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VOGUL FOLKLORE

Collected by

BERNÁT MUNKÁCSI

Selected and edited by

OTTO J. VON SADOVSZKY and MIHÁLY HOPPÁL



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Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest
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Preface

This book is an anniversary volume, as it is precisely hundred years since the volumes of *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény* (Collection of Vogul folklore, 1892–1919) were written and published. The idea that a selection of Bernát Munkácsi's enormous four-volume work *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény* should be published arose first in 1989. The Hungarian researcher travelled among the Voguls in 1888 and 1889. He started to publish the folklore texts — or 'folk poetry' (in Hungarian 'népköltés'), to use the label by which he himself designated them — in 1892. The last volume — still published by the author — appeared in 1921.

We would have liked to publish this selection in 1992, but various technical and financial circumstances did not then allow the enterprise to get off the ground. Even so, this text, of about a hundred and fifty pages, is the first major publication of Mansi folklore in the English language. A special value of these texts is their poetic beauty — in fact, most of them are genuine poetry. The other quality that makes them particularly precious is that they date from the end of the last century, allowing us an insight into that state in which the art of the folk narrative was at that time.

In the title, we used the word 'Vogul', because this term was used by Munkácsi himself. Out of respect for the scholar, we retained his terminology; even though we are aware that the word is, by now, derogatory, and the proper usage is the appellation by which the people concerned refers to itself — i.e. *Mansi*.

For the original edition, the collector translated the Vogul texts into German and Hungarian as well. Now, for the purposes of the English translation, the Hungarian version was used as the intermediary text. Special thanks are due to Bálint Sebestyén for preparing a faithful and accurate translation, which — as far as possible — replicates faithfully the archaic features of Bernát Munkácsi's texts and hence of the Vogul original itself.

The editors performed only a few minor corrections in the translation. They also express their thanks to Éva Schmidt, who gave them valuable advices, regarding both the selection and the translation. It ought to be also mentioned that we received the first proposal for the selection from Professor Béla Kálmán in 1989.

In selecting the texts, the general criterion applied was to include passages of a mythological subject-matter or ones which had a bearing on the

folk belief. In this way, while staying faithful to Munkácsi himself, the anthology also reflects the dominant interest of the selectors.

Naturally, we are able to present only a small fragment of Bernát Munkácsi's work, which comprises several volumes, runs to several thousand pages (*Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény*, vols I–IV. Budapest 1892–1921. [Published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences] approx. 3400 pages). These forty texts provide just a small taste or a sample of the valuable collection. Even so, they do manifest some of the characteristic stylistic features of Mansi mythological poetry, such as the parallelism. Our intention was to encompass a plurality of genres; wherefore, alongside the couple-of-line, simple prayer-texts and oath-texts, the reader is presented, too, with epic songs running to hundreds of lines. Accordingly, the volume includes five of the mythological songs treating of the World Surveyor Man (*Mir-susnehum*); but you will also find here texts celebrating the *Kaltes* girl, *Xul'ater*. There are, moreover, prayers against evil spells and invocations. The list also includes several epic hero-songs, as well as specimens of that typically feminine genre, the fate-song, which were recorded from female singers.

It would be beyond our scope here to give a detailed description on the literary genres of Mansi narrative folklore. Genre classification is one of the areas being investigated, in the field, by our eminent colleague Éva Schmidt, who has been pursuing the subject for years and her researches will, doubtless, yield important new results. But we could go on endlessly enumerating Munkácsi's original annotations, too, which relate to the individual texts. Only in the case of the first text do we feature the original Mansi text — and this, too, is intended to be an illustration, in order to give the reader an idea of the original edition and of the Hungarian scholar's technique of notating the texts. In the absence of the original Mansi texts, no detailed annotations are provided; instead, we include two essays written by the editors focussing on the specificities of the Vogul mythology and folk beliefs.

Otto J. von Sadvoszky gives an introduction to Vogul religion based on a German-language volume comprising the material collected by Artturi Kannisto between 1900–1906 (Kannisto, A. — Virtanen, E.A. — Liimola, M., *Materialen zur Mythologie der Wogulen*. MSFOu no. 113. Helsinki, 1958). Compiled into a single volume a good half a century after they were actually collected, the Finnish researchers' materials neatly complement Munkácsi's records. Dr Sadvoszky's aperçu is important, since both Finnish and Hungarian volumes are rarities in these days; therefore, they are practically inaccessible. Moreover, they are linguistically and virtually also inaccessible to research scholars who use English and Russian. The comparative linguist Otto J. von Sadvoszky, who lives in California, is involved with the comparison of Ob-Ugrian and certain American Indian languages. In his outline summarizing Kannisto's data, Sadvoszky faithfully conforms to the thematic chapter division of Kannisto's work (hence the data refer

to the nature of man, the life after death, the spirits of the underworld, the world-view, and the bear cult).

The essay by the other editor, Mihály Hoppál, summarizes the short history of research into Mansi mythology. He mentions many works that are less known by researchers, partly because they were published in Hungarian, being the products of Hungarian scholars. Here, one could think of Géza Róheim and Edit Vértes.

We invited Professor Béla Kálmán, a linguist and Finno-Ugrian expert at Debrecen University, to write a comprehensive introductory essay. He was the one who carried on the work of Bernát Munkácsi, publishing — on the basis of Munkácsi's post-humous manuscripts and notes — volumes III/2 and IV/2 of *Mansi (vogul) népköltési gyűjtemény* (Collection of Mansi [Vogul] folk poetry), supplementary volumes which concluded the series. They were published in Budapest, in 1952 and 1963, by Akadémiai Kiadó (the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences). He is responsible, too, for the publication, in the form of a lexicon of over nine hundred pages, of a glossary of the Vogul words occurring in Munkácsi's work (*Wogulisches Wörterbuch*. Budapest, 1986). Unfortunately, he did not provide, in the introduction, a detailed review of Bernát Munkácsi's activity.

Special mention must be made of the enigmatic pictures illustrating the volume. These were selected from a book published in 1991 (*Ocherki semantiki kulaiskogo iskusstva*, Novosibirsk, 1991). The two authors, N.V. Polosmak and E.V. Shumakova (editor E.I. Derevyanko), postulate a link between the bronze casts of the civilization of the Kula — made some two thousand years ago (2nd century B.C. — A.D. 4th century) — and certain figures of Ob-Ugrian, Vogul and Ostyak mythology (the World Surveyor Man, *Kaltes-ékva*, etc.). Alternatively, where these did not directly portray a mythological figure, they were presumably the ornaments of the shamans' garments. These anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations, discovered at cultic places, seem perfectly amenable to interpretation in terms of Vogul mythology. In fact, the notes of Kannisto and Karjalainen reveal that they still met people who used to make small statues of lead of this kind, especially on occasions when somebody was taken ill and their shadow-soul had abandoned them. Seldom do we encounter such visual examples of cultural continuity — and it is still more rare for the figures of a mythology to be conceptualized and embodied in two cultural codes or idioms at once — i.e. in the form of artifacts and texts.

Budapest — Los Angeles, 1994

The Editors

Introduction

by

Béla Kálmán

The Voguls

Today Voguls, or Mansi, live in the North West part of Siberia between the Ural Mountains and the river Ob — in the area of Sigva, Sosva, Ob, Lozva, Pelimka, Vagilsk, Konda and Tavda — south of Berezov and north of Tobolsk. Their neighbours to the north are the Yurak-Samoyedes (Nenets), to the south and west the Zyrians and the Russians.

The Vogul (Mansi) language belongs to the Ob-Ugrian group of the Ugric branch of the Uralic family. In lifestyle and folk poetry, they bear closest resemblance to the Ostyaks, or Khanti. Today the Voguls number about 7,700 and most are highly Russified. Living in an area about the size of France, the Voguls hunt for moose, fish and fur animals such as sable, various types of squirrel and ermine. The northern Voguls breed reindeer, while the southerners live by farming in addition to hunting and fishing.

The southern Voguls build small wooden villages of one to 20 families alongside rivers. The northerners live in tents made of reindeer hide in the winter and birch bark in the summer. The Voguls have no roads or trains, they travel in canoes and boats in the summer time or by ships on the larger rivers. In winter, the northerners use reindeer sleds while those living by the Ob and in the south use horses. Concerning the lack of vitamin C in their diet, the Voguls eat raw fish and the internal organs of the reindeer to ward off scurvy. They eat the nuts of the Siberian pine (*Pinus cembra*). In addition, during the short summers, the women gather various berries including raspberries, strawberries, and cranberries.

The Vogul religion can be considered polytheistic and shamanistic. The shamans act as healers and interpreters for the gods and supernatural powers by whom they are aided through their prayers and sacrifices. Just as the ancient Greeks, the Ob-Ugrians endow deserted places — mountains, forests, waters — with mythological personages: gods, goddesses, nature fairies, demons and giants. In particular, they accord the bear great religious respect, inviting neighbouring villagers to feast on the occasion of a successful bear hunt. This ceremonial of eating, drinking, singing and small theatrical performances can last from three to seven days. They fall into two exogamic fratrics *moś* and the *por*.

Vogul History

Russian chronicles and annals mention a Ugra-Jugra nation living on the western (European) side of the Ural Mountains by the 11th century. The name Ural itself can be linked to the Vogul language: *ur* 'mountain' + *ala* 'roof'. Russian sources call these the 'Jugor Mountains' or '*Yugorskie Gory*' in Russian. The third Russian name '*kameny*' (stone), finds its origin in the Ob-Ugrian languages, since the Voguls and the Ostyaks call a long chain of mountains 'stone'.

The Ob-Ugrians originally lived in Europe, with a small number still remaining there at the beginning of the 20th century. Around the source of the Chussovaya river in Europe, in fact, many mountains, rivers and villages still bear names of Vogul origin or have names closely related to Vogul words. The majority of Voguls, however, continually harassed by Russian hordes, especially during the reign of Ivan III (The Terrible), were pushed to the eastern side of the Urals by the end of the 16th century. Yermak's Cossack mercenaries, armed with guns and rifles, invaded their European villages at the end of the 16th century. The destruction of the Voguls, armed only with spears, bows and arrows, is comparable to the near extermination of the majority of the original inhabitants of the Americas which took place at about the same time.

The aggressive expansion of the Orthodox faith began during the reign of Peter the Great, as Christianity was spread with the aid of guns and rifles. By the end of the 17th century, the entire Ob-Ugrian territory was under Russian rule, from the Ural Mountains to the Ob. The whole of Siberia became a Russian colony and the number of original inhabitants declined dramatically. In the face of this ruthless expansion, the Voguls were pushed increasingly northwards, into more severe climates where food was more and more scarce. The majority of Voguls still live in tiny villages, though a few do live in the larger towns with Russians and Ukrainians. In recent decades, natural gas and oil have been found in much of the Vogul territories, with oil exploration polluting rivers once rich with fish.

Historical records show the number of Voguls to have remained under ten thousand. The accounting is as follows: in 1897 they numbered 7,600; in 1926: 5,300; in 1959: 6,400 (59.2% Vogul speakers); in 1970: 7,700 (49.5% Vogul speakers). The number of Voguls in recent decades has remained steady though most have become Russified. While school is obligatory, the Russian teachers do not speak Vogul. In the 1930s, Voguls were taught their native tongue in the first three years of school, but by the fifties, only Russian was offered. Today the majority of Voguls can read and write, and a few have been to university. For a short time (1932-1935), Voguls used Latin characters, but have since returned to use the Russian alphabet. Like elsewhere in the former Soviet Union, the Slavic *-ov* and *-ev* suffixes are added to Vogul names with *-ova*, *-eva*, and *-ina* added to women's names.

Prior to World War II many Vogul fishermen and hunters were sent to cooperatives and village shamans were either banished or killed. During the war many of the remaining men were drafted to fight and very few returned, further threatening the preservation of Vogul language and culture. Today most of the young people living in Vogul villages speak only Russian, those of middle-age speak both Russian and Vogul, and the older women speak only Vogul. Fewer and fewer are familiar with Vogul mythology and folk poetry.

Two noteworthy Vogul intellectuals, however, preserve their mother tongue: Yuvan Shestalov, the poet, writer and translator, and Evdokia Rombandeeva, the linguist, translator and author of several Vogul grammar books and dictionaries.

The Discovery of the Vogul Language and Folk Poetry

Although Vogul literary records are very sporadic, comprised mostly of place names and personal names, there are some vocabularies of varying size from the 17th century, as well as some scholarly recordings of continuous texts from the mid 19th century. The first researcher to document Vogul folk poetry was the Hungarian traveller Antal Reguly (1819–1858) who spent nearly a year among the Voguls from 1843 to 1844. Reguly recorded a great deal of material, including songs and stories with notes but without a complete translation. Unfortunately, he died before he could organize his material. His legacy could only be deciphered in part because of the lack of a comprehensive Vogul dictionary and grammar books. In an effort to decipher the Reguly material Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937) spent a year among the Voguls from 1888 to 1889. Munkácsi was successful in deciphering Reguly's notes with the help of the local Voguls and himself collected even more texts and lexicographical materials than Reguly. After returning home, Munkácsi published his own and Reguly's documents in Hungarian translation in four volumes. He also published linguistic texts in six dialects.

The Finnish scholar, August Ahlqvist (1836–1880) travelled to visit the Voguls twice, and collected grammatical and lexical materials. His work was published in German, in his native Finland only after his death. Between 1901 and 1906, Artturi Kannisto spent five years among the Voguls. His documentation remained for today is the greatest and phonetically most precise material about the Mansi language. He published himself a portion of this material while the rest was published by Matti Liimola in German translation.

In the first half of the twentieth century a Siberian Russian teacher Valeri Nikolaevich Chernetsov also collected valuable lexical and folklore materials, but could not find a publisher. His bequest will be published

now by a Hungarian scholar Éva Schmidt. In 1957–58, and in 1963 again, I went to Leningrad, where I made 13 tapes of the Vogul university students. These extensive and important materials were published in German translation (*Vogulische Texte mit einem Glossar*) in Budapest, in 1976. Apart from the above, Éva Schmidt has also collected Vogul material *in situ*. This material has not yet been published.

Vogul Folklore and Its Genres

The world famous and rich Vogul folk poetry is made up mostly of songs. Every Vogul is both poet and songwriter, and for centuries text and tune have been inseparable. The majority of the songs are closely linked with folk beliefs and the bear cult. Even today the lyrical songs about the author's own feelings, pleasures and sorrows live on. Bernát Munkácsi and Artturi Kannisto distinguished the following genres:

I. *Mythological legends*. The creation of the earth, moon, sun and the stars, the origin of the Ural Mountains, the creation of man and animals, the underworld and the sky, life after death, the great flood of fire, world outlook, and protecting spirits.

II. *Heroic songs*. The feats of mythical heroes, many of whom do not die but became gods. Mortal heroes who are conquered by more clever, more skillful heroes in duels. Since exogamy is obligatory, the hero always marches to find a wife in another castle or fortified town. If he succeeds entreating his bride's parents, a huge bridal feast takes place, and the hero takes the bride home in exchange for a large bridal gift. If, however, he is not successful, the hero besieges the town with his army. Sometimes blood is lost and he is forced to seek another bride, but finally he usually wins over the parents. He either steals the bride or makes peace, and a bargain is struck.

III. *Prayers*. Vogul mythology is polytheistic. Like among Greek, there is a main god, the God of the Sky, *Numi-Torem*, or the Master of the World, but every river and forest has its own gods, or protecting spirits, as well. Prayers are relatively short and they are directed at a god or idol, asking for good hunting and fishing, cures from disease or favourable weather. There are also prayers specific to sacrifices.

IV. *Folk belief stories and folk tales*. While stories and narratives play an important role in most cultures, songs take the leading role in Ob-Ugrian folklore. Real folk tales are rare and there are often Russian or Zyrian names and motifs in them, and original Mansi heroes as well. Such is the dissension between *por* and *moś* fratrics. Other favourite heroes of Vogul stories are the crafty Woman's Nephew and the City Prince's Sons.

V. *Bear songs*. As I have already mentioned, the bear cult survives among the Voguls or has until recently. The bears were considered sacred and

seen as the daughters and sons of the main god. The Voguls believed that God had sent the bears to the earth to ensure the Voguls' faith and punish those who broke their oath. The sky god chose bears since they would not destroy the property of people, i.e. reindeer, or open up graves. If the bear violated these rules, man would fall a prey to disaster. The killing of the bear was subject to certain rites, the vocabulary referring to bears was taboo. After the killing of the bear the village held a bear feast. The ritual of bear songs went in the following order: (1) songs about the bear's origin; (2) general bear songs; (3) the killing of the bear; (4) the bear's revenge; (5) bear-oath songs; (6) waking up songs; (7) the final songs of the bear feast.

VI. *Bear ceremonial plays, Vogul drama.* After the killing of the bear, they skinned it leaving its head, pelt and paws intact, stuffing it with straw and placing food and drink before it. They then celebrated with songs, dances and plays honoring the descendants of the Lord of the Sky. The scenes of these ceremonial plays categorized as:

1. Spirit summoning songs
2. Histories about the spirits, giants and demons
3. Fishing/hunting adventures
4. Various, usually humorous scenes
5. Animal legends
6. Dances
7. Bear alarm scenes

VII. *Other.* Lyrical songs, songs of fate and mourning, children songs, instructive songs, riddles, etc.

The Situation Today

The oral tradition of Vogul folk poetry is still being sung today. Vogul stories and mythology have managed to survive in this form for hundreds of years, even though beginning in the 18th century the "heathen" Voguls were persecuted by the Orthodox Church with help of the state. Their idols were smashed and their silver and gold wares were stolen. Their beliefs and lifestyles, however, remained nearly unchanged until the beginning of our century. The Orthodox priests were satisfied if they were paid for christenings and marriages, and since there were no churches in the small Vogul villages, these communities survived the persecution of the Church relatively easily.

But in the 1930s the war of the red star, not the war of the cross, began against all religions, whether Christian or shamanistic. Vogul communities, living as they did under unfavourable climates, were particularly vulnerable. The lowest grades of school were made obligatory, which in itself was a progressive step, but its aim was rather to assimilate than to encourage folk culture and the teaching was done only in Russian. There

were some Vogul schoolbooks in the early years, but these dealt mainly with the lives of Stalin and Lenin, the Great Patriotic War and *Komsomol*. Schoolbooks in the native tongue were only published for the preparatory year and the first three years. By the second year more teaching was done in Russian than in Vogul, however, and by the third year the Vogul language was completely absent from teaching. Instead the students learned in Russian about the factories and the *Kolkhoz*. If anything at all was said about their ancient mythological beliefs, it was denounced as superstition. The shamans were banished.

Now only the old people can remember anything of mythological origins. In the middle of this century, as mentioned, however, I still managed to record some songs and mythological fragments from Vogul students in Leningrad. More recently, the Hungarian scholar Éva Schmidt has established a research centre in Khanti-Mansijsk. The glimmerings of a national feeling have appeared among the Voguls and perhaps they and others will be able to do more to preserve their language and culture. Let us hope that the oppression and hardships of more than half a century will soon come to an end.

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Life and Work of Bernát Munkácsi (1860—1937)

by

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Bernát Munkácsi was born on March 12, 1860, in Nagyvárad (today Oradea, Rumania), which was then part of Hungary. Born into a Jewish family, the young boy decided, already during his secondary school years, to become a linguist and to devote himself to the study of languages akin to Hungarian. Early on, his teachers discovered his brilliant talent for languages. Already then, he started learning Turkish, and later, as a student at Budapest University, he took up Russian as well. Under the influence of his professors, he became involved with the Finno-Ugrian languages, and he had scarcely turned twenty when he set out on his first 'expedition' to Moldova, to study the Chango dialect (a highly archaic variety of Hungarian spoken by the Chango Magyar community inhabiting the area).

In 1885, he was sent, by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, on a study trip among the Votyak (the Udmurt, one of the Finno-Ugrian peoples of the Volga region). During the five brief months he spent there, the young scholar — still only twenty-five at that time — carried out intensive collecting work, as a result of which he soon published his collection of Votyak folklore (*Votják népköltési gyűjtemény* [Collection of Votyak Folklore]. Budapest, 1887) and later a voluminous Votyak dictionary.

He was exactly twenty-eight years old when, in March 1888, he set off to Western Siberia, to seek out the Ob-Ugrians. The aim of his voyage was to check and construe, on the ground, the Ostyak hero-songs collected by Antal Reguly. Reguly had visited Siberia in the 1840s, almost at the same time as when the Finnish scholar M. A. Castrén; thus they might be regarded as pioneers in the research of the Finno-Ugrian folklore. It was *their* work that Bernát Munkácsi carried on and brought to perfection.

The young researcher arrived at St. Petersburg via Poland. In St. Petersburg he — with the help of the renowned Turkologist Wilhelm Radloff — was given the czar's 'open mandate', without which it would have been impossible to travel in those days, and which procured the support of the local authorities. Through Moscow and Nizhni-Novgorod, he arrived in Kazan, from where, after a brief rest, he travelled on to the town of Perm and subsequently to Nikito-Ivdil, located on the western side of the Ural Mountains. Here he encountered the Mansi for the first time. Then, in a village, called Törek-paul, he got down to serious work. Helped by an intelligent Vogul man and a woman who proved to be excellent informants, he

explicated and interpreted, within a few weeks, a considerable proportion of Antal Reguly's texts (for more details on this see Kálmán 1961: 384, and Kálmán 1981: 29).

After a hazardous boat trip down the river Lozva, he visited new groups of the Voguls, including those of the Tavda, the Konda, and the Pelim regions, amongst whom he collected dialectal texts, as well as folklore. While staying with a group of the Upper Lozva region, he had the opportunity to take part in a reindeer sacrifice. It was already winter when he arrived at the villages lying on the banks of the river Sigva. The bitter cold of Siberia greatly hampered his work. But, as he wrote in his diary, he found a fabulously rich oral poetry among these groups. He succeeded in taking down entire hero songs and bear songs.

He arrived in Beryozov in January 1889. He stayed here until the end of March, spending his time transcribing the texts he had collected into fair copies. In April, he returned to Kazan via Tobolsk and Perm. In Kazan, he spent six weeks systematizing his material.

Munkácsi's study tour took some sixteen months, the major part of which he spent in the field, engaged in direct collecting work. Shortly after his arrival home, the young scholar-traveller — who was barely thirty years old at that time — was elected a corresponding member by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, marking the beginning of a most fertile creative period in Munkácsi's life (see the bibliography of his works). This period lasted for a good four decades, basically until he was seventy, when he still published lexicological and etymological articles abundant in data and ideas.

Though Munkácsi was never given a university chair, his scholarly work nevertheless exerted an impact on Hungarian academic public life through the journals that he edited over a period of decades. From 1894 to 1910, he was the editor (along with Gyula Sebestyén) of *Ethnographia*, the journal of the Hungarian Ethnographical Society, a publication of European standards which was, at that period, the sole forum in Hungary from which up-to-date ethnological information could be obtained.

Special mention must be made of Munkácsi's activity with respect to an other periodical, the *Keleti Szemle* (Eastern Review) which he co-edited with Ignác Kunos — the man who had been his youthful companion on a dialectological collecting trip in Moldova — from 1900, the year the organ was launched. Despite its Hungarian title, *Keleti Szemle* was an international journal featuring articles almost exclusively written in German and a list of contributors that included some of the most distinguished orientalist scholars of the early decades of the present century.

After World War One, Munkácsi recorded an impressive amount of textual and lexicological material from POWs of the Votyak and Osset nationalities who had ended up in Hungary. Munkácsi published a part of this material in *Keleti Szemle*, under the title *Blüten der ossetischen Volksdichtung*. This is the proper place to mention, by virtue of its rel-

evance to the subject, a highly important part of Munkácsi' activity — namely, the study of Finno-Ugrian and Iranian linguistic and cultural contacts.

It was after the volumes on Vogul — to a detailed exposition of which we shall come back later—, and partly precisely under the inspiration of the etymological problems of Mansi mythological terminology, that Bernát Munkácsi turned his attention to Iranian and Finno-Ugrian linguistic contacts. He was the first to arrive at the insight that, in addition to the Turkish layer of Hungarian loanwords (held to be the most ancient layer), there is another one, possibly suggesting an even earlier contact — i.e. the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) and the Caucasian strata. Having fought and inventoried the contemporary literature in the field with immense meticulousness, he published, in 1901, Volume One (running to nearly seven hundred pages) of his work *“Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben”* (Aryan and Caucasian elements in Finnish and Hungarian). This volume devotes itself to the Indo-Iranian borrowings of Hungarian only, as well as their parallels; but Munkácsi was planning to publish a second volume as well, convinced, as he was, that the influence of Aryan and Caucasian linguistic elements was present not just in the Hungarian, but also in the other Finno-Ugrian languages — indeed, even in the Samoyedic languages, which means that it evolved in the earliest phase in the life of these languages.

One has to note with regret that, during the years that have elapsed since then, Finno-Ugrian linguistics — an insulated enclave of scholars with rather conservative and rigid views — has failed to transcend Munkácsi's results. The first volume of the work was greeted with an unfavourable critical response, which is probably the reason why the second volume was never completed. A pity, that since it is quite apparent today that — as the linguist János Harmatta (1961: 393), an expert on Iranian languages, pointed out in an anniversary tribute to Bernát Munkácsi — “the flaws of Munkácsi's book reflect, to a considerable degree, the contemporary state of the study of Finno-Ugrian languages”.

Apart from Munkácsi the Finno-Ugrian and Iranian scholar, a special mention must be made of Munkácsi the Turkologist, given that the string of his studies devoted to that subject form a special chapter in his life's work. He published his first paper dealing with a Turkological subject in 1882, when he was still a very young scholar. The paper, printed in the journal *Nyelvőr*, focussed on the Turkish loanwords in the Hungarian. This excellent study, rewarded with an Academy prize, was followed by several other efforts, in which Munkácsi the linguist “transfers the sophisticated methods of the academic study of Finno-Ugrian languages to the domain of Hungarian Turkological research” (K. Palló 1961: 398).

The diversity (see his bibliography) and subject-matter of his lexicological writings always placed the etymology of the Hungarian words under scru-

tiny into a broad cultural-historical context. He consistently adhered to the principle of conjunctly studying word and object (*Wörter und Sachen*), a procedure wherein he was always assisted by the diversity of his ethnographical knowledge. He would always place the results of his investigations into a broad historical perspective. In his inaugural address, held on being elected a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he — while discussing the tasks of the future — mentioned the writing of a comparative dictionary and grammar of Uralic and Altaic languages as one of the most urgent projects to be tackled.

In assessing his work as a linguist, it might be stated that not only in Hungarian lexicology did he produce a lasting achievement with his Finno-Ugrian, Iranian, and Turkish etymologies; but we can also agree with the opinion that “he was one of the forerunners in this country of Hungarian ethnolinguistics” (Gulya 1970: 135). Without him, our knowledge of the prehistory of the Hungarian people would be poorer, and the picture we have of the life of our forebears would be less complete.

And now, let us come back to our brief outline of the volumes of Munkácsi's *Collection of Vogul Folklore*, so as to enable the readers of the present volume to acquaint themselves with the original context of the texts presented here. Munkácsi arrived home from his research trip to Siberia in 1889. Thereafter, with incredible industry, he forthwith set to organize, translate, and continuously publish the material. As a result, the first volume appeared as early as 1892.

Appended to the texts featured in volume 2 of the *Collection of Vogul Folklore* is a batch of annotations that might itself fill an entire volume (Vol. 2, Fasc. 2, p. 497). In these, too, we get detailed notes on some of the figures of the Voguls' ancient world of beliefs. To begin with, he inventories the deities to whom idols used to be raised (as against the preceding volume, where we get a discussion of the supreme deities that did not have any idols — i.e. the Sky Father, the Earth Mother, and the Prince of the Nether World). The “primary idol-deities” number seven — they are children of the Sky Fahter. They include *Kaltes* lady and the World Surveyor Man, the Golden Prince. This latter has a seventy-page-long chapter devoted to it, which informs us that the idol of *Mir-susne-hum* or *Sorni-ater* is goose-shaped, securing it the additional nomenclature of *Lunt-ater*. In writing his notes, Munkácsi relied on the entire research literature available at the time, including, of course, the old Russian-language sources as well. In fact, I am convinced that, none, in all the years that have elapsed since then — none has perused these old books as thoroughly as did the Hungarian scholar.

The second large section is devoted to a survey of the mythological figures of natural phenomena”, which are as follows: *the inhabitants of the sky*: Sun Lady (*Xatel-ékwä*), the Moon Elder (*Et-pos-ajka*), the Star-Dwelling Hunter (*Mosxum*); the creatures inhabiting the air, such as the Wind God Elder (*Vuot-pop ansux*), the Beautiful Fire Lady (*Teren-naj*), the Fire

Prince (*Najin xan*), and the Winged One Soaring on High (*Kalm*). The earth-dwellers are: the people of the forest (*vör-xumit*), the giants (*mejkw*), the beast-people (*ujtsit*), the fairy folks (*mis-ma m*), the devils (*kul't*), the witch folks (*por-mam*); the denizens of water: the Water Prince (*Vit-xan*), the people of the bird-wandering southern regions (*Morti-maxum*), and, finally, the inhabitant of the underworld: the Painful Disease Spirit (*Teren-xul'*, *Xín*). This is followed by an enumeration of the animals and plants figuring in the myths. Over a hundred pages are taken up by a survey of the data pertaining to the shamans (*najt-xum*, *najt-nē* — this latter being the name for female shamans), with particularly detailed accounts of the animal sacrifices performed by the shamans. The closing chapter of the volume centres on sacrifices and the prayers associated with them. The modern reader, including the present author, is frequently surprised by the profusion of minute details — such as the gestures, postures, and forms of behaviour attending the sacrifices — that Munkácsi lists and extracts from the texts.

This much is certain, that Munkácsi's work is a source that no would-be student of Mansi mythology can afford to pass by or ignore — and it owes that special status not only to the texts, which preserve the pristine folklore of a good century ago, but also to the prominence it gives to particular details and to its reconstruction of the entire mythological system. Inasmuch as Mansi mythology has preserved a great many archaic features — features that Munkácsi does call attention to in his notes —, his volumes cannot be ignored in the study of Finno-Ugrian comparative mythology and, drawing the circle still more widely, in reconstructing the system of Uralic mythology.

That is the reason, then, why we regret not being able to present, in this volume, more than just a tiny segment of the rich material collected among the Voguls by this great Hungarian scholar. Yet, we hope that we shall, even by this sampler, succeed in kindling the interest in Munkácsi's collection.

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TEXTS

Collected by
Bernát Munkácsi

- Hand written text in a script, possibly Hungarian, with some lines numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

The heroic song of the elder the middle section of the Ob, Aja-god

- Hand written text in a script, possibly Hungarian, with some lines numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

**Ās-kwot'l ājkä,
Ajäs-tārēm tērniñ ēryä**

- Manä namiñ q̄tēr namēm namejawé!
manä sijiñ q̄tēr sijēm sijejawé!
akw' pāl vitēm: vitä xarä, xarä Ās; –
Numi-Sorñi òn āsēmne*
- 5 *Ajäs-tārēm ājkä tī' joltwäsēm.
akw' pāl vitēm: jelpiñ vit aumāñ jelpin tūr; –
Numi-Sorñi òn āsēmne
Ajäs-tārēm ājkä tī' sāt wäsēm.
ti ūnlēne xotäl' q̄lnē sāt sām,*
- 10 *ti ūnlēne xotäl' q̄lnē sāt mā-lq̄mt,
pusēn am jārēmtēl ūnle'it;
sawīñ sāxip saw kuñārēm,
pusēn am jārēmtēl ūnle'it.*

*

**The heroic song of the elder
of the middle section of the Ob, Ajäs-god**

- What a renowned prince my name is named!
What a reputed prince my repute is reputed!
My water on one side: the wide-watered, wide Ob; —
Numi-Sorñi [Upper golden Sky] my royal father
- 5 called me, *Ajäs-god* elder, here.
My water on the other side: sacred lake flowing with
sacred water;
Numi-Sorñi my royal father
charmed me, *Ajäs-god* elder, here.
These stretched-out [settling], far-flung seven regions,
- 10 these stretched-out, far-flung seven regions:
they all exist through my power;
my many shabby-coated poor people [i.e. followers]
they all exist through my power.

*

- Manä namiñ ġtër namëm totawè!*
- 15 *manä sijiñ ġtër sijëm totawè!*
akw' pāl vitëm sunsilèm:
jelpiñ vit aumäñ jelpiñ tür sunse'im,
väs nāpmiñ xqt xōñxelt ünle'im,
lunt nāpmiñ sāt xōñxelt ünle'im.
- 20 *akw' pāl vitëm sunsilèm:*
tēpiñ Ās xarä vit ünle'im,
yuliñ Ās xarä vit ünle'im.
ti ünlenë mām̄t
sawiñ sāxip saw yumin,
- 25 *sawiñ sāxip sāv nēm*
tgliñ ḡgul' tglne-ke xōjawèt,
mosiñ lu mosnë-ke xōjawèt,
am pāltëm pojksuñkwe joxte'it.
ti vitä xarä, xarä Ās-vātamt,
- 30 *nājin-ke sāt sām*
pusèn ānēm sunsiänl.
ġtriñ-ke sāt sām
pusèn ānēm sunsiänl.

My name is spread [carried] as that of what a renowned prince!

- 15 My fame is spread as that of what a famous prince!
 [If] I look on my water on one side:
 I look on a sacred lake flowing with sacred water,
 I inhabit [sit] six rivulets of the tumbling wild-duck,
 I inhabit seven rivulets of the tumbling wild-goose.
- 20 [If] I look on my water on the other side:
 I inhabit the wide water of the nourishing Ob,
 I inhabit the wide water of the fish-abounding Ob.
 In this dwelling-place of mine
 my many shabby-coated men,
- 25 my many shabby-coated women,
 when they are touched by disease of diseased flesh,
 when they are touched by sickness of sick bone,
 they come to me to pray.
 On the banks of this, my wide-watered, wide Ob
- 30 seven regions [ruling] little goddess,
 they all worship [look on] me;
 seven regions [ruling] little god,
 they all worship me.

- 35 *ēt'i vōwnē jirēm-aul*
xolin at joxtiānl,
ālpēl vōwnē jirēm-aul
ēt'in at joxtiānl.
akw' kwālyēn nēyim sāt jirēl
tan totile'it,
 40 *akw' kwālyēn nēyim xat jirēl*
tan totile'it.
kēmpliñ sāxi kēmplin pojke'it,
tajtiñ sāxi tajtēm pojke'it.
tērēn-ke xullles:
 45 *tērēn-kēmplinēl nānx vīyānēm,*
xul'-ke xul'ilēs:
xul'-kēmplinēl nānx vīyānem.
xoti mā la'il=mosnē-ke xājnē xum,
xoti mā kāt=mosnē-ke xājnē xum,
 50 *am-pāltēm pojksuñkwē joxti-ke, nānx vīlēm,*
la'il-mostal, kāt-mostal, pusēn tārātīlēm. –
mōt-mōt sāmēt náñrā tārēmne ūnlawēt,
mōt-mōt sāmēt vāyiñ tārēmne ūnlawēt:

- The sacrifice I demand in the evening
 35 they do not delay till morning;
 the sacrifice I require in the morning
 they do not postpone till the evening.
 They bring seven sacrifices
 tied to one rope,
 40 they bring six sacrifices
 tied to one rope.
 [Holding] the lapel of my lapped coat they implore
 [holding] the sleeves of my sleeved coat they implore.
 If a contagious disease has attacked:
 45 I lift them up [pick them up] from the garment-tail hem of the
 contagious disease;
 if a consuming malady has struck:
 I raise them from the tails [hem] of the consuming malady.
 Be he the foot-disease afflicted man of whichever region [land],
 the hand-disease afflicted man of whichever region,
 50 if he comes begging to me: I raise him up;
 without foot-disease, without hand-disease, I dismiss him
 healthy. –
 Other regions [too] are inhabited by powerful gods,
 other regions [too] are inhabited by strong gods:

- sāt nālpā tērēn ḡśné xum,*
 55 *xat nālpā tērēn ḡśné xum,*
am num-pālēm̄t nē-mat tḡwliñ tārēm at vā'ēm,
am num-pālēm̄t nē-mat la'iliñ pupi' at vā'ēm,

*

- Ponsēm sosi' kitī' sam sunsentālei'-ke:*
sāt tūr ūltā sunsei',
 60 *sāt Ās-mēsi ūltā sunsei';*
xoti jer-numpēl tū-ke pattiäyēm:
manēr vārmēl', manēr nak akw'-mūs nānki.
akw'-mat-ērt tox susnēm xaltē xuml'è sunsilēm:
Ās ālēm pālnēl, xoli pālnēl
 65 *mir ta'īlēp ta'īliñ xāp ta jināt nānki.*
l'apā joxtēmā-kēm̄t
ponsēm sosi' kitī' sam xumlē sunsilēm:
N'ārēs-nāj ēkwā xānt-xāpā ti joxtilālēm.
ti xarā vitēp xarā Ās-vātan
 70 *taw ḡśné ajāñ xum saw piyā*
pāi' ti pūxtāst, pāi' ti kwālsēt;
ta jui-pālt N'ārēs-nāj ēkwā ḡs pāi' ti jām i. —

- [but] I, man bearing a weapon of seven arrows,
 55 man bearing a weapon of six arrows,
 know no winged god above me,
 know no legged little god [idol] above me.

*

- When my two ripe currant eyes look:
 they look across seven lakes,
 60 they look across seven bends of the Ob;
 in the direction in which I cast [my eyes]
 all things, all offences, everything is detected.
 Suddenly, as I look, what do I see: —
 From the left side of the Ob, from the east
 65 I see a ship loaded with people coming.
 As it draws near,
 what do I, of the two ripe currant eyes, behold: —
 the warship of the princely lady *N'ārēs* has arrived.
 Onto the bank of this wide-watered wide Ob
 70 her many armed servants [whom she possesses]
 behold, they have climbed, behold, they have come up;
 and then, behold, the princely lady *N'ārēs* is also stepping up.

*Ajäs-tārēm ājkā, tēp tēnē tēpiñ ngmtēm
xuml'ē ngmēsī:*

- 75 «*ti kem ārt māxum mā'ēs
manā jaut viñkwē ēri,
manā nāl viñkwē ēri? !
kwon kwālē'im, šaxnil rātiānem*». —
āwiñ kwol āwim kwoni-pālēn
- 80 *kwon kwālsēm, šaxnil rātiānēm.
motān junite'im: tīl'ē rāyāti,
motān junite'im: tūl'ē rāyāti,
vātēm pil xajilt pusēn vātsanēm.
vātēm pil xajilt vātmēm jui-pālt*
- 85 *añ N'ārēs-nāj ēkwā tīl ti jgmi.
N'ārēs-nāj ēkwā xuml'ē lāwi:
«Ajäs-tārēm ājkā jgmēsmaxtimēn!
vāssī' xāntī' at lape'im;
tajtiñ sāxin tajtēn pojke'im,*
- 90 *kēmpliñ sāxin kēmplin pojke'im:
ānēm liliñ-ta'īl tārātāln!»
Ajäs-tārem ājkā tēp tēnē tēpiñ ngmtēm
xuml'ē pati, xuml'ē lāwe'im:*

This is how my Ajäs-god elder, food-eating food-like mind
muses: —

- 75 “For a multitude of this size
what kind of bow am I to take out,
what kind of arrow do I have to take out?!
I will go out and beat them with my fist.”
I went outside the door of my doored
- 80 house, I beat them with my fist.
I strike this one: he collapses down this way,
I hit the other one: he collapses that way,
I pick them all up like berries to be picked.
After I have picked them up like berries to be picked,
- 85 behold, the princely lady *N'ārēs* steps forth.
The princely lady *N'ārēs* speaks these words:
“Ajäs-god elder, let us make peace!
No more will I [i.e. I and my people] set forth as an army;
I appeal to the sleeves of your sleeved coat,
- 90 I appeal to the lapel of your lapped coat:
let me go alive!”
My Ajäs-god elder, food-eating food-like mind
is pleased to make this reply:

- «am nañen ēnkajil šāpitilēm,
 95 am nañen xusēl šāpitilēm;
 nañ ūnlēnē kwonsiñ lē'in xantal ūsēn,
 nañ ūnlēnē punkin lē'in xantal ūsēn
 N'ārēs-naj ēkwä akw' tox totawēn.»

*

- Añ ētä-xātelä am-pāltēm xūlēs,
 100 ētä-xātelä tōntlēs, mujlēs.
 tōntlēmä, mujlēmä jui-pālt
 akw' ta mōl jim xāpēn, tū tāltuwēs. —
 xqsä totwēs, vāt'i totwēs, akw'-mat-ērt
 kwonsiñ lē'in xantal ūsän,
 105 puñkiñ lē'in xantal ūsän
 N'ārēs-nāj ēkwä ta nēilēs.
 šaitēm la'ilä, šaitēm kātä ti ristä:
 «xot-kē pēl liliñ-ta'il ti joxtäsēm!» —
 tāltiñ ūs tāltän pūxtēmä jui-pālt

- “I will provide you with a handmaiden,
 95 I will provide you with a serving man;
 to your castle, occupied by yourself, which the clawed
 squirrel cannot scale,
 to your castle, occupied by yourself, which the toothed
 squirrel cannot scale,
 princely lady N'ārēs, you shall be carried in this manner!”

*

- Now she has spent [slept] a night and a day with me,
 100 a night and a day she stayed as a guest and made merry.
 When her stay and merry-making were completed
 she was taken back to her ship, which had come the
 other day. —
 She was carried for a long while, she was carried for
 a short while, suddenly
 to her castle, inaccessible to the clawed squirrel,
 105 to her castle, inaccessible to the toothed squirrel,
 behold, the princely lady N'ārēs had come.
 Lo, she raises [took] her rejoicing feet, her rejoicing
 hands:
 “At last, I have somehow arrived alive!” —
 After she has moored [caught hold of] in the harbour of her
 harboured town,

- 110 *jun xūl'tsēm ajāñ xum saw piyā*
nalū va'ile'it, xuml'è lāwile'it:
«kwonsiñ lēin xantal ūsēnnē,
puñkiñ lē'in xantal ūsēnnē
N'ārēs-nāj ēkwā manā urēl nāñx joxte'in?»
- 115 *N'ārēs-nāj ēkwā xuml'è lāwi:*
«sisiñ kwol sisēmtē kēr-ulās ūnli,
kit aulāyā kit kēr-kwalyēl nēyēlān;
tūl jolā tārātēlān, am tū tāle'im,
ānēm nāñx xartēlān!»
- 120 *nāñx ta xartawē, nāñx patmā-kēmt*
šaitēm la'il, šaitēm kāt ēlā ti šaits.
taw totēm ēnkajanā, xūsanā numpēl
jolāl' xuml'è rāñyi:
«ñauramēt, Tārēm jot minēkān!
- 125 *Ajās-tārēm ājkā akiān-palt joxtēyān-pēl*
jamēs ūlēm lātiñ totān!»
añ ēnkajit, xūsēt
ñoliñ xāp ñolānl jūwl'è jāñxtēsānl,
gu-sisi' toxa-ta-pēl jiwēt.

*

- 110 her many pages who had stayed behind
 descend towards the river, uttering these words:
 "How, princely lady *N'ārēs*, will you get up to
 your castle, which the clawed squirrel cannot scale,
 your castle, which the toothed squirrel cannot scale?"
- 115 Behold, the princely lady *N'ārēs* utters these words:
 "Behind my sheltering house there stands an iron stool,
 tie two iron chains to its two ends;
 then let it down for me to sit on
 and then pull me up!"
- 120 Whereupon they pulled her up. When she had arrived up there,
 she rejoiced with rejoicing feet, rejoicing hands.
 To those who had brought her, her servant-maids and boys
 she shouts down these words:
 "Go, children, with God's speed, my dear ones!"
- 125 When you come to your *Ajās*-god uncle,
 take the word of my greeting!"
 Now the servant-maids and boys
 turned back the bow of their bowed ship
 in the direction of the current, behold, that is how they are
 coming.

*

- 130 *xqsä jīmānl jui-pālt,*
vāt'i jīmānl jui-pālt akw'-mat-ērt
Ajäs-tārēm ājkā akiānl ūnlēnē
vitā xarā xarā Ās-vāta ta nēilēs.
tāltiñ ūs tāltānēlnē pā pūxtēmanl-kēmt
- 135 *Ajäs-tārēm ājkā akiānl nalu jāmīl'e'im.*
Ajäs-tārēm ājkā akiānl xuml'e lāwīl'e'im:
«ńauramēt! pusēn-ta'īl jālsān?»
«jālsū; 'Nārēs-nāj ēkwā jgmēs ūlēm lātiñ kētēs.)
«ńauramēt! xāpān, tūpān pāi' xartān,
- 140 *tūl ūltē jū sāltān!»*

*

- Sāt tārēm xalāt,*
xat tārēm xalāt
Numi-Sorñi āsēm lāwsēm
vitā xarā, xarā Ās-pāxēmt
- 145 *jelpiñ mā-lamtēm ēlāl' ta ūnlilēm.*
tox ūnlēnē xalēmt
ērī' totnē ērī'-qtēr,
mōjt totnē mōjt-qtēr

- 130 After they had been coming for a long while,
 after they had been coming for a short while, suddenly
 the bank of the wide-watered wide Ob
 inhabited by their old uncle Ajäs-god appeared.
 When they had climbed up to the harbour of their harboured
 town,
- 135 I, their old uncle Ajäs-god, walk towards the river.
 I, their old uncle Ajäs-god, utter these words:
 "Children, did you fare with health?"
 "[Yes, that is how] we fared, the princely lady N'ārēs has sent
 greetings."
 "Children, pull your ship and your oars ashore,
 140 then come into the house!"

*

- Between seven skies,
 between six skies
 on the bank of the wide watered wide Ob
 ordained by my father Numi-Sorñi
- 145 I now continue to sit on the piece of my holy ground.
 As I sit in this way
 a hero of songs proclaimed by song,
 a hero of legend proclaimed by legend,

- Ajäs-tārēm ājkä toxa-ta-pël*
 150 *ētä sāt, xätälä sāt*
sāt tür ültä kwoss sunse'im,
sāt Ās-mēsi ültä kwoss sunse'im,
akw'-mat-ért ponsēm sosī' kitī' sam
xuml'e sunsilēm: lui aulnël
 155 *mir ta'īlēp ta'īlīñ xāp ti jiw.*
vāt'inū, xasné pasné ālä joxti,
sunsilem: kwot'liñ xāp kwot'lät,
Tek-ātēr, taw ūnlénät nāñki;
kēlp oxsēr törpä xum,
 160 *sēmël oxsēr törpä xum,*
taw jinät nāñki.
tältiñ ūs taltēmnē joxtēmānl-kēmt,
nālt turpä turiñ rāñx pusēn rāñōmēt,
pāl'ti pūxtāsēt, pāl' kwālmānl-kēmt
 165 *nālt turpä turiñ rāñx ās ti rāñxmēt.*
tūl-ültē kaniñ paul kanēmt,
kaniñ ūs kanēmt,
matēr vārnē sij ti sijti.
sirej-sisiñ jamēs kātēl

- Ajäs-god elder, just as before,*
 150 *through seven nights, seven days,*
I look across seven lakes,
I look across seven bends of the Ob,
all of a sudden, what do I, having two ripe currant eyes,
perceive: from the lower region [of the Ob]
 155 *a ship loaded with people is coming.*
It barely comes nearer, to a distance where it could be recognized,
I look at it: in the middle of the ship with a middle,
Tēk-hero, he is the one who sits there, [so] it is seen;
a man in [a] red fox-fur [cap],
 160 *a man in [a] red fox-fur [cap],*
his coming is seen.
No sooner had they arrived at the harbour of my harboured town
than they all let out a shrill loud cry.
They climbed onto the shore, as soon as they had come up,
 165 *behold, they again let out a shrill loud cry.*
Then in the square of my squared village,
in the square of my squared town,
a noise is heard as though they were doing something.
With a flat-of-the-sword noted hand

- 170 *kwon ti kwālsēm,
ponsēm sosī' kitī' sam
xuml'è sunse'im:
ań Tēk-ajkā xāp-tāltèt l'ul'ì.
tox l'ul'nätä kantiñ xum kontēm ti joxtēm,*
- 175 *lawiñ xum lawēm ti joxtēm.
sirejim tūl'è totīpilēm:
ur-pum, vōr-pum xajilt mir raupi,
sirejim tūl'è totīpilēm:
ur-pum, vōr-pum xajilt mir raupi.*
- 180 *ań mir xālēmā jui-pālt
Tēk=ājkā-pālt nalu ti jāme'im
nāmsēkēmt: ti sirejim
ti Tēk-ājkā tārmēl pul'ì ti sa'irilēm.
nalu-joxtēmēt Tēk-ājkā lāwili:*
- 185 *«Ajās-tārem ājkā! am nañen sa'iruñkwè
manā ngul' āñse'im,
manā lu āñse'im? !
nañ ās ānēm liniñ-ta'il
oss tārätāslēn mont!*
- 190 *ńoxs-pojkēl pojkilēm,*

- 170 I now went out;
what do I, having two ripe currant eyes,
behold there:
well, Tēk-elder is standing on the wharf.
As he stands like that, an angry man, I became angry,
- 175 a furious man, I became furious.
I bring my sword this way:
like mountain grass, like forest grass, the people fall;
I lead my sword that way:
like mountain grass, like forest grass, the people fall.
- 180 Now, after the destruction of the people,
behold, I go down to Tēk-elder to the shore,
thinking: this sword of mine
I will break into small bits on this Tēk-elder.
When I had got down, Tēk-elder says:
- 185 "Ajās-god elder! what flesh have I,
what bone have I
that you should hack?!
If only once more you would
let me go alive!
- 190 With pine-marten skin prayer I worship you,

- uj-pojkël pojkilëm,
 änëm ultä oss tärätäslën mōnt!»
 Ajäs-tgrëm ājkä
 tēp tēnē tēpiñ nqmtēm xuml'ë nqmësi:
 195 «taw tîl alkēmt manä nqmtēm soxtēmlî? !
 ti tārä Tgrëmnë liliñ-ta'îl oss ḡñsawë!)
 tûl Tēk-ājkä sāl'jäni' sāl'î' ta vislēm.
 Tēk-ājkä añ ḡs xuml'ë pojksi:
 «Ajäs-tgrëm ājkä! am amkim jänitël
 200 xotä jû joxtë'im?»
 Ajäs-tgrëm ājkä xuml'ë lāwe'im:
 «Tēk ôjkä! nañën jû totuñkwë
 nē-mat ajāñ xum at ḡñsé'im;
 nañ oxser-xuril jāñxe'in,
 205 jû tox ti minlën!)
 añ Tēk-ôjkä sirejä änëm ti mujlēstä,
 taw ta oxser-xuril ta minës.
 añ sirej-numpël kwoss sunse'im:
 ajāñ xum-plÿänëmnë posxänl tot l'ül'eit,
 210 ajāñ xum-plÿänëmnë xuml'ë lāwe'im:

- with reindeer hide prayer I worship you,
 oh let me go [through] free!"
 My Ajäs-god elder's
 food-eating fodd-filled mind muses like this:
 195 "If I should kill him now, how much will my soul calm down?!"
 Let Tgrëm [the god] continue to keep him alive!"
 Then I greatly pitied Tēk-elder.
 Lo, how Tēk-elder is now begging me again:
 "Ajäs-god elder! how [where] am I, all by myself [with the size of
 myself]
 200 to get home?"
 Behold, I, Ajäs-god elder, say:
 "Tēk-elder! I have no pages, none at all,
 to take you home;
 change into the shape of a fox,
 205 so you walk home!"
 Tēk-elder now made me a present of his sword,
 while he himself departed in the shape of a fox.
 Now as I look towards the sword:
 it is stained with the blood of my armed servants
 [their blood stands there].
 210 To my armed servants I say these words:

- «*ti tal'xiñ sirej sijiñ nāri
jelpiñ vit gumāñ tūrēmnē totelān,
posxā xot-loutēlān!*»
añ *tal'xiñ sirej sijiñ nāri*
- 215 *loutuñkwē ta totwēs.
loutēmā jui-pālt am pāltēm ti totwēs.
ti sunsililēm: taml'ē jamēs
tal'xiñ sirej sijiñ nāri glilalēm!
Ajäs-tārēm ājkā añ xuml'ē lāwe'im:*
- 220 «*ēlēm xqlēs jisiñ tārēm ūtnātkā jui-pālt,
ēlēm-xqlēs nqtiñ tārēm ūtnātkā jui-pālt
ti tal'xiñ sirej sijiñ nāri
jir vinē jiriñ pupy' ēl oss ūnti,
puri vinē puriñ pupy' ēl oss ūnti!*»
- 225 *tox sātmēm jui-pāltē
ta mārētēs jārēm tārēm-ke tēli,
ta mārētēs moñséim tārēm-ke tēli:
xoti mānēl xānt-ke joxti,
kāt-gntēs, la'il-ōntēs oss vāri!*

*

- “Take this pointed sword, this famous sabre
to my lake flowing with sacred water,
there wash off its blood!”
Now the pointed sword, the famous sabre
215 they took away to be washed.
After washing it they brought it to me.
Lo, I look on it: it was such an excellent
pointed sword, such a famous sabre!
Lo, I, Ajäs-god elder, now speak thus:
- 220 “With the set-in [after the settling] of the world of the era of man,
with the set-in of the world of the time of man
may this pointed sword, this famous sabre
turn into a minor god of blood sacrifice receiving blood sacrifice,
turn into a minor god of food sacrifice receiving food sacrifice!”
- 225 After I have bewitched it in this wise,
if such a miserable world sets in [is born],
if such a wretched world sets in
that an army arrives from some region:
may it render [make] hand-assistance, foot-assistance!

*

- 230 *An ētā sāt jol xujäsēm,
xātēl sāt jol xujäsēm;
akw'-mat-ērt nāñx sajkēlāsēm.
tēp tēnē tēpiñ ngmtēm
akwäi' at soxtēmlī;*
- 235 *vit ajnē vitiñ ngmtēm
akwäi' at soxtēmlī.
ngmse'im: am ti palit xujäsēm,
paulēm ēriñ paul-supi' vārwēs,
ūsēm ēriñ paul-supi' vārwēs.*
- 240 *ponsēm sosi' kiti' sam
sāt tūr ūltā xuml'ē sunsilale'im,
sat Ās-mēsi ūltā xuml'ē sunsilale'im:
akw'-mat-ērt sāt xāp-ta'il ta jināt n' nki;
xat xāpēmtē akw'-mūs āntiñ ujit l'ul'eit,*
- 245 *sātīt xāpēmtē xansāñ lū l'ul'i.
xgsä jimānl jui-pālt,
vāt'i jimānl jui-pālt,
ti tāltiñ ūs tāltēmnē ti pūxtāst,
añ āntiñ ujit pāi' ti totwäsēt;*

- 230 I now lay down for seven nights,
I lay down for seven days;
suddenly I woke up.
My food-eating food-filled mind
still refuses to calm down;
- 235 my water-drinking watery mind
ever refuses to calm down.
I think: I have been lying for such a long while,
perhaps my village [in the meantime] have been devastated
[made] into the pieces of a village,
perhaps my town have been devastated into the pieces of a town.
- 240 I, having two ripe currant eyes,
look across seven lakes,
look across seven bends of the Ob:
behold, suddenly seven loaded ships are seen coming;
my six ships are full of stags standing,
- 245 in my seventh ship there is a piebald horse standing.
After they came for a long time,
after they came for a short time,
they moored at the harbour of this, my harboured town,
those stag beasts, behold, they brought up on the bank,

- 250 *ań xansäñ lū ġs pāl' ti totwès.
am āwiñ kwol āvim kit pālnè
xār ne'ine tāk kwālyèl
tī' ti nē'iwäst,
uj nē'ine tāk kwālyèl*
- 255 *tī' ti nē'iwäst.
ań tan ġśné najt-xumiänl
pēnxuñkwè ti ūnttuwès.
Ajäs-tārem ājkā rē'il ti pinäslēm,
ti jisēm, xuml'è ti lāwe'im:*
- 260 *«sawiñ sāxip saw kuñérakänēm,
kātän tortal pus-ta'il ġlän,
la'llän tortal pus-ta'il ġlän!
ti jui pālt akwän ne'im
xūrem sāt āntiñ ujim alélän,*
- 265 *ta jui-pālt ti xansäñ luwän alélän!
tūt-ülte akw' nurpä sāt put taxätän!
sēñkwiñ āni sēñkwä vīyēm,
posimiñ āni posimä vīyēm.
tūl ti xurem sāt āntiñ ujim sqwänä*

- 250 that piebald horse they likewise brought up on the bank.
To the two halves of the door of my doored house
with strong rope for tying reindeer stags,
behold, they tied them here;
with strong rope for tying stag beasts,
- 255 behold, they tied them here.
Now their shaman who was with them
they made to sit down to practise magic.
I, Ajäs-god elder, sent [put] a spiritual trance on him,
with that I came [to him] and lo, I speak thus:
- 260 "My many shabby-coated poor people,
be perfectly healthy in your hands,
be perfectly healthy in your feet!
After this, kill
three hundred stag beasts tied together;
- 265 and then kill this piebald horse of yours,
Afterwards hang [over the fire] seven kettles with a single sus-
pension arch!
I will take the steam of the steaming [steamy] vessel,
I will take the smoke of the smoking [smoky] vessel.
The hang the skins of these three hundred stag beasts of mine

- 270 *jilpél' jänimém mān jiw tawén nāñx-taxätän,*
ti xansän lū sgwä ġs tū nāñx-taxätälän!
Numi-Sorñi āsän portiñ sam sunsi,
Numi-Sorñi jāxän pamiñ sam sunsi.
ti jui-pält nan ūnlénē nājiñ kwol sāmännē,
 275 *nan ūnlénē ātriñ kwol sāmännē*
Tārēm jot kit pasä minän,
Tārēm jot xūrem pasä minän!»

*

- xūrem sāt āntiñ uj ti alwès,*
ta jui-pält añ xansän lū ti alwès,
 280 *tūl ūltē akw' nūrpä sāt pūt taxätawès;*
sēñkwiñ āni sēnkwa vislēm,
pōsimiñ āni posimä vislēm.
tūl ti xūrem sāt āntiñ uj sgwänä
jilpél' jänimém mān jiw tawén nāñx-taxätawäst,
 285 *ti xansän lū sgwä ġs tū nāñx-taxätawès.*
tūl nalu ti tālsēt.

- 270 on the branch of a newly grown [young] small tree,
 and hang the skin of this piebald horse there also!
 Your father *Numi-Sorñi* will look favorably on it,
 Your father *Numi-Sorñi* will look mercifully on it.
 After this, to a corner of your house, dwelt in by yourselves and
 having a goddess,
 275 to a corner of your house, dwelt in by yourselves and having a
 little god,
 go with *Tārēm* [with god], [I give] my two greetings,
 go with *Tārēm*, [I give] my three greetings.”

*

- At this they killed the three hundred stats,
 and then they killed that piebald horse too;
 280 then they hung [over the fire] seven kettles with a single arch of
 suspension;
 I took the steam of the steaming vessel,
 I took the smoke of the smoking vessel.
 Then the skins of these three hundred stag beasts
 they hung upon a branch of a newly grown small tree
 285 and the hide of this piebald horse they hung there too.
 Then they went down to the shore.

- jelpiñ vit gunè jelpiñ tūr,
kwot'liñ tūr kwot'län joxtmanl-kēmt
ñält turpä turiñ rāñx ti rāñxsèt:
290 «Numi-Tārēm āsūnē rāñx-sijū nāñx oss xōlawē,
Numi-Sorñi jāyūnē rāñx-sijū nāñx oss xōlawē!»*

- When they had reached the middle of the lake with a middle,
the sacred lake flowing with sacred water,
behold, they let out a shrill loud cry:
290 "Let our father *Numi-Tārēm* hear the sound of our cry,
Let our father *Numi-Sorñi* hear the sound of our cry!"

* The Vogul text follows Munkácsi's original orthography. Published in *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény* (further on: VNGY), II, 1: 1–18.



The tale of the birth of the World Surveyor Man, the little boy 'Son of the Woman'*

1. Their father *Numi-Kwores* [Upper Heaven] lowered three men, the fourth is their sister, between two skies, between two heavens. The oldest man of them is *Numi-Torem* [Upper Sky], the second man of them is *Saxl-Torem* [Storm God], the lesser man of them is father *Tapel* [Tapel Elder], the lady *Kaltes* is their sister. Their elder brother, the oldest man, married a Russian woman. Suddenly he observes that his wife is having an affair with a man from the underworld, *Xul'-ater* [Devil Prince]. Grabbing her by her scalp, he dashed his wife three times against the face of the ground, then threw her down through the hole through which he used to look down [on the earth]. He has nothing further to do with her.

2. Suddenly the lady *Kaltes*, his sister, listens downwards, well, she hears some baby crying. 'Where is it crying?' — She went and looked down through the looking down hole. Well, her sister-in-law had fallen on the bank of the Ob; she broke two ribs below her right armpit. A little child with golden hands and feet was born. The lady *Kaltes* felt such great compassion [her heart began to ache so much] for the child with golden hands and feet that, behold, she descended. She came down; on this earth, she raised him. That little son of a woman raised by the lady *Kaltes* became World Surveyor Man. To this very day the earth exists by his power; Russian and Ugrian man alike bow before him in the sacred house. He has many legends, he has many songs; great as the world is, there is no winged army [i.e. of minor gods], there is no legged army that could humiliate him. With his hands he holds down the winged god, winged little spirit soaring above. When he starts moving, the sitting sacred earth starts moving in its entire greatness. That is why they recite legends about him, that is why they sing songs about him.

* VNGY, II, 1: 98-99.

Song of how the World Surveyor, Son of the Sky, was lowered from above*

Numi-Torem started quarrelling with his wife. *Numi-Torem* raised his sword to deal a blow to his wife. As he raises [this hand]: *Polem* God, his elder son, holds down his sword. *Numi-Torem* gets angry, he bewitched his wife onto the lower earth. His wife descended onto the lower earth and, unseen [behind eyes], her little baby, of golden hand, of golden foot, came into the world.

- She nurtured him for a long time, or for a short time,
lo, he became so big he could run to and fro outside.
Suddenly, as he was running around in this fashion,
well, there is a cradle standing in the village square,
5 a *soper*-silver, *kami*-silver cradle stands there.
The child settled in it to play.
His father *Numi-Torem* pulled him up with a jerk.
He arrived up there, he got out of the cradle,
he was led into the house of his father *Numi-Torem*.
10 He nurtures him in the evening, he nurtures him by day.
The clothes he was wearing today become superfluous,
rising on the morrow he puts on new clothes,
in this manner the man of the song, the man of the fable grows.
Suddenly he says to his father *Numi-Torem*:
15 'Oh father! lower me to the world of man, inhabiting the nether
earth!'
His father sat him in a silver-hollowed, hollow cradle,
he let him down to the world of man, inhabiting the lower earth.
Onto the housetop of his brother the Eagle-feathered man
20 he fell, with the sound of tremendous thunder.
Suddenly his brother appeared outside, he lifted him [into the
house],
he nurtures him in the evening, he nurtures him by day.
As he grows in this manner, his mother beats him,
as he grows in this way, his brother beats him.
25 This is how his bones harden, this is how his flesh grows brawnier.
His elder brother's wife beats him for a second time,
and for a third time he gets beaten by his brother.

*

* VNGY II, 1: 100-104.

- Night had fallen, he went out crying,
behold, he came to the village square.
- 30 The hollow cradle with its silver hollow that his father had made,
behold, it stands there,
behold, he sat into the hollow cradle with the silver hollow;
at this, his father *Numi-Torem* lifted him by a sharp pull.
He arrived up there, he got out of the cradle,
- 35 they took him into the house of his father *Numi-Torem*.
He nurtures him by night, he nurtures him by day,
the clothes he was wearing on this day become superfluous,
the clothes he wears on the morrow become superfluous.
He has not yet grown to the size of man,
- 40 and, behold, he longs to be on the lower earth.
He strives at night, he strives by day:
his father *Numi-Torem* does not let him down.
His bones are as yet without strength, his flesh is as yet without
strength,
that is why his father *Numi-Torem* makes him stay.

*

- 45 He grew for a long time, or he grew for a short time,
his bones became strong, his flesh became muscular.
Suddenly he says to his father *Numi-Torem*:
'Oh father! let me go to the world of man, inhabiting
the lower earth!'
- 50 Behold, he sat him into the *soper*-silver, *kami*-silver cradle,
his father *Numi-Torem*, lo, caused him to descend.
He held him between the two skies, the two heavens.
When his father *Numi-Torem* raises a wind of the upper region:
he, in his silver-hollowed, hollow cradle
- 55 is raised to the sea of the lower region,
when his father *Numi-Torem* raises a wind of the lower region:
he, in his silver-hollowed, hollow cradle
is raised to the sea of the upper region.
When his father *Numi-Torem* rains in the form of rain:
- 60 his flesh grows by the rain,
when his father *Numi-Torem* blows as a wind:
his bones grow stronger by the wind.
Through seven summers he was blown by the wind, through seven
winters he was beaten by the rain,
then he was filled with strength.
- 65 Thereafter, his father *Numi-Torem* let him down.
Onto the roof of the house of his brother the Eagle-feathered man
he fell with the sound of tremendous thunder.

Like a three-cornered water-dipper [of birch-bark]
 he turned his mind three ways,
 70 like a four-cornered water-dipper [of birch-bark]
 he turned his mind four ways,
 he killed both his brother and his aunt.



Song of the growing up of the World Surveyor Man, Son of the Sky*

'Father's little son, father's darling,
 mother's little son, mother's darling —
 sometime a world of man's era will arise,
 how will man, standing
 5 over his feet, bear him?
 Let us give him into the hands of another man,
 in the hands of another man he will be brought up to become
 gentle!
 His father and his mother gave him to his uncle and his aunt.

*

* VNGY II, 1: 105–115.

- They keep him for a long while, or they keep him for a short while,
10 Suddenly their friend, the long-haired Russian came.
They eat and drink at one table; suddenly
their friend, the Russian man says:
'My good friend! sell me this little boy of yours,
however great the price you may charge for him: just ask it!' —
15 'My good friend! I need no price whatever;
why should I charge a price between friends?! —
If you want my little boy: well, take him for free!
Father's little son, father's darling,
mother's little son, mother's darling —
20 the long-haired Russian man, their friend, took him away.
Lo, they arrived at his friend's house.
They keep the child in the corner of the door,
his friend pours out the dirty water
over him.
25 As he keeps him in this manner, he lived for a long time, or he lived
for a short time,
suddenly his Samoyed friend, dressed in pine-marten's fur, arrived.
They eat and drink with his Samoyed friend, dressed in
pinemarten's fur.
Now his [Samoyed] friend says:
'My good friend, sell me this little boy of yours;
30 no matter how great the price you may ask: just ask it!' —
'My good friend! I do not need any sort of price,
why should I charge a price between friends?! —
If you want my little boy: well, just take him!'

*

- Father's little son, father's darling,
35 mother's little son, mother's darling —
he was now taken away to the Samoyed friend in pine-marten's fur.
They travelled a long time, or they travelled a short time,
they arrived at a village.
They now threw a lasso consisting of an iron rope of thirty fathoms
40 round the child's neck,
they pushed him aside from the sleigh,
tying the end of the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso
to the leg of the sleigh.
45 On one side of the road, on the other side of the road,
at the end of the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso,
like the goodly tossing of a spotted grouse
[oh the poor creature] how he is tossing and turning!
The children of the village laugh:

Like a three-cornered water-dipper [of birch-bark]
 he turned his mind three ways,
 70 like a four-cornered water-dipper [of birch-bark]
 he turned his mind four ways,
 he killed both his brother and his aunt.



Song of the growing up of the World Surveyor Man, Son of the Sky*

'Father's little son, father's darling,
 mother's little son, mother's darling —
 sometime a world of man's era will arise,
 how will man, standing
 5 over his feet, bear him?
 Let us give him into the hands of another man,
 in the hands of another man he will be brought up to become
 gentle!
 His father and his mother gave him to his uncle and his aunt.

*

* VNGY II, 1: 105–115.

- They keep him for a long while, or they keep him for a short while,
 10 Suddenly their friend, the long-haired Russian came.
 They eat and drink at one table; suddenly
 their friend, the Russian man says:
 'My good friend! sell me this little boy of yours,
 however great the price you may charge for him: just ask it!' —
 15 'My good friend! I need no price whatever;
 why should I charge a price between friends?! —
 If you want my little boy: well, take him for free!
 Father's little son, father's darling,
 mother's little son, mother's darling —
 20 the long-haired Russian man, their friend, took him away.
 Lo, they arrived at his friend's house.
 They keep the child in the corner of the door,
 his friend pours out the dirty water
 over him.
 25 As he keeps him in this manner, he lived for a long time, or he lived
 for a short time,
 suddenly his Samoyed friend, dressed in pine-marten's fur, arrived.
 They eat and drink with his Samoyed friend, dressed in
 pinemarten's fur.
 Now his [Samoyed] friend says:
 'My good friend, sell me this little boy of yours;
 30 no matter how great the price you may ask: just ask it!' —
 'My good friend! I do not need any sort of price,
 why should I charge a price between friends?! —
 If you want my little boy: well, just take him!'

*

- Father's little son, father's darling,
 35 mother's little son, mother's darling —
 he was now taken away to the Samoyed friend in pine-marten's fur.
 They travelled a long time, or they travelled a short time,
 they arrived at a village.
 They now threw a lasso-consisting of an iron rope of thirty fathoms
 40 round the child's neck,
 they pushed him aside from the sleigh,
 tying the end of the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso
 to the leg of the sleigh.
 45 On one side of the road, on the other side of the road,
 at the end of the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso,
 like the goodly tossing of a spotted grouse
 [oh the poor creature] how he is tossing and turning!
 The children of the village laugh:

- 'Our dear master, behold, has obtained his two-year-old male
 50 reindeer vowed for a third winter sacrifice!
 At one end of the village
 from a house similar in size to the nut of a scaly cembra pine cone
 an old woman and an old man look out:
 'Children, what are you laughing at?' —
 55 'Well, our dear master, lo, has obtained his two-year-old male
 reindeer vowed for a third winter sacrifice!
 'Only watch out in case your two-year-old male reindeer, which your
 master
 has vowed for a third winter sacrifice, smashes your seven towns
 lying on the banks of the Kazym river
 by pressing them with his back,
 60 by pressing them with his chest!' —
 The master and the child arrived in the town,
 they came to rest at the place where the sleigh usually stopped.
 The master says to the child:
 'You child, guard the sleigh!' —
 65 His master entered the house,
 he was away for as long as an icy fish might take to cook in a pot,
 he was away for as long as a snowy fish might take to cook in a pot,
 he came out, they set off to continue their journey.

*

- They travelled for a long while, or they travelled briefly,
 70 suddenly they arrived in a wide tract of land,
 they look into the distance: a village is seen.
 They now throw the lasso of a thirty-fathom-long iron tether
 round the neck of the child,
 they shove him aside from the sleigh,
 75 tying the end of the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso
 to the leg of the sleigh.
 On one side of the road, on the other side of the road,
 like the goodly tossing of a spotted grouse,
 [oh the poor creature] how he keeps tossing!
 80 The children of the village laugh:
 'Our dear master, behold, has obtained his two-year-old male
 reindeer vowed for a third winter sacrifice!' —
 At one end of the village
 from a house similar in size to the nut of a scaly cembra pine cone
 85 an old woman and an old man look out:
 'Children! what are you laughing at?' —
 'Well, our dear master, behold, he has obtained his two-year-old male
 reindeer, vowed for a third winter sacrifice!' —

- 'Only watch out, lest your two-year-old male reindeer, vowed by
your master
90 for a third winter sacrifice, crush your seven towns lying along the
Kazym river
by the pressure of his back,
by the pressure of his breast!'
They arrived at the standing place of the sleigh, there they stopped.
The master says to the child:
95 'You child, guard the sleigh!'
His master went into the house,
he was away for the time it might take an icy fish to cook in a
kettle,
he was away for the time it might take a snowy fish to cook in a
kettle,
he came out, they resumed their journey.
100 They journeyed for a long time, or they journeyed for a short time,
they arrived in the master's home town.
There they came, they released their reindeer,
they entered the house, they went to bed.

They rose the next morning. They gave the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso to the child. His master says: 'Go to the reindeer herd, catch my magpie-eyed, raven-eyed two beasts!' The child went to the wide stretch of land spreading at the head of the Kazym river. He reached the reindeer herd: the magpie-eyed, raven-eyed two beasts are clawing the ground [with their hoofs] next to each other. He coiled up the thirty-fathom-long iron lasso, cast it away, immediately hitting those animals. He got hold of them, tied them, then led them home. He arrived home, the children say: 'Those magpie-eyed, raven-eyed two beasts, behold, are tied.' The master says: 'Where am I to set off so soon?! Because my many Samoyed pages, dressed in pine-marten's fur, pursue them for a famous week, for a noisy week, and only then do they catch them; — then how could he have caught them so swiftly?!' The children say: 'Oh no, they have been tied indeed.' The master looked out: well, sure enough, they have been tied. He says to the child: 'Harness them!' The child started harnessing them. He tied the front of the halter to the end of its tail, he tied its neck-strap through its groin, he tied the belly-bands through its armpit. The master came out, and they are badly harnessed. He took out a mammoth's bone, snow scrapen for clothes, for beating clothes, he nearly struck the child dead and threw him onto the rubbish heap of the village. He says to his lads: 'Children! later we want to make a square of sacrifice for God, bring me here his soft little tongue, bring me here one of his soft little eyes from there!' They now went to the sacrificial square. After they had gone, the crying child stood up from lying on the garbage heap and escaped.

- He feels that his feet are slipping somehow.
- 105 As he looks on his feet:
two skis covered with skin from a hind's leg are fastened onto them
somehow.
As he looks at himself:
he is covered somehow by a shirt of armour of close-knit chain-mail.
Between his shoulders he hears something rustling:
- 110 well, as he looks:
an angular, equipped with seven arrows,
is slung over his shoulder.
As his glance falls on his left hand
he is holding somehow his bellied [composite] with bow, with an iron
belly.
- 115 As he looks on his right hand:
he is gripping somehow his sword, with a golden sword-tassel on it.
He walked passageways into seven corridors between a hoary tree.
At the end of his trip
he found a wild reindeer herd consisting of seven wild reindeer.
- 120 On a single arrow which he let fly,
he pierced them all as on a goodly skewer of autumn fish,
he pierced them all as on a goodly skewer of spring fish.
Going further,
he found a herd of elks numbering seven bulls.
- 125 On a single arrow which he let fly,
he pierced them all as on a goodly skewer of autumn fish, he pierced
them all as on a goodly skewer of spring fish.
Then he went further,
and arrived at the sacrificial square of the Samoyed wearing pine-
marten's fur,
- 130 [who has his abode] at the source of the river Kazym,
he cut into pieces the [sacred] trees of the sacrificial square,
and turned his pine-marten trail-mark down towards the river [i.e.
he went down to the village by the river].
He goes down to the river,
he found his master, dressed in pine-marten's fur, and his son.
- 135 With the sword he hacked him to pieces,
cutting out his tongue,
cuttin out one eye,
he put his tongue and his one eye on a spit.
Now he came to the Samoyed elder in pine-marten fur,
- 140 he put his son's tongue and one eye on his knee,
he crushed the seven towns of the Kazym region by pressing them
with his back,
he crushed the seven towns of the Kazym region by pressing them
with his chest.

Then he came to his friend the long-haired Russian.
He crushed his town too in the same way by pressure of his back,
145 he crushed it in the same way by pressure of his chest.
Then he came to his old uncle,
his old uncle says: 'Have you come, my boy?' —
'I have come.' — Then he slew his old uncle.
Now he arrived at the dwelling castle of his father *Numi-Torem*,
150 he entered the house of his father *Numi-Torem*.
His father says: 'Have you come, little son?'
'I have come.'

**The tale of the World Surveyor Man,
or otherwise the little boy called
'Woman's son', about his inauguration
by his father *Numi-Torem****

1. Our father *Numi-Torem* has seven men. One of them he wanted to make world surveyor. 'Who among us, I wonder, will become World Surveyor Man?' they ask among each other. The Elder of the middle Sosva says: 'I will be!' The uncle of the little boy [called] the Woman's son, *Tapel* elder, speaks thus to the little boy the Woman's son: 'Sonny, stay close by my side!' Seven horses run. *Tapel* elder says: 'Hear me! the man at whose call these seven horses stick to his hand: let him become World Surveyor Man!' They set their hands there for the horses to stick to them; but call as they might, it was all in vain. As the little boy the Woman's son called, the seven horses at once stood there. 'Listen!' — his uncle says — 'this is the World Surveyor Man!' Others say: 'Not enough; a race must be run; the man among us whose hand first reaches [falls on] the gate of *Numi-Torem*'s house: let him become world surveyor!' They now started running a race. The man on horseback runs the race riding his horse, the man mounted on a reindeer runs the race riding his reindeer [i.e. reindeer-drawn sleigh]. His uncle, the elder, equipped two red reindeer calves. He says to the little boy the Woman's son: 'Sonny, what do you want to ride for the race? Take these two miserable red calves of mine! Join the race on these cute ones!' The little boy, the Woman's son thinks: 'Where am I to get ahead with these puny beasts [sons of a hole]? Where I mount them [i.e. the sleigh],

* VNGY II, 1: 116–118.

there shall I stay.' His uncle says: 'Sonny, however it may turn out, if you stay in one place: well, you will stay in one place!' The little boy the Woman's son, lo, he mounted. Within a moment they circled this world, and as they got to the gate of *Torem's* house, the hands of all of them fell over the hand of the little boy the Woman's son. The little boy the Woman's son had got first to *Torem's* house. 'You are the World Surveyor Man!' they say. 'Of course I am!' says the little boy the Woman's son.

2. *Numi-Torem* says to his seven men: 'Eat, my dear ones! Will you labour long or for a short time?!' He cut up completely a three-cornered piece of paper. 'Listen!' — he says — 'the man among you who has forest tree, dry tree, green tree — all traced there in the palm of his hand, that man among you will become the World Surveyor Man.' Opening their hands, they stretched them out. 'Look here!!' The pieces of paper are all lying on the palm of his hand. The Elder of the middle *Sosya* had one kind of tree: the dry tree traced on the palm of his hand, the other kind of tree: the green tree was not there. On the piece of paper of the little boy the Woman's son all the green trees, all the dry trees to be found in the world were traced out. 'Behold, you are the World Surveyor Man!' they say. 'Where there are Russians, where there are Ugrians [*Voguls*], you will some day sustain them all!'

3. As they are eating, suddenly the World Surveyor Man, he stood up. 'Oh!' — he says — 'behold, two men are at the point of death!'. Others look, they say: 'where?' The little boy the Woman's son says: 'Look; as they were fishing out at sea, the wind overturned them in the middle of the sea; they are floundering about in the water submerged up to the place of the belt, that is how they are being swept by the wind; behold it has brought them up on a sand-dune.' As they look: 'Why, for sure, what you see is true!' they say. Their father says: 'Behold, he is the World Surveyor Man!' Then he sent a power on him. To this very day Russian and Ugrian [*Vogul*] bow before him.



The hero's song, recited as a legend, of the Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with- a-collar-of-black-sable-fur, the World Surveyor Man*

1. The Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur says to his pages: 'Go, fetch some arrowwood!' His pages went off to fetch some arrowwood. They returned home from the forest, bringing arrowwood. The Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur himself went out to inspect the arrowwood. He looks and looks: the pieces of arrowwood are each and all unsuitable. He threw them all onto the village square and says: 'Go tomorrow again!' The morning came, his pages went to the forest again, they fetched some arrowwood. Again he himself went out, he scrutinizes them: well, once again they are all useless. 'If I go to the forest' — he says — 'how do I fetch wood of this kind?!' Once again he threw the pieces of arrowwood into the courtyard of the house, and then he retired. He rose the next morning, he put on his garment which had a collar of black pine-marten's skin, he took his axe with a sharp [live] iron, he went to the birch-clad mountain yielding its birch-tree, he went to the larch-clad mountain yielding its larch-tree, of the good trees he chooses the best. As he is choosing in this way, he found a good tree. Looking at that good tree from one side, he walks round it to one side. As he is circling it in this way, he almost finished felling it when something is heard from above. As he looks up: some large-winged animal starts to seize him. He, putting his arms round the tree, held fast to it, but the winged animal again clutched him. No matter how strongly he might hold onto the tree, he was wrenched away from it, then [the bird] lifted him and, behold, took him away.

2. It carried him for a long time, or it carried him for a short time, it carried him to the sea. It let him down right into the middle of the sea. The Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur thinks of his father *Sorni-Kwores*: 'If my song continues, if my song is to continue: before I arrive down there, let a patch of sand big enough for a man to fall on rise from the water!' There rises out of the water a sandy patch big enough for a man to drop on. Lo, he fell on the patch of sand. The patch of sand is strewn with human bones; from whichever quarter it brings the men it has seized, the winged animal with the large wings deposits them on this sandy place. He collected some human bones, he sat on top of the human bones. Using a human shoulder-blade for an oar, he rowed towards the

* VNGY II, 1: 119-123.

seashore, he landed on the seashore. On the seashore there is [stands] a big larch grown by God, on the top of that larch there is a nest. He cut down that larch, the nest fell down; well, the son of that large-winged winged animal, behold, it is lying there. He hacked to pieces the son of the large-winged, winged animal, he draped his shirt of armour of close-meshed chain mail round the stump of the felled larch, then he hid himself. As that large-winged, winged animal comes there, well, its larch is cut down, its nest is cut down. As it looks at the stump of the larch: a man is standing there. With its claws it clutched the stump of the larch. Now the Warlord wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur again thinks of his father *Sorni-Kwores*: 'If my song is to continue, if my legend is to continue may the claws of that winged animal with the large wings be caught there until I come there, may it be unable to pull them out, so that I will catch it! The claws of the winged animal with its large wings now lodged themselves in there, pulls them, pulls them as it might, they refuse to come out. At this moment the Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur ran up, cut its neck into two, then hid himself again. Suddenly as he looks: once again some winged animal with large wings is seen coming from the other end of the sea. As it comes: behold, the larch is struck [dropped] down. It looks on it: well, there is a man standing on the stump of the felled larch. It too seized it with its claws, and its claws too got entangled. Now the Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur thinks of his father *Sorni-Kwores* again: 'If my song is to continue, if my legend is to continue: may its claws refuse to come out!' No matter how hard the winged animal with the large wings might pull at its claws: they do not come out. He now again cut into two the neck of that second winged animal of large wings, he cut it into pieces as small as you can cut with a knife, as small as you can cut with an axe. He took his suit of armour, he put it on and departed.

3. Towards the region from which he had been brought, he journeyed for a long time, or he journeyed for a short time; — how is he to know where he was carried to?! Suddenly he got to a stream. He trudges along the bank of the river, suddenly, as he walks, he felt faint. He looks up: the base of a thick fir is seen. There he went, there he lay down. As he is lying, suddenly some woman, the daughter of *Xul'-ater*, came up. She had brought a pair of boots, a pair of stockings for him, he got dressed and went off with his wife in that direction. They came to the house of that wife of his, there he settled for some time to come. He lived for a long while, or he lived for a short while, suddenly they brought a message from his father-in-law *Xul'-ater*: 'Let my son-in-law come out to play!' His wife says: 'Of course you will go out, why shouldn't you? — but are you skilled in cunning or not? A horse is standing at a height of seven ladders; that is where they will command you to mount, just leap up then! As soon as you jump on the back of the horse:

quickly get hold of the gold tasselled, tasselled reins! When you have got hold of them: you shall not fall off any more.' His son-in-law went out. *Xul'ater* says to his son-in-law: 'Son-in-law, jump on the back of this horse!' The Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur jumped on, as soon as he fell on the back of horse he took the reins in his hands, and the horse shot forward. Within the time that one shews a mouthful, he traversed the seven corners of the hoop-like turning round sky [world]. He arrived home, he leapt down from the back of the horse; he raised his sharp [live] iron axe, and he goes to strike down his father-in-law. His father-in-law says: 'Son-in-law, do not kill me! You will live by your own strength, and I will live by my own strength too.' The Warlord-wearing-a-garment-with-a-collar-of-black-sable-fur went, in this way, into his wife's house. Whether they lived for a long time or for a short time, how are we to know that?!



The wedding legend of the Kaltes-girl*

1. There live an old woman and an old man. They have a son. Their son had grown up; he began catching the beasts of the forest, he began catching the fish of the water. Through many days created by *Torem*, he catches forest animal, he catches water fish; he fills the many larders of the forest region, he fills the many larders of the meadow region.

2. After seven winters have elapsed, after seven summers have elapsed, he is at home one day, mending his broken bow. His mind meditates: 'By

* VNGY II, 1: 294-309.

now, my beard has reached the middle of my chest, my father and mother, behold, know no woman's region travelled by woman. I am now coming to an ageing foot [end of foot], I am now coming to an ageing hand; how am I to live without a woman?"

3. After that his lady mother took out her water buckets, she descended to the water, she came to the water spring. Her water spring spurts up towards her, its water is [literally] seething. Looking at her water spring, she stands motionless. Her mind ponders during all my previous age, this water spring of mine has done [had] no such thing, what could have happened to it now?! As she stands there, her water spring says to her: 'What are you looking into me [from me] for? Look up the Ob, look down the Ob!'

4. She started looking up the Ob, she started looking down the Ob. In the shape of a raven, a raven comes, in the shape of a magpie, a magpie comes; its nose is covered with hoar-frost as thick as a squirrel's fur. The raven comes from a faraway land flew into the harbour of the harboured village. As she lifts up her eyes: the raven shedding its skin — what a true [born] princely lady's son, what a true prince's son stands there! From his side he drew forth a small axe; he took off one of his felt boots, from his shin-bone he cut off a piece of bone, carved it into square shape on the stone, from his quiver he took out a feathered shaft, fitted it there. He raised his bow, stepped a little forward, strung his bow, shot that stone, it crushes the tip of his arrow, it got caught. He put on his skis. As he went on, he said: Woman dear! behold, you stay here. Later you will get home, take this message to your son: if my seven tricks of a minor god are equal to it, if my seven tricks of a devil are equal to it, let him come the length of my journey to look for a woman's region travelled by woman; if my seven tricks of a minor god, my seven tricks of a devil are not equal to it, he should not come.

5. That woman filled the water bucket with water. She went up on the shore. She entered the house, put her buckets down on the floor of the house, her buckets are [positively] seething, their water is literally splashing upwards. Her son says: 'My lady mother! what sort of a message have you brought?' She answers: 'Dear son, what message am I to bring you from the water spring?' — 'If you have brought me none, well, put your buckets further away then!' She slowly lifted her buckets, putting them further away: again their water splashes up, again it is literally seething. Her son says: 'You said just now that you had brought no message. Behold, you have brought a message after all.' His mother replies: 'My dear boy! as for bringing a message, yes, I have brought one: if your strength is up to it, go; if your power is not up to it, it is your affair [disposition].' Her son replies: 'What kind of a message have you brought?' His lady mother answers: 'Behold, is the message I have brought for you: if he needs a wom-

an's region travelled by woman, if he needs a man's region travelled by man, if my seven tricks of a minor god are equal to it, let him come; if my seven tricks of a devil are equal to it, let him come the length of my journey!

6. The boy rose from his seat. He got dressed, took out his bow and arrow, went out, descended to the river, to the harbour of the village, he came to its big stone. He took off one of his felt boots, raised an axe, cut a piece out of his shin, carved it into square shape on the stone, he drew forth a feathered shaft from his quiver, fitted it there. He lifted his bow, stepped a little forward, strung his bow, shot his arrow at the big stone, it crushed the tip of his arrow, it got caught. He put on his skis, now he pressed forward along the path travelled by that man.

7. Had he been travelling for a long time or had he been travelling for a short time, the wooded land inhabited by this people [i.e. the people of this land] is left behind, the grassy land inhabited by this people is left behind. He arrived in a wooded land inhabited by another people, he arrived in a grassy land inhabited by another people. During their progress, one of the men had one of his legs torn away with the ski on and it was left behind. He too had one of his legs torn off with the ski on it and it was left behind. Behold, they go with one leg. — During their progress, one of the men [also] had one of his hands torn off with the stick in it, there it was left. He too had one of his hands torn off and, behold, it was left behind there. So, they travel with one hand, one leg. — As they were proceeding, one of the men again left behind his other leg with the ski. He likewise left behind his other leg with the ski. That is how they proceeded. — In one place, one of the men left behind his other hand too. He too lost his other hand, leaving it behind there with the bow. Only their bare trunks travel on. — One of the men left behind his trunk, [only] the skull of his head rolls forward. He also left behind his trunk, [only] the skull of his head rolls forward. — In one place, a house appeared. He rolls in through the door. In a smithy, they cast one of the men into the furnace, making him incandescent [consuming him] by the fire, they lifted him with iron tongs, placed him over an iron anvil [stump], they beat him with a hammer, he slipped out, falling out through the door, in that fashion he rolled on along the path he had travelled [come] before. This one too was raised up, he was thrown into the fire of the furnace, there he became incandescent, became like fire, he was raised with a pair of iron tongs, as he was being beaten over the iron anvil with the hammer, he slipped down, falling out the door. So, he likewise rolls along the path via which he came the other day.

8. Had they travelled for a long time or had they travelled for a short time, one of the men came to his trunk, his trunk attached itself to him. This one too fastened his trunk [to himself]. Thereafter they travelled on.

One of the men came to his hand, his hand attached itself to him. This one too fastened his hand [to himself]. Again they travelled for a long time or for a short time. One of the men came to one of his legs, his leg attached itself there. This one too recovered his leg. Behold, they travel with one leg. One of the men again came to his other hand, his hand again attached itself to its place. This one likewise recovered his other hand. Then one of the men recovered his remaining leg. This one too recovered his remaining leg. They became whole.

9. Behold, one of the men walks along the path traversed. Had he travelled for a long time or had he travelled for a short time, behold, a big house presented itself: a house of four fathoms, a house of five fathoms. He took off his skis, opened the door, looked in, he sank into water, the house, in its entire extent, keeps turing with water foam ruffled by wind. Of the folks, on the floor of the house, the man fishing with a dip net, is fishing with a dip net, a bagnet is fishing with a bagnet, the man casting a drag-net is casting a drag-net, the man fishing with a fishing weir is fishing with a fishing weir, they are catching sturgeon and *ñeema* salmon. Somehow he went in, he sat down. In the guests' compartment an old woman and an old man are sitting. The old woman's head is grey like hare's skin, it has become so white; and her head is laden with a black eagles' nest. Her old man, having turned grey, has become yellow, the top of his head is laden with a *turuj* eagle's nest. In the adjoining compartment of the room a woman is sewing pine-marten's skin, she is sewing bearskin, she is working. The man is lying.

10. Had she sat for a long time, or had she sat for a short time, while sewing, the woman takes out a knife from her side and, as he is lying, she jabbed her husband in his armpit. [He] woke up and says: 'Could you not have woken me up earlier since the arrival of the host of guests? All day the guest sits without food.' He got dressed, descended on the floor of the house, he put on his skis, took out his bow and arrow, drew apart the mouth of his lady mother, the heels of the skis disappeared, behold, it went into his mother's mouth. Had he been journeying for a long time, or had he been journeying for a short time, his father, the old man, gives a yawn; he drew apart his mouth, the points of the skis appeared from there. Behold, he fell on the floor of the house. He [brought out] a three-year-old elk alive, with hands and feet tied, hanging [piercing] it on the handle of a shovel and so raising it, and threw it on the floor of the house. They flayed it, cut it into pieces and put it in the pot. Had it been boiling for a long time, or had it been boiling for a short time, they lifted [the pot], they ladled [the meat] into a plate and placed it before him. There rises a steam of the steaming plate. The master of the house says: 'What [else] are you waiting for? If you want a companion [to be] at the end of the plate, at the end of the cup, go out, call in the end-of-the-plate, end-of-the-cup companion!' He

went out; wherever he looks to see who is there: he has no end-of-the-plate, end-of-the-cup companion. As he enters, his hair is pulled upwards. He glances up: a woman sits here with a plait of hair of a living pine-marten, a living bear; on one of her braids a living pine-marten is climbing up, on her other braid a living bear is descending. He took her by one of her hands, they went in together, they settled down to one plate, to one cup to eat.

11. After they ate [together] juicy food [from the pot], dry food, they began to live [together]. Had they lived [thus] for two days, or had they lived thus for three days, he says to his brother-in-law: 'Hey, I myself am a man who owns land, I myself am a man who owns waters, behold, I have got bored. I have been seized by a yearning for my father and mother, lo, I set off. If you give me your sister, I shall take her away; if you furnish her with a dowry, I shall take her away. If you do not give her to me, if you do not furnish her with a dowry: [I shall have to leave her here because] how could I have given a woman's price for her?! Behold, I am going.' His brother-in-law says: 'Brother-in-law, I have once given you my sister, how could I take her back again?! But her going would be very soon!' — 'I cannot live with a mistress who is above me [who is in the top of my head], I cannot live with a master who is above me.' — 'How, I ask, could I take her [i.e. your wife] into the house for servant-girl doing kitchen work [preparing things for the kettle]? How, I ask, could I take you into my house for a servant doing water-carrying [water] work?! You yourself are a man who owns land, you yourself are a man who owns waters, go!'

12. His brother-in-law furnished her with a dowry; they left. Had they been travelling for a long time, or had they been travelling for a short time, they arrived home. After they lived seven winters, seven summers, he is resting at home one day mending [preparing] his broken bow, he is sitting at home repairing his broken arrow. As he is sitting, the door was opened, the son of the Town's-ruling-prince-elder came in. He gave him good food to eat, good drink to drink. The Town's-rulig-prince-elder's son says: 'Old chum! lo, you looked for a woman's region travelled by woman, you looked for a man's region travelled by man. If only you would take me too where you have been; if only we would go together!' He replies: 'Old chum! be quiet; how, I pray, could I take you to places of that sort, where shall we end up with you?! If I take you along: you will land me in trouble; how could a man of your kind endure it?!' The son of the Town's-ruling-prince-elder says: 'Do me this great kindness; what sort of trouble could I get you into?! Because you are an experienced man, that is why I invite you to be my companion; let us go together!' — 'No, old chum, I am not going. Your kind of man will not endure it; because of your affair we will both find ourselves in the same trouble.' — 'You are bringing disgrace on me; do me this kindness, take me along!' He replies: 'You want it [it is your disposition]! If you endure it, I shall take you along, only do not change your mind, do not land both of us in trouble!'

13. He put on his clothes, they went out; they descended to the harbour of the village. One of the men took off his felt boots, raised an axe, cut a piece of bone from his shin, carved it into square shape on a stone, took out a feathered shaft from his quiver, fitted it there. He stepped forward, strung his bow, shot at the stone, it went through it. The son of the Town's-ruling-prince-elder took off his felt boot, brought out an axe, started cutting a piece from his shin. He gives a loud scream: 'Oh, oh, my leg is hurting!' The other man answers: 'I told you the other day not to get us into trouble; I am not going now any further. If you have the strength to do it, go yourself!' The Town's-ruling-prince-elder's son says: 'Do me this great kindness; no matter how, but let us go!' Now the other man, with the power of his entreaty, obtained some pieces of bone from his shin, carved them into square shape on the stone, took out a winged shaft from his quiver, fitted it there. He brought out a bow, stepped a little forward, behold, he shot at that stone, his arrow touched the stone, its shaft broke into three parts, its iron got caught in the stone, it hangs downwards. The other man says: 'Enough, old chum, let us stay put, you will land us in trouble, we are not going any further.' The Town's-ruling-prince-elder's son says: 'Oh, what kind of trouble could I get you into?' — 'You will not do any more mischief, right? Let us go, then, with one will!'

14. They proceeded. Had they been journeying for a long time, or had they been journeying for a short time, in one place one of the men, as he walks, behold, had one of his legs come off together with the ski. He too began to leave behind one of his legs. He screams very loudly: 'Old chum, ah, ah, ah! behold, my leg is breaking off.' With the power of the entreaty of the other man, lo, his leg is left behind, behold, they proceed with one leg. — In one place, one of the men left behind a hand. This one too began to leave behind a hand. He screams awfully, he shouts: 'Behold, my hand is breaking off!' With the power of the entreaty of the other man his hand was also left behind. — Then they travelled on. One of the men left behind his other leg. He too began to leave behind his other leg. He cries, he screams: 'Lo, my leg is breaking off!' With the power of the entreaty of the other man, behold, his leg is again left behind. — Again they journeyed along. Had they been travelling for a long time, or for a short time, one of the men lost his [other] hand. He likewise, screaming, crying, somehow left behind his other hand as well. — Behold, only their trunks journey along. — Had they been travelling for a long time, or had they been travelling for a short time, in one place one of the men left behind his trunk. He too, with the power of the entreaty of the other man, somehow left behind his trunk. Lo, the skulls of their heads roll along. — They came to that smithy. The head of one of the men rolled in through the door, they picked it up, threw it into the fire, the fire caused it to glow, it became as incandescent as fire; they lifted it with iron tongs, placed it upon an iron anvil, as they were beating it with a hammer, it slipped down, fell out through the door, and, behold, it

rolled on along the path by which it had come before. They pick up the head of the Town's-ruling- prince-elder's son, cast it into the fire of the furnace, there it became red-hot, it became incandescent in the manner of fire; with iron tongs they lifted it, placed it upon an iron anvil, as they were beating it from above with a hammer, it slipped down, fell out through the door, behold, it too rolls along the path that it traversed before. They came to their trunks, their trunks attached themselves. Again they journeyed along. In one place, they came to their hands. The hand of one of the men jumped back to its place: he too recovered his. — Again they went on their way. They came to one of their legs. The leg of one of the men jumped back to its place: he also recovered one of his legs. — Again they journeyed along. One of the men had his other hand attach itself to its place: he also recovered his other hand. — After that, they again went on their way. In one place, they came to their [other] legs left behind. One of the men had his leg jump back to its place: he likewise recovered the leg he had lost. They became whole.

15. Now they resume their journey. Had they travelled for a long time or for a short time, behold, they came to a house. They came to a big house. They took off their skis, lo, they entered. The son of the Town's-ruling-prince-elder's says: 'Old chum, lo, we are going to fall into the water! how are we to go into the water?' The other man tries to calm him: 'Old chum, be quiet, do not get us into trouble!' Then [the other one] says: 'Old chum, look, here some folks are fishing with a dip net, a bag net, using a drag-net, fishing with a fishing-weir. They are such strange people!' The other man replies: 'Old chum, be silent! I told you the other day to be quiet; you will get us into some trouble.' Then [the other one] answers: 'Enough, old chum, I will not do any more mischief.'

16. They sat down. As they sit, he says: 'Look, old chum! here the heads of some old man and an old woman [are seen]. The woman's head is laden with a nest of black eagles; the top of the old man's head is laden with a *туру* eagle nest. They are so strange, the old woman and the old man!' The other man tries to hush him: 'Old chum, be quiet, you are going to get us into some trouble.' The other one replies: 'Old chum, enough! I will not do any more mischief.'

17. While she was sewing, the woman brought out a knife, she jabbed her husband, as he is lying, in his armpit. — 'Look, old chum! behold, she will kill that man.' Again the other man tries to keep him silent: 'Old chum, do me a great favour: be quiet! You are going to get us into some trouble.' The man sits up and says: 'Since the arrival of the host of guests, why could you not have woken me up earlier?! Will the guests sit without food for a long time or for a short time?!' — He got dressed, he clamped on his skis, he took out his bow and arrow, he drew asunder the mouth of his lady

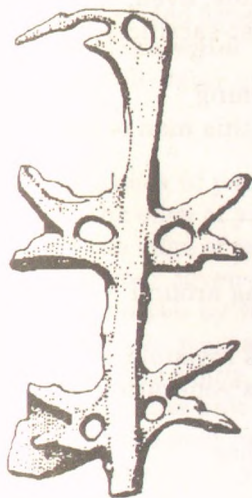
mother, then the heels of his snow-shoes disappeared. Then he left. Has he been away for a long time or for a short time, his father, the old man, gives a yawn, he drew apart his mouth, behold, the heels of his skis appear from there. It slipped onto the floor of the house. He lifted a three-year-old elk bull, with hands and feet tied together, hung, alive, on the handle of a shovel — he brought it out and threw it onto the floor of the house. They flayed it, cut it into pieces and put it in the pot. Had it boiled for a long time or for a short time, they lifted [the pot], they ladled [the meat] into a plate, they placed the plate before him. [The master of the house] says: 'If you want a companion fit to be at the end of plate, at the end of cup, go out!' He went out. In the village square he runs hither and thither, shouting: 'End-of-plate, end-of-cup companion of mine, come! I have an end-of-plate, end-of-cup companion I have got from somebody.' As he enters, the hair of his head is pulled upwards. He glances up: a witch who has lost her teeth and nails sits [there]. Together they went in, they started eating; they ate and drank.

18. Had they laid there for a night or had they been there for a day, one of the men says: 'Now, you man who have become a relative, you man who have become a brother-in-law, are you going to stay for a long time or for a short time yet? It is your affair [disposition]; behold, I am off.' The other one replies: 'If you go, I go too.' — His brother-in-law provided her with a dowry, and together they set off. They arrived in the village of one of the men. They ate and drank, good food, bad food. The son of the Town's-ruling-prince, living separately, went to the town of his father his elder.

19. After they had lived through seven winters, seven summers, his brother-in-law came to visit him. Had he slept a night there, or had he spent a day there, he says to his brother-in-law: 'Listen, if you feel like it, we would visit together the Town's-ruling-prince-elder's son, your brother-in-law, to see how they live and what their circumstances are.' He answers: 'Let us go, by way of amusement.' — They set off. Had they been travelling for a long time or for a short time, they came to the town of the Town's- ruling-prince-elder. They entered. The people on the floor of the house, they are fishing with a dipnet, the man who casts a drag net is using a drag net, the man who fishes by a fishing weir is fishing with a fishing weir. His lady mother is sitting in a room-compartment: her head is laden with a black eagle's nest; his father elder is laden with a *turuj*-eagle nest on the top of his head. He is lying. His wife is sewing, she is working. — While she is sewing, she takes out a knife from her side, she stabbed her husband in the armpit with the knife [she stuck a knife in there]. 'Ah, ah, ah! you are jabbing at me with some knife!' He sat up and says: 'Since the arrival of the host of guests you ought to have woken me up long ago. Will the two guests who have crossed a long stretch of country sit without food for a long time or a short time yet?' He got dressed, buck-

led on his skis, brought out his bow and arrow, he tries to force his way into the opening of his lady mother's mouth. His lady mother screams: 'My darling boy, look, my mouth is bursting apart!' Through the power of his brother-in-law's pleading he disappeared in it and with that he went away. Had he been away for a long time or for a short time, his father elder gives a yawn, he pulled his mouth apart, behold, the points of his skis appear from there. His father elder cries, he screams: 'My darling boy, lo, my mouth is bursting apart!' With that he fell on the floor of the house. He lifts an elk bullock hogtied and impaled on the shank of a shovel. He threw it on the floor of the house; they cut it up, flay it and put it in the pot. Had it boiled for a long time or for a short time, they lifted it, ladled it into plates, placed it before them, they ate and drank. His brother-in-law says: 'Well, enough, let us go!'

20. They left, they arrived at his son-in-law's place. Had he slept a night there or spent a day there, he was preparing [began] to go. He says: 'Later, after my departure, you will be [at home] for a day, or you will be at home for two days, you go to visit your brother-in-law, you go to see him again, to see how they live after our visit [after us]. Visit them and see if they live well or live badly.' After the departure of his brother-in-law had he stayed at home for two days, or had he stayed at home for three days, and afterwards he went to the Town's-ruling-prince-elder's son, his brother-in-law. He came there. The town of the Town's-ruling-prince-elder is utterly consumed by fire, only their smouldering pieces of wood are lying about. Setting his three stumps, burnt by fire, three ways, he goes out, he goes in through the seven holes of his house. Then he came home.



21. He was at home for two days or for three days, he went to visit his brother-in-law. He came to his brother-in-law. He asks: 'Listen, have you visited your brother-in-law, how do they live?' He replies: 'I have visited my brother-in-law, his town is consumed by fire, only their smouldering pieces litter the place.' His brother-in-law replies: 'Some-day, when the world of man's age rises, let the son of man not exert himself looking for my seven tricks of a spirit, my seven tricks of a devil! He [i.e. the prince's son] did not want to live to see the bright days of further life.' — Whereupon he stayed with his brother-in-law for a day or for two days, then they embraced and kissed one another, and he went home. No wide-grained grainy snow covers up their path trodden during winter days, no ship's foam cuts off their course travelled on summer days. They still live with that happiness.

A song of invitation to the World Surveyor Man, the Son of Heaven*

Under our dear father *Golden Kwores* [Heaven],
under our dear mother *Golden Sis* [Heaven],
above seven regions of our round earth turning like a hoop
bent by our dear father *Torem*, residing at the height of [the flight
of] seven black eagles,

- 5 above the sun-circled sacred earth
overturned by our Seven-god-[bearing]-ancestress-mother,
a misty sun, misty with disease, was created,
a misty sun, misty with infirmity, was created [by our father *Numi-Torem*].

- Many paupers in shabby coats,
10 many paupers in shabby boots,
from the disease, we can get no strength,
from the infirmity, we can get no strength,
behold, so greatly have our bones begun to decay.

*

- In your horned-beast-sacrifice-possessing square
15 we see no admiring winged-backed, backed god.
In olden times, when the man of the age of song, our kinsman,
the man of the age of legend, the son of our ancestor, lived,
on the day that he stood on his seven-horned-beast-sacrifice-
possessing square –
behold, in olden times, above the round earth turning
20 in the shape of the ring of the ski pole carried by this man of the age
of song, man of the age of legend,
Numi-Torem, our father appeared.

*

- You are called a man of a Princely Hero wandering around
lands venerating a goddess at the source of
the white-watered, food-rich Ob, whose left side is invisible, –
25 a man of a Princely Hero wandering around lands venerating a god.
On your silver-arched, arched cradle
bent by your Seven-[god]-bearing-ancestress-mother

* VNGY II, 1: 311–319.

you sit for seven nights,
you sit for seven days.

- 30 As your hand moves on the right:
the sitting sacred earth trembles in its entire extent;
as your hand moves on the left:
the silver-like sacred ocean billows in its entire extent.

*

- In a small recess of your seven-sided sacred house,
35 let down by *Numi-Torem* your father,
in a nook of your seven-compartment-furnished golden house,
at the edge of your seven gold-legged tables,
above your seven gold-topped chests,
as you keep running about in your intoxication caused by seven
one-legged cups,
40 as you keep running about in your intoxication caused by seven
one-legged *amanitas* notched on the edges,
let your lake-sized sacred ears,
your Ob-sized sacred ears
listen [sound] to us,
let your lake-reflected golden eyes,
45 your Ob-reflected golden eyes
shine for us!
In your seven-horned-beast-sacrifice-laden square
stood on by these many paupers of yours in shabby furcoats,
these many paupers of yours in shabby boots,
50 let your mind, [longing] for the motley-haunched sacred beast,
be directed [gushed] towards us
like lake-water gushing up,
like Ob-water gushing up!

*

- In a nook of your seven-compartment-furnished golden house,
55 at the edge of your seven silver-edged tables,
at the edge of your seven gold-edged tables,
put your seven-geese-winged garment
put on you by your Seven-god-[bearing]-ancestress-mother —
put in on your shoulder, golden-hued
60 from the rising sun!
Put on the pair of boots
with the gold heel-protectors!
At the edge of your seven silver-legged tables
stand up!
65 Turn your three sun-turning turns,

- gird on your seven-goose-winged girdle
 girdled by your Seven-god-[bearing]-ancestress-mother!
 Put your seven-sided sacred cap
 let down by your dear father *Torem*, who dwells at the height of
 seven black eagles' flight —
- 70 put it on your water-nymph-stroked
 rising-sun-gilt locks,
 your forest-nymph-stroked
 rising-sun-gilt locks,
 cause it to glitter there!
- 75 Open wide
 the seven doors, made of gold parts,
 of your seven-sided sacred house!
 Irradiate
 the hoop-like turning round earth
- 80 with your locks gilded by the rising sun!
 At the base of your seven-horse-tied silver column
 circled by your golden-forelegged sacred beast [horse]
 untie the seven-tasselled silver reins!
 Over the back of the backed beast
- 85 spread your seven-clappered sacred-bell-furnished
 seven-cornered sacred saddle
 cut by your Seven-god-[bearing]-ancestress-mother —
 spread it there, Prince-Hero!
 On your seven-cornered sacred saddle
- 90 plant the hand gilded by the rising sun,
 oh glorious one, let it glitter there!
 Pull the seven-tasselled silver reins,
 rise up between the two skies,
 the two heavens!
- 95 With seven sun-turning turns
 circle round the seven-district sacred earth
 in its entire extent!
 On your blood-sacrifice-hallowed square,
 your food-sacrifice-honoured square
- 100 stood on by your many paupers in shabby furcoats,
 your many paupers in shabby boots,
 let your mind craving for the motley-shoulder-bladed-sacred beast
 be directed [gushed] towards us
 like a golden lake gushing up,
- 105 like the golden Ob gushing up!
 With the seven-tasselled sacred whip
 frightening the neck of [that] beast of yours
 chase the garment's hem of the disease wasting our bones —

chase it under the black-backed
110 sacred earth!
chase the garment's hem of the infirmity wasting our flesh —
chase it under the gold-like
sacred ocean!

*

We are living our girl-running day — our day of that age [i.e.
young],
115 we are pleading for our boy-running day — our day of that age.
From the small recess of your Seven-god-[bearing]-ancestress-
mother inhabited,
silver foot-stooled, foot-stool-furnished house —
from there cause our girl-age, aged
day to shine forth!
120 From a nook in your silver foot-stooled, foot-stool-furnished house,
inhabited by your Seven-god-[bearing]-ancestress-mother, —
from there cause our boy-time, time-possessing
day to shine forth!
From the seven doors of the house adorned by vivid colours,
125 inhabited by your dear father *Torem*, residing at the height of seven
black eagles' flight, —
from there cause our surviving, food-eating
happy day to shine forth!
As for these many distressed daughters of yours,
your many distressed sons, —
130 let their tormented, wretched laments, with which they lament,
let their tormented, wretched supplication, with which they suppli-
cate,
rise like the small waft of a moving cloud
up to the seven doors of the house decorated with vivid colours,
dwelt in by your father, residing at the height
135 of seven black eagles!
Together with your sacrificial rope, tying together seven male stags,
together with your sacrificial rope, tying together seven horses,
let it rise up there!



The invocation of the World Surveyor Man*

Man wearing a fine silver, inferior silver garment-hem!
man wearing a fine silver, inferior silver garment-sleeve!
Your father Golden Heaven, your father Golden Light
created you by his spell so that you might preserve the soul of your
daughter, the soul of your son.

- 5 Your distressed daughter's, your distressed son's
soul of a girl, soul of a boy, has fallen upon hard times,
their soul of a girl, their soul of a boy, implores:
if only you would prolong [the life of] the soul of a girl!
If only you would prolong [the life of] the soul of a boy!
- 10 The soul of girl shrinks, the soul of boy shrinks;
the soul hanging by a wisp, the soul hanging by a hair,
of your distressed daughter, your distressed son –
lift it up, send it to further life!

*

- You dwell in a copper-raftered, raftered house,
15 you dwell in a silver-girdered, girdered house.
Behold, your distressed daughter, your distressed son, in whatever
place,
have set before you the blood-sacrifice of a horned beast,
behold, they stand before you with the blood-sacrifice of a hoofed
beast.
With a three-lament, lamenting entreaty
20 they entreat you, Prince-Hero.
Cause a happy day, delighting a girl, to dawn,
cause a happy day, delighting a boy, to dawn!
We find no twig-bud to eat,
we find no grass-bud to eat.
25 Prince-hero, ordain twig-buds to eat,
ordain grass-buds to eat!

*

- If the leg of your invisible beast were seen,
if the hands [i.e. the forelegs] of your invisible stag were seen:
for seven nights we would crawl with knee-crawling,
30 for seven days we would crawl with shin-crawling,

* VNGY II, 1: 364–366.

on account of your distressed daughter, your distressed son, we
would literally cry to you.

*

Disease-sending god, infirmity-sending god!
we cry to you by night, we cry to you by day;
secure us protection from disease, secure us protection from infirmity!

- 35 If there is a sick woman [somewhere]: heal her!
if there is a sick man [somewhere]: heal him!
Golden Prince-Hero, Golden Man!
behold, for this they pray to you,
behold, for this they cry to you.



The hymn of the Devil Prince [*Xul'-āter*]*

1. 'Growing more and more muscular under the care of my father *Numi-Torem*, the joints of my hand grew more and more muscular. He keeps me in a house under seven iron padlocks. I move this sevenfold iron padlock of mine: there opens a crack the size of the eye of a needle. By my devillish seven tricks I spring [through this crack] into the open, I tread the square of his [i.e. my father's] village with a square: [suddenly] my right boot comes off. I look down: down there a little god with legs performs seven

* VNGY II, 1: 288-293.

kinds of skillful feats of the leg, [for this] he obtains [takes] noted [renowned] money, good sacrificial food. If my father *Numi-Torem* allowed me to descend: I would take noted money, good sacrificial food in the same way too.'

2. His father *Numi-Torem* comes. 'What did you see, my dear?' – 'This is what I saw: a little god with legs running to and fro down there performs seven kinds of skillful feats of the leg, obtaining [for it] noted money, good sacrificial food; if only you would cause me to descend!' – The other one says: 'When some day the age sets in in which man shall be created and shall live his life: how, I pray, could I let down a man-eating, big-eyed *Utpi* [barker=devil]? – 'No, oh father, they will present [do] me with noted money, good sacrificial food: [and then] I will lengthen the duration of man's life.'

3. [*Numi-Torem*] gets angry. Seizing him by one leg, he flings him down; [so that *Kul'-āter*] falls into the middle of the food-rich sea. – [In the sea, *Kul'-āter* says:] 'If my song is to continue: let there rise here [from the water] a sandbank big enough for a man to lie on!' – There rose a sandbank large enough for a man to lie on. He lies there seven nights and seven days. His lady aunt the silver-mouthed cuckoo sings: 'Tomorrow, when the fiery sun our lady mother rises into the end of her father's [*Numi-Torem*'s] house [i.e. when the sun appears on the horizon], from the lower end of this sea there will rise a wing: *Torem* will flood [he will suddenly overspread with his water] the sandbank suitable for a man to lie on. Where the wind goes: swim in that direction.'

4. He swims for a long time or for a short time, suddenly he is lifted up [by the waves]. [On the crest of the waves] he is almost transported to his father *Numi-Torem* [i.e. to the sky]; he looks: behold, an island is seen. Swimming for all he is worth, he headed straight in its direction. He went up on the shore and lay on his belly. His aunt, the silver-mouthed cuckoo sings, saying: 'Are you going to lie for long or for a short time yet?! Get up! Throw over your head some shavings split off from pine! There will then rise a four-cornered log-cabin. Walk around this island of the Ob! Search in your right pocket, you will find seven pieces of silver strung on a single ring; cast away those seven pieces of silver strung on a single ring: seven men with iron bows shall be born out of this, seven men with iron arrows shall be born out of this, a town without bounds shall arise.'

5. The 'Famous prince' going around the earth, as he goes around the earth, looks down, [he sees the town conjured by *Kul'-āter* and says:] 'Without our ordinance a limitless town has arisen.' Behold, he goes in, he is received by *Kul'-āter* [*Kul'-āter* is coming towards him] and he says: 'Son-in-law, if you like, sit into the recess of the recessed room-compartment!' He [the 'Famous prince'] was overwhelmed with shame with *Kul'-āter*'s

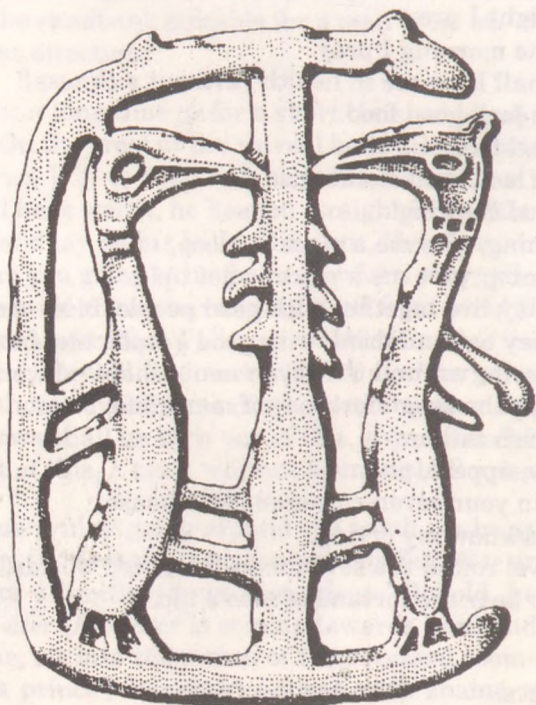
father-in-law. He has no wedding food fit for a girl to eat, he has no wedding food fit for a boy to eat. — With seven feats of a skillfull little god, from his own dwelling town he pulls here his granary, secured with seven door-fasteners, seizing it by [one] corner. There comes wedding food fit for a boy to eat, there comes wedding food fit for a girl to eat. They eat wedding food, they drink wedding drink; *Kul'äter* still lives with his father-in-law and he will live [sometime] in the future too.

God song*

- Man wandering around the seven food-rich worlds,
man wandering around the seven cattle-blessed worlds,
rich man, rich father,
white god, my royal father,
5 merciful dear god of mine!
By you I am fed, by you I am given drink.
If you did not feed me, if you did not give me drink,
I would die. —
Lying at night I pray
10 rising in the morning I pray
that you shall keep me in health [without sickness]!
If I were to lack good food:
give me good food;
if I were to lack good clothing:
15 give me good clothing!
In the evening, give me a place to sleep,
in the morning, give me a place to get up!
So that I may live together with good people, bless me,
so that I may eat and drink with good people, bless me!
20 Man wandering around the seven man-inhabited worlds,
man bearing the seven fortunes of man's life,
rich man, rich father:
to you I cry, appeal, pray:
you, lying in your seven-cornered glass house,
25 you see and know my crying.
As you travel round the seven man-inhabited worlds,
behold, you bear the fortune of man's life.

* VNGY II, 1: 376–378.

- To the man who has been unlucky in his lying at night
you give night-lying luck;
- 30 to the man who fared ill in his rising in the morning
you give morning-rising luck.
If he desires good clothing, good food,
you bless him with good clothing, good food;
if he desires a good horse, a good cow,
- 35 you plant him on a good horse, you present him with a good cow.
That is why you are worshipped, that is why you are remembered.
The woman going to bed in the evening pleases you with the twig
[i.e. scent] of a [kindled] larch,
the woman rising in the morning pleases you with the scent of a
kindled larch;
the horse-owning [horseman's handed] man remembers you with a
horse's head,
the cow-owning man remembers you with a cow's head.



A fragment of a prayer*

- [...] With the good sacrifice of a horned beast,
behold, I stand before you,
with the good sacrifice of a hoofed beast,
behold, I stand before you.
- 5 If only I would not meet
hillocky ground tripping me up!
if only I would not meet
pitted ground tripping me up!
Under the front of your garment, merry with marten-fur,
- 10 oh give me protection!
under the front of your garment, merry with bear's hair,
oh give me protection!

The invocation of the Water-Saint**

- You, whose sandy banks are seven sandy banks,
whose river-bends are seven river-bends,
were bewitched by your father *Numi-Torem*
with seven silver roof-openings —
- 5 by him, your father, were you bewitched;
you were bewitched by your father *Numi-Torem*
with his mouth of seven golden roof-openings —
by him, your father, were you bewitched;
with seven surging whirlpools
- 10 were yo bewitched by him. —
Seven iron-chested goblins
are rumoured to dwell there,
two grey-headed ones
are rumoured to dwell there.
- 15 In a glittering-watered, watery whirlpool,
there rise to the surface!
I, a good son of your gentle-man,

* VNGY II, 1: 367.

** VNGY II, 1: 390–393.

- [and these] kinsmen on either side,
 [these] men of long standing on three sides —
 20 behold, with good hands [holding] a hairy horse
 we approach you,
 with the blood-sacrifice of a maned horse
 we approach you.
 From the fiery region growing its fire [i.e. from hell]
 25 disease has arisen, infirmity has arisen.
 In olden times, when disease arose,
 disease did not pass through [here],
 when infirmity arose,
 infirmity did not pass through. —
 30 Good gentle-woman, good gentle-man
 have levelled smooth the wood-growing, wooded [sacrificial] square,
 [wiping out] the woods of the pretty sandy banks,
 they have levelled smooth the grass
 of the grass-growing, grassy sandy banks [by wiping it out].

An invocation against an evil spell*

- Kohohou, kohohou!
 Seven-winged, winged God!
 Fly your seven-rein-ox-drawn
 ox-sleigh
 5 above your cloud-enclosed seven stormclouds,
 which run above the seven edges
 of the hoop-like turning round sky
 rounded by your father *Numi-Torem*!
 High-soaring seven-winged, winged god,
 10 let your seven legged ones [i.e. your seven god-pages] remain down
 below [i.e. on the earth]!

*

Over these woman-marked, man-marked sacred earth,
 inhabited by your many men wearing dirty furcoats,
 over the spring-hare-plaited-woman [her plait is the colour of the
 hair of a spring hare, i.e. grey] — inhabited [i.e. earth mother-
 inhabited],

* VNGY II, 1: 372–375.

- dead [fallen underneath] woman's bone, dead man's bone [covered]
sacred earth
15 let your heaven-illuminating shining furcoat, your shining felt
boots,
the turning sun's white-shining beam [hand] of rays
shoot [burst] forth hitherward!

*

- When the garment's hem of the disease ravaging my bones
is lifted,
20 when the garment's hem of the infirmity ravaging my bones
is lifted:
with a seven-edged, edged sacred sword
— as I move my right hand —
lock [hold] the mouth of the disease, the mouth of the infirmity
ravaging my bones
25 under the dead-woman's-bone, dead-man's-bone-covered
dirty-backed
sacred earth.

*

- Now the heat of the god, the heat of the spirit descends on the
shaman; he says to his spirit:
As, behold, this man has cast an evil spell
on that man:
30 strike down his seven-haired, hairy head
with seven edges of the cutting-edged, edged sword,
strike it down under the seven spaces of the layered earth;
and raise up [heal] this soul of mine!

*

- Seven-sleeved, sleeved god,
35 let your seven sleeves rise up,
seven-minded, mind-possessing god,
let your seven minds rise up [i.e. let the fancy take you]!

Behold, the spirit of the man who has cast the evil spell or that of the enemy came to his spirit. As soon as he came, they fell on each other. While from downstream some 'cantor with a belly' [big deacon; i.e. bear] appeared, from upstream an iron male elk appeared. — What will happen after this?! [The shaman got so frightened that] behold, he hid under his sleigh. As soon as he had come out from under the sleigh, behold, the iron elk bull and the bear elder came to grips. They went on performing their clever feats for a long time or for a short time, the two horns on the forehead of

the iron elk bull broke off, and one of the front teeth of the bear elder broke off. Then they [i.e. the two shamans] parted and went their separate ways. They arrived home, each in his own village, in two [different] regions.

After they had arrived home, in the house of one of the men two children died: that is why the two horns of his spirit had broken off the other day. The other spirit had lost one front tooth: there one child died. When the man who had cast the evil spell died, his belly burst open; his belly split apart from the hair of a man's head. Behold, invocations are concerned with this kind of things.



The invocation of *Paset-idol-god-elder**

- Seven-fiery-edged-continent[-inhabiting]
forest goblin, hear us!
Six-fiery-edged-continent-inhabiting
mountain goblin, hear us!
- 5 Behold, we are praying to the sleeve of your princely garment,
behold, we are crying to the hem of your royal garment:
disease has arisen,
infirmity has arisen;
if only would calm [level] [the raging of] the garment-sleeve of
disease,
- 10 if only you would ease the raging of the garment-hem of infirmity!
Lake-sized-golden-eyed dear prince of mine,
Ob-sized-golden-eyed dear prince of mine!
Hairy-eyed forest goblin,
hairy-eyed mountain goblin!
- 15 To the hem of your song-proclaimed [gone] garment, celebrated in
song,
to the sleeve of your legend-proclaimed garment, praised in legend,
behold, we pray;
like a little iron-tipped arrow,
we keep bowing before you.
- 20 If only you would hear us, king,
with your lake-sized, sacred ears;
if only you would glance our way, prince,
with your Ob-sized, sacred eyes!
Our king, prolonging the life [soul] of girl,
- 25 our king, prolonging the life of boy!
The end of our girl-filled, full house,
the end of our boy-filled, full house
is being sorely assailed [touched] by the garment-hem of disease,
it is being sorely wasted by the garment-sleeve of infirmity.
- 30 If only you would pray for us
to [that] seven-god-distributing king,
your dear Golden father, [dwelling] at the height of six black eagles'
[flight]!
If only you, whose golden eyes are made by the rising sun,
would complain for us

* VNGY II, 1: 422-427.

35 to the king [radiant] with the rays of the setting sun,
your dear father, [dwelling] at the height of seven black eagles'
flight!

We have been sorely attacked by a terrible disease,
we have been sorely overcome by a dreadful malady.

If only you would sit down

40 in the marten's-hair-merry place,
if only you would cover up
the bear's-hair-coverlet-furnished place!
Our little king, laden [full] with pure silver,
our little king, laden with shoddy silver!

45 We, your many grimy-skinned sons,
have been reduced to penury,
we have fallen upon hard times.
Behold, the life [soul] of girl is cut short,
behold, the life of boy is extinguished.

50 Your many coat-skinned miserable dear ones,
your many glove-skinned sorrowful children -
behold, to you we appeal:

if only your golden spirit would move you in our favour,
if only your royal spirit would move you in our favour!

55 If only you would prolong the little end of the life [soul] of girl,
if only you would save [raise] the little end of the life of boy!

*

A divine trance descends on the shaman; he makes reply to the idol-god like this:

'Forest goblin, have you come?

mountain goblin, have you come?

if you would save [raise up] the little bird's soul [i.e. the soul, as tiny
as a little bird]

60 of my tender-handed dear little child,
my tender-footed little darling -
then would I truly call you an idol,
then would I truly call you a god!

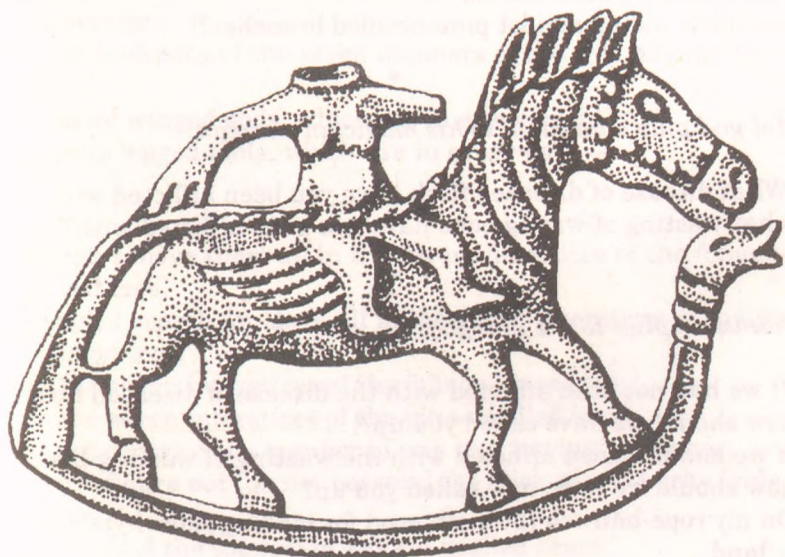
*

The idol-god replies to the shaman:

'Oh no, oh no!

65 Although I am a forest goblin,
I do not have the power to do that,
although I am a mountain goblin,

- I do not have the power to do that!
To my dear father *Numi-Torem*,
70 to him you ought to pray,
to my dear Majestic-Golden father,
to him you ought to complain!
You had better find
a horned-bull-blood-sacrifice square,
75 a hoofed-bull-food-sacrifice square!
Fasten there
seven blood-sacrifices tied on one rope,
set there
six blood-sacrifices tied on one rope!
80 From that shall the life of girl be prolonged,
from that shall the life of boy be improved.'



The invocation of *Paset-idol-seven-menkw-elder**

- 'Seven forest *menkw*-s lowered from a forest,
we were charmed a long time ago
to this sacred continent of ours
by our Majestic-Golden glorious father,
5 we were assigned a long time ago
to this sacred continent of ours
by our Majestic-Golden glorious father.
Whose hands were born of one [womb], we, seven *menkw*-s,
whose legs were born of one [womb], we, seven *menkw*-s,
10 turn according to the seven sides of the world having sides,
turn according to the seven manners of the world having a manner.
Seven hairy-eyed goblins,
seven hairy-eyed *menkw*-s,
how could we have turned
15 into minor gods hiding [walking] amidst foliage-leaved branches?!
How could we have turned
into idols hiding amidst pine-needled branches?!

*

The idol-god puts a question to his magician shaman:

'What disease of diseased flesh have you been afflicted with,
what wasting of wastig bone have you been afflicted with?'

*

The shaman replies to the idol-god:

- 20 'If we had not been afflicted with the disease of diseased flesh,
how should we have called you up?!
If we had not been afflicted with the wasting of wasting bone,
how should we have now called you up?
On my rope-bulrush [bulrush good for making ropes]-yielding sacred
land,
25 my bulrush-and-sedge-yielding sacred land —
behold, I place on it
this *Torem*-ordained, true spell of mine;

* VNGY II, 1: 415-421.

- behold, I lay on it
 this *Kwores*-ordained, true spell of mine:
 30 on my living-*jor*-beast-bewitched sacred land
 let your living *jor*-beast swim along!
 On my living-*sossel*-beast-bewitched sacred land
 let your living *sossel*-beast swim along!
 for the disease of diseased flesh which has somehow afflicted us, will
 you take the blood-sacrifice due to you?
 35 for the wasting of wastig bone which has somehow afflicted us, will
 you take the blood-sacrifice due to you?

*

The idol-god speaks to his shaman:

- 'How am I to find a way [where am I to take it from]
 of making a fast journey travelling among idols?
 how am I to find a way
 of making a fast journey among gods?
 40 Although I turn according to the seven sides of the tree having
 sides,
 although I turn according to the seven manners of the tree having
 its manner:
 I do not understand the seven manners of the tree having its man-
 ner.
 The many winged gods, which are in every part,
 the many legged idols, which are in every part —

*

- 45 although I move them all in the seven interstices of the foliage-
 leaved tree,
 although I search for them all in the seven interstices of the pine-
 needled tree:
 from the seven interstices of the foliage-leaved tree,
 from the seven interstices of the pine-needled tree
 I cannot contrive the manner of any tree having a manner,
 50 I cannot figure out [do not possess] the trick of any tricky [sided]
 tree,
 I cannot find the counsel of any counselled beast.'

*

The shaman replies to the idol-god:

'You have turned into a *menkw* of three men's age,
 you have turned into a *menkw* of four men's time;

how is it that you cannot figure out the trick of the tricky tree?
55 how is it that you cannot contrive the manner of the tree having a
manner?"

*

At this, three big menkws have arrived, the shaman says to the menkws:

'My three food-sacrifice-consuming, food-sacrifice-rich
chedsted little gods!
my three blood-sacrifice-consuming, blood-sacrifice-rich
golden little gods!
60 As for these three arrow-armed [-strong] children of yours, who are
sitting here,
your three bow-armed dear ones,
these three disease-racked little ones of yours,
these three illness-racked darlings of yours —
grant that the remainder [remaining piece] of this icy year of theirs,
65 the remainder of this snowy year of theirs
may henceforth be walked by them in health,
as even ground, fit for a girl to walk on!
let it be stridden [stood on] by them in health,
as smooth ground, good for a boy to walk on!

*

The idol-god says to his people:

70 'For me, blood-sacrifice-consuming, blood-sacrifice-rich Golden One,
food-sacrifice-consuming, food-sacrifice-rich Golden One, —
do not delay till morning my blood-sacrifice required in the evening,
do not postpone till evening my blood-sacrifice required in the
morning!'

*

The people make answer to the idol-god:

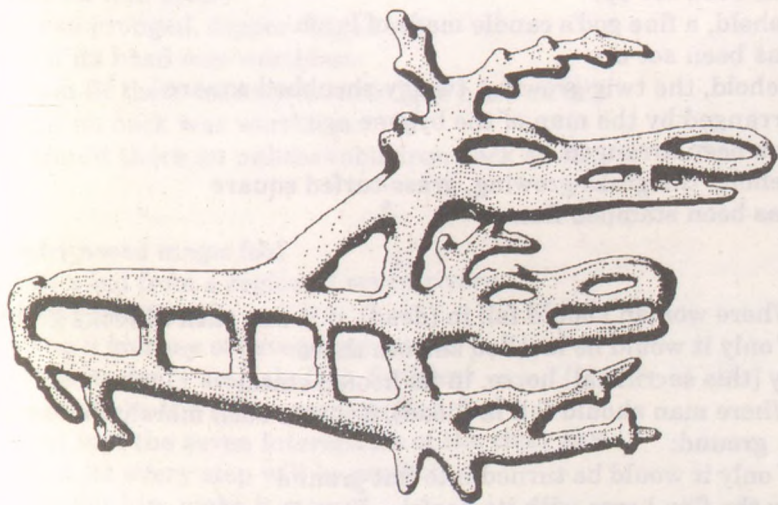
'Even the other day we were consuming [for you]
75 the steam of the food-sacrifice vessel, the food-sacrifice pot.'

*

The idol-god speaks to his people:

'Dear boys, dear boys! to say to you,
what counsel of a counselled beast I have for you,
what speech of a speaking beast I have for you:

- within three days, at most, of sitting here,
80 within four days, at most, of sitting here,
find seven blood-sacrifices tied to one rope,
set six blood-sacrifices tied to one rope!
I will take the steam of the steaming vessel,
I will take the smoke of the smoking pot.
85 Then hang up for your father the Majestic-Golden One —
hang up the hides of the seven blood-sacrifices made up of these
seven horned beasts,
so that your father the Majestic-Golden One can look at them! —
Thereafter, my three arrow-armed little children,
my three bow-armed sweet ones,
90 continue walking
on even ground, even enough for a girl to walk on,
continue standing
on smooth ground, smooth enough for a boy to walk on!



Invocation from the village of Jurkin*

- In seven interspaces of the clear skies,
seventh Heaven, rich father *Torem*!
Eared man, as quick of hearing as a quick-eared black duck,
let your sharp ears, which are as sharp as those of a black duck —
5 let them droop below [place them underneath]!
Man having water-lily-leaf-sized ears,
[the end of your water-lily-leaf-sized ears]! —
let it droop below!
Man having lake-sized eyes,
10 cause the end of your lake-sized eyes
to send its brightness down!
You are a keen-sighted man,
cause the end of your eyes to send its brightness down!

*

- The circle of this [sacrifice-accommodating] square was arranged by
the man of the long-gone age.
15 Behold, a fine god's candle [pole] made of juniper
has been set up,
behold, a fine god's candle made of larch
has been set up. —
Behold, the twig-growing, twiggy-shrubbed square
20 arranged by the man of the bygone age
has been arranged,
behold, the grass-growing, grass-turfed square
has been stamped flat.

*

- Where woman should fall in [dead], if it was such hillocky ground,
25 if only it would be levelled smooth there
by [this sacrificial] horse, in its hooped state!
Where man should fall in [dead], if it was such marshy [mossy]
ground:
if only it would be turned into flat ground
by the fine horse with its hoofs!

*

* VNGY II, 1: 334-347.

- 30 Behold, the gull's-feather-haired fine beast [i.e. white horse] of the
man,
harnessed from the end of his food-storing courtyard,
his ptarmigan's-feather-haired fine beast
has been tied
by a big knot of a rope,
35 behold, it has been bound
by a big bond of a strap.

*

- Smallest son of the square of *Torem*,
inhabiting seven interspaces of the clear sky!
As when a duck calls, with a duck-calling
40 whimpering voice we cry up to you,
as when a goose calls, with a goose-calling
whimpering voice we sit before you.
Along the fine god's candle made of a larch sapling
let it leap down with the leap of a male sable!
45 Along the fine god's candle made of juniper
let it creep down with the creeping of a female sable!

*

- Then let him insert
the two-pronged, copper-ringed bit!
And if its head was worthless:
50 let him fit there an unbreakable iron head on it!
And if its back was worthless:
let him fit there an unbreakable iron back on it!

*

- A split-nosed magic foal
set by a lad from a region of seven rivers
55 is being mentioned.
During a journey of seven true leaps,
so that its every step shall be faultless —
let him make the split-nosed stallion-foal
mount into the seven interspaces of the clear sky,
60 so that its every step will be perfect —
aye, so let him make it mount!

*

[There, so they say]...
Let the one [animal]
that has got into the seven interspaces of the clear sky

- 65 be saddled there
with a fine saddle having a gold head!
Let it be saddled there
with a red-painted, painted saddle!

*

- A large door made of gold
70 is being mentioned.
Let the fine horse
be then led [thither]! —
A grey-headed couple is being mentioned
on the doorstep of the large door made of gold.
75 Behold, let the dear ashen-headed old man
prop himself up
on the head of the ironed stick [pole hammer]!
Behold, let him prop himself up
on the head of the ironed spear!
80 And then let him mount
the fine saddle having a gold head!

*

- Then lead [the horse] down there
to the deep water — reaching up to the shoes of man —
of the sparkling-watered, watery lake,
85 the brilliant watered, watery lake
where the seven golden-necked swans dive in search of food!
There lead him down
to the deep water, reaching up to the kneecap of man!

*

- Thereafter make them [i.e. the horses] turn
90 round the seven hoop-like turning skies!
Thereafter cause them to turn
round the six revolving skies!

*

- A *Sakw* damsel distributing riches
in the seven interspaces of the clear sky
95 is being mentioned.
Thereafter seven decorations made up of [cut-out] holes
are being prepared there;
with curved jack-knives good for decorating,
seven decorations made up of [cut-out] patterns
100 are being cut out with delicate workmanship. —

For the seven regions of the hoop-like turning sky
let large portions of riches
be distributed there!
For the six regions of the revolving heavens
105 let large portions of food
be distributed there!

*

Seven paths where infirmity runs are being mentioned. —
Let them all be cut all over
by the points of seven knives having sides!
110 Six paths where disease runs are being mentioned. —
Let them all be hacked all over
by the points of seven steel swords having sides!

*

When there was a father of a family racked by illness on his bed-pillow:
115 for the father of a family racked by illness on his bed-pillow.
When there was a beloved [heart-endearred] boy who had fallen
[sickly] on bed-pillow:
behold, a threefold longevity arose
for the beloved boy who had fallen on his bed-pillow.
If there was a mother of a family who had fallen on her bed-pillow:
120 behold, a twofold longevity arose
for the mother of a family who had fallen on her bed-pillow.
When it was her beloved daughter, who had fallen on her pillow:
behold, a twofold longevity arose
for the beloved daughter who had fallen on her pillow.
125 If it was a man who had run out of his luck in the forest:
behold, he began to have great luck in the forest;
if it was a man who had run out of his luck in the water:
behold, he began to have great luck in the water.

*

If there be a tail-hair [of this sacrificial horse] which fell into the forest:
130 let it gambol there [turned into] a leaping sable with a bit of food in its mouth!
If there be a mane-hair which fell into the forest:
let it cavort there [turned into] a jumping squirrel with a bit of food in its mouth!
If there be a tail-hair which fell into the water:

let it swim about there like a golden dorsal-finned, dorsal-finned fish!

- 135 If there be a mane-hair which fell into the water:
let it swim about there like a golden back-finned, back-finned fish!

*

On the point [square] of the nameless finger [ring-finger] — drip
there

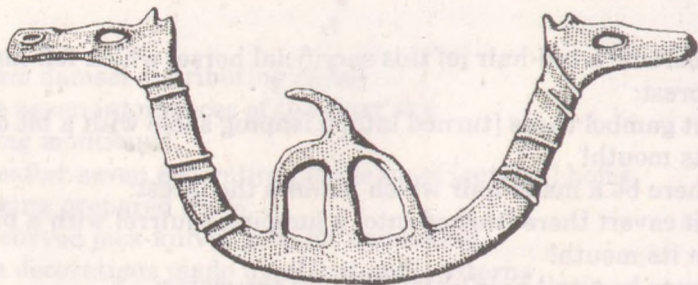
- infirmity-free sparkling water!
140 Drip infirmity-free shining water
there on the point of
the nameless finger!

*

Then, if it was a man who had run out of his luck in the forest:
behold, he began to have great luck in the forest.

*

- 145 Then cast him before the split-nosed magic foal
set by the lad of the region of the seven rivers —
ast him there as far as twice the distance of an arrow shot
onto a refuseless hill!
Cast him there as far as five times the distance
150 of an arrow let fly!
Only then touch him
with the point of a living snake whip!
Only then touch him
with the point of a motley snake whip!



The [heroic] hymn of the Elder of Lopmus*

- A sacred prince, one of the celestial host,
a sacred prince, one of the heavenly host,
I am called Sky's-son-elder;
onto this sacred land of mine [called] Lopmus
5 behold, I was charmed here
by my Supernal-Golden dear father.
The many people of the village,
the many people of the town
stand without caps before me.
10 I, Lopmus elder, am, indeed, a king
turning with a pointed sword,
I, Lopmus elder, am, indeed, a king
turning with a sharp sword.
My many village children just grown,
my many town children just grown —
15 I protect them from the garment's hem of disease,
I protect them from the hem of sickness' garment;
I am, indeed, the Lopmus elder.

*

- Oh, what a famous god, my fame they spread,
20 my renown they spread is that or Oh, what a renowned god!
A hero of songs blazoned by song,
a hero of legend blazoned by legend,
I was borne by my mother a *mis*-woman of the mountain,
I was borne by my mother a *mis*-woman of the forest.
25 Whichever daughter of mine, whichever son of mine
is touched by the disease of diseased flesh,
touched by the sickness of sick bone:
I circle them with the pointed sword,
I circle them with the sharp sword.
30 If a legged god appears above me,
if a winged spirit appears above me:
I drink them like the water of a lake.
Let my song be spread,
let my legend be recounted
35 by my man sailing upstream,
by my man sailing downstream;

* VNGY II, 1: 276-287.

I, Lopmus elder,
was a man victorious among seven spirits,
a man victorious among six gods.

*

- 40 With two ripe currant eyes
as I look on the ridge of my black Ural peak,
as I look on the ridge of my motley Ural peak [I think]:
behold, I am going to see
how, my many Nenets kept on the ridge of my black Ural peak,
45 my motley Ural peak, are living.
Behold, I, Lopmus elder, stood [on my way]
[holding] a stick pieced together [from parts of] slender fir,
[holding] a stick pieced together [from parts of] slender larch.
Suddenly, behold, what do I see:
50 behold, I have come to the black Ural peak,
behold, I have come to the many-colored Ural peak.
The cone-shaped tents [Samoyed houses] of my many Nenets,
whom I myself kept, are lying overturned [underneath],
only their reindeer remained there alive.
55 As I slowly walk into the house:
all the corpses lie where they lie,
every man, where he was killed, there he is killed.
I took a rope, threw it on a reindeer,
I pulled the reindeer here, behold, I killed it.
60 Lo, I rubbed those people of mine with the blood,
lo, I brought them to life.
I, Lopmus elder, say these words:
'Whatever happened to you, by whom were you killed?'
My many Nenets, in my own keeping, reply:
65 'Robbers from a foreign region [lying outside ourselves] came,
behold, we were slain by them.'
I, Lopmus elder, reply:
'Harness these reinbull herd of yours, consisting of seven reinbulls,
behold, I, Lopmus elder, will go now
70 to my Lopmus hillock, which I myself inhabit;
come slowly after me!'
Behold, I, Lopmus elder, start on my way.
[Holding] a stick pieced together from slender fir,
a stick pieced together from slender larch,
75 behold, I go back.
After I had been going a long time,
after I had been going a short time,
behold, my Lopmus hillock, inhabited by myself,

- appeared before me.
- 80 I went to my town, I entered my house,
 a man who had been on his way seven nights,
 a man who had been on his way seven days,
 I ate, I drank, I went to bed.
 Behold, I lie there dreaming
- 85 my true head-chopping dream,
 behold, I lie there dreaming
 my true trunk-chopping dream.

*

- After I had lain for a long time,
 90 after I had lain for a short time,
 I suddenly woke up.
 As I go out:
 the many people with girls of my village, which I possess,
 [i.e. the people of the village belonging to me]
 the many people with boys of the town, which I myself possess
- 95 are coming to offer a food-sacrifice, to offer a blood-sacrifice,
 they are bringing seven horned beasts tied on a single rope.
 Lo, they sit down opposite to me to work magic.
 I, Lopmus elder, behold, speak to them like this:
 'The disease of what diseased flesh has afflicted you,
 100 the sickness of what sick bone has afflicted you?'
 'Behold, we are overcome by the black-mouthed infernal plague
 to be devoured,
 behold, we are overcome by the black-mouthed black plague
 to be devoured;
- 105 we are dragging along the disease of diseased flesh,
 we are dragging along the sickness of sick bone.'
 I, Lopmus elder, behold, reply like this:
 'Kill your seven horned beasts tied on a single rope,
 your seven hoofed-beasts tied on a single rope,
 110 offering them up to your Upper-Golden father!
 Let the steam of the steaming vessel rise,
 let the smoke of the smoking cauldron rise.
 Hang the hides of these horned beasts, these hoofed beasts
 on a young [newly grown]
 115 little birch!
- After that the 's hem of Disease garment shall be gone,
 the hem of Sickness' garment shall be gone.
 Then bring me three horned beasts for a blood sacrifice,
 bring me three hoofed beasts for a blood sacrifice!
- 120 After you have brought me these three horned beast sacrifices,

I, Lopmus elder,
was a man victorious among seven spirits,
a man victorious among six gods.

*

- 40 With two ripe currant eyes
as I look on the ridge of my black Ural peak,
as I look on the ridge of my motley Ural peak [I think]:
behold, I am going to see
how, my many Nenets kept on the ridge of my black Ural peak,
45 my motley Ural peak, are living.
Behold, I, Lopmus elder, stood [on my way]
[holding] a stick pieced together [from parts of] slender fir,
[holding] a stick pieced together [from parts of] slender larch.
Suddenly, behold, what do I see:
50 behold, I have come to the black Ural peak,
behold, I have come to the many-colored Ural peak.
The cone-shaped tents [Samoyed houses] of my many Nenets,
whom I myself kept, are lying overturned [underneath],
only their reindeer remained there alive.
55 As I slowly walk into the house:
all the corpses lie where they lie,
every man, where he was killed, there he is killed.
I took a rope, threw it on a reindeer,
I pulled the reindeer here, behold, I killed it.
60 Lo, I rubbed those people of mine with the blood,
lo, I brought them to life.
I, Lopmus elder, say these words:
'Whatever happened to you, by whom were you killed?'
My many Nenets, in my own keeping, reply:
65 'Robbers from a foreign region [lying outside ourselves] came,
behold, we were slain by them.'
I, Lopmus elder, reply:
'Harness these reinbull herd of yours, consisting of seven reinbulls,
behold, I, Lopmus elder, will go now
70 to my Lopmus hillock, which I myself inhabit;
come slowly after me!'
Behold, I, Lopmus elder, start on my way.
[Holding] a stick pieced together from slender fir,
a stick pieced together from slender larch,
75 behold, I go back.
After I had been going a long time,
after I had been going a short time,
behold, my Lopmus hillock, inhabited by myself,

appeared before me.
80 I went to my town, I entered my house,
a man who had been on his way seven nights,
a man who had been on his way seven days,
I ate, I drank, I went to bed.
Behold, I lie there dreaming
85 my true head-chopping dream,
behold, I lie there dreaming
my true trunk-chopping dream.

*

After I had lain for a long time,
90 after I had lain for a short time,
I suddenly woke up.
As I go out:
the many people with girls of my village, which I possess,
[i.e. the people of the village belonging to me]
the many people with boys of the town, which I myself possess
95 are coming to offer a food-sacrifice, to offer a blood-sacrifice,
they are bringing seven horned beasts tied on a single rope.
Lo, they sit down opposite to me to work magic.
I, Lopmus elder, behold, speak to them like this:
'The disease of what diseased flesh has afflicted you,
100 the sickness of what sick bone has afflicted you?'
'Behold, we are overcome by the black-mouthed infernal plague
to be devoured,
behold, we are overcome by the black-mouthed black plague
to be devoured;
105 we are dragging along the disease of diseased flesh,
we are dragging along the sickness of sick bone.'
I, Lopmus elder, behold, reply like this:
'Kill your seven horned beasts tied on a single rope,
your seven hoofed beasts tied on a single rope,
110 offering them up to your Upper-Golden father!
Let the steam of the steaming vessel rise,
let the smoke of the smoking cauldron rise.
Hang the hides of these horned beasts, these hoofed beasts
on a young [newly grown]
115 little birch!
After that the 's hem of Disease garment shall be gone,
the hem of Sickness' grament shall be gone.
Then bring me three horned beasts for a blood sacrifice,
bring me three hoofed beasts for a blood sacrifice!
120 After you have brought me these three horned beast sacrifices,

- if you have been hit by the black-mouthed infernal plague,
if you have been hit by the black-mouthed black plague:
the black-mouthed infernal plague,
the black-mouthed black plague
125 shall cease forthwith, it shall be gone [smoothed out] forthwith.
My three poor creatures [who have remained free] from the mouth
of Disease,
go now with sound hands, with sound feet with *Torem!* ['Farewell!']

*

- After that, behold, my people went away.
Behold, I entered the door of my doored house,
130 behold, I sat into my nest of sable's skin, my nest of a bear skin
in the guest's compartment.
I sit lowering my head, I fall into meditation.
As I sit like this, behold, I have these thoughts:
how am I to live all by myself,
135 behold, I am going in quest to
a region with women, travelled by women;
where the daughter of the *mis*-lady of the mountain lives,
where the daughter of the *mis*-lady of the forest lives,
behold, that is where I am going to plead my suit.
140 I, Lopmus elder, now went out,
behold, I take out my double stick made of slender fir,
my stick pieced together from slender larch,
behold, I set off.
As I advance like this,
145 behold, what do I see:
behold, I have come
to the town that is the residence of that *mis*-lady of the mountain,
the town that is the residence of that *mis*-lady of the forest.
I got to the opening of the door of the doored house
150 of that *mis*-lady of the mountain, *mis*-lady of the forest.
Outside I set my skis upright, I entered.
As I entered,
that young *mis*-lady broke into a smile,
behold, she said to me:
155 'Lopmus elder dear,
by what luck were you brought here,
by what luck were you lifted here?'
Now, behold, I sat in the guest's compartment,
behold, I make such speech to the mother
160 of the *mis*-lady of the mountain, young *mis*-lady of the forest:
'*Mis*-lady of the mountain, *mis*-lady of the forest, behold,

- I would like to take away your sweet daughter
for a dear companion to live the world,
for a dear companion to live heaven.'
- 165 Behold, the mother of the young *mis*-lady of the mountain,
mis-lady of the forest makes this reply:
'How could I withhold my daughter, my son
destined *Torem* for marriage?!
- If you want to take her away
- 170 for a dear companion to live the word,
for a dear companion to live heaven, well, take her away!'
- Then, behold, that young *mis*-lady
is dressed up by her mother
in a sable coat, in bear skin.
- 175 Behold, I took her
to my town with a lady, inhabited by myself,
my town with a prince, inhabited by myself.
We arrived home, we entered through the door
of my doored house.
- 180 At this, my lady mother became glad:
'Behold, my son has now brought a woman!'
- Then that young *mis*-lady of the mountain was offered a seat
in a good compartment furnished by my lady mother
and covered with a curtain.
- 185 I undressed, and went there too.
For seven nights, seven days
we lie there dreaming
our true head-chopping dream,
we lie there dreaming
- 190 our true trunk-chopping dream.
After we slept seven nights, seven days,
behold, we rose;
we continue to live beautiful days
with lady's happiness,
- 195 we continue to live beautiful days
with prince-hero's happiness.



The hero's song of the warlords of Lar-us*

Of the warlords of Bay Town, [the name of] the smallest of the three men is Cap-full-of-seven-lake-gulls-passed-into-the-lake; the middle one is called: Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-the-moon-sacred-sword; [the name of] the eldest is Cembra-pine-cone-nut-kernel-like-white-bodied-prince. The two smaller men have no wives, the elder man does have a wife; her name: Man-with-many-people-man-with-many-man-[daughter]-cunning-woman.

- The wife of Cembra-pine-cone-nut-kernel-like-white-bodied-prince says to her full village, full town many servants:
'Bring home many backpacks of summer birch bark,
bring home many backpacks of winter birch bark!'
- 5 Her many servants of full village, full town
go to the birch grove
at the end of the village, at the end of the town.
The many backpacks of summer birch bark
they carry in great numbers,
- 10 the many backpacks of winter birch bark
they carry in great numbers;
behold, they take it to her. —
Many boxes adorned with drawing of goose-leg
they make in great numbers,
- 15 many cases adorned with drawing of duck's leg
they make in great numbers,
She lays them before her husband, saying:
'For a renowned warlord of your kind,
for a famous warlord of your kind,
- 20 to put in them food from the Ob, food from the lake,
oh what beautiful little boxes,
oh what beautiful cases!'
Her husband jumped up,
he trampled the little boxes, cases into smithereens; [he says:]
- 25 'It was while eating these hard dried bream fish
that I had my bones growing, my flesh growing;
by the abundance of food from the Ob, food from the lake
my bones did not grow, my flesh did not grow.' —
Behold, for a second time his wife makes
- 30 many boxes, many cases adorned with drawing of goose-leg,
many boxes, many cases adorned with drawing of duck-leg.

* VNGY II, 1: 52-75.

Once again she places them in front of her husband [saying]:
'for a renowned warlord of your sort,
for a famous warlord of your sort,
35 to put in them fish-oil from the Ob, fish-oil from the lake,
oh what nice little boxes, oh what nice cases!'

Again her husband rose; again he trampled the little boxes, cases into smithereens. His wife grew angry, she began to sing; while singing, she called them [i.e. the warlords] by their [heroic] names. In the meantime, her hands are busy, active. Many boxes, many cases adorned with drawings of goose-leg, duck-leg, as many of them as there were the other day: she now adorned even more, she now made even more. Lo, she placed them before her husband for the third time too.

'To a renowned warlord of your kind,
to a famous warlord of your kind,
in autumn, when short days are created [by the Upper-Sky, our
father],
40 much wealth to be put into barks
will be conveyed in great numbers,
abundance of fish-oil of the lake, fish-oil of the Ob
will be carried in great numbers:
nibbling this hard dried bream fish
45 are we to tarry [sit] here for a long time or for a short time?'
Lowering his head, her husband sits silent.
It cannot be otherwise — he thinks — I must set off.

*

He says to his fifty page-sons:
'Hey! on the third day, counting from this day,
50 set afloat the transomed ship with the iron transom,
the planked ship with the iron plank!'
And sure enough, from their lake town with a quay
they boarded, on the third day, their transomed ship
with iron transom, their planked ship with an iron plank.
55 Hardly had they started rolling on the water when the woman says:
'On top of the red rocky shore there is a town,
is it the sun breaking through,
or the faint glimmer of moonlight?'
Behold, it is Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword, her
smaller lord,
60 on top of that red rocky shore [his figure] shows towards the water.
'Sister-in-law!' — he says — 'those whom you here take away you
can take away anywhere:

- you will not get rid of me;
 if you descend [i.e. into the ground]: you will not slip [penetrate]
 through down there;
 if you go upwards, if you climb to the sky:
 65 I will pull you down with an iron hook!
 Lo, his sister-in-law jumped up,
 with one leg she stepped up on the shore.
 'Enough!' — she says — 'let us turn back, then!'
 But a renowned warlord, a famous warlord, once he has set sail,
 70 how can he turn back any more?!
 With his fifty pages,
 lo, he set off to the distance.

*

- They go towards the Ob, they reach a big island in the middle of the
 Ob,
 behold, there they stayed overnight.
 75 Now the fifty pages disperse to fifty regions,
 the fish they bring fills fifty ships.
 The skillful-handed woman, the skillful-legged woman
 prepares these fish, filling fifty ships,
 one after the other.
 80 She says to her husband:
 'Let the fifty pages
 go far to a fishing region;
 these districts lying near have run out [of the abundance of fish].'
 Her husband says to his wife:
 85 'Why, was it a forest, how could it run out?!
 From the gateway of the icy sea,
 from the gateway of the snowy sea,
 small dorsal-finned, dorsal-finned fish
 small-nosed, nosed fish
 90 shoal in the night, shoal during the day,
 behold, how many of them there were this day,
 tomorrow there will be as many again.'

But when does a husband prevail?! The woman prevailed. Now they
 sent the people to far-off regions to fish. Whilst her husband went to sleep.

- They have a soft-headed, tender-headed little son.
 95 He was a day [a night] old and the mother
 laid him over a board set with needles.
 Then she cut her husband's bow into two,
 slit open the forked ends of his arrows,

turned out the clinch-nails of his sword,
 100 the bottom of his suit of armour with sevenfold silk-thread
 she sewed together.
 Scarcely had she finished her work when lo, the child cries out.
 Now she listens towards the upper direction of the river:
 the noise of the rustling of twigs is heard,
 105 the noise of the rustling of grass blades is heard,
 while the boy screams, she runs there.
 Bent-bowed-knot-strong Russian warlord,
 her earlier husband had come there all by himself.
 With a seven-anchored big ship, with sail he had arrived;
 110 behold, it was the noise of his landing that had been heard.

The little boy is screaming, that is why her husband does not hear [the arrival of the enemy]. The renowned princely lady, the famous princely lady came to the Russian warlord. The Russian warlord says: 'Behold, there lies a birch log there, sit there!' Lo, she sat there. The Russian warlord asks: 'How is your husband lying?' 'He' — she says — 'is lying crosswise beneath the sleeping-tent.' Now the Russian warlord went there. As he was lying, they hacked the renowned warlord, the famous warlord, with the sword. The naked man could hardly raise himself above the sword. Behold, they keep hitting him from above without a break [with the same thickness]. With one hand, he cunningly performs upwards-directed sword-defence, sabre-defence dexterity, with his other hand, behold, he gets hold of his bow. As he pulls [the string]: he scarcely reaches the half of the bending bent piece, and, behold, the bow broke into two. Then he took out his sword; as he strikes before him with it, only the ringing [of the impact] against stone was heard, with merely the hilt of the sword remaining in his hand. His people had been sent by his wife to a distance of three days' journey the other day. As he put on [poured on himself] his suit of armour: it got stuck. As he was tearing it, treading on the bottom of his suit of armour: how could the sewing sewed by the renowned princely lady, the famous princely lady, be torn up so easily?!

He busied himself for a long while or he busied himself for a short while,
 on the third day, at the time of sunrise,
 as he moves [carries] his hand: it is like waterlogged rotten timber,
 he moves it slowly,
 as he moves his leg: it is like waterlogged rotten timber, he moves it slowly.
 115 Then, behold, his wife looks at him: his body which had a whiteness
 like that of cembra-pine-cone-nut-kernel,
 behold, it was soaked with blood.
 It was only then that the heart of his wife began to ache.

As he had thus fallen, [his enemy] took him by his shoulders, threw him against the ground and then hacked him into pieces; that is how the Russian warlord killed him. His wife says: 'Let us also slay our child!' — The Russian warlord replies: 'Let us not kill him, he will be raised later and will call me father.'

*

Lo, they run to the water to the seven-anchored big ship. They hoist up the sails; it is the stratagem of the Russian warlord.

- It was touched by a wind of the lower region:
120 like a white-winged, winged beast
up the food-rich Ob, up the fish-abounding Ob
it makes them fly.
They sailed for a long time or they sailed for a short time,
in one place they look into the distance:
125 an iron castle, a stone castle is seen.
'Woman! look at there,
what sort of a town is that, do you know?'
'I don't, how on the earth should I know?!'
'If you didn't know yet, it is the town inhabited by my iron-bodied
130 seven *menkw* [devil] friend; — when we arrive there,
what thunderbolt could hit us?!'
They arrived there, they dropped anchor,
they lowered their sails, and with that they went up on the bank,
to those iron-bodied seven *menkw* friends of theirs.
135 Behold, they went to bed. —
Had they been lying for a long time or had they been lying for a
short time,
suddenly there came a blow on the gate outside.
Behold, the pieces, flying everywhere [going anywhere], of the cross-
hinged gate
fashioned by the artist-man and made of cedar wood sing with the
sound of a winged beast,
140 its pieces, flying everywhere, lo, sing with the sound of a legged
beast;
it was smashed into tiny pieces. — The Russian warlord rises:
well, the seven *Torem*-son pages,
behold, they entered. They say to the Russian warlord:
'Why are you disturbing, why are you hurting [moving]
145 the sky that stood [was] in peace, the earth that stood in peace
before?
As we look at the end of the lower-corner bend of the Ob:
is it the sun breaking through or the moonlight coming up,

- in no way can the eye bear [its light].'
 They burst out into the street, they look down the river
 150 well, behold, the brothers-in-law of the Russian warlord's woman
 are coming,
 lo, seeking [pursuing] revenge for that brother of theirs.
 From the two sides of the food-rich Ob,
 from the two sides of the fish-abounding Ob,
 pages, many lads
 155 through many days created by *Torem*
 they roll like the many coils
 of a wound-up rope, —
 through many days created by *Kwores*
 they roll like the many coils
 160 of a wound-up rope, —
 The many towns with many footprints of horses,
 the many towns with many footprints of cows,
 towns standing on the two sides of the food-rich Ob,
 into the wide water of the food-rich Ob,
 165 they hurl them into it
 like crumbled (diapér) wood [from under a baby] girl, like crum-
 bled (diapér) wood [from under a baby] boy.
 The Russian warlord with his woman
 runs down to the water,
 to the ship equipped with seven anchors
 they hoist up their sails.

*

- 170 It was touched by a wind of the lower region:
 like a white-winged, winged creature
 up the food-rich Ob, up the fish-abounding Ob
 it makes them fly once again.
 They sailed for a long time or they sailed for a short time,
 175 in one place they look ahead:
 at the end of an iron chain let down from the sky
 there hangs a castle. — Again he speaks to his woman:
 'I say, woman, what castle is seen there?'
 'Well, how should I know?!' — she replies.
 180 'If you do not know, well, that is the castle dwelt in by the seven
 sons
 of the Storm-god, my friends;
 when we arrive there, what trouble can befall us [what of ours can
 become what any more]?'
 At the castle dwelt in by the seven sons of the Storm-god
 lo, they arrived, they left their ship;

to the castle hanging at the end of the iron chain
behold, they climbed, behold, they are there.

*

- Suddenly a page enters from outside,
185 the sevenfold iron door nearly broke.
‘Damn your father, your mother! what did you hurt them for?
The lower end of our food-rich Ob bend,
lower end of our fish-abounding Ob bend —
is it the sun appearing on it
190 or has only *Torem* descended [there is such light flooding from
there]?!’
Behold, her brothers-in-law had once again set off in pursuit
of the Russian warlord with his woman, lo, they had once again
caught up with them.
Their sister-in-law climbed up to the world-looking mountain
of the seven sons of the Storm-god.
195 As she looks down the food-rich Ob:
her brothers-in-law are lying in the midst of the ship,
200 behold, they sit up, they keep pulling their fingers [hands].
Their fingers, as they crack,
the noise they raise
is like the frozen larch when it cracks.
Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword says:
205 ‘While traversing the bed [interior] of the food-rich Ob, the bed of
the fish-abounding Ob,
we have not yet seen a district in which to stretch our hands,
our legs [i.e. to fight]:
our hands have got bored, our legs have got bored,
only now does a castle-ball for stretching appear.’
210 Behold, Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword now stood
up,
took out a stalk whistle and is walking along the rim of the ship.

*

- The seven sounds of the winged beast,
seven sounds of the legged beast
he whistled, one and all [with his whistle].
215 Behold, they arrived at the harbour of the harboured castle.
Precisely a hundred people boarded the ship;
behold, they disembarked.
There they now started hacking the larch beams
let down at the end of the rope from above.
220 The sword touches a larch beam,

it immediately cuts it into two, and [again] another one comes;
again, the sword scarcely touches the other piece of wood,
and again another one comes. — Suddenly
they cut down the largest larch beam that had grown
225 in that celestial region.

Cap-full-of-seven-lake-gulls-passed-into-the-lake
pinned [angled] this on the point of his sword, threw it over his
head.

He glances down on the water:
he removed fifty people of his own,
230 he also removed the Russian warlord's ship equipped with seven
anchors.

Then, with his fifty pages,
behold, they climb up
to the castle of the Storm-god's seven sons.

*

Lo, they arrived, the gate of the castle is not opened.
235 Two men took out their battle hatchets [sword-axes],
the ten-fathom-thick iron rampart,
side by side, behold, they cut through.

Behold, they entered. The seven sons of the Storm-god
appeared right in front of them. — Those two say:

240 'Numi-Torem, your august father,
has forbidden you the shedding of human blood!'
At this, biting the tips of their fingers,
they withdraw in peace.

Departing, they say: 'Do not destroy our castle!'
245 At this point, behold, someone stepped out [emerged] from within:
as they look at him: well, it is their little brother.

That hero called Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-the-moonlight-sacred-
sword

was seized with such a fit of rage
that he lowered his sun-hot, moonlight-hot sacred sword
250 and began pilling his bow.

Behold, both ends of the bow began to creak:
Like many silent [mouthless-tongueless] swans come from a region
beyond the sea,
when they make their cry in great numbers, exactly such a noise his
bow made as he was pilling it.

Lo, he shot at his little brother.

255 He was wearing his father's suit of armour;
[the arrow] did not pierce the suit of armour,
but he removed him alive to behind the castle.

- At this point, behold, the Russian warlord stepped forward,
together with him, three pages.
- 260 The Russian warlord says to his pages:
‘My pages, give salutations!
As for me, since I am a woman-abducting thief:
I shall be the last to give salutations.’
Behold, his pages shot.
- 265 That hero named Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred- sword
stretched himself, lo, he caught the arrows that had been shot.
He thinks: If I slay him forthwith [it will not be good:] — his
thought is arrogant —
one of the arrows that had been shot he placed on the string of the
bow directing it back [thinking],
let it stick itself into the ground in front of the Russian warlord!
- 270 Behold, he shoots. The iron of the arrow he has shot lodges itself in
the ground
in front of the Russian warlord and the shaft of the arrow swings [is
beaten hither and thither] up there.
[The upper end of the arrow] hit the Russian warlord on both eyes,
behold, he ran away in likeness of a mole.
Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword
- 275 set off in pursuit of him in the form of a thin ermine.
He chased him, chased him, behold, he caught up with him.
The Russian warlord flies away in the form of an iron loon,
and he pursues him in likeness of a grebe.
Behold, the Russian warlord goes straight up to
- 280 the brilliant sky. — It was with great difficulty he got there
but then *Torem* let him into the interior of his house.

*

- With the back of his sword he keeps on beating the gate of *Torem*’s
house:
‘My father *Numi-Torem*, give him to me,
I will kill the cause of my revenge!’
- 285 ‘Oh no!’ — his father said — ‘I will not give him,
If you slay him, it will be bad [for you], you will be stained with
human blood.’
‘Oh no!’ — he replies — ‘just hold him out!’
His father says: ‘Well, with what power will the Russian rule [sit]
one day, then?’
The man who came in the form of a grebe replies: ‘Give him to me
quickly!’
- 290 His father says: ‘Do not take his life!
I will hold out the soles of his feet;

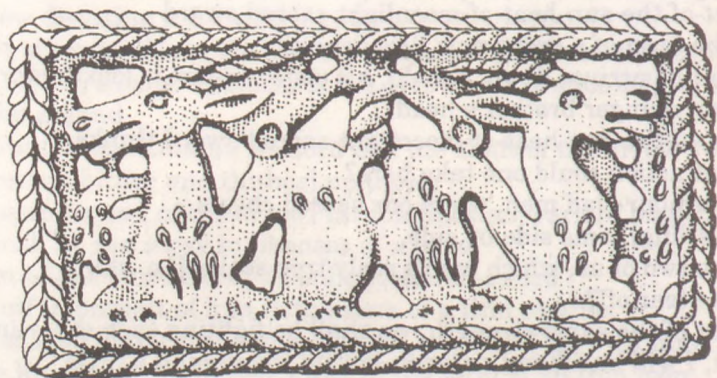
- with the point of your sword you shall furrow the soles of his feet:
and let his blood drip down onto the ground!"
- Now, behold, he held out the soles of his feet.
- 295 'Come on, hold him a little further out,
lo, your house is being sprinkled with blood!"
He now held the Russian warlord further out.
Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword
cut him in two around his belt,
- 300 near his father's hand he cut him in two.
One half of him rolls down,
[Torem] is looking at the other half: behold, he is struck down.
Finally he dropped that other half of him as well.
Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword
- 305 in the form of a grebe now flew beneath.
When he arrives down, behold, his sister-in-law is looking for lice in
her younger brother's head.
Heat-of-the-sun-heat-of-moonlight-sacred-sword thinks:
'What action could one take here?
We armour-clad men, when our sacred chests
- 310 [wrestling] come side by side,
of the two of us, which man's scaly tree-scales [i.e. skin]
do we tear off?
Being of the same strength, we shall be fighting each other in vain.
Well, I will knock my sister-in-law on the ground a little.'
- 315 He now trampled on his sister-in-law named Man-with-many-
people-
man-with-many-servants-cunning-woman
took her by her scalp,
dashed her against the surface of the ground,
and with the nose of his boot he kicked her upwards.
- 320 As he looks at her, well, behold, she vanished,
he had kicked her away with such force.
As his sister-in-law called Man-with-many-people-man-with-
servants-cunning-woman
is flying [travelling] up high, she has such thoughts:
'Would that I might fall into a pine-marten nest, a bearskin
- 325 nest lain in by a warlord;
for if I fall on ordinary ground:
my bones will be torn apart, my flesh will be torn apart.'
Sure enough, she did fall on good ground lain on by a warlord,
she did fall into a pine-marten nest, a bearskin nest.

*

- 330 The great wealth, procured by a little idol,
the great wealth, procured by a devil,

of the many full towns of the Ob region,
of the many full villages of the Ob region
was, behold, brought home.

- 335 In that plenty of theirs, in that blessing of theirs
to this very day even now they live,
even now they are happy.



Women's songs from the region of the Upper-Lozva*

1.

By my two fence-pole-high reinoxen
acquired by my father the Kirill Elder
I was carried up, sitting, along the mountain pass.
I came to my many dear mountains resembling the back of stur-
geon,

- 5 I came to my many beloved crags resembling the back of sturgeon.

* VNGYIV, 1: 1-4.

I mingled with my thousand sweet reindeer:
I pitched a lovely little tent resembling the head of a grass-stalk.
Going after my reindeer,
I had my shoes get worn down;
10 my strength of a strong woman failed me,
my power of a powerful woman failed me.

*

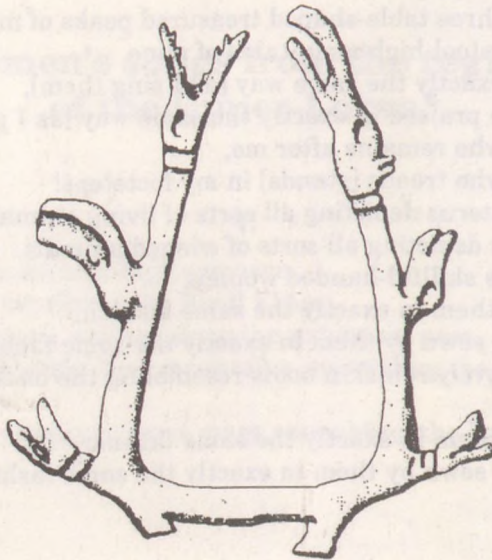
Hereafter, when I am gone [dead],
what miserable woman will walk round
these three table-shaped fine peaks of mine,
15 these three stool-high mountains of mine?
These thousand fine reindeer of mine,
acquired by my dear good father the Kirill Elder —
to what kind of woman will they be left [what kind of woman will
inherit them]?
By what kind of woman will this fine tent of mine,
20 resembling the head of a grass-stalk, be possessed?
Where is [stands] the one who can walk [with the reindeer] the way
I can?
Where is the one who can keep [them] the way I can?!
These three table-shaped precious peaks of mine,
these three stool-high precious mountains of mine
25 will sit grieving,
will be left behind weeping.

*

May these three table-shaped treasured peaks of mine,
these three stool-high mountains of mine
be sung in exactly the same way [as I sing them],
30 may they be praised in exactly the same way [as I praise them]
by the girl who remains after me,
by the boy who treads [stands] in my footsteps!
May the patterns depicting all sorts of living animals,
the patterns depicting all sorts of winged animals,
35 made by this skillful-handed woman,
be made by them in exactly the same fashion,
may they be sewn by them in exactly the same fashion!
May these lovely renskin boots resembling the back of a striped
squirrel
be made by them in exactly the same fashion,
40 may they be sewn by them in exactly the same fashion!

2.

- Alas, alas! (Kaj-ajjuk, Kaj-ajjuk!)
 These three table-shaped peaks,
 these three stool-shaped mountains
 will, alas, be left behind
 5 after my death!
 These sparsely twigged, sparse district
 will, alas, also be left behind;
 this sparsely grassed, sparse district
 will, alas, likewise be left behind!
 10 May these three table-shaped peaks,
 may these three stool-shaped mountains
 be one day be traversed in exactly the same way [as I traverse
 them]
 by this daughter who remains here,
 by this son who survives!
 15 After my death,
 may these three mouth-song joys of mine,
 may these four tongue-song joys of mine
 be enjoyed as much
 by some sister of mine [as they are enjoyed by me],
 20 may they be sung by her in exactly the same fashion,
 may they be rehearsed by her in exactly the same fashion!



Fate song*

- I am a master-woman in work to be tackled,
I am a woman who delights in sewing to be sewn,
I am a woman who delights in singing with the mouth.
The sewing that I sew is sought after by Russians, it is sought after
by Voguls;
- 5 if it is noticed by a Russian: he wants to buy it at any price;
if it is noticed by a Vogul: he wants to buy it at any price.
With my two good hands nurtured [lulled] by my guarding woman
good mother
I learnt to prepare good work.
If my needlework is bought
- 10 by a good Vogul, by a good Russian:
I get clothes to put on, I get clothes to wear;
I find food, I find drink,
I appease the hunger [belly] of my daughter, my son.

Song made by the Vantuska girl**

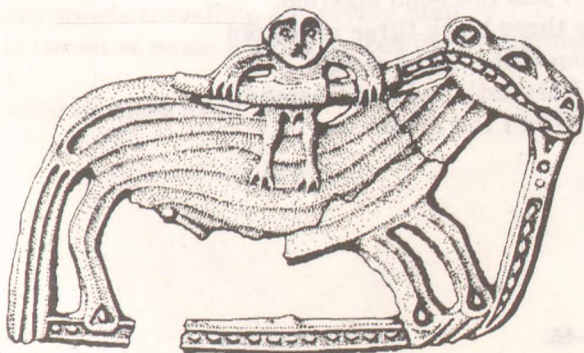
- I, a maid, sit in the round interior
of the round house built by my man of a father.
Suddenly, with my delicate feet resembling those of a fledgeling
goose,
I go down to the harbour
- 5 of my harboured town
made by my father, a man.
To the harbour of my princely town
made by my father a man
I go down.
- 10 I look to my upper-end stretch of the river:
a two-plank raft fastened together is seen floating.
I, with my delicate feet resembling those of a fledgeling duck,
go up and enter the house,

* VNGY IV, 1: 18.

** VNGY IV, 1: 47-52.

- in a compartment of my round house I sit down.
- 15 To the harbour of my mistressed town
made by my man of a father
the two-plank raft fastened together
is swept like a spring duck gliding on water.
The many sons of the food-rich Sosva
- 20 are marching in droves
like spring reinbolls when they are marching in droves;
they are marching in droves
like autumn reinbolls when they are marching in droves.
I think:
- 25 if some women had to compose a song [about these men],
ah, what a [glorious] song could be composed!
I think: if I wanted to compose a song,
wouldn't I be able to do it?!
I pick my choice between them
- 30 as between herring-fish to be chosen,
I pick my choice between them
[??] as between to be chosen.
At the front, the coming of what arrowed
man is seen?
- 35 The little man made by the Russian man sleeping [together],
where does he disappear to — my puny little Peter?!
After that I look:
the coming of what arrowed boy is seen?
My bald-headed *Kusel'-resem*, stamped on by the guardian spirits,
[is seen].
- 40 To be chosen like small fish,
I count all the young boys.
Thereafter the coming of what arrowed boy is seen?
My dear Makary, whose neck is like that of a jaded bull, [is seen],
My dear Makary, whose neck is like that of a bull that has rubbed
out the hair of its antler, [is seen].
- 45 After that, the coming of what arrowed boy is seen?
My sun-browned brown-chested poor Ivan lad [is seen].
After that, the coming of what arrowed boy is seen?
As I glimpse him
with my black currant-like pair [of eyes],
- 50 they get cast down [I cannot look him in the eye].
Where does my companion, cajoling like a girl lying in a birchbark-
box of a cradle,
disappear to?
Where does my companion, offering blandishments like a boy lying
in a birchbark-box cradle,
disappear to?

- 55 Well, nothing else [happens than that] my dear Philip, well, he
runs his black currant-like pair of
shining pearls [eyes]
over the four-cornered, cornered house.
Well, nothing else [what should be is nothing else than that] under
the stripped birchbark [awning]
- 60 of the two-plank raft
and equipped by yourself, a man, —
in the good place serving as the seat for a lady
you would seat me [there].
Upstream along this food-rich Sosva
- 65 you would carry me away!
If only you would lead me to the harbour
of [that] sacred town of yours in which lives
the lady-spirit who bears the mark of the female sable,
the lady-spirit of the village of the 'Gill portion of the river',
- 70 if only you would lead me
to your house, fragrant with the birchbark smoke of the morning
sacrifice,
if only you would lead me
to your house, fragrant with the smoke of the night's sacrifice,
if only you would lead me
- 75 to your house, ringing with the iron-tipped arrow,
if only you would lead me
to your house, ringing with the arrowed arrow!
The two of us would enjoy the three pleasures
of a girl lying in a birchbark-box of a cradle,
- 80 together we would enjoy the three delights
of a boy lying in a birchbark-box cradle.



The song sung by Tarja*

- I, a little maid of the village of the Aur river,
have had my three black, my three reinoxen
run to the *Lusxej* lad,
behold, that's where the little darlings ran;
5 they pulled my ten-bell-ringing sleigh
to the *Lusxej* lad,
behold, that's where they pulled it.
Lusxej lad!
Don't show off too much
10 [because] I am going to leave you!
Behold, my longing is directed towards
my black-watered food-rich dear Sosva.
Outside its land, the water of my black-watered
food-rich dear Sosva is also joyful,
15 besides its water, its land is joyful too.
At the source of the black-watered food-rich Sosva
the wealthy Mikolka is mentioned;
behold, I harness
my three black rein-oxen,
20 where the water of my food-rich Sosva runs,
I follow its route.

*

- At the house of this *Lusxej* lad's
there are many masters; I am too weak for them. —
My *N'awèm*-girl dear mother,
25 why have you given me away to this house?!
Lo, [here] I have, by now, become like an old woman,
instead of this [thus], I'd rather I had remained a spinster,
I'd rather I had not been married.
If only my three black three rein-oxen
30 with my ten-bell-ringing sleigh
had gone [instead], had run [instead]
to a place that I felt drawn to.

*

* VNGY IV, 1: 53–55.

- Behold, I am bent on going home.
 My *N'awem*-girl dear mother says:
- 35 'In the place to which I sent you, you should be kept whatever happens;
 I will not take you back:
 lo, I have once given you away [from the house],
 like a slice of bread cut off
 I cut you off [from the parental home].
- 40 Why should I take you back any more?!
 If you were not taught [to think] with reason
 in your father's house, in your mother's house;
 after you have come to a faraway place
- 45 you will now be taught [to think] with reason.

Song of the Trofim-girl*

- This stout-woman-inhabited land,
 this Matron-woman-inhabited land,
 behold, after my death,
 if, on a winter's day, a sleigh-riding man passes [before it]:
- 5 it will be pointed at with the end of an icy driving-rod
 by this upwards-proceeding sleigh-riding man;
 it will be pointed at with the end of an icy driving-rod
 by the downwards-proceeding man travelling with reinbulls.
 If, on a summer's day, a boat-riding man passes [before it]:
- 10 it will be pointed at with the end of a watery oar-shaft
 by the upwards-proceeding boat-riding man,
 it will be pointed at with the end of a watery oar-shaft
 by the downwards-travelling oar-plying man.
 This little throat of mine, singing-voiced in the manner of a singing
 cuckoo,
- 15 will be heard no more here.

* VNGY IV, 1: 20.

The song sung by the woman who dwelt in the 'Wide-river-mouth-village'*

I, a little darling, delight in
my precious noted 'Wide-river-mouth' village,
my loon-flying long precious stretch of the river,
my grebe-running lovely little stretch of the river.

- 5 A woman who has borne seven sons,
a woman who has borne six sons,
I think [thus]:
I, a housewife, go to sleep
with the sound of the mooing of cows;
I, a housewife, wake
with the sound of the neighing of horses.

*

- 15 I go out,
if I look up:
there is no [mountain] of any sort [thereabouts];
if I look down:
my lovely little mountain, a span high, is seen,
20 my lovely little mountain of the mouth of the *Tin* river is seen.
I go in, I think:
what could happen to me, a well-to-do woman,
what could happen to me, a prosperous woman?
I eat good food,
25 I drink good drink,
I lie on a good bed.

*

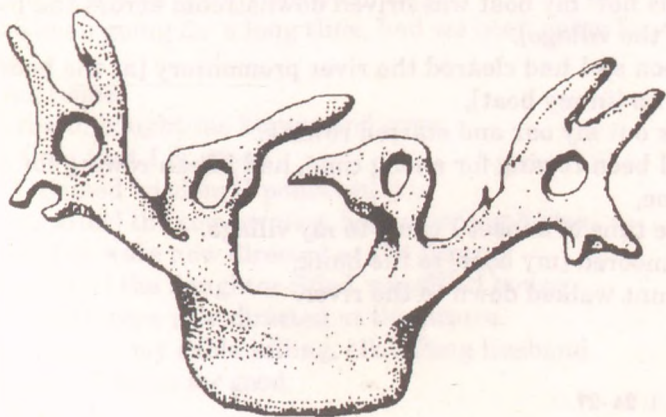
- Suddenly, after I have lived like this for a long time,
or after I have lived for a short time,
with my three-month-long illness [lying] past,
30 I recover consciousness [wake up];
behold, my seven sons were taken by the Devil Prince,
behold, my seven children were taken by the Devil Prince.
In that 'Wide-river-mouth' little village of mine
as I go out:

* VNGY IV, 1: 21-23.

- 35 set in three places
there are fire-burnt smouldering pillars,
that loon-flying long precious reach of mine
stand forlorn,
that grebe-running charming little reach of mine
40 stands weeping;
as I look down:
my span-high little mountain
stands weeping.

*

- At this, I began the small
45 beginning of a miserable song,
at this, I carried on with the small
beginning of a wretched lament.
May this little song-in-the-tongue of mine,
may this little tale-in-the-mouth of mine
50 be [one day] also be sung into a song in the same way,
may it [one day] also be told into a tale in the same way
by the maid who is left behind,
by the boy who is left behind!
In this 'Wide-river-mouth' village of mine,
55 [hereafter] when I am gone,
may my village be sung by the cuckoo,
may it be squawked by the *siser*-bird!



The song sung by the woman from the lowlands*

- On an orphaned foot, on an orphaned hand
I was left behind [by my mother] in my infancy [to infant's food].
I was brought up by my aunt.
I grew into a woman,
5 then I was married off.
I was not pleased with [my husband];
I had been forced to marry him by my aunt.
With great difficulty I managed to live through a winter in my
husband's house,
summer came round; — and I decided to run away.
10 My husband went into the forest;
as I lost sight of my husband,
I pushed the boat off from the bank, I boarded, I left.
Had I rowed for a long time, had I rowed for a short time,
I thought to myself:
15 behold, I have left Fedor Fedorich
for ever [with a complete leaving for all time to come].
Had I been travelling for a long time, had I been travelling for
a short time,
I was approaching Persina village.
I think: I hope I shall not be noticed,
20 suddenly I lay down lengthwise in my boat,
covering myself with a blanket of birchbark.
I came to the harbour of Persina village,
there was a man who noticed me;
but he only looked towards me.
25 that is how my boat was driven downstream across the boundary
[of the village].
As soon as I had cleared the river promontory [at the boundary],
I sat up [in my boat],
I took out my oar and started rowing.
Had I been rowing for a long time, had I been rowing for a short
time,
30 at the time of sunset I came to my village.
As I moored [my boat] to the bank,
my aunt walked down to the river.

* VNGY IV, 1: 24–27.

- We greeted each other, kissed each other,
 I am asked by my aunt:
- 35 'Where is your husband,
 why did you come on your own?'
 I threw myself [lay] at my aunt's feet:
 'Do not scold me!
 I left my husband, I ran away for home.'
- 40 My aunt asks:
 'Why did you leave your husband?' —
 'I do not like him, [because] he is an old man' —
 'Whether he is an old man or whatever sort of a man,
 where I gave you [in marriage], there you ought to live!'
- 45 What could be done?! I now lived in my aunt's house.
 After I had lived there for a long time,
 or had lived for a short time,
 [suddenly] from the direction of the upper district, behold, my
 husband appears.
 I was asked out [into the street] by my aunt:
- 50 'Come out, go to meet your husband,
 greet one another, kiss him and throw yourself at his feet!'
 I started entreating my husband:
 'Fedor Fedorich, forgive me!
 It was out of woman's folly that I ran away from you.'
- 55 To which my husband replied:
 'God forgive you,
 in the future [on the day to come] do not act like this,
 put off your foolish thoughts of this sort;
 for I never beat you with a big stick,
 60 nor did I beat you with a small stick.'
 We went into the house, we sat down,
 we ate good food, bad food, we went to bed.
 In the morning we got up, we went back.
 Had we been going for a long time, had we been going for a short
 time,
- 65 we came home.
 My husband bought me horses and cows.
 It was then that I, a wise
 woman, gained wisdom [I pondered it].
 [Looking after] the cow-owning, horse-owning house,
 70 my thoughts were now directed at the future,
 [looking after] the daughter-filled, son-filled house,
 my thoughts were now directed at the future.
 In the house of my sable-killing, elk-killing husband
 I then settled down for good.

- 75 I started warming up honest Russian, honest
 Vogul faces [i.e. I kept a hospitable, open house],
 I started to find
 [give in entertainment] good food, good drink.
 While I give food and drink
 80 to honest Russians, honest Voguls,
 I myself eat there, too,
 I myself drink there, too.

*

- I, Helen the Semjon girl, sing
 my little songs, my little tales.
 85 May this song-in-the-mouth of mine, sung by me,
 may this song-in-the-tongue of mine, sung by me, —
 hereafter, when I am gone —
 be sung in exactly the same way,
 may it be rehearsed in exactly the same way
 90 by the girls left behind!
 After my death
 may the square of this dear *Tat*-mouth village of mine
 be admired by them in exactly the same way!
 Let it be sung by the cuckoo,
 95 let it be squawked by the *siser*-bird.

**Song of *Jivan-pi Mikailä* of the 'Head of the
 Lozva' village about the daughter of Ul'ekse,
 from the Visera district
 of the 'Tat-mouth village', Tatjana***

- Beautiful sweet maid born by a woman of Persina village,
 if only I could possess
 this shapely female shape of yours,
 if only I could claim
 5 this beautiful woman's beauty of yours!
 If only I could seat you [there]
 on the small end of the elk-skin-clad knee,

* VNGY IV, 1: 28.

- on the small end of the sable-skin-clad knee
of this young hero of the Head-of-the-Lozva village [i.e. myself].
- 10 If only I could seat you [there]
in the tiller's place of this tillered flatboat of mine.
If only I could make you a rattle-ringed oar
made of fir.
If only I could lead you into
- 15 my beautiful house made of fir.
If only you would open
my transomed door made of fir,
if only you would open it
with your ten-fingered, fingered little hands.
- 20 If only we would be laid together
in a bent cradle bent from bird cherry,
if only we would be tucked up
with one pillow, with one bedskin!
If only we would be tucked up close together
- 25 by this woman of Persina village your mother,
by this dear mother of mine of Copse village.

**The song of the elder son of the man *Nikita*
Korikov, of Jugra village, Peter, about the
daughter of Aleksey, from the Visera district,
Tatjana***

- Why I, the elder son of *Nikita* Elder,
have harnessed my three rein-calves living motherless,
where [with what destination in mind] I have harnessed them to
the sleigh
is known to neither woman nor man.
- 5 Well, the reindeer have been harnessed to make ready for a journey
to the region of this food-rich Lozva,
the reindeer have been harnessed for a journey to the region of this
fish-abounding Lozva.

*

* VNGY IV, 1: 29-34.

- 'Behold, I am going to the little square
of this Tat-mouth village to seat a woman on the sleigh;
Expect my return
- 10 to this dear Jugra-village square of mine
with a sleigh bearing a woman!'
Behold, I have slackened the end of the nose-reins
of my three beasts who live motherless,
behold, I have pulled the end of their nose-reins.
- 15 With forelegs rejoicing, with hind legs rejoicing
they are now running towards the food-rich Lozva,
they are now running towards the fish-abounding Lozva.
Behold, they are now running
to my darling maid of 'Tat mouth' village,
- 20 this girl borne by a woman of Persina village.
How they left behind this fish-filled
Sosva water of theirs they do not know [they are running so fast].

*

- After I had been journeying for a long time
or had been journeying for a short time,
- 25 behold, I came to the food-rich Lozva.
My three rein-calves living motherless —
behold, they started hurrying towards my lady.
Tired as their wearying hind legs, their wearying forelegs were:
they nonetheless started moving them [all the more];
- 30 to the fair maid nurtured by Aleksej
they began to travel even faster.
With smiling faces they arrived
at the small village on 'River-bend's bank',
behold, they stopped outside the door-opening of the doored house.

*

- 35 'That fair maiden of Tat mouth village —
why does she not come out into the street?!
She never used to be like that before!'

*

- I now open the door of the doored house,
I go in to her uncle, an old man,
- 40 I go up to him to greet him.
I had been holding my little
ten-hooped, hooped barrel at the bottom of my armpit,
I now put it down there.

- Behold, I started handing
45 a one-legged, legged little glass to her uncle the old man.
While I am handing my one-legged,
legged little cup, I say:
'Listen, I myself am both the proxy for the suitor
and the suitor;
50 how does your thought stand [how is it],
behold, I have come to ask for your niece's hand,
will you give me your niece [in marriage] of not?'

*

- The old man, her uncle says:
'If I cannot give her, where else is there a master?
55 In this house, behold, I am the master.'
Then I think: I will ask for her hand,
behold, I place there on the table
the precious silk, the precious cloth.
How could I think he would not be able
60 to give in marriage the girl he has fostered.
But he wasn't. — The maid of 'Tat mouth' village
was her own mistress,
she was an independent-minded woman.
I did not sound her out about her inclination,
65 I did not ask her.
I thought that eventually her uncle would give me her hand;
but on her uncle is unable to give me her hand.

*

- She says to her uncle:
'You cannot give my hand to anyone, uncle,
70 I myself too have the sense of a sensible woman;
I will marry whomever I please;
how could it be your business to give my hand in marriage?!
In times past, when my father the good man
nurtured me,
75 you gave him [did] no assistance at night,
nor did you give him any help by day;
you did not support his hands,
you did not support his legs,
and now you would begin to play the master with me?
80 You cannot force me to marry
a man I do not feel attracted to.
Although you may be offered a full table of black sables,
although you may be offered a full table of red sables,

- even though precious silk, precious cloth is put on your table:
 85 I will turn back the nose of the reinbull-owning man's bull,
 I will turn back the nose of the reindeer-owning man's reindeer;
 I will not go to a people that I have no wish to join.

Song made by the girl of 'An river' village*

- I, a little girl,
 was a famous woman, chief in the village,
 a famous woman, chief in the town.
 My long stretch of the river, the length of two stretches of the river,
 5 My *An-ja* reach,
 my long stretch of the river, the length of three stretches of the
 river,
 my *An-ja* reach,
 on a summer's day
 it wore out the strength of the [boat] man, [such is] my stretch of
 the river,
 10 my *An-ja* reach;
 on a winter's day
 it wore out the strength of the [running] reinbull, [such is] my
 stretch of the river,
 my *An-ja* reach,
 it wore out the strength of the beast, [such is] my stretch of the
 river,
 15 my *An-ja* reach.
 My mid-river-stretch island
 is [similar] to the lid of a box of birchbark adorned by a skillful
 woman;
 my mid-river-stretch copse,
 my side-crumbling, thinly wooded copse,
 20 my mid-river-stretch copse
 is [similar] to a pillow sewn of four pieces, brought as dowry from
 home,
 from a nook in the house of the father of a rich man's daughter.
 Suddenly the many iron-clappered bells
 are struck,
 25 the white frozen layer of snow lying

* VNGY IV, 1: 67-69.

over our crusted mother earth trembles up there [from the great noise].

Behold, we are taken into the interior
of that oft-mentioned sacred house [church].

After that, my poor uncle priest

30 chants like some hollowed-out empty little boat [one whose inside
has been taken out].

Thereafter my dear cantor

reads the many books of the world [celestial light]

like a many-tongued, tongued bird that has flown to a far-off land,—
my dear cantor reads them himself,

35 my sweet cantor sings them himself.

Thereafter, like a log bowed by [its burden of] snow,

my little *Semjon* keeps bowing [in prayer].

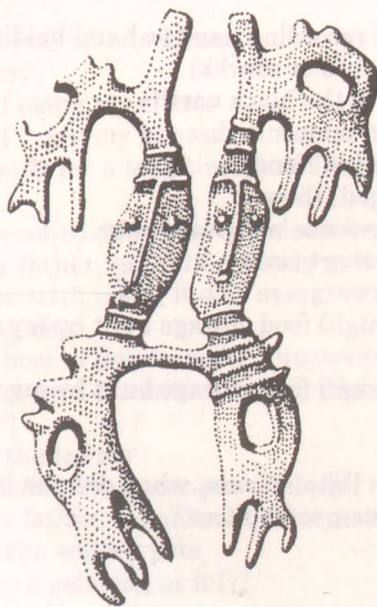
Thereafter, like a tender stock grown from the ground [from below],

I, a woman, also keep bowing,

40 like a yellow-flowered [headed], flowered stalk grown from the
ground,

I, a woman, likewise keep bowing.

My poor fish-salting waggoner, my poor little *Semjon*....



Song of the widowed man*

- Together with myself, I, a man, raise
my three brothers,
together with myself, I raise my four brothers.
I, a man, grow
5 bulging arm flesh
able to be grown by man;
I, a man, grow
bulging shoulder-blade flesh.
We demand the heart of
10 the foot-walking, footed animal,
we tear out the heart of
the wing-moving, winged animal.
After we have lived for a long time,
suddenly the three brothers
15 lie in a place with a pillow
wet with the water of [perspiration],
they lie in a bed-furnished place with a pillow
wet with the water of [perspiration].
Suddenly, they draw their breath as if loaded
20 with yellow silk [i.e. they are dying],
they draw their breath as if burdened
with red silk.
With a thin-edged recording hand [a hand holding a thin-edged axe
and cutting notches or marks]
in two interstices of the black earth
25 I bury [level] them underneath.
With two ten-fingered hands
I provided [arranged] them
with an iron grave-fence without chinks.
30 After I lived for a short time,
I duly observe:
the (one) legged (high) food storage built by my father
is all empty,
the (one) legged (high) food storage built by my uncle
35 is all empty.
I duly observe:
without the action [bite] of rain, when did you become
[so] robust, my pine-needled tree?

* VNGY IV, 1: 134-138.

- Without the action of a breeze, when did you become
 40 [so] robust, base of my pretty branched tree?
 To the house-door opening
 of the son of the Russian man in jointed [soled] boots —
 with a poor man's hand-joint
 I came to it somehow,
 45 with a begging man's hand-joint
 I came to it somehow.
 I, a man, somehow came upon
 an old boot-rag cast off by a man,
 I, a man, somehow came upon
 50 an old foot-rag discarded by a man;
 When [lying] in a thick-sleep[-sleeping] bumpy place
 I go to sleep at night,
 I go to sleep
 on a bumpy millstone handle.
 55 I go to sleep
 on a bumpy axe-handle.
 When I wake up in the morning
 I wake up
 on a beating implement consisting of a dry wood-block,
 60 I wake up
 on a beating implement consisting of a wet wood-block [i.e. I am
 being beaten continually].
 I was thinking of the reindeer-hunting
 land-promontory,
 I was thinking of my reindeer-hunting
 65 water-promontory;
 I climb [up to it] using my chest,
 I climb [up to it] using my knees.
 Had I been walking for a long time, had I been walking for a short
 time,
 suddenly, as I reached the water-promontory, the land-promontory
 70 inhabited by my father, inhabited by my grandfather,
 it was overgrown with trees, it was overgrown with grass.
 If it was a spring day:
 the boat-riding host of guests sailing upstream,
 the boat-riding groups of visitors sailing downstream
 75 keep pointing [?]
 with the end of the icy oar
 at the land-promontory, water-promontory
 inhabited by my father, inhabited by my grandfather,
 with the end of the watery pole
 80 they literally keep pointing at it [?].

Thereafter I build a village, I build a town.
To the seven paths of the hoar-frosted forest
I betake myself.

- I build a great number of food storages
85 standing on corners [pillars],
I build a large number of food storages
standing on thumbs.

- The many sisters-in-law of the
uncle's house
wear out a great many shoulder-
straps, worn with the middle
part
90 made of elk-skin [when they drag
home the game's flesh by
sleigh].
By this time, then, I [already] put
up the boat-riding host of
guests travelling upwards,
the sleigh-riding group of visitors
travelling downwards —
I put them up for the night, I
detain them by day;
I melt the ice
95 of the lean fox [i.e. traveller]
running upwards,
I melt the hoar-frost
of the lean wolf running down-
wards.



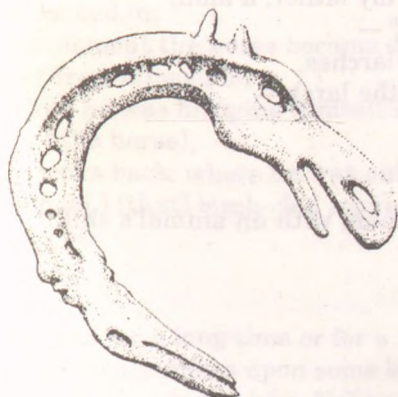
**The song sung by the man
Ikmat'i-pi Vasil'ä Paxtjar
of the 'Village of Sacred River'***

- My long-hilled beautiful Ural mountain
is scampered on
by the thirty rein-calves acquired by myself,
it is scampered on
5 by the two hundred two-year-old little reindeer acquired by myself.
If I think about them from here,
my dream does not come;
[but] if I come to them,
I do not even notice when evening descends.
10 In the evening I go to bed, in the morning I wake up;
it is with the noise of their bellowing
that I wake up.

Even if my younger brothers make me a dog: [still,] when I have separated from you, be able to eat and drink and clothe yourselves in the same way [as now]!

Now you are clothing yourselves from my assistance. You dress almost as well as the merchants' sons. Do you imagine that the earnings will be flowing in the same way, that in the future it will be as easy for you to acquire [find] possessions?!

Where do you have another like me; where are you going to take my step from?!



* VNGY IV, 1: 139.

The song of the 'Hero'*

The 'Hero' was born. —

On the third day after his coming into the world [his falling onto the eye]

an arrow, made of a pointed piece of wood, and a bow were made for him.

On the third day after his coming into the world

- 5 a twenty-ell-long cloth cape was made for him.

He asks his mother:

'Where do you keep

the blunt-pointed steel sword

with which my father, a man, used to practise his man's skill?' —

- 10 'It is kept somewhere by your uncle [the grandfather's son]'.
[That] chinned suit of armour, impenetrable [even] to splinters of

hair,

with which my father, a man, used to practise his man's skill
where do you keep that?' —

'It is kept somewhere by your uncle elder.'

- 15 'Where do you keep

the split-nosed magic foal

with which my father, a man, used to practise skill in handling
animals?' —

'It is kept somewhere by your uncle elder.'

*

The man goes there, the man enters [the uncle's house].

- 20 'Uncle elder! Where do you keep

the chinned suit of armour that my father, a man,
used to wear with a man's skill?' —

'On the larch between the three larches,
on the lowermost branch-fan of the larch —

- 25 that's where it is.' —

'Where do you keep

the split-nosed magic foal

that used to carry my father, a man, with an animal's skill?' —

He replies: 'My [dear] nephew,

- 30 how do I know

what kind of travelling
outfit you need?!

* VNGY IV, 1: 144–156.

Behold, in the wasteless meadow range
there is a horseherd of seven horses
35 walking about:
[from there] choose for yourself
some kind of travelling outfit!

*

The man goes there.
This horseherd of seven horses
40 cannot even lift his nameless finger, [it is so pathetic].
A colt born this summer
is looking at him.
He says: 'Damn your father's blood,
what are you looking at me like that for? — Only a short while ago
45 horses heftier than you
were unable to lift [even] my nameless finger.'
He steps up to it. He leans on it with his elbow:
he nearly turns the horse-boy's back inside out.
While he puts on it a seven-ringed,
50 ringed bit, it turns into a two-year-old colt, and so it paces along;
while he leads it home,
it paces along as a horse that has turned into a three-year-old one.
While he equips it with [puts on it]
a sun-decorated, ornate saddle,
55 it paces along as a horse that has turned into a four-year-old one.
While he tidies himself up here,
the horse falls upon its knees.
As soon as he throws himself upon it,
it is unable to stand in its place, [it has such an itch to run].
60 Three of its ribs on the right side
he kicked in:
the moment the horse became dizzy
he threw himself on it.
While he was bringing himself into an upright position [on the back
of the horse],
65 he looks back: where he was only a short while ago,
[behold,] [that] birch-clad mountain-top is only seen through the
mist.

*

He goes for a long time or for a short time,
he suddenly comes upon some kind of village.
A dog is barking at him. Vehemently gesticulating, an ugly
70 one-eyed man jumps out [of this house]:

- 'A 'hero'! — To pursue his revenge for his father,
 a 'hero' is coming!
 He rides along, pulls back his horse,
 comes to a halt, dismounts,
 75 he ties his horse and enters [the house].
 The folks are drinking [there]. He planted himself
 at the doorjamb, that's where he is standing.
 They roar with laughter:
 'The 'hero' goes to seek vengeance for his father!'
 80 He went out, sat on his horse,
 he left. When he had been gone some distance, he says:
 'After my departure,
 let the watery sea engulf
 this limitless village
 85 from below,
 let the fiery sea be let loose on it
 from above!
 [In the site of] this boundless village
 let three fire-consumed stumps be set
 90 in three places!'

*

- He travels for a long time or for a short time,
 suddenly a moss-grown house
 and a moss-grown shed appear before him.
 He comes to a halt, alights from his horse,
 95 he ties his horse and enters [the house].
 The old man and the old woman [who live there] get up [before him].
 'Young man! Where did chance bring you [here]?!
 Ever since your good father left,
 he hasn't been heard of.'
 100 [The two old people] started whispering something,
 murmuring something.
 'My boy!' — the old man says:
 'my boy, just go out,
 we want to offer [feed] you something;
 105 kill a colt
 born this summer!
 The man goes out, he kills [the foal],
 he cuts it into pieces: [well,] there is no boiling-pan.
 His lady aunt takes out her pair
 110 of ear-pendants.
 Into her ten-toothed, hollow-formed mouth
 she sticks them, she chews them.

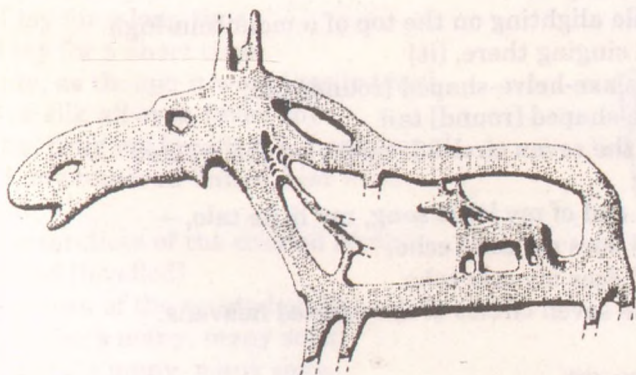
- What she spat there
settled there [after that]
- 115 as a seven-handled, handle-equipped kettle.
His lady aunt throws some meat [into it].
He says: 'Come on, my lady aunt,
let me throw [some meat in the pot]!'
He cuts off three pieces of meat,
- 120 he drops them into the pot.
His lady aunt says:
'Laddie, why did you throw [so] little [in the pot]?'
He replies: '[that] will be enough, my lady aunt!'
While the pot came to the boil,
- 125 he leans on his elbow.
While the pot came to the boil,
he lay down, he got up,
he ate and drank
good food, good drink, and with that he left.
- *
- 130 He is gone for a long time or for a short time,
the man is caught up in the edge
of a dense [thick] mosquito swarm, a dense stinging fly swarm
[i.e. his enemies].
He fights for a long time or he fights for a short time,
suddenly, when he did not notice [did not know],
- 135 trapped [locked] in a seven-fathom-deep pit [a pit penetrating to
a depth of seven fathoms], —
he was dropped into the seven-fathom-deep pit.
He sits there for a long time or for a short time,
some damsel
is chopping firewood at the mouth of his pit.
- 140 A shaving drops [in],
he picks it up and makes a tambura [out of it].
From his hundred-haired, hairy head
he tears out three strands of hair,
he pulls them [onto the wood] like tambura strings [wires], he tunes
them [pulls them up].
- 145 Just as a legged animal walks along,
even so he plucks it,
just as a winged animal flies about,
even so he plucks it.
A flock of geese passes by:
- 150 he plucks the goose-melody [string].
They circled round three times,

- they alit.
 He wrote a piece of writing,
 he hands it to a blind goose, [saying]:
 155 Place this piece of writing
 before my horse, place it right there!
 This one-eyed goose carries it off flying;
 it places the piece of writing
 before his horse.
 160 The horse just keeps looking at it,
 and thereupon, neighing, it starts kicking.
 The house of a sevenfold iron fell apart.
 It heads straight for the mouth of its master's pit.
 It lowers its head,
 165 it reins hang below.
 He clutches hold of them,
 the horse jerks up its head:
 indeed, he is set
 at the mouth of the seven-fathom-deep pit.
 170 He mounts his horse.
 The way he crushes the dense mosquito swarm,
 so does he crush [his adversaries].

*

- He fights for a long time or for a short time,
 he wends his way home.
 175 Two men are coming.
 They are just leading their horses;
 they say:
 'Where are you coming from, young sir?' —
 'Well, where are you going to?' —
 180 'We are going in search of
 our kinsman the 'Hero';
 have you seen him anywhere?
 He gets down [from his horse].
 'Well met! In case you don't know
 185 that 'Hero' kinsman of yours:
 it is myself to be seen.'
 The others fell on their knees.
 'For what reason [what to do] did you not
 give news of yourself earlier?'
 190 He went home, he arrived home.
 After he arrived home, he lay down.
 He says to his wife:
 'When you hear some little noise,

- your strength will not be enough to wake me up;
195 [then] jab [set] my hip with a knife!
He lies for a long time or for a short time,
suddenly [some] army is coming.
His wife is unable [has no time] to wake him up;
she cries. — Suddenly
200 he feels as though he is lying in water.
As he wakes up, [he notices]
that, with his wife crying, crying,
he is lying in her tears.
'What are you doing?'
205 'An army is coming upon us.'
The man gets up.
The man rises against the gathered troops.
The way he crushes a thick swarm of mosquitoes,
so does he crush them.
210 Then he says:
'I am going to die,
when seven winters, seven summers have passed I will rise.'
He dies, he is buried.
A wet stone was placed
215 right around his heart by his elder sister-in-law.
While those seven winters, seven summers passed,
that wet stone grew.
He did not have the strength to get up.
Only the word of his tambura was heard.



The *Jurkina* version of a song made by my grandfather 'Tur'

- During the time of
a day as long as [the flight of] a shafted arrow
I thought out a song, I thought out a tale.
Although I tried to force it back
5 into my ten-ribs-rounded, round chest: I did not have the strength
to do it.
I strolled down to the banks of
the 'White Loon River' to haul water.
Within the hollow of my mouth and tongue
[the song] kept humming and sounding.
10 As I look more closely:
my song finds
the dear end of the ear-ringed ear
of a little girl running down below,
my tale finds
15 the treasured end of the ear-ringed ear
of a little boy running down below.

*

- In the fashion of a horn arrow ground by
the 'Elk Elder' and his three sons, —
precious end of my little tale, where did you slide to
20 one night, over the slippery ice
reflecting the stars?
In the fashion of a silk-tailed male bird
that has flown forth from the margin of the southern region, even
from there,
[as], while alighting on the top of a mountain-high
25 tree and singing there, [it]
waves its axe-helve-shaped [round] tail,
its pestle-shaped [round] tail
towards the seven circles [regions] of the created
heavens:
30 precious end of my little song, my little tale, —
[even so] does my song echo,
[even so] does my tale echo
round the seven circles of the created heavens.

* VNGY IV, 1: 118-122.

- You many young men who have put on your caps,
 35 the day you sit down
 to great work of the knife, requiring much sitting, —
 when you are carving and cutting
 your unneeded shavings, your unneeded peelings:
 put
 40 the precious end of my little song, my little tale
 on your hundred-haired dear heads
 for a black-visored, visored cap
 acquired [found] from the flight of birds of the southern region, —
 aye, from there! —
 You many women who have whisked out your kerchiefs,
 45 the day you sit down
 to cut out the hundred kinds of perforating decorations, requiring
 much sitting,
 the day you sit down
 to embroider the hundred kinds of patterned decorations:
 put
 50 the precious end of my little song, my little tale
 on your hundred-haired dear heads
 for a woolen-tasselled beautiful kerchief
 acquired from the flight of birds southern region, — aye, from there!

*

- After I lived for a long time,
 55 after I lived for a short time,
 behold, I lay
 in a place with a pillow [completely] soaked
 with the [perspiration] water
 of my hundred-haired dear head.
 After I lay for a long time,
 60 after I lay for a short time,
 suddenly, as though it were [easily torn]
 yellow silk all over, [even so]
 I, a man, drag my breath [i.e. I am dying].
 Behold, my hundred-haired dear head
 was laid
 65 in two interstices of the crusted earth;
 it is buried [levelled]
 in two cracks of the crusted earth
 by my father's many, many sons,
 by my uncle's many, many sons.



- 70 Do they live for a long time, do they live for a short time,
its holy week is over.
Then they go up [to the grave]
to hold a wake.
He keeps poking, knocking
- 75 on the top of the uncracked coffin [?]
The woman with hostile thoughts, — she says:
'he is climbing after his good father, left behind.'
The woman with kind thoughts, she says:
'he is not climbing after his good father, left behind;
- 80
[but] his five-stringed, stringed piece of wood —
why haven't you placed it along with him
down in his coffin with no cracks?!
Behold, that is why he keeps poking
- 85 at the top of his uncracked coffin.'
His five-stringed, stringed piece of wood
was placed there at his side, it was laid out there
in his coffin with no cracks. —
[As soon as they open the lid of his coffin] the man, indeed, leans
- 90 on the end of his elbow.

A song about going to baptism*

- Everywhere in the regions of this world of many regions
I, a man, hear
a four-cornered, square cross
being mentioned.
- 5 Everywhere in the regions of this world of many regions
I hear
that four-cornered, square crosses
are hung [put] on everyone.
I, a man, was sitting
- 10 in a one-room raftered house
built by my man of a father. — [Suddenly] from somewhere comes
a strong-sounding loud
thunder.

* VNGY IV, 1: 122–127.

- I go out
15 to the square of my town having a square,
with my black currant-like pair [of eyes]
I look up at my father the Majestic Sky:
not even a piece of cloud the size of the eye of a whitefish
do I see exist.
20 I look to the end of the lower-end stretch of the river, I look that
way:
a good boat with a nose resembling the nose of a hen
appeared from there.
Iron-lined strong guns
are being fired there;
25 many iron-lined cannons
are being fired there:
our Black Mother Earth literally trembles from it.
I take
my black-iron arrow-filled quiver
30 in my ten-fingered hands;
I, a man, stand [rise]
to the front of an army brought out,
and turn [direct] back
the good, hen-nosed boat.

*

- 35 Thereafter I, a man, build
a two-room raftered house;
I, a man, lie
in this two-room raftered house.
[Suddenly] from somewhere comes
40 a strong-sounding, loud
thunder.
I go out again:
with nothing on but my Russian linen shirt, I look to the end of the
lower-end stretch of the river,
I look in that direction:
45 well, many iron-lined cannons
are being fired there.
The moment I had lost my presence of mind
I was somehow grabbed
by two split-bottomed Cossacks,
50 I was somehow grabbed
like an acorn-duck [*pirwä*] hatched this summer, unable to get up.
As I look more closely:
the son-of-a-bitch bishop, he himself is being brought.

- Something my father had never been put in, I, a man,
 55 am put there in foot-shackles;
 I, a man, am thrown there
 in a dog-lying disgusting place.
 I am carried for a long time or for a short time,
 I take [place] with me
 60 the very bottom box from the seven [treasure] boxes of my father, a
 man.
 [Suddenly] I, a man, am brought
 into the interior of that oft-mentioned town of Tobolsk, resembling a
 shining
 early morning star.
 Something the like of which my father had never seen,
 65 I, a man, am thrown there
 into the interior of some lice-filled house.
 Through a full week of the waxing moon
 I, a man, feed the lice there.
 I empty the corners of the square
 70 treasure [collecting] box which my father
 had filled. — Then
 a powerful silk-buttoned gentleman [Russian official] comes in to
 me.
 Like a split-tongued, tongued animal [bird],
 so gently did he talk [sing] to me, a man [i.e. I was persuaded to
 receive baptism].
 75 The mouth of the square treasure box
 that my father, a man, had filled
 was empty [wide-spaced] [i.e. its contents had run out].
 The kind of buttons with which my powerful silk-buttoned
 gentleman buttons his coat up at the base of his neck —
 80 with that kind of bread-sized buttons
 I buttoned my coat up [i.e. I was presented with shining clothes for
 my baptism].
 They put on me, a man,
 a square gold cross [of distinction].
 The colt-grease-laden platter my father used to place [as a sacrifice
 before the idol]
 was thereafter put off until the thousandth day of *Torem* [i.e. for
 ever].



The curlew's song*

On the bank of a sweeping stream, the little bird is running, running,

on the bank of the windy stream, the little bird is running, running...

Behold, seven women have boarded a boat, behold, they are leaving.
There is a serious woman, an honest woman sitting at the helm of the boat;

- 5 there is an evil woman, a wicked woman sitting at the bow of the boat.

The evil woman, wicked woman says:

'Behold, I will throw the curlew's nest into the distance!'

The serious woman, honest woman says:

- 10 'Why, she, too, wants to rear daughters, she, too, wants to rear sons.'

While they are going in this way, behold, the evil woman, wicked woman sitting at the bow of the boat threw the bird's nest into the distance. She set about striking the curlew dead. Whereupon [the latter] went up to her father, the Man [=God], inhabiting the upper heavens. Behold, she asked for rainy weather [sky] beneath,

behold, she asked for windy weather beneath.

Rainy weather arose,
windy weather arose;

- 15 behold, the boat occupied by the seven women was pulled down for lovemaking by the seven daughters of the water prince.

* VNGY IV, 1: 320-321.



The song of the 'Elk Star'*

- The fine elk bull, fine elk bull
walked up to its elk hind.
'Fine elk hind, fine elk hind,
this night I had a bad dream [I dreamt with a bad dream] about
you.' —
- 5 'What bad dream did you have?' —
'As I was dreaming:
a day full of snow-storms was made,
a day full of wind-storms was made [by our father the Upper Sky].
At sunrise, I look there:
- 10 well, behold, a Bloody-handed *mos* boy
is stealing towards you.
Thereafter an eagle-feathered arrow with a gaff
is sent on you:
[whereupon] it is just as though a red stalk had thrust itself out
- 15 from your left side.
Over your little twig sprout, which you yourself were eating,
over your little willow sprout, which you yourself were eating —
behold, that is where you fell.'
The elk hind says to her elk bull:
- 20 'What [ill] can befall me,
who have these seven snow-running elk bull calves,
who have these seven snow-running elk hind calves?!
Surley, fine elk bull, fine elk bull, if you get killed:
is it not you who will get killed?!
- *
- 25 They spent the night; behold, day began to break in the morning.
The sun is already rising; around this time,
behold, the weather [sky] suddenly got windy [burst forth in the
form of wind],
behold, the weather turned to snowfall [snow].
Behold, the elk bull is running on its own, outside the flock.
- 30 As he looks back from his running place:
well, behold, the Bloody-handed *mos* boy
is stalking.
The elk hind stands eating
a small twig sprout grown this summer,

* VNGY IV, 1: 304-310.

- 35 a small willow sprout grown this summer.
That Bloody-handed *mos* boy —
behold, he now placed an eagle-feathered gaffed arrow
on the arch-knee of the knee-arched bow [= the arched portion of the
bow];
behold, he let fly.
- 40 Behold, a red stalk [stream of blood] issued forth
from the left side of that elk hind;
over the little sprout of a twig that she was eating, —
behold, there she fell;
over the little willow sprout that she was eating, —
- 45 behold, there she fell.

*

- Those seven snow-running elk hind calves,
those seven snow-running elk bull calves
are now running together with their elk-father.
They put down one of their forelegs [hands]:
- 50 the region of birches is left behind;
they put down one of their [hind] legs:
the region of firs is left behind.
That Bloody-handed *mos* boy —
behold, he is pushing forward on his skis.
- 55 He pulls one leg, which is on one side:
the birch-covered region is left behind;
he pulls one leg, the one on the other side:
the pine-clad region is left behind.
As he sets there
- 60 the end of his ringed snow-stick made of birch:
a crucian [inhabited] lake rises,
a loach [?] [inhabited] lake rises.
In one place, as the elks run,
the elk-father says to his seven snow-running
- 65 male elk calves, his seven snow-running elk hind calves running
behind:
‘The other day I had a dream;
in vain I said to your mother,
‘you will be killed now’: she didn’t believe me. [She] says:
‘I have seven snow-running male elk calves,
70 I have seven snow-running elk hind calves,
what fate could befall me!’
Well, if it is true that you are running on snow:
my strength has already been spent, you run!’
Behold, his male elk calves, his elk hind calves got to the front;

- 75 while their elk-father got to the rear.
 Had they been running for a long time or had they been running for
 a short time,
 in one place, as they run in this way,
 as one of his ears, directed to the back,
 listens towards the back:
- 80 behold, the breaking is heard
 of the end of a dry branch which shrivelled this summer.
 He had been overtaken somehow
 by that Bloody-handed *mos* boy.
 The elk-father now himself got to the front.
- 85 He calls back [like this] to his male elk calves, his elk hind calves:
 'The other day your mother
 boasted in vain, after all;
 because of you, behold, we shall be killed.
 Behold, we have been overtaken
 90 by the Bloody-handed *mos* boy.'

*



- To his father the Upper Sky,
 his thought was now directed forth:
 'My dear father Upper Sky,
 my beloved father Upper Sky!
- 95 If you have truly ordained me to be
 a sacred animal reflected up into the
 heavens,
 I shall now run away from here;
 let me run down
 to the sacred sea mirroring at the end
 [in the corner] of the world!
- 100 They now started running.
 Behold, their father the Upper Sky
 caused such a thick layer of snow to
 fall
 that the snow fallen on the toppled
 tree-trunk
 does not crumble [break] as the elks
 push through it,
- 105 [but] only their fissure stands [there in
 the wall of snow].
 They step with their step on the other
 side:

the birch-grown region is left behind;
they step with their step on the other side:
the pine-clad district is left behind.

- 110 It has scarcely become midday,
behold, they have arrived down
at that sacred sea mirroring at the end of the world.
Behold, they have got down to the smooth ice-mirror of the sea:
there is no snow on it, only its ice spreads all over.
- 115 Wherever the fancy took them, to that quarter of the heavens
they started off after that.

*

That Bloody-handed *mos* boy,
behold, he arrived down
at the sacred sea mirroring at the world's end.

- 120 The track of those elks of his had been covered over [by the snow-
storm].
Well, he turned back, after all.
Had he been coming for a long time or had he been coming for a
short time,
he came to his animal, which he had killed the other day.
Well, the six-handed, six-legged beast
- 125 sprawls the whole length of thirty sandy riverbanks, thirty
sections of the river: it is so large.
Behold, he cut in two its suprefluous legs;
then he says to his father the Upper Sky:
"Turn this animal into a four-handed, four-legged one with your
spell!

- 130 I, the man, because I am a [real] man; [that
is why] I was able to kill this animal;
but when the world of man's age arises,
when the world of man's time arises,
in what way will it be possible to kill it then?
In the size in which you created it,
- 135 the men [you have], every one of them, will
be killed [by this animal].

*

That four-legged animal with its haunch cut
off
was now mirrored up into the sky;
the *mos* boy's chasing ski path
was now mirrored up into the sky.



At the time of the creation of the earth, our father the Upper Sky created by his spell the 'Elk Star' with six hands and feet on this lower earth. It had two additional forelegs [hand] in the middle of its belly. No ordinary man was able to chase or kill it; man asked the *mos* man to chase it. The *mos* man chased it, pursuing it, he caught up with it, cut its hind legs in two, and then, behold, hesays: 'In the future, when the world of man's age arises, when the worlde of man's time arises, may you be hunted with these four hands and feet of yours! If you had six hands and feet, man could not cope.'

That elk, in the shape of the 'Elk Star' [Big Dipper], came to be imaged in the sky. The 'mos man's ski path' [the Milky Way] was likewise mirrored upinto the sky; the 'household of the mos man' [the Pleiades] can also be seen up at *Torem*.

The play of the little hunting man of spring*

Ar-keninen-keninen...

I am a little [hunting] man of spring *lū-xū*,

I am a little [hunting] man of autumn *lū-xū*!

Many, many village children,

5 you little ones, lend me your ears!

My many, many town-dwelling people,

you little ones, lend me your ears!

I, a man, made

a little one-cross-beamed, cross-beamed fish-weir;

10 I, a man, made

a water-trap [or: contrivance] put in water.

At my little one cross-beamed, cross-beamed fish-weir,

let me, a man [possessing] a good river for catching [killing] water-fish,

set a long narrow fishstrap.

15 Now at last, now at last...

I, a man, strolled

to my forest hunting-fence

possessed since the age of my grandfather;

I, a man, set up

* VMGY IV, 1: 237-240.

- 20 my three-poled, poled hunting-fence,
 possessed since the age of my father.
 And now at last, now at last
ar-keninen-keninen...
 into my forest hunting device, laid in the forest,
- 25 I, a man, place
 a one-stringed, stringed bow;
 I, a man, place
 a two-shafted, shafted arrow.
 My many, many village people,
- 30 just listen!
 Many, many town children,
 just listen!
 Let me, a man, go
 to my fishing device laid in the water;
- 35 let me, a man, have a look
 at my fishing device laid in the water:
 [well,] a big reinbull having many-branched [town-sized] horns
 had gone into the long narrow fishtrap
 Behold, I have probably worked
- 40 some village-devouring great danger [danger-bringing thing],
 behold, I have probably worked
 some town-devouring great danger. —
 Let me, a man, go
 to my forest hunting device laid in the forest!
- 45 My many, many little village people,
 just listen!
 Behold, with my good ripe-currant eyes
 I look and see
 that the string of my little stringed bow
- 50 behold, it has been pulled down. — I arrive there:
 [well,] a big pike with a painted tail,
 [that is what] had got into it,
 a big pike with a painted dorsal fin,
 [that is what] had got into it.
- 55 Behold, I have probably worked
 some village-devouring great danger,
 behold, I have probably worked
 some town-devouring great danger.

*

- My many, many village people,
 60 are you laughing at this?
 My many, many town-dwelling people,

- are you laughing at this?
 You now think:
 how on earth can
- 65 a forest reinbull, which descended [i.e. came forth] from the forest,
 get into my water-trap laid in the water;
 how on earth can
 a water-traversing big pike with a painted dorsal fin,
 a water-traversing big pike with a painted tail
- 70 get into my forest hunting device laid in the forest?!
 My many, many village people,
 listen to me carefully!
 Behold, children, I have worked
 some town-devouring great danger!
- 75 For I have kept saying for a long time:
 I am a little [hunting] man of spring,
 I am a little [hunting] man of autumn,
 believe me!
Ar-keninen-keninen...

The bear-boy's tale*

1. Once upon a time there lived a woman and an old man. They had a turnip field. At turnip growing time, some thief began coming to the turnip field and he began carrying off the full-grown turnips each night. The woman says to the old man: 'Old man, go out one night and find out who is stealing our turnips!' At sundown, the old man goes to keep watch over the turnip field. Has he sat for a long time or has he sat for a short time, a bear suddenly appears in the turnip field; it started pulling up the turnips. The old man wants to catch the thief. As he runs up to the bear, he himself is seized by the bear. Indeed, he was eaten up by it right then and there. The woman waits for her old man to come home, her old man did not come home. 'What is my old man doing in the turnip field,' she thinks, 'I'll go and have a look myself.' She came to the turnip field; running up to her, the bear seized her, dragged her off into the forest, taking her away into his bear-dwelling cave [pit]. As a man with his wife, [so] did the bear live with the woman. The woman became pregnant, she gave birth to [found] a little son. Her newborn son's head and hands are like those of a man; from the edge of his navel down, he is furry like a bear.

* VNGY IV, 1: 356-360.

2. The bear-boy grows day by day, he became full-grown. 'Mother!' — he says — 'Why do we live in this cave?' — The woman answers: 'Where could we go from here, darling?! We have no place to go from here; as soon as we started leaving, we would be strangled by your bear-father.' One day the bear went out to look for food, and the woman ran off with her son. Have they been running for a long time or for a short time, they suddenly look back to find that they have been overtaken by the bear. The bear-boy tore up a thick birch tree by its roots; as soon as he hits the bear with this birch tree, the latter dies on the spot.

3. Now the woman and her son go back to their old house to live there. They came to their old house, they began living there again. They live, they get by. One day the bear-boy says to his mother: 'Mother, I am now leaving you on your own, I am going to another region to look for a woman.' So saying, he left. Has he been gone for a long time or has he been gone for a short time, there is, in one place, a noseless man standing by the roadside, looking downwards. 'Noseless man, why are you looking downwards?' — asks the bear-boy. The noseless man hears the singing of beautiful girls living in the underworld [on the lower earth]; he is afraid to reveal [it] to the bear-boy. — 'In that lower world, my father and mother have been fighting for seven years,' — he says. 'Bear-boy, will you take me [to you] as your companion?' — he asks. Behold, the other one answers: 'Yes, I will, come with me!' The noseless man and the bear-boy start off together. Have they gone for a long time or for a short time, they come upon an earless man. The earless man is looking upwards. The bear-boy asks: 'Earless man, why are you looking upwards?' — 'Why shouldn't I? I hear singing coming from somewhere; I don't know where they are singing; — will you take me, bear-boy, [to you] as your companion?' 'Of course I will'. They have become a threesome, and the three of them travel on.

4. Had they gone for a long time or had they gone for a short time, they arrived at a mountain. Beneath the mountain [there is] an opening. The bear-boy says: 'Go and braid a long rope and I will climb down.' They braided a long rope, the bear-boy climbed down into the pit. Had he walked underground for a long time or for a short time, he came [fell] upon a small house. In the small house there lies a three-headed dragon. The bear-boy entered. The dragon says: 'God has given me something to eat and something to drink!' The bear-boy replies: 'Don't eat me now, I will chop wood for you!' He took the hatchet and went outside to chop wood. As he began chopping the wood, the shavings drop down through the chimney [into the house]. 'Why are you chopping [so] hard?' — the dragon says. — 'All the shavings are dropping down into the house.' The bear-boy went into the house, he cut through the dragon's heads with the hatchet. There were three girls in the dragon's house, they were most beautiful. The bear-boy

says: 'Why did you sit down to play like that [why did you set about it at all]? Stop playing, come on, let's go upwards!' The three girls gathered their things together and left.

5. They reached the pit. The bear tied the rope around one of the girls, and the earless man and the noseless man started to pull her up. Then the rope was let down again and the second girl was pulled up. Thereafter the rope was let down for the third time and the third girl was pulled up. After the girls were up, he tied the rope around himself, he himself began to be pulled upwards. They did not let him reach the mouth of the pit, his rope was cut in two with a hatchet and the bear-boy fell down again. 'What shall I do now?' — the bear-boy thinks. — 'I will go back to the dragon's house.' He reached the dragon's house, he went in. There is a weapon hanging on a nail. He took this weapon and went hunting. He killed some ducks and he killed some elks; there is, in one place, an eagle sitting. The bear-boy says: 'Eagle, will you take me up to the bright world?' — The eagle replies: 'Prepare some more meat!' — 'I have been hunting, I have a lot of meat.' — 'Get some buckets, fill the buckets with meat, so that it will be enough to last for three months!' So the bear-boy did. The eagle says: 'Come on, let's go now: sit on me, let's fly!'

6. The bear-boy sat on the eagle's back, they flew upwards. Whenever the eagle started growing tired, the bear-boy stuck a piece of meat into its mouth and then the eagle's strength returned. Three months passed and the bear-boy was brought [by the eagle] out of the pit into the bright world. Not far from the mountain stands [sits] a small house, the noise of a row is heard loud from this house. The bear-boy walked up to it. 'The noise of what shouting [is there] inside?' — he says. As the bear-boy enters, the noseless man and the earless man fell on their knees. 'Bear-boy!' — they say. — 'Don't kill us, let us go alive!' The bear-boy chased them away for good [entirely]. 'May God punish you [for God's finding you], I am not going to kill you!' — says the bear-boy. They had a big wedding and drank brandy; they ate dinner [food and drink]. They are still living.



Song of the female animal [bear]*

- Through seven summers created by the [Majestic] Sky
I live,
through seven winters created by the [Majestic] Sky
I live.
- 5 I have neither a daughter nor a son.
I just live, I just walk.
Suddenly I find my brother.
I say [to him]: 'How can I survive like this?!"
— 'Why should a thing of this sort still be a problem?!"
- 10 There are other days of trouble, days of scarcity besides this!
[Majestic] Sky, your great father, will henceforward
withhold from you [he will begin not to give you]
the twig bud to be eaten,
he will withhold from you
- 15 the grass bud to be eaten.
When were you decreed
to ruin [carry flat] not long ago
the man-furnished full, endlessly full pantry?
Thereafter, behold, I travelled on.
- 20 Suddenly, as I look ahead:
my kernel-cracking raven sister's
girl-like chattering throat's sound is heard,
her boy-like chattering tongue's sound is heard.
— 'What the heck! I would go there and see what she's doing!"
- 25 [Well, I see:] it is almost as though the many cembra pines having
wide-branching tops
and the pine-cones are full of resin.
I open my ten-toothed, toothed mouth,
and say to my kernel cracking raven sister:
"Throw me down
- 30 a thrush-sized long pine-cone!
Give me a thing to obtain
hind-grease needed for lying through the winter,
an inch of grease needed for spending the winter.'
My kernel cracking raven sister replies:
- 35 'If I reigned [sat] like you, with the name of
earth surface god: I certainly would not ask
evening food, morning food

* VNGY III, 1: 283–289.

- of an animal living in this manner, [hiding] behind
the interspace of the leafy branch, the interspace of the pine-
needled branch!
- 40 I, an angry woman, a furious woman, say:
‘Damn your father, damn your mother, you carrion-animal!
If you were here,
I would tear you apart into pieces
like shoe leather, like glove leather!’
- 45 With a five-hooked, hooked hand,
I myself now climb up.
Like some village-sized big pile of booty,
like some town-sized big pile of booty,
I fell down there.
- 50 Now my kernel cracking raven sister
throws down
a piece of the pine-cone she herself is eating.
‘Take it, poor one, eat!’
Again she throws down
- 55 a part of the pine-cone she herself is eating:
‘Eat, poor one!’ she says.
An angry woman, a furious woman,
I answer my sister:
‘My dog of an animal, may you, while eating this food of yours,
60 have your flesh become like soot!
Eat, eat, but let [your eating] ever be fruitless!
Let your flesh not grow,
let your bones not grow!’
Thereafter I myself collected
- 65 a span of grease needed for lying through the winter,
an inch of grease needed for spending the winter.
Behold, at last I put on so much fat
that the buttons of my five-buttoned, buttoned furcoat
began to loosen apart.
- 70 Whereupon I went up to a tree-clad mountain
covered with trees from my grandfather’s time — there I arrived;
I found an earthen-cross-beamed, cross-beamed house,
I opened its door, I entered,
I built a soft nest suitable for an ‘animal’ to lie in,
- 75 and, behold, I slept there
a thick-rooted, rooted sleep.
I suddenly wake up with a start:
my many brooks run along by the black sable,
my many brooks run along by the red sable
- 80 had somehow got to the roaring voice

of a 'giant beast', a 'forest beast' [i.e. they were purling with a free flow, that is to say, spring had arrived].

One half of my snow has been lost,
the other half of my snow still holds out.

Thereupon I continued [opened] further

85 my journey, dragged along like golden silk.

Thereupon I continue to traverse
my seven yellow-wooded mountains,
my seven red-wooded mountains.

In one place, I look into the distance:

90 a cembra pine with a wide-branching top stands there, [so] it is to be seen.

I look at the top of the cembra pine and say:

'Well, what kind of a little animal is that,
which can be seen sitting over there?'

As I had got within a distance allowing recognition,

95 behold, I recognized it:

well, it was my kernel cracking raven sister sitting there.

Behold, my sister is pervaded

by a mist resembling the darkness of a cloud.

If she lifts one feather:

100 she rises on one feather,

if she lifts two of her feathers:

she rises on two feathers;

my kernel cracking raven sister

has grown so wasted.

105 Behold, I now opened

my ten-toothed, toothed mouth and
speak thus:

'The other day, when you were
being so boastful about your
thrush-sized

long pine-cone — where has the
grease you gained then gone?

As for me, you see, my span of
grease needed for lying through
the winter,

110 my inch of grease needed for lying
through the winter —

there is little sign of it [having
wasted away]!'

Thereupon I continue further
my journey, dragged along like
golden silk.



**Song from the region of the river Lozva
of the descent from above
of the 'Gigantic Animal', 'Daughter of the Sky'***

In a recess of the silver cross-beamed, cross-beamed house
inhabited by Supernal Sky, my dear father,
I sit through a week of flowing, living gold [i.e. through a golden,
happy week].

A certain day has arrived,

- 5 and the sable-catching man with the seven hunting-nooses, my
father,

goes to his seven hunting-nooses in the forest,
he goes to his seven hunting-nooses in the water.

As he departs, behold, he says:

'My girl, do not break open the door of the doored house!

- 10 do not break open the roof-opening of the roof-opening- furnished
house!'

After the departure of my dear father Supernal Sky,
— decetiful woman that I am —

I put on

my clawed garment of a 'gigantic animal',

- 15 I tore open the door of my doored house,
I broke open the roof-opening of my roof-opening-furnished house,
I went out.

A three-year-old rein bullock runs [before me],
behold, I gave chase.

- 20 'Damn your father, damn your mother, you carrion of a beast!
where are you going so far?'

I almost struck it

when, behold, one of my 'shoes' [i.e. soles] left behind
sank below.

- 25 At this, I let

the three-year-old rein bullock [run] away.

I ponder: what kind of, what sort of region
did my one 'shoe' sink onto?

I turned round, I look downwards:

- 30 it had sunk below into the lower sky [i.e. onto earth].

I look downwards into the lower sky:

* VNGY III, 1: 109-125.

behold, the red-hue-covered earth is seen,
the yellow-hue-covered earth is seen.

'Oh what lovely earth to walk on

- 35 for the kind of gigantic animal that I am,
for the kind of forest animal that I am!'

When the man with seven hunting-nooses in the forest, the man
with seven fishing implements in the water,
my dear father, comes home,
I will say to him, 'Let me go down!'

*

- 40 The man with seven hunting-nooses in the forest, the man with
seven fishing-implements in the water,
my father, — behold, he has arrived.

In my room-compartment full of black sable-skin
I sit up.

Silent [mouthless] I sit, mute [tongueless] I sit.

- 45 My father says:

'Little girl, why have you become like that?

Why did you break open the door of your doored house,
why did you break open the roof-opening of your roof-opening-
furnished house?'

I continue to sit silent, mute.

- 50 Again my father speaks to me:

'Little girl, why have you become like this?

why did you act like this?'

Silent, mute, I went out,

I fetched some food, I placed it before my father,

- 55 and I myself went to the back.

My father ate one part of the food, he did not eat the other part of it.

On the next day, [as] day was breaking, he girt on his girdles,

behold, he went off hungry and thirsty

to his seven hunting-nooses in the forest, his seven fishing imple-
ments in the water.

- 60 He had got angry.

As he was leaving, behold, he said:

'Little girl, do not break open the door of your doored house any
more,

do not break open the roof-opening of your roof-opening-furnished
house any more!'

After my father's departure, I think:

- 65 stop, I'll go out and see

what region, where my father has gone off to;

if he is not [i.e. near]:

- I will once again break open the door of my doored house.
 As I go out and look:
- 70 well, a three-year-old elk runs [before me].
 Thereupon, I gave chase, I had already caught up with it
 [when suddenly], behold, one of my 'shoes' sank below.
 I now let my pursued animal run,
 I think: 'stop, what kind of a place do I sink onto
 75 even the other day?'
 I turned around, I look:
 well, in the place where one of my 'shoes' sank below there is an
 opening.
 I look down through this opening:
 behold, the earth inhabited by the people of the lower world,
 80 the yellow-hue-covered earth is seen,
 behold, the red-hue-covered earth is seen.
 'For the kind of gigantic animal that I am,
 what a lovely earth to walk there!
 For the kind of forest animal that I am,
 85 what a lovely earth to walk there!
 Shortly my father will arrive, and I will strive [to be let] down.'

*

- When evening had fallen, behold, my father arrived.
 I sit at the back; my father says:
 'Little girl, fetch something to eat!'
- 90 I sit silent and mute.
 My father suddenly says:
 'How on earth have you become like that,
 — you are my son, you are my daughter —
 how on earth have you become like that?'
- 95 'Dear father, I want to go down
 to the man-inhabited earth of the lower world.
 For the kind of gigantic animal that I am,
 what a lovely earth to walk there!
 For the kind of forest animal that I am,
 100 what a lovely earth to walk there!
 Let me go there!'
 — 'Little girl, do not strive!
 If you break away [fall outside] from me:
 your stomach [heart] will go hungry, your body will be cold.'
- 105 I continue to sit reticent and mute.
 My father says: 'Fetch some food, my stomach is hungry!'
 — 'Let me go down
 to the yellow-hued, noted earth

inhabited by the people of the lower world!

110 — 'It is your business, girl; if it cannot be otherwise, I will let you go down.'

*

She fetched some food for him; he ate and drank and was filled. — 'Well, then, father, when will you let me go down? I must go to the earth of the lower world at once.' My father only scratches his head and stands idle.

Behold, he makes
a seven-ringed silver cradle,
behold, he makes
a seven-branched silver chain.

115 Into the silver-hollowed, hollowed cradle,
into the silver-hooped, hooped cradle,
whit a noted golden-silver chain
I am tied, I am laid. Behold, I began to be lowered towards the
lower sky:

120 [but] between the two skies, the two heavens,
there I was held back.

If a highland wind rises:

I am carried to the lowland region;
of a lowland wind rises:

125 I am carried to the highland region.

Behold, I am kept there
between the two skies, the two heavens
through seven winters, through seven summers.

My bones became as thin [thick] as the bones of a squirrel,

130 and my flesh all perished, only my soul lives.

I am now pulled up, I have come up.

Supernal Sky, my dear father, says:

'Little girl, are you still striving?'

— 'Why, of course I am striving!'

135 If I have striven so far, I will now strive even more.'

— 'Well, then, hear: if you descend,

that earth of the lower world is a bad earth covered with briar
bushes,

that earth of the lower world is a bad earth covered with birdcherry
bushes;

one half of my tree-leaves have withered,

140 the other half of my tree-leaves are still green;

that is why you see it as so lovely,

that is why you think that, behold, it is a lovely earth.'

*

- Supernal Sky, my dear father —
 behold, he makes
 145 a seven-ringed silver cradle,
 behold, he makes
 a seven-branched silver chain.
 Into the silver-hollowed, hollowed cradle
 into the silver-hooped, hooped cradle
 150 I am tied, I am laid,
 and I began to be lowered into the lower sky.
 I say to my father Supernal Sky:
 'For my twig bud to be eaten,
 for my grass bud to be eaten,
 155 what do you ordain for me?'
 — 'Rain falls, with that let your stomach be satisfied,
 wind blows, with that let your stomach be satisfied!
 If you find a big man-made trap of planks:
 keep well away from it;
 160 if you find a man-made elk-fence:
 keep well away from it;
 if you find a man-made food storage:
 keep well away from it;
 if you find the mossy corpse of a human:
 165 keep well away from it!

*



Thereafter, behold, she was lowered; she arrived down. Behold, her stomach began to be hungry. As she walks, she looks — well, there is a grouse-trap lying over there; it seems to her it fell to the ground. She thinks: what on earth is that? Well, I must go there. None other than a cock-grouse had fallen there. She took it, stole it, carried it a little further, buried [mixed] it in the ground and then ate it. Thereafter she thinks: damn it, it is not enough; let me follow the track of this trap. She walked a little, behold, a village appeared before her. Now, in the manner of a thief, she stole — thereafter she withdrew, she hid. She thinks: night will fall, and then I will kill these people and then I will eat them. In vain she kept lying in wait: those people did not come [appear] either by night or by

day. She thinks: if Supernal Sky, my father, does not give, what could I possibly observe; I am going to walk around this village in case I meet something and can lay my hands on something. Thereafter, behold, she walked around the village. In vain she had walked around it, Supernal Sky, her father, did not give her any food. Behold, she turned up the coffins, the human corpses behind the village.

She bites into the end of a bone:
it crumbles [smokes] from moss;
she bites into the end of another bone:
it crumbles from fire moss.

- 170 Behold, her father is not present;
what she eats is not satisfying,
what she drinks is not satisfying.

That is how she was punished by her father. She walks, she looks into the distance, well, a wolverine is coming. Her wolverine brother hangs his hands and sits down to practise magic. The enchantment began to move:

- So that you may appease your hunger [satisfy your stomach],
by Supernal Sky, your father,
175 tree-leaves have been ordained, stalks have been ordained [for you],
berries have been ordained cembra pine-cones have been ordained;
those are the things you should eat.
From that you should acquire
hind grease for lying through the winter!
180 From that you should acquire
breast grease for spending the summer!
Keep well away
from the trap made by man!
Keep well away
185 from the elk-fence made by man!
If you find a human corpse:
do not go near, keep well away from it!
Go away from here! There is a big morass;
go across it, you will arrive at the middle of a marsh.
190 Listen into the distance:
the cry of your kernel cracking raven sister will be heard.
That is where you must go!
There are many cembra pines with wide-spreading branches at the
top standing there.
Your twig buds to be eaten are at the top of the cembra pine,
195 your grass buds to be eaten are at the top of the cembra pine.
From that you should acquire

hind grease for lying through the winter!
From that you should acquire
breast grease for spending the summer!

*

- 200 I now started walking, behold, I went off.
In one place, I arrived at a morass.
I have no strength of knee to get up,
I have no strength of hand to get up.
As soon as I have arrived in the middle of the morass,
- 205 I lie down, I listen:
well, the cry of my kernel cracking raven sister is heard.
My two black currant 'stars' [i.e. my eyes] —
behold, they began to shine.
There I went, there I arrived.
- 210 There are many cembra pines with wide-spreading branches at the
top
standing in great numbers there,
the cembra pines are almost resinned over [i.e. they are absolutely
full of cembra pine-cones].
I say to my kernel cracking raven sister:
'Throw down for me some cembra pine-cones
- 215 for acquiring hind grease,
for acquiring breast grease!'
My kernel cracking raven sister replies:
'If I reigned under an earthly god's name,
I certainly would not ask evening food, morning food
- 220 of an animal of this kind, living behind a bower of foliage-leaves,
abower of pine-needles!'
— 'Damn your father, damn your mother, you carrion of an animal!
If you were near:
I would tear you apart into shoe-leather,
I would tear you apart into glove-leather!'
- 225 Now with a five-clawed, clawed hand
I myself climb up.
Behold, I myself found
an inch of grease needed for lying through the winter,
a span of grease needed for lying through the winter.
- 230 After my grease has filled [after I have got fat]
I am walking in the forest.
I find a big mountain full of trees from my grandfather's time,
I find a big mountain full of trees from my father's time.
Suddenly I hear something piping.
- 235 Well, as I look: over a mossy-backed, large tree-stump

my striped squirrel brother is sitting.
I say to my striped squirrel brother:
'Little brother, show me half of your hidden belongings [i.e. your food]!'

Streaked squirrel, my little brother made answer:

- 240 'If I reigned under the name of an earthly god of your kind,
I certainly would not ask evening food, morning food
of an animal of this sort, living in a hiding-place among foliage of
trees, among moss!'

*

Thereupon I go on, I walk on,

I arrive on a big mountain full of trees from my grandfather's time.

- 245 As I look on the surface of the ground:
black berries in the top of a bilberry bush,
they are, indeed, sprinkled on — behold, in such quantities have
they grown.

My five-buttoned, buttoned furcoat [i.e. my belly]
scarcely went around my girth — so much fat had I put on.

- 250 Thereupon, behold, the hunger I had suffered of late ceased.

'Animal' song from the village of Muun-kes*

Kajajujin, kajajujin!

Through the hot-pillowed merry summer,
through the sweat-soaked-pillowed merry summer
created by my Supernal-Golden father,

- 5 I keep filling
the mouth of my insatiable 'jar',
I keep filling
the mouth of my insatiable 'butt'.
The many berry-growing sandy banks

- 10 I walk in great numbers,
the many pine-cone-shedding pine-groves
I walk in great numbers.
While I walk

- the many pine-cone-shedding pine-groves,
15 as I look upwards:

* VNGY III, 1: 238-253.

- there are such goodly, fine fir-cones
standing up there!
Thereupon I climb up
and throw down the cones;
20 and then I descend
and collect the cones.
I now continue to sit
on a village-sized, big pile of booty,
I now continue to sit
25 on a town-sized, big pile of booty.
After my village-sized, town-sized pile of booty
is gone,
behold, I walk on.
Behold, the berry-growing, berry-filled forest,
30 the bird cherry-growing, bird cherry-filled forest
I, 'majestic animal', continue to traverse
with long strides.
The mouth of my insatiable jar
I, 'animal', continue to pick into,
35 the mouth of my insatiable butt
I, 'animal' continue to fill.
While I walk in this manner,
behold, I, 'majestic animal', arrive
on a green-leaved beautiful path.
40 I get
hind-grease for lying through the winter,
I get
breast-grease for spending the winter.

*

- Behold, what do my two 'stars' of a 'majestic animal'
45 suddenly see:
my dear Supernal-Golden father
has changed to autumn weather,
behold, his thick-grained, grained snow
keeps falling.
50 To make
an earthen house good for lying through the winter,
I look
for an earth hillock impenetrable to the nose of man,
I look
55 for an earth hillock impenetrable to the nose of dog.
While I am searching like that, I suddenly
arrived

- at a renowned river of what renown,
I arrived
- 60 at a famous river of what fame!
I look towards the other side of it:
behold, there was a high precipice [there],
I look toward this side of it:
there was a big mound of earth there.
- 65 To make
an earthen house good for lying through the winter,
what a noted little mound of earth
that would be!
My one hand on the right side
- 70 I put [in]:
[the amount of earth that goes] into the bag of five sable's pillow-
case,
behold, as much falls out;
my one hand on the left side
I plunge in:
- 75 [the amount of earth that goes] into six sable's pillow-case,
behold, as much falls out.
Behold, I make
a cross-beamed earthen house.
Thereafter I go off
- 80 to pick some moss,
behold, I carry
three lapfuls of it into my house.
I, 'majestic animal', huddling man,
now carry
- 85 my tressed head, my beautiful head
into my earth-cross-beamed, cross-beamed house.

*

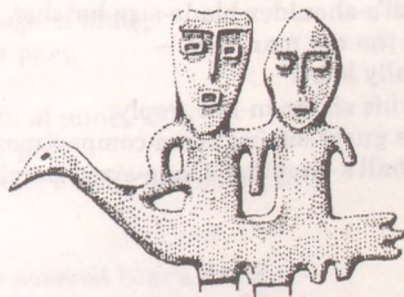
- No sooner does the region of my throat, going to sleep,
go to sleep,
no sooner does the region of my tongue, going to sleep,
- 90 go to sleep
than, with noted sound of 'bowwow',
behold, the door of my doored house is blocked,
behold, the roof-opening of my doored house is blocked,
behold, the roof-opening of my roof-opening-furnished house is
blocked.
- Behold, what do my two 'stars'
- 95 of a 'majestic animal' see:
behold, an elk-bullock [bull-calf] sized hunting dog

- is running about [there],
 behold, an elk-calf-sized hunting dog
 is running about [there].
- 100 As my two 'stars' of a 'majestic animal'
 look into the distance:
 a tressed man, with tresses fully developed [grown] — a man of
 what shape
 is coming,
 a handsome man, with his handsomeness [face] fully developed —
 a man of what shape
- 105 is coming!
 I look at his hand on one side:
 he is carrying [wearing] a bull's-shoulder-blade-sized
 hatchet in it,
 I look at his hand on the other side:
- 110 he is carrying [wearing] a long-ironed, long
 breaking wedge in it.
 Behold, the poor door of my doored house
 is blocked
 by a big beam made of plain wood;
- 115 behold, the roof-opening of my roof-opening-furnished house
 is blocked
 by a big beam made of plain wood.
 Behold, the poor roof of my roofed house
 is bored through by an 'arrow-opening' [i.e. it is broken through];
- 120 Behold, through my poor 'arrow-opening'
 snow is poured in.
 As I observe the bright place,
 as I jerk there
 my headed animal's head of a 'majestic animal':
- 125 it is suddenly pierced through
 by the long-ironed, long breaking wedge.
 When I, a 'majestic animal', turned giddy,
 a rope with a noose was thrown over me,
 behold, from the poor door of my doored house
- 130 I was pulled out.
 Counting my five 'buttons' of a 'majestic animal',
 they undo them.
 'The picked thing of my pot-holding tree' [i.e. the flesh of my back]
 is paced in a good place,
- 135 'the picked thing of my breast' [i.e. the flesh of my breast]
 is placed in a good place.
 I am placed
 in a hooped cradle made of bird cherry-wood,

- I am laid
 140 in a hooped cradle made of bird cherry-wood,
 I am loaded
 onto a small six-legged sleigh.
 Counting my four shouts due to an 'animal',
 they take me into the village, full of girls,
 145 counting my five shouts due to an 'animal',
 they take me into the village, full of men.
 I am carried off
 into a large-timbered, large house,
 I am carried off
 150 into a plentifully stocked with food, plentiful house.
 [There] many, many men of the village
 kick up
 a square noted with snow games [i.e. they throw snow at one another];
 [there] many, many men of the town
 155 trample down
 a square noted with snow games.
 Behold, they carry me into
 the door of the doored house
 shouting my four shouts due to an 'animal';
 160 behold, they carry me in
 shouting my five shouts due to an 'animal'.
 Behold, I am placed
 on a stand wrought of five planks
 at the end of the revered corner of the revered corner furnished
 house.
 165 Many vessels with food from the lake
 they bring before me in great numbers,
 many vessels with food from the Ob
 they bring before me in great numbers.
 In a nest abounding in food from the lake
 170 I sit,
 in a nest abounding in food from the Ob
 I sit.
 As I sit in this fashion, suddenly
 many humpbacked men
 175 enter in great numbers,
 many pot-bellied men
 enter in great numbers.
 All the games, the many games [everywhere] that there are
 they play,
 180 all the skillful hand movements that there are

- they display,
all the skillful foot movements that there are
they display.
They count and keep [carry]
- 185 my four nights due to a 'majestic animal',
they count and keep
my five nights due to a 'majestic animal'.
Rising on the sixth day,
behold, they stand before me
- 190 with noted sacrifice of an antlered animal,
behold, they stand before me
with noted sacrifice of a hoofed animal.
After they have killed
my antlered animal, hoofed animal sacrifice,
- 195 behold, my head of a 'majestic animal'
is bared, behold, my dear hand of a 'majestic animal'
are bared.
Thereupon they are put
- 200 in an iron-arched, arched pot,
thereupon they are cooked there.
Behold, my many men of the village
share them in the manner of the sharing of sable,
behold, my many women of the town
- 205 share them in the manner of the sharing of game.
After they have thus divided the portions,
from a noted recess in the revered corner,
behold, I emerge
in the noted shape of a mole,
- 210 behold, I emerge
together with my noted sacrifice of an antlered animal.
Behold, I place my sable [skin] prayer
before my dear Supernal-Golden father,
behold, I place my game-[skin] supplication
- 215 before my dear father Majestic Sky:
'The other day, when I killed
a noted bird with a bloodstained head,
I cried out, offering up to you
the noted head of the headed animal.
- 220 My dear Supernal-Golden father!
if only you would now let down [for me]
an iron ladder:
so that, together with this antlered animal sacrifice of mine,
together with this hoofed animal sacrifice of mine
- 225 I might climb it!

- Behold, my dear Supernal-Golden father
heard [my supplication],
behold, he let down
a ladder made of iron;
- 230 I go up
with hands endowed with the sacrifice of an antlered animal,
with hands endowed with the sacrifice of a hoofed animal.
When I came up
to my dear father Majestic Sky,
- 235 behold, an iron pile — in what [strange] from created! —
looms [stands] there.
Behold, I tie to it
my noted sacrifice of an antlered animal,
my noted sacrifice of a hoofed animal.
- 240 Behold, I go into
the gold cross-beamed, sacred house
inhabited by my dear father Majestic Sky.
Behold, I say
to my dear father Majestic Sky:
- 245 'My dear father Supernal Sky, where
does your spell ordain that I should be?'
My dear father Supernal Sky
makes answer:
'Hurry
- 250 to the berry-growing, berry-filled grove,
hurry
to the pine-cone-growing, pine-cone-filled grove!'
[At this], my food-eating, food-rich mind
is filled [cut] with joy.
- 255 Behold, I ran along with five animal's leaps,
behold, I bounded along with four animal's bounds.
Kajajujin!



The bear oath song of the *Xu-peri-xu* elder*

- While he lets the hot-pillowed
long summer pass,
while he lets the sweaty-pillowed
long summer pass,
5 the man Supernal Sky, my dear father,
creates
the short day of autumn time.
[My husband] *Xu-peri-xu*, *Xu-peri-xu* elder
puts his two badger's skin sandals
10 on his two five-toed feet,
he girds on his sable-skin girdle,
to fetch some thin-stalked, stalked roots,
behold, he walks
behind the village having a hinder part.
15 Shortly after his departure,
the little door of my doored house is opened.
Who, of my people, steps
into the middle of the planked house floor?
Behold, Bark-roll-house-owning man, my brother-in-law
20 he it was who stepped in.
Behold, his ten-toothed, toothed mouth
he opens [speaking] thus:
'My brother, *Xu-peri-xu* elder,
where has he gone?'
25 Behold, I, an old woman, his sister-in-law, reply:
'He has gone
behind the village having a hinder part
to fetch some thin-stalked, stalked roots.'
Now Bark-roll-house-owning man, my brother-in-law
30 he says: "That bull's-shoulder-blade-size hatchet
that my brother, the old man, has —
where is it normally kept?"
I, an old woman, his sister-in-law, reply:
'At the end of the guest-sitting room-compartment —
35 that's where his bull's-shoulder-blade-sized hatchet
lies;

* VNGY III, 1: 381-392.

just take it, my brother-in-law!
He took it away
to carve craftsman's wood shavings.

*

- 40 After he took it away,
behold, *Xu-peri-xu* elder
[unexpectedly] enters;
behold, he steps
into the middle of the planked house floor.
- 45 Behold, he looks for
his bull's-shoulder-blade-sized hatchet.
Now thereupon, behold, I again speak thus:
'A short while after you left,
Bark-roll-house-owning man, my brother-in-law,
- 50 he came here,
it was he who took away
the bull's shoulder-blade-sized hatchet;
he took it away to carve
craftsman's wood shavings.'
- 55 Now after that
Xu-peri-xu, *Xu-peri-xu* elder
pulls out
a thin-stalked, stalked root;
he turns three sides of my sides,
- 60 he turns four sides of my sides,
[he tortures me so much] that, scarcely staying alive, — only with
great difficulty am I able
to bring out my breath, [as tiny] as a little bird.

*

- I go outside
to the outer part of the doored house,
- 65 I step
behind this village of mine,
having a hinder part,
I step
behind this town of mine,
having a hinder part.
Behind my village, having a hinder part,
- 70 I find it,
I find
my [little] moss-covered bear's head;
to the square of my square-owing village

- I take it home.
 75 I now gather together
 my many men, the multitude of a village,
 I gather together
 my many women, the multitude of a town;
 I swear
 80 the noted kind of my true oath:
 'My [little] moss-covered bear's head,
 hear:
 if seven recesses of a wicked bosom
 were in me: during this coming
 85 elk-bull's-foot [prints-visible], thin-snow-[filled] autumn,
 over my wood-block cut by myself,
 there place my trunk!
 over my wood-block, cut by myself,
 there place my head!
 90 But if with a true recess of an honest bosom
 I swear:
 for this *Xu-peri-xu*, *Xu-peri-xu* elder,
 where he is wont to walk,
 on his path, joyful with the flitting squirrel, —
 95 if there are seven recesses of a wicked bosom
 in him:
 place his neck
 over his wood-block, cut by himself,
 place his head
 100 over his wood-block, cut by himself'

*

- Thereafter, as I quietly live
 that elk-bull's-foot [prints-visible], thin-snow-[filled] autumn,
 my *Xu-peri-xu*, *Xu-peri-xu* elder
 sleeps soundly
 105 with a neck-chopping true dream,
 he sleeps soundly
 with a head-chopping rooted dream,
 the elk-bull's-foot [print-visible], thin-snow-filled autumn passes like
 that.
 110 Now my many men of a full village —
 behold, they have loaded
 their loaded, full sleigh proper for a man of the woods,
 behold, they have set out [are standing]
 on their journey, joyful with the flitting squirrel.
 115 Now my *Xu-peri-xu*, *Xu-peri-xu* elder,

after the departure of his people,
he puts on his two badger's-skin sandals,
he, too, packs
his full sleigh fit for a man of the forest;
120 his many men of a full village,
whom he passed, — behold, he follows the signs [notches in the
trees] of that
sable-walking path.

*

After his departure
I spent two days, if many,
125 I spent three days, if many,
towards the fourth day, behold, what do I suddenly hear:
the cry is heard
of the full cry due to the 'strong beast' [bear].
To the square of this square-owning village of mine
130 I go out:
behold, a full sleigh loaded by a 'man of the woods'
appears before me.
I look at
the full sleigh loaded with the 'strong beast',
135 as I glance
at the curve of the curved sleigh:
well, my *Xu-peri-xu*, *Xu-peri-xu* elder
the two badger's-skin sandals that he had,
behold, they appeared before me.
140 To the square of their square-owning village
they arrive:
well, my *Xu-peri-xu*, *Xu-peri-xu* elder
has been torn apart
into pieces like the leather of a sandal,
145 he has been torn apart
into pieces like the leather of a glove.

*

I now gather together
my many women of a full village,
I gather together
150 my many men of a full village,
and, behold, I say:
'You see, how they swear
with the true recess of an honest bosom!
[Dear] people living after this, —

- 155 if you have seven recesses of a wicked bosom in you:
do not swear with a little moss-covered bear's head!
Only if you live [sit] with the true recess of
an honest bosom:
only then swear with a little moss-covered bear's head!
- 160 Now the violent-handed 'strong animal boy' [bear]
is thrown onto the square of the square-endowed village.
With common pine-wood, a big fire is built,
with larch-wood, a big fire is built;
that violent-handed 'strong animal boy'
- 165 is put in the middle of the big fire of the common pine-wood,
it is put in the middle of the big fire of the larch-wood.
In the middle of the big fire of the common pine-wood,
behold, it burns to a frazzle the size of a tiny grain of sand.

*

- Henceforward, children, children,
170 do not swear
with a little moss-covered bear's head:
because the noted kind of the true oath
is severely tested!

Song of the song-understanding elder*

- Fanned-furcap-wearing elder,
a song-understanding elder
is being mentioned. —
In the house of the Town's Ruling Elder
- 5 a savage-clawed, clawed animal
was made to sit down [i.e. the bear feast has being celebrated].
To Fanned-furcap-wearing elder
a one-span-tall messenger [page] is sent:
he does not come.
- 10 For the second time, they send two messengers:
they do not come.
For the third time, they again send
a one-span-tall messenger.

* VNGY III, 1: 526-537.

- [At this] Fanned-furcap-wearing elder
15 puts on his shoulders
his wife's shabby furcoat made of wolverine,
he girds his wife's dog-leash
on his waist [his middle],
he puts his ragged cap made of bark
20 on his head.
He seizes his stick made of
icy wood, he goes there.
The big door made of larch,
with the end of the stick made of icy wood —
25 he smashes the door in.
The five cross-hinges
carved by a master's hand
break into toothpick-sized slivers —
the door breaks apart. He enters:
30 [behold,] his shabby coat made of wolverine skin
is thrown [turned] on him,
his wife's dog-leash
is girded on his waist,
his ragged cap made of bark
35 is placed on his head.
As he thumps [like this] on the floor of the house
with the end of the stick made of frozen wood,
knurls suitable for making cups
form on the floor of the house.
40 With the end of the stick made of frozen wood
he threatens in the direction of the nose of the 'sacred animal'
[he provokes the bear].

*

- 'Damn your father's blood!
Why are you sitting like this without song
in a nook of the house?!
- 45 Where did you carry off
the biggest of my big sons?!
- 'You also have a second son, a middle son. —
My water-dwelling mind, sent into the water,
I send into the water,
50 my forest-dwelling mind, sent into the forest,
I send into the forest [i.e. I am beside myself].
My father Supernal Sky
created me [let me go down]
with the recess of an angry bosom,

55 into the recess of my fury-frenzied bosom
I draw in [the injury sustained]’.

*

Fanned-furcap-wearing elder goes home.
He enters the house and says to his wife:
‘Go out, fetch my shining-faced
60 noted garment acquired [found] in my youth
from the water of the distant Moskva — even from there, —
bring it in,
bring in
my cotton-tasselled noted sash,
65 bring in
my black-rimmed, rimmed furcap,
bring in
a piece of the haunch of a horse fattened is summer,
bring in
70 a piece of the rib of a horse fattened in summer,
bring in
the three-span-tall silver cup!
The shining-faced noted garment
he presses on his shoulders,
75 the cotton-tasselled noted girdle
he girds round his waist,
his black-rimmed, rimmed furcap
he puts on his head,
the piece of haunch from the horse fattened in summer,
80 he places
in the three-span-tall silver cup.
His wood equipped, in the middle, with the sinew of the ‘toothed
animal’ [i.e. his wolf-stringed harp]
he pulls with him. — There he went.
With the precious joint of his quiet [?] hand
85 he opens the door.

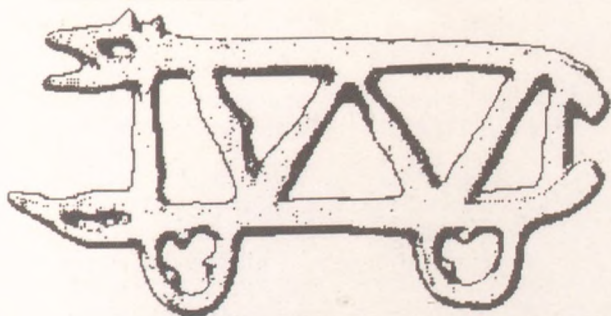
*

I look there:
the son of a gentlewoman risen from somewhere
appears there,
the son of a gentleman risen from somewhere
90 appears there.
I look at
his left armpit:
he is bringing there

- his wood having a middle equipped with five strings [his harp].
- 95 I look at his right side:
he is bringing there
a three-span-tall silver cup,
he is bringing there
a piece of haunch from a horse fattened in summer. —
- 100 I look more closely:
Fanned-furcap-wearing elder himself
puts down
a three-span-tall silver cup
there opposite my 'sacred animal's' nose.
- 105 During the time of the passage of three nights, three days
I looked there
upon the colt's grease laden platter,
for three nights, three days
I watched there
- 110 feet-turning noted games.
He plucks the lower string
of his wood possessing a middle fitted with five strings:
his string echoes with the sound of the lower sky [earth];
he plucks its upper string:
- 115 his string reverberates with the sound of the upper sky.
I am shown there
hand-twisting noted games.

*

- Justly [truly] it is said:
he was the man song-understanding man,
- 120 justly it is said:
he was the legend-understanding man.



APPENDICES

Notes to the Texts

Page

- 1 VNGY II, 1:1-18. — On 7. 3. 1889 the nearly 300 lines long text was written down by Munkácsi from the shaman Rodion Semenov Rombadiev who originated from the village Munkes, which is situated near to the river Sigva. The first two lines of its hero is a characteristic introducing parallel-saying, which is typical in the Ostyak hero-songs too. He calls this type of song a heroic song; the Mansi terminology calls it *Terniy eryet*.
In lines 38-41. When mentioning the animal sacrifice, it is interesting that they tied several animals to one rope and fastened them this way to the tree. In line 190. Munkácsi mentions that they favoured idols of valuable skins, among others bear skins. Line 210 refers to the fact that the animal skins were hanged on the trees of the sacrifice square. In line 289: at the end of the sacrificing ceremonies they emitted shrill loud cry.
- 17 VNGY II, 1:98-99. — The tale was put down in writing by Munkácsi, based on the narration of Vasili Kirilich Nomin in the village Tare on 17. 7. 1888. It is interesting, — mentions the collector, — that the shaman singer identifies the vogul deities with figures or the christian body of believers, e.g.: *Saxl-Torem* = the prophet Elias, *Tapel* = St. Nicholas. — In the second text it is remarkable that the birth of the World-Surveyor-Man is irregular; it happens through the womans ribs, which is also a motive of the Bible. (See: the creation of the woman from Adam's ribs.)
- 18 VNGY II, 1:100-104. On 9. 1. 1889. Kavrila Petoris Sont'in sang the hero-song in the village Jäni-paul and he told that it was sung at the time of the sacrifice when the World-Surveyor-Man (*Mir-susne-xum*) became adult. — In line 50 the flotation of the cradle between the two heavens in an interesting motive. The same mythical motive appears also in mythical songs about the birth of the bear.
- 20 VNGY II, 1:105-115. — The singer of the former text sang the same day this song, which is the *Mir-susne-xum* story about his childhood sufferings. — Line 132 refers to the fact that the village was down at the riverside but the sacrifice square was up in the forest.
- 25 VNGY II, 1:116-118. — Tarex-paul, the place of the recording from Vasili Kirilich Homin, on 17.7.1888.
- 27 VNGY II, 1:119-123. — Munkácsi wrote down the song of Kavrila Petoris Sont'in in the village Jäni-paul. Munkácsi's notes to the text are to be found: VNGY II, 2:476-478.
- 29 VNGY II, 1:294-309. — In december of 1844 Antal Reguly put it down from a Vogul man called Maxim Nikilov in a village called Xarên-paul. The *Kaltes*-girl in this legend the figure of the mythical giant-peoples woman, who is the sister of Golden-prince World Surveyor Man. Further notes and linguistic explanations are to be found: VNGY II, 2:540-556. The raven in part 4 is an interesting motive, when it appears as a messenger-bird, as well as the sac-

- rifice prepared of its part own body's (namely the tibia); as well as in part 7, where the parts of the body are moving separately, which is presumably the poetic expression of the dismemberment usual at shamanic initiations.
- 38 VNGY II, 1:311–319. — The text was written down by Munkácsi from the shaman Vasilii Kirilich Nomin on 20. 1. 1889. — In line 6 the “Seven-god-(bearing)-ancestress-mother” concerns the “Earth-Mother” (*Maa-ankw*). — In line 40 *amanita* means in the original *panx*, what the shaman and the idol-spirits used as drugs produce altered states of consciousness. Further notes: VNGY II, 2:556–559.
- 42 VNGY II, 1:364–365. — The text was written down by Munkácsi from a man called Mikola Filip Tasmanov who originated from the environment of the upper course of the river Sosva, on 11. 1. 1889. The collector noticed that the World-Surveyor-Man is not travelling in all parts of the world on reindeer sledge but on horseback. — Further notes: VNGY II, 2:589–590.
- 43 VNGY II, 1:288–293. — The original text was written already by Antal Reguly in 1844 near the Mid-Lozva river. The text was performed when sacrifices were brought to *Xul’-ater*, what means that its genre is a hymn, praising deity; its original Mansi termin is: *kaj-saw*. Munkácsi noticed that he found a very big resemblance between the hymn of the Devil-prince and the bearsongs. — Further notes: VNGY II, 2:257–540.
- 45 VNGY II, 1:376–378. — Munkácsi the collector has taken down this prayer (*Torem-eri*) from Mikita Petrovich Buranov on 14. 10. 1888. in the village Terezinskíe which is situated neargy the Tuman-lakes. Munkácsi remarks in his notes that “the man wandering around the seven worlds” is an adoring epithet of the World-Surveyor-Man. — Further linguistic notes: VNGY II, 2:598.
- 46 VNGY II, 1:367. — Munkácsi made known this text by the title “prayer fragment of Lozva” and his notes manifests that he had written it down, based on Tatiana Alexeevna Soť’nova’s message in the settlement Tarex-paul on 25. 12. 1888. It is part of a longer prayer which informant still remembered, although he detached himself long ago from the heathen lifestyle. The poetical pictures of the text appear also in other prayer texts. — Further notes: VNGY II, 2:590–591.
- 47 VNGY II, 1:390–393. — The song evoking the Water’s Saint (*Vit-jelpiñ*) was written down in a place called Jäni-paul, based on Kavrila Petoris Sont’in’s communication.
- 48 VNGY II, 1:372–375. — The text was written down by Munkácsi based on the communication of a shaman called Vasilii Kirilich Nomin on 17. 7. 1888. The lyrics serves against bewitching (*muträ*) by evoking the inferior spiritual beings of the Vogul mythology (Seven-winged, winged God!) and this with a text introducing exclamation: *Kohohou!* — The prosaic message completing the text in verse, means that the shaman sees in his visionary trance the shaman’s zoomorphic-spirits struggling with each other: one of them has a bear form, the other is like a bull. — Further notices: VNGY II, 2:594–597.
- 51 VNGY II, 1:415–421. — This text was written down by Munkácsi from the shaman Peter Jepjem Jurjog in Beriozov on 21. 3. 1889.
- 54 VNGY II, 1:422–427. — This invocation (*kaj-saw*) was written down in Berjozov by Munkácsi, based on the communication of the shaman called Rotivon Rompantiop on 8. 3. 1889. The holy place of Pasét-pupi-ajkä is in *Munkes* and seven *menkw* are to be found there. — Further notes: VNGY II, 2:622–625.
- 58 VNGY II, 1:334–337. — It was from Antal Reguly’s manuscript that Munkácsi published this lyrics, which originated from the middle region of the river

- Lozva. It was Petr Fedorich Jurkin who told it already in 1844. — Further detailed linguistic notes: VNGY II, 2:573–584.
- 63 VNGY II, 1:276–287. — Munkácsi wrote down this song (*kaj-saw*) from Semen Rotivon Rompontov in Berjozov on 8. 3. 1889. The collector mentioned that the elder of the village Lopmus speaks in this heroic hymn as a matter of fact about the marriage of an idol deity, about his adventures when looking for women (the original Mansi folklore genre indication would be *terniñ-eri*, but there the informant, referring to the style of interpretation used the *kaj-saw* expression). — Further notes: VNGY II, 2:525–527.
- 68 VNGY II, 1:52–75. — The long text (its length is 337 lines) was written down by Munkácsi from the shaman Vasilii Kirilich Nomin in a place called Persini, on 12. 7. 1888. The latter called it a heroic song (*terniñ-eri*). — Further detailed linguistic notes: VNGY II, 2:445–457.
- 78 VNGY IV, 1:1–4. — Based on Anna Ivanovna Ukladova communication, Munkácsi noted this woman's fate song on 14. 7. 1888. The supposed composer of the song is the early dying Taria Kirilovna Pahtiarova of the rich and famous Pahtiar family. Before her death, — as if feeling the end — she mourns her reindeers and the mountains where she put them to pasture. — Further linguistic notes: VNGY IV, 2:73–74. — Those notes were already compiled in volume IV of the VNGY by Béla Kálmán.
- 81 VNGY IV, 1:18. — Martha, Nikolai Yelesin's wife sang it on 9. 7. 1888. — In the title given already by Munkácsi of the short fatesong, the woman singing on her daily work got the attribute "woman of the Samoyed tent".
- 81 VNGY IV, 1:47–52. — Reguly's original lyrics were rewritten by Tatiana Alexeevna Sot'inova on 7. 12. 1888. Munkácsi reported both lyrics and marked almost every word with linguistic notes. — Compare: VNGY IV, 2:95–98.
- 84 VNGY IV, 1:53–55. — It was Evgenia Nikolaevna Pahtiarova who sang this female fatesong to Munkácsi on 15. 6. 1888. — Linguistic notes: VNGY IV, 2:99–100.
- 85 VNGY IV, 1:20. — The last resident of the village Paxuon-tit-paul, was Tatiana Alexeevna Sot'inova who performed this fatesong on 15. 12. 1888.
- 86 VNGY IV, 1:21–23. — Anna Ukladova the song's composer and performer married a well-to-do man, but the plague carried away her sons (plague in Vogul: *tereñ-xul'*). Since then she took refuge in deep mourning. — Further linguistic notes: VNGY IV, 83–85.
- 88 VNGY IV, 1:24–27. — Anna Ukladova who was an orphan sang about her bad marriage, her escaping and reconciliation with her husband on 25. 6. 1888. — Compare: VNGY IV, 2:85–86.
- 90 VNGY IV, 1:28. — Alexei Ukladov composed this song about his own daughter Tatiana.
- 91 VNGY IV, 1:29–34. — It was Tatiana Alexeevna Sot'inova who sang it and Munkácsi wrote it down on 25. 7. 1888. This song of fate relates about the complications of a marriage ceremony.
- 94 VNGY IV, 1:67–69. — In the original publication there are also two lyrics: this of Reguly and that of Munkácsi which was in fact rewritten by Sot'inova. In line 26 "Sweet Mother Earth" means: *Maa-ankw*. — Further notes: VNGY IV, 2:106–108.
- 96 VNGY IV, 1:134–138. — There are available two variants of this text: the earlier one is Reguly's transcription and the more accurate of Munkácsi's interpretation. — Compare: VNGY IV, 2:141–144.
- 99 VNGY IV, 1:139. — Vasilii Pahtiar's masculin fatesong was performed by a female relative for Munkácsi, who wrote it down on 22. 6. 1888. — Notes: VNGY IV, 1:144–146.

- 100 VNGY IV, 1:144-146. — In the first edition Munkácsi published the whole text written down by Reguly. It was — by all probability — collected from Pahtiar in June 1888.
- 106 VNGY IV, 1:118-122. — This masculine fatesong was written down by Sot'inova, using the dialect of upper Lozva on 19. 12. 1888. — Further linguistic notes: VNGY IV, 2:132-134.
- 108 VNGY IV, 1:122-127. — Continuation of the previous song.
- 111 VNGY IV, 1:320-321. — The short note by Munkácsi commenting the text mentions that this is an "animal song". It was written down by Munkácsi in the village *Jiv-paul* from Anisia Pavlovna Molotkova on 4. 11. 1888.
- 112 VNGY IV, 1:304-310. — The family name of the informant is Nomin. He performed the song for Munkácsi. It tells actually about the *Ursa Maior* (Big Dipper) star constellation, which was not named by the Voguls after the bear but after the elk.
- 116 VNGY IV, 1:237-240. — The short note mentions the family name of an informant called Merop only. In line 2 "the *lū-xū* is not a spirit's name, but just a song rhythmic-addition word in a jocular way".
- 118 VNGY IV, 1:356-360. — Munkácsi identified the prosaic text as a mythical tale. His informant was Pavel Ignatich Simpaev. On 19. 4. 1889, he told this totemistic legend on the bear cub. In this tale the woman performs sexual connections with the bear and makes travelings into the underworld. This is highly comparable to one of the most important motive of the Hungarian folk tales. (Son of the white horse.)
- 121 VNGY III, 1: 283-289. — On 12. 7. 1888. has Munkácsi written down the text from Vasilli Kirilich Nomin in Tarex-paul. The song says about a bear meeting in summertime the nutcracker raven and asks him to throw down for him food from the top of the pine tree. But the raven makes just fun of the bear, who, after this, looks himself about his food and courses the bird.
- 124 VNGY III, 1:109-125. — Munkácsi has written down this text from Mikhail Ivanovich Ukladov in Tarex-paul on 10. 7. 1888. The song relates the bear's heavenly origin; it used to be singed at the beginning of the bear ceremony, immediately after the bearhead was transported and placed in the house. — Further linguistic notes: VNGY III, 2:196-204. Those notes were already compiled by Béla Kálmán.
- 131 VNGY III, 1:238-253. — Semen-pi Rot'ivon Rom pant'op originated from the village Muun-kes. Munkácsi has written down his legend in Berjozov on 8. 3. 1889. This text is a so called 'simple bear song' (*ui-eriy*) which explains, how the bear acquires necessary food and winter-shelter for its rest. Later it wakes up hearing dogbarking, then the hunters kill him and take him to the village, where they put the corps on platform, presents him offerings and rejoice around it five days long. — Further notes: VNGY III, 2:260-270.
- 138 VNGY III, 1:381-392. — Munkácsi noted this bear-oathsong from Anisim Kirilich Sont'in on 17. 1. 1889. Béla Kálmán summarized in his notes (VNGY III, 2:314-315) the contents of the text in the following way: *Xu-peri-xu's* wife lends his brother-in-law the axe of her husband, therefore the old man gives the woman a big beating, and she swears on a bearhead in the middle of the village, that the mistreatment fell upon her unjustly. She asks the bear to act as judge and to punish who acted badly. When autumn came the men return from the bear-hunting and they bring with them together with the bear the dead husband who was slashed by it.
- 142 VNGY III, 1:526-537. — The text was collected by Antal Reguly and Munkácsi has transcribed and interpreted it with the help of Tatiana Alexeevna Sot'inova and Mikhail Grigorich Persä on 22. 12. 1888. The song is about the

song-understanding elder who is invited to a bear-fest. At the third invitation he arrives in rags, but when he sees the anger of the offended bear, he returns home, dresses himself in his holiday attire and bringing the bear expiatory sacrifice, he enters the house with great respect, bringing his musical instrument and entertains the bear with songs. — Further notes: VNGY III, 2:356-359.

Aspects of Vogul Religion

(Based on A. Kannisto, E.A. Virtanen, M. Liimola,
Materialien zur Mythologie der Wogulen,
MSFOu 113, Helsinki, 1958)

by

Otto J. von Sadovszky

Bernát Munkácsi compiled a great amount of data on Vogul religion. Some of these data were published in Hungarian. The German translation of these appeared in various journals. Since there is no material available on Vogul religion for the English speaking public, it was found appropriate to include in this volume some important aspects of Vogul religion. This material complements the published texts.

Vogul texts on religion are very extensive. The most comprehensive overview appeared in Artturi Kannisto's *Wogulische Volksdichtung*, edited by Matti Liimola (Helsinki, 1951–1963). The volume *Materialien zur Mythologie der Wogulen* was edited by E.A. Virtanen (Helsinki, 1958). The present material follows closely this work. I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to the publishers for allowing me to utilize their material in this manner.

In the selection of the material I emphasized bear cult, since it is significant and integral part of Vogul religion. I wanted to provide ample material for scholars working on the comparative aspect of bear cult on both synchronic and diachronic level. Bear cult is one of the earliest 'documented' aspect of religion in the history of mankind.

It should be noted here, that some of the lexical material contained Kannisto's and Liimola's work was compiled in a separate volume (volume 7) by Voukko Eiras. Before the publication of the comprehensive dictionary of B. Munkácsi and B. Kálmán, *Wogulisches Wörterbuch* (Budapest, 1986), the dictionary of Eiras was the most comprehensive dictionary of the Vogul language and it contains a great amount of new material.

As to the linguistic notation of the seven volumes mentioned above, I wish to make the following short comment.

Kannisto, following the Finnish tradition, used a narrow 'phonetic' transcription in recording Vogul. While this method is useful for the study of Vogul dialects, this notation is cumbersome to say the least. The 'phonemic' transcription, which was used and wisely anticipated by Munkácsi (and Kálmán) is much more in harmony with modern practice in linguistics and represent the scientific reality of the Vogul language. Naturally in this section of this volume I had to follow faithfully the notation of Kannisto and his coworkers. It is hoped, that this difference in the notation of Vogul, will not make the volume too heterogeneous.

Let me express again my deepest appreciation and gratitude to the publishers and coworkers of the Kannisto material.

I. The Nature of the Human Being

In examining the nature of the human being in the Vogul beliefs, a useful place to start is with the Vogul conception of the 'essence' of the human — the soul. The most important expression for the human soul in Vogul is the word *läl*, *lili*, which means 'breath, breathing, or respiration', as well as 'person'. The Voguls believe that after the 'breath' leaves the body, the *läl* bores a hole through the ceiling — the *lili minne as*, 'the soul's going-out hole'). Among the Voguls on the Sosva, this hole must then be closed with a sacrifice.

The Voguls also describe the soul of a dead man or woman as migrating to a newborn child. In the birth ceremony, one of the women that live closest to the mother finds out which deceased person's *lili* came to the baby. This particular feature is almost exactly to the reincarnation theme which is so widely prevalent around the world, particularly in Asia. There are other features of the Vogul idea of the composition of the human being, however, which diverge from this pattern.

The Voguls conceive of a second soul which has the name *isxor* in Sosva, which means 'shadow soul' or 'shadow form'. It signifies the shadow that is created when the sun or the moon is shining and the 'shadow-soul' of a living human that under ordinary circumstances resides in the body. According to the Voguls, in certain circumstances this second shadow-soul can be frightened out of the body, happening most often to small children. If this happens, the person cannot sleep or becomes sick, and the shadow-soul must be called back into the body by a shaman. The shaman invokes guardian spirits to help him return the soul to the body.

On the middle Konda, the cognate word *äsquär*, for shadow-soul has an added meaning. It signifies a ghost or spirit, including both a spirit that possesses a person and an apparition. Other names for these spirits or ghosts are *oäšäl* 'death', *kōlä* 'corpse' or *tow*.

The various forms of the word *isxor* are all actually compound words formed from the forms *is* and *xor*, both of which are also used separately. The word *xor* means 'picture' or 'Gestalt'. *Is* has the following meanings: 1. the 'soul' in the body of a living human that causes sleeplessness when it leaves the body and 2. a soul of a living human that is outside the body and shows itself to other people. The Lozva say that the *is* can be seen but not heard, whereas the *ürt* (which will be discussed below) can be heard but

not seen. Only a few people, however, can see the *is*. Some of these 'seers' are shamans, but a significant number are not.

On the Sosva, the *is* has the two meanings discussed above, but there is also another connotation, namely, that humans have several *is* each. Men have five *is*, while women four. There is, in fact, a funeral practice in which this numerical concept seems to play a part. Before a body is placed in the coffin, the floor of the coffin is wiped out with twigs from a thornbush or briar (five twigs for a male and four for a female). This is done to prevent the *is* of one of the living people at the ceremony from being pulled into or remaining in the coffin.

A particularly interesting *is* is the *ūrt*. The *ūrt* does not reside in or around the body like the other souls, but usually travels on its own. The *ūrt* will visit the person only occasionally. On the Sosva, Voguls also say that when the *ūrt* is weak, the person is more afraid, while when the *ūrt* is strong, the person is afraid of nothing.

The other Vogul peoples also describe a soul with many similar characteristics. It is called the *ort* (IK), *wort* (mK), *wurt* (uK), and *ūrt* (uL, So). It also lives outside the body, and usually portends the death of its possessor when it manifests itself. On the lower Konda it is described as a sparrow *šäpš*. This sparrow-*ūrt* sings in the late evening or early morning when no other sparrow would sing. This *ūrt* is usually not heard by its possessor, but instead by someone who knows the person. A person that hears this singing may try to guess which person's *ūrt* it is by calling: "If you are my friend's or relative's (usually the name of person) *ūrt*, stop singing!" This guessing game continues until the singing stops — when the person guesses the owner of the *ūrt* correctly. On the middle Konda, it is a swallow that portends death. They say that if you kill this swallow, you will die yourself.

On the Sosva, the *ūrt* is characterized as a six legged fox-like creature, that is only rarely seen, but often heard. The *ūrt*, as an omen of death, never appears to or is heard by the person to whom it belongs, i.e. someone that sees or hears an *ūrt* can be sure it is not his own, and instead it probably belongs to someone he knows. Who it is exactly is not necessarily ascertainable.

The Voguls of the upper Lozva have a very similar description for the *ūrt*, but they believe that some people can tell whose *ūrt* it is that has been heard. Often these people are shamans, but there are shamans that do not have this ability, and there are people that have this ability that are not shamans. On the lower Konda there is another death-foretelling bird, *xòlāwor*. The saying *xòlāwor kəsi* 'the death bird sings' means that someone will die soon.

The ancient Finno-Ugric word *tow*, *towwi*, *tewś* are also used in the Vogul dialects to designate various phantoms and shadow-spirits. The meanings are:

- (1) A scarecrow on the field or on the threshing-floor or barn-floor.
- (2) A soul residing in a person that can be frightened out of the body, causing sleeplessness.
- (3) A spirit-creature taking the form of a bird that foretells death with its whistle.

Certain parts of the body and some fluids of the body are designated as places where the souls reside, the blood being the most important of these. For this reason blood plays an important role in many sacrifices. The drinking of the blood of fallen heroes and fallen enemies has been an important ritual among the Voguls. It is said that drinking this blood will make the heart strong, and thus makes one fearless on the battlefield. Similarly, sayings connect the size and strength of the heart with the toughness of the person. It was also customary among the Voguls to scalp fallen enemies, to prevent them from coming back to life. A comparable ritual is the burning of the body of a bear that has caused harm, so that it cannot return and terrorize the forest and people.

Fingernails, toenails, and hair must be treated with care since they are objects that have magical-type rites associated with them. Certain Voguls stick trimmed nails under their clothing, putting them in at the neck, they gradually work their way down, falling to the floor. Sometimes the nail trimmings will be pushed through a crack in the floor or the threshold. Hair, however, should not be allowed to fall on the floor, but must be burned instead.

On the Pelim, the saying is that if hair is thrown to the floor the village will become haunted. On the Vagilsk, they throw hair in the oven because they say that if a bird carries it away to its nest it will lead to headaches. The Sosva Voguls carefully collect hair that falls out during combing and burn it all together after the person dies. On the upper Lozva, hair is usually promptly burnt, but during times of mourning the hair from the whole family is collected and stored in a particular place. Four months after the death of a woman and five months after the death of a man, the hair is bound together and burnt.

Another custom where others' personal luck is invoked involves curing sick children. When a child is sick, the luck and skill of a shaman or another elder is invoked, along with that of various gods and spirits. Sometimes when a child is sick, another child of the same age, but of the opposite sex, is promised to the sick child. This is called *ulloPë*. The invocation then includes a wish that the two children have the same mind and the same thoughts. Later, after they have grown up, these two persons often get married.

II. Life After Death

It is clear that the Voguls believe that life continues in some form after death. The elaborate outfitting or furnishing of graves which is customary among the Voguls is ample evidence of this. Further, it is clear that the afterlife is tied to the body of the deceased. All the clothing and other items that are placed in the coffin, in the grave, or in the near vicinity are designated for the body of the departed. Also, the meals that are eaten in the proximity of the deceased's body and later at or near the grave are meant for the nourishment of the corpse. In these customs we can easily see the body/soul concept reflect itself in that the soul follows the body, staying in its general vicinity.

This is not to say that the Voguls believe that the soul cannot go further away from the body under some circumstances. In fact, the Voguls sometimes find it necessary to chase the soul out of the death-room (where the person has died) to prevent its later return even after the body has been taken out. In a similar fashion, the observation of the memorial given for the departed, held after the body has been placed in the grave, and at which it is believed that the spirit of deceased is present, expresses the belief that the soul is able to depart from the body in the grave. In addition, there are other practices which show that the detached soul is not viewed as totally immaterial, since one has to close the door to prevent the soul from coming back in, and that the soul needs to be careful of cutting and hammering instruments, as well as smoke, and fire.

The deceased of the village and of the surrounding area are buried in the same cemetery. When a Vogul dies at a great enough distance from the village that the body cannot be brought home, it will be buried in that land. At home, however, the village will prepare another grave with all the deceased's clothing and personal items. The idea is that the soul can rest there even while the body is far from home. The graveyard is a tribal graveyard and at the same time it is viewed as a 'tribal underworld', a separate dwelling for the deceased.

Other Vogul beliefs about life after death can be classified as ancient, due to foreign influence, or newly developed. In any case, the 'cemetery-underworld' equation is a well developed aspect of the hierarchical social structure. The cemetery and the underworld are deeply interwoven. When a corpse is buried, the soul of the deceased descends into the underworld — called the 'lower land' or the 'lower world' in all Vogul dialects. Even in curses they say 'Vanish into the underworld' or 'I send you to the underworld.'

Among the Voguls this lower world is identified as being in the Arctic Ocean. The Northern Voguls speak of a 'Prince of the Underworld', *xuĭ-ōtar*, who lives in the Arctic Ocean. When a Vogul dies, in fact, his or her soul travels down the Ob river to the Arctic Ocean. There is a particular

hole through which the soul travels to reach the underworld. Underneath, the water of the Ob flows southward (upstream) to its source, where it comes to the surface and begins its northward course. Below, where the moon does not shine, it is much darker. For this reason, the Voguls draw a sun on the coffin with charcoal at the left side near the head, and a moon toward the middle near the head, so that the deceased can travel both during the day and night.

The deceased continues life in much the same way as before his or her death. They reside with the same possessions and at the same age they had at the moment of death. On the upper Lozva, it has been mentioned that if a man travelled with reindeer during his life one had to slaughter a reindeer at the grave, so that he could travel in the underworld. Sources on the Sosva, however, were unsure whether life is eternal, but considered that life could be perpetuated as it enters into a newborn child.

Punishment after death for evil deeds is occasionally mentioned among the Northern Voguls, but this idea is probably borrowed from the Russian — “Do not steal, you will be punished for it in the future life.” But it should be noted that death itself is often referred to as ‘gone to torment/agony’ and the cemetery as ‘the place of agony.’

The Northern Voguls speak of a ‘Prince of the Underworld’ *xul’-ōtər* who lives in the Arctic Sea. This idea is probably borrowed from the Russians.

An informant on the lower Konda reports that the ‘place beyond’ is always as dim as a summer night. The inhabitants live in subterranean huts and they are ruled by the Prince of the Underworld who enlists the dead into his army. There is a legend about a dead hero whom the other dead are sent to meet — the hero asks “where shall I put them?” In the epic poetry of the Konda Voguls, it is often mentioned that the hero courts the daughter of the ‘man of the underworld.’ There is also a folk poem about an underworld woman who lives at a ‘goose-rich lake, a duck-rich lake’ to whom the gods send the deceased.

III. The Spirit of the Underworld

The Sosva Voguls maintain that the Prince of the Underworld sends sickness and death. The most significant sacrifices to him were done at the outbreak of smallpox epidemics. When there is an epidemic of deadly disease, the Voguls make a sacrifice. They gather at a place which is *not* the ‘sacred place’ (*jalpəŋ mā*) and sacrifice a black reindeer or black cow. They eat the flesh, then bury the bones wrapped in the skin of the animal. When single families make such a sacrifice, they bury the skin and bones in a deep hole dug below the back bed, under the floorboards of their house.

The blood of the animal is poured out at a place away from the settlement where few people pass. On the Sosva, material objects will be offered, such as black fur, cloth and sacrificial shawls.

In several areas *xul-ōtar* or *kul-noàjer* is identified with the devil. On the upper Lozva, in fact, *xul-ōtar* is considered just below the 'World over-seeing Man' in the hierarchy of spirit forces.

The Sosva Voguls say that *kul* lives in a black lake called *kuliñ tūr*. If one travels there even in the winter, he will be pulled down into the water. In other areas *kul* is a forest spirit. At the creation of the world, *kul* asked God's permission to put animals into the world. The permission was not granted, so he asked that he might at least be allowed to make a hole. This request was granted. From this hole came forth lizards, snakes and wolves.

While several curse words are also associated with *kul*, another significant epithet on the Sosva is *lūji xum* (literally 'under man') which means the man that lives under the river bed. This is another name for *xul-ōtar*, the Prince of the Underworld. The Prince also has the name *jolixum*, meaning 'under man' but with the connotation of 'the one found under the earth'. On the upper Lozva, the names of the spirit are *luixum* (same meaning as above) and *jāpkəŋšārš pattā xum* 'the man from the bottom of the Arctic Ocean'. On the Konda, there is *jalqum* ('under man' or 'the spirit of the underworld').

IV. The 'World Overseeing Man'

One of the most significant protective spirits among the Northern Voguls is *mir-susnē-xum* 'the World Overseeing Man'. He is also called *ali-xum* 'the man above' (*ali*: the upper course of the river), or just simply *ōtar*. In some areas, he has acquired the attributes of a local protective spirit. On the Sosva, he is thought to be the son of *sōrūipos* 'the Golden Light'. He has a winged horse, *towləŋ luw*, that has such sharp eyes that he sees even the invisible and flies at the height of the clouds. When offerings are made to the World Overseeing Man, the shaman prays to him saying: "With silver-decorated ornamental string, with gold-decorated ornamental string, I lift the sacrifice into the height of the fleeting clouds, into the height of the wandering clouds, I lift it."

On the Sosva, they believe that while he wanders in the forest feeding his horse, the blades of grass that fall from the horse's mouth become *Calla palustris* (German: *Drachenwurz*, Vogul *xūs*). This plant is then used as an offering to *Mir-susnē-xum*. On the Ob the Voguls put *xūs* together with clothing in a sacrificial chest. In the spring the women gather *xūs* to

eat, but they are not allowed to step on it, otherwise it will not grow there again. They also believe that if one laughs while eating it raw, it will surely bring death, and so it is always eaten cooked. One is also not even allowed to speak about the plant, fearing death.

It is believed that the World Overseeing Man cures illnesses and lengthens life, in fact, some say this is his primary function. The Voguls often identify the World Overseeing Man with Jesus Christ. He is considered the mediator between humans and the lower guardian spirits. At childbirth the Sosva people sacrifice either a reindeer, a horse, a cow or a rooster to him, and they place sacrificial shawls in the dwelling *morikol* where the birth took place. There is also a ceremony when someone wants to be freed from alcoholism: a bottle of vodka is offered *mir-susnē-xum*, and the sufferer mixes some of it in a glass with his own blood and pours it on the fire.

In the folklore of the Voguls *mir-susnē-xum* has very human characteristics. In their epic poetry he wanders among humans on earth. He lives at the upper reaches of the Ob in a large hut, has four sons, the eldest of which is called *tapal-ðika* 'old man *Tapal*' and has the same rank as his father. All four sons receive sacrifices along with the father.

V. World View

The world view of the Voguls is formed within their awareness and experience of their immediate geographic environment. Often the Voguls will say the words for 'world' and 'Siberia' as a pair or in combination: The 'Light-Man-Father' *pāsəŋqom jäy* created this world, this Siberia. As high as the world is, Siberia is. For those that look out from the place of the Light-Man-Father everything is visible. In this world he makes Siberia into a house. The son of the Light-Man-Father was sent to the earth to take care of the people. The piece of earth, in the center of which are the human beings, is covered by a heavenly sphere, which a nightly viewer can distinctly see rotating. The Voguls compare the horizon with the rotating ring of a ski pole. On the Sosva they sing: "He ran around the ring formed heaven." Here the ring is like that on a ski pole, or like the hoops of a barrel. They also expressed the idea of a world pillar with the name *us-sop-pəl* 'town pillar'. This must have originally referred to the center pole of the fortified houses of their dukes. Later, however, every village came to acquire a 'village-pole' which is sacred.

To the Voguls, the heaven rests on the earth and its outer rim appears to touch the earth. The Voguls also speak of the rim of the adjacent heaven and of the seven points of the downward hanging heaven that sometimes crash together. The Ural Mountains are on the rim of the earth, and this rim encircles the earth, holding it in place as it floats in the ocean. Another

belief holds that the earth was floating on the ocean until the first man received a silver buckled belt from God, and used it to strap the earth down. This is how the mountain ring was formed around the earth. For the Voguls, the Ural Mountains form a rim which protects their land.

The Bear

Of all the animals in the northern forests the bear plays the most important role in the imagination, social life, ritual and religion of the Ob-Ugrians. The folklore of the Ob-Ugrian peoples tells of the genesis or decent of the bear to the earth. The Sosva Voguls tell about the life of the first bear in heaven with his father *korās*. Through a hole in the sky, the bear notices the world of the humans below. He is curious and begs his father to be allowed to come down to this world. The heavenly father agrees making a cradle and a chain to lower him down, but at the same time warns the bear not to touch the bodies of the dead, the sacrificial huts of household deities, or animals which are caught in the traps of man. In Vogul stories the bear often marries a human woman.

The true name of the bear in Sosva is *toreß*, but this is a sacred name and therefore is taboo, so one has to be careful not to say it. The bear has numerous sanctioned nicknames — names which are allowed to be spoken. There are names not only for the bear itself, but also referring to various parts of the bear's body. For example one should never refer to the claws, but should talk instead of the *nas* (hooks) of the *ūi* (animal, living being). Commonly, *ūi* is the approved nickname for the bear. Below is a short list of some of the many acceptable names associated with the bear.

(P)	<i>leləy wui</i>	'living animal'
(So)	<i>jalpəy ūi</i>	'holy animal'
(mK)	<i>jälp woi</i>	'holy animal'
(P)	<i>ańśəx</i>	'old man, uncle, father'
(IL)	<i>añśəx</i>	'old man, uncle, father'
(mK)	<i>oańśəx</i>	'old man, uncle, father'
(IL,mL,uK)	<i>ujańśəx</i>	'animal old man — old man of the animals'
(VN)	<i>ujāńśəx</i>	'animal old man — old man of the animals'
(P)	<i>wujāńśəx</i>	'animal old man — old man of the animals'
(mK)	<i>wojoańśəx</i>	'animal old man — old man of the animals'
(VNZ)	<i>ańśəx śiśkwe</i>	'dear old man, dear uncle'
(P)	<i>worańśəx</i>	'forest old man — old man of the forest'
(So)	<i>wörtölnut</i>	'he who lives in the forest'

(So)	<i>mākoləy oika</i>	'earth-home-old man — old man of the earthen hut'
(mL)	<i>wāniüi</i>	'forest animal'
(uL)	<i>nūrmüi üntüi</i>	'swamp animal, forest animal'
(So)	<i>nūrumwoi üntwoi</i>	'swamp animal, forest animal'
(uK)	<i>woŋqüi</i>	'cave animal, lair animal'
(uL)	<i>lułsəup xum</i>	'evil-coat man — man with evil fur/skin'
(IK)	<i>öršəxəy öänšəx</i>	'furry old man'
(IK)	<i>öršəxəy ēkw</i>	'furry old woman'
(uL, So)	<i>konsəy òika</i>	'claw old man'
(uL)	<i>konsən āš</i>	'claw old man'
(P)	<i>punəy kaŋreāp</i>	'old man with hairy
	<i>aňšəx</i>	hollows of the knee'
(P)	<i>punəy pui</i>	'hair arse'
(So)	<i>lūyisup</i>	'miserable dog'

The last disdainful nicknames are used when a bear has misbehaved e.g. when it has wounded someone. Other names which are sacred and therefore taboo are: (VN, IL, mL) *ōpā* 'bear', (VN, IL) *ōpaňšəx_u* 'bear', (So) *urkoňpiykwe* 'the little boy of the mountain ridge-koň', (So) *workoňpiykwe* 'the little boy of the forest-koň', (So) *urkoňāyikwe* 'the little girl of the mountain ridge-koň', (So) *workoňāyikwe* 'the little girl of the forest-koň' and *šəpər-nē* 'Siberian woman'. To distinguish the sex of the bear the terms *xum-üi* 'male animal' and *ne-üi* 'female animal' are used in Sosva, and the terms *jayi-kwe* 'younger sister' and *āpši-kwe* 'younger brother' are used in upper Lozva.

Sometimes certain people can use words while others are prohibited from using them. In the writings it has been noted that a female consultant was very hesitant to utter even the word *toraw* 'bear'. The most common word used by women and children is *pupa-kwe* on both the upper Lozva and the Sosva. On the upper Konda *püp, püpoaňšəx* is only part of the vocabulary of women, children and men who have not yet used a projectile weapon.

As mentioned above, the various parts of the body of the bear have accepted nicknames, including :

Part of bear anatomy	Vogul word(s) (dialect(s))	Exact translation
head (skull)	<i>āwa</i> (So,uL)	?
	<i>āwt</i> (IK)	?
	<i>ēwt</i> (mK,uK,P)	?
nose	<i>sēniy</i> (So)	'tree fungus' or 'tree mushroom'
	<i>sānxom</i> (IK)	'id.'

	<i>soŋqəm</i> (mK)	'id.'
	<i>soŋqum</i> (uK)	'id.'
	<i>soŋkum</i> (P)	'id.'
	<i>sankəm</i> (lL)	'id.'
	<i>saŋxam</i> (uL)	'id.'
forehead	<i>qatal ūtalqār</i>	'what the sun does not see'
ear	<i>öäŋkwəl</i> (lK)	'tree stump'
	<i>oaŋkwəl</i> (mK, uK)	'id.'
	<i>āŋkwəl</i> (So, uL)	'id.'
eye	<i>sow</i> (So, lK, mK, P, lL, uL)	'star'
	<i>šošiγ</i> (P)	'currant berry' (German: 'Johannisbeere')
mouth	<i>pašp</i> (P)	'fork'
	<i>pāsp</i> (uL)	'id.'
	<i>sōip</i> (mK)	'seine' (type of net)
	<i>sōip</i> (uK)	'id.'
tongue	<i>xōssui</i> (uL)	'the ant'
	<i>xōswoi</i> (So)	'id.'
	<i>sōlp</i> (P)	'sharp'
tooth	<i>sājiγ</i> (uL)	'fang' 'canine tooth'
neck	<i>wāt xum tājim</i> (uL)	'the food of thirty men'
breast	<i>kēppeāt'at</i> (P)	'bottom of the boat'
	<i>xāp</i> (uL)	'boat'
back	<i>pūtjiw</i> (uL, So)	'kettle pole — pole to hang up the kettle'
	<i>olə</i> (lK)	'rafter — spar'
behind	<i>kāšəmläxtne</i>	'smoke-pit — pit where one smokes
	<i>wāŋqa</i> (lL)	'shank-meat'
	<i>kassəmlaxtən</i>	
	<i>wōŋxa</i> (uL)	'id.'
upper thigh	<i>qērpiš</i> (uK)	'male animal's upper thigh'
paw (esp. forepaw)	<i>kōätlə</i> (lK)	'hand'
	<i>ka'ttəl</i> (P)	'id.'
	<i>kātla</i> (uL, So)	'id.'
backpaw	<i>sūpəx</i> (lK)	'boot'
	<i>sōpak</i> (uL)	'id.'
claws	<i>nas</i> (uL, So)	'hook — fishhook'
	<i>pāltəpəəjə</i> (mK)	'steel/metal thumb'
bones	<i>šima</i> (uL)	?
jaws	<i>ūs</i> (So)	'town, enclosure'
ribs	<i>ālwa</i> (uL, So)	'pole, stake'
	<i>kēppōk</i> (P)	'rim of boat'
shoulder-blade	<i>kērponkwəl</i> (P)	'male animal's shoulder'
blood	<i>sows</i> (mK, uK)	?
	<i>šowš</i> (P)	?
	<i>sōws</i> (So)	?

	<i>ñoàrsp</i> (P)	?
	<i>pāṅk</i> (uL)	'soot'
	<i>nērp</i> (uL)	'red ochre'
meat	<i>wōrtōlnut pormāst</i> (So)	'stuff that lives in the woods'
	<i>pupak sūrut</i> (uL)	'the thick part of pupakwe'
fat	<i>kāsailōṅx</i> (uL)	'the way/path of the knife'
	<i>kasailōṅx</i> (So)	'the belt of the one that lives in the woods'
	<i>wōrtōlnut ēntap</i> (So)	'id.'
heart	<i>xōtal wātal</i> (So)	'what the sun does not see'
	<i>tariḱ pakw</i> (uL)	'pinecone'
	<i>šulā</i> (IK)	'quail (whistler) (Tetrao bonasia)'
	<i>šula</i> (IL)	'id.'
belly	<i>xāp</i> (IK)	'boat'
	<i>qēp</i> (mK, uK)	'id.'
intestines	<i>nōliṽ</i> (uL)	'snake'
liver	<i>soltēрпи</i> (uL)	'spear bait/ medicine/poison'
	<i>šet-moit</i> (P)	'hundred liver' (in potency)
gall	<i>ùj-jalpəṽ</i> (So)	'the holy of the animal'
	<i>toap</i> (mK, uK)	'gall of bear' also <i>tāp</i> = Hun. <i>epe</i> which means gall of humans and animals
penis	<i>ùi jeytnēlān</i> (IL)	'bow and arrow of the animal'
skin	<i>saxi</i> (So, uL)	'pelt'
	<i>kwālm, kwāllān</i> (IL)	?
	<i>koḷna</i> (uL)	?
excrement	<i>xūli</i> (So)	'not holy'
	<i>xūliāna</i> (So, uL)	'unholy heap'

On the Pelim, Voguls believe that the bear is angry if someone calls his excrement *poxte-ana* 'shit piece.' On the upper Lozva one uses the word *xor-tal* 'hungry' only when one speak about the bear.

The Bearhunt

The Voguls on the upper Lozva believe that a person who has killed several bears will not live a long life and on the Pelim, they hold that neither bears nor elks should be kept in captivity. The tooth of the bear is believed to have great power to prevent backaches. A prevalent custom in the past was to wear a bear tooth on the lower back suspended from a belt. If an outsider touches the tooth it looses its potency. Dry bear galls are good against insect bites and stings.

When the Voguls are hunting the bear they employ many taboo words, from the above mentioned words for bear excrement, to special words for

bear tacks (*xansa* [So] — ‘ornaments’). The most important act during the hunt is the actual killing of the bear. This is reflected in the rituals and the number of words that describe the act and the place of the kill.

<i>woj-kän</i> (mK)	the place of the animal
<i>wēlt-</i> (mK,P,IL)	to descend, step down
<i>wāylt-</i> (So)	‘id.’
<i>wāyl</i> (So)	to descend, to let oneself be killed, surrender oneself to death
<i>sò't-woàrs</i> (mK)	made luck (the bear died)
<i>sēmliy-pati</i> (So)	became black (died)
<i>jol-sôs-xat</i> (So)	to flow down
<i>ūsiyt</i> (So)	to pierce, to wound
<i>patt</i> (So)	to fell

“One could see through the holy *lixwan* (belly?, heart?) of the animal.” (So)

When a hunter approaches a bear's den he will make a small ritual sacrifice to the bear. He will present bread and butter as an offering, and bow his head and ask the bear not to be angry. Among the Pelim Voguls this is all done without the knowledge of the women. The Sosva Voguls believe that the jaws of the bear are firmly pressed together when he comes out of his lair in the springtime. He will then go to a tree to pry his jaws open. In this case they use the word *pāst* for the mouth of the bear. By observing this tree the hunter will then be able to return and kill the bear.

If a bear attacks a hunter the man will say: “Aren't you ashamed of yourself, trying to eat me, or did the High God, your grandfather allow you to eat me?” Then the bear will be ashamed and give up. The Sosva Voguls use a secret or taboo word *sūri* when one speaks of a bear that has torn a man apart. When such a bear has been killed the Voguls do not hold a bear festival, but they will burn the bear.

The bear is killed with a special spear. The hunters build a fire, sing special bear songs, dance around the bear and start to ‘undress’ the animal. They lay the bear on his back and prepare four (for a female) or five (for a male) small birch sticks about two inches long called *ūi-kēḡən* ‘the button of the animal’. They place these buttons evenly along the belly of the bear. The skinner starts to cut the bear and as he gets to each stick he flicks it off with the tip of his knife and says, “One of the animal's buttons went off.” He proceeds to take all the ‘buttons’ off this way. As he begins to skin the forepaw he grabs it and says, “a driftwood with sea-grass and Ob-grass,” at which all of them, acting terrified, run away in different directions.

The skinner then grabs the other forepaw and skins it, but as he is about to skin the paw, he says something to the effect that the limb is a beardmoss-covered wood log. The hunters all run away and come back again, and ask: “Isn't this, after all, the ‘One who lives in the forest?’”

Similar scenes are done for both of the hind limbs as well. After all four limbs have been attended to, they all yell: "Enough! Let's stay here. Isn't this our younger brother? Let's look closely!" They look carefully at the bear's head and say: "He looks like our younger brother; let us dance!" They then dance a for little while and then they all skin the bear together.

The internal organs, except for the heart, are sunk into a nearby lake, or placed high on a platform and covered well with birchbark. The hunters cook the layer of fat found on the 'belt area' of the bear as a sacrifice to the World-Overseeing Man. As the fat cooks, they sing respectful bear songs. At the same time, they make the *āpa* 'cradle', usually called the *ūiāpa* 'cradle of the animal'. The *āpa* is made out of an approximately one meter-long piece of wood about three to five fingers thick called *norsup*. They bend a cherry wood branch from end to end so that it forms a bow called the *āpakis* 'the bow of the cradle'. From this bow to the *norsup*, four (for a she-bear) or five (for a male) cross-pieces or *āpatōs* are attached. The forepaws of the bear are placed on the *norsup* with the head between the paws. The whole frame, upon which the bear is tied, is then carried home to the village on a sled or on the hunters' backs.

Once the bear is skinned, birch bark or metal disks are sewn onto the eyes, and a birch bark ring or sleeve is fastened on the snout. The hunters must then spend the night at the place where the bear was killed. In the Vogul areas there are some variations to the rituals of 'undressing' and the other associated rites. One custom seems to be general, however: The Voguls mark the place where the bear was killed by cutting appropriate notches in the trees. These can indicate the sex of the bear, the number of bears killed, the number of hunters and even the number of dogs that participated in the hunt.

After the hunters have spent the night at the site of the killing, they take the *āpa* with the bear back to the village. There are several rituals that take place when the bear is brought to the village, but before the actual start of the bear festival. In the past, before firearms were prevalent, when hunters approached their village with the bear, they shouted four or five times according to the sex of the bear. In modern times they fire their rifles the appropriate number of times.

When the inhabitants of the village hear the shouts or shots they go out to meet the hunters, and sprinkle them and the bear with water. Sometimes the women burn the bark of a fir tree (German: *Pichtatanne*), that has been broken up in a small container. They go around the hunters three times and then they sprinkle the men with water. On the middle Konda, the women burn the needles of the *Pichtatanne*, put these on the thresh-old, and the person who fired the first shot sings a few words and carries the bearskin through the smoke. At the same moment he and the bearskin are sprinkled with water. On the upper Konda, they use tinder *sos* instead of the bark. In winter the villagers often throw snow instead of water on the hunters.

The Bear Festival

Participants

When the bear is brought into the house of the bear killer, one of the most noteworthy religious activities among the Voguls commences — the great festival of the bear. With this festival, the Voguls wish to honor and pacify the bear so that he or she does not bring bad luck on the community. On the upper Lozva and the Sosva, the festival lasts five days for a male bear, four days for a female bear, and three days for a cub. In other areas, the length of time can vary.

The festival also provides an opportunity for the numerous communities in the area to gather socially. There are not so many participants on the first day of the festival, but as the news of the successful hunt reaches more communities, as many as 60 to 100 people can assemble. This is a considerable number, given the great distances between the communities. Using reindeer, visitors may come from as far as two hundred miles. For the people of the north, this is a good opportunity to break the monotony and isolation of sub-Arctic life. The bear killer must provide food and drink for all the participants, regardless of their number.

It was mentioned even in 1905 that the traditional bear festival was falling out of practice among the Voguls, however 85 years later, in 1990, there were still some areas near the confluence of Ob and Irtysh rivers where some type of bear festival was celebrated.

Taboos and Substitute Words

The Voguls use substitute words and phrases for those which are taboo during the bear festival. These special words and phrases are either not used otherwise, or used with special connotations during the bear festival. These include:

Referent meaning	Vogul word (dialect)	Exact translation
bear killer, bear slayer	<i>kāñš</i> (IL) <i>kānaš</i> (uL) <i>kanaš</i> (So)	prince (the one who's shot struck the bear first)
to eat	<i>wāt</i> (So, uL)	to pick, pluck (as in berries)
to wake up	<i>kēñšaml</i> (So)	(only used in bear songs)
to hit on the bear's head	<i>šēšāni woxāni</i> <i>patite tēṇjawe</i> (So)	let the bottom of the metal cup/ iron cup ring
dog	<i>leyṇ ut</i> (So)	tailed one (only used during the hunt)

horse	<i>xosaleypa</i> (So)	long tailed one
pike (fish)	<i>nērpəp ləypa</i> (So)	the red ochre tailed one
kettle	<i>nurəp ut</i> (So)	the one with the handle
the kettle	<i>jōpɣamləs nurəp</i>	the handled one has begun to
has begun	<i>ut i</i> (So)	turn
to boil		
teakettle	<i>šainurəp</i> (So)	the handled one with tea
bowl, dish	<i>xura</i> (So)	feeding trough
spoon	<i>sākwalik</i> (So)	magpie
hatchet	<i>māpɣxxwəp</i> (So)	the one with the ax-back
knife	<i>ēlmi</i> (So)	blade
water	<i>šakw</i> (So)	the Great Flood
salt	<i>atəp atəp</i> (So)	sweet sweet
wood shavings	<i>woikanutt</i> (So)	the white one
arrow	<i>sājiy</i> (So)	angular, from the bones of the dead (<i>sājiy</i> [uL] means fang or beartooth)

The Treatment of the Bear

Kannisto witnessed the bear ceremony in the village of Bedkaš on the Sosva in the year 1905.

The bear is put on the best bed in the house. Outside the villagers have a snowball fight, not paying attention to the bear. Then they shout, "Where did you bring the bear? Where did you bring the bear?" and run from east to west in a circle in front of the house. Finally they tear the door open and shout "Here he is, here he is, with difficulty I saw him," and all the men, followed by the women, enter the house and shout two or three times "*ūisaļiwoli juw!*" — the same words as the hunters shouted. Then, first the men, then the women, greet the bear, kissing him on the cheeks.

On the Sosva the ceremonies begin around evening time every day of the festival. The bear is put on a board (*norma*) *ūi ūnlən norma* 'sitting place of the animal', or on a table which is put on a back cot (*pāl*). They put several boards on the cot so that the blood does not drip on the bed. If the blood does drip, they carefully scrape it up and throw it in the hearth (*čuval*). The crucial support built for the bear is a miniature of an ordinary bed. The upper end is decorated with a birch bark design of moons and suns, similar to the markings made on a person's coffin.

The bear lies on his belly in his cradle (*āpa*), front paws on the *āpatos*, a small log on which four or five notches are made to indicate the sex of the bear. The bear's head wrests between his paws. His eyes are still covered with metal or birch bark plates. The snout is covered with a thin metal or birch bark cylinder held by strings strapped behind the ears. A colorful

shawl is placed on his back. Sacrificial cloths, sometimes several, are placed on his shoulders. If the bear is female, rings are placed on the claws, sometimes as many as thirty or forty. Under the snout, a birch bark dish is placed to catch the blood that can drip from the bear's mouth. On the right side there is a small enamelled dish in which a piece of *sōs* 'tinder-fungus/tinder-sponge' (Ger. *Zunderschwamm*) smolders.

Numerous gifts are placed in front of the bear. Vodka bottles (in recent times even bottles of Coke), a cup filled and ready to drink and pieces of bread and pastries in the form of reindeer, elk, horses, and fowl in a birch bark basket. In some areas they present real elk, reindeer meat, fish and fowl. It is also customary to present the bear with bread formed like angelica (a plant from the carrot family) as this is supposed to be a favorite food of the bear. In some instances sacrifices are performed, e.g. a reindeer calf is sacrificed in front of the bear in the ceremonial room. Every time the guests eat, they put a dish full of food in front of the bear. The men feed the bear and bow deeply in front of him, kissing him on his cheeks and petting him on the forehead. The master of the house (the bear killer, the 'prince') sits to the left of the bear. Above him hangs a bell. He rings it after every song (*ūjēriy*) during the ceremony.

Various Means of Spiritual Protection

It is important that evil spirits be kept away during the bear festival. This is accomplished principally by burning various materials as incense. The most important incense material is *sōs* a particular fungus that grows on the birch tree. If there is not enough *sōs* available, juniper branches are used. (Juniper, *sōs*, and castoreum — called *lalwä*, *lołwä* and made from the musk gland of the beaver — are the most important incense materials used in women's purification.) During the bear festival the Voguls do not burn *sēniy*, however, a tree fungus or *pāñx* (genus *Fomes*) because this word is used to designate the nose of the bear.

Water and snow are also used to drive away the evil spirits. On the Pelim, at the beginning of the bear festival, someone takes a spoon and a ladle filled with water and goes around the room, sprinkles water on people with the spoon, saying, "*surk! surk!*" On the Sosva a birch bark basket full of snow will be thrown on the people, pretending that it was the bear who threw the basket. Water will also be sprinkled on those people who eat bear meat, especially if it is for the first time. When bear meat is eaten, the bear's head will be covered with a shawl and participants imitate ravens calling "*kur, kur, kur, kur.*" Afterward they dry their hands with a burning bundle of grass. In the theatrical performance acted out during the bear festival, the "four ducks", players in the presentation, go around and rub soot on the faces of all the people present, even against their protests. The soot should not be washed off before the end of the bear

festival. Sometimes an iron knife is struck into the wall above the door or an iron hatchet is placed under the threshold, because it is said that "without iron it won't work".

Songs and Dances

The performance of songs and dances plays a very important part in the bear festival. To distinguish them from other songs, these songs are called *jalpəŋ ui ēriy* 'songs of the holy animal' or just *ui ēriy* 'songs of the animal.' On the upper Lozva it is customary for the bear killer, the 'prince', to sing the *ui kēššiltan ēriy* 'the wake up song of the animal' also called *xolēriy* 'the morning song before he gets out of bed'. When he finishes the song he lights ceremonial candles.

On the Sosva, on the first and last night of the bear festival, they sing the following five songs: *ēlmxōlāsəl minəm ēriy* 'the song of walking with the humans'; *xumēriy* 'the song of men'; *numəl tāratim ēriy* 'the song of letting down from above'; *nēβiēriy* 'the song of women'; *ñultilēriy* 'the oath song' and *ūsəŋōtar òik ēriy* 'the song of the city-prince elders.' If the night ceremony is stopped or interrupted, one is obliged to cover the bear's face. The primary singer of the bear songs sleeps next to the bear and in the morning gets up, sits on the left side of the bear's platform, and sings the morning song. He rings the bell, lights a candle that stands on the platform, and uncovers the bear.

The festivities begins with a musical piece, like the bear songs, and continues with a dramatic play. The chief singer stands in front of the bear, while two helpers stand on either side of him. They have their little fingers locked together, and they swing their arms gently, backward and forward. They are dressed in a grey colored ceremonial tunics trimmed with gold and silver. They wear cap on their heads or a sacrificial cloth that is tightly knotted in the back of the neck. On the side of the bear sits the 'host' or 'prince,' and around him the other participants.

Before the first song, a young boy takes the incense dish, runs from east to west around the singers three times and says "*kur, šuk*". He then swings it under the nose of the bear and says "*piš*". At this the singer and his helpers whistle quietly. Then the singer bows his head a few times and starts to sing. His helpers either sing along quietly or just silently swing their arms. At the end of a song the host hits the wooden bell that hangs from the ceiling, whereupon without a pause, a new song is begun. Sometimes one of the helpers or another participant will take the chief singer's place in front of the bear and sing some songs. Every evening they sing five songs if it is a male bear, four songs for a female bear, or two or three songs if it is only a cub. These songs are sung without instrumental accompaniment.

After the songs the young boys carry the incense around again, then several boys dance around the singers. After this, the singers put on the sacrificial belt and wrap their hands with a sacrificial cloth, dance around the room and waving the sacrificial cloth. If there is someone present who can play the harp, they dance to his music. Some of the other men will dance in the same way, but their hands must always be covered with sacrificial cloths. After a small pause first the young girls, then the women dance. The women's faces are covered and their arms pulled into their sleeves, so that no skin whatever can be seen. All of the men that dance with their faces uncovered must cover their hands. Only small children can dance with both their hands and faces uncovered. Performers that dance wearing birch bark masks, however, can dance with their hands uncovered since the bear does not recognize them as real human beings.

The dancers dress in special clothing. A dancer at a bear festival on the Pelim will bring clothing that has been offered to the guardian spirit *pupiy*. They bring the clothes to the ceremonial room and lay them on the bearskin and put them on when it comes time to dance. On the upper Lozva, during the last days of the bear festival when the 'spirit dance' is done, the man who performs this dance wears sacred clothing that is specially kept in a sacrificial storage but with other sacred objects. After the dance, he returns the sacred clothing to the hut. This particular dance is done in honor of the World-Overseeing Man. During the dance, the melody of the World-Overseeing Man is played. On the Sosva, first the men, then the women, then everyone joins in the dance.

The dances of the bear festival are called *jälpəŋ jex* (mK) 'holy dance' and *jälpəŋ ui jex* (lK) 'dance of the holy animal'. The ceremonial room where one performs the bear dances is called *jexnä kwāl* (V) 'the dance house'. The masks made of birch bark are called *soasñäl* (uK), *säsñol*, *säswiłt* (So) 'birch bark face, birch bark nose'.

One of the most remarkable features of the bear festival is that during the ceremony actors, sometimes with, sometimes without masks, perform skits. The number of plays can reach into the dozens. The plays can range in subject matter from the sacred to the profane. In the sacred pieces, the main characters are the protective guardian spirits of the place where the festival is held. In profane pieces, the subject matter can cover just about anything the Voguls find important enough to depict or parody. For example, they might make fun of the Russian tax collector. The plays provide excellent entertainment during the festival, moreover they are intended to teach good behavior and to demonstrate the folly of bad conduct.

The shaman (*kāstanēxum*) will sing his magic song and call the guardian spirit into the ceremonial room. It is important to note, that even the spirits pay homage by bowing to the bear, and when the spirits leave the room one of the participants touches their backs. A common theme of all the 'guardian spirit productions' (*pupiy-tuliy-ləp*) is that the spectators

kiss the fur coat of the guardian spirit as is done with the *tapal*-Elders. When the guardian spirit enters the room, all the participants stand up and remain standing as long as the guardian spirit remains on stage. Thus it is shown that the *tapal*-Elder is held as a powerful guardian spirit. When the guardian spirit of the village Saitanskaya, the son of *kaltas* (*kaltas* is an important guardian spirit among the Voguls) enters, an actor with a mask tries constantly to force his way between the feet of the guardian spirit. If he is successful, he shouts happily out loud. One says that he clutches the luck of the *kaltas*.

The Closing Ceremonies of the Bear Festival

The closing ceremonies of the bear festival contain much religious material. The purpose of these ceremonies is twofold: first, to scare away the bear (i.e. his soul) so that he leaves the house, and second, that to assure the community that the bear will return to earth and allow himself to be 'captured' again. The following theatrical pieces termed 'frightening of the bear' are performed among the Sosva Voguls.

1. The Crane

When the shaman sings the invitation song, a crane (*tāriy*) appears. The portrayer is completely covered with a shawl and holds a stick in his hand. On the end of the stick there is the crane's beak made of wood. The beak can be made to open and close by the aid of a string manipulated by the actor. He goes around the room and claps the beak together, snapping it at the people. He does the same to the bear and the master of the house, and disrespectfully throws the food dishes to the floor and pulls the votive cloth off of the bear. The master of the house and the spectators try in vain to protect the 'child' (i.e. the bear) and complain and shout about the behavior of the bird, to no avail.

2. The Owl

The shaman (*kāstanēxum*) then sings the invitation song of the owl, *īpiy*, (specifically the eagle-owl — *Bubo bubo*). The owl appears in the room. The player of the owl is dressed in a simple white fur coat made from reindeer skin. He wears a mask on his face, fur is wrapped around his legs to make them very thick, and in his hands he carries black grouse wings. He walks with his legs bent out, and sit on a stool in the middle of the room in the same way, looking around with a stupid expression on his face.

A young boy in a rabbit mask hops around the stool. The owl sees the rabbit and sinks his talons into it, eating off its head. The owl gets back on the stool and begins to 'do something' (relieve himself) from which one can see that his digestion is not good. After a while he hops on the floor, shrieks and scares the people who run to and fro to the sleeping cot, while the small children run frightened and crying to their parents. Then the owl gathers 'something' up and throws it into the people's faces. Most of all, he harasses the bear, who is just as afraid of the owl as he is of the crane, so much so that his face goes temporarily pale. The people try to calm the owl, but without success. The owl leaves out the stage as the people continue complaining.

3. *The 'Firefox'*

Right after the owl leaves, the 'firefox' (*uļay oxsar*) runs into the room. He is dressed in a big fur coat. His tail is made out of hay which is set on fire. The fox runs around the room screaming, swings his burning tail at the people, but especially at the bear who of all things is afraid of fire.

4. *The Man with the Axe*

Then someone comes into the room and warns: "Stand up on the benches. Something horrible will come!" A man wearing a mask and carrying an axe enters singing with a threatening voice. He threatens the people and the bear with the axe. Finally he hacks a three inch long piece of wood into half, which is put on a board laying on the floor.

In some places, on the Sosva, after the appearance of the fox, one can hear a man and a woman arguing loudly outside as the door is pushed open and an old man walks in swinging an axe. Then the old woman comes in and tries with all her might to quiet him down. The old man sings: "You damned boys and girls what kind of charade are you doing here? I will hack you to pieces with this sharp axe. From where did you drag in this sea grass and Ob grass-covered water soaked log? (as he points at the bear) I will hack him up like a frozen fish with three strikes into three pieces, I will hack him like a frozen fish with four strikes into four pieces, or do you believe that you came into a village without any men and without any women?"

The old woman tries to pacify him and says: "Dear old man, stop, stop. Let the children, the boys and girls have fun!" But the old man does not pay any attention. He swings the axe at the people and the bear, runs over to the bear, tears a hidden piece of wood which is marked with four of five notches from behind the bear's ears. He puts it on a board in the middle of the floor and cuts it into two pieces. If the piece of wood breaks apart at the

notched place, it means the village will soon celebrate another bear festival. They collect the pieces of wood and eventually carry them to a remote place in the forest together with the birch bark masks.

On the upper Lozva, on the last days of the festival, a dance is performed to represent an elk hunt. At the end of the presentation one of the performers shoots an iron arrow at the upper edge of the back wall and immediately thereafter he shoots a wooden arrow which 'kills' the elk. After the actors depart, the audience says to the bear killer: "Prince where did the arrow hit?" If the arrow hits the wall between the logs, it will be some time before the next festival, but if it hits the log he says: "Soon we will see one."

On the Sosva, on the last day of the festivities, when they have celebrated until the morning and rest for one or two hours, it is customary to cook together in a kettle, water, flour and salt. In this soup they mix five or four (according to the sex of the bear) small sticks with notches on them. Every participating man takes his turn at having a spoonful of soup, claps his hands, turns around on one foot, hops and shouts: "Sweet, sweet, sweet, sweet!" (*atəŋ, atəŋ, atəŋ, atəŋ!*). For those men that get the small sticks in their mouths, the bear slayer will buy the sticks for ten *kopeks* each. Then the bear slayer ties the sticks at the corner of the votive shawl for future keeping. This ceremony is called "to eat something sweet".

All the above mentioned 'scare tactics' are meant to convince the bear to leave the ceremonial room. The bear cannot blame or have hard feelings against the inhabitants of the village, as they tried constantly to protect him against his attackers, although without success.

The bear is ready to leave the house, but the villagers want to be sure he is convinced to return soon. In a corner of the room the bear cannot see, they start drilling a hole in a log of the house. The drilling produces a squeaking noise. Then they say, "What kind of bird sings so beautifully? Let us see if we can find out what it is?" But no one can find the bird. So they say, "Perhaps when our younger brother comes back next time the bird will appear." Then they repeat the drilling. They also make other scraping noises with a knife. The cowbell is rung on the woman's side of the house and they play the *sāŋkultap* (harp). So now the curiosity of the bear is truly aroused and he has surely decided to visit the house again.

5. Saying Goodbye

Finally the moment has come when the bear has to leave the home of the humans. They lift the bear and the table to the floor. Under the *āpa*-cradle they put a board and a knife. One of the old women recites the words of goodbye, her voice full of anxiety and choked with tears. She lifts up the

bear, and kisses the *right* forepaw. The other women follow her example. The men pet the bear on the head, they kiss him on the forehead and the *left* forepaw.

Now they carry out the bear, although the bear killer forbids them from carrying out the 'child'. He consoles himself by saying that the 'child' will only leave for a short while to visit and will return soon. As soon as the bear is outside with all the helpers and entourage, a terrible fog arises, i.e. a general snowball fight ensues, where nobody is exempt. Even the bear gets his eyes full of snow. The bear's food box becomes filled with snow and the bear killer and the girls of the village then tear the box to pieces.

In the general confusion two men grab the table of the bear, and carry it (with the bear) and the *āpa*-cradle to the back of the hut — the usual sacrificial place. The bear killer protests again. They send him away to look for the 'child's' snuff box which he forgot in the bedroom. The hostess also protests. They send her away to find the thimble of the 'child'.

In the back of the hut they place the bear, still in his cradle, on a table, with his face toward the sun. The host, comes again for the second time and asks where they are leading the 'child'. They send him away again to look for the snuff box, which of course has not yet been found.

Then, in pairs, the men present grab each other's chests and shout and scream at the top of their lungs. While all the attention of the surprised bear is directed towards the screaming men that are also calling, "*uṭṣum uṭṣum uṭṣum uṭṣum!*," two men dressed as ravens appear and begin calling, "*krk krk!*." They try to get close to the bear, approaching him from behind. At this moment, the master of the house, who searched in vain for the snuff box, appears behind the house. He grabs a long pole and chases away the ravens two or three times. But the wicked birds approach even more arrogantly. They grab the *apa*-cradle of the 'child' from both sides and throw it backwards so that it lands upside down behind the table. The bear now lies with his face to the ground.

Only now do the people notice what has happened. Terrified, they scream: "*hi!*." But it is already too late. Even the scolding of the host does not help anymore. The ravens take the votive shawl (*wārimūlam*) which covered the bear and hang it on the poles designated for the votive clothes (*ūlam tattyatan sir*). Under this they put the cradle of the bear, right side up. They throw the 'paw-logs' (*kātla nor sup*) of the bear on the ground.

On the Pelim, these scenes are somewhat different. Toward the end of the bear festival a masked man comes into the room playing a raven. The raven calls, "*kurk, kurk!*," dances and goes to the bear saying, "*kurk, kurk!*." He cuts off a bit of the bear's nose, at which the people scream, "*ōxō!, šow, šow, šow!*" After that the raven runs out of the room, comes back in and cuts off the snout completely saying, "I found pure living silver I found pure gold." Then the raven wraps the snout into a cloth and goes

out. The bear killer, who is at the door, stops him and says, "Where have you brought my pure living gold?" He takes it away, brings it back out, and places it in the loft of the house, between the ceiling and the roof. A few days later he will bring it into the food storage room. After the performance of the raven the participants sing a holy song.

Returning to the Sosva, it is now time to start skinning the bear. One should remember that the bowels, the most precious internal organs, the belly-side and the backside were already removed in the forest. They hang the rings, used for the bear's decoration on the *āpa*-cradle. Later these will be distributed among the helpers. The *āpa* itself will be lifted on a cedar near the same place where they hang the reindeer horns.

6. The Sacred Meal

After the skinning is finished they prepare the meat for the sacrificial meal. The meat for the men will be cooked outside of the house and for the women, inside the house. The meat for the women will be cut up and cooked by a man. The women are not allowed to eat the head or the heart. Further they cannot have meat cut from the front part of the bear, only from the back part. In addition, the women's meat cannot be cooked together with the heart, the way it is for the men. The men and women must eat in separate rooms. When the meat is finished cooking, it will be placed on a wooden tray and put on the cot under the votive cloths. Then it will be cut up. This can be done only by a man who saw the bear alive. The bear killer cannot skin the head or cut up any meat, but he has to ask another person to perform this task. Further, he cannot break the spinal chord. Usually, this is performed by a person belonging to an outside group of people (Russians, or other Europeans, for example). If there is no such person present, then a relative of the bear killer breaks the spine with a blow of an axe at the vertebrae.

When the women finish their meal, the bear killer goes around the women sitting at their meat bowls three times. He carries a wooden bowl, filled with meat from the hind part of the bear. While going around he snorts several times and puts the bowl in the lap of an old woman. This is considered a precious gift. The woman has to reciprocate by giving the bear killer a pair of mittens decorated with a bear design (*xansaŋ pāssa*).

During the eating of the bear meat they perform the following ceremony: the bear killer, who acts as a *por*-man (*porxum*) together with another man representing a *mos*-man (*mosxum*), tears apart the ring formed by the snout and the mouth-skin of the bear. On the Sosva, this ring will be cut off during the meal. The *por*-man takes the ring into his hooked thumb, and the *mos*-man holds it the same way. Then the two men pull it, and

snort at the same time. The skin will break and remains on the thumb of the bear killer (the *por-man*). He gives a small piece of it to all those present, and they all snort while they are eating it.

While the meat cooks, the men try to break with an axe the 'paws-stumps' on which the bear rested. There are two, and one of them has four or five notches. The person who hits between the notches will not kill a bear soon, but the person that hits on the notches will kill a bear soon. If somebody hits outside the left notch, he will have bad luck and die. The person hitting the outermost notch on the right side will have good luck and will kill a bear very soon. There is also the belief that anybody who can bite the kneecap of a bear in two will find a silver ring in it.

At the end of the bear festival, the men and women clean their hands and their teeth. They set fire to a bundle of wood shavings, and they rub their hand and teeth with shavings. Then they take a knife and put its blade between their teeth and make a rattling sound. On the upper Lozva on the last day of the festival, before the bear is carried out of the house, the women cover the 'prince' and all the other men with soot.

There are various ceremonies that deal with the handling of the head of the bear at the end of the festival. On the Sosva, the bear killer puts the cooked head in a birch bark basket. When the men come to eat, the 'prince' hakes the head, goes around the men three times, snorts several times, then stands in front of an older man or someone who also once killed a bear. This man takes the head home, eats it slowly, and when he is finished with it, bundles the skull in a white cloth and hangs it on a tree at the sacred place of the village where the festival was held. He is not allowed to carry the knife which he used while eating on his side in a sheath or give it to the bear killer or other women. He can, however, use it for housework. On the upper Lozva the customs associated with the disposal of the bear's head are different.

The skin of the bear also had to be handled in a certain way. Sosva Voguls set up the skin on the floor of the festival house the same way as he was set up in the bedroom. Only on the third day do they hang the bear on stringers. Other times they hang it up to dry at the sacrificial place. The bear skin is not sold raw like elk skin and in general, one does not sell the bear skin with the nose.

During the entire festival, one is not allowed to carry dirt out of the house or to sweep the floor. In the house where the festival was held, one can sweep out dirt only after three days have passed. In the other houses this can be done immediately after the departure of the bear.

The Soul of the Bear

The Voguls on the Sosva believe that the soul of the bear remains on the earth for a time, even after the end of bear festival. The bear's soul wanders for a few days, then having changed into a she-bear, she arrives at the house of the High God-Father, enters, and sits on the mink and precious fur-covered knee of her father. The High God-Father says, "My daughter who was in the house of men, you return!" The bear answers, "I have returned." She takes from her backpack all the gifts and distributes them to all the sons and to all the daughters of her father, but she does not have enough for the watchmen at the door. The High God-Father asks, "How were you treated?" The bear tells all that she saw and experienced, and that she has been satisfied with her life among the humans. She is only curious to find out what kind of birds those were that she heard singing so beautifully in the bedroom. The High God-Father reassures her, saying that perhaps she can see them next time, and next time she can also bring presents for the watchmen at the door.

Notes on the Vogul Shaman

In the Vogul area, the names for the ecstatic shamans are: *näit* (T), *ñoait* (K), *näitkum* (P), *näitkum* (V), *näitqum* (IL), *näitxum* (uL), and *näit-xum* (So). According to the informant on the upper Lozva, *näitxum* is the same as *kaine xum* 'the singer of magic songs'. The majority of shamans were men, but there were female shamans, as well. On the upper Lozva *näitāyi* means 'shaman girl' or 'unmarried shaman woman' (*āyi* 'girl, daughter'), *näitne* means 'shaman woman', even though *nē* means woman and wife. It was not clear whether it was possible to have married female shamans there. "The man with a living guardian spirit" (*lilij puyγəxum* [So]) is a shaman that understands how to make magic in a dark room. A shaman that can cause others harm is called *śürkəŋkar* (P), *śürkəŋkar* (V), *śürkəŋqār* (IL) 'spoiler, destroyer'. The person that can see invisible things (e.g. the devil) is called *sampalwōpsəx xōtpa* 'the one with magic eyes and magic ears'.

The activities of the shaman are *näitxl-* 'to perform magic', 'to beat on the drum', 'to search out (find lost items, etc.)', 'to heal', *pēny-* 'to foretell', *sāt-* 'to swear an oath', 'to do magic', and 'to destroy'.

In all his activities, the Vogul shaman uses the shaman's drum *kojip*. *Kojip rātəym* means 'I beat the magic drum (shaman's drum)'. The drum must be constructed in a proscribed manner. It is covered with leather,

and the outer rim is fastened with 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, or 21 (usually 14 or 21 because they are multiples of seven) pieces of wood. These are called the *kojip-jūr* 'the *jūr*-animal of the magic drum'. The entire drum is therefore sometimes called 'of seven *jūr*-animals bordered full wood'. The holder 'cross' on the back side is called *kojippupiy* 'the guardian spirit of the shaman's drum'. On the Sosva, the drumstick is called *kojipñāli* 'the spoon/ladle of the shaman's drum'. On the upper Lozva, it is called *kojiprāt-nemānt* 'the shovel of the magic drum'.

The most important activity of the shaman is the performance of his song *kaisow*; with this song he calls the spirits. To achieve the ecstatic state necessary for the shaman to begin his shamanic activity, Vogul shamans generally use *Amanita muscaria* 'fly agaric'. The Vogul name is *pāḡx*, *pēḡk*. The mushroom produces shamanistic ecstasy and enhances the performance of the shaman. There are two kinds of fly agaric. The kind used in the Vogul areas, is yellowish-brown when dried, and grows 'out of one foot' — six or seven mushrooms grow together. The other, not mentioned by the Voguls, is the more familiar and beautiful variety, which has red and white dots. Both do have a similar effect, however. On the Pelim the fly agaric is called *saittoal pēḡx* 'the senseless making fly agaric'. There are 'male' (*kumpēḡx*) and 'female' (*nēpēḡx*) varieties which are used by men and women, respectively. On the upper Lozva, when a shaman ate fly agaric and 'went into a dark room' to perform his shamanic activities, he or she had to put on 'sacred clothing' (*wārim ūlamt*), i.e. shamanic paraphernalia.

Taboos Concerning Women

Among the Voguls women are subjected to numerous taboos. One of the most significant is that they must be separated from the rest of the community during their menstrual period, during childbirth and the postpartum period. They spend their time in the *māñkol* 'little house' and they return only after performing ritual purification.

A northern Vogul woman is not allowed to walk around (circle) the house. On the lower Lozva, this is only true for menstruating women. Even inside the house, women have restricted and forbidden areas. On the upper Lozva, the Voguls had at the back part of the living quarters a large bed, *mūli-pāl*, 'the hind bed', which is reserved for guests. It is not fitting for women to go there, or to sleep there. A wooden board separates a woman from the *lōx-pāl*, the 'nook bed'. At this last place, at the left corner of the back of the room, a small bed can be found which is the sleeping place of the master and mistress of the house. On the Sosva, they simply divided the sacred *mūli-pāl* into two parts. Naturally the woman was allowed to

sleep on the left side. They rank the places in the house in order of importance, from the back hindmost place to the door. Some say that the most sacred place is the *mulisām* 'the hind corner' between the hearth (*čūval*) and the sleeping quarters. On the lower Konda, they call the sacred 'hind corner', 'God's corner'.

Another set of taboos forbids women from stepping over certain plants and objects. Women are not allowed to step on *xūs* (*Calla palustris*), the roots of which they collect for food. Should a woman break this taboo, it was said that no roots would ever grow in that place. She is not allowed to step over a man's clothing. If she does, the clothes have to be purified with castoreum (*loľva*). The Pelim Voguls burn old hunting garments, so that the blood attached to them does not find its way under the foot of a woman. On the Sosva, neither a man nor a woman is allowed to step across a piece of wood from which wood shavings will be made, because the wood shavings, which are used for cleaning, are thought then to lose all effectiveness.

Many taboos concern the relationship of women to hunting and fishing. A hunter setting out for an elk hunt does not allow any women to sit in his boat. In many areas an 'unclean' (menstruating) woman is not allowed to travel on a river where an elk or reindeer hunt is in progress. Similarly, a woman cannot step over the 'wings' of a drag-net, but must walk underneath them. On the Tavda a woman cannot step over elk bones.

During childbirth and during menstruation women had a special position. According to the Voguls on the middle Konda, elks do not fear postpartum or lactating women because 'they themselves give birth'. So it is not dangerous when postpartum or nursing mothers eat elk meat. However, the elk is afraid of a menstruating woman. On the Konda there is a story that the mythological character *Poaster* put on some clothing of a lactating woman and found his prey easy to catch. When he put on the clothing of a menstruating woman and put elk meat in a container that had had raw fish in it, he caught the elk only after a long hunt. So he gave the following advice, "The girl coming after me, the boy coming after me should be careful of containers in which they put raw fish, and from the clothing of menstruating women." It is, however, allowed to cook dry fish together with elk meat.

According to the Voguls on the upper Lozva, a mother or girl staying in the *māńkol* 'little house' is not allowed to eat meat of the elk, swan or bear; only meat of reindeer or birds is allowed. It was customary to clean a kettle, in which elk meat was once cooked, with ashes before it was used in the 'little hut'. On the lower Konda women could cook or eat elk meat, except during their menstruation. In earlier times, hunters did not allow women to carry elk meat into the storage pit, but carried it there themselves. It is especially forbidden among the Voguls for women to eat the head or heart of an elk. In many respects this taboo is similar to the women's taboos concerning the eating of bear meat.

It is not allowed for women to go to the sacred storehouse. In earlier times, every house had a 'clean storehouse' which women were not allowed to enter. Little girls, however, were allowed. In a few cases women can also enter the spirit storehouse wearing 'clean' clothes. Women can enter certain sacred 'sacrificial places' such is the *mān-kan* 'the small sacrificial place'. Another such place is the *xūlimā*; women can go there, but should not approach the *tir*, the 'sacrificial tree'. Women can be present at the 'blood sacrifices' which are performed at the *tir* and can also be present with the men at the sacrificial fire.

On the other hand, women are not allowed to approach the *janiy-kan* 'the great sacrificial place' where the sacrificial storage room *ūra* is. They are not allowed to go to the sacrificial ceremony and fire, but instead, they build a fire further away to cook the sacrificial meat. There is a story that once a woman from the upper Lozva went to peel birch-bark and wandered into a *janiy-kan* 'great sacrificial place'. As soon as she noticed, she ran away. In spite of this, she suffered insomnia for the entire spring. Only a shaman could cure her by offering cloth and money. In addition, young women are prohibited from going near any area where sacrifices have been held and where there is a large tree hinging with sacrificial objects (i.e. *jālpəy mā* 'holy place'); only old women and young girls are allowed.

It is customary among the Voguls of the upper Lozva that all the sacrificial objects designated for the High God, for the *tapal*-old man, for the forest spirit, for the old man of the river bed (or the old man of *sāwpāwl*), for the old man of the upper-course of the Lozva, for the old man of the mouth of the Lepla river and for the guardian spirits *mēpkw* will not be brought into the living quarters, not even into the 'clean house' (*sistam kol*), not to mention the 'ordinary house' (*mori kol*). In this region, it is also customary in those villages that do not have a *mānkol* 'little house' designated for women, that all the men will move into the forest during childbirth and the following period. Also the sacrificial objects, designated for the World-Overseeing Man will be carried out for the necessary period. The sacrifices for the *kaltas*-Old Woman will be hung up near the postpartum mother. It should be mentioned that only women sacrifice to this goddess. The sacrifices include elk meat, liquor and porridge.

Sacred and Sacrificial Places

The Voguls consider various places in nature as sacred and offer sacrifices and sometimes collect sacred objects or materials such as red ochre at these sites.

Sacrifices are also offered at designated 'sacrificial places' *kan* (uL). Some of these are called *mānkan* 'small sacrificial place', others *janiykan* 'great sacrificial place'. In Vogul villages one can find a *mānkan* behind

each house, or at least one *mānkan* used by just a few households. The *janiykan* belongs to the entire village, and sometimes many villages have a common *kan*. It must be noted that the *janiykan* is located only near the winter village, i.e. in the permanent settlements of the Voguls. When the village has an *ūra*, a 'guardian spirit storage place', it is always in the *janiykan*. Food sacrifices will also be held there. When the *mānkan* 'small sacrificial place' is behind the huts, one is not allowed to go around the huts. When one goes the *mānkan*, one must come back by the same path.

There are many sacrificial places in Vogul territory. For example, on the lower Konda, not far from the village Lentim, there is a pine-forest, with a single small tree in a clearing. In this tree there are wooden images of gods (*jūw-jopilt*). The Voguls have other types of sacrificial places, as well. On the upper Lozva, close to the village *sāwpāwl* there is a cave with the name *kūtuw tāra jalne kēras* 'a rock ran through by a dog'. In earlier times, the Voguls brought their food offerings there and many skull bones, exclusively of elk, have been found.

Approaches to Mansi Mythology

By

Mihály Hoppál

Theoretical Considerations

The Concept of Universal Semiotic Opposition

Among the methodological paraphernalia of comparative mythological research one finds at most two different 'tools'; one is complex historical comparative analysis, the other is the structural-typological study. The first is characterized by its method of comparing the most diverse data furnished by archaeology, linguistics, folklore and ethnography, based essentially on highly variable criteria of affinity or similarity, bringing them together in time and place, then grouping them according to generic viewpoints. Despite all its subjective tendencies, this trend has achieved remarkable results. At the same time, structural analysis, with its sterile methods, cannot afford more than a mere skeletal frame of the deep structure, and the rules of combination by whose aid an infinite series of mythologies can be produced. The latter trend has achieved some great works and produced still more debates, but it has failed to obtain really important results in comparative analysis. In what respect then, has it furthered science?

It seems as if the contours of a promising systematic order were beginning to emerge in the most recent investigations. The significant elements of the mythological system – for example deities, mythical beings, sun and moon – can be properly arranged by means of basic semantic oppositions. This holds for each mythological system.

Lately international mythological research has displayed increasing interest in the examination of the primitive forms of human thought.

They start from the theory that in times preceding the development of modern scientific thinking, i.e. in Antiquity, and among the primitive peoples, the mythological model of the world had two diametrically opposed series of symbols as its most typical characteristic, that is, it consisted of a series of dual oppositions. These include the two parts of the day (night and day), or the two seasons of the year (summer and winter), opposed to each other. Binary oppositions of this kind were given particular importance in archaic society, one of whose features was division into two exo-

gamic groups, a separation in which the one group belonged to the one, the other to the opposing main season.

Russian researchers recognized in the sixties that these symbols can be understood as a system of signs, consequently they can be analysed by semiotic methods (the discipline dealing with signs). They recognized that in the terms of the different sign systems we are able to describe the world in various ways.

The various models can be determined by the degree of abstraction; for instance a mathematical system may be highly abstract and less modelling, while a religious system may be less abstract but highly modelling. Linguistic systems find their place between mathematics and religion. Mythology as such belongs to the religious system (Hoppál 1976).

Elements of the mythological system of symbols survive in religious 'texts', therefore these texts should be taken into consideration when reconstructing the system. The notion of 'text' is used here in its widest sense, including, apart from linguistic texts, the decorative arts, painting, sculpture, music connected with rituals, dance, gesture and clothing. All these texts contain stereotyped repetitions which provide opportunities to distinguish the relevant from the irrelevant elements. Such text analyses result in dictionaries, in which importance is attached to linguistic (historical and etymological as well as semantic) examination. Finally, the relation of a given mythological system to a given social system has to be established, since the latter provides the everyday framework in which the former operates, in other words, the social context.

Examining the old Slavic and the Ket religious systems, V.V. Ivanov and V.N. Toporov used the following oppositions to reconstruct the complete system of deities: life-death, fortune-misfortune, above-beneath, sky-earth, north-south, day-night, sun-moon, white-black, red-black, earth-water, near-far, house-forest, man-woman, spring-winter, gold-silver, sacred-profane. In their reconstruction of the Slavic mythological pantheon, they described the various deities and their attributes with the aid of these dual semantic oppositions. They are of a universal character, and may be used in the study of other mythologies (Ivanov - Toporov 1965).

The series of dually opposed symbols finds its real meaning in the structure of the given society, and the two types of structures mutually clarify each other. (For example, in Uralic mythology the pair sun-moon involves the following correlated oppositions: woman-man, warm-cold, gold-silver, seven-six; while the earth-sky opposition includes the following pairs: earth-sky, black-white; for instance, white animals were offered to the sky deity.) Naturally the various mythologies do not always make use of all possible oppositions, and similarly the individual mythological figures are not described by means of all possible characteristics (this follows from the nature of oral tradition, since the corruption of the text is not always identical). On the other hand, these types of opposed groups are highly characteristic of the people, or more precisely of the group of peoples (i.e. cultures)

that use them. In short, a given mythology may be characterized by those symbols or set of symbols on which their entire system is built; in this way, despite all the existing differences, every mythological system can be described by means of universal mythological oppositions: the most important symbols can be selected, the system established and the pillars upholding the entire *Weltanschauung* determined.

There are several presuppositions that serve as starting points to the further research into the comparative study of folk beliefs and folk customs of the Finno-Ugric peoples. The first among these is a hypothesis that each mythology creates a system of its own, that is, it is not an irregular mass of incoherent elements, on the contrary, these elements are rendered to each other according to definite rules which can be detected. Our second assumption is that the cultural facts used to be known as worldview (*Weltanschauung*) and the so-called *belief-system*, and as more recently defined "sign-system of mythology" (Hoppál 1978) are the same cultural phenomena. The third is that the theoretical basis of the analysis of the folk beliefs and/or mythology should be precisely elaborated and the technical terms used in the analysis and description of mythology should be correctly defined. The expressions *belief-system* and *worldview*, are almost synonyms and they belong undoubtedly to the dictionary of terms of a theoretical meta-language. The elaboration of a meta-language for myth analysis has escaped the attention of the researchers so far.

The problem of *belief-system* first arose in connection with social anthropological research around the 1960s. Several experts were interested in the nature of beliefs in psychology, philosophy, sociology and folklore, but their research was isolated and the results were relatively unknown. In the 70s, however, the first interdisciplinary summaries had appeared (Needham 1972) and it began a new chapter in the history of research.

Here we use the concept of belief (and *belief-system*) in a wide sense similarly to the American sociology: the *belief-system* represents the total universe of a person's beliefs about the physical world, the social world, and the self. Actually this is not other than our everyday knowledge about surrounding reality where there is a wide transition between beliefs and established knowledge.

In the literature of the disciplines mentioned above the statement occurs from time to time that beliefs do not stand side by side in chaotic disorder, but rather they form a system. We cannot produce direct evidence for this, since it is the human mind itself which serves as a data bank and memory unit. The analysis of various folklore texts revealed, however, the existence of such a latent system. It is not accidental that the first experts who emphasize this fact were folklorists and social psychologists, but an interdisciplinary approach should be developed in the mythological research, as well. In addition, computer experiments, and simulations have already supplied good examples. Here we have to refer to the investigations of two Hungarian-born researchers in the United States (Szalay –

Maday 1973) in connection with the techniques of association which play an important role in the human thinking. Free verbal association can be analysed nowadays with refined investigating methods both on a conceptual and linguistic level. Knowledge and beliefs represent the elements of the whole cultural system, creates a coherent network of associations. Others also referred to the internal regularities of the value and knowledge system of a traditional culture. Where concepts are built up one upon the other, ideas presume one another, there we may speak of a homogeneous and well-integrated culture, in which the various beliefs mutually reinforce one another (Hoppál 1979).

Perhaps a network is the best graphic model for the representation of belief as a system (Maranda – Köngäs-Maranda 1979). The network of a belief-system may contain such a great number of elements and their connections may be so very intricate, that a computer is needed to detect and chart the interconnections of the elements. The ultimate and reliable systematization of this complicated network of elements is to be expected by the computers only although earlier studies have also accomplished certain preclassification, when in particular cultures they searched for the so-called cognitive structures and defined them.

Belief-systems may be viewed as culturally-constituted cognitive structures transmitted from one generation to the next as part of a group's cultural heritage (Spiro – D'Andrade 1958). In the network each element (i.e. 'node') is in correlation with the other one, even if through some intermediate elements. This interrelation is the very reason why the mythological and/or belief-systems are long-lasting.

The transference and maintenance of culture, accepted behavioral patterns, or specifically the acquisition of culture is not possible, according to our opinion, without the belief-system, and in precise relation to that, the belief-system – like all other 'language' and/or codes in the culture – is socially determined and its formation takes place at the same time as the development of the personality does in the early period of socialization.

The belief-system and the value system are to be considered the two most important subsystems of the ideological sphere within culture. The belief-system alone comprises every sort of historically developed and socially inherited conception of the community. Within the given culture the conceptions, views (for example, of the nature of the universe, and man's place within it) create a relatively coherent system – to be more exact there operates a tendency toward the creation of internal coherence.

All cultures have underlying assumptions and it is these assumptions or 'folk ideas' which are the building blocks of a worldview (Dundes 1971). Any one worldview will be based upon many individual folk ideas, and if one is seriously interested in studying a worldview one will need first to describe that worldview.

In everyday life man strives to conceive of his position, in relation to the world, namely with the help of the all-embracing system of beliefs. The

most important function of a society's ideological system is exactly that it helps to give an answer to every question which emerges. – For example: Where is my place in the world? What is the structure of the world like?

To these questions (which concern the worldview's internal mechanism) are given an answer by the cosmological beliefs within the belief-system. It is indisputable that beliefs of the worldview are extremely important because they are useful for typological characterization of cultures – and of mythologies – that is exactly why the individual inherits and accepts these beliefs just as he does the language. It is important to emphasize here that the belief-system and the natural language are in an extremely close relationship.

The reason why spoken language has a central function is that is the best ordered natural system among the (non-artificial) semiotic systems used by man. The sphere of religious beliefs has an important role in every culture and it is conspicuous in its regularity. This is true especially for the great world religions, but the smaller ones build up a similar complicated system with their intricate dogmas and rituals. An other important characteristic feature of the subsystem of religious beliefs is that in most cultures this particular subsystem stores the given community's value judgments (in many cases exactly in the form of the religious rules). The elements of a religious system are more rigid and coherent, therefore they can be less easily changed than the system of everyday beliefs built up of more open and profane elements.

The system of everyday beliefs is composed of looser, less coherent elements. Naturally language has an effect on everyday beliefs, too. The beliefs, however, beyond primary linguistic formation, obtain an ultimate form in the codes of the various narrative genres – so, for example, in the form of the myth, tales, legends, proverbs, saying, or just simple advice, or rather prohibition. This is why the examination of the belief-system is especially important for the researcher of narrative structures and in comparative mythology.

We define our beliefs as a system since they possess a well traceable stockpile of elements and these can be joined together only in a specific order. Within the system of everyday beliefs several subsystems can be found which, to an extent, may overlap one another – like, for example, the substance of ethno-medical knowledge and superstition, or beliefs concerning hunting and weather. Therefore, in the case of everyday beliefs, we have to do with the intereffect of structures built one upon the other (structures of linguistic + religious-mythological + everyday beliefs). And in the course of the examination we should not neglect a single subsystem.

We may detect in this way the functioning of some sort of a latent structure which influences, rules our actions in everyday life, that is, in everyday behaviour. We may state: the belief system functions as a programme of man's everyday behaviour.

Bearing in mind the above-mentioned characteristics of the belief-system, it seems conspicuous that each mythology is a system, since the correlations of its elements are governed by a set of rules. Each mythology constitutes a *world* in the modern logical sense of the word (Hintikka 1969), that is it creates a worldview (*Weltanschauung*) using this traditional technical term of the folklorists. This is nothing else, but an integrated system of knowledge, beliefs, and values created by man about nature, society and himself. This system of thought is revealed in different kinds of texts, primarily in the form of verbal texts.

In comparative mythology not only verbal texts but other codes of culture (for example visual arts, rites, gestures, music, dance etc.) should be investigated. Among the verbal folklore texts not only myths but folktales, folksongs, incantations, ritual formulas, proverbs, etc. should be analysed, because these represent different aspects of the same worldview or belief-system, and this is the basis on which the system of mythology is also built.

The Uralic Background of Mansi Mythology

The Creation of the Universe

The creation of the earth is connected, from Eastern Europe to the Altai Mountains, with the motif of bringing up sand from water. During the work of creation, the supreme deity and the devil (the latter being the brother of the former in the majority of relevant tales) dive, at the command of the god, in order to bring up sand from the bottom of the sea. The devil hides a piece of earth in his mouth, which he spits out, when it begins to swell, from this the mountains developed (Napolskikh 1989).

The devil that may be characterized by negative features in the system of oppositions (evil, darkness, harmfulness) is further distinguished from the creator by his ability to transform himself. He may appear in the form of the most diverse birds, while the supreme god in the mythology of the Uralic peoples does not possess this ability. With the Voguls and Yakuts it is a merganser that brings up the earth from the depths of water, but the same motif is known from the tales of the Chuvash people, and also from the Hungarian folk belief stories.

Karelian Finnish legends also include the story of bringing the earth out of the water, in addition to the myth of the 'world-egg' generally known from the *Kalevala*. It is interesting to note that some researchers try to connect the image of earth emerging from the water and growing ever larger (and measured by the time of the flight of a returning bird) with the closing motif of the myth of the flood. Furthermore, the conception of the

creative genius floating above the waters in the shape of a bird (a water-fowl) should be regarded in any case as a very old motif that can be traced in the myths of antiquity. Earth emerging from under the water presupposes the view that the globe is surrounded by water. The earth swims on the ocean, supported from beneath by whales (one or three) whose movements cause earthquakes. This image may be very old, because it can be found in the traditions of peoples living far apart, such as the Japanese, Russian, Votyak, Crimean Tatar, Hungarian and even the Jewish biblical tradition. It is interesting that the animal supporting the earth is a bull in most of the legends of the Volga Finno-Ugrians.

The Structure of the World

Earlier the peoples gained experience from two fundamental sources: these were the immediate environment and the distant one, i.e. the starry sky. Man, as he contemplated, stood in the centre of the universe. The sky, limiting the horizon in every direction, the nocturnal picture of the same sky with the polar star, relatively motionless among the other stars following their diverse heavenly courses, may well have given rise to the belief that found palpable forms of expression in phrases like 'centre of the world', 'world-mountain' or 'world-column' in the imagination of different nations.

These concepts may be reduced to a common image of an enormous pillar, the 'column of the world', that reaches up to and supports the sky. This image of the world-column, well-known throughout the entire Eurasiatic region from the Lapps to the Yakuts, as well as among the southern nations of the Altai Mountains, may be correlated with the conception that the sky which covers the earth like a tent needs to be supported. The tree holding the sky contains among its branches the sun, the moon and all the stars. In one of his studies Vilmos Diószegi demonstrated that "the world-tree with the sun and the moon" is a basic element not only of Ugrian culture, not only of the general Finno-Ugrian period, but also of the much older Uralic period of coexistence (Diószegi 1967).

The image of the world-tree or world-column can be found among the Indo-European peoples also. Some scholars believe that it developed among them, yet there is an essential difference between the two conceptions of the world-tree. The Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian folk tales mention the sun and the moon as being among the branches of the enormous world tree, and the Selkup and Ket shamans' drums show such representations, but the German and Scandinavian tradition knows nothing of such images. According to Harva, the world-column further differs from the world-tree in that the latter is a living tree, under the branches of which 'the pond of the water of life' is situated (this mythologema is found in Ostyak, Hungarian, Mordvin and Yakut tales). This pond is unequivocally regarded as a fertility symbol. Of the several hundred interpretations of the *sampo*

of the *Kalevala*, the most generally accepted one regards the huge, column-like magic mill as a symbol of fertility (Napolskikh 1992: 11).

Returning to the concept of the world-tree reaching to the sky, it may be stated that the individual branches of this tree represent the different levels of heaven (thus the moon is to be found in the sixth and the sun in the seventh celestial level). Numi-Torem, the supreme god of the Voguls, lives in a seven-windowed house in the seventh storey of heaven. Ostyak folk legends mention 'the seven-layered mountain of heaven'. The idea of heaven with several layers is typically mingled with that of heaven imagined as a mountain, 'a world-mountain', which reaches up to the sky, just like the world-column. The mountain, i.e. the heaven thus imagined, is the home of gods. The concept of the world-mountain can be found among the Finnish, Scandinavian and Mongol peoples, as well as among various Turkic nations. The concept is derived by some scholars from India, while others connect it with Iranian mythology, whose idea of the world-centre mountain points to Mesopotamia as its place of origin.

The concept of the world-mountain is connected with certain ideas concerning the navel of the earth, from which entrance is given to the lower region, just as the roots of the world-tree penetrate into the nether world. It is thus a peculiar combination of conceptions, myths and ideas concerning the structure of the world that confronts us when studying the phenomena of the world-tree. A revealing fact may be adduced here from the popular beliefs of the Hungarians, the Ob-Ugrians and other non-related ethnic groups of Siberia, according to whom the nether world is stratified into seven layers, like heaven.

Consequently, the nether world is an exact counterpart of heaven, but it is a reversed picture of the upper world (the idea of this contrasted picture will be discussed below in connection with burial customs).

We must also mention the common belief of the Uralic nations in a tripartite structure of the world. The nether world, situated beneath the earth, is the land of the dead; the middle layer, or earth, belongs to living creatures; the upper world or heaven, is the habitat of gods. Accordingly, the opposites above-beneath of the universal mythological oppositions appear in two variants, in the form of earth-heaven on the one hand, and earth-nether world, on the other.

The Ob-Ugrians call the human or middle world 'the lower world' in relation to the 'upper world' of gods. The double polarization, in turn, produces another series of oppositions: that of living bodies and dead bodies on the one hand, and living bodies and immortal ones (gods) on the other.

However hypothetical this model of the worldview may appear on the basis of data gathered from folk narratives, it is not so; we find several concrete examples in decorative art also. These representations show the world-mountain, the world-tree, the different levels of the universe, together with the sun and the moon, and finally the triple division of the universe (Hoppál 1994: 137, 147).

From this point of view, particular significance is to be attached to the shamans' drums which have the world-tree in the middle, thus dividing the space into a right-hand and a left-hand part, together with the horizontal lines and horizontally drawn figures result in further divisions according to the upper-lower opposition of the universe. It has been observed that each quarter has its own definite symbols which are not interchangeable. Accordingly, the various animal representations, the picture of the sun and the moon, etc., all have their strictly determined places, thus indicating clearly that the whole system of representation is well organized in accordance with convention and usage.

The idea of world-tree (the tree of life) played a central role in the world conception of both the Siberian and the Central and Inner Asiatic peoples. This may be one of the reasons why the well-known medieval feature of tree-worship survived with such tenacity in the memory of the Finno-Ugrians, realized in the cult of the birch (ideas associated with this can be found even among Hungarian popular beliefs); this form of worship was based on the conception of the shaman's tree, a palpable object of the paraphernalia used in shamanistic ceremonies. In this way, the series of the tree of life, world-tree, shaman's tree and birch reflects the historical layers of this ancient conception.

Sun, Moon and Stars

Of the celestial bodies, it is the sun and the moon that occur most frequently in the mythical narratives of the Uralic peoples, but they do so not in some immediately realizable form, certainly not in the form of worship of the sun or the moon, but in an indirect way. For instance, we know Mordvin, Finnish and Hungarian formulas with which the new moon was greeted.

A highly important mytheme is connected with the personification of the celestial bodies in ancient times: the sun was regarded by the Mansi (and also by the Lapps) as a female, and the moon as a male principle. In any case, this is the opposite of the ideas prevailing in Greek-Roman Antiquity and legends of the Tatars. It is interesting to note that the ancient names of the two earliest known celestial bodies do not always survive in the various languages: the Uralic name of the moon, for example has not been preserved in the Mansi, Permian or Cheremis languages. It is even more characteristic that the Uralic languages have some six or seven different words for the sun.

Examination of constellations has revealed that the Pleiades were termed 'sieve star' not only among the Uralic people but by all nations throughout Eurasia.

The name of the polar star in Finnish and Lapp (and in some of the Samoyed dialects) appears in the expression 'North-end-nail'. As has been

mentioned above, these terms are connected with the conception of the world-column. Since field work has achieved few results so far in the study of star names, no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn from the negative data.

Further investigation should be devoted to the circumstance that the seven sons of the supreme deity have the function of controlling destiny and conveying the will of their father in the mythical songs of the Voguls. Examined from a broader angle, the conception may be interpreted in a sense that the destiny of men is 'written' in the stars.

The galaxy commonly called the 'Milky Way' in the European tradition ('Way of Straw' among the Turkic nations, both being found in Hungarian folk beliefs) is known to the Finno-Ugrians as something like 'Way of Birds' (evidenced from Finnish, Lapp, Vogul, Ostyak and Estonian). Since the Milky Way proceeds from north towards the south, from where wild ducks, wild geese, swans and the like used to return year by year, these water-fowls, in Siberian tales as well as in reality, became symbols of renewal and rebirth. It is not by mere chance that the 'Man watching over the world' (or 'World Surveyor Man') was associated with the galaxy in Mansi mythology; he was represented in the form of a gander, and the idol was named *Lunt-oter* or 'gander chief' (Róheim 1954: 30-37, Chapt. 3).

The Land of Birds was situated in the southern regions, where it was warm all the year long, while the Land of the Dead was located in the cold north – so that the opposition of nascent life and eternal death once again was expressed by parallel lines of contrasted symbols in Finno-Ugrian mythology (north-south, warm-cold). Another name for the galaxy, known only among the Ob-Ugrian group and also their close neighbours, is the phrase 'track of the deer-hunting man'. This fact deserves special attention because the motif of the deer chase, associated with the ancient deer cult among the Eurasiatic peoples, suggests the survival of the memory of a totemistic legend. The hero of the Vogul myth, 'the legendary son of the *moś* man', set out to chase the six-footed deer in order to hunt it down (by cutting its two hind legs) and making it suitable for mortals too to hunt. The deer and the hunter were each totemistic ancestors of a clan. Following Róheim (1954) and Erdődi (1970) we may state that the myth of the elk preserves the memory of ancient Ugrian mythology, and as such may be correlated with the very archaic cycle of myths that has the deer-hunting hero as its main character, who chases the deer carrying the sun between its horns.

The System of Gods

It has been made clear by earlier research that the pantheon of Uralic gods included a supreme deity who showed a peculiar combination of the ideas of *sky* and *air*; even the name of this god used to be expressed mainly with

one of these two words. Further characteristics were that he lived high above, he was tall, stout, bright and golden-coloured. Let us consider the terms for sky among the Uralic nations (which at the same time designate the supreme god in most Uralic languages):*

Finnic-Permian

Estonian	<i>jumal</i>
Finnish	<i>jumala</i>
Cheremis	<i>jumo</i>
Mordvin	<i>jumi (ši-pas)</i>
Zyrian	<i>jen</i>
Votyak	<i>in</i>
	<i>inmar</i>
Livonian	<i>ilma</i>
Finnish	<i>ilma(rinen)</i>

Ob-Ugrian

Vogul	<i>numi-torem</i>
Ostyak	<i>num-torum</i>

Samoyed

Nenets	<i>num</i>
Selkup	<i>nom</i>

These names of deities contrasted with each other clearly indicate that the separation of the Ugrians, Samoyeds and the Finnic-Permian groups took place at a relatively early date. As to the terminology of the mythologies belonging to the Indo-European family of languages, much closer agreements can be observed, and in them the subsequent stages of development of the semantic content of sky can be clearly traced: sky → heaven → god. It is very likely that a similar process of development took place in the mythological conceptions of the Finno-Ugrian peoples.

We shall now consider more closely the system of Vogul deities. Here we may readily make use of the collection of Bernát Munkácsi, which enables us to reconstruct the system of Vogul gods. His collection, rich as it is, deserves particular attention in this respect, since he carried out field work in the Vogul-populated areas in the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the myths were still told there.

By making use of the following mythological oppositions: man-woman, positive-negative, above-below, the 'trinity' of Vogul gods can be easily distinguished: *Numi-torem*, father of heaven, creator of the universe (man, positive, 'above'); *Joli-torem* or *maa-ankw*, being 'the lower-Earth-mother' (female, positive, 'below'); *Xul'-oter*, the lord of the nether world (masculine, negative, below), contriver and creator of all kinds of earthly evil, disease, disaster, pain, worms and death. In co-operation with the father

* The Hungarian word for god (*isten*) has been subjected to many etymological examinations, none of which has achieved a reassuring result. Therefore we omit it from the scope of the present study.

of heaven he creates the earth, it is he that brings up earth, in the form of a merganser, from the depths of water. This trinity is actually nothing else than the formulation of the double opposition of the universe divided into heaven and earth on the one hand, and earth and nether world, on the other. (Cf: the corresponding representation of the Uralic world-conception.)

The female counterpart, the wife, of *Numi-torem* is the Earth Mother, and their offspring are the 'Man watching over the world' and the *Kaltes* woman. Both played a role in shaping man's destiny, in contrast to their parents who were not actively involved in this task. The latter was entrusted with the duties of a midwife, defending mothers; she was the goddess of mothers giving birth. It is more than likely that Munkácsi was right when he stated that the *Zalataya Baba* or 'Golden-woman idol', so often mentioned in 18th and 19th century Russian travel diaries, was worshipped as this goddess (her epithet being *Šorni-kaltes* 'Golden Kaltes').

A younger brother, the 'Man watching over the world' (*Mir-susne-xum*, 'the golden prince beholding people'), was the seventh of the heavenly father's offspring, whose image was made of copper in the shape of a goose—one of his name was, therefore, *Lunt-oter* 'gander-prince'. His appearance in the form of a gander was accounted for by a legend, in which he flew away with a woman whom he seized in one of his adventures when he was looking for a wife. On other occasions he is mentioned as a swan, in which form he is just engaged in carrying out his world-watching task. It is he who ensures happiness in life and health for men. The Golden-prince gives bright light to the earth which he walks round every day in his golden attire, spreading happiness to all; the dearest son of the heavenly father and younger brother of the Dawn-maiden (one of the names of the woman *Kaltes*), he represents undoubtedly the Sun-god. And again it was no mere chance that the figure of this ever-returning, ever-reviving hero was associated with the returning migrating birds, and with the Milky Way. What we have in this myth of the Voguls is an early formulation of the mytheme of the renascent Son of God, which is the more interesting because the peculiar features connected with his birth enable us to determine the proper place of this motif. Moreover, the figure of 'world-surveyor-man' is known also to the neighbouring Siberian peoples (Toporov 1974).

The seven sons of Torem who figure in the Mansi pantheon appear to represent a very important typological feature. This mytheme, together with the number seven as a numerical formula expressing the principle of systematic order, is found in the mythologies of the most diverse peoples, such as the Altais and Yakuts, and can be traced from Sumerian mythology to the group of deities called *Amesha Spentas* in the RigVeda.

Concepts of Soul

The conception of the dual soul was known throughout Northern Eurasia. Shamanism was particularly characterized by a belief in the existence of a dual soul. Some scholars consider this type of psyche more ancient than the monistic conception of the soul, which is, according to them, a secondary religious phenomenon. This dualistic concept can be clearly traced among nearly all the Finno-Ugrian nations. The language of the Hungarians, who were converted to Christianity earlier than any of their Finno-Ugrian relations, has preserved the words *lélek* 'soul' (*testlélek* 'body soul'; *életlélek* 'life-soul') and *iz* (see above). The word *ört* of the Zyrians, who were converted during the fourteenth century under strong Russian influence, is simply man's soul in the shape of a bird (shadow soul). Many Siberian peoples entertained the idea that man's soul assumes the form of a bird, which in any case is a typical shamanistic conception.

Souls of unborn children wait, sitting on the branches of an enormous tree, for the moment when they can move into the body of a new-born baby. It is highly characteristic that the records, scanty as they are, refer quite frequently to the belief that the souls of the deceased ancestors return into later offspring of the tribe. It is the shamans who are particularly connected with the concept of transmigration of souls.

When the souls of the deceased leave the body, they take the shape of birds, and fly towards the north, where the realm of the dead is to be found according to legends. They make their journey along the 'Way of the Birds' or 'Way of the Dead', that is on the Milky Way. A Mansi legend has preserved a passage in which the way to the realm of the world beyond death is thus described:

There is a small opening through which the kingdom of *Xul'oter*, prince of the nether world, can be entered. It is found where heaven meets earth; there is an opening in the cliff there, barred with seven fowler's nets and seven fishing nets. At the entrance to the opening sit an old man and an old woman, keeping watch over it. The hero arrives in the shape of a bird; crashing against the iron nets, he breaks his wings and falls into the water, in which he turns into a pike. Only in the form of a fish is he able to overcome the obstacles, and there is no other way for him to enter the realm of the dead (VNGY II, 1: 114-116).

In the language of the myth, the oppositions of living and dead bodies are expressed by the opposition pairs above-below, air-water and finally bird-fish. In the final analysis what we have here is nothing else than a description of the sets of notions connected with the Hungarian *halott-hal* 'dead-fish', which is in perfect agreement with the formulation that the nether world is a 'dark pond', the realm of snakes, frogs and fish.

These explanations of mythology shed light on the mythical background of the Uralic burial custom – which may be regarded as of universal valid-

ity among them – that they bury their dead beyond some nearby water. Archaeological finds corroborate this statement. At the same time it should be noted that neither the custom of washing the corpse, nor that of closing the dead man's eyes can be considered unequivocally Uralic beliefs – although they are to be found among most of the Finno-Ugrian and Siberian nations – because they are equally characteristic of the Indo-European mythologies.

A systematic summarization of customs connected with burial ceremonies is an urgent task for archaeology as well as ethnography. It is generally accepted that burial customs are relatively conservative and that archaeological excavations disclose results widely diverging from region to region in the areas inhabited by Uralic peoples. Accordingly, the problems connected with burial forms and grave signs also require urgent consideration in the future.

Finally one further ethno-linguistic remark must be added. Among the beliefs of the Uralic peoples sharp distinction is drawn between the nether world and the world beyond. Under the impact of Christian beliefs and current burial customs, this distinction has ceased to be significant so that we cannot realize its depth any longer, although it prevailed in the Uralic period. Both adverbial particles – Hungarian *al[só]* 'low[er]' and *túl[só]* 'yon[der]' – belong to ancient strata of the linguistic inheritance and originate from the Uralic period. The nether world, as has been shown before, is a region situated beyond the water, it is a cold country, the land of the dead. The lower world refers to something else: to the world of the wicked souls, the evil spirits (the dead are not unequivocally wicked). The difference is well exemplified by the existence of the two clans of the Vogul people, the *moš* and the *por*. There is a vast difference between them. The *moš* people, *moš-xum*, are of the heavenly hunters; they are like gods and eat raw flesh. In contrast, the *por-xum* is a people of witches, who belong to the lower world (actually to the earth) and consume cooked meat. They are represented by ugly old hags in mythical tales and narratives; they know the art of witchcraft and make friends with the devil and other spirits of the lower world. Heaven–earth, raw–cooked, cold–warm again represent a set of oppositions, from which it appears that the lower world does not belong to the cold pole but to the warm pole, as against the nether world which is cold.

Studies on Ob-Ugrian Mythology

At the beginning of 1985, Éva Schmidt prepared, for the *Encyclopaedia of Religions* (ed. by M. Eliade), a description of the mythological belief-system of the Ob-Ugrians (Schmidt 1987). She classified the personages in the mythological system on the basis of their characteristic semantic features.

Moreover, her work has this novelty, too – that she distinguishes the individual supernatural beings according to whether they play a role only in the folk beliefs or in the heroic epics, or only in the cults. In this way, in accordance with the tripartite division of the world-model, they populate the mythical world as beings of the upper, middle, and the lower worlds. This classification also enables her to indicate the specific social functions of the particular natural spiritual beings and the gods, as well as of the guardian spirits. In other words, she managed, in the course of reconstructing the system of mythological figures, to outline the reflection of the social structure. We ought to point out, however, that, among the Ob-Ugrians, even the social units themselves do not constitute a clearly structured system; wherefore the classification, too, appears, a little bit to be overcomplicated. Schmidt's writing, however, does make the important point that, viewed from a historical perspective, the anthropomorphic guardian spirits betoken the influence of a southern equestrian culture.

Peter Veres (1979) in a very interesting study raised some original ideas concerning the Mansi and Ostyak who are linguistically closest and they have a myth about the origin of their moiety in which one of the marital classes is called 'boiled meat eaters' and the other one, the *mōś ~ mońt* class, 'raw meat eaters'. There are different opinions extant pertaining to this myth. However, these data show that it is not easy to agree with the assumption according to which the ancestors of the boiled meat eater *por* marital class were a nation possessing a higher culture which moved up from the south. It is all the more apparent that, as in Ob-Ugrian mythology, the raw meat eater *mos* marital class belongs to the divinity residing in *Numi-Torem*, the upper world, or rather, to his son on a white horse, the World Surveyor Man (*Mir-susne-xum*).

While the name of the *por* boiled meat eater moiety was connected with the Middle-Iranian title **pori*, **pari*, > **por*, **par*, of the Iranian Dahi tribal confederation which became nomadic north of the Caspian Sea in the 2nd century B.C., there were attempts to derive the denomination for the other, *mōś ~ mońt* 'raw meat eater' moiety from the Old-Iranian word, *manu-š*. In connection with this latter fact it seems extremely important – though up till now it has been neglected by most scholars – that the one-time common form of this group's names coincides not only with the Iranian word *manuš*, but also with the reconstructed form of the infinitive evolved from the Uralian radical meaning 'sage-sagen' (*mańča*). In our opinion the genetic relationship between the *mōś (mońt)* fraternity of the Northern Ostyaks and Voguls and the Vogul (= *māńši*) ethnonym, along with the fact that their denomination can be traced back to the common archetype of the infinitive meaning 'say-saying', is not incidental. This result of linguistic comparison justifies the suspicion that at the time the Ugrian groups labelled themselves their failure to understand the language of the people surrounding them was significant. In all probability the Ugrians – like all ethnic communities being characterized by ethnocentrism – willingly contrasted them-

selves to the other folks possessing a different culture and a very dissimilar language (Veres 1979: 84–85).

It is clearly to be felt that several of the studies in the volume *Uralic Mythology and Folklore* (Hoppál – Pentikäinen, eds. 1989) naturally agree in their final conclusions – namely, that the mythological and folklore elements of the ancient Finno-Ugric world-image preserve the remnants of a whole string of Indo-European influences, including a highly significant Iranian influence. This was treated in a seminal study by one of the leading figures of the Moscow semiotic-structuralist comparative philology, V.N. Toporov (1989), who, right from the beginnings, took part in the elaboration of the theoretical methodological results which characterize the school of Russian semiotic research on mythology. His contribution has been particularly great in regard to the reconstruction of the old mythological systems of the Baltic and Slavic peoples. Given his background in Iranian studies – his original special field –, his interest was aroused, too, by the old Iranian loan-words of Ob-Ugrian mythology. One of his essays handles the reflection of the Iranian *Mithra* in Ob-Ugrian mythology, where the World Surveyor Man (*Mir-susne-xum*), appearing as the sun-hero, makes his daily journey in the sky riding his winged horse. (More on Ugrian mithraism see Gemuev 1990.) Toporov is undoubtedly right in not understanding how researchers could have failed to note the figure of *Mir-susne-xum* (the World Surveyor Man of the Voguls), the son of the supreme deity, *Numi-Torem*. The identification of the World Surveyor with the sun is obvious from the mythical attributes (e.g. golden, bright, shining). Toporov shows their equivalents in the Avesta and expresses the opinion that even the name *Mir-susne-xum* is an exact translation of the most frequent and characteristic *epitheton ornans* of Mithra: “Mithra regards men without blinking” (*RigVeda* III, 59.1) and “the most powerful, who surveys the whole earth” (*Yasn* X. 4, 13). The heavenly lord who rotates in the form of the sun, the World Surveyor mounted prince bears witness to a characteristically southern cultural influence; the Iranian source of the Mansi word *ater* is from old Iranian *asura* (Korenchy 1972: 56). Another interesting correspondence is that Mithra has wings and was born from an egg, which can be compared with the motif of *Mir-susne-xum*’s transformation into a goose. In summing up, Toporov concluded (naturally, after listing many more examples) that

the objects of the Usty-poluj culture both along the Urals and in the areas beyond the Urals that can be dated to the second half of the first millennium B.C., and the above analogies prove that the Iranian stratum of the Ugrian religious and linguistic consciousness is far more substantial and extensive than is generally thought (Toporov 1975: 76).

It is a fact that many more examples could be given. The strongly dualistic attitude of the Iranian religions can be felt, for example, in the myths

on the creation of the world that have been collected among the Ob-Ugrian and Finno-Ugrian peoples. One of the main motifs in these is two loons, one of which flies high in the sky, while the other swims on the water, diving down for the earth to bring it up to the surface of the water (Napolskikh 1989, 1992).

It is perhaps of interest here to mention that in the course of an excavation in Horezm two very fine decorated flasks were found and have been dated to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., Y.A. Rapaport (1977) has written a very interesting article on the goose and griffon portrayed on them. It is well known that the goose is one of the central elements in Ob-Ugrian mythology, that is, the symbolic embodiment of the sun making its daily journey of inspection. The Russian scholar notes that an important group of the Khorezmian dishes can be observed along the Urals where they can be dated back to the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.; in this connection, he also refers to the Finno-Ugrians. Seeking parallels for the portrayals in the hymns of the RigVeda, it can be found that the goose is mentioned on a number of occasions, principally as the symbol of the sun, the deity, the light, the embodiment of the world that it destroyed and which was then reborn again. When the griffon, personifying fire, attacks the water bird, the cosmic meaning is actually the destruction of the universe by fire and, at the same time, its rebirth.

However, it is interesting that the concept of the end of the world in the form of fire instead of flood can also be found in the Ob-Ugrian narratives (in contrast with the flood generally found elsewhere), which is clearly a Manichean teaching and this is a relatively little studied, because seldom occurring, motif.

Lajos Ligeti (1977: 308) points out that there is abundant source material to show the Manichean missionary activity (after the 3rd century) of the Sogdian travelling merchants. Gafurov (1974, I: 76) has written that the Sogdian language was used over a very large area as the language of international relations in Central Asia and in the regions of the north.

It is a known fact that over a hundred silver dishes of oriental origin have been found in the region of the Urals, most of them in the area of the Kama and Perm. Research linked these right from the start with the Finno-Ugric peoples, demonstrating their cultic use (even though they came from foreign cultures). However, in our opinion, the possibilities inherent in this fact have been far from fully exploited since, if they were used for cultic purposes, the meaning of the scenes portrayed on them must have been important for the users.

Here, too, the problem is complex – for, firstly, as we have seen, simple trade relations also had an ideological influence (as is the case in our own days too!) and secondly, the portrayals of the Sogdian silverware (Orbeli – Trever 1935) contain motifs that can perhaps be interpreted and understood by the help of myths (e.g. *senmurv* = peacock dragon; the griffon and the lion; at the base of a tree, a lake or water, with a loon or a goose in it;

fight of animals; lion with the sign of the sun; royal hunt in the mountains). Thirdly, in the course of time, the users carved or engraved new figures onto the original reliefs. Leshchenko has recently prepared an excellent summary about these (1976:176–188, cf. Figs. 20 and 21 – horse and tree on the dish). These portrayals have never been used either for a reconstruction of Finno-Ugrian mythology or for a study of the history of the primitive ages, although these engraved images of sworded figures are highly interesting – e.g. they hold *sabre*-type swords, rather than *kinzhal*- or *mech*-type ones (9th–10th centuries), which, in the opinion of the Soviet scholar, may have crucial significance. As for the antlered headgear, it is presumably the shaman's headdress, and the scene itself was the portrayal, on the vessels, of shaman's dance.

Leshchenko, in his highly elaborated and thorough analyses, shows what sort of relationships existed – for instance, in the cults of the Ob-Ugrians – between the use of sacred silver and the veneration of the World Surveyor Man (*Mir-susne-xum*). We know from the Vogul myths that the veneration of the World Surveyor is associated with the cult of the sun, and its totem-idol was goose-shaped. And here we have, indeed, come back to the myth-interpretations set out above, where a purely textual analysis of them yielded similar results.

Naturally, linguists have long since been suggesting the possibility of Old Iranian and Indo-European linguistic contacts and correspondences, but these facts have not been taken seriously even by researchers of mythology. It is enough if I refer to the work of Bernát Munkácsi (a critical appraisal of it was only partly completed by Korenchy 1972) or, from the early part of the century, to an article by Kai Donner, who called attention to the Sogdian counterparts of the Samoyed names of gods of the *nom-num* (Donner 1925). Also in yet the seventies, P. Aalto wrote about the homologies between Finnish and Aryan mythologies (Aalto 1987). In any case, it is a new development that research into these distant cultural and linguistic connections is not considered to be superfluous (cf. Janhunen 1983 on early Indo-European and Samoyed contacts; Rédei 1986 on Indo-Germanic and Uralic linguistic contacts).

Further widening the circle of comparisons, it has turned out that, stepping outside the Uralic context, it is possible, and indeed, necessary, to include in the investigations the North American Indian material as well.

Géza Róheim (1891–1953), in the Chapter IV of his book *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology* (1954) reminded his readers that there are North American parallels of Vogul 'themes' or motifs in myths. For instance, American Indians also believe in the other world, inhabited by migratory birds, test by heat and cold, the World Surveyor as a culture-hero, and the destroyer of the net of the eagle. This latter motif was analysed by V.V. Ivanov (1984 – in Hungarian; the original essay, written in 1975, was presented at a Semiotic Conference in Tartu, and was enlarged and enriched for the Hungarian publication). One version of this myth was col-

lected among the Ostyaks, and there are some versions of it told by the Kets, who live along the Yenisei. The main motif is also found in American Indian myths. Claude Lévi-Strauss too holds the opinion that this motif (destroying the eagle's net) is a very ancient one, and in Ivanov's view there is not only a typological but also a genetic connection between the American and Siberian variants.

It is even more little known that Géza Róheim was actually the founder of psychoanalytic anthropology and he did interpret Mansi myths, collected and published by Munkácsi, in Freudian terms. Let us quote a typical example from his *Hungarian and Vogul Mythology*:

Finally World Surveyor Man finds the weakest point in both nets, and he swims through the fish-net in the shape of a small pike. When he emerges the old man says, "I am going to kill him." The old woman holds the little pike and the old man hits it with an iron hammer. But he misses and smashes the old woman's arm. The he catches the pike and hits it with similar results. The little pike, eluding them, swims to the other side of the net. The narrow opening in the net through which the little fish manages to escape is manifestly the vagina, and this episode represents birth or coitus — both the 'old man' and the 'old woman' want to kill the hero.

...

This interpretation is fully confirmed by the gander myth to which it serves as an introduction.

The hero, in the shape of a little gander, flies to the land of migrant birds — that is, he flies on the Milky Way. An old man and an old woman are sitting in a house. He takes off his gander-skin and enters. The woman catches two ducks (*anas cricca*), kills and boils them. The hero eats the ducks, and when he is done, the woman takes the bones and puts them into a lake of 'live water'. They fly out of this water again as live ducks.

The old couple send him into a little house where a young girl is seated, letting down her hair. She has just started to braid it again. Her knee is covered with silk, and the bottom of the silk is heaving up and down. The hero says, 'Many lands have I seen and here I thought I would find a good-looking woman. There would be seven black ducks (*anas nigra*) in her hair and also seven ice ducks (*anas hiemalis*). Well, now I look at her and there are no black ducks, no ice ducks, but her knee is trembling from her bastard'.

This is certainly a remarkable statement. Why should it be a *sign* of beauty if ducks nestle in her hair? And why at the moment that in somewhat veiled language she is accused of being pregnant, is it also said that her body is heaving with a child about to be born? The reason can only be that *the ducks symbolize the child*. For when she lifts the silk curtain, there is no child behind it, but seven ice ducks and seven black ducks fly out and claw the hero's eyes and ears until he begs her to stop them.

The little bird, then, is the little child; and a sibling-rival wants to destroy it and tear it out of mother's womb. (Róheim 1954: 32)

Géza Róheim one of the most distinguished researchers of Hungarian folk mythology, compared Hungarian and Mansi mythology mainly on the basis of Munkácsi's Vogul collection. This was practically his last work and was only published after the author's forced emigration and subsequent death in the United States. His work, which abounds in original thoughts and surprising explanations, is still waiting for the critical assessment of the next generation of scholars. Such assessment will doubtless reveal valuable insights that lie under the surface of his theoretical and psycho-analytic language.

Just as the activity of the Hungarian scholar is unknown to the Russian researchers, the name of Valeri N. Chernetsov (1905–1970) is similarly unfamiliar to researchers in the West. In fact, the Russian scholar had been publishing regularly from the early 1930s onwards. His publications largely consisted of folklore texts, mainly folk tales, collected among the Vogul (Chernetsov 1935). His enormous heritage of almost two thousand pages of Vogul folklore texts awaits publication. Once it is published, it will rival the collections of Munkácsi and Kannisto.

Arturi Kannisto worked among the Voguls in the first years of the century (1901–1906) and his collections, which amounted to six volumes, were published between 1951 and 1963 in German, by M. Liimola and E. A. Virtanen. Apart from the Hungarian translation, Munkácsi's texts were also largely available in German. This explains the significance of Edit Vértes's summary (1990) in which she systematises data concerning the mythology and relating folklore (e.g. heroic poetry, shamanism) of the Ob-Ugrians. Besides Kannisto's and Munkácsi's material she also processed the collection (1922–1927) of K.F. Karjalainen and others. Vértes's work offers an encyclopaedic overview; listing in separate entries the mythological deities, spirits, idol-gods, giants, animals, and all ceremonies (Vértes 1990). The second part of the volume contains a hundred pages of Hungarian translations of mythological texts. Unfortunately the encyclopaedic character of the first part leads the author to use a rather peculiar reference system, whereby the reader can easily find the data referring to the mythological figure in question (e.g., *Kaltes*), but cannot find out from the author's text, which concrete people or peoples her statements are referring to.

The publication of Ismail N. Gemuev and Andrey M. Sagalaev, two scholars working in the Institute of Ethnography of the Siberian Branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, process the material they collected during their fieldwork in the 1960s and 1970s. Their amply illustrated monograph on the religion of the Mansi people contains the data collected with minute effort and precision throughout a number of tiring expeditions (Gemuev – Sagalaev 1986). The drawings in the book, made with excellent precision on the basis of photographs, emphasise the characteristic features of the sacred and sacrificial places, and the objects, idols and edifices found in their vicinity. This excellent work completes an old lack in our data, sup-

plying the visual reality to the texts of earlier collections, allowing us to envisage the idol-form of the spirits.

In 1989 Gemuev and his junior colleagues published a booklet in Russian under the title *Legends and Stories of the Taiga*, in which they summarise their research for the general public. The following quote is from this booklet:

"The spirits of the forest are its masters, the life of the wild animals is in their hands. Man can only expect to make any kill and manage without difficulty in the taiga if he steps into contact with the 'forest spirits'. Forest spirits not only deprive man of prey but will also punish him if he 'misbehaves'. They may be invisible, but their invisibility is of a peculiar sort. It is not the invisibility of the anthropomorphic spirits hiding from human eyes, but the dissolution of spirits in nature. They do not materialise into entities separate from the general world view. The spirit who is faceless one minute will indicate its presence in the next by twisting trees, blowing a blast to break the branches of bushes, by making the hunted wild cat vanish or by some similar mischief.

Since the forest was an alien area, man had to behave in appropriate ways. In spite of the symbolic and agreed nature of the schemes of behaviour, the hunter's action in the forest leads to situations where he becomes a 'guest', with all the obligations that follow. Man entreats the master spirit of the forest to grant success to the hunt. He does not forget to present the master with an offering of food or to 'treat' him and leave him a gift. The gift may be of many sorts, a piece of textile, a bag filled with leadshot or, earlier, an arrowhead.

Man has a more various contact with water and its master spirits. All rivers, all shallow, shingled stretches, any stretch known for whirlpools and currents has its own master. Man, overcome by uncertainty on the water, had reason to fear the intrigue of water spirits. Since all dangerous river stretches were traditionally connected with the 'lords of the water', in the case of accidents, unfortunate or curious events people thought of no other explanation but that there had been interference by these mythical inhabitants of the depths of the water...

People performed bloody as well as bloodless sacrifices to the spirits living in the waters. They were well acquainted with the mythological 'topography' and whenever they were passing a particular stretch of the river on their boats, they cast into the water the sacrifices intended for the master spirit of the river, the lord of the whirlpool or some similar being. The Vogul paid special respect to the water lord *Vit-Xan*. They celebrated sacrifices to him three times a year: after the spring melt, and then in August and October, always in the first week of the month. This is the time when the moon is 'growing' and when, probably on the basis of association, nature is also dominated by positive elements. They also offered the water spirit a sacrifice when they built a fishtrap on the river, to prevent the spirit interfering with their fishing.

In both cases, in the cult of the forests as well as the river master spirits, a strong connection is discernible between the beliefs of the

local population and their main economic activity. It is revealed exactly on this lowest level of the spirit pantheon that the spiritual cultures and world views of traditional societies express the indivisibility of human activity. In this culture there is no sharp divide between rationalism and irrationalism, the real and the fantastic. This characteristic is particularly apparent in the cult of the protecting spirit of the village among people of the taiga.

This being is very difficult to fit into the concept of 'spirit'. His character is surrounded by images referring to the common founding father, the patron and protector of the male population of the village. Therefore he stands in the relationship of common ancestor to the men of the village. This last circumstance must be emphasised: we are talking about a common ancestor. On the other hand this ancestor is closely bound to the natural world, since he is often imagined in the shape of birds, fish, insects or wild animals. In the age that we are looking at, probably all villages had their own protecting spirits, patron ancestors. Unfortunately, however, we do not know what the sanctuary of these patron ancestors looked like. Taking into account the degree of conservatism characteristic of religious tradition, we may assume that the most basic features of the old sanctuaries have survived into the 20th century (Gemuev – Sagalaev – Solovev 1989: 140–143).

The activity of Ismail N. Gemuev reached its summation in his doctoral dissertation, a monograph written on the worldview of the Mansi, whose subtitle is 'House and Cosmos' (Gemuev 1990). Fortunately a good part of the work, almost half of each page, is taken up by clearly drawn, high quality graphic illustrations. We may say that this is the first visual anthropological monograph on the folk beliefs of a Siberian nation. It is not surprising that several excellent ethnographical documentaries have been made about Mansi sacrifices.

Thus in 1984 in the course of the customary summer expedition I. N. Gemuev and A.M. Sagalaev made a film about 'sacred places', with the help of Riga cameraman A. Slapins. These sacrificial places are to be found in the barely accessible deep-lying parts of the forest, the taiga, in the region of the Lyapin river. The film is narrated by the commentaries of the researcher Gemuev, who was also responsible for ethnographical details. The film, whose subject is indicated in the title "*Bogi i bogatiry Mansi*" (Gods and Heroes of the Mansi) is an exponent of the best sort of Soviet ethnographic film which rests on detailed fieldwork. Thus it presents the sacrificial places with absolute authenticity, even though there is very little human action in the film with not even one reconstructed rite to be seen. These places of sacrifice were secret and every person knew only the sacrificial place belonging to their own clan. Hence it is particularly interesting to be able to glimpse, thanks to the film, into the sacrificial place of *Kul'ater*, the god of the nether world. This type of film, as well as making for authentic ethnographic description, provides research with the opportunity to re-evaluate earlier data.

V.M. Kulemzin collected and published the folk beliefs of the Ostyak, a people related to the Vogul (1984), providing useful comparative matter. The younger generation of researchers have begun to publish in European languages (Sainakhova 1990, Ashikmina 1993, Fedorova 1993). There is thus a good chance for the improvement of comparative research. This possibility is indicated by a string of conferences (e.g., Puszta – Saveleva eds. 1993), and the fact that a few English language anthologies have already been published (Birnbaum 1977, Honko et al. 1993). This might also lead to an increase in the intensity of research into heroic epic poetry (Cushing 1980, Demény 1983). We hope that the present volume, although a limited selection, will contribute to widening the scope of research in the future.

One thing is certain and that is, that we can only expect serious achievements from international co-operation and the intention to find new scientific methods.

From the methodological point of view the emphasis will have to be on widening the range of investigations, if we are to understand our Finno-Ugrian myths and the world of folklore texts. The above data and analytical results also testify to this need. The confines of the Finno-Ugric, and frequently even of the Uralic, world may often prove too narrow for comparative examinations. This means that old paths of research have to be abandoned in favour of newer ones and some notions that have, by now, ossified into dogma will need to be forgotten.

At this point we only wish to raise the idea that what is needed in the future is not comparative mythological research so much as a contrastive type of investigation. This should also provide us with an opportunity to learn something new from modern linguistics. Using a contrastive method in mythological studies we shall perhaps be able to form a more accurate picture on Mansi mythology and its relationships with other Uralic mythologies.

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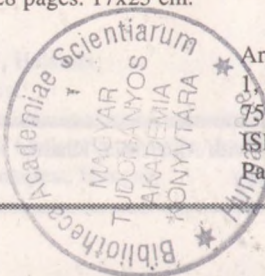
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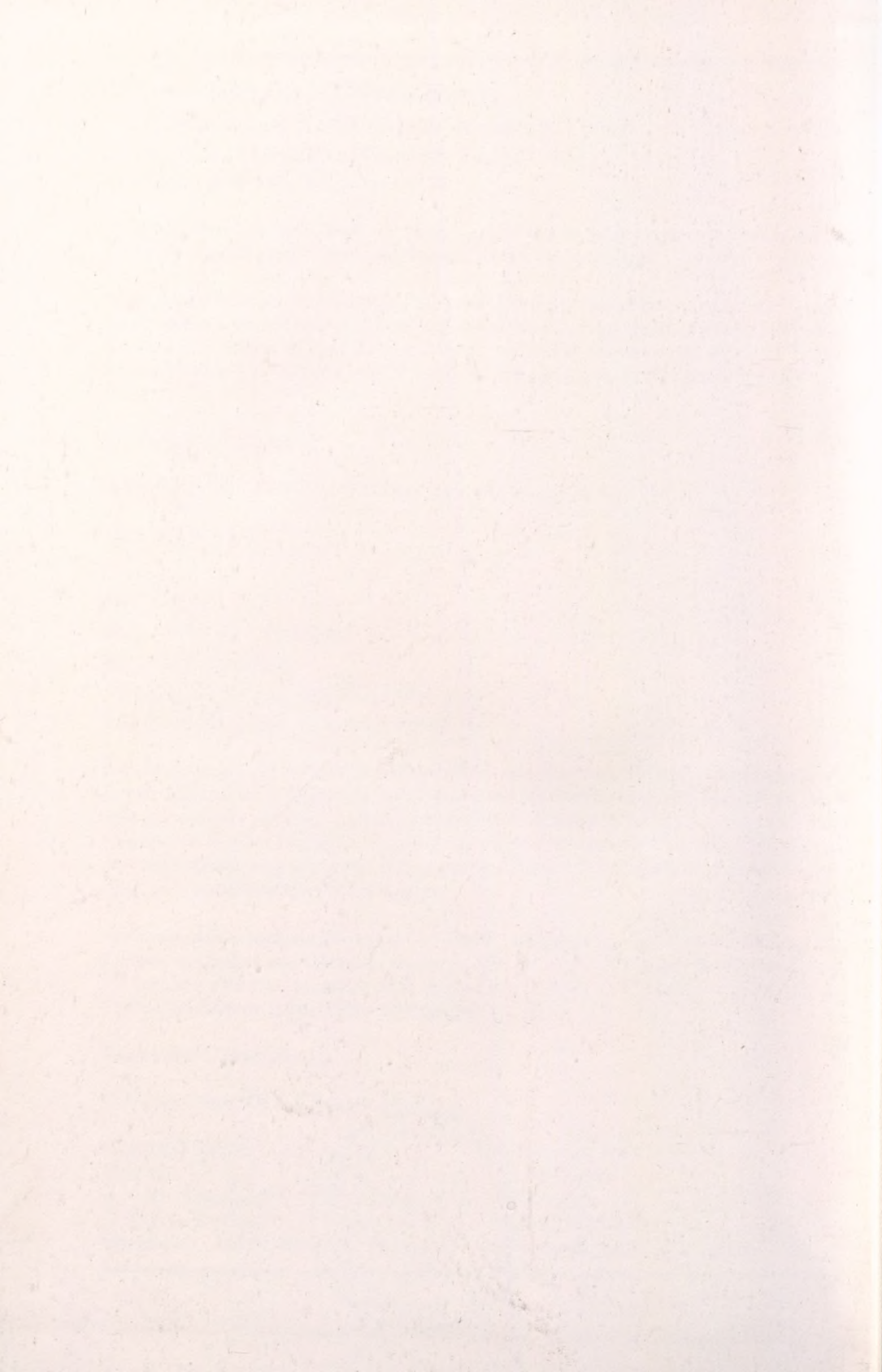
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