Fear and Trembling*: "There was one who was great by reason of his power, and one who was great by reason of his wisdom, and one who was great by reason of his hope, and one who was great by reason of his love; but Abraham was greater than all, great by reason of his power whose strength is impotence, great by reason of his

wisdom whose secret is foolishness, great by reason of his hope whose form is madness, great by reason of the love which is hatred of oneself. By *faith* Abraham went out from the land of his fathers.”.

²² *Milton and the Culture of Violence*, p. 16.

²³ Pentikäinen, *Kalevala Mythology*, p. 209.

²⁴ Pentikäinen, *Shamanism and Culture*, p. 12.

²⁵ *Shamanism and Culture*, p. 39.

²⁶ *The Language of the Heart, 1600–1750* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 93–94.

²⁷ See the discussion of the sexual body of unfallen, feminine, maternal Nature in Eden and of the androgynous body of Paradise in *The Language of the Heart*, pp. 103–108.

²⁸ I have discussed this first invocation in more detail in *The Language of the Heart*, pp. 95–97.

Elena Glavatskaya

THE RUSSIAN STATE AND SHAMANHOOD: THE BRIEF HISTORY OF CONFRONTATION

Encounter

"...They neither know God nor pray to him..."

The first attitude of the Russians towards the Siberian shamans was mainly based on fear. It could be explained not only by the shamanic rites which were no doubt very impressive, but also by the fact that the first colonists were all the time threatened by alien surroundings, wild animals, unknown diseases, warlike indigenous people etc. So, it is not surprising that in that unfamiliar situation they had to apply to the experience of the indigenous peoples, who trusted in their shamans sincerely. The result was that not only common Russian people: peasants, cossacks etc. believed in the power of the shamans, but the local governors as well and even the Orthodox priests.

Among the earliest records of Siberian shamans may well be considered the Tale "About the People Unknown in the Eastern Country".¹ In the late 15th century an anonymous author informed readers about the strange people who inhabited the slopes of the Urals (known as *Kamen'*): "In the same Eastern Country there is another Samoyed called *Kamenskaya* that lives in highlands and rides reindeer. They wear reindeer and sable clothes and eat raw meat of reindeer and dogs and beavers. And they drink any blood and human blood as well. And there are healers among them who can cut the abdomen of a sick man and take his guts out to clean and thereby to cure them."²

The Tale evidently became one of the immediate results of the famous expedition of the Russian troops led by the princes Ivan Saltyk Travin and Semyon Kurbsky in 9 May – 1 October 1483 to *Jugra* and the following negotiations on the peace settlement. *Jugra* was the common name for the area to the East and North from Permian and for the people, who inhabited it. At that time Russians got an opportunity to establish a lasting communication with

Mansi, Khanty and Nenets (*Voguls*, *Ostyaks* and *Samoyeds* by the terminology of that time). We may assume that it was the stories of the ambassadors who were impressed by these peoples that appear to have provided the basis for the Tale, which became the main narrative about the Siberian indigenous peoples and their mysterious healers for few centuries.

The intensive colonization of Siberia by the Russians started much later in the 17th century and brought new facts about the indigenous religions. Shamanic seances (*kamlaniya*) made a fairly strong impression on Russians, recently arrived in Siberia. The alien environment was full of mystery and caused fear by its strangeness and unpredictability. No wonder that the Russian Christian population of Siberia being exposed to the unknown religious tradition experienced heathenish fear. Thus, in 1608 everyone in the newly founded Russian town of Tomsk (on the Eastern bank of Ob' river) was trembling with rumours that had been spread by *strelets* (type of Russian troops) headed by Feodor Serebrennik. A strange and grave decease that had affected a great number of service people and their wives in the town of Tomsk was declared to have been caused by the fact that certain indigenous newly baptized as Ivan was witching by striking his drum and calling up *sheitans* (*evil spirits*).³ Ivan was seized and subjected to an interrogation. When tortured he told that he, in fact, had set sheitans upon service people. He also admitted that he did that by the command of Kuznetsk and Chyulym Tatars (the area was inhabited by Selkups and Siberian Tatars, but the Russians called both the "Tartars") who, for this purpose, had sent him a lot of *sheitans* (images in this context). The word "*sheitan*" or "*shaitan*" was long familiar to Russians due to their contacts with Kypchaks, Khazakhs, Kirgiz and Tatars and meant "devil". In Russian sources it was applied both to deities and their images as well as to spirits—the shaman's helpers in beliefs of the Siberian indigenous peoples. The word "shaman" which substituted the term "*shaitanshchik*" (the one, who deals with shaitans) appeared later, when Russians had penetrated into the regions, populated by Evenks and adopted it from them. The priest Avvakum employed the word "*shamanit*" (to witch) in his Life-description and it was its earliest recorded usage. During his exile to Siberia (September 1653 – spring 1664) Avvakum became a witness of how the *voevoda* (Russian military and administrative head in Siberia) Afanasi Pashkov was sending off his son Yeremey to fight the Mongols. Fearing for the outcome of the campaign and for his son's fate, the voevoda, according to Avvakum, "forced an alien to witch (*shamanit*'), that is, foretell whether they would be able to win and get home".⁴ The priest described the ceremony in considerable detail, which suggests that he either was personally present at it or obtained an exhaustive eyewitness account of it. He wrote: "In the evening the witch brought an alive ram close to my hut and began exercising witchcraft over it, by turning it around and, finally, he had its head off and threw it away. And he started jumping about and dancing and summoning up demons and, having shouted much, he fell down on the ground, foaming at the mouth. The demons were bearing hard on him and he was asking them: "Will the campaign be successful?" And the demons said: "With a

glorious victory and great wealth you will be back. And the voevodas were happy and so were all the people and said: "We'll be back wealthy!" The reaction of the voevodas and of the other participants of the event clearly testifies to the fact how seriously they took in the prophecy of the shaman. Indignant at the fact that Christians had turned to the shaman's services and that they had believed in the "devil's prophecy", the priest Avvakum prayed for the defeat of the dispatched army which he bitterly regretted afterwards. The Army of 102 men was crushed and only Yeremey, the son of the voevoda Pashkov, was saved by a miracle.⁵

In the late 17th century interest in the religion of the indigenous population aroused, no doubt, by purely pragmatic purposes increased. At the same time there was gradually elaborated a policy of religious tolerance relating to the indigenous population, which manifested itself in the following measures of the government: renunciation of forced measures of baptism; avoidance of targeted missionary activity; the ban to destroy sanctuaries and cemeteries of Siberian peoples. In 1667 by order of the voevoda Petr Godunov a thorough examination of indigenous heads of the fur taxed districts, where Khanty and Mansi lived, was carried out. They were asked the following questions: "Are there any images of deities? How and what they are prayed for, ...whether they prayed by themselves or whether persons were especially chosen for this purpose, and if this was the case, how they honored and called these people, e.g. teachers or otherwise...whether there any clergy and if so of what order they were?" Those examined answered that "they believe in Shaitan. They kneel down, pray to him, look heavenwards and how down... and their shaitans are made of silver and gold... Their beliefs are the same as those of their fathers and forefathers and they neither know God nor pray to him, praying to Shaitan instead and asking for health and prey... And it is only the elderly, not the young, who pray... And there are no selected people for that...".⁶ Thus the indigenous people saved for a while the very existence of their shamans from the Russian local authorities. The results of the survey didn't bring about any changes in the policy of Moscow relating to Siberian indigenous peoples. The practice of burning sacrificial trees and images of deities became a thing of the past and didn't spread at that time further to the east of the Ural mountains. Only a small number of aborigines adopted Christianity, sincerely in some degree or another. But the majority remained faithful to the religious traditions of their ancestors until the end of the 17th century.

The First Round of Confrontation

"...And for the sake of the nasty profit their numerous priests called shamnchiki passed themselves into eternal Devil's bondage..."

A great change in the governmental policy relating to the religious beliefs of Siberian peoples happened in the very beginning of the 18th century. What was the stimulating motive for that change? It seems that this new politics towards the indigenous religions lied in the general current of the reforms, conducted by the czar Peter I (called the Great). Many of these reforms if not all of them were the result of his thorough study of the European experience. The year 1679 had a special meaning in Russian history since that was the year when the so-called Great Embassy of the Russian Czar to the European countries began and Peter I opened up Europe both for himself and his countrymen. Peter I was very eager to borrow foreign experience. While being in Amsterdam he watched a theatre performance, and was so much impressed, that before long a theatre was founded on his request in Moscow. Likewise he ordered the first Russian newspaper to be published. Peter I also paid a great attention to the European museums and libraries. It may well be that Peter I could see some books about Laplanders (Sami) and items of their religious culture (especially drums), which became a desirable and fashionable objects for the main European private collections.⁷ Europe experienced a great interest towards the Lapps after the publication of the famous "History of Lapland" by John Scheffer in 1673. This book became a kind of bestseller of the period, appearing in the course of ten years in five different languages. It is difficult to believe that having visited Europe at that time and being so much interested in the topic Peter I skipped the chance to see the book, which described the most exotic peoples of the Europe, their religion and conversion towards Christianity. The historical and cultural parallels between Protestant Sweden and the indigenous people of Lapland on one side and Christian Russia and indigenous people of Siberia on the other side were quite evident.

Besides, in Amsterdam Peter I met Nicolas Vitzen who became a kind of a tutor of the Great Embassy. Vitzen's scientific interests were concerned with the study of languages, customs and traditions of the peoples living in Eastern Europe. In 1664 Vitzen, as a private individual, joined the Dutch Embassy and crossed Russia to the Caspian Sea. Based on the information gathered in this journey, he published *Noorden-Oost Tartarye*, a collection of geographical, ethnographic and linguistic data, including an ethnographic description of Western Siberia, in 1692. Peter I could very likely talk with Nicolas Vitzen about the subject of his scientific interests and about that Christian Sweden had educated heathen Sami. It was probably then that Peter came to think about the mission of Christian Russia in relation to the numerous indigenous peoples populating its northwestern outlying areas. In any case, the problem of targeted baptism of Siberian peoples was first raised as early as 1700. Incidentally, that

complied with the geopolitical interests of Russia in Siberia, because Buddhists in China and Moslems in Ottoman Empire laid claim to the spiritual influence upon the peoples inhabiting it. Peter I ordered to select a new metropolitan in Siberia, "not only of a good and virtuous living but a learned man as well, so that he, as the metropolitan in Tobolsk, would be able to get those blind in their idolatry into cognition of true God". As a result, Philophey Leschinsky was appointed the metropolitan of Siberia in 1702.

Peter I displayed a certain interest in Siberian shamans. In 1702 an edict was forwarded to the voevoda of Berezov, directing "to send three or four shamans highly skilful at shamanizing to Moscow; to transport them with care; to make them take everything required for shamanising with them; not to frighten them but to tell them they'll get a salary". As early as 3 January 1703 two Nenets shamans were taken to Berezov and examined on their ability to shaman. Later on the voevoda disappointedly reported to Moscow: "And those shamans beat the drums and shouted and otherwise they can't shamanize. And I didn't dare to send them to Moscow, lest the State be burdened with wasted expense. And no other shamans have been found in the other districts.". Moscow angrily pointed out that the voevoda had been wrong not to send the shamans and if he had failed to send them afterwards he would have been fined.⁸

The beginning of missionary activity in Siberia was marked by Peter's decree on mass baptism of North-Obian peoples. The decree commissioned the metropolitan Philophey to destroy images of deities Siberian peoples worshipped and to baptize them. Actual measures on baptism and Christianization of Siberian peoples started after prince M. P. Gagarin, appointed new governor, had come to Siberia in 1711. With his active support Metropolitan Philophey Leschinsky converted Berezov Khanty to Christianity during the expeditions of 1712, 1713 and 1714 years; Pelym Mansi in 1714 and 1715; Surgut Khanty in 1716 and 1718. With a similar aim Phyelophey Leschinsky went to conduct baptism in Nazym and Ketsk districts in 1717, in Mangazeya in 1719 and in Irkutsk and Trans-Baikal area in 1720. The Siberian Apostle, as Philophey Leschinsky was called later and his followers performed their Christian mission with great zeal. Images of deities that Siberian peoples had worshipped and made sacrifices to and which they had regarded as a pledge of their prosperity shared the miserable fate of Lappish drums. Major sacred places were destroyed during Leschinsky's missionary expeditions of 1712–1718. In 1722 the priest Mikhail Stepanov burnt down 75 sacred places in the Ob-River area; in 1723 the Russian administration took away and burnt down 1200 wooden and 5 iron images of deities belonging to Khanty and Mansi in Berezov district.

Actively involved in the cause of Christianization of Siberian peoples were Swedes exiled to Siberia. Among Phyelophey Leschinsky's closest associates in his missionary expeditions was Swedish Captain of Dragoons Iohann Bernard Müller. On his return to Europe he prepared and published his *Life and Customs of Ostyak People* in 1720. Another captive Swede, Kurt von Vrech, founded a

school in Tobolsk. He actively collected materials on religious beliefs of Siberian peoples and, judging from his correspondence, was going to engage in their Christianization which was prevented by the conclusion of a peace treaty with Sweden and by the return of a considerable number of captives to the native land.

Swedes who appear to have zealously performed their mission were also often posted supervisors over baptized Mansi and Khanty. In 1723 a captive Swede baptized in Orthodoxy as Karp Andreyev was appointed supervisor and was joined by another Swede Lieutenant Kirill Berch in 1725. In 1742 indigenous people in the districts supervised by Karp Andreyev complained that he "by his own wish and all the more for his self-interest comes to their places to seek shaitans whereas they have long converted to the Christian faith and have God's images".⁹

Swedish experience in the Christianization of Sami received a high appraisal of Vasili Tatischev whom Peter I ordered to found the metal producing factories in the Urals. He suggested setting up schools where children of Siberian peoples would be able to learn to read and write and to master the fundamentals of Christianity. In his opinion, Swedish Laplanders who had originally been "much wilder than many Siberian peoples, have been already baptized and have books published in their native languages".¹⁰ Thus we can see that analogues between Christian Sweden and Christian Russia in relations towards their indigenous peoples were evident for Peter I contemporaries.¹¹

According to the official statistics, up to 40 thousand heathens were baptized in Siberia in the first quarter of the 18th century, many of whom, however, continued to worship their deities secretly and to perform the same rituals as their forefathers had done. The supervisors often reported numerous cases of practicing shamanic seances even by those who were baptized. Mikhail, one of the accused shamans in Surgut area said that he was baptized by Metropolitan Plyelophey and learned the skill of shamanizing after being already baptized. In 1747 a number of the accused new converts were questioned in a court about the reasons for their attachment to shamans. All of them said that they wanted to know if they would be lucky on the hunting to come and that is why they asked a certain shaman to shamanize, or did it themselves.¹² It means that the Surgut Khanty named foretelling or prophesying as the main function of their shamans at that time. Both clerical and secular powers had special institutions to control the new converts and used severe methods against the shamans and those who requested the shamans to perform their skill. The common practice was their arrests and following inquest with the use of tortures. It is interesting to note that the powers, both clerical and secular considered the shamanic practices as contacts with the devil. One of the active participants of the Christian mission in Siberia colonel Grigory Novitski wrote: "...And for the sake of the nasty profit their numerous priests called *shamanchiki* passed themselves into eternal Devil's bondage..."¹³

Being tortured the accused in performing shamanic seances in 1747 under the torture admitted, that they indeed had a deal with devil while shamanizing.¹⁴

The usual penalty for practising active or passive shamanism in the 18th century was fines, imprisonment and public corporal punishments. Sometimes either tortures during lasting inquest in a prison or corporal punishments caused death of the accused shamans. This severe politics towards the belief of the indigenous peoples were changed by the end of the 18th century.

Enlightenment contra Shamanism

"...You are like the shamans, who first deceive themselves and then also those who believe in them!"

During the Enlightenment period concentrated missionary activity gave way to a milder approach to religion. The new Russian Empress Catherine II (called the Great) proclaimed freedom to profess non-Christian religions as well. But her attitude towards shamanism was no doubts negative. The Empress initiated and supported the active exploration of the phenomenon—on one hand and tried to wipe it out of her realm—on the other. Shamanism represented to Catherine the Great a composite of all the dark, obscurantist forces conspiring against the advance of reason that the Enlightenment encouraged and supported. Catherine was determined to change not only the Empire itself, but also its image, created on the pages of the numerous books written by the European authors and explorers, charmed by exotic Siberian shamanism.¹⁵ Besides she tried to make her own impact in struggling against shamanism as a phenomenon by the means of the Enlightenment. She wrote five acts comedy *"Shaman Sibirskii"* (The Siberian Shaman). In the comedy Catherine was trying to debunk the deep susceptibility of her subjects to shamanism, which became fashionable. She also tried to unmask shamanism as a phenomenon, which was nothing for her but absurd as well as the shamans themselves, who in her play were exposed as pure deceivers. One of the positive heroes in the Catherine's play Kromov characterized the people who trusted in shamans: "...you are like the shamans, who first deceive themselves and then also those who believe in them!"¹⁶ This new understanding of shamanism as an absurd but not as a cooperation with the devil brought about the change in the set of means used against it. Since that times onward the means of persecution mainly give way for that of enlightenment.

With the advance of missionary activity as well as the education programs in Siberia in the 19th century the interest in shamanism and shamans grew weak. Peoples of Siberia, living near Russian settlements, apprehended Christianity with a different measure of profundity and understanding. Nomads from remote, difficult of access regions though continued to keep to the beliefs of their ancestors were not exposed to the Russians. The problem of the existence of shamans in the country appeared to have ceased to worry the authorities.

The Final Round of Confrontation?

"...The fight against shamanhood is the part of the building of socialism itself."

The Soviet power adopted a completely different approach to religious traditions of Northern and Siberian peoples. The totalitarian state didn't mean to put up with the existence of a different trend of thought in its territory, so the fight against shamanism, "a religious remnant" and a drag on development, and against shamans, who were regarded as counter-revolutionary elements became one of the primary objectives. It is interesting to note that the Soviet power had considerably developed an understanding of shamanism on the base of Marxism already by the late 1920s. It considered shamanism not as an absurd, but as an "alien ideology", "reactionary phenomenon", which "consecrated and sanctified bondage and exploitation". The shamans were treated as "enemies of the revolution". This understanding of the phenomenon entailed the slogan that "the fight against shamanhood is the part of the building of socialism itself".¹⁷ Purposefully and consistently the government pursued the policy of destroying religious traditions and persecuted shamans. In order to isolate shamans from their kinsfolk and to prepare their consecutive extermination different measures were used. First the Soviet power tried measures of political isolation. Shamans and their family members as well were deprived of their suffrage. They were not allowed to participate in parliamentary or local elections. Thus two shamans in Nadym area were deprived of their suffrage in 1933 for they'd been practicing shamanic seances even if one of them had stopped that practice almost 10 years ago.¹⁸ It was not only that shamans were deprived of the right to vote, they were also not allowed to present at the meetings of their communities. For carrying out this politics it was necessary to make known all shamans and elaborate a definition according to which one could be identified as a shaman and their classification. Such an inquiry was one of the main tasks for the local Soviet and Communist Party units in the North.

Measures of economical pressure were also directed against shamans and members of their families. They were not allowed to become members of collective farms even if they wanted to; they were forced to execute extra obligations compare to other kinsfolk. They were restricted in the use of common pastures and hunting estates, and were obliged to pay extra taxes etc.

Social measures became very important in the struggle against shamans. They and their family members were restricted in obtaining higher education. The reason was the general opinion that educated shamans might use the knowledge in experimental chemistry or physics to prove their alleged supernatural gifts for getting more power over their kinsfolk as shamans.

Methods of political and psychological propaganda were elaborated in order to slander shamans. Mass media were used to set indigenous people against their religious leaders. One of the commonest tricks was to publish articles describing the alleged cupidity, greediness, lies and sexual crimes of

religious leaders. In numerous newspapers, magazines and special booklets were full of anti-shamanic articles.¹⁹ Atheistic posters both aggressive and offending were to be displayed at schools.

The direct persecution of shamans began after 1932, when the extermination of religion was proclaimed to be one of the general aims of state politics for the next 5 years period. In 1933 officers of state security started to carry out purges of shamans as the so-called counter-revolutionary elements. They were arrested and deported from their homes. Where the population and shamans offered resistance and rose in rebellion against actions of the Soviet power, measures of direct persecution and repression were taken.²⁰

As the commanding administrative system in the area developed, shamans tended to lose their importance as foretellers and the curative functions were taken over by the health service. Ritual religious activity was banned and persecuted by the authorities. The only legal function shamans retained were to preserve some ethnic traditions mainly in a form of folk songs and stories and to hand it down from generation to generation. As to the skill of healing or prophesying, they were practicing secretly even during the period of aggressive atheism. The historical data as well as the contemporary field researches proves that Siberian shamanism as a phenomenon has successfully survived the four centuries lasting period of direct and indirect persecutions by the state. It also successfully lived through the danger of assimilation within the frames of centralized agricultural, industrial and even postindustrial society. What was helpful in this resist was "the adaptive character" of shamanism and latent availability of shamanic practices in all types of society.²¹ The recent process of fast revitalization of Siberian shamanism proves Roberte Hamayon's statement that "this availability becomes manifest especially in crisis periods, when such practices easily revive or emerge".

Conclusion

Summarizing this brief survey of the history of confrontation between the Russian (Soviet) State and Siberian Shamans it seems possible to make some preliminary conclusions. Using change in the Russian State politics towards shamanism as a phenomenon few various periods could be distinguished. They roughly coincide with the periods of the state politics towards the indigenous religions in general.

Period I (up to 1700) covers the events since the beginning of the Russian penetration to Siberia. Shamanism manifested itself through the shamanic seances and was familiar to the authorities as an ability of shamans to heal and to prophesy. They trust the shamans' supernatural abilities and feared them. The Siberian authorities did persecute neither indigenous religions, nor the shamans unless they were accused for alleged use of their supernatural power against the Russian people.

Period II (1701–late 18th c.) covers the time of active politics of forced baptism of the Siberian indigenous people with following destruction of their religious heritage and persecution of shamans as the religious authorities. Shamanic practices were considered as contacts with the devil and hence severely persecuted with fines, imprisonment and public corporal punishments.

Period III (late 18th c. – 1920s) the time of a widely spread missionary work and missionary institutions alongside with the programs of Russification of the indigenous peoples of Siberia. The era of Enlightenment brought about a new attitude towards shamanism as a phenomenon. It was mainly understood as an absurd, superstition, which should be overwhelmed by the means of education both secular and Christian.

Period IV (1920s–1970s) covers the time of anti-religious politics and religious persecutions of the religious leaders. The Soviet State considered shamanism as an alien ideology and treated the shamans as class enemies. The task of their fast extermination became an essential part of the state politics. And it used all the means of persecuting the shamans, which were elaborated during previous periods of confrontation.

Period V (1980s–1990s) is characterized by the process of collapsing of the Soviet power and simultaneous revitalization of religions as well as shamanism as a phenomenon.

The strengthening of the state power in Siberia (periods II, III, IV) always meant the enforcement of confrontation between the state and shamans, as they were generally opposed to the state enterprises. The Orthodox or Marxist authorities used the most severe persecutions against shamans and those who participated in the seances when shamanism was understood as an alien ideology (periods II and IV) either. Meanwhile shamanism has proved its availability, vitality and ability to revitalize.

Endnotes

- ¹ The latest publication of the Tale is in: Pliguzov, Andrei. The Text-Centaur on Siberian Samoyeds. Moscow-Newtonville. "Archeographic Center". 1993. S. 81–82 (in Russian).
- ² Ibid., pp. 81–82.
- ³ The report was published in *Russkaya istoricheskaya Biblioteka* [Russian Historical Library. Collection of the documents]. Vol.2. Sankt-Peterburg. 1875. S. 179.
- ⁴ "Zhitie protopopa Avvakuma, im samim napisannoye i drugie ego sochineniya" [The Life-description of Archpriest Avvakum and other stories, written by himself]. Irkutsk. 1979. S. 40–42 (in Russian).
- ⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶ The document is kept in *Rossiiski Gosudarstvennyi Arhiv Drevnih Actov* (RGADA) [Russian State Archive for Ancient Acts], Fond 1111. Opis 1. Delo 115. List 67–73. See also: Glavatskaya, Elena. The beginning of Christianization of the Ob-Ugrians in the 17th century. In: *Historia Fenno-Ugrica* I:1. Congressus Primus Historiae Fenno-Ugricae. Oulu, 1996, p. 223.

- ⁷ See: Pentikäinen, Juha. The Saami Shamanic Drum in Rome. In: Saami Religion. Åbo. 1984, pp. 125–149.
- ⁸ See: Irinarh (Jahontov). *Hronologicheskii obsor dostopamjatnyh sobytii v Berezovskom kraye Tobolskoi Gubernii*. [Chronological review of the memorable events in Berezov district of the Tobolsk region] 1032–1910. In: *Pravoslavnyi blagovestnik. Moskva*. 1912. S. 86 (in Russian).
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- ¹² See: Ogryzko, I. *Christianizatsiya narodov Tobol'skogo Severa v XVIII v.* [Christianization of the peoples, dwelled in the Tobolsk's North]. Leningrad 1941. S. 76–78 (in Russian).
- ¹³ Novitski, Grigorii. *Kratkoe opisaniye o narode ostjatskom* [The brief description of the Ostyak people]. Novosibirsk 1941. S. 53.
- ¹⁴ See: Ogryzko, I. *Ibid.*, S. 100.
- ¹⁵ See: Flaherty, Gloria. *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century*. Princeton University Press. Princeton, New Jersey.
- ¹⁶ Catherine II. *Shaman Sibirskii* [The Siberian Shaman]. In: *Sochineniya Ekateriny II* [Works by Catherine II]. *Moskva* 1990. S. 383.
- ¹⁷ See: Suslov, I. M. *Shamanstvo i bor'ba s nim*. [Shamanhood and the Struggle Against It]. In: *Sovetskii Sever*. *Moskva* 1931. N 3–4. S. 89–152.
- ¹⁸ *Sud'by narodov Ob'-irtyshskogo Severa. (Iz istorii natsional'no-gosudarstvennogo stroitel'stva 1822–1941 gg.) Sbornik dokumentov*. [The destinies of the Northern Ob'-Irtysh' area people: Collection of documents]. *Tjumen* 1994. *Document N 93*. S. 210.
- ¹⁹ See as an example: Eristov A.G. *Uralskii Sever. Anti-religioznyje ocherki Tobol'skogo kraja* [Uralic North. Anti-religious articles of the Tobolsk area]. *Moskva* 1933.
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Kira Van Deusen

THE SLEEPING WARRIOR: NEW LEGENDS IN THE REBIRTH OF KHAKASS SHAMANIC CULTURE

The Republic of Khakassia is a land of majestic mountain and steppe beauty, full of fresh and salt-water lakes. Located near the geographic center of Asia, it is thought by many to be the birthplace of Turkic culture. The Khakass "sunny world" lies between the Altai mountains to the west, the Tuvan Sayan mountains to the east and south, and the forests of Krasnoyarsk Territory to the north. Russian colonization began in the seventeenth century, bringing largely unsuccessful attempts to convert the Khakass to Christianity, but unlike their Tuvan neighbours they had very little contact with Buddhism.

During the communist period there were major changes in the traditional way of life, including ideological education, growth of urban centers, and the collectivization of labour. Daily life became divorced from the cycles of nature. Especially damaging to Khakass culture was the rapid rise in the non-native population. The Khakass now make up less than 10% of the population in their own republic, and their Turkic language is not spoken by most urban dwellers or young children. Today's most important problem is that the ethnos is dying, through poverty, a high suicide rate among the youth, illness and assimilation. Unemployment and the influence of the mafia and rapacious religious cults make new additions to Khakassia's social problems. The Soviet past is still felt in terms of prejudices and policies against native culture. A new Minister of Culture in 1997 expressed the opinion that Khakass culture was "primitive", and some artists portray to the general public its perceived dark side.

A more subtle example of these negative attitudes can be seen at the Minusinsk museum. A Khakass friend took me there to see the exhibit of ancient Turkic stone monuments, which is arranged in such a way that the viewer must walk counterclockwise to go in chronological order. We walked the opposite way, since the Khakass, like most Siberian peoples, do all ritual activities in the direction of the sun's movement. The opposite movement is the direction of death. A museum worker appeared and told us in no uncertain terms to go back and approach the exhibit the other way. My friend politely explained her people's tradition and her own tendency to severe headaches if she broke it. This news was treated as a whim by the supercilious museum worker. "You just

want to have things your own way" she said. In the end we gave in. But why did the museum set the exhibit up this way in the first place? Was it a deliberate attempt to weaken the sacred content of the exhibit? Why are the workers even today not aware that it violates thousands of years of sacred tradition of the very people whose culture it represents?

Cultural Revival

Khakass ethnic culture is reviving music, art, theatre, storytelling, and ancient healing and ceremonial practices all of which reclaim images of shamanic reality and bring their spiritual content back to life after years of silence and oppression. The cultural revival also gives encouragement to political and ecological movements.

More than individual healing, today's Khakass shamans focus on healing the ethnic group as a whole. The arts are vital in this connection, since they work first to raise self-esteem and encourage traditional values, moving from there to the healing of individual problems. I wonder whether this conscious focus on the whole group is stronger in areas (like Khakassia) less influenced by outsiders. In Tuva, Khakassia's neighbour republic, there has been much more contact not only with scholars but with practitioners of shamanic types of healing from the US and Europe, and there the focus seems to be more on individual healing. Westerners may have unconsciously influenced this focus, through their own biases and by looking for evidence of "classic" shamanic practice, which was often described by outsiders in relation to individual healing ceremonies.

At the same time as the outward focus of Khakassia's new shamans is on the whole group, their inward focus involves individual inspiration and creativity rather than setting up or imposing new authoritarian structures, more typical of the Buriats and Mongolians. Individual creativity is honoured in the arts as well as in shamanic practice all are seen as evidence of the shamanic gift. Some of the people I was introduced to as "shamans" are actors, singers, philosophers and musical instrument makers, as well as traditional healers. Khakass music and epic now appear in the national theatre, carrying vital spiritual and ecological messages, while just a few years ago they were viewed as quaint remnants of a primitive past. Politics is considered a valid arena for shamanic creativity, and also for competition and trickery, time-honored parts of shamanic tradition.

Khakass scholars like Larissa Anzhiganova and Alexander Kotozhekov are reconstructing ritual and legend, and they have played a central role in raising the consciousness of rural people during the formation of the new republic in 1991 (Anzhiganova 1997). Recently members of the writer's union G. G. Kazachinova and V. K. Tatarova republished some of the works of 19th century

ethnographer N. F. Katanov, including shamanic invocations, in small pamphlets useful to those who are conducting rituals.

A Contemporary Shaman's Practice

I see three lines contributing to the cultural and shamanic revival: (1) Consultation with hereditary tradition through the voices of the elders and ethnographic and historical literature, (2) Elements left from the Soviet era, and (3) Contacts with the outside world. To illustrate these three lines, I would like to introduce briefly the practice of one contemporary shaman, and then go on to some new legends which have been appearing in the last few years, building a bridge from the past to the present.

(1) Tatiana Kobezhikova is a hereditary shaman in her mid-forties. As in most Siberian traditions, the gift can pass down either the female or male line, and usually shows up in childhood. Because of the persecution of shamans during the Soviet period, Tania's parents were distressed when she began to predict what was about to happen, and could see auras around people. They tried to dissuade her from developing her shamanic gift. Although Tania's practice as a healer and clairvoyant began twenty years ago, since the fall of the Soviet Union she has practiced more openly as a declared shaman, with support from her family. In 1996 she sought consecration from hereditary shamans in Tuva and Mongolia. She has made a costume and drum, and her practice involves traditional methods of soul retrieval and divination, as well as knowledge of sacred stories.

(2) Kobezhikova received a western-style education in Soviet institutions, and now uses knowledge gained during post-graduate work in archaeology together with her psychic ability to help archaeologists locate and interpret sites. She also runs a clinic in two rooms in an *obshchezhitie*, or dormitory/hotel in the city of Abakan. This setting has limited her in terms of drumming and long ceremonies using live animals, but at the same time opened her practice to a wide spectrum of urban clients. Although she speaks Khakass, most of her work is conducted in Russian.

(3) Kobezhikova has contacts with the west through reading the works of Michael Harner and Carlos Castaneda. Meetings with foreign psychiatrists and anthropologists at home and through travel to the West result in exchange of ideas and methods and possibly some financial support for her efforts to revive all methods of traditional healing in Khakassia.

What emerges from the union of these three lines is something unprecedented in the history of shamanism. (It is worth noting that the shamanic tradition has always been extremely flexible, adapting to changed conditions and the influx of new ideas.) Her practice adapts tradition to today's largely urban conditions and needs. Tania practices traditional soul-retrieval and divination, as well as healing through energy channels and chakras similar to

what is practiced by "extrasense" healers, massage, and herbal medicine which are not typical of traditional shamanic practice. She has also developed something which I am calling "eco-tourist shamanism", in which she guides people (including me) through the many sacred sites in Khakassia: kurgans, ancient observatories, caves and petroglyph sites. She helps her clients to feel the energies of the earth, developing rituals which contribute to personal growth and ecological awareness.

In a similar way other new shamans took me to stegei, a mountainous area where many disappearances and unexplained deaths have occurred. People have had encounters with mountain spirits in the form of ancient warriors who give warnings to those who fail to respect ancient traditions. We experienced one of these warnings on our visit to stegei. I had asked people to tell me legends and tales, and they wanted to do it in the correct geographic context. A friend and I started up the hill, and stopped briefly as a snake crossed our path. We then continued on, going separate ways. Both had forgotten the taboo which says that you must turn back if a snake crosses directly in front of you. I came to a place where the path became impassable and had to make a long detour to get back to our meeting place. But my friend took much longer to return and when he did his face was pale and he looked exhausted and frightened. He had started climbing a steep hill when the earth fell away behind him. He was forced to continue up a cliff using one hand and carrying his dog. By this time he had remembered the snake, and realized that he should have stopped and addressed the spirits of stegei when we arrived. Although I too knew about the snake taboo, the punishment for a foreigner was merely a tiring walk, while as a native person and algyschy, or person with a special talent for carrying out rituals, he had a truly frightening experience.

On the same trip to stegei a new musical instrument was consecrated by its maker, Petya Topoev. It was a stringed khomus. An instrument gets its soul from being played in nature, he says. I expected him to draw the bow across the strings, but instead he held the instrument into the wind, which moved across the strings and the skin head, causing them to vibrate. Topoev held the instrument close to my ear. The sounds reminded me of choral singing. Now that it had been introduced to the spirits of mountain and wind, a player would be able to make spiritual music on it.

Towards the end of my time in Khakassia, I was present at the consecration of a new shaman's drum. This was a private ceremony carried out at the home of the drum's new owner Alisa Kyzlasova, who uses the drum not only for shamanic ceremony, but also in the theatre, where she sings songs and enacts stories she learned from her grandmother, who was a powerful shaman in her own time. Tania Kobezhikova conducted the ceremony. First she lit three candles and placed them in a triangle, with Alisa standing in the middle. After smudging the drum and the new shaman with the smoke of burning juniper and other herbs, Tania played the drum at length, watching the owner carefully. I sensed that she was bringing the sound and spirit of the drum into harmony with the new shaman's energies. When the playing was finished, Alisa told us which

animal spirits had appeared to her as she became comfortable with the sound of the drum. The ceremony ended with a few instructions about how the drum should and should not be used in public performance.

Contemporary Legends

An important focus of today's movement is clan ritual, with attention to genealogy, ancestry and especially to the importance of specific places sacred to families and clans, and to places like *stegei*, that are power points on the earth. Shamans have identified over 200 sites which are now used for rituals. Many of these places are in the mountains, home of ancient spirits who appeared in the past as helping spirits of shamans. Mountains appear in epic and tale as the meeting place of heaven and earth, and a route for approaching the upper world.

People have begun to make direct contact with these ancient mountain spirits, and their experiences turn into new legends that are inspiring the rebirth of culture. Today's legends involve survival, rebirth, initiation, creativity including the interaction of male and female energies, the vital role of music, and most importantly, respect for nature and the land. Certain people have changed the focus of their lives entirely as a result of the experiences and visions that result in these legends, and have begun to concentrate on helping their people. Others tell of how they were offered the shamanic gift in Soviet times, how they refused it and what happened as a result. Many stories are told about shamans remembered from recent generations. On the negative side, some young people have hung themselves as a result of meetings with the mountain spirits.

In the past the singer of epics, or *khaidzhi*, enjoyed a position similar to that of the shaman. These storytellers, who performed in a type of throat singing called *khai*, came from their own ancestral lineage and underwent initiation like shamans. They showed talent from childhood, and were respected for their clairvoyant abilities. Storytelling was understood as a healing art, as it is increasingly in the West as well. Today's legends are told by new *khaidzhi*, and also by folklore collectors, philosophers, actors, and even elderly people speaking on the radio. Like shamans, the legend-tellers work toward healing the people as a whole, raising self-esteem.

One contemporary story connected with singing is that of an elderly musician named *Ipekov*. He was sitting at home one evening playing his *chatkhan* (zither) when a little old woman with snow-white hair and a bright face appeared unexpectedly before him. The *chatkhan* is the sacred instrument of storytellers, and he had felt compelled to take it up after his retirement. "The old woman's clothing amazed him with its former wealth, being made of satin and silk. But it was in pitiful condition: all torn, with threads pulling out. After they had drunk tea in silence, she told him she was *Chir Ine*, the mother spirit of all the Turkic peoples. 'I am the mother spirit and I am dying,' she told *Ipekov*.

'You need to help revive your culture and the people themselves, so that I won't die. You, the Khakass, are my eldest son among the Turkic peoples.' Not at all long ago Chir Ine had been young and beautiful, she said, because the Khakass people were living according to their customs and traditions. They worshipped her because she was the Soul of the People. When the people is alive and blossoming, she too is well. But now the Khakass have stopped worshipping the spirits of Fire, Water, Mountain, and Taiga. They are forgetting their language, losing their culture. If this continues further, the people will die the Khakass will hang themselves, drown themselves, kill one another." Chir Ine taught Itpekov her song, which he often sang and now others sing too (Anzhiganova 1997).

Another story with similar themes of initiation through meeting the mountain spirits (tag eezi) is that of the sculptor Slava Kuchenov. The specific spirits he met were khai eezi, the spirits of singing khai, which leads to the art of the khaidzhi, or epic singer.

Kuchenov had received his formal education in St Petersburg and returned to his homeland with no sense of traditional culture. He went to visit an aunt in a far-away village, walking a long way to get there through the mud. When he arrived, he cleaned his boots and went to bed. In the night someone woke him and took him out through the steppe to the mountains. Something happened to him there, a deep transformation based on meetings with spirits. He was told he must learn five musical instruments, including the chatkhan played by khaidzhi, the khomus (a bowed string instrument), and demir-khomus, a kind of jaw harp played by shamans. Some of the things he was told were to remain secret. Then he returned to his aunt's and went back to bed.

In the morning he woke up and thought it had all been a dream, until he saw that his boots were muddy again with mud from the mountains. This was such a powerful experience that he began to play music afterward and became an adept khaidzhi. He now composes his own poems similar to heroic epics, using classic and contemporary themes. He says that spirits turn pictures before his eyes and he simply relates what he sees. This is exactly the way the khaidzhi of the past described their art (Anzhiganova, Kotozhkov, Kazachinova 1997: personal communications.)

Kuchenov commissioned his instruments from Petya Topoev, who says that the meeting with the khai eezi happened at the confluence of two rivers, a meeting place of the physical and the spiritual. The instruments he made had unusual shapes, designed according to the instructions of the spirits that Kuchenov met.

Topoev told me a story of his own meeting with spirits this time with the spirit of a warrior who sleeps in the mountains. Topoev went out with a newly finished drum to consecrate it. His brother had played the new drum and said it would be a warrior's drum.

Petya went up to a place where he could see five peaks, and there he played. Beside one peak a big sleeping warrior appeared. Another warrior was trying to wake him. Petya stopped playing and the two warriors disappeared.

When he began to beat the drum again, they reappeared and the sleeping warrior moved around, as if he were about to awaken and get up. At this, Petya was frightened and ran away! (1997: personal communication.)

His story relates to an old legend about a sleeping warrior of the past. In the sixteenth century a great Khakass hero was defeated by the Mongols and went away to sleep in the mountains. You can see his form high in the rocky mountains along the road from Abakan to Kyzyl. Legend says that he will come to life when the time is right, and save the people.

Through Khakassia's shamanic and cultural revival, the sleeping warrior is waking up!

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Joan B. Townsend

MODERN NON-TRADITIONAL AND INVENTED SHAMANISM

My working definition of a traditional shaman is one who has direct communication with spirits, is in control of spirits and altered states of consciousness, undertakes soul (magical) flights to the spirit world, and has a this-material-world focus rather than a goal of personal enlightenment. Spirits may be allowed to enter the shaman's body and speak through him, and he can call spirits to be present at a ceremony. He usually remembers at least some of a soul journey and normally is a healer. Shamanism is not "a religion", it is not a homogeneous or static phenomenon (Townsend 1997a).

In the West the search for new paradigms for belief and meaning has given rise to new religious movements of two major types.

In *Group* organized movements, people subordinate themselves to the group's doctrine. In contrast, *Individualist* new religious movements are structured as networks, not groups. Individuals create their own meaning system by synthesizing a range of beliefs, both traditional and newly invented.

Current Individualist Movements draw on a range of beliefs from the past but they *DO differ* from earlier movements (Townsend, 1988, 1997b, 1999). In the past, people whose beliefs deviated from the society's majority were left to develop and maintain their beliefs by affiliation with like-minded people forming a local cognitive minority. Today deviant beliefs are much more readily accessible particularly with the plethora of workshops, books and specialty book stores, magazines, and radio and television shows available to propagate them, and there is a much greater openness to exploration and acceptance of diverse beliefs. Now, face-to-face encounters are not essential; the cognitive minority reference group is maintained and spread through these media. Consequently, Individualist Movements are expanding at an exponential rate that is further enhanced *now* by the internet. No longer must a person search for like-minded people in his/her geographical area or live in cognitive isolation. The "group" has become a fluid network of people and now that network is becoming global. The Individualist Movements are quintessential media-oriented movements. (Townsend 1997b, 1999.)

Examples of Individualist Movements include

- 1) "New Age" with its focus on astrology, trance channeling, tarot, and so on,
- 2) Neopaganism and Witchcraft/Wicca, [e.g., feminist Witchcraft, Goddess movement and Gaia interests]
- 3) Modern Shamanic spirituality: Core and Neo-shamanism—dealt with here.

Erroneously Modern Shamanic Spirituality is sometimes included in Neopaganism and also with New Age. It is imperative that these be dealt with as separate paths although there is still some overlap in both beliefs and personnel. To merge these in research will seriously obscure what is going on within each of these separate systems.

Versions of Modern Shamanic Spirituality

People in Western society who lack a recent shamanic tradition are trying, often within a resurgence of assumed ethnicity, to go back to a presumed shamanic tradition of the past. They borrow elements from a range of shamanic traditions, from mythological accounts, and invent the rest.

There are two distinct manifestations of "shamanic" activity. They rose from similar bases but have evolved very different approaches and goals to both shamanism and spirituality (Townsend 1988, 1999). There are also several recent variations.

Core Shamanism

Core shamanism is the creation of Michael Harner. Drawing from his years of anthropological research, he isolated core elements that were shared universally by shamans. He then tailored this collage of classic core elements as a *method* to access spirit reality for use by contemporary Westerners searching for meaning. (Harner 1980; Townsend 1988, 1999) In Core shamanism, individuals attempt to reconfigure a personal shamanic tradition for spiritual purposes that is closely related to living shamanic traditions. Harner established the Foundation for Shamanic Studies dedicated to shamanic research and the preservation of shamanism.

The overall message is that there is a spirit reality which can be accessed through altered states of consciousness and journeying into that reality. The purpose is altruistic. It is to heal others and the earth in this life by enlisting the help of spirits.

Neo- (or pseudo) Shamanism (cf. Townsend 1999)

Neo-shamanism is an eclectic collection (bricolage) of beliefs drawn from literature, workshops and recently, the internet. It is an *invented* tradition comprising practices and beliefs which may only remotely reflect traditional shamanism. A concept of an "idealized" shaman is constructed which often differs considerably from a traditional shaman. Neo-shamanism appears to have the larger following.

Both Core and Neo-shamanism are essentially leaderless. People may take Harner's workshops but then, remaining close to his basic teachings, participate in local "drumming" groups to develop their abilities to journey into spiritual reality and to heal. Most, I suggest, become involved in a range of other activities and move toward a more eclectic neo-shamanism. So, for many, Harner's *method* becomes merely one of a many elements employed.

Many soon see themselves as shamans. A few may actually become "shamans" in the traditional sense, but I suggest that for most this is more a wish than a fact. I suggest that among these last, few undergo little of the long apprenticeships, privations, struggles, and dangers that many traditional shamans experience.

There is, then, a gradient within Modern Shamanic Spirituality which runs from the deeply sincere who tries to follow a semi-traditional shamanism to the one who plays with the newest esoteric fad. (Townsend, 1999)

The *Traditionalists* adhere to Harner's core approach with only restricted borrowings (bricolages) from anthropological and other shaman studies. Neo-shaman *Modernists* use the basic methods and goals of traditional shamanism and elaborate those with input from, for example, curanderos, other healers and spiritual practitioners. They use an idealized version of "shamanism" in their lives and in psychotherapeutic applications. There is less interest in how traditional shamans function than in how modern Western "shamans" use (usually invented) "shamanism" in their daily lives. At the opposite end of the spectrum are *Eclectics* who glorify an idealized shaman concept. These include the "wanta-bes"—who attempt to become "Indian" or "native", involve themselves in indigenous cultures and rituals, and often make a show of being a "shaman." A person, such as a poet or artist, might even discover he/she is a shaman without knowing it. Beliefs and rituals come from extensive borrowings (bricolage) from a wide range of sources and complete inventions. They are more involved with the overall New Age and Neo-pagan movements than are Traditionalists or Modernists. Shamanism becomes a method for personal development rather than a direct intervention with the spirit world to help other people.

Contrasts, Beliefs, Values, and Issues

(see for example Townsend 1998, 1999)

The metaphysical position within Shamanic Spirituality is not completely consistent. In spite of beliefs in an interconnectedness of all things, traditional shamanism is dualistic in that humans and deities or spirits are independent entities. Core shamanism seems to agree generally with this position. But this contrasts particularly with Neo-shaman eclecticism which stresses a pantheistic or monistic approach to reality.

Regardless of the degree of purity of the "shamanic genre" and the differences between core and neo-shamanism as well as individual practitioners, there seems to be a basic set of beliefs which almost all share to a greater or lesser degree.

Basic is the belief that the world is not merely material. There is also a "real" or literal spirit world which can be accessed by living humans to enlist the assistance of spirits there. This is its essence (e.g., Nature religion list 1998). (Nevertheless, Neo-shamanism does not seem to have fully dealt with the relationship of this to a monistic stance.)

The universe is powerful and interrelated. Harmony, unity, tolerance rather than fragmentation and ethnocentric exclusivity are stressed (Lyons 1993).

Spirit is in all things: animal, vegetable, and mineral; consequently we must honor and care for the whole environment.

The overarching theme is of spiritual transformation, and the need to rely on the aid of the spirit world to deal with modern crises being faced by individuals, societies, and the earth.

There are, then, clear Nativistic, Millennialist and Apocalyptic sub-themes in Modern Shamanic Spirituality, as in New Age: the glorification of the past, modern decline of spiritual values, and a hoped for revival of past glory (Townsend 1984, 1998).

The earth and humans are in grave danger. Societies are corrupt and are polluting the earth. Part of the reason for the impending doom is the loss of transcendent awareness by the West. The connection with the earth and with spirit has been lost, but adherents maintain that it has been retained by shamanic cultures such as Australian Aborigines and Native Americans (Peters and Gray 1990).

Part of the mission of both Core and Neo-shamanism is to prevent destruction of the earth.

The concerns are addressed by most through spiritual, not active socio-political means. Nevertheless, there is the potential for more concerted direct action to bring change. Some who adhere to the Core and Neo-shamanic world view are already active in environmental issues.

Trends (see for example Townsend 1998, 1999)

Trends include:

- 1) Conflicts with indigenous people and a continuation of the glorification of the "noble savage" genre
- 2) to synthesize and homogenize many other religious traditions with shamanism
- 3) to demystify shamanic experience and place it within the psychological /psychotherapeutic and positivist/materialist perspective.

Glorification of the "Noble Savage"

Because Indigenous people are glorified in a "noble savage" purist ethos, some Neo-shamans feel they must attempt to live and practice the spiritual life of indigenous people. This is creating major conflicts. On the one hand are the Indigenous "exclusivists" who maintain that their rituals, beliefs, and even shamanism *per se* are exclusively "their" property and intensely object to the "white man" "stealing" their cultural and spiritual property. In contrast, some indigenous and non-indigenous "universalists" argue that shamanism and spirituality in general are the heritage of all humans. Consequently, some Indigenous and pseudo-Indigenous "medicine men", spiritual leaders, and shamans have come forth to initiate all who wish into shamanism and teach what I suggest is often totally invented spiritual traditions.

The glorification of indigenous peoples—the "noble savage" theme—is seen recently by the growing neo-shamanic emphasis on and popularity of indigenous South, and North American cultures. Much of the neo-shamanic literature focuses on these groups. Andean and Amazonian "shamanism" is especially popular. *Shaman's Drum*, the primary shamanism magazine, lists an array of advertisements for pilgrimages, workshops, and tours which are being led by supposed "master" shamans of the Amazon and Andes. Curanderos are also touted as "shamans". Pilgrimages together with shamanic "initiation rites" are led by these people to "points of power" not only to South America but also to the U.S. Southwest, Hawaii, China, Tibet, Nepal, and southern France.

Related to the Amazonian/Andean pilgrimages, the use of hallucinogens as a means to gain help and knowledge is increasing. Ayahuasca (Yajé) is being promoted as a valuable means of spiritual development, and more important, self healing. One *Shaman's Drum* writer described her search to "understand and unbind the psycho-spiritual roots of an epileptic disorder" she had since childhood. After trying *amanita muscaria* (Fly-agaric) mushrooms, she went to Central America, Colombia, and Quito, Ecuador where she met a supposed Latino shaman, Celso Fiallo. [whom Ecuadorian shamans disown (Alulema 1996:13)]. Mixing cannabis, mescaline-containing San Pedro cactus (mescaline-containing *Trichocereus pachanoi*), and ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis Caapi* vine

“visionary vine”; cf. Furst 1976), she was “cured” and now brings curanderos from South America to teach traditional uses of plant hallucinogens to the larger community presumably in Santa Fe New Mexico where she lives. (Rumland 1994). Whether the focus on hallucinogens will bring neo-shamans into direct conflict with the narcotics laws remains to be seen.

Because of the sudden popularity of ayahuasca and other hallucinogens, and the growing number of Amazonian tours, the editor of *Shaman's Drum* (White 1996) printed a warning of the serious dangers of these drugs especially in the hands of uninformed counterfeit shamans. Warnings of other dangers, such as extreme humid heat, parasites, malaria and dengue fever, fungal rashes, insect bites, and violence from bandits and narcotics traffickers, have been voiced (Williams, James E. Dangers of Selva Profunda Appreciated. *Shaman's Drum* 1998; #50. Winter:12).

Finally, there is also a growing interest in European shamanism that has spawned Celtic, Norse, Teutonic, and Slavic developments. The mythical Merlin is used as one model for western “shamans”. This trend can be seen in part as a search for a unique Western spiritual “ethnic identity” and in part in response of the attacks by some indigenous people that the “white man” is “stealing” their beliefs.

Synthesis and Homogenization Trend

In addition to New Age and Neo-pagan material, fragments from Buddhism, yoga, other Eastern systems, and “self-help/psychotherapy” are appearing. (see for example Stevens and Stevens 1988, Villoldo 1990, and Villoldo et. al. 1991 for extensive eclectic approaches to Neo-shamanism)

Harley Swiftdeer, who claims to be a shaman of Irish-Cherokee descent, organized a group of followers devoted to „ceremonial medicine” and the pipe ceremony. He makes much of cleansing chakras (Hindu), and using carved crystal skulls for meditation, (neither of which is related to Native American or shamanic systems), of symbols from Maya hieroglyphs, Sun Dance (seemingly Plains Indian), sweet medicine, and “stopping the world”, presumably from Carlos Castaneda’s dialogues with a supposedly Yaqui sorcerer. His adaptation of the medicine wheel closely parallels the early 1970s Medicine Wheel inventions of Sun Bear (Sun Bear and Wabun 1980), Hyemeyohsts Storm (e.g., 1972), and others. Recently two popular books by British Kenneth Meadows added to Swiftdeer’s collection with more pseudo-Plains Indians rituals, Atlantis and Mu, astrology, yoga, I-Ching, Tao, and “psychology”. I can find nothing shamanic and little of Native American about these systems (Meadows 1992,1996, Marron 1989:146–148; Swiftdeer: 1988, nd.; Wadell 1993).

With the modernist and eclectic seekers there is the risk that the concept of shamanism may be transformed into a package of self-help methods, “positive thinking”, or fortune telling for people who have not had the opportunity or,

perhaps, inclination to learn what shamanism is really about. For those, Neo-shamanism may be a sterilized venture into their own minds.

Although not discussed in this paper, invented traditions frequently find their way into indigenous societies and are used for spiritual and political purposes. A problem for researchers is that in many cases indigenous people and Westerners believe that these inventions reflect valid, ancient traditions. This fallacy finds its way into the professional as well as the popular literature and may become the "truth" of the future obscuring the "real" historic traditions of a people.

Psychology and Materialist Trend

One of the more recent innovations in Euro-shamanism is from Daniel Noel (1997) who suggests we accept the mythological Merlin as our "shaman" and subscribe to the post-Jungian idea of imaginal reality. He says that while respecting the „rightness" of indigenous people's' reality in their spiritual systems, we must avoid literalism and not stray too far from our Western positivist thinking (ibid: 207). It is my tentative opinion that this brings us full circle in Western thought trends from a humanism perspective through a spiritual/transcendent perspective and now back to humanism/"God is Dead"/psychology/psychotherapy.

The shift is one *from* accepting the spiritual realm and the ability to contact it as real, just as this material reality is real, *to* avoiding literalism at all costs (Noel 1997: 207), constructing a fictional, "imaginal reality" within which we parade as players strutting on a stage. (Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.). To me this seems to skirt the point of the quest which many people are on: that of transcendent meaning and the search for answers to such basic questions as why am I here; what happens when I die.

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Toimi Jaatinen

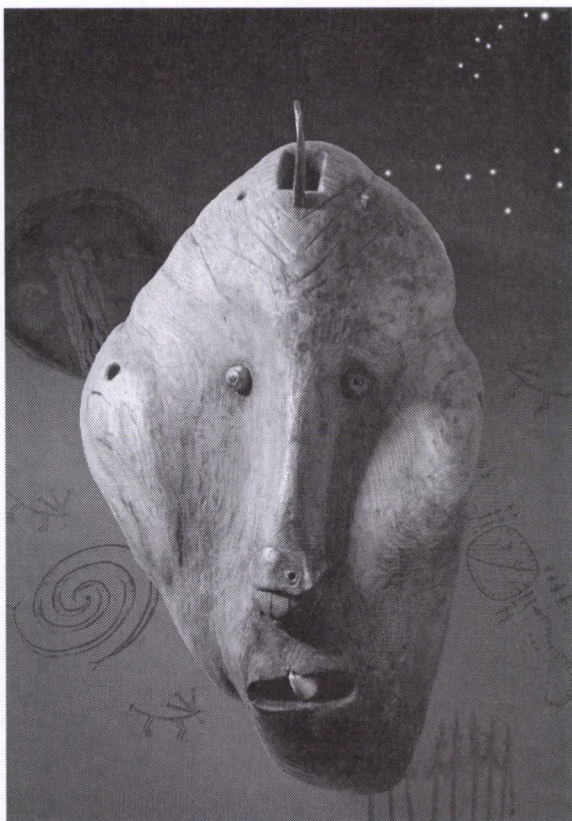
SHAMANS AT THE VAPRIIKKI MUSEUM CENTRE

The exhibition titled Shamans—the Secret World of Siberia's Peoples was held at the Vapriikki Museum Centre between 16 May 1998 and 31 January 1999. The exhibition was organised by the Peter the Great Kunstkamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, the National Museum of Finland and Tampere Museums.

The key material of the exhibition consisted of the unique collection of the Kunstkamera, comprising nearly five hundred articles: costumes, masks, dolls, drums, sculptures and ritual objects.

Founded in the 1720s by Peter the Great, the Kunstkamera is one of the oldest museums in the world and, thanks to its superb collections, also among the most highly esteemed. What made this Shamans exhibition so exceptional was that never before had the Kunstkamera's shaman collection been so extensively displayed as it was at the exhibition held in Vapriikki.

The main goal of the exhibition was to tell people about the life and culture of the native peoples of Siberia and of the status shamans held in these communities. Shamanism played the main part, but at the same time shamans were seen as representatives of their culture



1. Poster of the Shamans exhibition.

and people. The factual content and paraphernalia of the exhibition served as a starting point for the design and visualisation of the exhibition. The originality and exquisite beauty of the articles was compelling; every detail, figure and ornament had a specific meaning. Being extremely diverse and multi-dimensional, the subject of the exhibition enabled the organisers to create a visual setting that offered unique experiences to the visitors as well as insights that combined intelligence and emotion.

Content of the Exhibition

As the exhibition covered a large area and the collections available were very extensive, the exhibition was organised into 12 thematic sections in terms of content and material, each of which displayed objects from a certain region of Siberia. This allowed for diversity and wide coverage at the same time, yet the visitors were able to look deeper into each culture. For certain key themes, a wide selection of representative items were chosen from different Siberian cultures.

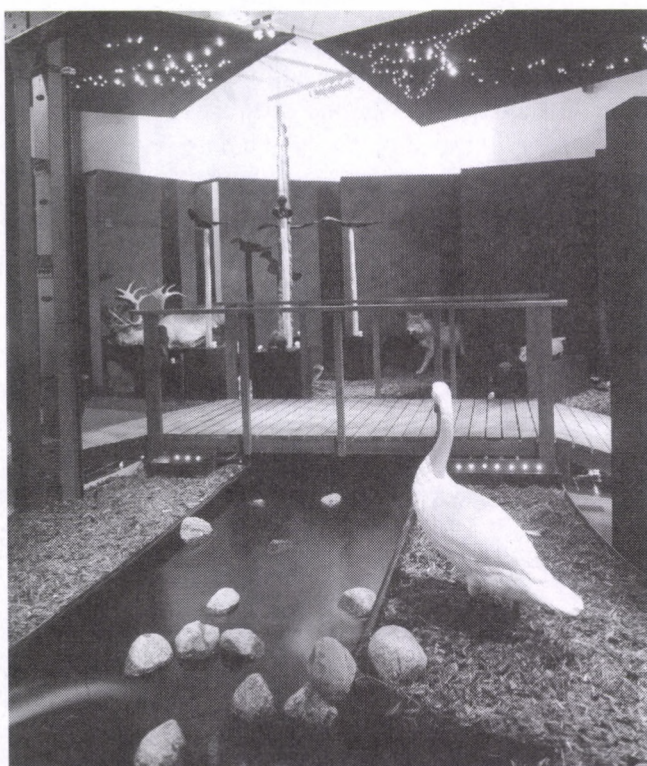
The exhibition was architecturally and conceptually divided into the following sections:

1. Sacred path of a shaman

This section dealt with becoming a shaman, the duties of a shaman, particularly acting as a mediator between the world of men and the spiritual plane. The articles that represented different Siberian cultures were the sacral objects of a shaman and the distinctive signs of a shaman: costumes and accessories, drums, and symbols of the shaman's assisting spirits.

2. Model of the world

The Siberian people saw the world as consisting of three tiers: the Upper (heaven), Middle (life on Earth), and Lower (death) Worlds. This concept played a crucial part in the exhibition and was symbolised by articles deriving mainly from the Amur region such as the shaman tree and figures of sacral animals that represented spirits. The shaman tree or statue represents the World Tree, which symbolises the universe. A starry sky, flowing water and the impressive shaman drum that allowed the shaman to move between the worlds were some of the most visually powerful details of this section. Special attention was paid to displaying both sides of the drum with the symbols instead of just the "public" or outer surface as is usually done, even though the shaman's secret signs are hidden on the inside of the drum. The shaman drum reminded visitors of a modern communications tool, a pocket-sized computer and phone (communicator); it included all relevant information and was a means of communication.



2. The shaman's river under the Great Bear. A photo of the exhibition.

3. Clan's place of prayer

The Ket used cultural objects, symbols of the spirits of sacred places and other animal figures to mark the significance of holy places. The sacred sites of the Ket were often located on riverbanks.

4. The shaman's hut, "Chum"

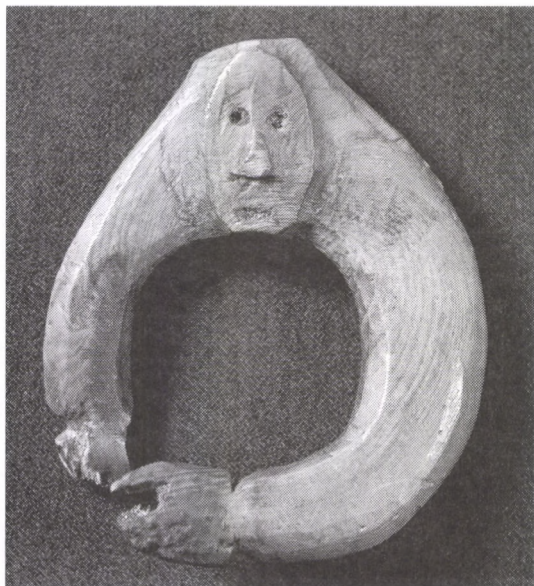
The hut or yurt was a shaman's temple. The hut served as an everyday dwelling and was transformed into a holy place before ceremonies through various rituals. Wooden statuettes in human or animal form as well as symbolic figures and the way they were positioned denoted the sacredness of the place. The hut displayed at the Shaman exhibition as well as the articles inside it characterised the shamans of the Evenki culture.

5. The Ysyakh feast

The Ysyakh feast of the Yakut was a ritual ceremony dedicated to the worship of the sun god Jurjung-Aiyiyi-Toijon as well as to the fertility and earth cult. Some of the most exquisite objects displayed at this section such as the shaman's cloak, a woman's fur coat for festive occasions, cult vessels and bird effigies were from the Yakut.

6. Sacral art

The Siberian peoples hold a special position among the mask cultures of the world. The facial masks of the shamans symbolised their assisting spirits. Most of the impressive masks exhibited in this section were from the South Siberian cultures. Besides the drums and costumes, visitors to the exhibition found these articles the most captivating.



3. Representation of spirit protector of the hunt.
The symbol of the exhibition.

7. Asking for success in life

Beseeching success for the entire community and private individuals was one of the principal duties of the shaman. Luck was especially needed in hunting, fishing and other sources of livelihood. The Siberian peoples worshiped a range of gods that acted as guardian spirits. In the exhibition, these spirits were symbolised by figures originating in the Samoyed and Evenki cultures. These simple, yet expressive objects have a powerful impact on modern man, too.

8. The origin of life and protection of child

In Siberia, shamanism was a clan and family institution. It was founded on traditional beliefs of the spirits and gods that inhabit the universe. The birth and survival of children depended on the blessing of these spirits. Articles exhibited in this section included ritual vessels, cradles, guardian spirits of home and family, as well as dolls.

9. Healing and conveying souls to the world of the ancestors

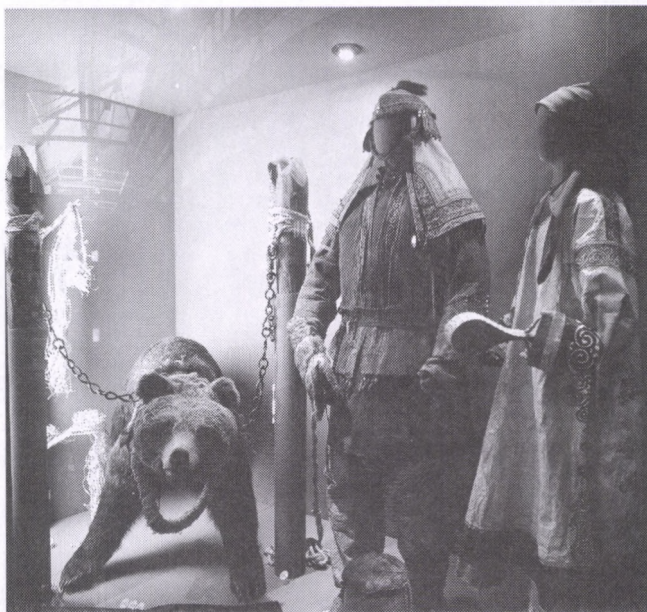
Escorting the souls of the deceased to the world of ancestors was a duty performed only by the highest category of shaman — kasatai shaman. It was one of the most important rituals of the life cycle. Healing was also among the most significant duties of shamans. In a community, the shaman was an expert who knew the causes of illness and which medicinal herb or plant would cure it. In this exhibition, the items selected to portray these duties included amulets, figures of spirits and grave memorials of the

peoples of north-east and eastern Siberia. A shaman's grave was also constructed for the exhibition, as narrated in J. Pentikäinen's article in this volume.

10. The bear festival

Most indigenous peoples of Siberia are familiar with the mythical bear epic. The bear is a central character in archaic rituals where it appears as a mortal deity that is reborn. The bear was a human-like creature: man and bear were believed to have a common origin. Articles on display came from the peoples of

Amur and Sakhalin, for instance the Nanay and the Nivkh, and included objects used in bear festivals, costumes for festive occasions, and bows and arrows.



4. Reconstruction of the bear festival in the exhibition.

11. Ob-Ugrian bear rites

In the 19th century, Finnish explorers travelled extensively in Siberia. Scientists such as M. A. Castrén compiled a diverse and extensive collection depicting the cultures of Siberia for the Finnish National Museum. The articles selected for the exhibition in Vapriikki were



5. Skinning of bear in forest. Sosva, Bedkashi, 1905.
Photo by A. Kannisto.



6. Sacrificial site far from Tanshina village amidst a large swamp, since no sacrificial sheds were built for fear of Russians. Yermolai Saveletsh prays by the sacrificial knapsack, 1902. Photo by A. Kannisto. National Board of Antiquities, Finland.

originally collected for the Häme Museum in Tampere by linguist Artturi Kannisto (1874–1934) between 1905 and 1906. In addition, the unique collection of articles associated with bear rites gathered by U. T. Sirelius was displayed.

Born in Kylmäkoski in Finland, Artturi Kannisto collected articles not only for the National Museum of Finland, but also for the Häme Museum, which was being constructed in his home town, Tampere. The articles collected for the Häme Museum attest to the high standard of craftsmanship of the Ob-Ugric, Mansi (Vogul) and Khanty (Ostyak) peoples. The Shamans exhibition in Vapriikki coincided with the Journey to Siberia exhibition held in the Häme Museum. This exhibition featured photographs of Kannisto's field work and other documents, and it was arranged in honour of the 90th anniversary of the Häme

Museum. In the 1980's, Kannisto's collection was moved from Tampere to the National Museum of Finland, where it was included in the museum's internationally acclaimed collection of objects from Siberian cultures.

12. Articles collected during expeditions to Siberia 1988–1995

A more recent study of Siberia was represented by items collected from the Nanai by professor Juha Pentikäinen during his expeditions, such as the drum, drumstick and bag of Nanay shamaness Maria Petrovna Beldy. Pentikäinen made his first trip to Siberia in 1988 and since then, he has made 17 expeditions to Siberia and to the northern parts of Russia to meet the indigenous peoples. These trips resulted in a wealth of written material, recordings and film material. A clip from this film (Final Departure) was also shown at this section of the exhibition. The explanations and comments of professor Pentikäinen served to further deepen the message of the exhibition and provided the audience with an opportunity to ask questions and exchange opinions.

A film by Markku Lehmuskallio titled *Poron hahmossa pitkin taivaankantta* was also shown at the exhibition.

The Shamans' Year 1998

Despite its historical nature, shamanism is a very topical subject. It is widely researched and influences contemporary art and cultural phenomena around the world. In fact, neo-shamanism has introduced a modified version of shamanism to urban western culture. As the exhibition in Tampere was being prepared, it became evident in a number of ways that the subject was indeed highly topical: several research, publication and exhibition projects were being prepared in different parts of the world. The exhibition hosted by Vapriikki was widely covered in the media through articles and programmes on the exhibition, and through some rather ambitious explorations into the essence of shamanism. Over the duration of the exhibition, approximately twenty expert lectures were arranged in Tampere and Helsinki that attracted thousands of listeners. On four evenings, some fifty



7. Mir-susne-hun. A symbol of Khanty shamanhood.

people attended a Shamanism and Gastronomy dinner party at Vapriikki's restaurant. The dinners included not only the appropriate food and drink, but also presentations by professor Juha Pentikäinen and professor Chuner Taksami on the meaning of food and drink in shamanism and the cultures of Siberian peoples in general. In the summer of 1998, the Musta Hauki theatre group, which was supported by the City of Tampere Cultural Services, performed a play titled *The Shaman's Wedding* at the open-air theatre on Viikinsaari Island. The Shamans exhibition attracted a wide expert audience from universities and museums all over the world, and the international Shaman symposium held in Tampere from 14 to 16 January was attended by more than 50 experts in the field. A book on the Shamans exhibition was published in Finnish and English.

Two books compiled from articles written by Juha Pentikäinen titled *Samaanit—Pohjoisten kansojen elämäntaistelu* (Shamans—the Survival Battle of the Northern peoples) and *Shamanism and Culture* complemented the information provided in the exhibition book.

Organisers

Tampere Museums, Vapriikki

The Peter the Great Kunstkamera Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography
National Museum of Finland

Exhibition Concept

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Lighting

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SHAMANHOOD concept is not aimed to replace the terminologically overloaded term of SHAMAN-ISM, but rather is offered, to emphasize the anti-dogmatic nature of the phenomenon and its comprehensive personal and cultural connotations, manifold symbolic and spiritual expressions in ecological milieu, besides nature in their social and cultural environment and, last but not least, as a personal and family matter among people within shamanic cultures. The study of shamanhood is the way to interpret the WAY OF KNOWING, and to better understand shamans, those who know and who share the knowledge of shamanic language, its vocabulary, folklore and music in their oral memory.

A great number of the articles of this book have been written about symbolism and world view of Siberian shamanism by the generation of ethnographers who started their field work for *Kunstkamera* during the Soviet era.

The section on shamanic epic shows how the presentation patterns of the secular songs greatly differ from that of the narrative and shamanic songs performed by the singer of sacred texts. The octosyllabic metric pattern in the sacred singing of the Nenets is typical of shamanic singing throughout Eurasia. Since this same octosyllabic pattern is known as the so-called Kalevala trochaic meter expressed by the Finnish, Karelian and Estonian epic, which also have carried strong sacred meanings, we maybe are faced towards some interesting hypotheses which certainly will bring forward new indicators for the definitions of the age of the poems and their sacred functions. Matti Kuusi even suggested their Neolithic origin and writes that "some Pre-Finnic code for performing of mythical epics and ritual texts based possibly on unfixed or four-stressed lines characterized by alliteration and repetition", and that the octosyllabic singing was a natural part of Uralic languages ever since the Proto-Uralic period back to 6000 years. The religious context becomes manifest from the conservative aspect of shamanic tradition in their relation to sacred contexts. Contemporary research on Siberian shamanism shows that before a language dies, its last breathing takes place in the sacred codes of shamanic rituals.



Bibliotheca Shamanistica

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