NORTHERN RELIGIONS AND SHAMANISM

Edited by
MIHÁLY HOPPÁL
and
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ETHNOLOGICA URALICA

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Introduction

Northern Peoples in the Focus of Religious Studies

By

Juha Pentikäinen

The Background of the Study Conference

The decision to organize this regional study conference on Northern Religion was made by the General Assembly of the International Association for the History of Religions in Sydney, Australia, in 1985. Interesting enough, the Assembly of the I.A.H.R. on its first visit to "the Unknown Southern Territory", called the *Antipodes* or *Terra Australia incognita* by the writers of the Antiquity, indicated its wish to become oriented with the problems of another unknown land. The focus of this conference is in the north where the mythical *Terra hyperborea incognita*, "The Unknown Territory in the North", has been located.

The recent development on our globe has shown that the Assembly made a wise decision. In the course of the past five years, the ecological, political and cultural problems of the North have become the issues of current interest all over the world. One concrete manifestation is the report of the Brundtland Commission which considers the pollution of the Arctic environment one of the biggest threats leading to a possible ecocatastrophe if nothing is done.

The Arctic Ocean is experienced as a kind of the Mediterranean Sea of our era. On one hand, it is one of the still unused resources of our planet but as a natural area either already wounded or very hurtable as far as the ecological balance on our globe is concerned. On the other, it has been the strategic military base with great political interests. The question of its armament or disarmament, nuclear or non-nuclear zones belong to the key issues in presentday international politics.

One of the most recent manifestations of the current Northern trend is the formation of the new international body called the Arctic States. It consists of the eight countries having the Circumpolar Zone inside its borders: the USSR, the United States of America, Canada and the five Nordic countries: Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland.

The I.A.H.R. Study Conference in Helsinki 1990 is one of the first steps of this cooperation which surely will promote the mutual understanding of the problems of the North both inside and outside the Arctic States.

This conference has been made possible by the economic support of the Government of Finland which has been allocated through the Ministry of Education. This is for the second time when the regional study conference of the distinguished international society of the scholars of religions is arranged in Finland. The first conference dealing with the methodology of the discipline was successfully held in Turku in 1973. The proceedings were published in the huge volume of the important journal of our discipline, *Religion and Reason.*

In the history of the I.A.H.R., this conference will remain the first greater encounter between the scholars of religion from the East and West. It was in the General Assembly of the I.A.H.R. in 1975 in Lancaster, Prof. Michael Pye and myself were given a special duty to promote international contacts between Western and Eastern scholars. It is now time to discuss together all the problems of Arctic Religion. Let us congratulate us to have this special opportunity to join today in this conference 'in the Spirit of Helsinki'.

This is also a historical meeting of the distinguished academic representatives of the Northern Peoples themselves and the scholars interested in their values and religions.

There are two historical reasons to arrange the study conference in Helsinki in 1990. The conference is a part of the academic program of the 350th anniversary of the University of Helsinki, founded by Peter Brahe in 1640.

The study conference also coincides with the 20th anniversary of the chair and Department of Comparative Religion, established at the University of Helsinki in 1970. Even in international comparison, this department has a unique interfaculty position because its teachers and students represent two schools. They are or become either candidates, licenciates or doctors of humanities or divinity.

The topic of the conference is Northern and Circumpolar Religion. It could also have been written in the plural form, in accordance with the valuable article written by Prof. Åke Hultkrantz, the honorary member of the Organization Committee, for the Program Booklet of this conference: "Arctic and Circumpolar Religions". As Hultkrantz writes, many overlapping concepts have been used in this context even in scientific literature.

'Arctic' is derived from the Greek word *arktos* meaning those geographical and mythical regions which were supposed to be situated under the stars of the Great Bear. In biosciences, this concept has often been used together with 'Subarctic', and it has referred to certain climatic, botanic and zoological circumstances typical of the Arctic environments. Hugh Brody emphasizes that the biology of the North is both richer and more dependent on the cold than it has usually been thought. In Arctic circumstances everything is related to everything to such an extent that drawing borderlines between ecological, social, cultural or religious phenomena is always artificial.

With their classical mythological and modern ecological connotations the concepts of Arctic and Subarctic are quite valid tools in religio-scientific analysis. In cultural studies they are very useful because they also refer to a certain life style which is found in similar ecological circumstances whether or not they are located within the Circumpolar zone. It is then possible, for example, to speak about ca. 70 Arctic cultures or peoples sharing the hardships of the Arctic circumstances on the globe.

'Circumpolar' does not necessarily means exactly the same than 'Arctic'. It is clearly related to the Polar Regions and the areas surrounding them. It is very useful in comparative studies, in phenomenology of religion particularly.

'Northern', of course, is a geographical concept. In classical literature, mythology and folklore it simply has meant the exotic 'other': Outside 'us' and 'our safe hemisphere' there is a different land in the mythical North. In recent discussion, for example in the Soviet Union, northern identity has become extremely important for *'narodov severa'* in their common battle for their economic, political, social and cultural rights. Forgetting,

their linguistic differences the Samoyeds, Khanty, Mansi or Tungus simply say to be 'northern peoples' feeling great togetherness and solidarity with other minorities.

In March 1990, an Association of the Northern Peoples in the Soviet Union was founded in Moscow. This organization has sought membership in the international body of the Indigenous Peoples. This movement has also said to represent the Fourth World whose demands are actual in contemporary debates both in the Old and New World.The concept, of course, is political. Why not? Cindy Gilday, an Indian woman from Yellowknife, said: "When an Indian breathes, it's politics."

The contemporary question of ethnic death or survival is also a political issue, but more than that. It concretely concerns today the survival or death of the languages and cultures of most Northern peoples. In the Soviet Union, for example, there are said to be 26 'narodov severa'. Ten of them undergo at the moment their painful process of dying out. According to the estimate shared by many scholars, another ten die in the course of one generation or two if a radical change does not soon take place. After this sequence of ethnic deaths which today are more frequent and rapid than ever before there might survive half a dozen northern languages in the whole former Soviet Union.

What is relevant in the issue of 'ethnic survival' or 'ethnic revival'? This question certainly belongs to the most exciting problems of this conference and, to a great extent, concerns identity, religion and world view. Charlie Snowshoe, a Mackenzie Valley Indian, put it in this way:

> "... my belief is that if we all stand up together and fight for what we want, and not give up, we might accomplish something for ourselves and for the future of our children."

What is the so called 'development', the frequently used concept also in the Arctic context? The inner viewpoint may be different from that of the western industrialization. I quote Georges Rasmus, a Yellowknife Indian:

> "Development has to be something that is transferring control to the people... What we are saying is that development should be orderly, it should be planned, it should be at the place of the local people, it should benefit local people."

In this conference, the focus is in the expressions of Arctic and Circumpolar Religion. Religious phenomena may, of course, be studied as such. The definition of religion must, however, be more open that its narrow western use. Northern religion becomes understood in relation to the ecological, social, cultural and even political problems of the North.

Understanding Northern Religion

One of the last Finnish explorers to enter Siberia before October Revolution was Kai Donner in 1911-1914. In Krasnoyarsk Region he was able to meet the last ca. 50 representatives of the extinguishing Kamas (Sayan) Samoyedic group. He tried to collect their folklore as well. Most of it was Tataric or Russian in origin, and Donner was not particularly interested in it. One elderly lady sang the following simple lament on the death of her people:

> "Where I walked about there the black mountains disappeared. A golden grass grew where I wandered, in my own land. The black mountains became invisible. I then had strength, nothing is left. I had many children, I remained alone. Where I was fishing before there even

> my lakes disappeared so that I cannot see them anymore. The roof trees of my cabin have already rotten, and all the bark of the tree is tangled together."

Donner tells in his diary that he was able to record this song in his phonograph. He also immediately let the Kamas present listen to the song from his apparatus:

> "I clearly recall how all who understood the words became very serious. Finally everybody, both men and women, wiped tears out of their eyes. The atmosphere became even more tragical when one small boy explained that the one who sang in the phonograph was his grandmother who had died a long time ago."

Kai Donner belongs to those scholars whose destiny became World War I or II. He survived the war but became engaged with other duties. Thus he never found time to finish his work so that he had been able to publish his field notes as a scientific collection. After his death a posthumous volume *Among the Siberian Samoyeds* appeared. I quote the last paragraphs of the book:

> "This was the second time I returned from the wildernesses to the civilized circumstances. I, of course, felt myself all the more happier with my nearest ones in my own country. Maybe the World War had some influence on it too. In spite of everything, I again felt the same than the previous time. A deep feeling of longing for became mixed with my joy. I had lived on the big steppes and endless deserts and now came to the market places of civilization. I was longing for everything I had left behind. I forgot my burdens and troubles. The fresh life and the lovely stay with those children of Nature I had already learned to like came into my mind.
>
> Whosoever has seen only this side of life cannot understand the other world. But who has seen life in its most natural forms he never forgets what he has seen. After he has left the great wildernesses memories grow into a splendid revelation in his mind; something he never can get rid off. He has become a person living some kind of double life. He has left something of himself where he came from. This has happened to me as well."

I have quoted Kai Donner this long because he in my mind has succeeded in expressing something very essential about the experiences of a Northern scholar who has spent time long enough in the tundra or forest with 'his people'. What is the relationship between the scholar and his field? Donner writes:

> "You never learn to understand the finest nuances of the living life and offer your enthusiasm and love to those you study if you don't search them on your own level."

What about the method in the field work? According to Donner:

> "If you want to look after something basic human which often is latent in them, both in good and bad, it is necessary for you to accept yourself to live their life. And what would give you more interest and enthusiasm than a deep orientation into this always variable research field with endless nuances."

"Rather deeply than broadly" – this is how my Canadian colleague Herbert Halpert expressed the same matter than Kai Donner above. It is also one of the instructions I have learned to follow in my field work. You may ask very broad phenomenological questions to describe and analyse some basic phenomena of religion, for example. You cannot understand your questions if you and your people in the field have not enough patience to learn each other so that you are able not only to describe but to understand the problem you want to study.

It was for this reason I spent in my youth one decade with my Karelian informant Marina Takalo in her Subarctic hemisphere in White Sea Karelia and Finnish Lappland to write a monograph on her life history, cultural repertoire, world view and personality. She shared an Old Believer identity of her Karelian environment – quite a typical case in the Northern Eurasian Arctic where every third Komi and most Karelians were Old Believers. As a tradition-oriented religious person – what she really was – she was both a devout Christian and the supporter of her pre-Christian ethnic religion. In her personality and life style these two identities were not conflicting, however, but formed one whole.

My Field Experience with a Khanty Shaman

After 1988 I have had an opportunity to take part in several expeditions of the various institutes of the Scientific Academy of the former Soviet Union. No. 1 was a part of the International Permafrost Expedition to the Gulf of Ob and the peninsulas of Gudan and Jamal with Nenets Samoyed population. No. 2 was a joint field expedition with the Ethnographical Sector of the Institute of History in the Komi branch of the Academy in August 1989. The joint paper on the *starovery* in Komi was presented in this conference accompanied by the film on the Old Believers in Ust-Zilma: "To live as silent as water".

Let me now briefly introduce the 3rd expedition which was organized as a joint effort with the Laboratory of Northern languages and cultures which is a part of the activity of the Tjumen branch of the Siberian Academy. A film on this expedition will also be shown here. What I now concentrate on is the important role of shamanism in the ethnic revival of the Khanty.

The Khanty (or the Ostyak) and the Mansi (the Vogul) are called together the Ob Ugrians because they live on the banks of the huge Ob river and, first of all, its small by-rivers. Linguistically they are the nearest relatives of the Hungarian people with whom they make up the Ugric branch inside the Finno-Ugric family of languages. The Khanty and Mansi have always been small peoples in numbers. According to the most recent statistics concerning the Soviet population, their numbers should even have increased.

	1989	*1970*	*1979*	*1989*
	Numbers (in thousands)			
The Khanty in the Soviet Union	19.4	21.1	20.9	23.2
in Khantymansijsk	11.4	12.2	11.2	11.8
The Mansi in the Soviet Union	6.4	7.7	7.6	7.8
in Khantymansijsk	5.6	6.7	6.2	6.6

These numbers are a clear testimony of the ethnic revival taking place even in the Siberian North as a part of the national movement which has expanded all over the Soviet Union. There are today more people who want to confess their minority identity than before. The linguistic situation has become worse.

	1989	1970	1979	1989
	Numbers (in thousands)			
Khanty speakers in the Soviet Union	14.9	14.6	14.2	
in Khantymansijsk	8.5	7.7	7.3	6.5
Mansi speakers in the Soviet Union	3.8	4.0	3.7	
in Khantymansijsk	3.3	3.5	3.2	2.4

The most recent statistics concerning the linguistic relationships indicate the radical diminishing of the Ob Ugrian languages even in Khantymansijsk where the most dense Khanty and Mansi populations live. Rapid industrialization and urbanization resulting from the huge gas and oil production of the area has become a real threat for the survival of the indigenous population of the Northeastern Siberia. In Khantymansijsk, for example, the aboriginal peoples (Khanty, Mansi, Nenets, Selkup, Zyryan) were in the majority position when the autonomous area was founded in the 1920s and 1930s. Now they are only 1.2% of the total population which today includes most Soviet nationalities.

The Khanty and Mansi population which has remained in such cities as Surgut or Khantymansijsk has more rapidly Russified than those who left the sovhoses and kolhoses founded in the 1930s and escaped to the forests and rivers to practice their combined economy consisting of hunting, fishing, reindeer keeping, berry picking and other resources of nature.

One of those extended families who left the civilization to survive was that I met at Woki-reh-jugah Stoibisse, in a winter village at a by-river of the Ob, deep in the wilderness. There were basically four reasons to leave. The tractors building up the railway simply rolled over their winter village. A geological expedition built its centre in the midst of the holy forest. The family cemetery was destroyed and the summer village was burned by the fishing tourist coming from such southern republics as Bashkiria and Georgia.

The family now occupies an area of ca. 200 quadratkilometres migrating between five villages. According to the schedule of their migration, they have five seasons: winter in a winter village from late November until mid March, spring in their spring village until early June, then summer in a summer jurta until mid August. The fall period is finally spent in two villages.

The family strictly follows the ancient practices of their shamanistic religion. Shamanic rituals are performed when the help of the spirits is needed, not for an ethnographer who would ask them to arrange a shamanic performance. I was able to be present in six different sessions which happened to take place in the village during my stay: reindeer slaughtering was a Holy Communion between the god of the skies, Mother Earth, the family and us as their guests, for example. The shaman who as the only one of the nine Khanty sages put into jail in the 1930s during the persecution led by Stalin survived the prison was still able to perform the rituals on behalf of his clan. His son was in the ascetic process to accept the shamanic vocation "if the spirits agree".

Every day in the village was different in spite of the fact that the daily routine in the cold weather (–42 °C) and in the dark *kaamos* with four hours' daylight without electricity was about the same: wood cutting, fishing, hunting, reindeer breeding and the repair of the snowmobile *'buran'* was men's work, preparing food, making and repairing clothes women's job. What I learned to admire was the responsible attitude to nature. A growing tree was never cut. Man seemed to be a part of nature which included the universe above.

One day the harmony was disrupted. The geological expedition came to the winter village. The Bashkir Gurka made his proposals. He had come to negotiate the beginning

of the investigations in the territory: "We bring civilization to you. You can keep your territory. We just investigate those riches which are underground." The village was upside-down. A meeting was arranged in one cabin. The shaman's son invited us there as well. They asked our help. We should make public the four points they agreed upon:

1. The old occupation of the wilderness guarantees the right to land ownership.
2. The geological expeditions should be prohibited in the Khanty territory because they disturb the ecological balance.
3. Real self-government should be organized in the Khanty territory.
4. The Khanty should have right to decide what school their children go.

The illiterate shaman carefully observed the meeting. He was present in the meeting but the leadership belonged to the younger generation. After that a shamanic session was organized to invite the help of the spirits. Shamanism is a part of the ethnic revival in Siberia. People in their struggle for their people's survival need their shamans. The fact is that ethnic religion has not died. When the atheistic revolution came, religion only moved to the holy forests, homes and cemeteries, to the inner depths of human mind.

I learned that in a situation what happened in the winter village a scholar cannot be an outsider. "Northern religion today breathes politics."

May 1990, Helsinki.

MYTH, RELIGION, AND SOCIETY

PROTO-URALIC WORLD PICTURE: A RECONSTUCTION

By

V.V. Napolskikh

Introduction

Any theory or hypothesis dealing with a specific material and method is usually based on some suppositions which reflect the author's approach to the problem and are accepted without proof or explanation. The same axioms are presented in these preliminary remarks to ground the work on historical reconstruction of Proto-Uralic (PU) mythology and to avoid endless methodological discussions, inevitable when these principles are introduced in the study implicitly.

The first is the presumption of a historic reality underlining such scientific abstractions as proto-languages, archeological cultures, etc. It means, in peculiar, that the linguistic reconstruction known as a 'proto-language' reflects a linguistic unit that once really existed (not necessarily a language in the modern sense of the word). So it is possible to speak about a PU people (also not necessarily a people in the modern sense of the word) considering it as not only a 'PU language speaking population' but as a real social unit with an original culture and – consequently – mythology. Therefore, the first axiom may be formulated as: *'A PU mythology once existed'*.

Since the existence of a real PU mythology is presumed, the possibility that remnants of it persist in contemporary Uralic traditions should be taken into consideration. Just as the PU language influenced the later languages, making them all 'Uralic', so PU mythology presumably influenced the later mythological systems: if there were reasons for the linguistic succession, they were be enough for the mythological one too, – the language and the spiritual culture are closely connected with each other. If the separate Uralic mythologies do contain some common elements and features as the heritage of the PU culture, these elements can be singled out, compared and united in a model. This is the second axiom: *'The PU mythology can be reconstructed'*.

The problem is apparently not the pure possibility of this reconstruction, but its method. On the whole, it is the comparative method close to the one used by linguistics,[1] but the material is traditionally viewed as far more uncertain and 'nebular' than the language seems to be. Therefore more careful approaches and more precise proofs are required in comparative mythology. However, these demands are only the results of rightful

skepticism arising as a reaction to the widespread studies in which separate myths and mythological elements are compared and the volume of parallels is limited only by the scholar's education. To make the comparative method applicable in the mythological studies, special attention should be paid to some peculiarities of its use.

First of all, not separate phenomena are to be compared but complexes of ideas forming some sub-systems within the structures of Uralic mythologies. These complexes very rarely appear as formalized abstractions but may be revealed ('read') in concrete rites, rituals, legends and other mythological 'texts' (Hoppál 1976:218). To 'read' them one has to know the mythological 'language', which is usually called the 'traditional worldview'. Comparison of these complexes is more important than listing separate parallels, and the resemblances between the functional connections of elements are more important than the likeness between them.

While this thesis is accepted in modern linguistics, the second is regarded by linguists as desirable but not obligatory because of the overestimation of the potential of the comparative method in linguistics, a science presumed to be very exact. However, as can be seen from the history of Uralic or Indo-European studies, the conclusions of comparative linguistics become reliable and precise only when filled with historical contents.[2] So, the second thesis is the necessity of the historical explanation for the results obtained by the comparative method. The best way is to use these results in ethnogenetical studies. The benefit is mutual: a new source – for the ethnogenetics and verification of the conclusions – for comparative mythology.

This article is an attempt at reconstruction of the PU mythological world view. To be precise, the reconstructed scheme ought to be considered not as a real picture existing in the minds of the proto- Uralians, but as a model being a result of generalization and existing only as a scientific abstraction. Really, this model was hardly formalized and comprehended in the PU times, but it was displayed in different mythological 'texts' in the PU tradition. At the same time, this tradition was nothing solid, and may be considered as an abstract summary of many 'dialect' variants. Our aim here is to reconstruct the 'language' but not the 'texts'.

The reconstructed world picture (cosmology) will then be compared with the reconstructed cosmogonic myth (the Earth-Diver or Diving-Bird myth, see: Napolskikh 1989, in more detail: Napolskikh 1990a) with the purpose of explaining some basic features of the PU traditional worldview – the 'language' of the PU spiritual culture – and of uniting these two sub-systems (cosmology and cosmogony) into one.

Data

Lappish

The Great Mother of Lappish mythology – *Mader-akka* connects the Middle (Human) and the Upper World in two ways. The first is the place where *Mader-akka* lives: below her husband, *Mader-at't'e* and the Supreme God *Radien-kiedde*, and also somewhere above the earth. The second way of connecting the Upper and the Middle World is the way of a (soul of a) new-born child which is received from *Radien-kiedde* by *Mader-akka,* who makes a body for the child and then sends it to her daughter, *Sarakka,* who is the protectress of birth, mother and baby. *Sarakka,* who is also considered to be the creator of the world, gives birth to the baby (Reuterskjöld 1980:233-235; Kharuzin

1890:154-155). It seems that these images appeared after the division of the various functions of the originally existing Mother of Birth between them (for the linguistic background compare: lapp. *maTTar aHkku* – 'Stammutter, Urgrossmutter' (Lagerkrantz 1939:467) and *sarakka* < *saret/sarat* – 'to split, to divide = to separate a child from a mother' (Karsten 1955:39)). This process of function parcillation had not yet stopped in historic times – hence other figures of this kind appeared, such as *Mader-at't'e, Uksakka, Juks-akka,* who played special roles in the beliefs connected with birth but never gained the same importance as the more ancient *Mader-* and *Sarakka*. Two other *akka*s in Lappish mythology also seem to be very ancient. The first is the Sun Mother who lives in a golden house together with the Sun and is an old woman and a young beauty at the same time (Kharuzin 1890:144). The second is *Barbmo-akka,* the mistress of *Barbmo-riika* – the warm southern land where the migratory birds spend the winter (it is also called *loddaši ænnâm* – 'birds' land'). It is a land of prosperity and abundance. *Barbmo-akka* is the protectress of migratory birds, she determines their number to come back in spring. Since the word *barbmo* means 'border, edge, brink' and the sky is there very close to the earth, it is possible to think that *Barbmo-akka* lives on the border of earth and sky, just as *Mader-akka* does, and it is possible to compare the Lappish *loddaši ænnâm* with the Finnish *Lintukotola* and Ob-Ugrian *Morti-mā* (Toivonen 1937:100-103; Erdődi 1970:135-138).

The birds (mostly the migratory water-birds) migrate along the Milky Way, which is called *lod'd'e răhttis* – 'birds'way' or *lod'd'e raidârâs* – 'birds' stairs' and leads to the heavens (Erdődi 1970:141). Thus, the Milky Way connects the heavens, where (on its 'edge') is situated the *Barbmo*-land and – perhaps, upwards – the realm of the Birth and Sun Mothers, with the earth, to which the migratory birds return in spring. This picture is complemented by the conception of the World of the Dead where *Jabme-akka,* 'Death Mother' reigns and where the souls of the dead go to (Reuterskjöld 1980:241). The Lappish World of the Dead is somewhere in the North; at the same time the cemeteries are usually beyond a river or a lake symbolizing the water boundary between the Middle and the Lower World (Harva 1948:50-58; Gokhman, Lukyanchenko, Khartanovich 1976:55-59). Since human souls were imagined as being like birds, it is possible to suggest that the World of the Dead was connected in some way with the southern Land of Birds (after all, as has been noted above, souls descend from the heavens somewhere near this Land), and this may be the Milky Way (Itkonen 1946:80-81). Thus, *Jabme-akka* is not a separate figure but an element of the world view opposed to the *akka*s of the Upper World. In the same way the migratory Birds of the South (ducks, swans, geese and storks) have opposing figures in the northern icy seas – loons, which are considered to be bad birds connected with evil spirits (Itkonen 1946:244-245).

Balti-Finnish

Apart from the well-known, very ancient conception according to which the earth is compared to a great cup covered by the same cup, with the sky revolving around the Polar Star ('Sky Nail'), which is at the same time the top of the World Pillar or of the World Tree (Harva 1948; Ajkhenvald – Petrukhin – Khelimskij 1982:164), there exists another conception in Baltic-Finnic cosmology that is more representative for our comparison (see, for example, Kuusi 1976:246-247).

The Milky Way is called the 'Way of Birds' (fin. *linnunrata,* est. *linnutee* etc.) (Erdődi 1970:141). At its southern or south-western end there is the Land of Birds (fin. *lintukotola*), which is an island in a warm sea where it is always summer and which is inhabited by

dwarfs who fight with the birds. At the same time *lintukotola* is situated on the edge of the sky (the great cup), so the dwarfs are called *taivaanääreläiset* ('[the inhabitants] of the sky edge') (Harva 1948:53-61). The interpretation of the Milky Way as a way leading up to the sky is also reflected in its second Finnish name *Kalevanporras,* 'Stairs of Kaleva' (Harva 1948:70). The word for 'South', *etelä,* might also be connected with these ideas: the root *esi*-etymologically means 'fore-(part), front, outer' (SKES I:41).

On the other hand, the word for 'North' and the northern Land of Evil, *pohjola,* is derived from *pohja,* 'lower part, bottom' (SKES III:587). *Pohjola* is found near the gate of *Pohjola* guarded by the *Pohjola*-dog, and the World Waters flow through the great abyss (fin. *kurimus, kurilan kurkka*) into the Lower World (Harva 1948:50-58, 63- 65). The entrance to the Lower World is also called *kurimuksen suu,* 'mouth of *kurimus*' (Harva 1948:64); the word *suu* also means 'a mouth of a river', so the entrance to the Lower World is the mouth of the World Water, originally of the World River, and, at the same time, it is the head of the *Tuonela*-river, the River of That World. This complex of ideas is apparently also the basis of the Estonian belief that the rivers flowing northwards are the best for witchdoctors' practice (Holmberg 1913:185-186).

Volga-Finnish

The Milky Way in Mordvinian and Mari tradition is called the 'Way of Birds' or the 'Way of Wild Geese' (mari *kajiǰk kombâ komâ,* mordE *ʹvirʹ maciń kit*) (Erdődi 1970:140). I have no information about the land where the birds spend the winter, but the migratory water-birds are without any doubt considered to be connected with the Upper World and with the celestial gods. Therefore geese and ducks are the best sacrifices to Mari gods (Jarygin 1976:18). The swan in an Erzian song is described as a good bird, guarded and beloved by the god *Niśk'e-paz* and sent by him to earth to watch people's lives. Then the swan returns up to the sky and tells the god about life on the earth (UPTMN I :41-43).

The mother of *Niśk'e-paz, Arńǵe-pat'aj* ('the Mother Goddess') lives in the heavens and at the same time on the earth. In the heavens she is a beautiful virgin and on the earth – a mighty old woman. She keeps the souls of all the living creatures in her house in the heavens and sends them to the earth. She is the patroness of motherhood, birth and babies. Her daughter appoints the new-born child's destiny, her four sons are the god-surveyors of the world order and the people's prosperity. The birch-tree is devoted to her (Mel'nikov 1981:47- 49,80-85). Since she is the mother of gods, she may be connected with the great bird which laid three eggs on the branches of the Great Birch-Tree and thus gave birth to the Mothers of the field, the wind and the wood (*Mordwinische Volksdichtung* 1977:68-73).

Permian

The Milky Way is called the '(Wild) Geese Way' in both the Komi and Udmurt traditions (komi *ʒoʒek-tuj;* udm. *ɬud ʒaʒeg śures*), in Komi also the 'Birds' Flight Way' *(pǫ̈tka ɬębzan tuj)* and the 'Duck Way' *(čǫ̈ž tuj)* (Erdődi 1970:139; Konakov 1989:73). According to Komi tradition a land with warm sea where the birds spend the winter *(sariʒ)* is to be found on the southern end of the Wild Geese Way (Erdődi 1970:136; Toivonen 1937:105). In a West Siberian Komi tale the ducks return from the South flying through seven doors where an old man and an old woman watch for them. This tale might, however, have

originated under strong Ostyak influence (see below) (KLIP 1984:107,167). There are no direct mentions of the Komi patroness of the South or/and of the water-birds; the marked parallelism between the images of the duck (komi *ćo̱ž*) and the 'hermelin girl' (komi *ćo̱žḿer ni̯v*) in Komi folklore and language (Konakov 1989:74) may represent a relic of this personage.[3]

Though the Udmurt word *zaŕeź* means only 'a sea', a lot of interesting facts about the system in question have been preserved in the Udmurt tradition. The Udmurts used to pray to a river or to its patron(ess) to obtain more geese and ducks and to thank the gods for the birth of a child (Holmberg 1913:78; Pervukhin 1888:60- 62,94-94,101-102; 1890:11). A white duck, when sacrificed to the Sun Mother, was shown to the sun and was told the prayer (Vasilev 1906:45-46). The bird seems originally to have been not a pure sacrifice but a messenger to the Goddess. This supposition is affirmed by a rite of the Mamadysh Udmurts who caught two swans and sent them swimming via the Vyatka river to the Supreme God to tell him about the Udmurts' needs and wishes. To reach the God the swans had to swim upstream, and when they began swimming downstream, it was considered a bad sign (Afonasev 1881:281-286). It is interesting to note that the Vyatka river flows to the South in the Mamadysh district, therefore the Supreme God was evidently supposed to live somewhere in the North. But the North is in Udmurt mythology (and may be throughout the Northern Hemisphere) considered to be the realm of evil, while the land of gods is the South. This is a contradiction of the ancient Uralic conception according to which the celestial gods live near the World River's head.

Accordingly, the Lower World, the Land of the Dead, should be situated somewhere near the river mouth. The idea of the souls of the dead going downstream to the Lower World can be reconstructed in the Komi tradition (Semonov 1985:173-174). Some Udmurt rites (*invožo k'el'an* – 'seeing off the sky-cross spirit'; *jo̱ k'el'an* – 'seeing off the ice') are, as I was informed by my northern Udmurt informants, connected with the idea about all the last (the bad part of it) going off downstream so that life is purified. To curse somebody the Udmurts use the formula *vu ułłań ɬeźon,* '(a thing) to be sent downstream' (*Udmurt folklor* 1983:243).

Just as the World River head (or the South) and mouth (the North) are opposed so, there exists an opposition between the duck/swan and the loon in Komi tradition: while the ducks and swans are connected with the gods and frequent the heavens via the Milky Way, the loons living in the Northern Lands are considered to be bad birds connected with the devil (Plesovskij 1972:38; Konakov 1989:71).

Ob-Ugrian

The Udmurt damnation cited above has perfect parallels in the Ob-Ugrian traditions: when a Vogul dreams of going down the Ob river, it means he will soon die (Gondatti 1880:58); when an Ostyak wanted to murder somebody, he made a figure from rotten wood symbolizing the enemy and let it drift downstream (Kulemzin 1984:124). The explanation is simple: the World of the Dead is situated, according to the beliefs of the Ob-Ugrians, in the Northern icy seas, beyond the mouth of the Ob river, on an island and at the same time under the earth. When a man dies, one of his souls goes down the river to the Lower World. Therefore the boat serves as a coffin and is named 'a house going by the water' (Kazym ost. *ji4k mantâ χot*) (Karjalainen 1921:186-187; Kulemzin 1984:140-143; Gondatti 1880:39-41; Munkácsi 1902:211-213). The North is called 'lower land/part' (ost. *iɬ* 'North, lower part' in the eastern dialects; vog. *ɬui mā* 'lower land, North' in the Northern

dialects) and the South – 'upper land' (ost. (E) *nom* 'heaven, upper, South'; vog.(N) *ałi sain mā* 'land of upper side, South') (Kulemzin 1984:171; IPEZS 1987:41-42). The same system (see also below) is revealed in the Ob-Ugrian beliefs concerning the traditional dwelling (Gemuev 1990:22-27) and the bear cult (Schmidt 1989:224).

In the South, by the edge of the sky where the Ob river begins, is the Land of Birds (vog.(N) *morti-mā,* ost.(E) *mortâ mâγ,* where *morti/mortâ* is a word for the migratory (water) birds, vog.(N) *mort uj,* ost.(E) *mortâ mâγ ɻōi* with *uj/ɻōi* 'an animal') (Toivonen 1937:105-106; Erdődi 1970:135-136; Róheim 1966:20-21). An old man and an old woman of the Morti (ost.(E) *mortum iki* and *mortum imi,* vog.(N) *mortim ojka* and *mortim ēkwa*) live there, chase the birds and eat them. When spring comes, they gather the bones and throw them into the Lake of the Water of Life (vog.(N) *liliŋ wit tur*), where the birds receive new bodies and revive (Róheim 1966:20-21; Kulemzin 1984:163; IPEZS 1987:155). The World Surveyor Man, *Mir susne χum* in the shape of the *Lunt-otâr,* Goose Hero – the chief of the birds frequenting the South – also flies to the *Morti* Land, where he married the Golden Woman of the South, who keeps ducks in her house as the souls of future children (Róheim 1966:33-35). Perhaps, the Ostyak sacrifices of the duck or even maidens called 'duck' to the celestial rider *ɻ-juŋk* (an image parallel to the *Mir susne χum*) (Pelikh 1972:284-285) reflect the same complex of ideas. The ducks are also considered as symbols of souls of the dead in burial rites of the Ob-Ugrians (Chernetsov 1959:151-156; Pelikh 1972:284-285). It is here possible to compare the Golden Woman of the South with the patronesses of birth and motherhood: ost. *Kaltaś aŋki/Vaγnâγ imi/Aŋki puγəs* and vog. *Śań ēkwa/Kaltâś ēkwa.* Both are very close to each other and are related to the Supreme God (vog. *Numi-Torum*) and/or his son (vog. *Mir susne χum*), being his wife and/or mother. Both could be described as living in the heavens and on earth, as being a young beauty and an old woman, both are patronesses of motherhood, birth and children (Karjalainen 1921:51-52; Kulemzin 1984:104-106; Gondatti 1880:28).

Somewhere in the South, near the *Morti* Land, close to the Ob river head, on sacred land grows the Great Birch-tree (Kannisto 1951:21), which is connected with the 'celestial' *Moś*-people and thus with their patrons, *Kaltâś ēkwa* and *Mir susne χum,* while the 'earthly' *Por*-people have the cedar and the larch as their sacred trees (IPEZS 1987:4,192). When a shaman treats somebody he, in the shape of a swan, brings the patient's soul to the celestial sea of the Water of Life and washes it there (Karjalainen 1921:84-85); thus, the Lake of the Water of Life of the *Morti* Land serves not only to revive the water-birds but also to renew the human soul. Thus again the parallelism between the human soul and the duck is shown.

All these personages and objects with their intricate interconnections seem to be elements of the celestial Land of gods. This land is connected with the Middle World not only by the World River but also by the Milky Way called (vog.) *Morti mā l'åx* ('Morti Land way'), *Mort-vuj l'åŋk* ('Morti animals way'), *Uj-xul minnə l'ox* ('Way of the water-birds' path'). Since *Mir susne χum* or *Lunt-otâr* is the chief of the '*Morti* people', the Milky Way is also called (vog.) *Moś-xum l'åŋx* ('*Moś*-man way'), (ost.) *Tǫ̇râm pəkəsəm ɻò•k'* ('Way of the God's Son') (Erdődi 1970:130-131). This name can also be connected with the well-known myth of the Great Elk Chase, though in this case the Milky Way is usually called the 'Ski Way' (vog. *ɻasə l'ōŋx;* ost. *nĭmnəŋ' pą̆n^{e}t*). Taking into account the complex reviewed above, the Milky Way may also be considered as the way of souls coming/returning to the Middle World and the way of the main active god by which he comes to look over his people.

In contrast to the celestial birds of the South (ducks, swans and geese) there are strange, dangerous birds of the northern Lower World, of the icy Sea of the Dead. These

are in the Vogul tradition the red-throated loon (*Gavia stellata,* vog. *taxt*) and the slavonic *grebe* (*Podiceps auritus,* vog. *lulį/lōlâ*) which are called (vog.) *xālä-vās,* 'ducks of death' (Karjalainen 1921:186; 1927:24). Both birds are found together in many archaic myths in the Vogul tradition (see, for example: Munkácsi 1902:214, but while the loon was originally associated with the *Kul'-otâr,* the water spirit and devil of Vogul mythology – Ajkhenvald – Petrukhin – Khelimskij 1982:183 –, the *grebe* is a personage of more intricate origin. Its name *lulį/lōlâ* is an Ostyak loan in the Vogul and the vog. corresponding from to the ost. *lūlâ* is *ɬaɬßâ/ɬęɬßâ,* 'a kind of small duck', Steinitz 1975:831). The *lūlâ* (*Podiceps auritus,* slavonic *grebe*) is in Ostyak tradition connected with the southern celestial gods of the *Mortâ* Land but not with the northern Sea of Death (Steinitz 1975b:331-335). The alliance of the Vogul *lulį* with the Lower World seems to have secondary origin due to the borrowing of the name and – accordingly – to the inversion of the personage's functions.

Northern Samoyed

According to the Nenets tradition, somewhere in the northern sea, near the Ob river mouth, there is a huge waterfall, a whirlpool (comp. the fin. *kurimus*). The water flows through it into the underground sea and then returns to the surface of the earth in springs. There, under the falling water, lives the Water spirit with his people (Lehtisalo 1924:14,43-44). The Spirit of the Upper Ob (nen. *jawmal hæhæ*) was previously a young man who ascended to the heavens and received his power from the creator *(Num). Num* said him: 'I'll make you the God of the earth (lying) beneath... you shall sit all your life there, on the Upper Ob', and gave him a winged horse (Lehtisalo 1947:19-20). The resemblance between *Jawmal hæhæe* and *Mir susne χum* is evident and the conclusion can be made on the connection between a river head (perhaps of the Ob river) and the heavens and celestial benevolent gods in the Nenets tradition. It might be that the nebular mention of the 'Samoyed' (Nenets-?) shamans 'travelling' to and from the sky up or down a river (Tretyakov 1871:218) reflects the same system of views. Somewhere 'in the land situated in the upwards direction' (i.e. upstream or/and in the South – comp. the words for North and South in Finnish, Vogul, Ostyak, Nganasan) the Great Holy Birch-tree grew, which started of the deluge waters after its fall (Lehtisalo 1947:13-14).

The Milky Way (nen. *nūm maxʁâ, nuw'pud* – 'spine of the sky') (Erdődi 1970:130; NRS 1965:483) also plays an important cosmological role: it is connected with the World Pillar and has a parallel underground way where spirits and shamans can travel. Seven iron larch-tree stay on the Milky Way and seven iron cradles (comp. with the cradles for human souls of the ost. *A4ki puγâs* or mord. *Arńǵe-pat'aj*) are hung there (Lehtisalo 1924:14).

The geese were met by the Nenets on the 'day of first light' when all Nature awoke after the winter and the new year began. It was supposed that the Thunderbird comes with the returning geese. Therefore they were asked for good luck and prosperity in the new year and a reindeer sacrifice was made for this purpose in front of figures of the sun, moon and Thunderbird made from birch (Lehtisalo 1924:17-18). The ducks were supposed to be the assistant spirits of shamans and functioned as messengers to the good spirits and as mediators between the shaman and his spirits (Khomich 1981: 22,28,31,39).

The same custom of meeting and seeing off the geese with good wishes and greetings, including shaman performances, had become established among the Nganasans, Enets and Dolgans (Popov 1984:53,114; Dolgikh 1961:218). The southern land where the

migratory water-birds spend the winter is the mythic land of the Goose Mother (ngan. *d'aptu ńamį*) where the 'geese-people' live *(d'aptu-nganasana)* and the geese swim in a great lake (Dolgikh 1976:59-60). The ngan. word for the North *(d'angur)* also means 'lower side; lower reaches of a river', and the word for the South *(kotud'a)* means 'upper side; upper reaches of a river' (Kortt – Simchenko 1985:377,398). According to one Nganasan cosmogonical myth the great Mothers: the Earth Mother and the Living Earth Mother (ngan. *mou-ńamį; nilulemį mou-ńamį*) live in the South/South-East near the celestial house of the Sun Mother where from the living power emanates and where the culture hero *(d'ajba-ŋguo)* asks for this power and receives an iron-winged horse and the Sun's daughter (Dolgikh 1976:44-48). The North was considered to be the realm of death and evil by the Enets (Prokofeva 1953:208), too.

The loon in the Nganasan tradition is connected with the Earth and is supposed to be the world order keeper, its protector against evil spirits. Accordingly the loon serves as the assistant spirit of the shamans – especially in their struggle with diseases and with the spirits of the Lower World (Popov 1984:83-84).

Selkup

The Upper World of Selkup tradition is situated in the South near the head of the World River. In an iron house lives the Grandmother of Life (selk. *ilįntį kota*). The Great Birch-tree (selk. *nut k'enal' po* 'celestial leaf-tree') grows near her house, its roots are associated with the World River head, the human soul emerges from these roots to move into the wombs of mothers, the sun and the moon hang on its branches. *Ilįntį kota* is a patroness of birth, mother and child, she sends the souls to the earth on the ends of sun rays. Her holy birds, the ducks, live near her house and on the branches of the Great Birch-tree and are sent to the earth to look after the births and babies (Prokofeva 1961:56-61; 1976:113-114; Pelikh 1980:11). Anything coming from the upper reaches of the rivers was supposed to be sacred and pure – even rubbish! (Prokofeva 1977:66). The same was thought of the holy birds returning in spring, especially the swans: they were welcomed by a special rite. The geese and ducks were also considered to be sent by *Ilįntį kota* for hunting (Prokofeva 1976:118).

Ilįntį kota is apparently at the same time the wife of the Supreme God *(Num)* and the mother of his son *Ića/Ij* who fights with the northern spirit of the Lower World, *Kįzį. Ića* rides a great horse and his arrows are lightning (comp. with *Mir susne χum* and – also – *Ilįntį kota* with *Kaltâś-ēkwa*) (Prokofeva 1961:55-56).

The Milky Way is called *In tol'ćil' wętti/In toptij' wętti* 'Sky-way of *Ij*' (Prokofeva 1961:63). Though the name is apparently connected with the Great Elk Chase myth, it might be also compared with the vog. *Moś-xum l'åŋx* to confirm the marked parallelism between the Selkup and the Vogul heroes.

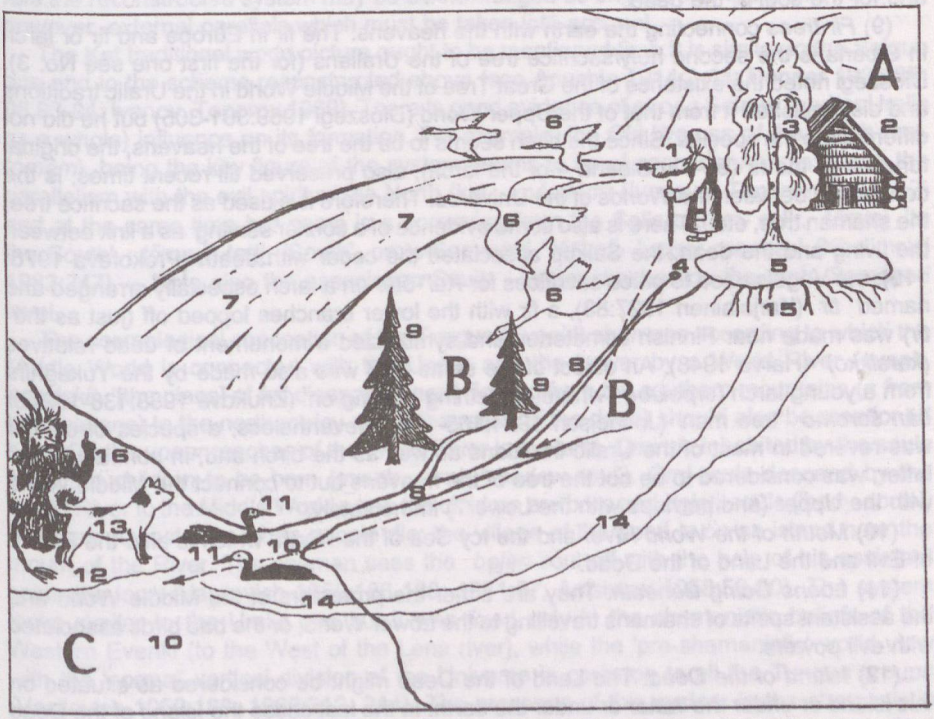
The Middle World is immediately connected with the heavens by *qåssil' po,* a 'sacred tree' which serves as a ladder for shamans. While the celestial tree is the birch, this one is usually the larch (Pelikh 1980; Prokofjeva 1961:56-61).

The Lower World – the realm of *Kįzį* and the Land of the Dead – is situated in the northern icy sea beyond the mouth of the World River (Prokofeva 1961:59-60). Yet in the 17th-18th centuries the Selkups used to imitate the journey of the dead downstream in their burial rituals (SONS 1980:154). The loon is the bird of the Lower World (more precisely – of the border between the Lower and the Middle Worlds) which helps the shamans in their journeys to the Realm of Death and their fights against evil spirits (Prokofeva 1949:353; 1961:68).

Reconstruction

The results of the comparison are evident, so it would be better to sum them up as comments on the picture (fig. 1). Some elements have not been reflected in the data, so the comments on them will be more detailed.

Figure 1 – **Proto-Uralic world view**



A. Upper World = South = river head = mountains = heavens.

B. Middle (Human) World.

C. Lower World = North = river mouth = cold sea = underearth.

(1) *Old Woman of the South,* mistress of life, protectress of birth and motherhood, sender of souls, mother of gods, mistress of the migratory water-birds.

(2) *Her house* (not a tent but a kind of lodging made from logs, specially marked in the Selqup, Nganasan, Ob-Ugrian and Lappish traditions).

(3) *Great Birch-tree of the Heavens.* The birch is revered perhaps in all the Uralic traditions but compared with other 'holy' trees it is in most cases associated with the Tree of the Heavens. (For details of the PU Great Tree of the Heaven and its association with the birch see also Diószegi 1969:305-308; Hoppál 1976:224.)

(4) *The spring of the World River.* May be reconstructed in two variants: a) a holy spring by the Great Birch-tree's roots; b) a lake or sea (see No. 5).

(5) *Lake or Sea of the Water of Life.* Here the water-birds and the human souls are revived and renewed.

(6) *Winged People of the South* – migratory water-birds (swans, geese and duck). They serve as messengers from/to the celestial gods, execute their orders on earth, symbolize human and animal souls, bring the new year in spring.

(7) *Milky Way* – PU Way of Gods leading to the heavens, proto-Finno-Ugric Way of the Water-birds. Connects the Middle and the Upper Worlds and is thus the celestial reflection of the World River.

(8) *World River.* Flows from the South (Upper World) to the North, connects the three Worlds of the Universe, serves as a way for shamans or (PU) for witchdoctors' practice and for the soul of the dead.

(9) *Fir-trees* connecting the earth with the heavens. The fir in Europe and fir or larch in Siberia is the second holy/sacrifice tree of the Uralians (for the first one see No. 3). Diószegi noted the existence of the Great Tree of the Middle World in the Uralic traditions and distinguished it from that of the Upper World (Diószegi 1969:301-305) but he did not differentiate the species. Since the birch seems to be the tree of the heavens, the original function of the fir (or – in Siberia – of the larch), also preserved till recent times, is the connection between the Worlds of the Universe. Therefore it is used as the sacrifice tree, the shaman tree, etc... There is also some evidence of a conifer serving as a link between the living and the dead: the Selkup associated the cedar with death (Prokofeva 1976: 115), the Voguls used to place sacrifices for *Kul'-ōtâr* on a larch especially arranged and named *tir* (Karjalainen 1927:83), a fir with the lower branches lopped off (just as the *tir*) was made near Finnish cemeteries and symbolized a monument of dead relatives *(karsikko)* (Harva 1948). An object of the same kind was also made by the Yukaghirs from a young larch (*orpołubę* 'where something is hung on' (Zhukova 1988:138-139) or *šān šoromo* 'tree man' (Jochelson 1924:165-166). Nevertheless, a species of conifer was revered in most of the Uralic traditions as well as the birch and, in contrast to the latter, was considered to be not the tree of the heavens but to connect the Middle World with the Upper (and perhaps with the Lower?) immediately.

(10) *Mouth of the World River* and the Icy Sea of the North, which is also the Realm of Evil and the Land of the Dead.

(11) *Loons Going Beneath.* They are either the protectors of the Middle World and the assistant spirits of shamans travelling to the Lower World, or the bad birds associated with evil powers.

(12) *Island of the Dead.* The Land of the Dead might be considered as situated on this island or under the water or under the earth. In the last cases the Island of the Dead might either be transferred below the earth or be only the entrance to the Land of the Dead.

(13) *Watch-Dog of the Lower World.* A universal figure (comp. for example the Cerber) known in the Finnish, Mari, Ob-Ugrian, Selkup and many Siberian traditions.

(14) *Subterranean River of the Lower World.* Since the Lower World is 'inverted', there is also a World River, but in contrast to that of the Middle World, it begins in the North (perhaps a kind of *kurimus* is its head) and flows to the South where, under the roots of the Great Birch-tree, its waters go out on the surface of the earth.

(15) *Roots of the Birch-tree* of the Heavens.

(16) *Prince of the Lower World*, very often also the Master of Water. The figure is not clear. There is also the possibility of the existence of the Old Woman – mistress of the Land of the Dead in PU tradition as an opposite figure to the Old Woman of the South. On the original character of masculine personage as the PU/proto-Finno-Ugric Master of Water – Prince of the Land of the Dead (see Holmberg 1913:267).

The dotted line marks the way of souls from the Upper to the Middle and then to the Lower World.

Some elements of this world picture and the scheme in general were already supposed to be PU or proto-Finno-Ugric (Hoppál 1976:225,233; Ajkhenvald – Petrukhin – Khelimskij 1982:189; Róheim 1966; Erdődi 1970).

Such associations as South – sky, sun, gods and North – evil, death, and such cosmological motifs as the World River or World Tree are without any doubt universal. One hardly can say about any element of the reconstructed scheme that it is specific and exclusively Uralic but, as was noted in the Introduction, the functional connections of elements, the structure is more important than separate parallels. According to this rule the reconstructed system may be acknowledged as original and specific. There are, however, external parallels which must be taken into account.

The Ket traditional world picture ought to be mentioned first. It is similar to the Selqup one and to the scheme reconstructed above (see Anuchin 1914:3-14; Donner 1933:85-86,93-94; Ivanov, Toporov 1969). There is good evidence of strong Selqup (and/or Uralic as a whole) influence on its formation. For example, the Old Woman of the South (ket. *tomàm*), being the key figure of the system seems to be of secondary origin due to the parallelism with the evil spirit of the North (ket. *xośədàm*) (Ivanov – Toporov 1969:152) and at the same time her name is a borrowing from the Selkup (*tom-* selk. *tɔ̄mmi̯* 'to the South', *tɔ̄mmi̯' tętti̯* 'South', proto-Samoyed **tät^{3}mâ-* 'upper reaches' (Khelimskij 1982:247). – Note also the association South – upper reaches on the proto-Samoyed level.

The cosmological conception of the Tungus (Evenki) shamans according to which the Middle World is connected with the Upper and the Lower by a World River (evenk. *ŋŋgdękit* '[the place] of full disappearance') flowing from the southern mountains (= from the heavens) to the northern icy sea (=the realm of the dead) should also be mentioned here. On the upper reaches of the World River is the land *Omiruk* inhabited by the souls of all the children to be born (evenk. *omi* 'shadow-soul'). *Omi*-souls descend by the World River to the Middle World when the children are born and *bŋjŋ*-souls ('body-souls') go away downstream when people die: the village of the dead is on an island near the mouth of the River. The shaman sees the *bŋjŋ*-soul off with the help of his assistant spirit, the loon (Vasilevich 1959:186-188; 1971:57; Anisimov 1958:56-60). The system looks similar to the Uralic one but it was fixed only in the shamanistic beliefs of the Western Evenki (to the West of the Lena river), while the 'pre-shamanistic' world view with the 'normal' vertical division of the Universe is common to all the Tungus groups (Vasilevich 1959:188; 1969:212- 214). The presence of this system in the shamanistic tradition of the Western Evenki should be explained by some substratum or contact influence. Since there is linguistic and physical anthropological evidence of the continuity from very ancient times and intensive interaction between the Uralians and the Tungus (see references in Napolskikh 1990b:11,14,17), it is possible to suppose that the appearance of the system described in the Western Evenki tradition is due to the Uralic or, more correctly, para-Uralic (see Napolskikh 1990c:5) contact and substratum influence.

Some parallels with the reconstructed scheme are also present in other ethnic traditions: the name of the Milky Way as the 'Birds'/Geese's Way' is known among the Turks of Central Asia and the Volga region and some Balto-Slavic people (Erdődi 1970:142; Potanin 1883:741); some funeral rites and beliefs concerning the soul's way to the Other World of the Shors (Khlopina 1978:75-76) and of the Orochi (Avrorin – Kozhminskij 1949:329-330). They can either reflect the Uralic influence (also the mediate one) or be the result of the parallel evolution of more ancient traditions. It is today hardly possible to distinguish the elements arising in the course of uninterrupted development, the products of convergence or borrowing in dealing with separate elements. However, the Uralic tradition seems to be the only solid one (relatively, of course, – see the Introduction)

and most of the good and detailed external parallels may be explained by the Uralic influence.

There are also more remote parallels in Siberia, East Europe, Central Asia and North America but they never form a system comparable to the reconstructed one. They may reflect the cosmological views of the most ancient peoples of Northern Asia, which were the basis for the development of the PU world picture in particular (see Toivonen 1937; Róheim 1966; Paulson 1962, et al.). The closer resemblances noted in the Altaic materials might reflect an earlier (Uralo- Altaic) stage of this development (Sagalaev 1990a;b).

There is also evidence of the presence of some fragments of the reconstructed scheme in the Yukaghir cosmology. Though little research has been done on the original Yukaghir materials, some folklore texts and traditional rites resemble the elements of the scheme and also their functional interconnections: (see numbers in fig. 1) 10+12+13+(16) (Jochelson 1900:112); 1+2+4+8+(5) (Jochelson 1900:54-59); 8+10+12+16 (Tekki Odulok 1933:156; Jochelson 1900:81); 9 (Zhukova 1988). These facts indicate a Uralo-Yukaghir stage close to the Uralo-Altaic but at the same time closer to the PU world view.

Cosmology and Cosmogony: Decoding the Language of PU Spiritual Culture

The main variant of the PU cosmogonical myth was reconstructed as follows. In the beginning there was nothing but primordial waters. On the order of a demiurg or without it, a loon dived to the bottom for a piece of mud but did not succeed. Then the duck (or some other migratory water-bird but not a loon) then had dived and brought up some mud which was laid on the surface of the water and grew into the earth. This variant was named the 'Diving Bird myth – 2' (DBM_2) (Napolskikh 1990a:67).

DBM_2 seems to be the result of the evolution of a more ancient variant: different birds (or even mammals) try to bring up mud and only the least and the weakest one succeeds. The success is apparently due to some spiritual, magic strength which the least diver possesses or obtains from the gods. This variant was named DBM_0 and the best myths of this kind are preserved in the American Indian traditions, with only few similar variants in Siberia and some features in the Eurasiatic myths accounted as relics of the DBM_0 (Napolskikh 1990a:67-71).

As was previously shown, the geographic and ethnic distribution of DBM_2 coincides with that of the reconstructed PU world view and can be explained by the same historical reasons (Napolskikh 1990b). Thus, DBM_2 and the cosmological scheme reconstructed above can be considered as phenomena of PU spiritual culture that really did exist. Since the 'language' of this culture is accepted as the object of mythological reconstruction, these two models should be compared as accounting for each other's peculiarities in terms of this 'language'.

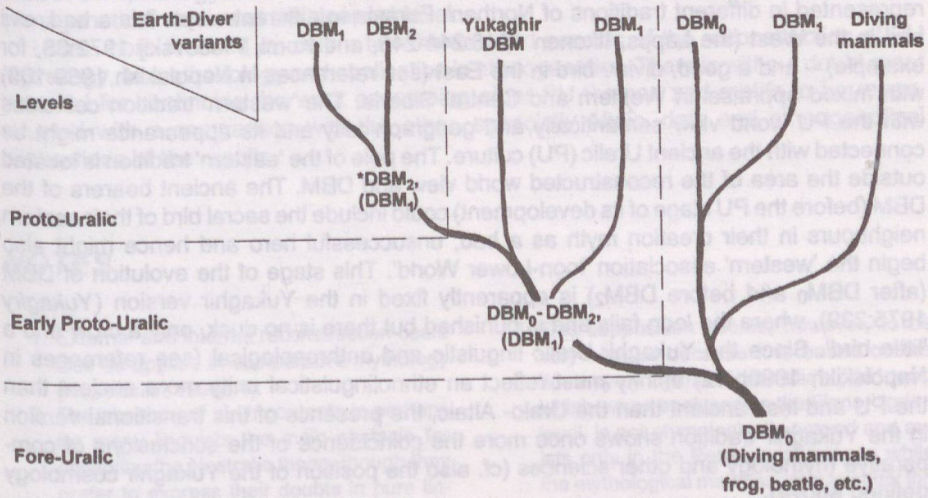
The duck's success in diving in the DBM_2 cannot be explained by its physical strength: loons dive deeper and longer than ducks. There should be another explanation connected with the birds' places in the reconstructed scheme as well as in the real traditions of different Uralic peoples and their neighbours:

> "The duck is often associated with the heavens, with upper gods and spirits,... the loon is more independent and is connected with the god of earth and water,... the loon is not subordinated to the celestial

creator,... it appears as a peculiar trickster and the duck is the instrument of the creator" (Napolskikh 1989:108).

This supposition is, however, too general; it only establishes the facts but does not explain them. The DBM_2 should be considered as a 'canonized' version of the DBM_0. The main feature ('pedagogic essence' according to W. Schmidt (1937:114-115) of the DBM_0 is the magical spiritual power of the successful diver. Either it has strong shamanic helping spirits (as in the Coast Salish Earth Diver myth, Adamson 1969:1-3) or it obtains the god's (creator's) power immediately (as in the Arapaho myth, Schmidt 1937:114-116).

Figure 2 – **Evolution of DBM (retrospective from the Uralic point of view)**



COMMENTS

The upper line shows really existed (fixed) forms, reconstructed proto-forms (model) are within the scheme. The main PU cosmogonical variant is marked by *. For decoding DBM_0 and DBM_2 see the text of the article; DBM_1 is a variant of the Diving Bird myth where only one bird dives and brings the earth, since it is very simple it could arise as the result of degradation of the myth on every level of its development. The brackets are used for uncertain reconstructions. The lines show only evolution of the DBM, not the divergence of an ancient linguistic stock (though both developments could coincide, but not obligatorily). The levels are defined from the Uralic point of view, therefore the myths of the most ancient and of the American DBM-bearers are of the same level: DBM developed in America by some other way.

Many relics of this feature can be traced in the Eurasiatic myths. The duck's success is not satisfactorily explained on this point: if the successful diver had to have shamanistic power, especially that of going below the water, the loon would be far more appropriate; if the power emanates from the celestial creator, the presence of this figure should be expected in the most archaic myths. Though this possibility was suggested (Schmidt 1937:115,120), it ought to be mentioned that the divine creator is absent from most DBM_0 versions and many DBM_2 and seems to have been developed and introduced in the DBM later (see also: Hultkrantz 1980:31-33).

If there was a divine creator in the PU DBM, the goose or the swan would be the best birds to be sent by the creator to the earth: they very often serve as a god's messengers in various Uralic traditions. Really in the DBM_2 versions a species of duck (Anas acuta, Anas querquedual, Anas clypeata, Mergus serrator, Histrionicus histrionicus, Bucephala clangula) or grebe (Podiceps auritus) appear – small birds of the same 'celestial' group as swans and geese (see fig.1, No. 6) but not of the same importance.

Some facts about the loon's failure appeared in the DBM before the duck's success and perhaps before or in the course of development of the PU world view. The loon is represented in different traditions of Northern Eurasia in different ways: it is a bad, evil bird in the West (the Lapps, Itkonen 1946:244-245, and Komi, Plesovskij 1972:38, for example) – and a good, divine bird in the East (see references in Napolskikh 1989:109) with mixed appraisal in Western and Central Siberia. The 'western' tradition coincides with the PU world view semantically and geographically and its appearance might be connected with the ancient Uralic (PU) culture. The pole of the 'eastern' tradition is located outside the area of the reconstructed world view and DBM. The ancient bearers of the DBM (before the PU stage of its development) could include the sacral bird of their eastern neighbours in their creation myth as a bad, unsuccessful hero and hence might also begin the 'western' association 'loon-Lower World'. This stage of the evolution of DBM (after DBM_0 and before DBM_2) is apparently fixed in the Yukaghir version (*Yukagiry* 1975:239), where the loon fails and is punished but there is no duck, only a crow and a 'little bird'. Since the Yukaghir-Uralic linguistic and anthropological (see references in Napolskikh 1990b:12) affinity must reflect an ethnolinguistical unity more ancient than the PU and less ancient than the Uralo- Altaic, the presence of this transitional version in the Yukaghir tradition shows once more the coincidence of the conclusions of comparative mythology and other sciences (cf. also the position of the Yukaghir cosmology defined above).

When the loon appeared in the DBM as the unsuccessful diver, there arose the necessity for a successful one. As was supposed above, the PU world view was forming at the same time in the culture of those DBM-bearers who became a component of the PU people. Thus the opposition between loon and the migratory birds of the South (swans, geese, ducks, etc.) had been affirmed by the cosmogonical myth with the 'bad' loon and by natural phenomena: loons usually live near the mouths of big rivers, on the shores of icy seas and migrate along the Arctic Coast without uniting into big flocks, while birds of the 'duck'-group prefer living on lakes and small rivers, are not so closely connected with the open waters and migrate in the meridional direction in big flocks.

Thus the appearance of some bird of the 'duck' group as the successful diver in the DBM was only natural. Since the idea of the smallest diver's success is the most important in the DBM_0, a big bird such as a goose or swan might not become the loon's rival in the myth. At the same time the successful diver should not have any shamanistic power or be sent by a divine creator. The essence of the Earth Diver creation type from the point of view of the PU world view overcome the dead structure, the water, and gave birth to the living one, the earth. Since the spring of the vital energy is the sky, controlled

by the celestial Mother of Birth, the bird which can execute the creation should be one more closely connected with the Lake of the Water of Life and with the Mother of Birth, Old Woman of the South, and this is neither swan nor goose but a duck! Certainly, this figure is secondary in DBM, opposing the loon, so there never was any fixed species of bird: it might be any duck or grebe, etc., – only one smaller than the loon and belonging to the Migratory Birds of the South.

Thus, the Living Earth is born in the DBM_2 in the same way and with the help of the same personages as every living creature according to the PU world view (see the dotted line in fig. 1). Hence the conclusion about the semantic unity of both the reconstructed PU models, cosmogony and cosmology. Since the results of two independent reconstructions of the two PU mythological sub-systems coincide, the method of comparative mythology should be regarded as a reliable one. Not only are the form and semantics of the PU mythologemae reconstructed; so is its evolution, which is generally reflected as in fig. 2 (see also comments). These conclusions do not contradict the linguistic, anthropological, archaeological facts but agree with them (see Napolskikh 1990b). Thus comparative mythology serves as a new, productive source of great potential for ethnogenetical studies at the deepest level.

I have here touched on only a few themes and aspects of the reconstruction of PU mythology, its methodology and application in ethnogenetics. There is without doubt great potential for continuing the work concerning other PU themes and motifs to be reconstructed with a comparison with the other, especially Altaic, data and ethnogenetical implications of the results.

NOTES

1. External and internal reconstruction could also be applied in comparative mythology (Napolskikh 1990c:4).
2. The absence of such contents is perhaps for many linguists the main obstacle for accepting the Nostratic theory though they prefer to express their doubts in pure linguistic terms.
3. This supposition seems, however, to be very nebular because it is based on the homonymy *čǫ̑ńer* `hermelin'- *čǫ̑ž* `duck' which, when analysed on the Finno-Ugrian level, is not etymologically proved and exists only in the Permian languages while the mythological material used to show the parallelism is trans-Uralic.

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MYTH AND REALITY IN THE ANCIENT CULTURE OF THE NORTHERN PEOPLES

By

Antal Bartha

World view means man's conceptions of Nature, and also his conceptions about human life and society, and about the relationships between human beings. Peoples all over the world have had feelings of empathy towards Nature and formed mental categories of Nature, they have tried to come to an understanding and explanation of Nature's most remarkable phenomena. The perceptible environment has existed independently from human activity and thought. We can hardly determine the period in history since when people have regarded themselves as a part of Nature. This thought stands for one of the most remarkable achievements in mental activity. So empathy towards Nature symbolizes culture. The Latin word *'cultus'* is connected with the environment, it originally meant merely the cultivation of the soil and reverence for the gods of agriculture, and was related to religious rites. Later the concept got greatly enriched. Myths and mythology are explicable as a semiotic system and belong to the codes of a culture.

In my paper I will try to outline the genesis of one aspect of myth or the human empathy of the Uralians towards Nature. The mythology of the Uralian peoples is so inextricable that it is impossible to cover it entirely. I agree with Lauri Honko's (1974) statement that "a reconstruction representing the 'original religion' of a single language family is virtually impossible". Mythology is at the same time a fabric of a *'cultus',* that is of religious ideas. The hopelessness of trying to reconstruct the original state of affairs can, however, not divert scholars from the creation of a reasonable hypothesis. It is more than mere curiosity on their part. They try to determine the basic elements of the universally valid primordial system of human empathy and wish to learn the primeval stage and process of abstraction that pertained to explanation of the unknown cosmos. The myths about good and evil, the supreme demiurge, the immortal soul, and among other conceptions the diving bird are products of abstract thinking.

A. Ajkhenvald, E. Khelimskij and V. Petrukhin (1989) admit though the mythological traditions of the Uralians have undergone certain transformations, their languages, and the Uralic peoples themselves are in a genetic relationship with one another. There are common elements in their beliefs, and it is permissible that the nucleus of their common mythological tradition goes back to the Proto-Uralic age, which is generally ascribed to the 3rd millennium B.C. Ajkhenvald, Khelimskij and Petrukhin (1989) also remark that there are no written sources providing information on the conditions before the disinte-

gration of the Proto-Uralic stage. The living conditions of several Northern Uralic peoples have preserved the empathic relationship of Man and Nature to a great extent, but its research in ethnography and folklore does not go further than two centuries back in the history of those mythological motifs provided for us by ethnography and folklore. Retrospective methods may be necessary but will not solve the problem of the lack of earlier evidence. É. Schmidt (1989) says there "constantly arises the problem of the possibility of confusion between archaism and neologism, and the impossibility of demonstrating reconstructions."

Russian documents from the 16th-17th centuries may contain allusions to the beliefs of the Uralians living on both sides of the Urals. In the 16th-17th centuries the myths of Uralic peoples maintained archaism much more than later. It is possible to see the problem as arising from a mixture of neologisms and archaisms. A handbook to this kind of research could be the collection of documents from the 16th-17th centuries entitled *Obozrenie* (1905), but it is not complete.[1] V.N. Chernetsov (1971) made very remarkable efforts, not without success, to find a path leading to myths of the Proto-Uralic ages. He considers the petroglyphs near Tomsk and in the Urals as common to the Uralian peoples, while A.I. Martinov and A.P. Okladnikov (1972) attribute them only to the predecessors of the Ob-Ugrians. Chernetsov (1971) summarizes the similarities between the petroglyphs in the Urals and the way of life and spiritual culture of the Ob-Ugrians and considers the identical features as having been fixed for millennia. He mentions the substance in the empathy of the Ob-Ugrians as a rare constant occurrence in history, and considers the hunt for water-birds connected with the solar motif in the earliest part of the petroglyphs. A.L. Siikala (1984) is of the same opinion. The waterbird and the solar symbol on the pictographs are more than a magic charm for hunters in spring. We can conceive these symbols as having intrinsic essence in the cosmogonic myths of the Proto-Uralians. One of the subjects in the cosmogonic myths of the Proto-Uralians was presumably the diving-bird that had brought up earth from the depth of the ocean and brought about dry land and everything useful on it. Some Uralic peoples, like the Finns, the Saams, the Komis, and the Mordvins, thought that Earth and all the useful creatures had hatched out of one or two eggs. The myths of the diving-bird and the eggs are related and the two variants are linked genetically. In the more sophisticated Hungarian mythology God and Satan created the universe together. Satan dived into the sea and made dry land from the earth brought to the surface under his nails. This motif of earth being created of material from under the primordial ocean in Hungarian mythology can be considered as a remnant of our eastern tradition that later came to be mixed with Bogomil Christian elements. The Bogomil myth may probably be a reflection of ancient Bulgar-Turkic ideas. The Bogomil heresy was deeply rooted in Bulgaria, where in the 7th century power was seized by the leaders of the Bulgar-Turkic tribes. The substratum in myths of the Bulgar-Turkic people had a close affinity with the ideas of the Protosiberians (Nagy 1989).

The solar element of the Uralian petroglyphs refers to the awakening of Nature in spring, though its appearance here is rather peculiar, says Chernetsov (1971), since the Sun does not play a significant part in Ob-Ugrian mythology. V.N. Toporov (1981), M. Hoppál (1987) and I.N. Gemuev (1990) remark that the *Numi-Torum* (the Sky God) and *Kaltes-Ekwa*'s son *Mir-susne-χum* (the World Surveyor Man or the God of the Shining Sun) appears as the Sun God of the Ob-Ugrians. In this capacity he keeps changing his shape, and his most important task is to mediate between Man and Sky.

Chernetsov (1971) attributed the creation of the waterbird image to the 5th millennium B.C. and found close parallels in the northern territories ranging up to Norway. The 5th millennium B.C. was the age of the disintegration and not of the beginning of the Proto-Uralic community. Chernetsov (1971), G. Róheim (1954) and O. von Sadovszky (1984)

point out similarities between the cosmogonic myth of the Ob-Ugrians and those of the Aleuts, of the American Indians, and especially of the Penutian Indians in California. What is more, the lexical kinship relation of the Penutian Indian and the Ob-Ugrian myths leads us to presume that there was a genetic relationship between them. B. Collinder (1955), P. Hajdú (1979), and J. Pusztay (1985) point out Paleosibiric, Proto-Uralic, and Paleo-american linguistic relations. The linguistic similarities and those of the essential elements of various diving-bird myths could not be pure chance only. Nevertheless, I emphasize that the similarities appearing in the Indian and the Ob-Ugrian myths are so far confined to small fractions of the Indian and Uralic peoples. Here I cannot be claimed with confidence that these mythological analogies represent, par excellence, Proto-Uralic heredity. But it is possible to root into the remote past. The Paleolithic duck, loon, and swan figurines of the 23rd millennium B.C. unearthed in Malta and Buret sites of Angara-Baikal region render important comparability with Chernetsov's (1971) petroglyphs in the Urals and West Siberia. These figurines suggest with certainty that the people of the Paleolithical past respected the water-diving birds. Napolskikh (1989) presumes that these Paleolithic people were members of a Uralo-Yukagir community. There might have been coexistence or an affinity among the Proto-Uralic and Paleosibiric peoples. Some Proto-Uralians might have migrated to America. J.A. Mochanov (1977) thinks that the culture influencing America in the late Pleistocene and early Holocene came from the Angara-Baikal region. It is worth noting that a primordial intimacy with the water-birds occurred among the Paleolithic inhabitants of the Angara-Baikal region. The dwelling, the life style of the Paleolithic people in the Angara-Baikal region were identical with the dwellings and way of life of the people living along the Bering Straits. These remnants of the remote past are remarkable, and their origin can be traced from figurines and the other findings from Malta and Buret. Migration may explain the affinity between the Ob-Ugrians and some Indian tribes. Napolskikh (1989) rightly states that "the Earth-Diver-Myths had been evolving independently on American soil, but not without primordial influence from the Old World." I add, not without the influence of the Paleolithic Proto-Uralians.

Paleolithic man depicted himself and his surroundings faithfully. The northern peoples still take the period between the mating and calving of reindeer as the real winter. The people of Malta and Buret marked this period on the reindeer figures they made. They even counted the periods of women and calculated the duration of human pregnancy. Russian scholars state that the calculation was the first sign of verifying abstract thinking. Events in life, such as begetting and birth, were thus elevated to the height of moral values, just as death was shown by the rich decoration and burial of a child in Malta.

The Proto-Uralians crossed overland at the Bering Straits, following the big game to the New World. This can be attributed to the 12th-10th millennia B.C. The above date is acceptable, since the Siberian Sumnaghin culture influencing the Protoamericans is a Mezolithic one. But the common elements of affinity towards Nature reflected in the cosmogonic myths of the Uralian peoples and certain American Indian tribes, and the concepts with which they expressed it, developed earlier than the 12th-10th millennia B.C. It is possible that we may one day be able to determine the time and region of its genesis.

A significant common element is the primordial ocean, from the depth of which the earth arises. This led A.B. Rooth (1957) to the assumption that the myth was first formulated in Eastern Asia. Otherwise it would be unaccountable to hear of an ocean in the middle of the continent. Since man of the Paleolithic age depicted his surroundings in such a realistic manner, it is really strange to hear him speak of the primordial ocean without an actual ocean nearby. But if we think of the postglacial environment in the

Angara-Baikal area and of the Bering land-bridge emerging from under the water and ice, water-birds diving in shallow water could actually bring up soil on their beaks. It could have been a shocking experience for the people of the day to find land, shallow water and big game and many thousands of diving water-birds where an icesheet used to be. The discovery and occupation of the land-bridge is well documented and could have been a great contribution to human empathy towards Nature.

Toporov (1981), Hoppál (1987), Gemuev (1990) and the present author have dealt with the Uralian-Aryan or earlier Indo-German links in cultural history. Not only certain elements of myth or vocabulary, but whole circles of thought go back to Proto-Iranian roots. These close relations could naturally exist only in the South. It was probably in the forested steppes of Siberia, where a group of the Proto-Ugrians had connections with Aryan or Proto-Iranian tribes for a long time. The scene of this connection is thought to be Southern Siberia, because the Iranian elements of the still existing Ob-Ugrian myths have entered the focus of scholars' interest. The Ob-Ugrians are, in turn, considered a northern Siberian people. The duality of the Ob-Ugrians is well known. It is perhaps the Ugrian element that can be considered a southern one. Aryan or Proto-Iranian tribes also lived on the East European steppes, so the possibility of this link should also to be taken into account. This East European scene seems to be corroborated by the Aryan or Proto-Iranian borrowings in the myths and vocabulary of the Uralians living west of the Urals. This southern influence dates back to later times than the northern, i.e. Siberian one.

There is not space to deal with the synthesis of the northern and southern cultural elements of the Uralian peoples. I could only endeavour to hint at their duality. In the culture of these peoples are traces of the northern and southern traditions, and they may be reveal the two main ethnic components of the Uralians on both sides of the Urals.

What the myths tell us reveals another segment of our very distant past and helps us get to know ourselves better.

NOTE

1. I had an opportunity to give my collections of microfilms to the Department of Comparative Religion of Helsinki University, May 13-19, 1990.

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THE URALIC BACKGROUND TO AN UDMURT SACRIFICE: AN ATTEMPT AT READING MYTHOLOGICAL TEXTS

By

V.V. Napolskikh

The traditional folk beliefs contains information of great value not only for synchronical folkloristic and culturological research but also for the reconstruction of very ancient levels of mythology providing new data for diachronical investigations. The problem is deciding the method for its precise analysis similar which is used by comparative linguistics. The absence of such a method leads either to superficial speculations or to rightful scepticism and the information hidden in the mythology and folklore remains useless. The approach which I am inclined to follow is not perhaps new but it is nevertheless rarely used in the study of mythology, especially in that dealing with peculiar contemporary rites or customs. These are usually described or compared but not studied in order to obtain and use the information mentioned above.

A rite or a custom, taking into account its every manifestation and function, can hardly be considered exhaustively in a concrete study. Therefore the researcher deals with separate complexes of ideas distinguished according to his aims and interests. These complexes should reflect some sub-systems in the structure of the traditional world-view or, more precisely, world-picture (Weltbild) and are connected with other such sub-systems by various ties. These complexes are here called 'mythological texts', while the world-view system in its main principles (Weltanschauung) could be considered as 'mythological language'. Since the text can be read only when the language is known, the problem of its knowledge arises. The traditional world-view is rarely comprehended even in the cultures with developed religious systems. More often, but not always, it is expressed in myths, as, for example, in the cosmological myths, but the information remains to be revealed and comprehended. Thus, the situation is in most cases the same as if we had to read a partly known text written in a partly unknown language, simultaneously reconstructing the language and reading the text. The task is not so difficult as it may seem, however, the number of such texts is practically endless. I would now like to show the possibility of distinguishing and reading only two texts in a contemporary sacrifical rite of the Bashkirian Udmurts.

The Baskirian Udmurts, pagans until the present day, have preserved many customs and beliefs of very ancient origin. One of them is *ʒaźeg śuan* (literally: 'goose wedding',

but the word *śuan* 'wedding' also means a kind of bloody sacrifice, very often devoted to the ancestors or done in memory of them, (comp. *vaɬ śuan* 'horse wedding' – a sacrifice of a horse during a funeral repast rite). These traditions of mutual help and goose sacrifice during the autumn slaughter of the geese were described in detail in a report at a conference held at the Estonian National Museum (Minniyakhmetova – Khristolyubova 1990). Here I also use the manuscript of the report and T.G. Minniyakhmetova's personal information. The first text, 'Water-bird messenger', can be read in the next elements of the rite.

When everything has been prepared for the slaughter, the master and mistress of the house (husband and wife) choose the biggest she-goose and take her to the house, where a white table-cloth, a loaf and butter (sacral meals) are put on the table. The couple sits in the 'red corner' (the place of honour), the master holds the she-goose alive in his left hand and they both touch the loaf with their right hands, praying to the Supreme God for health and prosperity in the coming year. Thereafter a solemn procession of the participants of the feast headed by the master goes to the sacral ('pure') slaughter place under a tree in the garden. There the master kills the first (sacrifice) he-goose with prayer, asking the geese's pardon and the God's mercy. The blood of the goose is allowed to trickle down as a special donation to the earth. Next day the sacrifice goose is cooked separately and eaten by all the family after the master has prayed to the gods with a plate full of goose broth and meat, addressing the South-East. The bones of the bird are buried under the slaughter-tree.

On the first day, after the geese are slaughtered and plucked (plucking is the duty of the women called to help and the main economic reason for arranging the feast) their carcasses are washed in a river (it must be running water) and the feathers are slicked into or scattered on the snow in a line connecting the house and the river and representing the goose-flock wished for next year.

The tradition of *ʒaźeg śuan* was supposed to have been borrowed by the Udmurts from the neighbouring Tatars (Minniyakhmetova – Khristolyubova 1990). Really, such feasts of mutual help are unknown to the 'mainland Udmurts' because of the less important role played by geese in their economy. At the same time the Tatars have *kaz əməse* (literally: 'goose mutual help') determined by the need for collective work during the autumn slaughter of the big goose flocks (*Tatary* 1967:309). However, it is important that the Tatar *kaz əməse* has no trace of religious contents while *ʒaźeg śuan* is rather a religious rite connected with an economic act. It may therefore be supposed that, while economic and social features of *ʒaźeg śuan* could develop under the specific conditions of economic life and ethnic encirclement of the Bashkirian Udmurts, its religious contents were originally Udmurt. This supposition is confirmed by the 'mainland Udmurt' data, which may also clarify the essential meaning of the 'Waterbird messenger' text.

First of all, the Udmurts of different regions used to pray in autumn to the river (cf. the role of the river and running water in *ʒaźeg śuan*) for augmentation of geese and ducks and sacrificed a duck for this purpose (Holmberg 1913:78). A duck was also sacrificed by the Northern Udmurts to the river during the annual praying in August, to the ancestors – during the great funeral repast and to the god *Kɨldɟśin* – during the summer rye-field feast (Pervukhin 1888:60-62,94-102,120-124). The river was considered to provide fertility not only of poultry and crops but also of the people, and therefore a duck was sacrificed near the river after a safe birth (Pervukhin 1890:11). Even today the Udmurts explain the appearance of newborn to the children: *vu/šur duɲś vail'l'am* 'we/they brought (it) from the water/river' or *ošmesɟś vaim* 'we have brought (it) from the spring'. This idea is also reflected in the widespread, still preserved *piɬaśkon* (literally: 'showering,

bathing') rite when brides (or young women) are showered with spring water to ensure their fertility (see, for example, Holmberg 1913:77).

Praying to the Sun Mother *(Šundi̯-mumi̯)*, the Udmurts showed a white she-duck still alive to the Goddess (addressing to the South) and saying *'kijad kut'* ('take in the hands') to the Sun Mother. Only after this demonstration was the duck killed and cooked in a sacral place (Vasiljev 1906:45-46). The ritual seems to be very similar to that of the Bashkirian Udmurts described above and the essential meaning of both can be understood in comparison with the next rite which is, it seems to me, the Udmurt culmination of the ideas reflected in the 'Waterbird messenger' text.

The most important feast of the Mamadysh Udmurts, *miŕen vo̯śaśkon* ('communal praying') was held once in 2-4 years and ended after a few days of praying and sacrificing with a ritual when a couple of swans, especially caught or bought before and fed for a while, were allowed to swim on the Vyatka river. They were considered to swim to the Supreme God and therefore were told prayers, requests and good wishes. If the swans begun swimming upstream, it was regarded as a good sign – they would reach the God. Swimming downstream was a bad sign – the people's requests and prayers could not reach the God in this way (Afonasjev 1881). It is interesting to note that the Bashkirian Udmurts on letting the goslings into a river for the first time, also examined their swimming and upstream meant good and downstream bad (Minnijakhmetova – Khristol'ubova 1990).

Thus, the idea of fertility, vital and birth energy emanating from the celestial gods and goddesses living somewhere in the South/South-East and at the same time on the upper reaches of the (world) river is reflected in all these rituals. To maintain the connection with the gods and to provide the people and all the living creatures with this energy a waterbird (duck, goose or swan) had to sent to the gods as a messenger. To penetrate to the Upper World the birds had to be killed (=transformed) after they were told prayers and requests, but the most highly estimated of them – the swans – were thought to have the ability to frequent the Upper World alive. This is, perhaps, the essence of the 'Water-bird messenger' text.

All the elements of this complex of ideas, taken in their functional contexts, have on the one hand many parallels in the rites and traditional beliefs of perhaps all the Uralic peoples and of their Siberian neighbours and, on the other hand, could be reconstructed as a part of the hypothetical Proto-Uralic cosmology (Napolskikh 1990:9-11).

Therefore the contemporary rite of the Bashkirian Udmurts in its sacral part does not appear to be something exceptional in the Udmurt tradition and has very ancient Uralic roots. It is interesting to observe how the ancient mythological beliefs were transformed according to newly developed conditions and introduced into the annual circle of the economic and religious life of the Bashkirian Udmurts, so that organically the *ʒaźeg śuan* now seems to be a simple peasant feast and is not comprehended even by its performers in the mythological terms reconstructed above. The original mythological text thus got hidden beneath the later system of views corresponding to the new social and economic conditions and – on the other hand – it was frozen for a long time. This mechanism of conserving mythological texts by hiding them from subsequent evolution permits the reconstruction of very ancient stages in the evolution of mythological consciousness.

The second text considered here is called 'Reincarnating eyes' and is reflected in the phrase which is said when the remnants of the sacrifice goose are buried and when the goslings are let into the water for the first time: *vuž śinde̯ baśti̯ vil' śinde̯ śot* 'Take thy old eyes, give thy new eyes'. The words are apparently addressed to the earth (in the first case) and to the river (in the second). The eyes (apparently of the geese) appear here to be a kind of receptacle for the souls and are given back to the earth or to the

divine possessors of the souls connected with the river with the purpose of reincarnation. The fertile power of the earth is evident and the idea of the earth giving birth to living creatures is known all around the world. In Udmurt tradition the earth is connected with the god *Kɨldɨśin* mentioned above who is often called *Mu-kɨldɨśin* ('earth-*kɨldɨśin*'). On the other hand, *Kɨldɨśin* is connected with child-bearing: the Northern Udmurts called the first visit to a new-born and its mother *kɨldɨśin śures sore vetlon,* 'going to the *Kɨldɨśin*'s way'. The Northern Udmurts of the Vyatka tribe say about a crying baby (as I have written in their dialect) *kɨldɨśiṁes kuataśke*, 'the baby's *Kɨldɨśin* is capricious' (Pervukhin 1890:25; author's field materials). The name of the God could also be compared with the verb *kɨldɨ-* 'to create' and with the name of the Ugrian goddess (also the protectress of birth and children) *Kałtaś*. All these observations need further investigation but the possibility of connections between the 'Reincarnating eyes' and the 'Water-bird messenger' seems to be obvious.

All the Northern Samoyeds used to bury the eyes of killed elks or reindeers with the purpose of reincarnation: the Earth Mother was believed to be full of the eyes (i.e. souls) of all the creatures to be born and the eyes of the killed had to be given back to her (Simchenko 1976:240-241,250; Gracheva 1983:21,23). The same belief and rite is reflected in Yukaghir folklore (Simchenko 1976:241). Far more remote (if ever possible) parallels were noted in Chukchi, Eskimo and Saami tradition (Simchenko 1976:241-243): the heads of killed seals were given back to the sea. These parallels were regarded as traces of traditions of the most ancient Circumpolar population (Simchenko 1976:244-246).

However, this custom is not known only to the Circumpolar population. The Eastern Khanty (Ostyaks), for example, buried the eyes of killed foxes with the purpose of reincarnation (Kulemzin 1984:90-91). Taking into account the Bashkirian Udmurt data, it is possible to suppose these ideas and customs to be of Proto-Uralic origin or, at least, Siberian Ugro-Samoyed area, with later influence on the Udmurt tradition.

The hypothesis on the Uralic (Uralo-Yukaghir) linguistic affiliation of the aborigines of the Eurasian circumpolar zone (Simchenko 1976:31,38,279), could be confirmed by the above data. Unfortunately, the non- Uralic circumpolar parallels do not look convincing and therefore the dissemination of these ideas and customs should be considered to be restricted to the Uralic world.

I have here tried to read only two possible examples of mythological texts. No doubt, there exists good potential for investigations of this kind to the mutual advantage of history, cultural anthropology and folkloristics.

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THE CONCEPT OF *PYHÄ* (SACRED) IN PRE-CHRISTIAN FINNISH RELIGION

By

Veikko Anttonen

The Cultural Roots of the Finnish Term *pyhä*

We do not have at our disposal written sources which would tell us how and by whom the ideological contents and Latin terminology of Christianity was translated into the vernacular. It is likely, however, that during the first centuries of the Christianization of Finland, the Dominican monks who travelled among people chose to define the vernacular word *pyhä* as an equivalent for the Latin word *sacer* and *sanctus* and their derivatives *sacrum* and *sancire.*

Finnish ethnographers of religion have so far barely touched upon the question about the meanings that the word *pyhä* has had in pre-Christian folk religion. The only proper study on the subject is Asko Vilkuna's dissertation *Das Verhaltender Finnen in Heiligen (PYHÄ) Situationen* (1956). The question is important not only for the study of archaic mentality but also for the psychological and anthropological interpretations of tradition materials from medieval as well as later times.

According to the most recent view in linguistics, the term *pyhä* has its roots as far back in history as the Bronze Age. Finnish philologist Jorma Koivulehto has shown that *pyhä* is a Germanic loan which has its origin in the adjective **wīha-* > Gothic *weihs*) (Koivulehto 1981:355-356). **Wīha-* goes back to the root **vīh*, which means 'to set apart' (Baetke 1942:55). The root occurs in the Old English expression *wih-dag* 'holy day' and in the Old Icelandic word *vē* 'temple, consecrated place' (Benveniste 1973:450). The Sanskrit verbs *vinákti, vivékti,* which mean 'to sort out', 'to sift' and 'to separate', are also said to derive from the same root. The root is also interpreted to appear in the Latin word *victima,* 'sacrificial animal', i.e. 'an animal that is set apart for the act of making sacred' by putting it to death (Baetke 1942:55; Benveniste 1973:450-453). Gothic adjective *weihs* 'sacred' yields the verb *weihen,* which corresponds with the Latin verb *sancire,* 'to set bounds to', 'to beset', 'to sanctify', i.e. to make inviolable by setting a prohibiting and protective boundary (Baetke 1942:56; Benveniste 1973:454). Through Old Norse the root **vih* has given the Swedish language the expression *vigd,* 'wedded', 'married', con-

secrated'. It has a synonym in the expression *helgad* (> *helg* < helig), which comes from Germanic **hailaga-* (Gothic *hails, heil* > German *heilig,* English *holy* > whole; health) (Colpe 1987:518).

The attribute **wīha-* has been adopted into Early Finnic language as *püšä* (> *pyhä*). One can conclude from this that Finnish *pyhä* did not originally include the meanings of the Gothic expression *hails, heil,* which denote 'safety', 'health', 'physical and corporeal integrity', 'good omen', and 'good fortune' (Benveniste 1973:451). According to Benveniste, **wīha-* is more 'primitive' than **hailaga-* (Benveniste 1973:452).[1] Given that *püsä* (> *pyhä*) dates back from the Bronze Age, it can be postulated that **wīha-* has been the major attribute in early Indo-European culture by which the semantically different value categories were marked off in social cognition.[2]

The attributes which date back to **wīha-* and denote 'sacred' impure', 'marked off', 'separated' were probably used in conjunction with things, persons, times, and places in which the element of fire had a conspicuous role. Support for this assumption is found in the fact that there is in Indic tradition a verb in Sanskrit which is historically linked with Slavic **svet-* (root for the term 'sacred'). This verb is *śvantā* and it is often associated with the noun *agni* (fire). A combination of the words **śvantā* & *agni* is met with also in a Russian proverbial phrase, and in Lithuanian *šventas ugnìs,* which both have the religious meaning of 'sacred fire' (Toporov 1987:192). In Rg-veda the verb *śvantā* is associated with elements which imply a motive of growth, reinforcement and being swollen up.

It is interesting that the same association between fire and the term 'sacred' occurs in the Finnish context, too. According to Koivulehto, the Bronze Age attribute *püšä* had a homonym which has denoted the verb 'to fry/burn' – Finnish *'paistaa';* German *'braten'* – (Koivulehto 1987:355-356). Since the same phenomenon can be found in Lappish, in which the attribute *bâsset* signifies both 'sacred' and 'to fry/burn' (Friis 1871:135), there is good reason to assume that the *numenal* (i.e, supernatural, religious) meaning of the words has its roots in the perception of the phenomenal.

Through the attributes of *püšä/bâsse* and the verbs *püšä/bâsset,* for example, the significance of the sun and moon in prehistorical religion becomes more comprehensible. To render and mark the sun and moon sacred presupposes a relation to the everyday activities of the community. The sacred character of the celestial objects becomes visible when they are at a boundary point, that is, when they rise and set, and especially when they are 'full grown' (full moon, equinox). It is these and other conspicuous points and boundaries in time that human communities have related their everyday activities to, when they have subjected the community life to taboos, rules, and regulations, and when the significance of these for community values has been manifested in festivities.

The Idea of 'the Sacred Meat'

The Finnish verb *palvoa,* 'to worship,' offers an interesting perspective to the question of how frying/burning and the sacred are associated in the same semantic field. Lauri Kettunen has argued that the religious meaning of the verbs *palvoa, palvella* (to worship, to serve) is based on the verb *'palvata'* (to fry, to cook meat). Kettunen assumes that the different meanings for the words *'palvata'* and *'palvoa'* are combined in sacrificial rituals in which the sacralization of an animal takes place through frying (Kettunen 1951:123-126). Here the elements of fire and frying are associated with a ritual context that has

been marked with the attribute of sacred. Fire, smoke, and ash are thus, in different cultures, ancient means for religious symbolism which function as markers of change in cognitive categories, their interrelations and their boundaries.

Kettunen also makes a connection to the original idea behind the Finnish word for a bodily part that has a significant role in religious behaviour, namely *polvi* (knee). To worship by kneeling down (for example in prayer) is a common practise and form of behaviour in the religious traditions of the human kind, within contexts in which one 'fries' and 'burns', in other words, sacrifices, makes sacred. The knee is thus a relational term which is based on the acknowledgement in one's behaviour (bodily position) of those semantic relations that are prerequisites in a context that has been defined sacred. Lauri Kettunen says that 'the names for bodily parts are usually primary', and therefore we have to add another word to the semantic field of the sacred, frying/burning, worshipping, and knee: the heart, which has played a significant role in religious traditions and worshipping practices.

The human experience of the heart as a life supporting organ which marks the boundary between life and death has given the heart a special status as the center for power and emotion, through which humans have defined the communicative relationship between the self and the outside world. The special meaning that the heart has can especially be seen in sacrificial rituals.

Asko Vilkuna discusses the 'sacred meat' of the Saami and the Ob Ugrian Khanty and Mansi, which stands for the bear heart. The heart was regarded as containing the 'soul' and power of the bear, which the hunters were able to insert into themselves. For women, however, the bear heart was regarded as harmful and therefore they were prohibited from touching it (Vilkuna 1956:110-112). Y.H. Toivonen has extended the idea of the 'sacred meat' to the history of hostilities between human communities. He has pointed out that to eat the heart and liver of the killed enemy – cooked or raw – has been an ancient method for gaining power for both the body of the person who eats the meat and his community (Toivonen 1949:277-281).

Thus, the idea of a burning heart (and a worshipped heart) did not arise within the Western philosophy of love; humans have burned or fried hearts in very concrete ways and marked them off as sacred, as markers of transformation, through the act of ritual eating. It is the later ideological currents that have given a more sublime meaning to the idea of the sanctity of the heart. Instead of concrete behaviour, humans have now chosen to define their relation to the burning heart on the level of an image. Instead of burning *('palvata')*, the heart is an object for worshipping *('palvoa')*, even though in both religious and mundane love one's relation to heart is still described with metaphors of burning and breaking.

The semantic connection between burning or frying and the sacred can be discussed with regard to both cremation and slash-and-burn cultivation. Both of these cultural traits were established in the Bronze Age, when also the term *pyhä* was adopted into the Balto Finnic hunting and fishing culture. Since slash-and-burn cultivation had been the most significant source of livelihood since the Proto Finnic period (Sarmela 1989:8), we may assume that there is a connection between it and the prehistorical vocabulary that had become established in religious language. It is not impossible that the word *pyhä* has originally been adopted from Germanic peoples to signify both a cremated (burned) body and a slash-and-burned land separated and marked off for cultivation. It is likely that this is what Elias Lönnrot was referring to in his explanation for the word *pyhä* in his Finnish-Swedish dictionary: *"on ruvennut koivua versomaan kun maa on ollut pyhässä"* (the ground has begun to push up birch after having been in the sacred). In other words, the ground has been burned and marked off for cultivation (Lönnrot 1958:292-293).

Pyhä as a Marker of Transformation in the Boundaries of Cultural Value Categories

Consequently, the term 'sacred' in prehistoric Finland has been associated with points of change and transformation of basic value categories in which the community makes the invisible *boundaries* in everyday life visible by the act of separation and prohibitions. However, it has not been any kind of a changing point that has been marked with the attribute of *sacred* and ritualized with the symbols of burning or frying. Such a label usually required an event which had to do with an experience of a boundary and in which a central *social value* was at stake. On the one hand, such a value was associated with changes in the *physical* (bodily) boundaries of individuals (birth, receiving a grown up's status, marriage, death), and on the other hand, with changes in the boundaries of categories which are present when obtaining one's livelihood (inside/outside of dwelling and inhabited area, underground/above the ground, beginning and end of year and cultivation season, ripening of a cultivated plant (killing of game) / transformation into food, etc.).

The meaning of these kinds of boundary points was always expressed in rituals. Ritual handling was necessary because a change in everyday categories meant a change in the cosmological categorization of experience. A point of change carried a potential threat for such central values as established order, harvest luck, health, security, etc. The significance of the ritual was partially based on the idealization of control with which the potential threat and emotional insecurity associated with transgression of boundaries could be warded off or minimized. Partially it was based on cultural pedagogics in which the categories of meaning that direct consciousness could be renewed by making a halt in the continuity of life at 'a zero point' and by acknowledging and marking off the relations that are necessary for successful activity.

For this reason, it is methodologically unfruitful to deal *pyhä* (the sacred) as a category of emotion as theologists and phenomenologists of religion have done.[3] It is better conceptualized as a relational category of thought and action, which actualizes when there is a change in the contextually interpreted boundaries and value classifications of bodily, territorial, and temporal categories. The selection of certain things and objects for boundary markers and markers of value (that is, the sacred), is based on the perception of *anomaly* and *liminality*. The term anomaly stands for elements (plant, animal, human being, object, phenomenon) that are perceived to be exceptional in relation to those classificatory categories in which the equivalent noncontradictory elements find their place in the cognition of those who share the same cultural meaning system (Douglas 1978:57; 1989:37-40). *Liminality* basically means a marginal phase in a ritual process in which the 'metastructure' of a community is manifested to the ritual participants with symbols that are culture-specifically sacred because of their anomalous character (Turner 1981:95-97). Liminality is a name for a point of transition or transformation in basic value categories of society. Human community makes a cultural boundary or threshold visible to those who are subjected to the transformation of value (birth, puberty, marriage, death).

The Topographical Identification Marks of the Sacred: A Survey into the Finnic *hiisi* Tradition

Hiisi sites are a good example of the pre- Christian semantics of the sacred in the Balto-Finnic culture area. This becomes clear in Mauno Koski's study *Itämeren-suomalaisten kielten Hiisi-sanue* (Hiisi vocabulary in the Balto-Finnic languages) (Koski 1967, 1970, 1990). Koski argues that without any question the Estonian *hiis* and the Finnish *hiisi* must have had a connection to prehistorical religion, which determines their meaning. According to Koski, most of the prehistorical *hiisi* sites in the Balto-Finnic language area have been burial places or "have belonged to the same sacred area as the burial place" (Koski 1967:81). Koski argues that the meaning of *hiisi* has changed from a cult site within the confines of a community larger than a village to a cult site located in the hinterlands or outside the community area. At the same time its connotation as "a place for the dead who are favourable towards the living" was changed in Christianity to "a symbol of a world that is hostile to the humans". Koski writes:

> "When the *hiisi* institution lost its functionality, the meaning of the word *hiisi* started to grow unclear. The word retained its connection to categories of places but its meaning was vague. This semantic vacuum was then filled with a personified being, following a tendency already in practise in the same areas in which the word had started to denote a being, usually a giant" (Koski 1967:219-220).

Change in the meaning of the *hiisi* from territorial site to giant or 'bad supernatural being', becomes comprehensible when we study their topographical characteristics. Therefore we must ask what their selection has been based on. According to Koski, *hiisi* is "a tradition dominant" as a placename in the Balto-Finnic culture area, and its distribution and frequency of occurrence is based on "milieu dominance". This means that in prehistorical times *hiisi* was the dominant name for topographically exceptional points in the terrain. As a common noun, *hiisi* was attached to those points in the terra in which stand out in their environment. For example, a stone or tree is labelled *hiisi* on the basis of its exceptionality, its anomality. Originally, *hiisi* had an explanatory and descriptive function for the physical character of a specific place, but if there were no other points in the same social field that the word could also be applied to, it crystallized into a proper noun. In that case its function changed from explanatory to identifying (Koski 1967:34-36).

Since the terms *'hiisi'* and *'pyhä'* (the sacred) belonged to the same semantic field in prehistorical times, a change in the meaning of one also changed the meaning of the other. But which is explaining which? Is an attribute of the hiisi, or is hiisi a culture and time-specific special case in the category of the sacred? Asko Vilkuna writes that *hiisi* and *pyhä* belong together organically. About their interrelationship, however, Vilkuna assumes that "*hiisi* (or *hiisis*) is the center around which the sacred has been webbed as a protective and especially a preventive cover" (Vilkuna 1956:166). Here Vilkuna has too much based on the notion that taboo rule has been the sole factor on the basis of which the meaning of the pre-Christian category of *pyhä* has been established: that *hiisi* is protected – and one protects oneself from the *hiisi* – with taboo norms that control behaviour. Partially this is true, but the category of *pyhä* contains more than just the taboo rule. The attribute of *pyhä*, the sacred is first and foremost a category which denotes the meaning of a place in cultural cognition, just as the term *tapu* in the Polynesian context

did before the anthropologists in the Victorian age made it an ethic term and pruned its meaning.

When *pyhä* became a Christian word in Finland and people started to bury the dead in the church cemetery, the semantic connection between the word *pyhä* and the *hiisi* sites was cut off. The word *hiisi* and the site that it denoted were brought into a semantic vacuum, as Koski points out. The change in the meaning of the word – filling out the vacuum – from a cult site for the dead to the name of a giant, devil, and hell becomes understandable against this background, especially since the church attempted to change the cultural idea of the sacred.

The change in the meaning of the word *hiisi* from a place to a being is, thus, a Christian phenomenon. So far, Finnish folklorists and scholars tn the science of religion have not studied why the burial groves were located in topographically exceptional points of terrain. Koski assumes that the word *hiisi* has had both a primary and a secondary meaning. Its meaning as a burial site is the primary meaning and an exceptional point of terrain as a sacrificial site is its secondary meaning. According to Koski, the primary meaning has been the criterion in the selection of a secondary *hiisi* site, or the selection has been based on appropriateness: for example a stone or a hollow tree as an appropriate site for a sacrificial altar (Koski 1967:101).

My own interpretation about the meaning of the *hiisi* sites is the following. The term 'sacred', which in all known languages stands for that which is 'set aside' or 'separated from others', has, in my opinion, been the cognitive category which has directed ontology and ideology and which has contributed to the selection of *hiisi* sites and thus, also burial sites. *Hiisi* was probably adopted as an innovative term in Finnish Iron Age culture to topographical anomalous places which were marked off as *pyhä,* i.e. separated from the profane area of a community. Topographical anomaly and liminality cover such exceptional points of terrain as stone and boulder fields, rocks, and trees with special forms. They have symbolic value as indicators of meaningful border lines behind which the power lies and out of its undifferentiated matter things with social value and meaning has been extracted. In addition, topographical anomaly explains why springs and other openings, holes and cracks in the surface of the ground have belonged to the prehistorical conceptual sphere of the sacred.

For example, the proper noun *Hiidenportti* (Gate of *Hiisi*) is based on the common noun *hiisi,* with which the social community have adapted a large cleft in between two rocks into the conceptual sphere of the sacred (Koski 1967:40). It is defined sacred because it is perceived as a gate on a borderline which marks the end of the profane sphere and the beginning of the sacred, undifferentiated, unclean sphere. Profane in this context denotes a category that embraces community life, people, earth, and nature, which are appropriated with significations and classifications, communicated with verbal and non-verbal symbols – words, pictures, and signs – and controlled with norms of behaviour. The sacred on the other hand is a category which contains images of 'that which is beyond the borderline', inappropriated space and time, the location of power, in which humans and other entities in perceived reality are regarded as having originated (grown) and where they return in various processes of life (birth, dying, decomposing, decaying, burning, etc.).

Like the whirl of water called the kettle of *hiisi,* a cleft is an anomaly that is based on perception. In a similar manner, other places which are exceptional topographically, for example by size, form, colour, location or other criterion, have been marked off with the category of the sacred and labelled with the word *hiisi.*

For this reason, the name *hiisi* can be regarded as a culture-specific special case of the category of the sacred.[4] Therefore we need not establish only one function for the

sacredness of the *hiisi* site – the need to take the deceased in the community to an area which is physically exceptional and thus clearly distinguishable! The deceased did not belong to the sphere of the category of the sacred unless they were designated a clearly confined, separated, and marked site. In a structuralistic way, a physically separated area of territory corresponds to the human body, which is the characteristic that makes a human ahuman. When 'the spirit escapes' the body, the community gives the deceased a new physical fixing point, the territory of the burial grove, in order to ward off the danger which is thought to arise when soul and power substance is not attached to a place and appropriated with classifications.

Thus, the deceased receive their socially defined sacred character only through territory. It is presumably so because only territory makes concrete the idea of separation by which the deceased and the living are marked off into separate semantic categories. Folk tradition tends to regard those deceased problematic or anomalous who did not carry in their bodies the sign of their community, a name, or whose bodies the community for some reason was not able to sacralize by having death rituals. They become displaced souls (see Pentikäinen 1968:51-52).

Milieu dominance or topographical anomaly, which Koski regards as one criterion in the selection of *hiisi,* is primarily a characteristic of the category of *pyhä,* the sacred. In order render something as sacred and mark it off as a separate entity from profane area requires a perception of a boundary and difference, with which something is categorized as an exception to phenomena that belong to the sphere of everyday activity.

In addition V.N. Toporov has shown how those features of the phenomenal world which contain a motive of growth have in Indo-European languages been included within the category of the sacred. The motive of growth as a condition for marking something off as sacred is manifested especially in topography and natural processes. A mountain, a hillock, or a flat treeless hilltop is attached a special meaning as swollen, grown land; its power and substance is stronger than that of a territory which does not contain any fixing points for a boundary that separates. Sacrificing by cutting into pieces, burning, and running blood also imply the idea of growth: a form that has cultural value (an animal, a human) is being dissolved into non-form, something that lacks fixed boundaries (thus it is sacred). Then the power that has supported its substance, the soul, is regarded as a blessing for the growth and reproduction of existing or future form. The motive of growth is also connected to the symbolic value and the definition of sacredness of trees, stones, light, luster, radiance, moon, and sun (Toporov 1987:193-219).

NOTES

1. Walter Baetke has demonstrated that Greek terms *hagios, hieros, hagnos* and *hosios* have almost exclusively been translated by Wulfila in his Gothic Bible by the term *weihs.* Baetke interpreted **wīha-* as a referent of the divine and "was zu ihnen gehört, sich auf sie bezieht und von ihnen ausgeht". (Baetke 1942:80-81)
2. If the evidence concerning the root **vih* in Indian Vedic tradition is valid, it is possible to conclude that Aryans (old Iranian based population) have been the cultural brokers who transmitted the cognitive categories from proto-Indo-European culture to the Indus-culture. Correlations in the vocabularies of Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, Celtic, Italic, Greek, Sanskrit and Avesta languages are thought to illustrate a heritage of common culture. Philologists have made connection between e.g. the Old

Slavic term for `the sacred' *svętu* (Russ. **svet-* < *svjatój*), the Lithuanian word *šventas* and the Avestan word *spenta*. Just like Finnish *pyhä* these attributes have retained their religious character. In present-day Slavic and Baltic languages they belong to Christian vocabulary and signify 'holy', 'sanctus'. *Spenta* in the Iranian tradition has retained its denotation as `sacred' in Mazdaean beliefs.

3. What has been neglected in the history and phenomenology of religion is the structural interrelatedness of the term 'sacred' as an etic category (as a metalinguistic concept) and the `sacred' as a folk category (as an object language concept). The way both Eliade and Otto have employed the term ts more theologically than ethnographically oriented. What is needed in anthropological study of religion is not the study of the sacred as an emotional but as e cognitive and behavioral category in different object languages. Durkheim's way of employing the term has its weakpoints too, but epistemologically it serves better for further development of research strategy. See Otto 1969, Eliade 1959, Durkheim 1971.
4. Corresponding phenomenon is found in other cultures, which have an attribute for that which is separated, marked off and forbidden: for example *tapu* in Polynesia, *sacer* in Latin, *gadosh* in Hebrew, *hagios* in Greek, *baraka* among the Moors of North Africa, *wakonda* among the Omaha, *wakan* among the Dakota and Winnebago and *orenda* in Iroquis of the North American Indian languages.

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SACRED LANGUAGE AND SECRET SPEECH

By

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Archaic folk prayer is one of the most ancient forms and at the same time one of the most recently discovered genres of Hungarian folklore. It was not officially accepted by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences until 1970, when the discoverer of the genre, Zsuzsanna Erdélyi presented and described this type of text (which she first called 'archaic *apocryphal* folk prayer', and which later became known as 'archaic folk prayer'.)

This genre is not a Hungarian speciality, it can be found all over Europe in different cultures from Portugal to Russia (Bárczi 1975:81), and usually it is called folk prayer. As far as I know this genre has also been studied by Danish, Italian, Russian, Finnish, German, Polish and Sloven scholars (Erdélyi 1988:697). It is interesting that the prominent Finnish ethnologist, J.V. Mansikka thought in 1909 that this tradition had died out, and could be considered only as historical folklore material (Mansikka 1909:46).

Hungarian living tradition does not support this thesis. Since the end of the 1960s more than 10,000 prayer texts have been collected, and some hundreds of them have been published.

I define these prayers as *verbal* means of *sacred communication.* Since both the texts and their performance were held to be illicit by the church for centuries they had to be practised in *secret*, they have preserved ancient features of the worldview and language of the early Hungarians.

Both the *sacred* and the *secret* imply special linguistic forms, special speech acts and special pragmatic conditions. These texts were the means of a secret, hidden, underground, illegal communication with the Sacred. The basis of this tradition is a desire for extra devotion. This kind of praying is usually made in private, at home, and does not belong to the public actions performed in church. It may be part of the paraliturgy only in the Greek Catholic tradition. I notice that most of the texts we know, are used by Roman and Greek Catholic people in Hungary, but we can find some of these prayers in the Protestant tradition as well.

Zsuzsanna Erdélyi distinguished the following main types of these prayers:

(1) Incantation and defensive formulas, which mix pagan and Christian worldview.
(2) Texts with purely Christian motivation and conceptualization, and interpretations of Biblical stories (like dialogue of Christ and Mary, Mary's search for Christ, Mary's mourning for Christ, Pilate and the Golgotha scene, etc.)

(3) Texts connected with medieval church literature.
(4) Texts of private inspiration.
(5) There are texts with melody, called *'kántáló ének'*, sung, or chanted mainly on Christmas Eve and on the New Year's Day.

As to the classification of these prayers, instead of basing it on the worldview and the concepts found in the texts, I would prefer to suggest a classification according to their pragmatic function, because I think that forms and motifs serve practical, functional purposes.

In any case classification of these prayers should start with the incantation, that is magical formulas because of their incantational, magical function. It raises the problem of the nature of the *magical world*, the basis of which is the belief that the world or rather the *utterance* of the world is able to create, defend, influence etc. In this respect we can bring together the following oral formulas: *blessing, curse, incantation* and *prayer* (Hampp 1961, Heiler 1961). All these texts function by performance. They could be analysed in terms of speech and communication theory (Searle 1969, Habermas 1979, Lotman 1973). In *this* sense we may distinguish the magical function of the incantation, the magico-religious function of blessing and curse formulas, and the pure religious function of prayer, and their relations with the Sacred. This is a theoretical distinction, but of course the special feature of the Hungarian archaic folk prayer is precisely that these functions and connections cannot be distinguished so easily, since the genre basically presupposes the syncretic capability of people's minds and the syncretic character of their worldview and folklore.

These assumptions will show that I prefer functionalism and pragmatic analysis within semiotic research. With this in mind the study of the following components of communication takes on special importance (from the point of view of synchronic and comparative studies): the *performer, the time and space of the performance, and paralinguistic features* like special intonation, snivelling, weeping, speed monotony, soft mumbling, muttering and the recitative manner of performance which almost amounts to melody.

These texts prove Jakobson's theory, which says that 'parallelism and alliteration might have been the universal bottom pillars of creating melody.' I myself share this opinion with the modification that they might have been *one of* the universal bottom pillars.

Orality and the performative character of folklore texts usually implies a form and structure which serves their function according to the following rule: the best result by the smallest effort. For example, grammatical parallelism very much serves the purpose of imprinting the text into the mind for ever, thus making it easy to recall. This may bring about the mechanism of verbal automatism.

The main structural feature of the Hungarian archaic folk prayers is parallelism. As Jakobson pointed out, the term parallelism was originally used by researchers studying the language of the Hebrew Bible, in the special sense that the second or third line of a verse is an explanation or repetition of the image and/or metaphor of the first line ... However he also noted that there are many more examples of this in Russian materials (Jakobson 1966). There are also some nice examples of it in Hungarian folk prayers. E.g.:

Égen megy egy szép madár,	There is a nice bird in the sky,
de nem madár, szárnyas angyal.	it is not a bird, but an angel with wings.

The phenomena of *figura etimologica* and *alliteration* are quite rare in the Hungarian, but rather typical in the Finno-Ugric languages. At the same time Hungarian folk prayers show many examples of it. It is rather difficult and useless to translate them:

— 'fiam, fiam, fényes fiam,
halnék halálodért, ha halhatnék'
— 'csurran, csurranik, csöppen, csöppenik'
— 'számból származott szent lélegzetemmel'
— 'szent szüved megszomorodva'
— 'szent szakállát szálanként szaggatják'

Syntactic parallelism in two lines:

Szent lelkeddel szerettél,	You have loved me with your holy heart
szent véreddel megváltál	You have redeemed me with your holy blood
Szent szüved megszomorodva	Your holy heart got sad,
szent szinyed meghervadva	Your holy face did sag

Here is an example of syntactic parallelism *through the whole text:*

Ég szülte Földet	The Earth was born of the Sky
Föld szülte fát	The tree was born of the Earth
Fa szülte ágát	The branch was born of the tree
Ága szülte bimbaját	Its bud was born of the branch
Bimbaja szülte virágját	Its flower was born of the bud
Virágja szülte Szent Annát	Saint Ann was born of the flower
Szent Anna szülte Máriát	Mary was born of Saint Ann
Mária szülte Krisztus Urunkat	Our Lord Christ, Redeemer of the World
a világ megváltóját.	Was born of Mary.

(Erdélyi 1976:182)

There may be various speculations about the ideological background of such concept of cosmic genesis, we have several assumptions, but the only proven source is Isaiah's words about the birth of Christ from Jesse's twig (Erdélyi 1976:183). There are obvious connections with mediaeval Latin and German sequentia: 'Anna peperit Mariam, Maria peperit Christum.' – which was used as a defensive incantation formula against bleeding and for easy childbirth (Dömötör 1983:135).

Let us turn from the structural, syntactic level, and try to approach the *semantic* level by concentrating on the mode of signification: the representation of worldview by metaphors and verbal iconography.

Cosmological, totemist elements of these images presumably root in the ancient, pre-Christian worldview and cosmological legends. The life-tree as a totemistic ancestor appears in several texts, often beginning with a vision:

Kimenek ajtómba	I go out to my door
Föltekintek magos mennybe	I look up to the high heavens
Ott látok egy gályfát	I see there a tree
Gályfa viszi ágát	The tree brings forth its branch
Ága viszi levelit	The branch brings forth its leaf
Levele viszi bimbóját	The leaf brings forth its bud
Bimbója viszi virágát	The bud brings forth its flower
Virágja viszi Annát	The flower brings forth Ann
Anna viszi Máriát	Ann brings forth Mary

Mária viszi szent fiát	Mary brings forth her holy Son.
Aki ezt a kis imádságot	Who ever says this little prayer
Elmondja este reggel,	Mornings and evenings,
Megnyeri mennyeknek országát.	Wins the Kingdom of Heaven.

(Erdélyi 1976:185)

This type of visionary element is a characteristic feature of the Hungarian *'regős ének'*, the genre which has the closest connection to shamanic songs:

Nehol kerekedik	A round hill
egy kerek dombocska	is rounding there
Imhol nevekedik	A golden appletree
egy arany almafa	is growing here
Amott keletkezik	A lake of fishes
egy halastó állás	is rising yonder
Hej, regő rejtem,	Hej, regő rejtem,
regő rejtem ...	regő rejtem ...

In the folk prayers it appears this way:

Amott kerekedik	A round chapel is rounding
egy kis kerek kápolna,	over there,
Benne imádkozik	The Virgin Mary is
a szép Szűz Mária.	praying in it.

Föltekintek magos mennyre,	I look up to the high sky,
Ott látok egy kápolnát ...	I see a chapel there ...

Since these formulas cannot be found in the Christian visionary literature, they are presumed to be remains of ancient Hungarian magical songs (Dömötör 1974:193).

This vision is often completed with the image of the sea:

Tengerben lévő pálmafa	A palm tree in the sea
szülte ágát,	has born its branch,
Levele szülte gyümölcsit,	Its leaf has born its fruit,
Gyümölcse szülte Szent Annát ...	Its fruit has born Saint Ann.

The ancient idea about the golden tree growing from the middle of the sea, as a universal concept of world-tree, and the cosmogonic legends of ancient waters are often mixed with the concept of the tree of Paradise in these folk prayers. The syncretic character of the religious mind is able to fuse the cosmogonic *world- tree* with the *life tree* of Paradise and with the *holy tree of the Cross*.

Hun lakik a Jézus?	Where is Jesus living?
Tengerek közepin,	In the middle of the sea,
Arany fának ágán.	On the branch of the golden tree.

The Virgin Mary can also be connected with the cosmic world tree:

Tengernek közepébe egy aranyfa,	In the middle of the sea there is a golden tree,

Arany fának ágán ül a Boldogságos Szűz Mária.	On the branch of the golden tree is sitting the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Even Saint John sits on the top of this tree in these texts. Here we can only refer to the fact that the Virgin Mary's image is often fused with the concept of an ancient Hungarian goddess in Hungarian folklore (Kálmány 1885:2-5.). In these prayers the Virgin Mary often has the defensive, creative, medical power of ancient magical women:

Boldogságos Szűz Mária söpörje le ennek a fiúnak vagy leánynak lelkét!	Blessed Virgin Mary sweep clean the soul of this boy or girl!

I do not presume to assert the origin of the *metaphors* which connect Mary with Sun, Daybreak and Star.

Öreg napnak fényes hajnala	Bright dawn of the old sun (or day).

It is difficult to tell whether it is a reminiscence of the medieval symbol: (aurora lucidissima, stella matutina, stella maris, etc.) or its pagan equivalent, whose figure may be found for instance in Vogul-Ostiak mythology as Kaltes-mother or Lady of the Dawn (Munkácsy 1909.)

The constant metaphor for the Virgin Mary is White Rose Mary (Fehér Rózsa Mária).

Áll a rózsa középmezőn, Nem a rózsa, Boldogságos Szűz Mária.	The rose is standing in the middle of the field, It is not the rose but the Blessed Virgin Mary.

I consider this mode of signification to be a very specific characteristic of these prayers. Another example is:

Égen megyen egy madár de nem madár, szárnyas angyal.	A bird is flying in the sky, it is not a bird but an angel with wings.

This formula seems to light on the special 'moment' of creating metaphor, since it is a kind of opening off, building up or simply explaining the metaphor. Further examination might contribute considerably to the semantic theory of metaphor.

The reason why these texts have preserved their archaic linguistic formulas (see Pais 1971), archaic structure and an archaic semantic field, lies in the function and context of these prayers. Here we have arrived again at the problem of text and context, form and function, language and speech, text and performance. In my judgement the main reason for such a conservation is the coexistence of the *Sacred* and the *Secret* in the case of this genre. Sacredness was always a guarantee of keeping these texts constant, unchanged. The speciality of this genre is the *concluding formula,* which provides the authorization and indeed the divine certification of the utility and efficacy of the texts. The words are as follows:

Krisztus Urunk maga mondta: aki ezt az imádságot este reggel elimádkozza, megnyeri a mennyeknek országát, hét halálos bűne megbocsáttatik.	Our Lord Christ said himself: whoever prays this prayer mornings and evenings, wins the Kingdom of Heaven, his seven deadly sins will be remitted.

Thus the prayer is valid only for the person who says *this* prayer, in *this* form – the Lord himself said so. The combination of the Sacred and the Secret may be regarded as a guarantee for the conservation of religious texts in several cultures.

Thus the exploration of a particular genre illustrates the combination between folklore, language and worldview.

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HUNGARIAN CREATION LEGENDS

By

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Aitiological legends discuss the creation of the world, the creation and changes of the living and lifeness things in it. Although the aitiological or explanatory legends constitute a subgenre of legends easy to circumscribe, the next belonging to it are heterogeneous from the genetic point of view. It comprises texts which may be looked upon as myths, Christian legends, exempla, animal tales, etc. However, the fundamental question they raise testifies to a mythic way of thinking: how did the matter in question come into being, how long has it existed, why is it, what is it like, etc. Mythical thinking is primarily the property of creation myths: it looses up most where the story come closest to other genres: e.g. animal tales or jokes. In this case this is referred to only by the mythical use of time 'once upon a time', 'a long time ago' or the assumption state different from that of today as well as its change by a one-time case (Nagy 1990).[1]

In order to make mythology an object of comparison, it is necessary to set up its system. One of the ways leading to the reconstruction of Hungarian mythology runs through the domain of aitiological legends, for a part of them is constituted by creations legends, while the whole of the genre, just as a result of the question being approached from the mythical point of view, comes quite close to myths. The basis of the system to be set up is constituted by defining the actions included in the text from the point of view of activity.

They enter into a correlation with the actors, the objects of action (those phenomena belong here whose creation, birth, changes are discussed in the texts and those which, together with the plot, serve as a basis of systematization of the legend catalogue), as well as the temporal aspects.

The system whose changing elements amply demonstrate the close relationship between the genre and myths was constructed on the basis of the investigation of 1190 texts. For the more the individual text, type may be considered as a myth, the more it fits into the system, the greater the unity its versions, related types create. The closer it comes to other genres (animal tales, legends of beliefs), the more peripheric the position it holds within the system.

Since the individual versions and types together serve as the basis of investigation (the version within the type demonstrate a high degree of correlation in the case of an examination from this angle too), an opportunity opens up for making the linguistic formulation of the individual functions of action the object of analysis too. Obviously, the

word used in the vernacular may appear in dialects, and an influence on the text may have been exerted by the individual usage of words and style of the narrator of the text, this, however, definitely remains within the range outlined by the narrative function.

The narratives demanded the systematization of the units constructed in a heap-like fashion for the sake of the investigations of meanings and changes too.[2]

In our case, functional units were set up according to the following viewpoints:

I. 1. action, creation: active, voluntary
   2. active but without the intention of creating
II. changes performed on things existing already
III. the creation of something from something without the interference of creating beings
IV. changes performed by taking away something or eliminating something
V. happening: active but to the non-creating characters who are actually passive from the point of view of creation

Within the five units, it is necessary to investigate separately:

— what emerged from what, what changes occurred
— who are the actors (who is active and who is passive from the point of view of creation),
— the causes giving rise to actions, happenings (crime, punishment, good deed-award, a mere lack of something, etc.)
— the time of action (mythical, biblical, tale, legend, undefined).

The types which cannot be inserted into this set of categories have been collected on a separate page:

a) denomination (only category 2 be applied to the types which may be classified here

b) the explanation of behaviour (= a tale-like explanation of the behaviour of animals, types related to tales on animals may be classified here

c) the explanation of social norms, customs, conjuring up one time, prototype-like events serves as an explanation

d) the explanation of timely events when the event just taking place and the cause bringing it about are simultaneous, the explanation of meteorological phenomena belongs to this type

e) the discovery, mostly accidental, of already existing things

f) explanation of origin with the help of genealogy

A brief description of the messages resulting from the analysis of category I:

Active creation from nothing is connected to the person of *God*. His companion is most frequently the devil, playing the role of demiurgos. It is God who most frequently creates with words: he says something, orders something to happen. When he uses some material for creating, it is most frequently the material of the earth: sand, mud, clay. He is the one to create the most important things, earth, man, useful animals. He mostly does all that in mythical times, when the world is created, when the world starts.

Jesus Christ is a similar creature creating things, without the above dominances. His most frequent companion is Saint Peter. Both of them, thus God too, create from excrement.[3] In addition to forming by hand, the way of action is frequently some kind of forceful influence: hits, beats, kicks, lashes – those are frequently used linguistic forms of their action.

Active participation without the intention of creating is divided up among different

biblical persons; the most frequent appearance is made by Noah, the hero of recreation following the Great Flood, actually acting as an unconscious cultural hero.

Let us take a closer look at category II. *Changing* existing things is connected to God in merely 18 types. Awarding occurs in 4 cases only, one type of them contains awarding and punishment jointly. The nightingale receives a beautiful voice from God as a reward, while the naked man is 'awarded' hair 'to make him beautiful'. In the latter case manual work is performed by Saint Peter according to God's instructions, he rubs some liquid into the man's body in certain places. In a similar manner, following God's advice, Adam and Eve touch their bodies and hair grows in those places. However, the text contains no reference as to whether this new state is to be qualified as an improvement or deterioration compared to their original state. God blesses the gypsy for having stolen a nail from Christ's crucifix: since then he has been allowed to cheat, steal, live without working, etc. God blesses a half of Eve's children and they become rich, happy; he either fails to bless the other half of her children or directly curses them for Eve having hidden them. They become the poor, the subordinates of the rich.

Creatures are subject to other changes with the interference of God: the cow and the horse exchange horns and teeth, they request God to allow them to implement their idea. This legend hides the rarely worded assumption of creation having been erroneous, correction is initiated by the creatures themselves. In a similar manner, in another text people ask God to furnish with a differentiating sign those who they are to give alms to. God makes gypsies into people with dark skin.

However, in most cases changes occur as a consequence of punishment. Thus according to the logic of myths everything was perfect at the time of creation, all the bad and evil things encountered in the world are to be attributed to the sins of some creatures. The sins of man exert an influence on the realm of plants and animals as well: it is the consequence of human sins that God shortens the ear of corn which originally grew long enough to sweep the ground. The horse is no longer able to pull the plough alone, without the instructions of man, whereas originally it used to be so perfect that it was able to do that too; however, man failed to believe in its perfection. Grain too used to be threshed by itself, but a man failed to believe it, he started to thresh himself, since then God has changed the nature of grain too. It frequently occurs that the plants or animals themselves are sinful. The snake loses its feet and turns ugly because it participated in the Fall. The bee dies if it bites someone because, out of sheer malice, it requested the very opposite from God, namely that the one it bites should die. The dog-rose bush is under a curse too.

God himself punishes people in one instance only: as a punishment, God deprives men from menstruation and metes it out on women because 'the man' was unable to bear up against this state discreetly. This legend hides the assumption of the ability to give birth to children being a privilege without expressing it explicitly.

In these legends the time of the occurrence of changes is mythical time, directly following creation, or biblical time, that of the appearance of the first man/couple. This is indicated by the frequent use of a general subject 'a man', 'the man': it actually refers to Adam, representing the human kind.

However, changing the circumstances of the time of creation is the result of the action of *Jesus Christ* rather than of God. In thirty types of legends it is he who carries out correction. His most frequent ways of action are blessing and cursing, i.e. the use of the magic power of words, while the expressions 'rewarded', 'punished' refer to verbal actions indirectly only.

Certain plots include a whole series of types. Such are the rewarding or punishing of different animals and plants by changing them according to whether they hid or revealed

Christ when he was fleeing from his pursuers. This was the reason why the birds became beautiful or ugly, and that is why their appearance and ability to propagate changed, while the form of the trees, the movement of their leaves, their foliage being lost or becoming evergreen, their trunks turning knobly are the outcomes of rewards or punishments. The opposition of even- knobly represents positive-negative values in other legends too, it is the result of an award if something becomes even and it is the consequence of punishment if something that used to be even became knobly. The same holds true for the opposition of straight-crooked: e.g. the Tisza River becomes winding as a result of the punishment meted out because the donkey made an error.

As the companion of Christ, Saint Peter plays a role similar to that of the demiurgos of the devil in a number of legends but far less frequently than in the texts relating the active creation. He hardly ever appears in the texts based upon the opposition of rewarding-punishing, he rather carries out changes which are not justified. He exchanges the heads of the devil and the woman, shortens the shirts of the Slovaks (since then the Slovaks have worn short, shirts, etc.). He acts of his own initiative. As a trickster he twists the tail of the pig, which has been of that shape ever since. The Virgin Mary plays a greater role in the legends relating changes than in those telling about creation. She appears in nine types, and, similarly to Christ, she curses, rewards or punishes. The similarity of the actions of the two actors occurred on account of the similarity in the plots of the legends as well: the motive of escape is dominant in these stories.

In opposition to the creation legends, the devil appears in altogether two cases, independently in one case only. He climbs a tree and where his feet touch the tree its leaves appear and that is why the tree becomes knobly.

Noah's figure appears in this group very seldom too, this function does not correlate with his real role.

In opposition to the figures correcting creation, actually able to create, the leading role in the line of creatures provoking changes is played by the first couple, Adam and Eve, it is only by accident that an appearance in this field is made by figures of secondary importance in biblical times, or by historical heroes or legend heroes, such as Márton Luther or 'Kata Góré', whose, sexual crime is followed by punishment: The trunk of the peach tree that was straight before becomes crooked, or since that time man's knees and woman's butt have been cold.

The number of miraculous texts, not indicating the creating person, presupposing an impressional godly power, has increased in this function, i.e. in the group of texts relating changes. The mythical period of the time of creation is replaced by the greater significance of the biblical times, the era of God's Son visiting the earth which really indicates the final touches of the work of creation.

In opposition to the myths, the proportion of legend-like sacred narratives increases, but here the number of tale-like texts, taking place in biblical times, is still negligible for it will only increase significantly in the legends relating passive happening.

The analysis performed on the basis of the five functions perfectly reflects the degree of 'mythicality' of the genre. With the help of the functions of the creating creatures, which we made the basis of the system, we have received a structure clearly divided into sections, whose, elements are properly adjusted to one another; and the upper layer of the structure may help us discover new things, not yet noticed, in relation to Hungarian mythology which is presently known to a very limited extent. It would be enormous help for comparative research if similar analyses were made related to the aitiological legends of peoples with similar traditions as well.

NOTES

1. The present lecture is related to Nagy (1990). It was delivered at the conference "La variabilité dans littérature orale - genres narratifs Afrique, Europe", held in Paris, May 23-26. 1987.
2. "Our use of comparative analysis is quided by two postilates. First the full meaning of either a tale, a theme, an episode, a motif, or an element is not contained within an isolated text and, therefore, cannot be derived from it alone. Hence, the necessity to construct a subcorpus, regrouping all the tales relevant to the subject under study. Second, any subcorpus, whose common denominator is given by the subject selected, forms a system whose intelligibility can only be grasped by understanding the rules underlying its organisation and whose components can only be defined in relation to one another. Hence, the necessity to compare and contrast them in order to unveil their meaning and function within the constructed system" (Calame-Griaule et al. 1983:155)
3. To the psychoanalitic theory of the anal birth see Dundes 1984:280-281.

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'TÖDIS' IN THE FOLK BELIEFS OF THE KOMI PEOPLE

By

Irina V. Ilyina

Even at the beginning of this century persons who, according to folk beliefs, could achieve contact with the supernatural world still played an important role in the life of the Komi people. This intellectual elite group in traditional society, which included the connoisseurs of folk beliefs and customs, specialists in medicine, different fields of economy, greatly determined the spiritual life of traditional society, securing the accumulation, protection and transmission of knowledge and experience to the following generations.

The general and the most widespread name for these persons was – *tödis'* (*tödny* – 'to know, to learn, to guess'). At the same time there were terms describing certain aspects of their activity: *tun* (*tunavni* – 'to foretell, to tell fortunes'), *nim vidzchis'* – 'guarding the name'. The following terms also existed: *köldun, eretnik* a derivative of the Russian *koldun, eretik* ('wizard' and 'heretic'), the spreading of which was, in all probability, connected with the comprehension of their activity by the Church.

The functions of the sorcerer were various: ensuring luck in crafts and other fields of the economy, searching for missing things, interpreting dreams, predicting the future, healing diseases. The sorcerers often appeared as the leaders of rites, as custodians of the norms of traditional morality.

Although they occupied a special place as mediators between the world of humans and the world of spirits, the sorcerers differed little from their fellow men from the same village: they tended their farms, carried out their crafts. They were sociable and benevolent or reticent and haughty, depending on their characters. The latter were often said to use their forces to harm people.

The sorcerers had a singular hierarchy depending on their power. Some had only knowledge about the channels, through which somebody could appeal to the other world forces for aid, and methods of neutralizing their harmful influence. The power of the others could be explained by their drawing into the world of spirits. It was considered that the knowledge and power were received directly from the spirits or obtained in the supernatural world.

There are many legends in Komi folklore about the great sorcerer-wizards of the past (*Komi legendi i predania* 1984:64-81). On the basis of traditional ideas new legends continue to appear about sorcerers as real persons, who are considered less powerful than their forerunners acquired the epic features. Two groups of legends and traditions

can be distinguished, connected with the initiation into the sorcery and with the sorcerer's practice. The image of a sorcerer preserved archaic features which had not yet been fixed during ethnographical observations.

In ethnographical materials describing the sorcerer as a specialist in one or another sphere, the transmission of special knowledge took place during everyday economic, medical, ritual activity. The successor was, as a rule, chosen from the close relatives, not younger than nine years old.

Before embarking on his study he had to make three promises. He had to transfer all his knowledge to the younger; he would not make it a source of enrichment or an object of boasting; nor would he use it to harm people. The fulfilment of the first order secured the transmission of important and valuable information to the following generations; the two last orders imposed some ethnical duties.

According to tradition, sorcerer's initiation was accompanied by special rites. The initiate person hide himself in the forest. Then the teacher took him to the bath-house at midnight. A red dog come there and belched food onto the floor, which had to be licked by the initiate. After that the education began.

In other materials, to acquire the wizard's power one have to find a black cat and put it into boiling water at midnight in the bath-house. At that time a face with two burning eyes appeared at the bath-house window. If the man was not frightened, this frightful being came inside and taught him how to do witchcraft.

Those who obtained the witchery grasses growing under the water in pools achieved the greatest power. There was an owl near the grasses. The one who caught it remained on the bottom of the pool. The initiate have to put himself under three pools, not get caught by the owl, get the grass and thus receive supernatural power (Sidorov 1928:19-22). In these stories the theme of testing is clearly expressed. In passing through them the initiate formed an alliance with the spirits, received from them knowledge and skills and obtained in the underwater world the witch's means. Having received the supernatural power and knowledge, the sorcerer began to do his work.

The most widespread function of the sorcerer was medical. According to tradition, disease may be caused by the stealing of the soul (or another embodiment of the power of life) by a cruel spirit. The aim was to find and return it to the victim. It is no mere chance that one of the names for the sorcerer – *nim vidzchis'* – is translated as 'guarding the name', which in the context of the ideas about the indissoluble connection between the name and the soul is comparable to 'guarding the soul'.

The following story about sorcery treatment is very significant: suddenly losing his sight, a hunter appealed to the sorcerer Jakov famous in the neighbourhood for aid. He agreed 'to repair the eyes'. The hunter was led to the sorcerer's bath-house, made it hot. Jakov demanded that they be left alone. Then the people surrounding the bath-house saw that it burnt all around with a cold blue fire. Later the sorcerer and the hunter, his eyesight restored, appeared. As Jakov said, the eyes were hidden in a deep pit on the bottom of the Pechora, where he had to put himself using his special power to go under the water. If we take into consideration the fact that in the mythological ideas of the Komi the spatial world picture had a triple structure, and three parts of the universe were connected by the world axis, world tree or world river, the actions of the sorcerer may be regarded as a trip to the lower world, where he obtained the stolen eyes.

The idea of the sorcerer's trip to the lower world is repeatedly duplicated in the healing-magic rites of the Komi. The treatment always took place in the bath-house, on the doorstep of a dwelling, these being comprehended as the boundaries between the worlds, the place of a possible transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead, or in the house – under the girder, symbolizing the world axis connecting the worlds.

Having obtained the necessary magic means, the sorcerer went alone *at night* to the forest branches of three birches or junipers (9 branches from every tree), to *the river* for water from the mouths of 3 tributaries (or three wells), then went down to the underground for cobweb from the cellar's corners and for shavings from three stairs leading under the ground. The calculation was in all cases made in the reverse way: from 9 to 1. I.e. where are available mythological descriptions of the other world, identified with the forest, the mouth of the world river, the underground world in the archaic Komi ideas (Semenov 1985).

Probably the rite conducted by the Komi of the Upper Vichegda is connected with the idea of the sorcerer's trip on the world tree. The dying wizard took from the forest a fir-tree dug up with its roots. He confessed behind it and died. After his death the fir-tree was taken back to the forest and planted in the same place. Ultimately these actions were not maybe concerned only with the *tödis,* but were elements of a paganistic funeral rite securing the unimpeded crossing of the deceased into the other world, fixing the place of dwelling for his soul.

To achieve his aim, to rich those places where man could not get, the sorcerer, so the Komi believed, turned into different animals. The traditional animals – bear, wolf, crow, pigeon, pike – also included the animal mediators. They personify the spirit-masters of the forest and of the water. The sorcerer, having changed into an animal, fish or bird could be in any part of the universe. The legendary wizard Oshlapej could in turn change into a big brown bear, a big pike and hide himself from Stefan of the Perm in a river (Doronin 1938:111-112). As the sorcerer from the village of Lopidino said, in order to change into a bear he maybe only took off his dress, three times turned over against the sun (*shondi gön panyd* – literally 'against the sun pelt'). Turning along the sun motion (*shondi gön n'ylid* – literally 'along the sun pelt'), he regained his former state. The sorcerer changing into an animal and travelling in the universe could be subjected to a great risk. It was considered that it was enough to take away his dress and he would be unable to return to human society (Sidorov 1928:15).

In fulfilling his function, the sorcerer used not only his supernatural resources, but also acted with the help of the spirit-masters, who gave him power over the animals, told him about forthcoming events, pointed out the courses of misfortunes. Thus, Jakov, mentioned above, with the help of his 'forest friends' gathered the animals in the yard of the forest house, rounded up dozens of hares in traps (Konakov 1983:204). Another sorcerer while asleep was notified by the spirits about forthcoming frosts and a dangerous epidemic. Christian ideas made the spirit-assistants look like devils (demons), but in traditional belief they often had zoomorphic shapes.

However, in traditional belief the relations between the sorcerer and the spirits were not synonymous. It was considered that the spirits could torture their chosen one, depriving him of the peace, make him constantly travel up and down a river, causing hallucinations. These relations became far more acute before death: the sorcerer did find a 'new master' for the spirits, experienced torture, and that who agreed to take them perceived 'a gift of witchraft' as a heavy burden.

All ritual practice of the sorcerer was directed at the establishment of contact with the supernatural world; he played the role of mediator between the people and spirits during these rites. With the help of the rites he not only took the necessary information and secured the spirit's support for the society; he also drove out and destroyed the cruel spirits, and fought against the harmful action of the rival wizards.

Generally speaking, the theme of rivalry found a vivid reflection in Komi folklore. Legends about competitions between sorcerers are typical; one of them went in a boat, the other brewed beer on the bank (*Fol'klor naroda komi* 1938).

In real life the competitions between sorcerers could be a form of rivalry for a place in society. These competitions were held on public holidays and at weddings: the defeated sorcerer lost his power of speech, memory, performed strange acts. In order to demonstrate their power, the sorcerers performed different miracles. One of them swallowed sharp things, manipulated with a knife in his throat, burned his body but did not damage himselves. Others did 'the tricks of letting water': suddenly water appeared in the house, it rose so quickly that those present had to take refuge in the upper parts of the house; ducks came to the water and ate there. Just as suddenly all disappeared. Such actions confirmed the sorcerer's power and consolidated his position in society.

In traditional society the sorcerer fulfilled the function of a shaman and he primarily handled contacts with the mythological worlds. His was the role of a mediator, executed through the symbolic trip to the other worlds or contacts with their representatives (spirits), making him important in the life of society and as an individual. Such themes as examinations during initiations, the power of transformation, the demonstration of supernatural skills and qualities, and sorcerers' competitions had many analogies in the traditional beliefs and rites of the peoples of the North and Siberia with the shamanic cultures (*Problemi istorii* ... 1981). But one of the most important elements of shamanism, i.e. healing in the state of trance, is absent. It may be that the technique of ritual trance was known by the ancient Komi and disappeared with the coming of Christianity. It may not be out of place to give a fragment from the Russian medieval chronicle about the Novgorodian who came to the Permian land 'to tell fortunes to the magician'. The magician called for the demons, than lay stunned. The demon pushed him, he got up and went to the Novgorodian and said: 'Gods don't dare to come, you have something that is in their way'. The Novgorodian took off the cross and took it away. The magician began to call demons once more, they came and 'threw him', drove him to convulsions, said all was need for the Novgorodian (Sobolevskij 1929:25). The death of the most powerful sorcerers is connected in epics with the action of the first missionary – Stefan of Perm. Destroyed as a system, but not as a world view, some elements of shamanism continuied to exist in the traditional Komi beliefs for a long time.

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PEASANT ECOTYPES OF FOLK RELIGION

By

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Research in the field of the ecology of religion has made remarkable achievements in the study of archaic, non-Christian religions. Particularly noteworthy are the findings in the exploration of the pre-Christian religions among arctic peoples. This body of research more or less invariably bears out the fact that the religious systems of these societies are usually related to a certain way of life, which is largely dependent on the natural environment. Little has, however, been said about the question of whether ecological factors influence the religious life of developed agricultural or industrial societies, and if they do, to what extent.

In this respect, we face two specific questions. One is the broader or narrower concept of the environment and the other the extent to which environmental adaptation has prevailed in the past few centuries of European Christianity. In my paper I would like to contribute to the latter question, primarily on the basis of Central European material from the Carpathian Basin.

The environment is generally identified as the natural environment. The scientific notion of the environment in the first half of this century included topographic and climatic factors as well as the flora and fauna and the demographic conditions. This view occurs among the recent theories of the ecology of religion (Hultkrantz 1979:228), and an upgrading of biological environmental factors can be observed in the ecological school of anthropology (Anderson 1973:192). This evidently seems to be related to the fact that pre-Christian religions were primary objects of research (cf. Meinhof 1926, Rappaport 1967, Vecsey 1980). Thus the conclusion that the ecological factor can be neglected in advanced technological societies, at their best, but survives in some well-known symbols of Christianity, readily offers itself.

It is true that the industrial society of the present and recent past and, with it, the urbanized Christian religion of today depends on the 'natural' environment only to a very small extent. Moreover, in some views, Christianity is expressly 'anti-environmental' (Hultkrantz 1985:83). It has, contrarywise, close ties to the man-made 'artificial' environment and its economic and socio-cultural context. Suffice it to refer, preliminarily, to the tendency that the environmental adaptation of religion is, to some extent, of a secondary character, and the intermediary stage is constituted by the socio-economic environment. It is obvious, therefore, that if the latter factors exist in modern society – as so they do

– then they exert an influence on religion, too. Tracing the threads back to the ecological roots of the interactive mechanism remains only a routine question.

In practice, this effect can be pointed out both on the macro- level (that is in religio-historical processes) and on the micro-level (that is in certain elements of the particular religion). According to the geographical interpretation, Pentikäinen calls the latter regional, communal, small-group and individual pieces of investigation (Pentikäinen 1975:105). Regarding the former, it is enough to refer to some recent, mainly religio-historical studies which emphasise the religion- forming power of the economic/technological environment. These tendencies do, however, point beyond the framework of the environmental integration of religion and they analyse the phenomena in the context of religio-historical processes (Gustavsson 1982). To point out the impact of environmental effects on particular elements of religion is nearer to those disciplines which deal with religion from the ethnographically and folkloristically oriented viewpoint.

If we examine not the entirety of religion, but only some of its particular elements, from the viewpoint of environmental adaptation, it turns out that the individual elements adapt differentially and through them ecological integration of the local religious systems can be radically different.

Starting from the environmental integration of religion, the comparison with other spheres of culture – briefly, as the case may be – obviously presents itself. A. K. Ghosh states that – in its entirety – religion is connected to ecological factors in an indirect way (Ghosh 1979:222). This relationship can be theoretically argued by studying certain factors of religion. For an investigation like this, we possess plenty of data – primarily from the field of human ecology (Bews 1935). The European peasantry offers very graphic examples of how different kinds of adaptation can exist even within Christianity and to what extent this fact can manifest itself within particular denominations, regional types of observance in the entire religious practice.

The specific dimensions of religious observance in any religion are directly related to the way of life and the economic sphere. This can be observed primarily in cases and life-situations when a particular element or rite of religion becomes, so to speak, a direct factor in production. Religions of hunting societies contain a large number of elements that purport to secure luck in hunting. Farming cultures pay great attention to the fertility of the land, good weather, which is reflected in their religions (Hultkrantz 1965). These phenomena are very well known and, I think, I need not go into detail.

Not only outside Christianity can we find such functions and manifestations of religion. Some production needs of medieval European peasant societies were also, it was thought, served by certain sacraments, prayers for rain and good weather as well as for the fertility of live-stock and land (Franz 1909/II:3).

The Eastern churches (Greek Orthodox, Greek-rite Catholic, etc.) were present in most of every-day events and their rituals. If the parishioners so wished, the church blessed the house against fire the household including the stables, barns, herds, foods, bees, farm-equipment, seeds, wine, oven-well, spring, fishing tools; and the list could be extended at will (Cserbák 1986).

As is commonly known, environmental adaptation in more advanced industrial and agricultural societies takes place in an indirect fashion through the economic and technological sphere (Hurskainen 1987:137). The economic sphere, which is primarily prone to environmental effects, communicates the ecological effects to the religion in its own selective, characteristic way. We may also put it like this: the entire environmental adaptation of the religion takes place with the negotiating help of the human ecological field. Environmental adaptation reveals itself in the layers of religious beliefs in an indirect way. It colours the world of myths and the Christian heritage of sagas and legends with

local elements. For example, various forest-creatures and mysterious characters can be found in the belief-registrations of the Carpathians (Hungarian, Slovak and Roumanian regions), whereas there is practically no trace of them in the treeless areas of the Great Plains.

Apart from the indirect, environmental interaction mechanism, there exists a direct relationship, too, which can be called the primary level of religious ecological integration. This occurrence can also be regarded by way of 'biological' factors, since such factors occupy a place in the structure of religion as the conditions for the biological existence of man. In this way, they can be relatively independent of changes in the economic-cultural sphere, and they appear as ecological, 'natural' environments in the original sense of the word. The prayers and evocations and mass services for the preservation of good health and staving off or curing illness, for securing fertility, the blessing of labouring mothers, or the dying, and the prayers said against thunderstroke and yet other dangers fall into this category.

In most cases, it is not easy to determine whether we are faced with an indirect form of environmental adaptation, or the primary or secondary level of ecological integration. Different phenomena may occur in the same context and in certain types of studies – the history of religion, folklore, comparative theology – there is no need to make distinctions. While, for example, the blessing of the labouring woman is directed at the auspicious conclusion of the biological process and, thus, the ceremony is directly related to a 'natural' life-situation, the rite of initiation is basically socio-economic, although the biological motif is present. Its timing may depend on the economic status of the family, community traditions, etc. The situation is similar in the case of the sick person's ointment, which is linked to a biological state in contrast to the burial rite that is shaped by local tendencies and central regulations. Both examples are reflections of environmental factors independent of religion, but in the former case the socio-economic medium is not interposed.

Similar examples could be quoted from other areas, too. While lightning is a threatening natural phenomenon, and prayer and invocation serve to stave it off, the relationship between biological existence and rites is direct and the birth of the latter is the need embodied in the former. But as soon as good crops are protected against hail in a similar way, the economic sphere, that is, the cultural ecological factor of agricultural character is interposed. The damage caused by hail appear to an industrial worker only through the sphere of distribution, thus the intention to prevent the damage can hardly be embodied in religious expressions.

This phenomenon is perceivable in economic-liturgic processes. In several settlements in the Northern part of the Carpathian Basin the practice of blessing flowers has disappeared or has considerably diminished in the past decade or two. Simultaneously, the significance of traditional cattle-raising in this area has declined and the curing of the remaining stock has been taken over by professionals. The relationship between the two processes is evident, for the primary area of the application of blessing flowers was veterinary folk-medicine (Bartha 1981).

The significance of cultural ecological factors, the transmission-medium of indirect ecological adaptation can be measured as indicated by the above examples, that is, in our case, the significance of the economic sphere in maintaining or terminating the existence of a religious custom.

There is also a third type of the ecological integration of religion, which does not primarily concern the essence or spiritual core or structure of religion but rather its outward appearance and it is therefore a conspicuous phenomenon. Hultkrantz calls this phe-

nomenon 'morphological integration' (Hultkrantz 1979:226). Honko, on the other hand, writes about 'milieu-morphological', that is, 'outward' adaptation (Honko 1985:74).

This kind of environmental adaptation spectacularly manifests itself in the form of ritual garments, feasts, constructions and objects serving religious purposes and in other elements of religion, more closely related to the economic sphere. This is how willow-twigs replaced palm-leaves in the ceremony of Mediterranean origin, due to the plant-geographical conditions in the Central European tradition, although the original object of the sacrament (the palm-leaf) has been preserved in some of the local terms and church usage. Similarly, as a result of morphological adaptation, the chief figure in the cult of Vendel (communicated by the German settlers in Central Europe) as a Hungarian shepherd, together with characteristic tools, appears in some statues in Hungary (Gulyás 1986).

Demographic conditions form an originally human and, at the same time, secondary stratum of a special ecological integration (Sopher 1967:42). The population density and settlement pattern at a certain stage of socio-economic development are dependent, to a large extent, on the natural environment. The population density and settlement patterns will, in turn, have an impact on the formation and operation of certain types of religiosity. We may think of the character of the religious observance of diaspora-settlement and the consequences of a lack of church services. In the Carpathian Basin, the diaspora-settlements in the Great Plain and the ridges of the Carpathian Mountains offer good opportunities for the study of this phenomenon.

It is clear from the aforesaid that ecological factors have been present and have exerted a diverse influence on the religious life of the European peasantry over the centuries. No mention has so far been made of the question whether local or regional ecotypes have come into existence within certain Christian denominations.

Although experience shows that regional or area types of religious practice have taken shape in the same way as in folklore, they cannot be identified with ecotypes since they do not usually come into being as a result of ecological factors. There are, however, some types of religious life which are directly linked to the natural- economic environment.

The best examples can be found in the vineyard monocultures of Central Europe. Religious life is usually centered around a vineyard patron-saint and his worship in the Catholic grape-growing areas. The patron protects the vineyard from hail and disease, and the plantations are full of his statues, chapels and shrines. His adoration has been in the centre of local religious events. Many of the churches bear his name and the greatest religious events, the annual feasts of the patron serve his cult. Although he does not usually occupy a special place among the saints in church doctrines, these saints are placed by the local cult among the main figures of religion. It appears from regional research (the results of which are still being processed) that, apart from the greatest religious holidays, such as Christmas and Easter, the local type of folk religious practice is centered around the patron. I would like to mention, as an interesting addition, that in the case of a poor crop revenge was sought on the picture or statue of the patron by beating or mutilating it.

A similar ecotype shaped by the economic environment can be found in areas specializing in animal husbandry. In such areas the names of Saint Demeter, Saint Vendel and Saint Lenart and other saints can be mentioned. Cults related to the adoration of patrons of well-known trades like mining, industrial trades and sailing are not characteristic of non-farming communities. The question of how far these can be regarded as ecotypes can only be determined by further research.

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DEATH AND ETHNICITY

By

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Hungarian ethnography considers the Hungarian villages located in the vicinity of Nyitra, in Slovakia, to be ones which, by virtue at their position as a peripheral area and a Hungarian enclave, have, to this day, been the preservers of countless archaic cultural phenomena. These thirteen villages are situated to the north and to the east of the town of Nyitra, in a ring of Slovak villages, at the foot of the Zobor and the Gimes Mountains. The district is also called the Zobor District, from the mountain of that name, behind Nyitra.[1] Its historical past, too, allies it with those exceptional Hungarian regions that escaped the depredations of the ravaging Turks. The period between the 10th-13th centuries saw the emergence of feudal large estates; the villages of the Zobor District were, for centuries, under the mastery of the Archbishopric of Esztergom, the Bishopric of Nyitra, and the Forgách Counts (Sziklay – Borovszky n.d.).

Contact with other cultural areas was prevented not only by linguistic isolation and the feudal social conditions but also by the adverse geographical circumstances of the villages located in the valleys of the mountain chains which separated them from the Small Plain.[2]

The distinctive character and culture of the region came within the notice of ethnographical research relatively late. Sándor Résó Ensel, János Erdélyi, József Kelecsény and Arnold Ipolyi were among the first to publish folklore texts from the Zobor District,[3] yet, it was thanks to Zoltán Kodály that it entered public consciousness. Between 1906 and 1917, Kodály made several visits to the Hungarians based in the environs of Nyitra, drawing attention, in the 1909 volume of the journal Ethnographia, to the unique character of the traditional poetry and folk music of the region.[4]

The area has since become one of the foremost collecting areas of Hungarian folkloristics, including research on folk music: irrespective of genre divisions, it is an absolute cornucopia of folk culture for all inquirers.[5]

I myself made my first collecting trip to the area in 1986. Inspired by the results, I have since turned there three times in the period that has elapsed since then to study the role of special days in the calendar, of religion and small religious communities, in the preservation of ethnic consciousness and in the commitment to national existence, and the acceptance of that role with something approaching a sense of mission; for in almost every village community I found some illustrious personages whose activity might serve to illustrate this profound dedication.

My choice fell on Vicsápapáti because this is where I had chanced upon five excellent male precentors – that fact alone is pretty unusual –, whom, on closer acquaintance, I found suitable for the authentic transmission of the liturgical traditions of the village. In the remembrance of these men, the festive tradition attaching to special days in the calendar lives on to this day – passively, for the most part,yet, in the course of particular customs, for instance, on the occasion of the death-watch, in living practice also.

Before going into the substance of what I have to say, a brief profile of the village and of the background community would seem in order.

According to official statistics, Vicsápapáti has 2,240 inhabitants, 10 per cent of whom declare themselves to be Hungarian (*Néprajzi Közlések* 1985). Their number in reality, however, is far higher than that, the statistics being a reflection of the year of the physical and spiritual displacement (the re-Slovakization, the deportations, the population exchange, the alterations of the settlement structure, the forcing into extinction of the Hungarian school); as, indeed, they are a reflection, too, of the moral and intellectual disorientation and ambivalences of self-definition brought on by a sense of being second-class citizens (Janics 1979).

The feeling of uprootedness was increased by the nationalization of lands in 1946, the breakup of the traditional economic-social structure. Some of those left without land worked in the local cooperative, with the majority (primarily the men) seeking jobs in industry in the nearby towns, where they were employed mainly as unskilled labourers in the construction and building industry and as stevedores. All that relegates them to a structurally disadvantaged status, as regards their role in the social stratification, while the migration of people away from the area hastens the erosion of ethnic identity and the process of assimilation (Székely 1988:35, Für 1982:38).

It is common knowledge that, for those living in the minority, the mother tongue is a sign system symbolizing their mutual bonds under a single community, and continuity in the cultivation of the native language is the principal condition of ethnic survival (Für 1982:36, Székely 1988:34).

The Hungarians living in Vicsápapáti are characterized by a confusion of values in the native parlance: we witness the emergence of negative forms of linguistic self-esteem and judgement. It has been in the last couple of decades that this negative linguistic code of values has intensified, as the Hungarian language, isolated from social life, is slowly coming to serve only the most intimate affair of the community, of the family – the kind of communication that resists projection onto the external relations of the community. This process induces a deterioration of the Hungarian language, leading to a decline in the powers for self-expression and self-assertion, as well as to disorders of identification. That disadvantaged linguistic communication model can be traced to the lack of education in the native language and of instruction in Hungarian; though the general loss of prestige of the mother tongue, in linguistic usage, must, at least, partly be laid at the door of the priority of the Slovak language, the bilingual condition. Bilingualism is a precondition for participation in the social division of labour; in the case of the young generation, however, it also implies a retreat of the use of Hungarian for the purposes of communication and, among the youngest, even a relinquishment of their Hungarian identity.[6]

Hungarian is used as a medium of daily intercourse only by the generation of those over fifty; as, indeed, they are the only ones, too, who attend church services held in Hungarian, who watch the programmes on Hungarian TV and tune in to the Hungarian radio.

The linguistic use of the middle-aged is characterized by bilingualism, while the young people and children hardly even speak Hungarian. That results in a linguistic division even within the small, private unit of the family – a division that is already eroding the

ties of kindred and friendship that used to provide cohesion in the past. One of the corollaries is the steadily less frequent observance – indeed, the gradual falling into desuetude – of the traditional community occasions. By now, one can scarcely find a family in Vicsápapáti that spends together the major festivals, the special occasions that were once so important, such as Christmas, the pig-killing feast, or the name-days.

We get a characteristic description of that from one of the preceptors:

> "Things used to be different in the old days. Now you get nothing. Everything's gone, there's nothing new. Now we've got everything, but there's no merriment, only the loneliness."

Young people do not feel this 'loneliness', as the school provides them with the opportunities for socializing (school ceremonies, excursions, disco, etc.). For the older generation, on the other hand, it is the active participation in religious life and in the funeral service that provides scope for the practice of what are called collective representations' (Durkheim 1898:152-155).

These religious manifestations – which are really devotional forms of folk religion – are directed by the community of the preceptor men of the village. It is they who take upon themselves the role of identifying with the Hungarian nationality, of declaring their identity. In a community deprived of intelligence, they, through their acceptance of that role, are the maintainers of a certain cultural heritage. Within the framework provided by religious life, they integrate the behaviour and activity of the individuals organized into small communities.

The precentors of the village are not the sole representatives of the popular spirit. It is well-known in Hungarian folklore that such outstanding leading personalities are to be encountered in most peasant communities (they are the holy men, pilgrimage leaders, professional mourners) – individuals qualified to perform a plurality of roles, both secular and religious. Their talent and special aptitude empower them to act as custodians of, and to develop further, the written and the unwritten tradition.[7]

Holy men and holy women – as their very name indicates – are marked out from the rest of their fellows by their deeper than average religious feelings and knowledge in faith, so that they deservedly become the spiritual, religious guides of the community. Watching over the completeness of the community cult, they keep alive elements of the tradition that are beyond the ken of the priest, given his different social position and educational background.

From the standpoint of the evolution in devotional history, these special individuals may, in fact, be regarded as the intellectual successors of the licentiates, semi-priests of former times. This question has a great literature, which gives ample treatment to the emergency created by the religious misery of the Turkish occupation, an emergency in which necessity and a shortage of priests forced the enlistment of the services of laymen, resulting in a characteristic Hungarian manifestation of lay apostleship (Juhász 1921, Bálint 1974).

In the village under discussion, Vicsápapáti, it is the community of the aforementioned singing men which performs this rule, which there too – it may fairly be stated – has been created by an emergency, as the Hungarian priest working in the village – the only intellectual –, being too much of a loyalist, strives to eliminate the local Hungarian religious traditions; moreover, he does so under a glib flow of reformist rhetoric. Were it not for the precentors, the Hungarian tradition rooted in the ancient paraliturgy would, in all probability, pass into oblivion.

The Hungarians living in Vicsápapáti regard the priest as a servant of God; they recognize and respect him, since he it is who says mass and he administers the

sacraments. Having said that, besides the official ritual, the faithful also have a need for a religious life that is looser in format – one that is self-sufficient, as it were. This paraliturgical form, if you like, is given direction and provided with a focus by the precentor men.

To appreciate fully the significance of the activity of Vicsápapáti's precentors, one needs to make some comparisons with the surrounding Hungarian villages; for, in the villages of the Zobor District, this function has, by now, all but completely disappeared, or it lives – thanks to the efforts of one or two women – only in a drastically vestigial form. I said 'women', because only in Vicsápapáti did I find men.

It may partly be attributable to that fact that the singing tradition treasured by the precentors reflects some more archaic variants and that, in their activity, they continue to preserve numerous traditions of the Catholic Middle Ages and the Catholic Baroque. Prior to divine service, they direct the common praying and singing in the church; in the absence of the priest, they conduct the litany on their own; on All Saints' Day and on All Souls' Day it is they who perform, in the cemetery, the folk liturgy for Allhallows; they prepare with special care for the midnight mass, for the Passion on Palm Sunday and Good Friday; they are the ones who run the pious societies, who lead the pilgrimage; they keep vigil in the houses of mourning; in short, they foster those manifestations of piety which run counter to the moral ecology of the century, with its individualistic and analytical bias.

As far as keeping awake the Hungarians' awareness of their identity is concerned, and from a folkloric-aesthetic standpoint, the most important role of the precentors is that which they perform in the course of the wake – funeral – funeral-feast. Up until recent years – until the priest began to forbid or curb the practice –, the death-watch used to be conducted in conformance with what they refer to as the tradition bequeathed by the ancestors'. The survival of the rites surrounding the dead – even in their progressive diminution – is important in Vicsápapáti because it is this tradition that has preserved the symbols of funeral customs; and it is almost obligatory for the entire community to join in the whole ritual or at least particular phases of it, starting with the death-watch right to the burial feast. The vigil obliges everyone to pay the last respects. Thus, if at no other times, at least on these occasions the community, the family are together, infusing them with a heightened sense of belonging together.

In Vicsápapáti, the precentors keep vigil on two evenings. On the first evening, it lasts for a shorter time, while the second vigil lasts until midnight – indeed, in the old days it used to last until the early hours of the morning. Also, the latter occasion is the more ceremonious and solemn of the two, conducted, as it is, according to a set ritual.[8]

The precentor men are invited to keep vigil by both the Hungarians and the Slovaks. The vigil is conducted by the precentors, from their manuscript books and copy-books inherited from their predecessors. They have a peculiar singing material: for every occasion they present a rich repertoire. At the vigil, the choice is determined by the contents of the singing, the psalms, depending on the rank, gender, age, morals, faith, and marital status of the deceased person. Different songs are sung for believers, for users of the rosary, for unbelievers, for fathers of families, and lay elders. As they say,

> "We give the initial song to everybody; then we talk about eternity, and then we give warning to the living about death, about mortality and passing, the inevitability of death, with the consolation of eternal life."[9]

Their repertoire of songs combines the pieces of the lay vocal tradition and those of cantorial practice. It is probably at least partly attributable to their habitation of a peripheral region that a large part of the lyrics of their wake songs are chosen from the 1891 edition

of István Illyés's popular psalm-book. Illyés's collection, entitled *Soltári Énekek és Halottas Énekek (Psalms and Funeral Songs),* occupies a prominent place among his folk hymn collections. It has preserved and rescued a part of the material of the 16th century Protestant-Catholic commonstyle.[10] In addition, they use various religious broadsheets, manuscript booklets and hymn-books, which are ethnographical documents, as well as documents of devotional history and of the history of taste.

The rendition of the wake songs is uniform. Every song or psalm is sung right through, with all the verses. They often know several different lyrics to the same melody and, conversely, one particular lyric may be sung to different tunes. Accordingly, here too we may observe changes of melody and lyrics and the phenomenon of wandering melody.

Of the five singers, Péter Billik (1921) is the principal custodian of the tradition. He has, to a certain extent, a follower in his younger brother Ferenc Billik (1926), who stands out with his voice among the rest. He is the one most open to new trends; given a slight bent in his character for fashion, he may be inclined to loosen somewhat the rigorous constraints of tradition. He is an outward-looking person, maintaining contact with the pilgrimage guides of the other villages. The other three singers – Mihály Chudy (1915), Vendel Chudy (1920), and Mihály Andrásko (1937) – may be described as occupying an intermediate position. They retain their good sense of style, but they receive the new with some reservations. In one way or another, they are ail related to each other, allowing us to regard it as a case of a tradition being handed down within a narrow family circle. Within living memory, the line can be traced unbroken to several generations. Precentorship is complemented by the bell-ringer's, sexton's, and parish- clerk's activity. They, the five of them still perform their duty with the sense of vocation and responsibility they have received from their forefathers - as a national mission, as it were, 'in the name of God'.

Precentorship – as they themselves put it – 'requires an exemplary life', for this, too, is instrumental in winning the approval and respect of the community. This is what one of them had to say about this:

> "We followed our father because we saw all that industry in him and his faithfulness to God. He had accepted this role, he felt it to be his duty to stay true to his Magyar roots and to teach people to revere God. If a precentor praising God did not know how to honour or admonish his fellows, his singing would have no value. ... But praying is not all you must or can do or an exemplary life is, in itself, prayer too. We must exhort the people who have come to be very much like those seeds mentioned in the Gospel which fell on rocky ground. We must awaken them so that they will attend to God, for we are not on our own in this world" (Ferenc Billik 1987).

By their service perform 'in the name of God', they do a great deal for the Hungarians living in those parts. And, sure enough, they are intensely aware of the importance of that, as is apparent from the following remark they made:

> "When we die, that will be the end of the Hungarians here. Because when we let the tradition die out then everything else will die out, too. I think, therefore, that we ought to keep the old custom, if we can" (Péter Billik 1988).

NOTES

1. This district is the northwestern boundary of the Palóc dialect area. The villages of the Zobor District include the following: Alsóbodok, Béd, Csitár, Gerencsér, Geszte, Ghymes, Kolony, Lédec, Menyhe, Nyitraegerszeg, Pográny, Vicsápapáti, and Zsére.
   Some of those living here declare themselves to be Székely, their ancestors having settled in the region as defenders of the border-land. They cite as evidence the family names: the frequent names include Székely, Erdély, Hajdu, Czakó, Andráskó, and Farkas. (See Orbán n.d., I:4, and Jókai 1989:1-2).
   According to another variant in the oral tradition, the area provided refuge to those pagan Hungarians who refused to adopt Christianity. To support that contention, the names of particular *dülő-s* are mentioned (*dülő* = a large unit of fields several of which make up the lands of one parish), such as Hajnalgyep ('Dawn Lawn'), Hajnalkert ('Dawn Garden'), Táncosfa ('Dancers' Tree'), Vaskapu ('Iron Gate') (Jókai 1989:1, Bakay 1978:56-57, Virt 1987:7-9).
2. According to János Manga, "the peasants of the district have preserved to this day many ethnographical phenomena no longer to be found in most other districts. That is due to the closed geographical situation of the Hungarians living there, the Slavic ring, from which we find only a narrow connecting line towards the southeast, touching the villages of Kalász, Aha, Csifár, and Tild, into the Garam Valley" (Manga 1942:3).
3. Relying on Pál Kelecsényi, János Erdélyi (1848:148-150), set forth a Midsummer Day's custom from Kolon, another version is presented by József Kelecsényi (1854, III:29-31), Arnold Ipolyi (1854:192-194), Sándor Résó Ensel (1867:178-188), and in separate studies by Ferenc Atovich (1899:220), and by Béla Vikár (1901:353-363, 401-417, 449-459, 497-503).
4. The result of Kodály's collecting work is 752 melodies noted down or recorded for phonograph. (See Kodály 1909:29-36, 116-121, 245-247, 1913:114-116, 169-174, 235-239, 292-294, 357-361, 1953, 1955, 1956).
5. It was the fieldwork and studies of Zoltán Kodály and János Manga that opened a window on the rich tradition of festive customs that the villages of the Zobor District had once possessed. Of Manga's innumerable essays, I here call attention to the one published in 1942.
   Treading in Kodály's footsteps in this region were László Vikár (1958:1-4), members of the Musicological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (László Dobszay, Janka Szendrey, and Benjámin Rajeczky), and Tibor Ág and his colleagues (Ág 1974).
6. The dangers of bilinguality are discussed by Székely (1988:42).
7. The most comprehensive treatment of this question has been provided by Sándor Bálint (1942 and 1981).
8. The bell-ringer informs the community of the beginning of the vigil by a brief ringing of the bell or, as they say, by the sounding of a verse. In general, people start gathering at the house of mourning after mass, at sunset. "When right falls, well, that is the time that the precentors and the prayer leaders come to the house of mourning, – they are the ones who pray and sing beside the deceased person, here and there, they may have a drink or two, a little wake-me-up stuff is brought for them, and they entertain the family. They comfort them, so it's called a vigil. They keep vigil till morning. They disperse at 3 after midnight." (Ferenc Billik 1988).
   "In the room of the vigil, the singers have a separate table. Everything is got ready, with a candle and a crucifix placed on the table. The candle is lit by the singers, who also put it out when the vigil is over. The singers are the first to take their places at the table, which is to the left of the bier. The principal singer sits at the head of the table, with the others seated to the left of him. He starts the singing, and then it goes round counterclockwise. The chief singer is the conductor, he gives the commands and the starting tone. While he prays, none is allowed to smoke, for prayers are said three times" (Péter Billik 1988). For every occasion, the singers choose the songs in such a way that they have enough material to continue the whole right through. During

the vigil, they keep short breaks every now and again. At these times, they are offered some refreshments, and they talk to the relatives. "There they talked not only about things to do with God but also how the life of the dead person had been spent – how much they had toiled and suffered, and, if they knew them well or they were friends, they also recited the mistakes, the mistakes the poor man or woman had made or the good things they had done" (Mihály Chudy 1988).

"When we finish the vigil, a relative – the one that was closest to the dead person – is charged with offering refreshments. The prayer leader, in turn, gives thanks: 'May God give eternal rest to the dead and strength and health to us, who live, and, when we die, may He give us eternal salvation after our death. May the Lord God bless us in our lives, in our body and soul, in our faithful living. When we die, may He forgive us our sins. May God bless us" (Ferenc Billik 1987).

"And when the people go home, we go up to the coffin. Placed at the end of it is the holy water, with a small sprig of evergreen in it. With this we consecrate the dead person and make the sign of the cross over them: 'Farewell, my friend! We shall meet in the next world.' That is how we take leave of the departed" (Péter Billik 1988).

9. "Before every song, every psalm, each time we begin, we say the Lord's Prayer three times and the litany, the litany for Allhallows. Then come the songs. The Lord's Prayer and the litany form a single block, whether they [the deceased person] are young or old. When it is a small child, we say just a small prayer, three Lord's Prayers, and then we begin the song 'Liliomnál és rózsánál valék szebb virágszál!' [I was a flower more beautiful than a lily or a rose.] If the departed is between, say, twelve and twenty, we sing the song beginning with the words 'Én is vőlegény vagyok' [I am a bride-groom, too]. For girls over ten, we sing 'Föltették a szűzkoszorút a menyasszonynak' [The virgin's wreath has been put on the bride]. 'Emlékezzünk mi keresztény népek' [Let us remember, Christians] is recited beside family men, while for the older ones we do 'Megszabadultam én a testi haláltól' [I have been delivered of bodily death]. There are songs we sing for both men and women – 'Serkenj fel már ember bűneidből' [Awake, man, from your sins] is one of those. We sing it when the departed is over forty. It is suitable for men who – like me, let's say – were hard workers, slaving away for much of the time" (Ferenc Billik 1988).
10. See Dobszay (1972:240-241) and Zsuzsanna Erdélyi's textual notes in László Lajtha's monograph (1956:569). Illyés must be given credit for the fact that the popular productions of the 16th- and 17th-century religious literature have survived. It is a measure of the popularity of Illyés's book that, up till 1921, it had gone through several editions.

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THE SEMANTICS OF THE DOUBLE BURIAL IN A KARELIAN FUNERAL RITE

By

Terhi Utriainen

In the beginning of this century, Robert Hertz wrote about the double funeral in Indonesia in his essay *Contribution a une étude sur la représentation de la mort* (1907/1970; for Hertz see also Huntington and Metcalf 1979). In the practice of double funeral, the corpse of the deceased is buried twice: first as a rottening and fleshy body and then, after a certain time lapse, as purified, clean substance that is represented by dry bones alone. The second burial was considered final: it gave the deceased the status of an ancestor, and it established and reproduced the intended and traditional relations between the living and the dead.

The liminal period between the two funerals, as Hertz remarks, was as long as the time needed for the decaying of the flesh. During this time the soul of the deceased was believed to free itself of the burden of the material flesh and achieve status in the realm of the dead. This liminal period was also important, for the mourning relatives in constructing a new identity vis a vis the loss.

It is interesting in Hertz's findings that when one person's death calls for two burials, there are two different 'entities' being buried, the first of which is impure, and second of which is pure. What is impure is the flesh and the process of change: decaying, rottening, missing and grief – the chaos that breaks the social order and the identity of interpersonal relations. It is notable that not only the corpse is impure, but that the contamination spreads over the whole transition process of mourning as well. Hertz writes that grief corresponds to the situation of the dead on the level of anti-form. Something like this has been, of course, noted also by other acknowledged anthropologists, especially by Mary Douglas in her *Purity and Danger* (1966). I should say that the period of the decaying corpse is the representation of dying rather than death. The closest relatives of the deceased are also 'nowhere' like the dead him/herself; they are also 'dying' to something. There is not any more – or yet – any sign or significant entity with a solid existence.

The aim of this process is to produce a meaningful state of affairs, a significant sign or even a religious symbol: the ancestor. This is the position where the interpreter (i.e. the mourner) recognizes his/her identity vis a vis something 'other': the sign interpreted. This stable state of affairs is represented by dry, clean bones. In the semiotic and psychoanalytic interpretation death (vs. dying) is in this way the ultimate law that dictates the order and form of things, and fixes the identities.

If the human subject is considered to be situational rather than essential (as for example in recent anthropology of emotions by Abu-Lughod 1986, Lutz 1987 etc.), i.e. if it is understood to exist continuously in the acts of signification and interpretation, the two different representations of death and dying imply two different subjects. The subject of a process is different from the subject of the stable state of affairs. The subject of the process is not coherent; it is determined by lack of other, lack at object, and lack of its own identity construing boundaries. The subject of stable state of affairs has this identity.

This 'psychologization' of the meaning of the ritual is seen in Hertz when he writes about 'une série de déchirements intérieurs' (a series of internal ruptures). He continues that the realization of death happens as a slow process because it has to draw from the opposing memories, images and desires for something very much alive (Hertz 1970:76).

These notions by Hertz bear some remarkable similarities to the French linguist and psychoanalyst Julia Kristeva's concepts of different signifying processes and their accordingly different subjects. Kristeva calls *symbolic* that modality of signification we normally call language. Among the characteristic functions of the symbolic are propositionality, linearity and the tendency to fix meanings. Common attributes of the subject of the symbolic are intentionality and the sense of coherence and totality. This subject categorizes the world very much by affirming and negating. These activities tend to ensure its own integrity. No discourse is ever solely and purely symbolic in Kristeva's sense, but the most strongly symbolic discourses are found among scientific language and traditional novel (Kristeva 1984; Kristeva's terminology: see editor's preface to Kristeva 1980b).

The opposite but coexistent modality of signification in Kristeva's theory is called the semiotic process. The processual semiotic subject does not fix meanings or identities by using the logic of approval and negation. It works initially on the model of borderless mother-child relation. In the history of subject formation the semiotic process proceeds the symbolic language, but more important still is to observe its functioning inside different symbolic activities. The different manifestations of the semiotic in the symbolic are seen in breaks, ruptures, failures and fading of fixed meanings and identities that are based on clear borderlines (Kristeva 1984:40,68).

Kristeva calls the instances of the semiotic in the symbolic by the name abject, something abominable not intended no-identity: something that is not yet a sign and thus does not fit in a subject-object-relation. She finds it both in marginal discourses (such as avant garde poetry and verbal expressions of great mystics) and in central discourses of power. She also says that it is always present in archaic rituals, which aim at building identities and separating the new from the old (Kristeva 1980a).

In my master's thesis I was interested in these two modalities of language and ritual. The genre analysis categorizes *laments* as ritual poetry, ritual language. Aili Nenola, who has studied Ingrian laments says,

> "a lament means an improvised song of complaint drawing on a traditional stock of linguistic and musical expression usually performed in the context of rituals connected with death and marriage" (Nenola-Kallio 1982:16).

That lament's meanings are actualized and belong mostly to the context of ritual is argued also in Unelma Konkka's careful study *Ikuinen ikävä, karjalaiset riitti-itkut* (1985; 'Eternal longing, Karelian ritual laments'). Lauri Honko sees the anomaly of the laments as serving the same ends and highly therapeutic functions as the ritual it belongs to (Honko 1963).

Starting with Hertz and Kristeva in my tentative analysis of the death lament, the dirge, I also want to see lament in its ritual context, but I want to question its equivalence with

the rest of the ritual. In my analysis the ritual represents the symbolic language and laments represent its challenge, the semiotic process.

If I try to find the phenomenon of the double funeral on the level of meanings in old Karelian-orthodox death ritual and the discourse of death in general, I can choose between two approaches. The first is to take a chronological perspective to see, whether the stages that Hertz found in Indonesia could be found in Karelia, even though the corpse is not actually buried twice. This is a rather traditional approach to rituals, which was first formalized by van Gennep and later by Victor Turner. The second would be to look for the two significative modalities synchronically attached to each other – a more psychoanalytical 'close-reading'. I will proceed from one to two, and consider the different representations of death. As material for analysis in this attempt, I have used Samuli Paulaharju's text *Syntymä, Lapsuus, Kuolema* ('Birth, childhood, death') that dates to 1925, and where he recounts a Karelian woman's, Anni Lehtonen's, knowledge of her own tradition. The book includes 53 dirges or fragments of dirges in their ritual context.

The place and importance of death in Karelian life can be seen in a nine-stage quasi-chronologization of the discourse of death.

The stages are the following: (1) diseases that were seen to wander all over around the individual, family and home; (2) the specific disease that was understood to end in death; (3) the act of dying; (4) the period of three days and nights the corpse was at home prepared for the journey the Otherworld; (5) the burying and 'the first funeral'; (6) the second funeral ritual six weeks later called 'the six weeks meal'; (7) the memorial day one year after the death; (8) other calendrical memorial days of the collective dead of the family; and (9) sudden occasions of memorizing a particular dead person.

The representation is chronological in that it describes the order of the process that takes place at each individual death, but on the other hand it is a one, ongoing process. It contains both the fixed calendrical meanings, the law of the seasons and livelihoods, attached to the ancestors of the family as well as to gods and the guardian spirits – and the sporadic outbursts of longing and lack. It also pictures the threat of death as the underlying condition of life in the form of diseases continuously present in all elements of nature which included also the death represented by a corpse, wandering spirits, or even soil from the cemetery, used for magical purposes.

The first funeral, the burial, is surrounded by liminality. Both the period of three days when the corpse is kept home and the six weeks after the burial are filled with strict ritual restrictions that are articulated in prohibitions and orders. In fact the restrictions begin already during the illness and they occur every time the dead are memorized collectively. In Paulaharju's text, I counted 126 different prohibitions (not including orders) of the form 'one must not'. 42 per cent of the prohibitions were in force for the period from the actual death till the six weeks meal. Much of normal daily activity was not allowed including cleaning up and other kind of homework as well as sexual activity.

One of the most important things prohibited was the use of the Christian name of the person once dead. The 'official' name deceased (*vainaja* in Finnish, *pokoiniekka* in Karelian) was however also prohibited until the six weeks meal. In my interpretation, this was because there was nothing any more that could have been represented by the particular name: no real sign for interpretation – nor was there anything yet that could have been represented by the common and communal name 'deceased'. Therefore there was a special transition name, *pokoilussa,* that can be translated by 'the soul of the dead', that was in use for six weeks for some wandering unidentity: abject. (Or should we say that this namegiving activity repressed the real abject?) After the six weeks the dead was called 'deceased' and later in some occasions still by the name *'syntyset',* translated by Nenola as 'the born ones' but also to be understood as those who have given birth to

the subject, the ancestors (the Finnish verb *syntyä,* 'to be born'), and the whole Otherworld (Konkka 1985:37-40).

In fact the status of the sick, dying or dead person seen also in the names given by relatives, is also reflected in the status and identity of the giver of the name. When searching for a diagnosis and hence a name to a disease, people are looking for an identity and certainty, a cause and a reason. The same is seen in relatives and friends concentrating on the quality of the act of dying: whether it is 'good' or 'bad', understandable or ununderstandable. The corpse at home must never be left unguarded so that nothing unexpectable could happen. It has to be touched in a certain way and it must not be touched at all by certain people. It must not be approached carelessly as if it were alive.

The transition name makes the dead untouchable. The motivation is to avoid mixing of the order of life and death, but at the same time something that can be thought of and manipulated in a restricted way. Finally, when accorded the name *syntyset,* the dead has dissolved in the ancestral law, that it itself one of the main ordering principles of social life, and thus meaningful. The transition rite is completed by the symbolic logic of proposition, linearity, affirmation, negation and intentionality, and identities are guarded from dissolving or vanishing.

Dirges are sung all along the death ritual, starting from the washing up of the corpse. Before that, i.e. during the act of dying, laments are prohibited. Singing of laments follow all the significant stages of the ritual and their importance to the death ritual is crystallised in Anni Lehtonen's saying: "a human being cannot be buried without accompanying laments"; laments are essential to humanity. Laments are a very important language of the ritual, and they may be seen to serve the same coercive functions as the normative and categorizing ritual. But, if we look at the representations of the dead, death and dying, and the relations of the living and the dead, the laments show a different attitude to the world. The most fruitful method is to compare the ritual's message to that of the lament's. In this perspective, the semiotic does not reduce itself to one liminal period in the ritual, but intertwines with it.

Where the normative ritual proceeds toward one end using prohibitions and orders as negative and affirmative processes to ensure identities, laments comment on all significant ritual acts. This commenting does not, however, follow the same logic, but it is rather aimed at questioning and doubting the logic itself. When the ritual acts to keep the dead and the corpse immobile and in control, the laments try to waken and move it (e.g. the 'waking-lament' on the first morning after the death). In the ritual discourse outside laments the most feared thing is a potentially moving/living corpse. Endlessly moving dead, the dead without status (see Pentikäinen 1969) are both something that must be avoided and something that at the same time give reason to much talk, gossip, and communication in general.

This 'dialogue' of the death ritual is very interesting. Both Konkka and Honko have noticed it. Honko writes that wondering and avoiding the facts of the reality are characteristic to Karelian laments (Honko 1963:109-110). Konkka sees ail laments full of surprise, opposition and urging (Konkka 1985:43). Also Martti Haavio writes that the universal trait of laments is that they represent a "senseless human wish" that what happened would not have happened (Haavio 1935:212).

But despite the discovery of this controversy in the language of laments, they have usually been interpreted as fulfilling the same function with the ritual by giving outlet to negative tensions. Most analyses have taken for granted the functionalistic view of the rite as a whole. This anthropological tendency to see death rituals as a coherent whole has been reproached e.g. by Renato Rosaldo (1988). Reading of the laments' repre-

sentations without trying to put them in the same frame of reference with an assumed 'whole of the ritual' reveals a different conception of human subjects in the world.

Even though the religious cosmology says what the realm of the dead is like, lamenters ask the dead where he/she is going and why. Laments ask why the dead leaves the living in lack and need; they also reproach the dead and insist on his/her answering or taking some sort of contact. The names used of the dead in laments are based on the close relationship between the dead and the mourner. The family relation is often expressed in a very concrete and even physical form: the mother is called for example 'my bearer one' *(kantajaiseni)* – names of berries and fruits as well as animals are also used. Aili Nenola has analysed the different categories and strategies of names used in laments, and she notes that they are most often based on the mother-child relationship's intimacy (Nenola-Kallio 1982).

Intimacy and unwillingness to accept socially given boundaries – or perhaps the unrelevance of those boundaries in this discourse – can also be seen in the humanitas-nature relation. In the attempts to avoid contagious diseases, this border had to be respected and stabilized. The violation of certain borders was one of the main sources of pollution. The categories of human culture and inhuman nature are however something that dissolves in the world presented in the laments. Names for natural objects are the richest source to names given to the dead. When future contact between the dead and the living is wished for, the dead is often asked to appear in the form of a bird, a flower or some sort of grass or hay. Also the language of the birds is identified with the language of the dead.

In the lament sung at the scene of the burial, the soil that fills the grave is seen as a border that separates the living from the dead. The lamenter looks at the darkness and coldness of the grave, not wanting to accept the law of the death that is the normative principle that constitutes the community. The lament sung after the washing up of the corpse tells, how awful the loved one looks like on the border of death's realm.

In its way, the lament refuses to accept the distance and perspective between the subject and the object that the categorizing ritual tries to construct. This distance is also the distance between life and death; distance both horrible and natural. In the language of laments, the death in its different aspects is brought closer to the witnesses. The laments also talk continuously about the one who laments and mourns, admitting his/her unstable state caused by death. The lamenter/mourner is rejected, uncertain, incomplete: abject. The attributes of the subject of the lament sung when washing the corpse are: poor soul, orphan, a placeless one that no one addresses with kind words. The relative in grief has no stable status but he/she also moves on the marge of meaning just as much as the dead before becoming the 'deceased'. The signification of grief and mourning become close to melancholy in that they break meanings and create new language. The loss in the world becomes internal loss in the subject's constitution (Kristeva 1987).

The interpretive act of mourning does not automatically stop when a certain time (marginal phase) has passed, and when certain memorial rites have been performed. The lamentation may occur even after several years. It seems likely that the ritual of prohibitions with its intended restoration of fixed meanings really is only one, if perhaps the ideal representation of death in the Karelian case study. The laments provide perhaps a more real and continuous representation, and that is the representation of dying as a process that violates the boundaries between the subject and the object. Still various representations of both the death and its subject are likely to be found, if more genres and more language material could be taken under analysis. This has just been a pilot study.

Epilogue – A few more words on the potential context of my analysis: does it communicate with other studies within the anthropology of death? The French historian Philip Ariès (1987) has argued that the representations of death change in time, and that their change describes the changes of the concept of the human subject. According to his analysis, the subject of death can be as well in plural as in singular, it can be the first, the second or the third person. Ariès' material comes from one culture at different times: the European. L.-V. Thomas (1980) has received largely the same results in a comparative semiotic study of the French and the West African discourses of death.

My aim is to try to see if this plurality could be found in the texts of one culture. Both Kristeva's and some feminist/female anthropologists' writings have guided me to look for contextual subjects. And death is a very changing though universal context.

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RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES, VALUES AND WORLD VIEW: A STUDY AMONG CONTEMPORARY YOUNG FINNS

By

Helena Helve

Introduction

This paper presents a framework for specifying and analysing world view, and exemplifies it by discussing a long term project devoted to the religious traditions current among contemporary Finnish young people.[1] It is motivated by the need to elaborate a new kind of descriptive and open concept of religion which would be applicable to young people. The underlying idea is that the term 'religious' has a wider range for young people than it does in our traditional culture.

Rates of church membership in Finland are quite high.[2] More than ninety per cent of Finnish children are baptized as members of a Christian congregation, and almost half of those between the ages of four and six attend a congregation-run day camp. Ninety-two percent of the fifteen-year olds attend confirmation class which, upon completion, makes them eligible to be married in church. Religion is also taught as a subject in Finnish schools.

Even if the above information conveys the impression that Finns are very religious, the indicators of religious commitment are generally very low. The active role of the national churches in contemporary Finland has been restricted to two spheres. On the one hand the churches play an important role as a provider of public rites – Christmas, baptism, confirmations, weddings, and funerals – connected with family events and festivities and which bind relatives and friends together. On the other hand they participate in certain state ceremonies such as the opening of both parliament and the universities. Here the church has a legally sanctioned function as the organ for expressing a feeling of nationhood.[3]

The development described above has taken place during Finland's transition to a postindustrial society. Advances in science and technology continue to reinforce trends towards forms of humanism which exclude the concept of transcendence and see all knowledge as resting upon science. But science has not succeeded in providing the young people of Finland's post-industrial society with powerful ideological themes. This

role has been assumed by nationalism.[4] The spiritual resources typical of contemporary young people, I will demonstrate, contains a religious core consisting of individual human rights, self-fulfilment, and individual expansion, combined with a recognition of social interdependence, the continuation of networks of kinship and friendship, and an undogmatic, privatized world view based on Christian values and traditions.[5]

This paper is an attempt to use formal argument and empirical investigation to specify a framework for the analysis of world view. The focus is on questions concerning the definition and content of world view, its construction, its relations with cultural conditions and the manner in which it is formed and changes.

Research on the Formation of Religious Attitudes, Values and World View

My study of the world view of young Finns consists of two projects. The religious attitudes, values, and the world views of young Finns have been examined:

(1) In a longitudinal study which has lasted for the past ten years. This long-term research project studied the world views of young people born in the years 1968 (N=41) and 1965 (N=31). The study has been conducted in three different phases. The world views of seventy-two of these same young people as well as the manner of their formation, was studied in 1976, 1982-83, and 1984-85. This made it possible to study the world views of the individuals in the two groups at the ages of 8,14, and 17, and at 11,17, and 20. The young people studied were from a suburb of metropolitan Helsinki.[6]

(2) In a comparative study based on data collected in 1989-90 from 240 young people between the ages of sixteen and nineteen.

Purpose of the Analysis

The interest of these projects has been in developing causal explanations which could link the formation of young people's attitudes and values with broader sets of religiosity and world view in the context of family, the church, education, mass media, and social and leisure institutions.

The most important problems studied were:

1. What kind of religious attitudes, values, and world view do the young people have?
2. How do these develop during the transition from childhood to adolescence and adulthood?
3. What factors influence the young people's attitudes, values, and worldviews?

These main problems were reduced to the following subproblems:

1. What kind of religious ideas do the young people have on the cognitive level, what are their ideas about supernatural powers, the origin of the world and life, of life elsewhere in the universe, and death, in other words, what kind of religious beliefs do the young people have?[7]
2. What kind of religious experiences do the young people have, that is to say, what is the nature of their relationship to and dependence on the supernatural? We understand religious experience here to refer to the individual's subjective involvement with the sacred.[8]
3. What kind of ritual religious behaviour do the young people exhibit? The dynamic potential of religious ritual suggests its link with religious belief as well as with religious experience.[9]

4. How is religious tradition linked to the young people's world view, what significance does it have for its development, and how does tradition influence the development of their world view?

Methodology

The following methods were used in the study for the collection of data: questionnaires, word association, and sentence completion tests, the so-called projective picture tests, and individual and group-focused interviews which were complemented by pictures. The 1990 interviews were videotaped. The questionnaires for the longitudinal research were also sent to the parents of the young people studied. The results of this research were analysed using statistical multivariate methods and by specification of the contents.[10]

The development of young people's world view from childhood to adulthood has not been studied over the long term. Only a few empirical studies of world view have been made, and they are characterized by conceptual fragmentation. A theoretical framework for studying world view should be developed, as should research methods suitable for studying world view.

An understanding of the socialization process in the formation of religious attitudes, values, and world view has been hampered by the lack of a theoretical concept concerning world view development and change which could be readily utilized for empirical research in the field. Only with extended longitudinal studies shall we gain reliable knowledge about these matters.[11]

Sophisticated theorizing about world views is generally not accompanied by a utilization of concept which would make it possible to assess them in their variety from one group and social context to another.

One of the disadvantages of the sociology of religion is that in survey research we must usually accept at face value whatever our respondents tell us. Attitudes and opinions can be very poor reflections of social reality and fail to predict world view. In this study mutually complementary qualitative and quantitative research data were used in an effort to eliminate this problem.

The Dimensions of a World View

World view as an object of research covers a considerable amount of territory. My study examines the young people's world view according to the following dimensions:

1. The cognitive dimension of the word-view into which the individual has been socialized by the home, church, mass communications media, and other social institutions. This includes the concepts of the world and of life, of the supernatural, of death, time, and space, of man and nature, and of society (it is essentially a belief system).[12]

2. The emotive dimension which includes the material of the world view obtained through experiences and feelings, such as feelings, prospects, fears, and joys; in other words how the young people experience the present world as well as their future.

3. The operational dimension, since I presume that the world view can be seen in a person's actions and mode of life, even though it does not guide it explicitly as a world philosophy does.

4. The social dimension as the relationships to other people.

5. The cultural dimension. The young people have been socialized in to some elements of our traditional culture, as well as some of the youth culture, and they have used these as some of the elements of their world view.

The Concept and Formation of a World View

Peoples' world view is affected by cultural, social, economic, historical, and even ecological aspects. Our world view consists of opinions and beliefs. Values and attitudes are also included, since the formation of a world view presupposes choices such as what we consider to be important and essential, and what we do not.

Evidently, every person's world view begins its development in early childhood. Young people's development, their experiences in their physical environment and their activities in their social environment all contribute to the formation of their *individual world views.* By drawing conclusions on the basis of their experiences they find out for themselves what the world is like. Consequently their world-view, even if it contains specific elements which one generation has taken from its predecessor, is not only a belief-system into which individuals have been socialized from generation to generation. These are part of the *collective* dimension of the world view which is inherited on the level of society. Our personalities are formed in social communities and our ways of seeing the world are shaped by the shared images and constructions of our social group, class, and gender.

Children do not internalize the world of others who are significant to them as one of many possible worlds. They internalize it as the world, the only existing and conceivable one. The internalized attitudes are mediated to children from emotionally charged social interaction with their parents, or other people similar to them. The received world is experienced as the only world. A commitment to norms, values and cultural themes or religion means that people may hold at least consensual public values and privatized values.[13]

Children and young people conceptualize the world in different ways at different stages of their development, according to their own cognitive development.[14] Infancy, childhood and adolescence are each characterized by the development of basic abilities to think and learn, by the shaping attitudes, values and beliefs as well as by preparation for separation from the home and family.

Different theoretical formulations dealing with the socialization process and human development through the life span present varied perspectives on the linkage of parental religious patterns to adolescent and adult religiosity. Social learning theory emphasizes the importance of other significant people who serve as role models of appropriate behaviour.

Religion as a World View: Theoretical Implications

We can approach modern world views in an inductive way by asking people what they believe in, what determines their norms and values, and what gives their life a deeper sense of meaning.

A *meaning system* can be distinguished from a world view. The meaning system refers to the dominant meanings in a culture. Its distinguishing feature is an identifiable set of symbols with which interpretations, feelings, and activities can be associated. A world view, in contrast, consists of all beliefs that an individual holds about the nature of reality. World views are the creations of thinking individuals.[15]

Young Peoples' Ideas about the World

Ideas about the origin of the world and of life

In the following I shall examine some of the cognitive ideas about the world of young people as well as the changes, which these undergo in different stages of youth. In the first phase of study when the young people were eight and eleven years old, the question of the evolution of the universe was revealed by using projective pictures and asking the following questions: "How does he or she (the boy or girl in the picture) believe that the world came into existence? How does he or she think that life came into existence?" In the follow-up study the pictures were omitted, and the adolescents' views of the origin of the world were discovered by using the questionnaire sentence beginnings such as: "There are many explanations of the origin of the world. I think the world came into existence so that – I think life began so that ..." The same meaning was also included in the following open question: 'How did the earth and life come into existence?'"

The follow-up study revealed that the eight year-olds found it very difficult to answer the question about the origin of the world and life. The majority of them had no ideas about this at all. It was hard to classify the answers. Jesus and God appear in the religious answers as creators. The answers classified as scientific were not correctly understood biologically, but they were children's attempts to answer the question scientifically. More than half of the eight year-olds could not answer the question at all.

"The Father in heaven created a man, and then he put him to sleep and he took one of his bones and he made woman from it (an eight-year-old boy, 1976)."

For this eight year-old the Father in heaven was concretely represented by a physician who performs surgical operations. The ideas held by Christianity about the story of creation had not yet clarified themselves in the mind of children at this age. The answer could have been very uncertain "the world originated in an explosion or God created it".

The influence of religious instruction at school was clearly evident in the results obtained for eleven and fourteen year- olds, since more than half of them gave a religious explanation for the origin of the world and of life. The most typical answers for this age group were "God created the world and the sky, the waters and the plants", or "God created man and the animals". The answers revealed a belief in the Biblical account of creation given in Genesis.

The following answer by a seventeen year-old boy who had experienced a religious awakening is an example of a combination of the Biblical and the scientific interpretations of the origins of the world and of life in a personal view of the world:

> "God created a little 'piece of matter' And then there was the big bang and the piece of matter' swelled up to something like our world. The big bang – the combination of masses. God created the sun, the moon, and the lakes, as well as the trees and people..."

More than half of the fourteen year-old girls interpreted the origin of both the world and of life from a religious standpoint, as did a third of the boys. For both of the sexes the proportion of scientific responses increased for young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty. A greater number of girls had a religious interpretation, while more boys had a scientific one. A scientific explanation of the origin of life and of the world based on evolution began to predominate among young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty, with the religious one correspondingly decreasing.

Beliefs about the world changed along with the development of thinking at about the

age of fourteen.[16] After the age of fourteen beliefs about the world assumed a scientific nature and appeared to remain relatively permanent throughout the rest of adolescence.

At school young people learn both a religious and a scientific explanation of the origin of the world. The responses revealed that they found it difficult to choose their own view, to determine which explanation to believe, or to decide in terms of which explanation they themselves should interpret the world. Many young people have a religious way of thinking which might be in contradiction with scientific thought. They might reject this by forming a view of the world which is, to some degree, both scientific and religious. Our culture has many elements. young people are confronted by several problems in this respect. Can they build their world view on the basis of scientific achievements. Does science correspond to the problems which interest them? How does the picture of the world provided by science relate to religious matters?

Ideas about death and life after death

The following questions gave an idea of young people's view of body, soul and death: "Some of us knew people who are now dead. Every time I go to a cemetery I think about – What do you think awaits man after death?"

In the first phase of the study death was strange to eight and eleven year-olds. More than a third of the eight year olds (34 %) was unable to say anything about it at all. The majority of the eleven year-olds (78 % of the girls and 54 % of the boys) believed in a resurrection after death in accordance with biblical teachings, as illustrated by answers including phrases such as "going to heaven and sitting at the right hand of God", and "he will ascend into heaven just like Jesus". Before puberty children seldom have any doubts about religion. One of the things pointed out by Klingberg is that contradictions appear later between the teachings of 'authoritative theology' and of science, as was also revealed by this study with respect to the origin of the world and of life, starting at the age of fourteen.[17] This was also revealed in the interpretation of life after death held by fourteen year-olds. At this age only a quarter (25 %) of the boys and a third (33 %) of the girls believed in a resurrection according to biblical teachings.

The rejection of a resurrection in accordance with the biblical explanation was general for seventeen year-olds; it had been replaced by a belief in reincarnation or in a transition to a world of spirits (41 % of the girls and 25 % of the boys), as well as by views expressed in phrases such as "the body changes to soil", "there is no life after death" (17 % of the girls, 50 % of the boys). Answers of the type you stay in the grave, and there is nothing that you can do about it", you change to dirt" were most general for boys at the age of 20 (18 % of the girls, 55 % of the boys), and a third of the girls (29 %, 18 % of the boys) had still retained their belief that "the body dies the soul rises to a higher spiritual level" or "the body decays and the soul goes off to wander." "You will be born again in some other place" and the direct answer "I believe in the Hindu doctrine of reincarnation" reveal a belief in reincarnation, as does the following answer by a seventeen year-old girl:

> "Perhaps they are born again in some form on earth. People go somewhere 'up' to a place which is full of love. From there they are able to see all of their relatives on earth and sometimes they guide them through mediums. A person's body dies but his spirit doesn't. The spirit changes bodies and is born again as another person."

These answers revealed the influence of oriental religions. In addition to being taught non-Christian religions in the schools, young people now have greater access to information about other cultures than they did before as a result of such factors as the

popularity of trips made using Inter-rail, (the international European railroad pass), and the appearance in Finland of new groups such as the Ananda Marga yoga society, the transcendental meditation movement, and the Hare Krishnas, all of which adhere to or are inspired by oriental religious practices. According to a study made by the Church Research Institute the number of Finnish adults believing in reincarnation has also increased.[18]

Those young people who were interested in reincarnation were also interested in other religions. In the second phase of the follow-up 39 % of the seventeen year-old girls (6 % of the boys), and 50 % of the twenty year-old girls born in 1965 (23 % of the boys) indicated an interest in other religions. This seemed to be permanent, since there was a very significant correlation (r. 0.54+++) between this interest in the interval between the first and second follow-ups.

When examining beliefs in life after death a difference coinciding with sex could be observed between girls and boys: girls were more likely than boys to have interpretations of both life after death which accorded with biblical teachings and of reincarnation. Boys clearly had a more concrete way of relating to death than girls did ("you stay in the grave, there's nothing you can do about it"). In both age groups boys were more skeptical than girls about the immortality of the soul. Neither did the boys say that they were afraid of death (of the seventeen year-olds 26 % of the girls, and 6 % of the boys, of the tweny two year-olds 22 % of the girls and 8 % of the boys feared death). Those who interpreted the origin of the world and of life from a religious standpoint also interpreted life after death in accordance with the Bible.

Young people's belief in magic

Thinking and interpreting the world in a manner which has magic as an element is closely related to thinking in a religious manner since in both cases we are dealing with ways of interpreting things which belong to the 'world of the spiritual', and which are connected with the supernatural in the same manner as they are with religion.[19]

Children think in a manner which has certain features which can be characterized as magic.[20] In this study elements of a belief in magic could be seen in the young people's world view. Some of them believed that a magic rite could have an influence on what happens to them. A way of relating to things from the standpoint of magic often traces its origins to traditions which are handed down from adults to children.[21] Magical deeds express a belief in their effect. The belief is, like superstition, true to the person concerned. Thus, if his thinking contains elements of magic, and superstition determines the manner in which he will relate to his environment and his actions, it forms a part of his world view.

The young people were asked whether or not they believe in magic. A very small number of them responded affirmatively. Nevertheless, a large number of them answered that they made a wish whenever they found a four-leaf clover (of the seventeen year-olds 57 % of the girls and 28 % of the boys, and of the twenty year-olds 59 % of the girls and 31 % of the boys said that they at least usually made a wish whenever they found a four-leaf clover). This belief has its roots in folklore and it is generally known among young people. Another belief originating in folklore – that a black cat crossing the road will bring about misfortune – was known to most of the young people. As many as a third of the seventeen year-old girls indicated that they spit three times whenever they see a black cat crossing the road.

A difference between boys and girls was also evident with respect to beliefs with

elements of magic. Reading horoscopes may be regarded as an example of one form of magic. This practice is quite widespread among the girls.[22] The girls were more superstitious than the boys, and they were also more religious. The question may be raised of whether our culture and education are of such a type that they permit girls to express views characterized by elements of religion or magic, but deny boys this possibility, regarding it as 'unsuitable for men'.

The level of both actions characterized by magic and of beliefs is different from that of scientific thought.[23] They have not blended with each other. Thus, young people can interpret the world scientifically on the one hand, while, on the other hand, they can also hold beliefs which contain elements of magic exemplified by such objects as a mascot thought to bring good luck. Possession of such a mascot may be based upon actual experiences, carrying it along has meant success (a victory in a competition, etc.).

Layers belonging to different periods may be identified in the beliefs held by young people. Under the layer of beliefs of young people who have been exposed to Christian influences may be found an older layer containing elements of traditional Finnish pagan religion and folklore (an example of this might be the belief in nature spirits). The belief in supernatural beings who help or harm man thus has its roots in the distant past, extending as far back as the Finno-Ugric period. Beliefs in such things as unidentified flying objects and humanoids are fed by the mass communications media, such as comic strips and the adventure series shown on television.

Some of the young people have socialized 'non-Christian' and 'non-folkloristic' supernatural beings into their own system of beliefs. Supernatural beings from other planets appear in the columns of comic books, in adventure films, and in science fiction. Boys read more comic books and adventure stories, and they also watched them on television more than girls did. Among the findings demonstrating this was the higher frequency with which boys, as opposed to girls, believed in unidentified flying objects and extraterrestrial life (intelligent beings).

The Types of World View Held by Young People

The classification of world views

A world view is scientific when the world is explained using scientific methods and claims which have been acquired and which can be justified. A scientific world view is open and self correcting in accordance with scientific developments. A religious world view is based upon religious authority (for example the Bible, the Koran, the books of the Veda or the Tripitaka). According to a metaphysical (non-scientific) view of the world, the world is interpreted using philosophical arguments rather than the empirical arguments of science.[24]

The scientific and religious views of the world are extremely different. A picture of the world justified in accordance with the results of science is not a unified one. Scientific thought is also of rather recent origin from an historical standpoint. Non-scientific thought is still rather widespread. It can be supposed that even today people tend to conceptualize the world in the manner they were taught as children. Many people attempt to think scientifically in some areas, and 'non-scientifically' in other ones, for example, with respect to religious issues, in which case the worlds of knowledge and belief may be differentiated. Factor analysis revealed views of the world which is called (1) religious, (2) magic-metaphysical, or (3) created by science and disseminated by the mass media.

The majority of the subjects had elements of all three types of world view. They Conceptualize the world in a manner which is partially scientific and partially religious. Many of them had different types of beliefs containing elements of magic, and their world view contained elements originating in the world view disseminated both by youth culture and the mass media.

The Religious World View

On the basis of the empirical data dealing with the young people, the religious world view was the one the young people retained for the longest time.[25] The formation of the religious world view was influenced by the religious atmosphere of the home, that is to say, by socialization. For the eight and eleven year-olds it was not yet possible to speak of a religious world view, but instead about the religious attitudes of their parents. In children this could be seen as an emphasis on the conative (ritual) aspect of religion. Religious attitudes in children depend upon those of the their parents. It was determined concretely by such factors as whether the parents read the Bible and religious magazines to the children, whether they listened to or watched church services at home on the radio and television, and whether they regularly attended religious events with their children. in adolescence the content of the religious ideas of fourteen and seventeen year-olds emphasized the cognitive aspect, that is to say, their belief in God, Jesus, and the Holy Ghost. Only with respect to the seventeen and twenty year-olds is it possible to speak of a religious world view.

The young people's religious attitudes were evidenced on the cognitive, conative, and affective levels. It could be seen in the young people's individual prayer, which contained a cognitive belief in the existence of God as well as a religious interpretation of the origin of the world, of life, and of man, in addition to an interpretation of life after death which accorded with Christian Doctrines. Of the young people investigated (N=72) six of them had formed a religious view of the world for themselves. All of the young people had some beliefs according with Christianity, which has a strong tradition in our culture, in their world views.

A Summary

In the value-system of young Finns money and marketed goods take a central position. They seem to be inherit values. Basic norms, which are new ones, are not explicit like old ones. This corresponded with an individual world view. In the regular annual rites there are the old folk and Christian traditions behind the communal rites. Only small children actually believe in witches and spirits.

The religious attitudes of the young people on the cognitive, affective, and conative levels decreased with age. The belief in the supernatural (God, Jesus, the Holy Ghost, and guardian angels) in accordance with Christian doctrines decreased. Interest in other religions increased. Half of the twenty year-old girls and a quarter of the boys showed an interest in other religions. The influence of oriental religions could be seen in the views the young people held about death and the life thereafter. The majority of the eleven year-olds believed in a resurrection after death in accordance with biblical teachings. The fourteen year-olds showed increased religious skepticism in this respect as well. The majority of the young people considered religion to be of no particular concern to them.

The parents influenced the values held by the young people. The fourteen year-olds

regarded a good home and a family with no serious problems to be most important. For the seventeen and twenty year-olds the appreciation of a good environment, a profession, and an adequate income increased in importance. An appreciation of health became more important for boys, while close human relationships became important for girls.

In addition to the Christian tradition the beliefs of young people also exhibited elements connected with folklore and traditional Finnish religion, these including suppositions which belong to the realm of superstition. Girls had numerous beliefs containing elements of magic.

The formation of young people's world views was influenced by socialization into the culture, the primary and secondary environment, and the personality of the individual concerned. The study showed that the influence of the parents and the family as the primary socializers of the young people was quite evident. The grandparents did not function as intermediaries in handing down tradition. The influence of the parents and of the home on the formation of young people's world views was visible in such things as the formation of a religious view of the world. The religious attitudes of the home and the significance of Sunday school as a socializer of a religious world view were evident in the results. The religious attitudes of the parents correlated with those of the young people on the cognitive, affective, and conative levels.

More than half of the fourteen year-olds considered confirmation class to be important. Its importance was most often justified in that it rendered a person eligible to be married in church (and have a church wedding). More than half of the seventeen and twenty year-olds were indifferent about confirmation class. Confirmation class had not fulfilled their expectations. Neither does it seem to have influenced their world view. Having attended Sunday School in childhood correlated with the different areas of the religious attitudes held by young people. A dependency between the day camps maintained by the congregations and the individual religious attitudes of young people was not as clear.

Even though the world views held by young people contain many religious elements only some of them actually develop a religious world view.

Discussion and Conclusions

Some Finnish young people can feel to be themselves only outside formal institutions. This intimate sphere becomes for them the holy one, and the focus of identity and their individual value system. This implies that religion has become privatized and individualization has become a major religion for them.[26] The national Protestant churches of Finland represent for young people old traditions and recent cultural modernization with a historical, national identity which are different from young people's life experiences. They have a better education and a higher material standard of living than the previous generations in our country have had. They can ask the meaning of life. They have a cosmopolitan orientation and they also experience most of the environmental problems of the world.

Young people seem to be remarkably capable of withstanding inconsistent attitudes, beliefs and values.

The individuals' beliefs remain anchored in the parents' beliefs. There is less evidence of peer influences on the development of religious beliefs and commitment in adolescence.[27]

An urban setting such as that found in the Nordic countries provides a situation of pluralistic social realities. Young people may not only hold values of security, routinization and hard work, but also values involving a search for excitement, adventure and hedonistic, morally condemned behaviour.

NOTES

1. Only a few studies pay attention to specific meanings, ethical values, emotions, and feelings, this being indicative of what religion means to contemporary youth in the Nordic Countries.
2. Finland has been the meeting point of western and eastern cultures since the Middle Age. The western traditions with the Evangelical Lutheran Church have always been dominant, but a little minority has belonged to the Orthodox Church. In 1989 89 % of the Finnish population of five million belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and 1 % to the Orthodox Church. Both of these Churches have the status of national churches in Finland.
3. The need has also been felt to legitimaze the capitalistic system and privatized religion plays a very important role in this respect. New religious movements have also affected the churches and they have provided the possibility for the development of new kinds of holistic world views. Ole Riis calls it *Protestant Humanism.*
4. Smart 1987:293
5. Ibid.
6. Helve 1977, 1986 and 1987.
7. About religious beliefs vide e.g. McQuire 1981:11-12.
8. See ibid., 13
9. See ibid. 12-13
10. E.g. the method of factor analysis. The follow-up study used 452 variables. Research problems are explained in the light of Piaget's cognitive theory of development, social learning as elaborated by Bandura and Mischel, and Bronfenbrenner's theory of social development.
11. E.g. J.W. Fowler's pioneering work (1981) on faith development and change over a lifetime based on a wealth of empirical research and combining theory and case work.
12. Cf. Dundes 1971:102, Jones 1972:79.
13. See Brake 1985:10.
14. Cf. Piaget 1929, Piaget – Inhelder 1947 and 1966, and Beard 1971.
15. Cf. Robert Wuthnow (1989).
16. Cf. Piaget's stage of formal operations at which a young person is capable of mastering a concept according to logical and mathematical laws. Piaget 1929; Beard 1971:198-205; Piaget – Inhelder 1977: 126-145.
17. Klinberg 1971:194.
18. Heino 1984:305-306; cf. Stark – Bainbridge 1985:88, 335.
19. Cf. Alcock 1981; Stark – Bainbridge 1985: 30-36, and also Lang 1971 and Malinowski 1948.
20. Allport 1979:34; Piaget 1932:152.
21. Cf. Klingberg 1971:162-165.
22. Cf. Stark and Bainbridge 1985:343.
23. Allport 1979:21; cf. Malinowski 1948.
24. The philosophical basis for classifying the types of world view held by young people is the theory of religious, metaphysical, and scientific world views presented by professor Ilkka Niiniluoto (1981, 1984).
25. It was the one which best corresponded to Niiniluoto's typology. Cf. also Wuthnow 1976.
26. See also Riis 1989:145.
27. See *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 28(4), Dec. 1989; Elizabeth Weiss Ozorak, 448-463.

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PRESENT-DAY WORLDVIEW AMONG WEST GREENLANDIC INUIT

By

Klaus Georg Hansen

All cultures express themselves in contrast to other cultures. It has always been so in dual and localized contexts. In border areas, cultures have always had an opinion about themselves expressed in contrast to neighbouring cultures. These cultures describe themselves from 'inside'.

On the other hand 'outside' descriptions of larger groups of people are rather new inventions. By 'outsider' it is meant a person, who has no constant cultural associations with the described culture. It could be explorers, anthropologists or others.

These 'outsider' descriptions has frequently been adopted by the described people. The category and the categorized thereby emerge hand in hand.

> "If new modes of description come into being, new possibilities for action come into being in consequence" (Hacking 1986:231).

New categories are not invented out of nothing. They must have a basis in something already given. Inuit as an ethnic group makes a good example of a description which has given the described new possibilities for action.

During the 5th Thule-expedition in the beginning of the 1920s Knud Rasmussen travelled from Greenland to Siberia.This expedition has had great influence on the idea of Inuit in the Soviet, Alaska, Canada and Greenland as one ethnic group. Knud Rasmussen has through his expeditions and descriptions of Inuit created the image of Inuit as one connected group of people. It is Knud Rasmussen who made the category of Inuit explicit for the Inuit people to adopt. Reports on the 5th Thule-expedition was published in Danish in 1925-1926. English and Greenlandic editions were published only a few years later in 1927 and in 1928.

It seems today as a matter of course that the Greenlandic Inuit is one coherent national group, but we just have to go back to 1921 to see that it has not always been so. At that time the land was called Danish Greenland including only what today is West Greenland. As a matter of fact less then 30 years ago – in 1961 – all parts of Greenland were given the same status in the eye of the law.

All parts of Greenland having received equal rights, the public consciousness of a united Greenland of course became stronger culminating with the establishing of the

Greenlandic Home Rule in 1979 and the creation of national symbols such as its own flag and national coat of arms.

But is this ethnic and national group, which we today take for granted, so homogeneous as it usually is phrased from 'inside' in phrases like 'the Greenlandic people' and 'Greenlandic conditions'?

I would say no. The Greenlandic authorities overcommunicate a national Greenlandic unity. In correspondence many differences are undercommunicated. For instance there are clear distinctions between the East, West and North Greenlandic languages, but West Greenlandic is the only official language. Another difference that is undercommunicated is of a more implicit nature: e.g. in Greenland there are different ways of worldmaking.

I contend that in Greenland there exists another worldview, another philosophy – or I could call it – another meaning- producing practice, than the official one. This unofficial worldview is based on the traditional Greenlandic worldview in which shamanism is reality. Shamanism is no longer practised in Greenland, but the worldview – the implicit philosophy – of shamanism still exists.

The official Greenlandic worldview is build upon the philosophical principles of the Western worldview influenced by reformed Protestant Christianity. These principles are clearly expressed in this quotation from the Bible about the creation of man:

> "Let us make man ... and let them have *dominion* over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth" (Genesis 1:26 – emphasis added).

According to among others the dominating modern reformed Protestant Christian interpretation of these verses in The Holy Bible man alone determines who may hunt and how much may be harvested. According to this philosophy *all things are objects for man's actions*. Relations are thought of as absolute subject-object-relations. This principle saturates all western thinking. For example, those engaged in active employment as opposed to the unemployed, the sick and the elderly, Europeans as opposed to other peoples, Christianity as opposed to other religions, and we could go on.

In comparison we have the unofficial Greenlandic philosophy, a philosophy that is build on entirely different principles. According to the unspoken Greenlandic philosophic complex *all things can appear as objects as well as acting subjects*. Relations are thought of as relative subject-object-relations.

Let me give an example: the Sea Woman, the woman living at the bottom of the sea, decides whether or not there will be seals to catch. The seals on their behalf decide whether or not and by whom they shall be caught. Man decides whether or not the Sea Woman will have seals to distribute. This concrete example is no longer valid but still it is according to this philosophical principle many Greenlandic Inuit think and act to day. This philosophical principle is reinforced by parents in their children's upbringing, in the attitudes toward the elderly, and so on. Also, the Greenlandic systems of animation and reincarnation are built on these principles.

These two fundamentally different worldviews or philosophies are nowadays activated in different spheres. The official Greenlandic worldview is dominating in the public-sphere. It is permeated by a Western worldview with its concept of man acting within absolute subject-object-relations. The unofficial Greenlandic worldview dominates the social- and the intimate-spheres. Here the concept of man acting through relative subject-object-relations prevails. These two worldviews are irreconcilable.

Let me give a more explicit formulation of the differences between the two worldviews

or philosophies through some empirical examples. First, from an ecological standpoint, and second, in the socialization of children.

The official versus unofficial concepts of ecology provide a good illustration of the philosophic differences. Environmental legislation and the reaction of the people to this legislation demonstrate two different cultural logics.

According to the unofficial concept of ecology caribou have a sense of smell in their hoofs.Hunters observe how a frightened caribou sometimes raises one hoof as if it has stepped on a unfamiliar footprint or waste material of some sort. This view has a great influence on the behaviour of hunters. If the hunters do not clean up after themselves, the caribou will shun the area and migrate elsewhere.

The idea of caribou being capable to smell with their hoofs and capable to act consciously is based on the internal logic of the unofficial worldview. Caribou are seen as independent acting subjects.

This concept of ecology is not used in the Greenlandic Home Rule Environmental Department. Here, caribou – as all wildlife – are externalized and are thought of as objects.

Both officially and unofficially there are concepts of ecology, but these are two entirely different concepts of ecology; the official is an 'object'-ecology and the unofficial a 'subject'-ecology. According to the logic of the 'object'-ecology hunting quotas may be calculated. 'Leave the principle and harvest the interest' is a slogan introduced by World Wildlife Fund. World Wildlife Fund, International Whaling Commission, Greenpeace and The Greenland Home Rule all operate within the frame of an 'object'-ecology. 'Nature' is externalized and conceived of as the object of Man's actions.

The unofficial 'subject'-ecology is not split up into what we in the West call 'Culture' and 'Nature'. Thus, in the Greenlandic language there was previously no word for what we call 'Nature'. 'Nature' and 'Culture' constitute a unified whole. Nature is not externalized. The ecological correlations are expressed in the idea that all things are capable of acting as independent subjects.

Man's participation in the ecological correlation has always been regulated by some kind of prohibitions. In Greenland these prohibitions were previously expressed according to 'subject'-ecology. Now, these 'subject'-ecological prohibitions no longer exist. Today prohibitions issued by The Greenlandic Home Rule is based upon the concept of 'object'-ecology, but the Greenland Inuit still think and act according to the 'subject'-ecological philosophy. This discrepancy causes much implicit frustration among ordinary citizens.

The next example is in socialization. While growing up, a child in Greenland must act according to two different socialization processes, as manifested partly in the home, and partly in primary school. Even here, the Greenlandic worldview is up against the Western worldview.

The Western-dominated primary school in Greenland is not founded on the socialization principles which are manifested in the Greenlandic home.

The Greenlandic child learns early in the socialization process that it is respected as an individual with its own opinions, as a responsible acting subject. In the Greenlandic language there are specific words for that time a two or three year old becomes conscious of life. The child gets a distant look in its eyes. This stage is called *qaatunneq* or *silattorneq* or *ilitterineq*.

These occasions – they say – become the earliest memories a person has later on in life. I have heard people refer to these, their own, first conscious moments. The information retained at those times is as authoritative as information obtained later in life.

Respect for a child's own opinion is also shown in the fact that a reply such as: "I do

not feel like doing this or that" can be respected at home. At school such an answer can never be accepted. At school the child is degraded to being an object for the teacher.

Westerners of course also consider if a person does not feel like doing this or that. The big difference lies in that the westerner must give the grounds for not feeling like doing it and it is not himself who desires whether the grounds given are acceptable or not. Inside the Greenlandic style of reasoning a reluctance regardless of whether it is by principle or mere impulsive do not have to be given grounds for.

In daily life direct aversion is often experienced to planning and dictating. School on the other hand is synonymous with planning and dictating. This conflict causes some unconscious – frustration among young Inuit while attending school.

Relations between teacher and pupil can be seen as exchange relations with a giver and a receiver. The discrepancy between the two socialization principles can be analysed as a manifestation of the discrepancy between the official and the unofficial worldview.

In the unofficial worldview exchange relations are thought of as occurring between subjects. Giver and receiver are relative positions. In the official Greenlandic worldview, on the other hand – here with the school as example – exchange relations are thought of as occurring between a subject (teacher) and an object (pupil). Giver and receiver are absolute positions.

The European pupil has been raised as an object and finds nothing unaccustomed in the relations to the teacher. The Greenlandic pupil on the other hand is brought up as a subject and finds the relation to the teacher unfamiliar. The Greenlandic child intuitively feels that something is wrong in the relationship with the teacher, but the child can not express it.

The different concepts of the relationship between teacher and pupil are evident in the debate situation. When relations are thought of as subject-subject-relation, then giver and receiver are thought of as relative positions with *exchange* of information. When, on the other hand, relations are thought of as subject-object-relations, then giver and receiver are thought of as absolute positions in which the one must *convince* the other.

If all parties in a discussion perceive the confrontation as an absolute subject-object-relation or else as a relative subject-subject-relation, then they perceive the situation in the same way, and the discussion can continue within the frame of an – unspoken shared convention. No underlying discrepancy will disturb or block the discussion.

But if one of the participants perceives the interaction as an absolute subject-object-relation while the other perceives it as a relative subject-subject-relation then the discussion can not go on within the frame of a shared convention.

I have argued that in Greenland there is nat a single shared homogeneous worldview. Two different worldviews are in use. The unofficial worldview is spoken in its lack of an effective 'language'. 'Language' in this case does not mean English or Chinese. A worldview 'language' could be expressed in any language.

A worldview always has a 'language', but for a 'language' to be effective in a society two factors must be fulfilled. First, the 'language' must be loyal to the internal logic of the worldview. Second, the 'language' must be generally accepted in all spheres of the society.

The problem for the unspoken Greenlandic worldview is that its 'language' – in spite of general popular acceptance – has not been accepted in the public-sphere – not previously in colonial times nor now with Home Rule.

The unofficial Greenlandic worldview has been stigmatized during several hundred years of colonial ethnocentrism by European concepts of social and cultural evolution. The unofficial Greenlandic worldview has no forum of equal status. To day this constitutes a great difficulty for this unspoken worldview.

It is self-evident that no definite dividing line exists between those thinking from the standpoint of a Greenlandic worldview and those thinking from a Western standpoint. There is a fluid transition from one extreme to the other. But much thought and behaviour is dictated by the unofficial Greenlandic worldview.

Should this unspoken worldview remain unofficial? – we could ask. I think it is necessary to make the unofficial worldview visible. The implicit frustration among people is destructive just as the idea of social and cultural evolution is destructive.

Only when the unofficial worldview is rehabilitated can it be discussed openly, that is, in public in Greenland. The ensuing debate might help to point out some new possibilities for action in the Greenlandic society.

Through rehabilitation and explicitation much frustration could be avoided. What is needed now is a description of *what is* the unofficial Greenlandic worldview. *Not* what it might be *'lacking'* in comparison with the Western worldview, *but* what the Greenlandic worldview is *comprised of.*

In spite of more than 250 years of colonization an independent Greenlandic worldview or philosophy exists although it today is driven below by a Western worldview. It is therefore worth in the ongoing ethnicity-debate in Greenland to consider whether the undercommunication of diversity in worldmaking is suitable or not. Through explicitation and rehabilitation of the Greenlandic worldview a potential will be released. The discussion of serious social problems such as suicide – among Inuit not only as seen in Greenland – might then be offered new modes of description and thereby create new possibilities for action.

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SPIRITUAL ASPECTS OF TLINGIT ORATORY

By

Nora Marks-Dauenhauer – Richard Dauenhauer

Shamanism is no longer a viable religion in Alaska. There have been no Tlingit professional shamans for two generations, and there are no 'shaman ceremonies' as such. However, many aspects and functions of the traditional spirit world are alive and well in Tlingit folklife, world view, and spirituality today, especially in the ceremonial known in English as 'potlatch' or 'memorial' and in Tlingit as *k̲oo.éex'* or 'invitation'. During this ceremonial, communication between the human world and the spirit world is achieved through ritual display of verbal and visual art accompanied by the distribution of food and gifts. In oratory this is achieved through the rhetorical devices of metaphor and simile. The balance of this paper offers conceptual and cultural background, followed by an explication of a speech.

Tlingit oral literature, including the spirits it deals with either by reference or direct address, is inseparable from the social context. Therefore, a few more words of background are in order. Tlingit is an American Indian language spoken in southeast Alaska, USA and in Yukon, Canada. Tlingit belongs to the Na-Dene family, and is similar in grammatical structure to Eyak and the Athabaskan languages. Tlingit society is part of the Northwest Coast culture area. The speech described in this paper, and the poetic images the speech contains, come from the area near Glacier Bay, west of Juneau.

Tlingit culture is characterized by a moiety system and clan ownership (called *at.óow* in Tlingit) of songs, stories, clan crests (totems) and other real and symbolic property. The most important stories for each clan are usually about the exploits of ancestors or the acquisition of clan crests, and are usually linked with this system of clan ownership. Rights of transmission are restricted to persons with appropriate kinship connection to the owning clan. Verbal and visual art are ceremonially and ritually displayed and exchanged according to patterns of reciprocity that parallel or are part of larger patterns of social structure and folklife. Tlingit oral literature is congruent in style and content with Tlingit social structure and follows the patterns of exchange of marriage, goods, and services (R. Dauenhauer 1975, Kan 1989). The ceremonial traditionally called 'potlatch' in English is good example of the process because it involves many genres of folklore and folklife and operates according to social structure.

Oratory is an important genre of Tlingit oral literature, and the ceremonial oratory described in this paper is probably the best example of traditional Tlingit world view in action. As noted above, at the center of Tlingit world view is the concept of clan ownership

of crests (and other property, both real and symbolic) called in Tlingit *at.óow*. This is part of the totemic system, and the crests or *at.óow* include spirits. Spirits are a very important part of the system.The spirits may be called upon or addressed through ritual action and certain genres of oral literature, especially oratory and song. There is strict protocol for this, as described in detail elsewhere (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987, 1989, 1990, Kan 1990). We direct the attention of interested readers especially to our recent book, *Haa Tuwunáagu Yís, For Healing our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory* (1990).

In content, style, and function, the genres of Tlingit oral literature are in complementary relationship to the spirit world. Narratives explain the history of a clan's acquisition of a particular crest and accompanying spirit. Stories are usually told in a 'normal' or 'regular' voice, often modulated according to the mood and character being depicted (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987). In contrast, songs are often viewed as the revelation, manifestation, or embodiment of a spirit. Songs are sung, accompanied by a drum, and performance is traditionally understood as realization, actualization, or making present of the spirit of the song (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1989, 1990). Oratory differs from stories and songs in content, style, and function. It is used to invoke or summon spirits, especially for help in the removal of grief. Such speeches are delivered to the opposite moiety. Oratory is chanted with the voice at a higher pitch and volume than normal speech. In sharp contrast to narratives, oratory relies heavily on metaphor and simile, both of which are extremely rare in narratives, although simile is often found in songs.

The English term 'spirit' covers many different concepts in Tlingit, including *yéik* (disembodied spirit, 'pure' spirit, a spirit revealed to a shaman); *ḵuyéik* (the spirit of certain animals); *ḵaa yakwgahéiyagu* (the spirit or ghost of a person or human ancestor); and at *ḵwáani* (the spirits of natural objects and forces such as trees and water).

The speech described here was recorded in performance in 1968 in the context of what is called 'potlatch' in English. In Tlingit it is called *ḵoo.éex'* meaning 'invitation'. The hosts, who have lost a clan member through death, invite guests of the opposite moiety to a ceremonial during which the hosts give food and other gifts to the guests, thereby ritually giving comfort to the spirits of the departed by giving material gifts and comfort to the living. Part of this traditional ceremonial includes rites for the removal of grief. During these rites, the guests, who are the opposite moiety of the hosts, display their clan crests as represented on carved woodenhats, blankets, tunics, and other *at.óow*. As part of the display of these totemic crests, designated orators from among the guests deliver speeches to the hosts. The purpose of the oratory and the display of visual art is to offer spiritual comfort to the hosts, and to help remove their grief.

The visual art becomes the basis of the oratory. In the speeches the visual art is transformed by rhetoric, especially through simile and metaphor. This creates social bonding between the guests and the hosts, and spiritual bonding between the living and the dead, the human world and the world of spirits. For example, hats, masks, shirts and blankets are physically present depicting the totemic images of frog, dog, and the sun. Through the oratory, the images function in appropriate ways to give comfort and remove grief. The sun shines on these in sorrow and evaporates their grief. The frog comes out of hibernation and removes the grief of the hosts by taking it back into its burrow. The dog barks for the pain of the hosts. The terns (who are identified as the paternal aunts of the hosts) fly out from their rookery, drop soothing down feathers on the grieving hosts, and fly away with their grief, taking it back to their nests. Through the verbal art of the orator, the spirits depicted in the visual art come to the human world, give comfort, and remove the grief of the living to the spirit world.

This interaction is also a good example of the reciprocity or 'balance' so important in Tlingit world view. The hosts and guests comfort each other on the spiritual, physical,

and social levels. The hosts feed and clothe the spirits of their departed through gifts to the living of the opposite moiety, and the guests rally their range of spirits to give comfort to the hosts by removing their grief.

None of this is done by a professional shaman, but by all members of the community (although some are recognized for their special skills as song leaders and orators). All participants of the contemporary ceremonials are Christians of various denominations, especially Russian Orthodox, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Roman Catholic, and a range of Protestant fundamentalist groups such as Pentecostal and Assembly of God. Thus, the ceremonials are conducted by practising Christians, but dimensions of the traditional Tlingit spirit world are fully present in the art (both verbal and visual) and ceremony.

In contrast to the early Protestant missionary misconception and stereotype of traditional Tlingit spirituality as evil and demonic, examples of Tlingit oratory clearly demonstrate how the verbal and visual art of Tlingit ceremonials such as the ritual for the removal of grief are directed to spiritual healing and social bonding. This was generally recognized by the Orthodox mission, which did not denounce Tlingit ceremonials (although there were ethnocentric clergy from time to time). In contrast, the Presbyterian mission rigorously suppressed the Tlingit and Haida languages and cultures, notably ceremonial life and the use of clan crests. The impact of these policies is still felt today and is most noticeable in the moribund state of the languages, the spiritual confusion or vacuum in many communities, hostility and self destructive behaviour, and unresolved grief for the loss of culture and loved ones.

The concept of a divine presence in all things is not in conflict with traditional Christian dogma and presented no conflict to the Russian Orthodox mission (Mousalimas 1990). In recent generations most Presbyterians have also rejected the policies of the early influential missionaries such as Sheldon Jackson and S. Hall Young. Recognizing the widespread social and spiritual disfunctioning in many communities where Tlingit tradition was rigorously suppressed by Protestant missionaries, some Presbyterian pastors have called for the integration of Tlingit ceremonials for the removal of grief into their funeral services, and have argued for increased understanding and acceptance of the traditional Tlingit world view as part of the total positive spiritual life of the community.

Certainly there is no conflict between traditional Christian and traditional Tlingit spirituality in the minds of the finest verbal and visual artists of the elder generation, whose work exemplifies healing and bonding and exerts a positive spiritual force in their personal lives and in the life of the community.

Having presented this general conceptual background, we turn now to explication of a speech by Mrs. Jessie Dalton, delivered during the memorial for Jim Marks, Hoonah, Alaska, October 1968. For the complete Tlingit text and English translation of the speech, as well as a detailed description of the setting, including photographs, please see *Haa Tuwunáagu Yís, For Healing our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory* (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1990). Line numbers refer to this edition. A brief background in this: after the hosts (of the Eagle moiety) have made speeches and sung songs of mouring for their departed leader, Jim Marks, the guests (of the Raven moiety, and primarily of the Takdeintaan and Lukaax.ádi clans) deliver speeches for the removal of grief, during which they call upon their clan spirits for assistance. Six speeches were given, of which Jessie Dalton's was the fourth. Prior to their speeches, the guests had clothed their younger clan members in various *at.óow,* and had them holdings others. In her speech, Jessie Dalton mentions twelve pieces of art by name, including wooden hats, felt tunics, felt shirts, felt button blankets, a woven Chilkat blanket, dance headdresses, and a mask. These pieces of art become the basis of her addressing the spirits.

Jessie Dalton begins her speech by confirming the kinship relations, and then turns

to the objects being worn or held by the clan's grandchildren, clarifying in turn the relationship of the owner of the *at.óow* to the speaker and the hosts. One way of studying and understanding her speech is to view it in terms of an underlying structure of oppositions or contrasts operating on many levels at the same time. It is important to remember that these contrasts are not in conflict, but are separate parts of a larger whole, and are ultimately complementary. The basic division of Tlingit society into two moieties or halves is one example; the contrast of the living and the departed is another. Through the gift of human speech, Jessie Dalton will attempt to close or bridge these distances, and bring things together in harmony poetically, socially, and spiritually. She opens her speech to members of the opposite moiety with a rhetorical question about life and death, beginning with the harsh reality that has torn them apart, yet has also brought them together for the healing events of the evening:

> Does death take pity on us?

and she answers her question in line 5:

> It doesn't take pity on us either.

Her use of the word 'either' (*tsú* in Tlingit) is reinforced by her clan's bringing out for display the *at.óow* of their own departed relatives. A literal translation of the opening line is 'Does it take pity on us?' The context is death, and we make this more explicit in English translation. We understand Jessie to be referring to all the things that have happened, including the blow that death has struck. The purpose of here speech is to help the community come to grips with death, and to help resolve the grief brought by death. She is aware of the enormity of her task, and at one point, referring to the list of names of all the departed and their *at.óow*, she asks:

> Can I reach the end?
> . . .
> Can I reach the end? (123, 126)

She is also aware of the limited ability of mortals and metaphor to resolve such things, and expresses skepticism and inadequacy in line 172:

> not that it can heal you.

Nevertheless, she undertakes the steps of healing, the ritual imitation of her ancestors ('only imitating them' – 178) even though her actions may be imperfect and incomplete. She begins by mentioning her departed ancestors as represented by their younger living descendants who are wearing or holding the *at.óow*. In so doing, the speaker begins a twofold linking, or bringing together, or mediation of opposites: the living and the departed are brought together, and together they face the grieving hosts of the opposite moiety. She tells of her own personal loss by invoking her departed relatives, the former owners of the *at.óow*, and she calls upon them to join her and her living clanspeople in helping to remove the grief of their hosts.

All of these *at.óow* capsulize the history of the orator's people and clan *(T'a̲kdeintaan)* and others in the community to whom they are related. They anchor the people in place (*G̲aanax̲áa, G̲éelákw,* Mt. Fairweather), recall physical and spiritual events that happened on the land (the Tern Blanket, the Mt. People's Dog Hat, etc.), and remember the ancestors to whom things happened and to whom the *at.óow* belonged. By focusing on an *at.óow* while addressing the people present, the speaker metaphorically conveys her listeners to the place each *at.óow* represents and gathers them among the ancestors and spirits who reside there. The community is thus made complete: its members are together. Jessie Dalton does this when she focuses on the *G̲aanax̲áa* Blanket, which

she turns to first. Through this blanket, physically present in the room, she will eventually bring all of the living people present, as well as the spirits of the human departed, and various other disembodied spirit powers, to the rookery at *Gaanax̲áa*. This *at.óow* (the blanket and the design on it) becomes the place to which the speaker gathers people, both physically and spiritually. In all of this, we are reminded of the serious word play in English: the connection of the words 'heal', 'whole', and 'holy', and of the words 're-member' and 'remember'.

Jessie begins to gather the community and to mediate between the spiritual and the physical by remembering the spirits of the departed – the original owners of the *at.óow* – and recalling them to the present time and place by means of the *at.óow*. At first, she refers to their disembodied voices which were heard on the tape recording played by David Kadashan, who spoke second, in conjunction with his speech.

> Which is why you hear their voices like this. (7)

She then gives motivation for the spirits of the former owners of the *at.óow* to appear, a reason for her departed relatives to come out. They come to the natural world in response to the tears of their children, grandchildren and in laws:

> Lest your tears fail without honour
> that flowed from your faces.
> For them
> they have all come out this moment,
> your fathers
> have all come out.
> They are still present
> is how I feel
> about my grandparents. (9-17)

At this point in her speech, Jessie introduces the other *at.óow*. Some of these are simply mentioned and alluded to without further comment, while others become the subject of poetic elaboration.

Having assembled the living and the departed of her own clan, Jessie now turns to the living hosts, the members of the opposite moiety, and summons them on her metaphorical journey to *Gaanax̲áa*.

> A person who is feeling like you
> would be brought by canoe,
> yes,
> to your fathers' point,
> *Gaanax̲áa*. That is when
> the name would be called out, it is said,
> of the person who is feeling grief. (50-57)

At this point, Jessie begins to call out the names of those present who are feeling grief. This is a catalogue or inventory of approximately 60 lines in the speech, in which she identifies the hosts by name and kinship term. Each person responds to the orator with the word *áawé!* which is almost impossible to translate, but is something like 'amen', or 'that's it'. It is more of a function or process word used by the hosts to acknowledge and accept the recognition of the speaker. The Tlingit term for this is *x̲'ayawulishee*, meaning 'a verbal agreement at the correct moment'.

Now that she has brought the grieving hosts to *Gaanax̲áa*, the site of an ancestral village of her people, the *T'ak̲deintaan*, and has laid the groundwork by introducing the *at.óow*, she describes each *at.óow* as showing its face at *Gaanax̲áa*. She continues to

introduce her relatives and the *at.óow* as if they are revealing their faces or as "if they have come out for you to see". The entire community is now metaphorically assembled at *Gaanax̲áa* – the grieving hosts and their departed, the guests and their departed, and their *at.óow.* In addition to recalling or evoking the spirits of the human ancestors who were original or former owners of the *at.óow,* the speaker also calls to the present time and place the spirits the *at.óow* depict. At this point Jessie now begins her most elaborate mediation.

The poetic transformations of these *at.óow* are varied, but can be reduced to a general formula:

1. The *at.óow* is literally presented to the audience.
2. Simile or metaphor is employed.
3. Animation or personification takes place as the orator extends the simile or metaphor and uses the *at.óow* to remove grief.
4. There is statement of the simile or return to the physical *at.óow.*

This is the basic structural pattern. In actual performance, the parts can be inverted or repeated, and the pattern may be augmented. The following examples show not only the basic pattern, but how complicated the variations can be. Describing the Mountain Tribe's Dog Hat, Jessie Dalton begins with physical and material reality, and moves through simile to spiritual reality.

> Here someone stands wearing one,
> this Mountain Tribe's Dog.
> It is just as if
> it's barking for your pain is how
> I'm thinking about it. (18-21)

This image is compound: she is referring not only to the visual image of the hat, but to one of the songs played by fellow speaker David Kadashan as well.

Likewise, she describes the Terns, in one of the most beautiful, moving, and memorable passages of her speech. She begins by calling attention of those present to the Tern Blanket, an *at.óow* of the Hoonah *T'ak̲deintaan,* of the Raven Nest House, formerly the blanket of Saayina.aat. She then develops the image of the blanket poetically, returning to the image of the terns at the rookery.

In this passage, Jessie Dalton alludes to down, an important symbol of peace in Tlingit and other Northwest Coast Tlingit cultures. In the words of Tlingit elder Walter Soboleff, "Down is a symbol of peace, love, and welcome – a great feeling, yet landing so lightly." Down is placed in ermine headdresses to symbolize peace when dancers entertain a visitor, shaking down from the headdress. During peace dances, in which a special person is ritually designated as 'hostage' or 'peacemaker', down is put on the peacemaker's head before the final ceremony. He or she in turn places down on those invited to dance. Dawn was also used by shamans. In Jessie's speech, the paternal aunts represented in the *at.óow* use their down as a gesture of welcome to the spirit world. Down is a gentle image, and in the speech by Jessie Dalton the images of down leave the grieving hosts in spiritual peace after the ritual.

> The Tern Robe...
> ...
> These Terns I haven't yet explained,
> yes,
> these Terns.
> Your fathers' sisters would fly
> out over the person who is feeling grief.

Then
they would let their down fall
like snow
over the person who is feeling grief.
That's when their down
isn't felt.
That's when
I feel it's as if your fathers' sisters are flying
back to their nests
with your grief. (48, 127-140)

She describes the Frog Hat in a similar way.

The Frog Hat ...
...
During the warm season
this father of yours
would come out.
That's when
I feel it's as if your father's that
has come out for your grief.
Yes,
your grandparent's hat.
With your grief
he will burrow down,
with it,
with your grief he will burrow down. (151, 160-171)

Alluding to an earlier speech by David Kadashan, whose central comparison was an uprooted tree floating down river, to sea, then to shore, she also describes the Sun Mask.

And here,
Yes,
is the one this brother of mine explained a while ago:
how that tree rolled for a while on the waves.
Then when it drifted to shore,
the sun would put its rays on it.
Yes.
It would dry its grief
to the core.
At this moment this sun is coming out over you,
my grandparents'
mask.
At this moment
my hope is that your grief
be like it's drying to your core. (198-211)

In this pattern, the *at.óow* is animated, and grief is removed through some kind of appropriate action: the dog barks, the terns gather grief into their down and fly away, the frogs burrow back into hibernation, and the sun evaporates grief. The world of nature is brought to life in human terms in the world of Tlingit *at.óow,* social structure, and iconography.

Jessie has recalled and recreated the traditional land and ancestors of the *T'a̲kdeintaan,* who lives at *G̲aanax̲áa,* at the base of *G̲éelák'w* and Mt. Fairweather. The deceased

ancestors who were the former owners of the *at.óow* are now spiritually present, along with their living descendants who are the stewards today. They are all there – even the sun.

The concluding image of Jessie Dalton's speech mediates and binds on several levels at once, because it offers resolution to all of the themes in her speech, and provides resolution for those to whom it is directed. It is a striking finale:

> *G̲éelák'w* Headdress,
> yes.
> Your fathers' sisters
> would reveal their faces from it,
> from *G̲éelák'w,*
> yes. (212-217)

The headdress representing the mountain has become the mountain. The headdress is an *at.óow* of the *T'aḵ̲deintaan,* as is the mountain itself (*Tsalx̲aan,* Mt. Fairweather) and the part of it is known as *G̲éelák'w* (Small Mountain Pass). This is also the name of a *T'aḵ̲deintaan* clan house. From within the mountain the spirits of the deceased female side of the clan, especially those associated with the tern crest, look out, or show their faces. Among these would be the spirits of Lyeedayeik and Yaakaayindul.at, both of whom are the former owners of blankets mentioned in the speech, and also the spirit of Saayina.aat, the former owner of the tern blanket central to Jessie Dalton's speech. Referring to the *G̲éelák'w* Headdress, Jessie concludes:

> That's the one there now. Someone is standing there with it,
> this headdress,
> my grandfather's headdress. (218- 220)

She has transformed the headdress into the mountain, and now it is again turned into the headdress, but only after verifying that the spirits of the *T'aḵ̲deintaan* women reside there, and only after confirming that the terns have flown away with the grief of the hosts. When the headdress is poetically returned to its present form, and the ceremony returns to the physical and temporal present, the grief has been removed.

At first impression, Jessie Dalton's conclusion may seem abrupt. But host Willie Marks' (Kéet Yaanaayí's) response indicates that it is not. According to Tlingit protocol, for each oration there must be adequate response. The speech concludes not with the orator, but with those to whom her speech is addressed; the grieving host who is feasting the memory of his older brother signifies that the oratory has functioned. Throughout the speech, there is also ongoing audience response, indicating audience understanding and approval. The speech has been delivered by the orator and received by her audience, in all its complexity, understood and appreciated in form and function by Willie Marks, who completes it on behalf of the hosts with a simple 'Gunalchéesh', 'Thank you'.

Two other speakers follow Jessie Dalton with shorter speeches that bring the ritual to a close. At the end of these speeches the hosts also respond with expressions of understanding, approval, and gratitude. Again, the hosts have the final word in the oratory of the guests, and again it is 'thank you'.

Jessie Dalton's goal as an orator is to restore peace of mind to Willie Marks and his grieving co-hosts. She achieves this by binding, or uniting unlike, but complimentary things on at least three levels at once. One might view the speech in terms of many sets of interacting pairs or oppositions operating on the social, spiritual, and rhetorical levels. Her first level of mediation is on the level of grammar and involves poetic and rhetorical style. As described above, the devices of simile and metaphor are used to compare unlike things, and link them together through human imagination. In simile the distinction

between the two differing objects is retained, but in metaphor the two unlike things are joined, and one thing is made into another. Personification and animation are types of metaphor, but in Tlingit oratory they often operate within a larger context of extended simile – a metaphor within a simile. Whether simile or metaphor of a combination, the rhetorical devices act to initiate the removal of grief. Once the words and images are put together as a speech, the speech begins to combine unlike things at other levels. The speech creates mediation on the spiritual level, linking the world of the living with the spirit world. The words of spiritual mediation lead to mediation on the social level, combining the 'opposite' moieties and 'opposite' clans, and this social mediation reaffirms the oneness and solidarity of the Tlingit people. There is spiritual and social bonding communion as well as communication.

At the same time as her oratory functions for the removal of grief, the speaker strengthens kinship ties between the two clans of the opposite moieties, the *T'a̲kdeintaan* and the Chookaneidí, and by connecting her speech with that of fellow guests of the same moiety but different clans, she also strengthens her clan and personal relationship with them.

At the same time as she ritually mediates between the living and the dead, the speaker of the older generation also directs much of her attention to the younger generation of the living. By involving them, she encourages the descendants of her clan to continue tradition. Jessie is instructing the younger generation and helping them become responsible stewards by publicly acclaiming the deceased owners of the *at.óow* the younger people are wearing and of which they will eventually become caretakers. She gives a verbal history of the *at.óow* and also provides a model for ceremonial performance. In this way, the speaker also becomes a mediator between the generations, between the grandparents and the grandchildren.

This has been in part a conceptual and theoretical analysis of how words are put together in Tlingit oratory, and why. But it should come as no surprise that the rhetorical and anthropological theory corroborate what Tlingit elder Amy Marvin expressed in her telling of the 'Glacier Bay History' (Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer 1987:277) when, explaining the basic concept of feasting in Tlingit ceremonials, she says that only if food is given and eaten with an opposite clan can it go to the relative who is mourned.

> Only when we give to the opposite clan ...
> does it become a balm for our spirits.

This is the same mediation we see in the oratory: the binding of Raven and Eagle clans, the binding of the physical and the spiritual, the binding of the living and the dead. Jessie Dalton and the other orators do this with words, and their words follow the same pattern of distribution of food and gifts described by elder Amy Marvin. Words, too, go to the opposite moiety; words, too, are a gift. They are given with care because, once spoken, they cannot be taken back. Words are shared, and through the words, and through the shared revelation and display of treasured *at.óow*, the power of the *at.óow* is also shared as a priceless gift to the opposite moiety. As we take care of the living, we also take care of the departed. If we take care of the living, the living will take care of us. If we take care of the departed, the departed will take care of us.

At some point, the question may arise, "Are the spirits considered to the really present, or is all of this only symbolic?" Such a question is rooted in Western dualism, which goes further than contrasting categories of material and spiritual and posits an almost unbridgeable gulf between them. It parallels the question of 'real presence' in the Christian sacrament of communion. It may be helpful here to quote the Orthodox Christian theologian Fr. Alexander Schmemann, who, when asked about the Orthodox position on the

question of 'real presence', responded with the counter question, "Is there such a thing as an unreal presence?" Many spiritual observers have commented that a great cultural tragedy of contemporary Western civilization is the rise of its dualistic thinking and corresponding loss of vision (and faith) in poetry and metaphor. Tlingit oratory is exciting because it operates artistically and poetically at the boundaries of three worlds, and three levels of reality: the material, the spiritual, and the verbal. It demonstrates the power of human vision and speech to bind and heal.

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RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY IN ALASKA

By

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Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska is a major institution and an important cultural factor for several Alaska Native Groups. In this paper, I am outlining the history of the institution and attempt to define conditions which account for its persistence.

Alaska is the largest state in the union in terms of territory, and the smallest in terms of the population: about one half million people inhabit ca. 580,000 square miles. The majority of the population is concentrated in the two largest urban centers, Anchorage and Fairbanks, with Anchorage (with environs) by far the larger (pop. ca. 250,000). In its composition, the Alaska population reflects that of the country at large: it is multi-ethnic and belongs to a number of religious confessions, majority to the Christian Protestant denominations. What sets Alaska apart, however, is the sizeable Native Alaskan minority, comprising ca. 80,000 persons, residing for the most part in their ancestral homelands.

Alaskan Natives today are all professed Christians (a small number of agnostics, largely among the younger, upwardly-mobile, college-educated segment excepted). They belong to religious confessions which reflect the religious spectrum of the United States with the exception of a relatively large bloc who profess Eastern Orthodoxy. It is estimated that about 30,000 Alaskan Natives, i.e., roughly 37.5 %, belong to the Orthodox Church. There are 86 parishes, with 27 priests assisted by readers, the majority of them Alaskan Natives (Rt. Rev. Gregory [Afonsky] 1990 and 1977). In terms of ethnicity, the Alaskan Orthodox are Aleut (Unangan) of the Aleutian Archipelago and Pribylov Islands; the Alutiiq speaking peoples of the Kodiak Archipelago and southeastern Alaska Peninsula and the Chugach of the Prince William Sound and Outer Cook Inlet; the Dena'ina (Tanaina), the Athabaskan speaking peoples of Upper Alaska Peninsula and Cook Inlet Area; the 'Kolchane', Athabaskans of the Upper Kuskokwim River basin; the Tlingit of the Northwest Coast; and the Yup'ik (Eskimo) of the Northeastern Alaska Peninsula, the Kuskokwim and the Lower Yukon River basins. They take great pride in pointing out that their church is the Russian Orthodox Church, the Mother-Church of the American continents, North and South.

Every publication on Alaska mentions the presence and sometimes the strength of Orthodoxy. Searching for an explanation of Orthodoxy's persistence more than a century after Alaska has been transferred to American sovereignty, in the absence of government support and any secular advantages the Church could offer, many interpretations pre-suppose, quite erroneously, a vigorous missionary activity to account for it and forcible

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conversions (which never took place) are postulated to explain the rapid spread of this faith among Alaskan Natives. Other unlikely reasons are also advanced. Hosley, for example (1966) postulated that Russian power was one reason for Orthodoxy's adoption. Such 'explanations' do not take into account that the total Russian population in Alaska did not exceed, at any time, ca. 800 (the maximum estimate), but was more likely to have numbered no more than ca. 680 persons, the majority (close to 500) residing in Novoarkhangel'sk (Sitka) with an additional 100 in Kodiak, the rest scattered in small groups, or individually, from Unalaska in the Eastern Aleutians to the Commander Islands in the west, to the Interior, along the Kuskokwim and the Yukon, the Copper River and Prince William Sound and other places in Alaska, over an enormous territory. As far as the clergy is concerned, they were never very numerous: until 1841, there was one priest in Sitka since 1816, one on Kodiak since 1825, one at Unalaska since 1824, and one at Atka, in the Aleutians since 1828. Two surviving members of the original mission of 1794 (see below), were also on Kodiak. Of these, Hieromonk Afanasii died between 1825 and 1828, and Monk Herman (now St. Herman of Alaska) died in 1836. Following the appointment of Ioann Veniaminov as Bishop of the Aleutians, the Kuriles, and Kamchatka, in 1840, the number of clergy increased somewhat, but after the sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867, it dropped (VanStone 1979:97, Oswalt 1990:78). Gradually it grew again, reaching the highest number of nineteen prior to the Russian revolution of 1917, and then dropped drastically to three (Afonsky 1990:295). An American scholar who devoted much effort to the study of the relative impact upon the Yup'ik of Orthodoxy and the Moravians, as well as other denominations, Wendell H. Oswalt, states that, "...Orthodox mission workers were never a dominant force..." (1990:204; see also 1963a and 1963b).

In the absence of priests, Orthodoxy was maintained by local self-taught readers and laity who conducted readers' services in their native languages (see, among others, Oswalt 1990:73,131-132, and 1963a and b, Smith 1980a and 1990, Dauenhauer 1990 and as cited, Davis 1984:201 and 1970, Krauss 1980 and 1990).

Today, the Orthodox Church is perceived by Natives and most non-Natives to be an indigenous, that is, Alaskan Native, institution (Rathburn 1981; Oswalt 1963a:40, 1990:18; Krauss 1990).

In some circles, notably among the fanatical fringe elements of the biblical sects of the 'Born Again' persuasion the notion is propagated that Orthodoxy is not a Christian religion, but a pagan, native, superstition or even witchcraft. This notion is not new. Following the sale of Alaska, by the end of the 1870s, Protestant missionaries in particular seemed to spend more energy on converting to their particular denomination Natives who belonged to the Orthodox Church than on propagating their faith among the heathen (McCollough 1988, Oswalt 1963). To this end, the Orthodox Church was dealt with in most unflattering terms, including the characterization that it was nothing more than a regrettable superstition to be eradicated, an assessment shared by some public school teachers and officials to this day. The notion that Orthodoxy is not a Christian Church was successfully conveyed to a number of Native groups, especially among the Athabascans of the Cooper River (where not only Orthodox but also Catholic parishes were replaced by militant Pentecostals in the 1950s) and the Athabascans of the middle Yukon.

In 1985, on the Yukon, I was quite disconcerted to be told by an aged Athabascan woman that at one time, long ago, a local healer was expelled from the village by the Episcopal minister as a practitioner of non-Christian activities. When I pointed out that the name of this healer was Nikolai, surely not an Athabascan name, I was told that he was 'baptized Russian,' but Russians were not Christians. "They were just like us before the missionaries came." It should be noted, too, that, in general, Russians are distinguished conceptually and linguistically from other 'white men'. I was told once that

Russians were not white, and several researchers have noted that the Russians, and most particularly the Orthodox Church, are "identified with the older way of life... consistently connected with the past when, it is felt, times were better" (Hosley 1966:81-82). Part of the explanation for these attitudes may lie in the fact, noted by many researchers, that Orthodoxy did not require the people to change their way of life when accepting Christianity:

> "Unlike their Orthodox contemporaries, the intense ministry of the Moravians required their converts to make a choice between their traditional Native lifestyle and that of the Moravians' 'New Way'." (Fienup-Riordan 1988:xxvii, to cite but one example.)

In general, in the face of the mounting pressure from missionaries and secular authorities in the American period, Orthodoxy became espoused by more conservative factions among the Natives. Among the Tlingit, there were mass conversions to Orthodoxy during the American period (Kan 1985:7, 1984, 1983) and among the Yup'ik "The Russian Orthodox Church gained its greatest strength in *post Russian* times" (Oswalt 1990:204, emphasis in original).

The Orthodox Church is set apart from other denominations also by the fact that it exists in the villages with no outside support. The churches (which dominate the village landscapes) are built by local donated labour, decorated by local untutored craftsmen and artists (for example, recently a young carver made beautifully carved altar gates for the iconostasy for the church at the Yupik village of Kwethluk), with local funds and the activities of the church are maintained by the parishioners. This includes recompense for the parish priests and readers.

It is convenient now to very briefly examine the history and nature of the introduction of Orthodoxy in Alaska.

In the Aleutian Islands, on the Alaska Peninsula, the Kodiak Archipelago and Cook Inlet and Prince William Sound, Orthodoxy was introduced initially in the 18th century exclusively by laymen. The Russian promyshlenniki, the seafaring fur hunters and traders, were devout sons of the Church (though among them certainly were some Old Believers). They carried with them icons (including sets of monthly calendar icons), peg calendars to help them observe the major feasts of the Church (widely adopted by Alaskans, see Black, 1987), psalters, Old and New Testaments, prayerbooks. Whenever they made their camps, or later when semi-permanent harbours were established, a corner of the dwelling was made into a house chapel and a light was lit before the icons placed there; the lives of the Saints were read in the evenings, and copies of the favourite 'Lives' were written out by hand (Solov'ev 1766 in Andreev 1948). No enterprise commenced, no task was undertaken, without prayers being said and ritual gestures, such as a sign of the cross or bending one's knees before the Lord, being made. Aleuts who joined the fur hunters either as volunteers, as hostages, or eventually allies and later impressed labour force, participated in these ritual activities (Ledyard 1963:95, Moore 1979:68-69).

When young boys became hostages, individual Russian hunters developed warm feelings for them: as a sign of their benevolence, they baptized them in the ritual of lay baptism. One known instance is the story of the young boy Mushkal', from Umnak Island, baptized in 1759 by Stepan Glotov and taken to Kamchatka where he learned not only to speak, but read and write Russian. in later years, as chief of the village in southwestern Umnak now known as Nikolskoe, he built the first Orthodox chapel and regularly conducted services there on all major feast days and Sundays (Hieromonk Gideon, Black, ed. and trans. 1989:122). Soon after contact, Aleuts began to bring (Cherepanov 1761 in Andreev 1948, Lyapunova 1979).

There was a considerable overlap in symbolism, so that today one often hears that Orthodoxy was not a new faith but a richer fulfilment of the aboriginal belief systems. For example, the Aleuts believed in the healing and ritual power of water -- the Russians used holy water for healing, to avert misfortune, and to bring good fortune. Aleuts considered the east to be 'direction of thankfulness' and light from the East manifestation of the Creator. The Russians faced the east when praying and offered thanks. The abstract cross representing in Eskimo-Aleut iconography the bird-spirit for example, shows obvious parallels with Christian symbol of the cross and the dove, as does the combination of numbers three and four as sacred numbers. Additional examples could be cited but the overlap in symbolism between the two systems is too complex a matter to address in this paper.

The coming of Orthodoxy, the coming of folk Christianity (Treadgold 1968, Pascal 1976), proceeded apace without any clerics being present for several decades. When the first Mission arrived in Alaska in 1794, the monks found many believing themselves to be Christians and their activity consisted, in large part, in performing mass baptisms or chrizmations (Orthodox rite equivalent to confirmation).

This first clerical mission came to Alaska from Valaamo and founded formally in Alaska the 'New Valaam' half a century after initial contact between the Alaskans and bearers of Russian Orthodoxy. This Mission originally consisted of ten men, only four of whom were ordained priests. Each one was chosen with care. All came from either the Valaamo or the Konev monasteries on Lake Ladoga, in existence since 14th century and possibly earlier. All were accustomed to the life in the remote and harsh northern region on the border between northern Russia and Finland. They were used to solitude, as most of them came from sketes, tiny enclaves, formed on small islands away from the main monastery, where a single monk, usually an elder, eked out a meager subsistence from the rocky soil by vegetable gardening and fishing (Reznikov 1986). They knew how to face hardships and how to work with their hands. But the Valaamo ascetic tradition had also a social aspect: the elder was soon joined in his solitude by disciples whom he taught by percept.

The instructions the mission received, modelled on earlier instructions given to priests who served in Kamchatka, were strict: they were not to preach but convert by example of their lives, as guests in someone else's house. This the Valaamo monks set out to do. Within one year of their arrival, a church was built at St. Paul harbour (modern Kodiak); a school, where enrolment consisted predominantly of Natives, was opened; experiments in growing vegetable and grain crops were conducted; fishing (by seining) commenced to provide not only the missionaries and the school children with food, but also to help out destitute Natives. They taught not so much the doctrine, but brotherhood by example: in short order, the missionaries became spokesmen for the Kodiak Natives abused by the Shelikhov-Golikov Company and later by the fledgling Russian American Company (Oleksa 1987). Native men and women became their friends, clustered around them for protection, and settled nearby. This was in Alaska the first clustering of disciples around the elders in the time honoured Valaamo tradition.

A Native clergy (and a local seminary) were planned. Following complaints by the head of the mission about abuses of power by Baranov and his henchmen, it was decided that the presence of a resident bishop (whose status would be equivalent to that of a Provincial governor) was needed. Archimandrite Ioasaf travelled to Irkutsk to be consecrated bishop. On the return voyage, the new bishop, accompanied by several other mission members, including Hieromonk Makarii who, in 1796, had taken a delegation of Aleut leaders to St. Petersburg to lodge complaints before Emperor Paul about depredations being committed by Shelikhov's skippers and agents, went down with the ship Phoenix.

The leadership of the mission, reduced to four men, fell to a humble and truly saintly man, Monk Herman (in monastic life a namesake of one of the founders of the Valaamo monastery). He is to this day remembered among the Orthodox Natives as their protector not only against the human but also against the natural agencies (see Golder et al. 1972). Local traditions about St. Herman who stopped a tidal wave and a forest fire, to whom one can turn for solace and comfort are exceedingly rich. One may, safely, speak of his living presence: children believe that he is there, on Kodiak, nearby, within call, at 'New Valaamo' on Spruce Island where his body came to rest.

After the disaster of 1799, the remaining ecclesiastics confined themselves to ministering on Kodiak Island. Yet, the number of Christians grew. The Orthodox message continued to be carried not only by Russians, but by Alaskan Natives who professed Orthodoxy. The Russian laymen, by example, succeeded in transferring to Alaskan Natives many pious folk customs long gone in Russia, but still practised in Alaska: washing one's face before saying one's morning or evening prayers, use of the steam bath for purification of body and soul prior to major feast days, and, above all, the custom of Selaviq, of Following the Star, practised to this day in Orthodox Alaska (Inoye 1990, Fienup-Riordan 1990a). Ann Fienup-Riordan recently wrote:

> "In the celebration of Selaviq in Kasigluk today multiple pasts collide, coexist, and interact. Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian and indigenous systems of belief and practice all contribute to the event". (1990b)

The ancient masked performances became blended into the celebration of the liturgy. In fact, Edward Nelson noted in the late 19th century that the Yukon Yup'ik explicitly identified the Orthodox liturgy with the masked festivals of their own (Nelson 1899:421-422). The icon assumed the function of the mask: the 'eye of the dance' (Fienup-Riordan 1987) which was a passage to the world of 'reality not verifiable empirically' (Van Baal 1971:3; see also Fienup-Riordan and Mousalimas as cited and Sonne 1988:37). Overtly and everywhere, indigenous masked festivals coalesced with the masking on the occasion of the Orthodox New Year.

As already mentioned, soon Orthodoxy was propagated by Alaskans who had come in contact with it. In one instance, a delegation of important men from the Bering Strait area visited Sitka. Some were baptized there, and when Father Grigorii Golovin in 1843 and 1844 visited St. Michael, they brought their relatives to be baptized then escorted Golovin to their villages to baptize the rest of the population.

Word was carried by the Natives to remote areas: Father Netsvetov, of Aleut origin who, in 1845, established the mission on the Yukon, was invited to the Upper Innoko river where the entire 'nation' of the Kolchane (Upper Innoko Athabaskans) came in canoes and skin boats from upstream to be baptized. He baptized for several days (Black, transl. and annot. 1984:347-351).

Today, even though Orthodoxy was eradicated in these areas (Unalakleet–Anvik–Innoko–Middle Yukon) under the impact of the Swedish Covenant, Episcopal and Catholic missionaries (Black, unpublished field data 1985; VanStone 1979) the memory lingers and elders preserve it, in secret, often speaking about such matters in whispers. Many recognize Orthodox symbols, the distinctive cross, the icons, the priestly vestments. The Orthodox octagonal log chapel form today may serve as the model for the newly constructed village community house or a Catholic chapel. The centrality of Orthodoxy among the Yup'ik is vividly portrayed in a film produced by a Yup'ik film maker, Alexie Isaac, *Following the Star*. The coalescence of the Native interpretation of the universe and of the Orthodoxy is documented by various authors. Oleksa, in particular, points out that in Orthodoxy nature (or to use the current fashionable term environment) is NOT despiritualized; the body is NOT desacralized, a point also made by Mircea Eliade (1963, 1959).

In short, Orthodoxy and the native world-view were in some aspects compatible. The new faith, like the old one, served as primary identity marker (Rathburn, as cited, Davis, as cited, and the films *Following the Star,* see above, and *Amiq,* by Swiebold and Corbet, Arctic Institute of North America-Canada). In some cases, it helped forge a new common identity among the peoples who before contact were enemies (Oleksa 1984, Krauss 1990). It continues to serve so to this day, though once again it is under attack.

Ironically, this attack comes from within the ranks of well-meaning Orthodox ecclesiastics from the current centers of American Orthodoxy, now on the eastern seaboard, in New York and Pennsylvania, and in Paris, France. The Alaskan village Orthodoxy is truly a folk religion, folk Christianity. Many ancient Russian folk customs have blended here with ancient Alaskan native customs unknown outside of Alaska. Therefore, it is not infrequent that visiting clerics begin to talk about the need to purify the village parishes and bring them to understanding of the Faith 'by the book'. Perhaps, it is the long-standing criticism levelled against Orthodoxy in Alaska by Protestant missionaries that finally makes itself felt. One sincerely hopes though, that the Church leadership, will restrain the self-appointed 'purifiers'. The second threat is much more serious and does come from the leadership of the Diocese: it is the introduction of English as the liturgical language. Whereas during the Russian period the services, including the liturgy, were conducted in the Alaskan native languages (though many learned Slavonic and Russian and sometimes use these languages even today as religious languages, without understanding the words' meanings) there is currently in Alaska a concerted push to use 'the language of the land'. Thus, what a century and a quarter of economic and political domination and numerical superiority of the English speakers failed to do, the Church leadership attempts to establish by invoking the authority of the Church. Resistance, however, is strong, even among the younger, English speaking generation. I know of several cases where pressure to introduce English as the language of the church services resulted in the younger people establishing study groups of native language and learning church hymns in their native tongues. The third threat results from the social advances made by Alaska natives since the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 and greater access to college level education. As the social and economic barriers begin to crumble it seems less necessary to maintain the strong religiously marked identity. Leadership and decision making positions formerly provided only by the Church, are available now in the secular arena.

Will the Church survive the new order and the new promises of secular success? To judge by the village record of the past hundred years, and the pride so many Alaskans feel in 'their' church, I expect it will.

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CAN GRAVE CUSTOMS BE TAKEN OVER BY ONE ETHNIC GROUP FROM ANOTHER?

By

Inger Zachrisson

Two cemeteries in the inland hunting grounds of northern Sweden have been much debated. They are Krankmårtenhögen and Smalnäset in Härjedalen (no. 3 and 1 on fig. 1), each with more than 30 triangular and round stone-settings. Each was situated on a promontory facing south in a lake belonging to a main river system (River Ljungan and River Ljusnan), in the subalpine pine-forest within the subarctic-alpine region. The cemeteries contained cremation graves from c. 400/200 B.C.–200 A.D., the bones sometimes placed in a casket caulked with resin, i.e. the same grave form and custom that at that time was current in Germanic settled areas of central Sweden, such as the Lake Mälaren valley, and south-east Norway. This type of ancient monument is not known from the coast of northern Sweden. It cannot therefore be a result of contacts with this area.

The graves in Härjedalen have been looked upon as either erected for tradesmen from the south or for local people in regular contact with one of the above-mentioned areas in central Sweden or south-east Norway, probably central Sweden. A further examination shows that the interpretation as local is the most probable one.

Men, women and children were buried at the cemeteries. At Krankmårtenhögen 17 adults and two children or young people have been identified. Of the 16 graves with identified human bones at Smalnäset, nine belonged to adults and seven to children or young people. This means that the families of these people must have lived nearby. The graves then represent the local population.

In the settled areas there are no equivalents to the many depositions of antlers and crania of elk and reindeer on the graves. None of the bones are split to the marrow. There are also other traits of these graves which are specific to the inland of northern Sweden (see below).

The placing of the graves on promontories in lakes has no counterparts in the settled areas of the south. On the other hand, the position of these graves can be compared with that of the Saami graves during later times.

The grave customs thus seem to show a mixture between foreign and local traditions.

Other cemeteries of the same kind, dated to c. 1-500 A.D., are known from Härjedalen, Dalarna and the inland of Gästrikland. There seems to have been one cemetery in each main valley. During much of the Iron Age there was a hunter-gatherer culture in this area.

The cemeteries are as a rule situated on or beside dwelling sites of Stone Age character – this also applies to Krankmårtenhögen which suggests that they ought to be interpreted as the graves of the hunter-gatherer culture, i.e. the Saamis. In many cases this is also what the evidence of place names and oral tradition says (Ambrosiani, Iregren and Lahtiperä 1984:62f; cf. Baudou 1978; 1988:13-15).

The local population in north-west Härjedalen, with its roots in the Saami culture thus seems to have adopted a new grave custom in c. 400/200 B.C. as a result of interaction with another ethnic group (Germanic/Nordic), probably in the Mälaren valley. This contact probably emanated from an interest there in products from the north such as furs.

One question is if this means that the local population had begun to be assimilated into the culture of the south, or if a new kind of Saami culture developed. In both cases the archaeological material ought to show elements from two cultures.

Was the new custom in the north filled with new content? The fact that a concept was taken over from outside does not necessarily mean that the original ideas were also adopted.

It is fruitful to compare the local grave customs in northern Sweden with those of the pre-Christian period among the native Americans of California. There the manner of burying the dead fluctuated greatly according to region. In some areas cremation was practised but in others interment was the rule. The balance between the two burial methods was almost even, and the distribution quite irregular. The customs ignored the borders of ethnic groups; both practices could, on the other hand, be used within the same ethnic group. Ideas and customs were thus not synonymous. Nor was there any correlation between custom and environment. To a certain degree it seems to have been a question of culture influence. Interment, for example, extended farther beyond the outer limits of the northwestern culture than almost all other institutions or elements which were definitely characteristic of the north-west (Kroeber 1925:841-843, fig. 70).

Some researchers find it difficult to recognize the Härjedalen and similar graves as Saami, due to them being cremation graves. The traditional Saami grave custom during the last centuries has been to bury the dead unburnt. There are, however, early Saami cremation graves, not only in Sweden but also in northern Norway and Finland. Such graves seem to be situated on the periphery of the Saami area, where influences from other cultures were mixed with indigenous customs. This opens up the possibility of changes in grave customs over time.

It has already been pointed out that *the custom of depositing antlers and crania upon graves* is not known from southern Sweden nor from the Germanic settled areas in the north. The placing of a palmated elk antler in a Viking Age grave dated to c. 800 A.D. at Birka in the Mälaren valley (no. 7 on fig. 1; Holmquist-Olausson 1990) should probably be seen in a different light.

At Krankmårtenhögen antlers and crania were deposited on top of 13 of the 24 triangular graves, all with cremated human bones, and at the foot of one standing-stone raised over a collection of animal bones. On eleven of these graves there were antlers and parts of elk and reindeer crania (probably wild reindeer). On one there were only antlers and bones of elk, on another only one bone of reindeer.

It is interesting that so few parts of the animals were deposited. The elk antlers were cut off fairly near the attachment to the crania. Only some parts of the antlers were deposited and these parts were fragmented. The crania were deposited separately. The reindeer were evidently treated differently: here large parts, up to several tens of cms, of the antlers were left attached to the crania, and they do not show any cut marks. No other animal bones have been found on top of the graves. All of the at least 34 elks at

the cemetery were bulls of different ages, but all with palmated antlers. Probably all the at least twelve reindeer were bulls.

A maximum of twelve elks were represented on one grave (A 1). The dead person was a man, 20-40 years old. On top of his grave there were also the remains of the largest number of reindeer, at least four individuals. Four of the elk crania were dated to about the same time as the human bones in the grave. It is thus possible that all the animal bones were deposited in connection with, or soon after the funeral in c. 175 A.D. Of the twelve elks from this grave, eleven had been killed during the autumn, while one was killed in winter. Antlers were apparently deposited on one and the same grave on several occasions. Of a total of 34 elk bulls from the cemetery, 29 had been killed in the autumn and four in the winter.

At Smalnäset fragments of burnt antlers and crania, mostly elk, were deposited on two triangular graves (nos 23 and 31). One was dated to c. 75 A.D., the other to c. 510 A.D.

There are some other deposits of antlers and crania from probable Saami graves in northern Sweden. These graves are also stone- settings with cremations situated on lake shores.

Antlers and parts of crania of reindeer lay upon one of the seven or eight stone-settings at the cemetery at Halvfariudden, a promontory in Lake Övre Grundsjön in Härjedalen (no. 2 on fig. 1). It is also situated in the subalpine pine-forest. One of the reindeer antlers was dated to 515±70 A.D. (Sundström 1989a:159-161).

Roughly the same dating was acquired for some very large reindeer antlers from at least three animals, lying outside the kerb of a stone-setting at Lake Abelvattnet in Lappland (no. 5 on fig. 1). The bones were C 14-dated to c. 500 A.D. (1430±100 B.P.; Zachrisson 1976:118).

In a stone-setting not far from here, at Lake Gräsvattnet, Lappland (no. 6 on fig. 1), there were burnt bones and resin. The filling yielded scattered reindeer antlers, C 14-dated to c. 1 A.D. (1865±100 B.P.; Zachrisson 1976:117).

The two last graves were situated in the subalpine birch-forest, i.e. close to the tree-limit.

Thus the custom seems to have had a wider dispersal chronologically and geographically. It might have been even wider than this. The representativity of the known material is probably also poor. Still other graves with antler deposits in the north are sure to be discovered in the future. Antlers could have been removed from others.

The elk thus dominates the animal bones from the Härjedalen graves treated above. The material seems to indicate that reindeer was the main deposition animal further north. This can be compared with the results of an osteological study of the material from dwelling sites in the interior of northern Sweden which shows that the elk decreases and the reindeer increases towards the north. According to this study the River Ångermanälven was the southernmost limit of the wild reindeer, the two animals occurring together in the area around the River Umeälven (Ekman and Iregren 1984:32). The above graves from Härjedalen as well as a Viking Age–Middle Age dwelling site in the same part of this province show, however, that (wild) reindeer were hunted and were of religious significance at least as far south as River Ljusnan (Sundström 1989b:99-101).

Then what was the symbolic meaning of the deposition of antlers and crania in the north? They have been interpreted as sacrifices (Ambrosiani et al. 1984:50,60-62; Sundström 1989a:160). This seems possible. If so, they can probably be compared with the Saami custom of sacrificing antlers of reindeer at sacrificial sites, known from later times. We do not know, however, how far back this custom goes.

There is also reason to see the custom in a north-eurasiatic context (cf. for example Mebius 1968). It may be based on the same conceptions as those of the Chukchee

shaman: "All existing things are alive... The antlers upon the graves rise during the night and walk in procession around the mounds."

The custom could also be said to belong to a hunter-gatherer environment. Similar customs were in existence during the late hunter Stone Age, c. 6.000-5.000 B.C., further south: there are examples from Skåne, in southernmost Sweden, and Zealand in Denmark, as well as from Brittany in France (Tardenoisien Culture). All these burials are interments and the antlers belong to red deer.

Antlers were placed on top of the legs of a 20 year old man at Skateholm in Skåne, and a young woman was placed sitting on two antlers (no. 8 on fig. 1; Larsson 1983:29-35; 1990: figs. 4,5). A man and a woman were laid on antlers at Vedbaek, Zealand (Albrethsen and Petersen 1975). Antlers were placed around and over the dead in cemeteries on the islands of Téviec (two graves for a sum of 15 adults) and Hoëdic (four graves for a sum of 9 individuals) outside Brittany (Péquart et al. 1937; Péquart and Péquart 1954).

Some of the stone-settings in Härjedalen contained only a collection of burnt animal bones, normally of elk.

At Krankmårtenhögen there were collections of cremated animal bones, mostly elk, placed in five round stone-settings without any traces of human bones. On the other hand, there were no burnt animal bones in any of the graves with human bones.

The identification of these constructions as graves has been questioned. They have been looked upon as cenotaphs (graves for people who died elsewhere) or sacrifices to a dead person. There is more, however, to remind of arctic animal ceremonialism (Åke Hultkrantz, written message).

Eleven graves totally lacked finds of bones, a phenomenon also known from the Mälaren valley. These constructions have been interpreted as cenotaphs or as having contained children's bones which are less likely to survive in the earth (Ambrosiani et al. 1984:24,54). However, all the constructions lacking burnt bones were round or irregular in shape and it is therefore doubtful it they really were graves.

At Smalnäset, eight of the constructions contained only collections of cremated animal bones. Fourteen lacked bones totally.

At the hunter Stone Age cemetery of Skateholm mentioned above there was also a pit with only three red deer antlers, one of them with a part of the skull attached. This has, with some reservation, been interpreted as a cenotaph (Larsson 1983:31-33).

Animal bones in Early Iron Age (c. 500 B.C.–600 A.D.) graves in the Germanic settled areas, i.e. contemporary with those in Härjedalen, are totally different. They are often from whole dogs or slaughter debris (heads and feet) of sheep/goats and they were burnt on the pyre and buried together with the human bones (Berit Sigvallius, personal communication). The animal bones have been interpreted as a symbolic offering or remains of a sacrificial meal (Bennett 1987:116-118,184).

In three graves at Smalnäset *collections of animal bones contained stone artifacts* but no human bones.

Among the semi-burnt antlers on top of the very two graves at Smalnäset with such deposits lay an unfinished 'scraper' of flaked quartzite (grave 23) and a flake of the same material (grave 31). In a third grave (no. 16), near the collection of burnt animal bones, a slate 'point' and a flake of quartzite were found. Here there are no traces at all of a Stone Age site which the stone objects could have derived from.

The stone artefacts have been interpreted as being sacrifices, and the two graves at Smalnäset have been compared with a grave at Långön.

The Viking Age-Early Middle Age cemetery at Långön, an island in Lake Hotingsjön, Ångermanland (no. 4 on fig. 1), is dated to c. 900-1100 A.D. Due to the location of the graves and the nature of grave goods they are assumed to be Saami (Ambrosiani et al.

1984:62f; Zachrisson 1987a:390; 1987b:78-80). In this case the grave forms have been taken over from the Germanic settled areas along the coast of Ångermanland. A cremation grave (no. 3) at Långön, dated to the 10th century, contained two collections of bones, one of human bones in the centre of the mound and one of animal bones on the periphery. A large flaked 'scraper' and a flake of quartzite were found among the latter. The association of the quartzites with the bones is here beyond all doubt (Hvarfner 1957:74).

We do not know how late stone artefacts were used and produced in, for example, Härjedalen. In any case stone tool use continues well on into the Iron Age. There is increasing evidence that flaked stone tools were still manufactured in the Middle Ages, i.e. after 1050/1100 A.D., in some parts of northern Fennoscandia (cf. Zachrisson 1987a). There might be reasons for testing the hypothesis that stone artefacts were used later in graves, i.e. in religious contexts, than in everyday life at dwelling sites, but material is scarce and further studies are necessary before any certainty can be reached.

As seen above, the archaeological material indicates that there was some variation within the religious customs of northern Sweden during the first millennium A.D. There are minor differences even between how the antlers were deposited on the graves at Krankmårtenhögen on the one hand, and at Smalnäset on the other. The question is if these differences are just normal variations, or if they also signify a rich and varied cult in the north at that time.

Conclusion

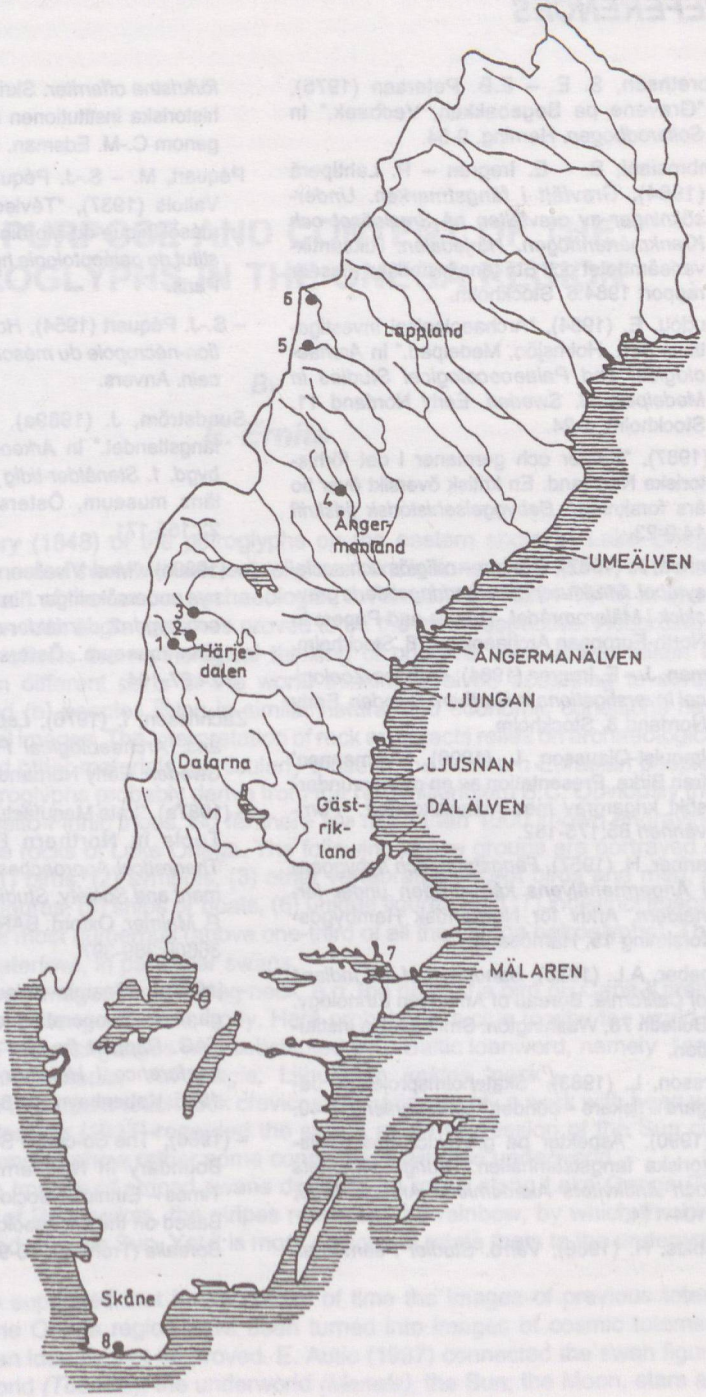
The answer to the question put as title of this paper: "Can grave customs be taken over by one ethnic group from another?" must be answered in the affirmative. Although the forms of graves from northern Sweden discussed above, from at least the whole of the first millennium A.D., show interaction with the Germanic agrarian culture, other characteristics of these graves indicate that the religion of the local population, the Saamis was preserved.

This 'mixture' of religious practices may be a sign of a new kind of Saami culture in its southernmost part, the border areas to the Germanic culture, i.e. in Dalarna, Gästrikland and Härjedalen. Nothing indicates that north-west Härjedalen was part of Germanic society until during the Middle Ages or later. On the other hand, the cemeteries of Krankmårtenhögen and Smalnäset show that this area was at that time probably the northernmost corner to maintain relatively close contacts with central Sweden.

Grave customs are evidently a good indicator of contacts different ethnic groups. Other graves show that during the whole first millennium A.D. one area after the other in the inland of northern Sweden came into close enough contact with settled areas to adopt certain grave customs. The Långön cemetery not only reflects the custom of building mounds over burials, as in the settled area of the coast of Ångermanland, but also shows that the burial methods of the settled areas were copied when the settled area changed from cremation to inhumation (cf. Zachrisson 1988:83-85).

The north Scandinavian archaeological material is a unique archive with a great potential for studying the effects of contacts between different ethnic groups, even concerning religious life.

Figure 1


6
5
Lappland
4
Ånger-
manland
UMEÄLVEN
3
2
1
Härje-
dalen
ÅNGERMANÄLVEN
LJUNGAN
Dalarna
LJUSNAN
Gäst-
rik-
land
DALÄLVEN
7
MÄLAREN
Skåne
8

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THE PURPOSE AND CONTENT OF THE PETROGLYPHS IN THE ONEGA REGION

By

E. Ernits

Since the discovery (1848) of the petroglyphs on the eastern shore of Lake Onega, scholars have connected them with ancient religious conceptions of the North. In the last decade the approach of the famous archaeologist V. Ravdonikas (1894-1976) in investigations of Karelian rock engravings has proved to be the most respective. According to him, the rock art reflects the mythological thinking of primeval men. It was taken for granted that (a) in different parts of the world thinking evolved according to certain universal laws, and (b) peoples living in similar natural and economic conditions have similar mythological images. The interpretation of rock art objects relies on archaeological, ethnographical and other materials, particularly those of the northern Eurasian peoples.

The Onega petroglyphs probably derive from the IV-II millennium B.C. Obviously they were created by Balto-Finnic tribes. So far there are more than 1000 known engravings on horizontal shore rocks of Lake Onega. The following image groups are portrayed on the petroglyphs: (1) birds, (2) symbols, (3) other vertebrates except birds and men, (4) anthropomorphic figures, (5) ships or boats, (6) unique figures, and (7) indistinct images.

Bird images are most numerous (above one-third of all the Onega petroglyphs). They are probably all waterfowl, in particular swans.

Many of the swan images have a long neck, e.g. the neck of a bird on Cape Karetski is more than six times longer than its body. Here probably is a clue to why the world for neck in the Balto-Finnic languages was substituted by a Baltic loanword, namely **sepä* by **kakla* (cf. Finnish *kaula,* Votic *kagle,* Lithuanian *kaklas* 'neck').

Sometimes the bird necks touch rock crevices, sometimes only a neck with head was depicted. V. Ravdonikas (1937) regarded the swans as an expression of the Sun cult, but the above examples show rather some connections with the underworld.

There are nine images of striped swans depicted on rocks along Lake Onega (Fig. 1). In the opinion of Ravdonikas, the stripes represent the rainbow, by which the birds could be associated with the Sun. Yet it is more obvious to relate them to the underworld (Laushkin 1962).

V. Ravdonikas supposed that in the course of time the images of previous totems (swans, etc.) in the Onega region have been turned into images of cosmic totems. It seems that such an idea cannot be proved. E. Autio (1987) connected the swan figures with the nether world *(Tuonela),* the underworld *(Manala),* the Sun, the Moon, stars and

systems of chronology. He was particularly interested in the connection between the swan figures and the Sun. In my opinion, the Onega petroglyphs, drawn by nonagricultural tribes, could not express Sun worship in so large a measure.

In 1986 new petroglyph groups were discovered on a cape which was named Swan Cape after a huge swan figure (more than 4 m). This cape was probably the central point where the cult of a totemic Swan was performed.

Several petroglyphs represent twin birds, i.e. bodies with two heads and necks; often one of the necks is longer than the other. Presumably such images were combined totems, namely, compounds of a swan and another type of waterfowl. They indicated dual-exogamic marriage between phratries of bird totems. There are many proofs of this religious image.

In the neolithic cemetery of Zvejnieki (Latvia) a horn figure was found, one end of which was reminiscent of the head of a swan or a goose, the other of the head of a duck (Zagorskis 1983). Even in the 11th-12th centuries in the Volga area metallic pendants with images of a two-headed bird were worn (Golubeva 1979). In the environments of Kostroma wedding-guests used ritual scoops, one side of which represented a swan, the other another bird. The ritual towels of different nations in northern Russia often contained images of twin birds (Maslova 1978).

One remarkable Onega petroglyph represents a swan with two ears or horns. It has a parallel in a medieval cemetery in the vicinity of Novgorod (11th-12th centuries). In the beliefs of the Saami and Samoyeds a master of pikes and a water spirit with horns are known (Itkonen 1946 and Lehtisalo 1924). The horns expressed, in general, supernatural powers (Cooper 1986).

Thus, in the religion of the ancient inhabitants of the Onega region waterfowl, especially the swan, were of vital significance. They have been connected as totemic animals with the underworld.

The cult of swans and other waterfowl was peculiar to the Finno- Ugrians. The roots of the swan worship could be descended from Siberia. A lot of swan figurines have been found in the palaeolithic settlement of Malta (the Irkutsk area). The swan was worshipped by the Nenets, Selkups, Kets, Buryats and others. In the Middle Ages on the shores of Onega an orthodox cross showed a swan at Cape Besov Nos. It attests to the long duration of the swan cult in this region. The Karelians, Veps, etc., still consider swans as holy birds even today.

There are various known *symbols* in the Onega region (about 20% of the total). They are rock carvings which we cannot firmly identify. Among them are figures with appendices or rays. Similar images occur in Scandinavia, Siberia and Mongolia, too. V. Ravdonikas distinguished solar- and lunar-signs (Fig. 2, 3). His son, F. Ravdonikas (1978) wrote that, in fact, only moon symbols were picted on the cliffs of Onega. The author of the present paper differentiates symbols of a crescent, half and full moon (Ernits 1989). An ironplate figure of a Nganasan shaman costume demonstrates that the moon could be imagined as a circle with appendices (Gracheva 1984). The Nenets have made sacrifices to wood half-circles which marked the half moon (Lehtisalo 1924).

F. Ravdonikas made an attempt to show that on the rocks of the Onega shore a lunar calendar was depicted. The statistical data of P. Tenjes (1986) and the frequent isolated posture of the heavenly symbols indicate the small plausibility of this hypothesis. In my opinion, it is possible that the petroglyphs which do not belong to any compositional whole were made rather for votive purposes. The variety of the lunar symbols may reflect knowledge of a moon calendar. Probably it may express the time when the petroglyph was made, or the time when a certain need had to be fulfilled.

There are seven petroglyphs in the Onega region representing a triangle with a long line and a small moose figure (Fig.4).

A. Stolyar (1978) supposed that the staffs indicated the Nether World which, according to the religious images of the ancient inhabitants of the Onega area, could be situated on the island of Olenii, where a mesolithic cemetery is known. E. Autio (1981) has the opinion that those tools resembling those of the Saami wind-god *Biegg-galles*. A Mansi ritual may also attest to the relatively great age of this religious image: in a full moon period children asked for bread and other food, wishing the household all the best; then they shaped a moose figure, which was made from bread (cf. moose appendix of the Onega 'staffs'), put it on the snow and hit it with a spade (cf. spade form of the 'staffs') in the direction to the moon, desiring fair winds or a warm summer (Kannisto 1958 and Shestalov 1985). It is also possible that prototypes of this ritual tool have also been drawn on the Onega rocks.

The images of *vertebrates* (except birds and men) make up some 10%, mostly mooses and reindeer without antlers. O. Montonen (1974) asserted that all the possible petroglyphs represent either mooses, or mooses and roes.

The existence or absence of antler images (Table 1) permits us to make some conclusions. Thus, the Onega engravings can represent neither male mooses or reindeer in summer nor female reindeer in winter.

Table 1

Existence (+) or absence (-) of antlers

Season	moose		reindeer	
	female	male	female	male
Summer	–	+	–	+
Winter	–	–	+	–

The combination of moose and swan figures (Fig. 5) on the same cape as the huge swan could express totemism (Autio 1987b). The plaques of Permian animal style from the 1st millennium B.C. with compounds of moose and waterfowl had the same content (Gribova 1975). Combinations of a seal with a bird, an animal head with a bird neck and other similar petroglyphs in the Onega region may also attest ideas of dual- exogamic matrimony.

It seems that the worship of bears did not prevailing in the Onega region, because only three small images of this carnivore have been found there.

The present toponym Besov Nos derives from Russian *bes* 'devil'. It is possible that the ancient name of the cape could be formed from Saami *passe, paiss* 'holy'. The Saami of the Kola Peninsula have used both *Piess-väär*i 'Devil's Hill' and *Paiss- väär*i 'Holy Hill' in speaking of the same mountain (Paulaharju 1921). In Finland the rock Bessousing 'Holy Dwelling-place' was known; on it children were sacrificed to some goddess (Itkonen 1943-1944).

In the 19th century a peculiar voice was audible in the rocks of Cape Besov Nos; it reminded people of church bells (Shved 1850). The monk Lazar, the founder of Murom monastery (ca. 25 km from the petroglyphs), mentioned a strange sound on the shore of Onega in the Middle Ages (Amvrossi 1813). The Saami regard sounding hollow cliffs and stones as holy (Itkonen 1946). For that reason Cape Besov Nos could become holy, too.

There is a triad of large (2.46-2.65 m) petroglyphs on Besov Nos: an anthropomorphic figure in the centre, an otter on the left and a sheatfish on the right (Fig. 7-9).

A. Linevski (1939) supposed that on the shores of Onega the cult of otters was performed by the ancient inhabitants. According to him, the otter was taken for a harmful animal scaring all the fish. This presumption is not plausible (Savvateev 1984). The Estonian belief that the otter can call fishes together, having whistled, supports this (Literature Museum of the Estonian Academy of Science – H 28, 125/12). According to a religious image of the Khants, a water spirit in the shape of an otter could put to flight all the bad spirits, thereby obstructing fishing (Konakov 1990).

The large otter figure on Besov Nos probably represents a mistress of all the otters or even all the quadrupeds. Many data attest to the great religious importance of the otter since the Stone Ages.

In a neolithic grave at Kubenino (in the Vologda area) mandibles of otters were found; they were probably worn as magic objects on the hips (Ozols 1973). Small otter figures are known from the Upper Volga area, Valma (Estonia) and the Kola Peninsula (Gurina 1986 and Krainov 1987). Three rhombuses were cut into the back of a flint figurine from the Upper Volga. They were plausible symbols of fertility (Saveleva 1978). Otters were drawn on the drums of Saami shamans.

The Ob-Ugrians regarded otters as totemic ancestors. An otter figure was cut in a fir trunk in a holy place of the Khanty. The wife of the god *Numi-Torum* could also appear in the form of an otter (Sokolova 1983). The Khanty hunters kept bones, extremities and tails of killed otters to vouch for luck in hunting (Konakov 1990).

According to the holy books of the Parses, terrible punishments were inflicted on anyone who killed an otter; it donated good luck, richness and health (Wolff 1924). An otter statue (600 B.C.) is known from Ancient Egypt. There the posture of this animal on the hind extremities was taken as a prayer attitude; therefore it became sacred (Beltz 1987).

Yu. Savvateev (1984) regarded the large otter figure of Besov Nos as an expression of otter worship and as a mediator between the terrestrial and underground spheres. The Komi hunters believed that the otter personified powers of the underworld and connected it with water. The Khanty regarded the otter as a peculiar animal because, according to their beliefs, it could go on the ground, swim in water and move under the earth. The Selkups considered it as an important spirit of water and the underworld. The shamans bound iron figurines of this animal to the drumstick. The otter was one of the main helpers of Evenki shamans. The image of the otter could be canonized because it was always depicted from above (Konakov 1990). I can add that the otter image of Besov Nos was depicted from above, too, but the other animal petroglyphs, except the sheet and beavers, are profiled.

The otter, as a multilocal moving and totemic animal was connected with the Underworld. In the religious images of the Onega inhabitants it could be an essential part of the complex: fertility – moon – underworld – totemic ancestors.

The sheatfish lives neither in the rivers flowing into the Arctic Ocean, nor in Siberia. Therefore religious data about it are very scarce. A sheat figurine with eyes has been found in the area of the Upper Volga (Krainov 1987). Like the other animal petroglyphs of the Onega region, the sheat image has eyes. A statuette of this kind of fish (II millennium B.C.) is known from Ancient Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1986).

The Finnish *sampi* denotes both sturgeon, codfish and sheat, *sampokala,* she-fish and Mother (Mistress) of fishes. Such a variety of meanings is not a reflexion of inexact thought (Mäkeläinen 1976). This identification of sturgeon and sheat could be traditional:

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on Cape Besov Nos a starlet and sheat figures were depicted next to each other. I suppose that both petroglyphs may have represented Mother of fishes.

The Carelian and Russian (dialect) *maimakala* 'sheatfish' indicates this fish as a sacred object, because calling a great fish *maim* 'baby fish' was an evident expression of taboo. It is known that the Russians (from which area?) interpreted the sheatfish as Master of fishes and water spirit (Zelenin 1927).

The Onega sterlet image is compared with neolithic flint figurines from the Vologda environments and the Upper Volga area (Zamyatnin 1948 and Oshibkina 1978). The Finns and the Saami of Finland regarded this fish as the Mother of fishes (Itkonen 1946 and Mäkeläinen 1976). According to Nenets belief, a water spirit may exist in the shape of a sturgeon. The Samoyeds and Ob-Ugrians used sturgeon gall against eye diseases (Lehtisalo 1924). On the shore of Baikal a petroglyph with a sturgeon image is known, too (Okladnikov 1974). Plutarch mentioned the sturgeon as a holy fish (*Der kleine Pauly* 1975). It is interesting to add that on the blazon of the town of Beloozersk two sterlets were depicted (Arbat 1970). In the Early Middle Ages the Beloozersk area was an important centre of Veps.

At Besov Nos a scene is depicted in which a man is fishing for salmon with two harpoons (Linevski 1939; Fig. 6). K. Laushkin (1962) took one of the harpoons to be the boat with Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen and Lemminkäinen liberating the Sun from the stomach of an immense pike. This presumption is criticized by Yu. Savvateev (1964). H. Kirkinen (1988) proposed that the scene could show a myth about the fight of an eagle with a colossal fish (cf. the Kalevala). In my opinion, this scene tells how a young man from a tribe with a bird (swan?) totem is wooing (desiring to woo?) a maid from the salmon tribe (cf. maiden-salmon in Carelian folk songs and the Kalevala; Krinichnaya 1986). In general, the interpretation of scenes (=compositions) is very difficult and enables to make different competing explanations because the 'language' of the rock art is too scanty.

The *anthropomorphic figure* in the triad of the large petroglyphs is taken to be Väinämöinen (Shved 1850), a god of hunting and fishing (Grewingk 1855), the mistress of *Tuonela* (Laushkin 1962).

The primeval people inhabited a certain territory which was for them the centre of the world (Menes 1986). It was worshipped and imagined probably as female because of the important role of the mother. The cult of territory turned into the cult of mountains and rocks where caves and crevices marked the womb of the Mother of the Earth. It was believed that men, animals and plants were born from her and after their death they returned to her womb.

I propose that the large anthropomorphic figure of Besov Nos could represent the Mother of the Earth, because it is symmetrical to both sides of the rock crevice. It is known that natural crevices were thought to be holy. For example, the Nenets made offerings in a rock cleft on the island of Vaigach (Lehtisalo 1924). On banks of the Lena sacrifices have been made from the Neolithic ages up to the present day (Okladnikov 1974).

G. Ränk (1949) proposed that the Saami *Madderakka* with three daughters were the guardians of childbirth; they lived under the ground and had connections with the ancestors. The name of *Madderakka* (cf. Finnish *manner,* Estonian *mander*) 'mainland, continent' and the meanings 'mother' and 'ancestress') show that she was the Saami Mother of the Earth.

Connections of Mothers of the Earth with ancestresses and the Underworld are evident. The Slavic *Baba-Yaga* has features of a totemic ancestress, guard of the Nether World and Mistress of all the animals (Propp 1986). *Ulgen-ehe,* the ancestress of the Buryats, also personifies the earth (Menes 1986). The Nganasans conceive two unlike mythological persons: the Mother of the Earth and the Guard of the Nether World (Gracheva 1983).

The bending legs of the Mother of the Earth on Besov Nos could indicate a squatting posture of parturition. To the primeval makers of the petroglyphs the thickness of the hands and thighs was, maybe, of no importance: more essential was to mark thickness of the calves.

The eyes of the anthropomorphic figure of Besov Nos fascinate researchers. Why was the eye on the edge of the rock crevice shown in detail? If no partial destruction of the eye has taken place, we can argue as follows.

It is known from the myths of many peoples that the Mother of the Earth was imaged as being blind (Propp 1986). The *Madderakka* and Mothers of the Earth of Siberian nations could see in darkness (Itkonen 1943-1944 and Ränk 1949). Such examples enable us to guess that the overground eye of the anthropomorphic figure of Besov Nos is blind, but the left eye, being connected with the Underworld, can see. The Saamis offered the eyes of killed reindeer to the Mother of the Earth, because they believed that she could parturiate the eyes of reindeer embryos (Simchenko 1976). Unfortunately it is not clear to me what the 'rock with painted eyes' is where rituals of fecundity were performed by an Australian tribe (Tokarev 1969).

For semantic investigations of the Besov triad some ritual towels of the Karelians, Veps, Northern Russians can be interesting. They have compositions in three parts. At the centre we can see a female figure with prised hands and spread legs, on both sides horsemen, birds, reindeer or fishes. The she-figure is called Goddess of the Earth, Great Mother, *Mokosh* or Woman in Birth. It also attests that the anthropomorphic figure of the Besov triad can represent the Mother of the Earth. According to T. Vahter (1938), these ritual towels expressed the cult of the dead, but B. Rybakov (1981) proposed that they were connected with fertility, the worship of the Sun and the birth of Heaven Mooses.

Some researchers regard that the Besov triad was made earlier than the other petroglyphs, some scientists vice versa. I have reconsidered my earlier view as to its early origin (Poikalainen and Ernits 1987). It seems after all that the triad is relatively late, because (a) compositions in three parts date, usually, from the beginning of feudalism (Mikhailov 1987), (b) the Mother of the Earth in anthropomorphic form cannot be early, in contrast to the zoomorphic one, and (c) there is a certain appendix at the side of the Besov Mother: it could be an earlier kind of petroglyph.

It may be no accident that the chapel in the village of Besov Nos is consecrated to Our Lady of Kazan. The identification of *Mater Dei* with the Mother of the Earth and *Mokosh* is well known by Russians (Uspenski 1988). The day of Our Lady of Kazan is commemorated in November (according to the new style). N.Konakov has declared that in a Komi hunting calendar, descending, probably, from the threshold of the II millennium, the otter image marked the interval from November 7 to December 19. If my comparison is right, it can attest that the Besov triad was worshipped in the autumn.

A petroglyph of Swan Cape, representing a woman with frog-like body, could express the complex: fertility – moon – underworld – totemic ancestors. Her three-fingered hands (cf. the Kalevala) and the direction of her head (to the NW) suggest that she belongs to the Nether World. The motif of a woman with a frog-like body is wide-spread in Northern Eurasia, America and Australia. It was connected with the worship of fertility, because, in particular, this motive occurs as an ornament on wedding and birth dresses (Maslova 1978). Frogs and toads were associated with pregnancy, birth and the moon (Gimbutas 1974 and Cooper 1986). The Saamis took *Ogre Achi* with a frog body to be the Mistress of reindeer, frogs and insects. She had connections with the moon, too. E. Itkonen (1960) compared her with the Khanty mythological persons, living in the forests or under the ground.

Often the anthropomorphic petroglyphs from Lake Onega have strong calves of the legs (cf. the Mother of the Earth in the Besov triad). A tatooed fish (sheat?) on the leg

of a Scythian, and the relation between the words for a leg calf and a fish in many languages (Sadovszky 1975) showed that the calves were connected with fertility and the Netherworld. An Ancient Egyptian myth told about the moon god *Thot* who was born from a knee, but later the latter became a symbol of the crescent moon (Kees 1980). The Estionian *polv*, Finnish *polvi*, Russian *koleno, pokolenie* 'knee; generation' affirm this idea. Thus, the images of strong calves expressed the complex: fertility – moon – nether world – totemic ancestors.

Among the images of *boats or ships* in the Onega region the one on Swan cape (Fig. 10) is very interesting. Unlike the other ship petroglyphs its prow resembles a bird's head. Its convex hull could reflect the moon. We can see a tree with possibly a swan and two men on board this ship figure. Such images with a tree and solar symbol are known from Scandinavian rocks and grave stones. In general, they have taken as ships of the dead. The Scandinavian ship figures have equivalents in Oceania and Indonesia, e.g. the cult ships of the Bataks incarnate the unity of the universe: their prow was bird-like (=heaven), their poop resembled a serpent (=Nether World) and their mast was an analogue of the World Tree (Petrukhin 1980). Supposedly the Onega petroglyph could express also the above mentioned complex: fertility – moon – underworld – totemic ancestors.

A composition with tree and bird was made at Besov Nos, near the Mother of the Earth. According to V. Poikalainen's oral information, a forsaken boat may belong to this composition too. Consequently, its chief elements are the same as those of Swan Cape: water vehicle – tree – bird. It is possible that images of the soul-tree with a soul-bird were carved by ancient Onega inhabitants.

There is an interesting composition among the *unique figures* of Lake Onega. It was called the Magic Mill *(Sampo)* (Fig. 11) by its discoverers. This composition resembles a construction in Swedish rock art. The latter is compared to a decorated pole with wheel or swings (a Majstång), and an analogous image on a temple wall in Ancient Egypt (Ohlmarks 1966). The *Majstångs* were used during vernal rituals, connected with the fertility of the earth and the fecundity of women. A swing of the Indians in Mexico has some similarities (Almgren 1975). E. Maula (1990) has drawn parallels to the Onega Magic Mill from Indus mythology.

The genesis of the rock art was supposedly connected with rituals. Their purpose was to establish contacts with ancestors and animate nature. Worship of the moon, the inhabitants of the underworld, among them totemic ancestors (swan, moose, etc.), and the Mother of the Earth aimed to gain fertility. Particularly, the petroglyph compositions could tell myths. According to M. Hoppál (1985) and other scholars, the rock art is explainable as a semiotic system. In all probability, the essential information was forwarded both to tribal members, and to mythical persons.

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SUPERNATURAL HEROES IN FINNO-UGRIC SHAMANISM

By

Carla Corradi-Musi

The blacksmith was one of the most interesting personalities of Northern Finno-Ugric shamanism: he often coincided symbolically with the shaman and at times even possessed greater skills. As a culture hero, the blacksmith, using his own power over fire, transformed minerals and completed his work process under the protection of many taboos. He participated in the creative force, was a protagonist in the 'sacred' history of man, but was not capable of ecstasy: in order to become the depository of knowledge he had to free himself from the laws of matter and overcome many tests of shamanic type. Through the rituals of passage and regeneration he was reborn from the womb of Mother Earth, like Ilmarinen in Finnish mythology who came out of the stomach of an old witch (Eliade 1980:93-94) or went to the netherworld like Väinämöinen in the *Kalevala*, forced to enter the body of Antero Vipunen in order to create the first boat (Lönnrot 1978:215-232, canto XIII).

The meeting with the dead, an essential requisite to receive that special 're-warming' which is characteristic of the 'creator' was programmed also in the initiations of craftsmen and the followers of Western secret societies, which assumed the sacred nature of the blacksmith. Rejuvenation by means of fire from a furnace in European medieval folklore can be connected with the mythical-ritual concept of fire as an initiation test in that it purifies and transforms at the same time (Eliade 1987:93-94).

Both the shaman and the blacksmith, as experts in magic, knew how to tune in to supernatural and natural forces with the help of verbal formulae: Väinämöinen, who needed magic words to build the boat, demonstrated this (Lönnrot 1978:203-232, cantos XVI, XVII) and it is confirmed by the palaeo-Scandinavian expression *lothasmithr* 'blacksmith of songs' (Eliade 1987:87).

Väinämöinen was both shaman and blacksmith, a spiritual and material creator. He constructed the first and second *kantele* and, in addition to the first boat, a second one for which Ilmarinen supplied the oars (Lönnrot 1978:540,583,620, cantos XL, XLIV, XLVII). Along with Ilmarinen was the demiurge who was the originator of the first spark (Kuusi 1980:291).

In the Finnish epic poem it is Ilmarinen who excels as a blacksmith: he fashioned the Sampo, a new sun and a new moon, a rake and a golden bride (Lönnrot 1978:136,638-639,579-580,505-512, cantos X, XLIX, XLIV, XXXVII), connected with the primordial

'Golden Woman' of the Finno-Ugric myths. In the Estonian *Kalevipoeg* Ilmarinen appeared as a god of the underworld in the form of a blacksmith in the act of supervising seven companions working on the blade of a sword in the furnace situated in the centre of a hill which reached to the sky (*Kalewipoeg* n.d.:94-95). In Western European beliefs also the metal sword was forged by blacksmith-wizards or by gods who were able to animate it with extraordinary strength. It is no coincidence that the sword acquired an important magic function as symbol of the sun; the blacksmith is depicted as the 'Heavenly Blacksmith': we need only think of gods such as Kalvaitis, who forged a new sun every morning, and other similar figures such as Perkūnas, Wieland and Ilmarinen (Gimbutas 1967).

The much discussed highly skilled blacksmith Wieland in Germanic sagas, who is also met in English sagas, and under the name of Galans in ancient French poetry, was very similar to Ilmarinen. In the *Edda* Wieland was considered as the son of a Finnish king, while we learn from the saga of Theodoric that his father had relationships with the Finns. Perhaps, too, Wieland and Ilmarinen constituted the same deity and that the origin of Wieland must be related to the world of Uralic mythology, like that of the Greek Hephaestus.

The Germanic Loki must also be linked with Ilmarinen: the former was a divinity of the air, fire, the sea, and blacksmith who used his power of the runes, besides being the father of hell, the goddess of death.

In all probability the common matrix of these divinities is due to the fact that the ancient craftsman of iron was able during his travels to spread the myths of metallurgy over a very wide area.

Just as white magic is complementary to black magic, so the blacksmith-shaman, a benevolent and venerable figure, possessed as 'alter ego' the magic blacksmith as destroyer – he was feared by everyone – and used his power to cause devastation. In the Indoeuropean area fire was one of the attributes of the god of the Final Destruction.

In the Finno-Ugric field the dangerous blacksmith found meaningful and poetic expression in the most famous magician- blacksmith of Finland who brought about the death of the protagonist of the *Kalevipoeg* (*Kalewipoeg* n.d.:168-169). We must not forget that for the Estonians death was considered, in the shamanic sense, as a necessary stage in the process of a better rebirth, and for this the blacksmith as sower of death was in reality he who lay the foundations for a more promising reincarnation.

If, among the Finno-Ugrics, the blacksmith was often a shaman or a figure in agreement with him, seeing that in the case of initiatory dismemberment of the body it was he who forged the new head (Eliade 1987:73), for the Western Europeans also he was a magic figure endowed with exceptional qualities, and represented by divinities or fantastic beings such as giants or dwarves. Many dwarves and elves date back to a primitive magic-religious scenario, in which the blacksmith formed the projection of the 'Heavenly Craftsman' who used fire to come into contact with the supernatural sphere. Among them we can count the dwarf metal forgers of Celtic myths and Northern Europe, who were sometimes ugly due to the mutilations suffered during initiation, or those forgers of trees and masters of young heroes in Germanic myths, or the Liósálfar 'Elves of the Light' of the *Edda* (Polia 1983:91) – these were forgers of the sun or representatives of the rays of the sun. We can also include the various Indoeuropean dwarves who cast terrible curses, or finally the Finno-Ugric dwarves who were spirits assisting the shamans. It is true that in the shamanic field the figure of the shaman assumed special significance, but it is also a fact that in the West, the magic of metallurgy was not without parashamanic elements; this can be borne out by the divinatory skills of blacksmiths or their function as healers. In Western Europe the art of the blacksmith was inherited and perfected by

the alchemist, who was able to transform base metals into precious metals and, before the rupture of the 'magic-religion' compromise, he was a man of religion, exactly like the Finno-Ugric shaman-blacksmith.

Among the Finno-Ugrics the vampire possessed a significance which was essentially magic: he was the intermediary between the world of the living and that of the dead in his status of 'non-dead' and was always in contact with the supernatural. Traces of the Finno-Ugric vampire, the counterpart of the shaman, survive in the Indoeuropean area. In this case, however, an image of the vampire taken from the classical world prevailed. He did not possess the shamanic connotation of enemy of the race. It was the Finno-Ugric vampire in fact who was not completely dead and could not be reincarnated and assure a new life.

It was expressly to avoid the transformation of the incorrupt body into vampire that people followed the practice of exhuming corpses with a view to their eventual putrefaction before the definitive 'second burial', and it was performed by the Finno-Ugrics, the Slavs and the North American Indians (Gasparini n.d.:64-137). The latter were Asiatic in origin, or rather Ob-Ugric, at least as far as the Californians were concerned (Sadovszky 1984:9-20). The Finns were particularly afraid with regard to the souls of babies to which they imputed special powers. The ancient Germanic tribes also, from which the Anglo-Saxons descended, were afraid of spirits and monsters who drank human blood. But while in the Finno-Ugric and Slav tradition the vampire was a non-decomposed body which found its source of life in the blood of the living, the vampire in Indoeuropean superstition, of Greco-Roman type, was a spirit or ghost which sucked blood but did not possess a body. Furthermore, in the West he caused the end of life and aroused terror even in people who believed in a hereafter. Among the Finno-Ugrics, instead, by obstructing real death, he blocked the necessary way to a new existence. In Western Europe, however, we meet exceptions to this and traces of the influence of the vampire in shamanic beliefs remain, corroborated surprisingly by the Scandinavian legend of Thorolf Clubfoot (Turville-Petre 1964:355-357) who, when he died, sent troubles against the living since his body was intact.

A significant part was also played by the fantastic creatures of the natural world: by means of their magic power they helped both the Finno-Ugric shaman and the Western European magician-healer. In their connection with the plant world and the world of the dead they represented the same link between the divine world and the earthly world which was in the strictly human sphere constituted by the shaman. An example of these were the *Passevareolma* 'Men of the Sacred Mountain' and the *Saivoolmak* 'Men of the *Saivo*' in the Lappish tradition, subterranean spirits associated with the cult of the *seida* (object or place of the gods or supernatural forces), who were able to help the shaman in ecstasy, in most cases in animal form (Hultkrantz 1965:277).

The Finno-Ugric magic figures of the woods were often connected with the dead. The Estonian 'Father of the Wood', represented as an enormous tree with a mossy beard and a green cloak (already the symbolic colour of death among the Celts), the Livonian 'People of the Forest' with their green hair and birdlike voices (Paulson 1965:177) were substantially manifestations of the spirits of the dead; of a similar kind were fairies with greenish complexions, dressed in green in other Nordic beliefs, among whom was the *Banshee* or 'Fairy Lady', an Irish spirit of death, known in Scotland under the name of *Bean-Nighe* 'Washerwoman' or 'Little washer by the ford' who washed the clothes of the dying (Briggs 1985:10-11,14-15).

It was precisely because they represented the dead that the supernatural beings of Finno-Ugric shamanism often appeared in animal form: for example the Livonian 'Mother of the Bushes' and the Estonian 'Girl of the Forest' were able to take the form of a huge bird, or the Ingrian 'Shepherd of the Wolves', a man with a wolf's head, or other Estonian

spirits of the forest who changed into wolves, bears or snakes (Paulson 1965:177-178,180), all clearly totemic in origin. Among similar zoomorphic figures of fairies and elves in the North Western European world we recall the Irish *pooka* or *púca* in the form of a beautiful horse (Yeats 1981:93) which, as evidenced by the horses buried in Scandinavian tombs or the grey, deformed horses presaging death in northern folklore (Turville-Petre 1964:76), was a symbol of death in the same way as the dog or the wolf.

In the beliefs of Great Britain black dogs concealed evil spirits (Briggs 1985:19,136), and dogs with human heads called 'Seven Whistlers' or *Gabriel Hounds* 'Whining Dogs of the Sky' (Briggs 1985:121,239) were spirits which flew over houses and prophesied death (*Examples of* ... 1967:17).

The werewolf, a close relation of the vampire, through its connection with the very ancient taboo of not eating human flesh, is explained as a temporary metapsychosis, a kind of anticipation of the final transformation which occurred unexpectedly with death.

Dwarves too appeared in the system of magic figures connected with the hereafter. We refer to the Finnish dwarves who along with birds stayed in a place where the sky was so low that it allowed only very small animals to live: to this place led the bridge formed by the 'Great Oak' cut down by a dwarf, at least according to some interpretations of the relative myth (Toivonen 1946-47:72-73). The Finnish dwarf is similar to the little tree spirit which cut down the very high tree so as to avoid terrible disasters in the Swiss canton of Zug at Menzingen (Mannhardt 1904:61-62). Dwarves in fact were connected with the world beyond the tomb in Western Europe too: it is sufficient to quote the dwarves of the ancient Germans who lived in rocks i.e. the homes of the dead, or Alvis in the *Edda* who produced the leaden pallor in corpses (*L'Edda* ... 1951:105) or the name Dain used in the *Edda* for the dwarves and dark elves to which was attributed the meaning of 'dead'(Turville-Petre 1964:308).

In connection with the hereafter there were also many Finno-Ugric giants of the natural world like the original Estonian spirit of the forest which rode a wolf or the giant of the Olonets who is depicted as a bear as tall as a tree (Paulson 1965:180,186).

In confirmation of the close relationship among the Finno-Ugrics between the fantastic creatures of nature and the dead we should remember that the Finnish water spirit, after the sacrifice in his honour had been completed, appeared in an ornate silver garment, the symbol like gold of the hereafter.

In the Indouralic field, just like the cosmic tree, magic figures were not only connected with death but also with life; in fact they were the emblem of fecundity and fertility.

The Baltic Finns regarded a married woman as a principle of fecundity: she was a 'Mother' and they knew nothing of male fecundity, while among the peoples of warm climates with a very ancient matriarchal tradition the exact opposite occurred. The cult of the 'Mother' was clearly related to that of the totemic animal. The Finns and the Cheremis personified the sun and the moon as women, while the Lapps and the Estonians and other similar nations held the view that the sun was female and the moon male, the opposite of what was believed in Tartar and Greco-Roman paganism.

Among the Balto-Finns too fantastic creatures assuring fecundity appeared very often in couples: in reality their numerous male and female spirits of the water and the earth, often Germanic in origin, or their various 'Mothers of the Forest' who had their corresponding 'Fathers', reproduced the cosmic couples, such as Freyr and Freya of Scandinavian mythology.

The death-fecundity relationship is clear in the Indouralic field: we can think of the Norwegian legend of the larvae of the giant Ymir which were changed into elves i.e. into creatures generated by death (Froud – Lee 1981:5) or of the Livonian belief of the Earth Mother with green hair who made beans grow (Paulson 1965:221). The connection

between hair and fecundity is clear in anthropomorphic images of the 'Mother' goddess in Finno-Ugric mythology: a good example is that of the Livonian 'Mother of Linen' with fair hair reaching to the ground, a sign of prosperity (Paulson 1965:221).

The worship of the 'Mother' gives evidence of the death-fecundity relationship in Western Europe too. The Germanic goddess Hold was simultaneously the goddess of marriage and fecundity, of the subsoil and of death (Russel 1987:43). The Celtic 'Great Mother' administered both death and life (Riemschneider 1979:65).

The magic creatures who acted as intermediaries between the earth and the sky (Müller 1898:470), just like life, had a double aspect, both benevolent and malevolent. With characters favourable to man, such as the Lappish spirit of a *seida* which obtained good results in hunting and fishing in the guise of an armed man (Hultkrantz 1965:275), can be interchanged others, like the spirits of the forest or the protectors of wild animals and fish: they played spiteful tricks on Finnish hunters and fishermen, hiding their prey. The Estonian spirit of the wood and the 'Mother of the Forest' of the Lapps of Kola (Hultkrantz 1965:274) caused travellers to lose their way, just as the Pixy of Great Britain or the imp called Stray sod in Ireland (Briggs 1985:217-218) or the imp Shelleycoat in Scotland (Froud – Lee 1981:123). The Lappish *Maahinen* or *Ulda* also, the masters of magic and assistants of shamans, if they were not made happy, kidnapped newborn babies with black hair in a similar way to English imps who preferred fair haired babies (Froud – Lee 1981:60). On the other hand British fairies passed easily from being good and helpful to being wicked.

The positive and negative ambivalence of certain imaginary figures have parallels in the workers of sacred acts both in the shamanic and magic fields of Western Europe. Shamans and magicians, who were predominantly benevolent, inevitably had to resort to acts of evil when confronted with adversaries. Between good and evil there was not an unbridgable discord, at least before the 'witch hunts' at the beginning of the modern period. The supernatural beings, forming part of the shamanic sphere, who were exclusively hostile could be kept under control within certain limits. Their presence must be related to the presence of the spirit of evil in the myths of cosmogony – he caused the earth to flower with water and became an essential element in the cosmos, an entity both knowable and therefore partly controllable.

In Balto-Finnic shamanism the possession of the 'free soul' on the part of hostile spirits was one of the causes of illness. In the case of the Livonians illness was even imagined as a strange creature with legs but without head or hands (Lukinich 1935:72). In Ireland and Scotland it was believed that the soul, on leaving the body, could be kidnapped by imps and evil spirits. In Great Britain there was a common belief that fairy creatures, the survivors of the spirits of the dead, caused countless illnesses in anyone who broke the many taboos related to them. Furthermore, the same divinities of ancient paganism were easily irritated.

Among the more dangerous magic figures we can quote the mythological *Stallo* of the Lapps who killed and devoured babies and adults, or the imp *kelpie* of Scotland, originally a water spirit which usually appears in the form of a horse capable of enchanting its victims and causing their drawning, plunging them at full gallop while they were sitting on his back (Macdougall 1978:94-99). Similar to him was the Finnish water spirit who, sat on a rock, played music wonderfully and enchanted men who then drowned. In the same category as the *kelpie* we find the souls of the wicked dead who formed part of the *Unseelie Court* 'Court of the Wicked'.

The anthropophagous nature of these Finno-Ugric creatures is also met in Western Europe: we need only think of the *Lianhaun shee* 'Fairy Lover' of Irish legends which sucked the blood of men (Yeats 1981:177) or the *Glaistig* of British folklore, half woman

and half goat, who was dangerous and thirsty for blood (Froud – Lee 1981:125) or of the Scottish *imp,* called *Red Cap*, who dyed his cap red with human blood (Froud – Lee 1981:112).

In Western Europe Christianization took away from these fantastic magic creatures a great number of their original traits, as is proved in certain cases even in the Balto-Finnic field. It is true that the wood spirits among the Estonians, the Vepsians and the Livonians at times took on the features of ghosts of the wood or the devil, or that the wicked Estonian spirit of the house could adopt the appearance of a black cat (Paulson 1965:240), an animal associated with witchcraft, but generally the original characteristics of magic creatures were preserved longer among the Finno-Ugrians. Demonological theory accepted the idea of supernatural beings as an expression of the souls of the dead, but of the non-buried dead, of those who had died a violent death, of devils. In the shamanic area they continued in most cases to form part of a vision of the world in which the dead and the living constituted two opposing poles of the same reality which was indivisible and whose equilibrium was maintained by the shaman. Indeed, the dead man became automatically a protector. The Estonian spirit of the home was worshipped in the form of a serpent (he was also respected by the Finns) or of a weasel, in connection with the metamorphosis of the soul into an animal after death. The tutelary spirit of the house among the Finns, who could appear in anthropomorphic forms or in zoomorphic forms or as a formless power, coincided generally with the first person to die in that house (Paulson 1965:242), or with the spirit of the first person to light a fire or begin the foundations. We have an echo of the archaic animistic idea of the Finno-Ugrics of a human sacrifice in honour of a new construction, a record of which survives in the Hungarian ballads of Transylvania and in Mordvinian ballads.

Among the protective spirits inspired by magic we can also count the guardian spirit at the service of all Finns over the age of three years or the 'guardian spirits' of the Lapps, who favoured humans and, like the imp, took of animal forms.

Finno-Ugric animism of shamanic stamp presented, in comparison with Western European animism, a more complex number of magic figures which ranged from numerous less important supernatural beings (tutelary spirits, local demons etc.) to the greater spirits who loved to use magic in their disguises on earth. A curious example of this is the figure of the beggar among the Livonians: he was highly respected in so far as he was the magical incarnation of a divinity.

Both the gods and fairy creatures of shamanism led a life similar to that of men, and for this reason they reflected the real existence of the people who had invented them. It is no accident that the Finnish water fairy washed, according to popular imagination, on the banks of rivers and lakes, revealing typical traits of the traditions of nomadic peoples.

The similarities, which cannot be passed over, between the magic figures of Nordic shamanism and those of Western Europe are probably to be attributed to a 'process of diffusion' which is difficult to identify from Asia to Europe (Ginzburg 1989:193). However the presence of parashamanic traces in the archaic Western European world of magic is indisputable, and can be met in the characteristics and in the function of fairies, in their links with the world of the dead and fecundity, and in their frequent positive and negative ambivalence. The relationship with shamanism is still more evident in magic figures such as that of the blacksmith, which are related to myths which are very widespread especially in the Nordic area. Obviously both shamanism and European magic started from a mythical-ritual scenario which had many affinities, perhaps thanks to prehistoric contacts between the Proto-Indoeuropeans and the peoples of the Asiatic steppes.

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GAME AND GAMES, FORTUNE AND DUALISM IN SIBERIAN SHAMANISM

By

Roberte N. Hamayon

Obtaining the promise of game or 'good luck' for the hunters of his community is the shaman's main function in the most archaic Siberian societies, a function much more basic than curing.[1] Moreover, this is the only regular function, ritually performed at a definite time of year and independent of circumstances. And this criterion of ritual regularity is determinant when one tries to define the place and function of shamanism in society.[2] This function of obtaining good luck or fortune is carried out during a large collective ritual which takes place every year. This ritual is supposed to guarantee the success of hunting (rather the right to hunt) during the coming season: the hunters would be unable to kill game if the ritual were not performed.[3] Thus, in a way, this is a kind of symbolic hunt performed by the shaman which foreshadows the actual hunt of the hunter. It is the most important of all the rituals connected with hunting, the only one which necessarily involves the shaman's mediation, the only one which each community as a whole must perform, giving occasion to the most important gathering of the year.

In some societies of the Siberian forest, this ritual is the only large one, and it also serves to consecrate a new shaman, to confirm him as the community's shaman or give him new paraphernalia. This aim, which amounts to legitimating the shaman as such, is another aspect of the objective of obtaining good luck, inasmuch as having a shaman is necessary to obtain good luck. Legitimating the shaman as such and making him perform his main function go together. In these societies, the ritual is generally called 'renewal of life' (*iläptiko* in Selkup, *ikenipke* in Tungus). In other societies, these two purposes, legitimating the shaman as such, and making him perform what he is made for, give rise to two separate rituals, the first one often being called 'animation of the drum'.

In spite of variations depending on societies, these rituals have an important common feature: they imply the necessary occurrence of practices called 'games' in all Siberian languages. Let us consider only this aspect of the ritual. The notion of game is based on precise types of behaviour among precise types of animal species: jumping, leaping, rutting, competing, among horned ruminants (especially elk and reindeer, which are the game-food *par excellence*) on the one hand, birds of the wild cock and grouse species (second rate game) on the other hand. This notion in Siberian ritual contexts has two basic interrelated features: one is playing for fun, pleasure and love, the other is playing in competition for winning. The first meaning is expressed in dances, rounds, gambols

of various kinds, more or less directly oriented towards sexual intercourse; these can be performed by men and women or by men alone, in a collective or an individualistic way, although the collective round-dance involving both sexes is the most widespread (called *jeexer* in Buryat, *osuoxaj* in Yakut); they are usually performed to the beat of the shaman's drum. The second meaning is expressed mostly in wrestling; wrestling is of course only for men, two by two; in most societies, this is performed in a series of separate fights between the winners of preceding fights.

These games are an obligation both for the shaman and for the members of the community. The shaman must oblige his fellows to play these games, especially all the night following the animation of the drum, as specified in all ethnographic descriptions of this ritual. Zhornitskaya (1966, 1978) rightly insists upon the fact that dance is a constitutive part of the shaman's action. Let us emphasize that playing these games is a duty, and not a diversion or a way of profiting by the opportunity offered by the festival for rest and amusement. Playing games is a duty for both sides. For instance, the shaman beats with his drumstick the legs of those who stop dancing or wrestling and want to rest. In particular every teenager, whether strong or weak, must participate in wrestling; the fact that he lost in the very first round would be secondary. Conversely, a shaman who is not able to oblige his community fellows to play, dance and wrestle, is considered a bad one, a useless shaman who is soon to be abandoned and replaced by a more efficient one.

These games are explicitly intended to imitate animal behaviour, more precisely, the rutting and competing of the two-above mentioned kinds of animal species. These animals have in common a way of self-exhibiting behaviour in two correlated male activities: the male (stag or cock) must eliminate its rivals before coupling with the female. This is echoed in the ritual by the link between the two kinds of games, wrestling and dancing, both obligatory for everybody. This is further echoed in the conception of virility, a twofold virility, both sexual and warlike, and also in the ethics and ideology of manliness: the man must both perpetuate and defend his community. In prompting his fellows to perform these games, the shaman symbolically encourages the reproduction both of his community and its natural resources: these imitative rites are conceived of as an incitation aimed at both the performers and the imitated animals. It is often said that the shaman and the hunters must gladden the spirits animating these animal species and make them play the same kind of games. Every male, whether human or (spirit)-animal, is thus prompted to procreate, which implies as a preliminary step the elimination of possible rivals.

This is the content indicated by the name of the ritual, 'renewal of life', which is thus a joint affair of human beings and animals. It is noteworthy that the root of the Tungusic term of this ritual, *ikenipke*, that is the root *i-*, which means 'life', completed by the suffix *ken* which means repeating the action, is also used in terms meaning "singing and dancing" (Cincius 1975,I: 301b). The aim of fostering sexual activity both among animal and human beings accounts for the characteristics of these dances (jumping and leaping), and for the kind of songs associated with them, abounding in animal cries and callings. It is relevant that most names for shaman and shamanizing are based on notions referring to these male activities: 'to play, to jump' is the root of the Yakut word for shaman *ojun*, 'to rut' (of a stag) or 'to mate' (of a cock), that of the Samoyed word for shaman *taadibe*. In Buryat, the term for dancing, *xatarxa*, means running as reindeer at the rutting season and the term for playing and for games in general, *naadaxa*, also means mating (for several animal species, especially birds and fish). The root *mürgexe*, used in the Buryat expression for 'shamanism', *(böö mürgel)*, and for several shamanic rites, has the following meanings: to gore (as a bull), to wrestle, and to pray.[4] And this is the reason why the shaman's head-gear is adorned with antlers, which are both signs of sexual power and symbolic weapons for fighting against rival shamans.

Along with encouraging reproduction among animals which man feeds on, the very

fact of imitating game animals makes man himself similar to them, that is, destined to be eaten. Evidence for this meaning is in the conceptual background of the games, in the shaman's ritual behaviour, and in representations spread all over Siberia, according to which the flesh and blood of human beings are considered the food of the animal spirits, just as the flesh of game animals is the food of the hunters. This mutual feeding (which accounts for the well-known ambivalence of spirits) refers to the dualistic conception of mankind and the world of natural and supernatural beings generally found in these shamanistic societies. It is ruled by an exchange law making them partners as well as game for each other. This exchange is ritually enacted by the shaman thanks to his alliance with the daughter of the game-giver spirit (alluded to in note 3). The shaman himself behaves as a game animal at the end of the seance: he ritually falls down, as if he were dead,[5] on a small carpet representing the supernatural world.

Perpetuating this exchange implies perpetuating both partners; such is the aim of the type of ritual examined here. Moreover, the very fact that this ritual is called 'renewal of life', whereas it is said to concretely obtain fortune for hunters, makes clear a constitutive relationship between the access to natural resources and the reproduction of the society as such. That is why these games (or at lest part of them) survived throughout the centuries and in spite of deep changes in the way of life and socio-political situation of these societies.

This kinds of games are, in most Siberian societies to-day, the basis of festivals which maintain identity, at whatever level, be it local, ethnic, or national. Let us take only the example of Mongolian peoples, either in the People's Republic of Mongolia at the state level, or in Buryatia and in the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia in China, at the local level. This festival, called *naadan* or *naadam* 'game(s)', consists of performances in wrestling, horse racing and archery. Of these, wrestling is the most important and privileged in people's hearts, something of a basic element of ethnic consciousness. This is the only game performed by the hero in Buryat epics. Training to wrestle is an obligation for every young boy, whether weak or strong, in order to be able later to have a normal life, especially to marry. It is also said that in summer, in case of drought, young boys should go and wrestle on the top of hills, in order to help bring rain. This appears to be an echo of the ancient function of favouring access to contingent or aleatory natural resources. Raining is no more automatic than a successful hunt; it is also a question of good luck. Let us add that the persistence of these games and of the values attached to them is not due only to the memory of the remote hunting life; it expresses the permanence of the conception of mankind's relationship to life-giving supernatural entities as depending on exchange, and on the active role of man in this exchange. This conception is opposed to the conception in which mankind depends on transcendent life- giving supernatural entities. This is why the rituals and practices entailing imitation of animals, inasmuch as they express a partnership with life-giving supernatural entities, are considered subversive by all kinds of central powers, be they religious or mundane. Furthermore, such a partner relationship is likely to be indefinitely extended to new partners or to new realms requiring good luck: besides requiring game, rain and fertility from the spirits of natural beings or phenomena, humans also require good luck – necessary in love or trade affairs, examinations or elections – from other types of spirits. Let us propose that this is the reason why this type of shamanism is both associated with archaic societies where it is central, and also able to survive, albeit on the fringes, in present-day, modern contexts.

This paper was intended, first, to call attention to the relationship between certain kinds of 'game' and basic shamanistic principles and to investigate the place, nature and function of such a partnership with supernatural beings in societies submitted to a centralized power, and, then, to underline how games of this kind render these dualistic

relationship dynamic while also remaining reciprocal. Three arguments can be developed to this purpose. First, the fact that the contents of these games correspond to individual ideals: everybody should help the perpetuation of his community. Second, the fact that the notion of game, which makes one partner a winner and the other a loser without stopping them from being partners, makes dualistic relationships dynamic, inasmuch as the delay between the first round and the revenge makes possible other types of relationships between the two partners, and especially manipulations. Third, the fact that partner relationships are a major means available to minorities for counterbalancing the hierarchical relationships on which centralized power rests.

NOTES

1. This paper is based on an extensive study published in Hamayon (1990).
2. Inasmuch as most of the other functions, such as healing or divining, are performed depending on particular circumstances.
3. The reason for this may be schematically explained in this way: hunting depends on an agreement between the community and the game-giver spirits (the relationship between the animals and their spirits being similar to the one between the body and soul of man, which allows to use the term `supernatural' to mean simply the set of spirits which animate nature and natural beings). One must have an agreement with the spirits in order to take the flesh of the animals. Concluding this agreement is the task of the shaman. He becomes legitimate to perform this task by ritually marrying the daughter of the game-giver spirit; thus he will behave in the supernatural world as a full-right husband and not as an abductor.
4. cf. Lot-Falck 1977:15, Hajdú 1968:150-151, Cheremisov 1973:315.
5. By the way, and if only for the pleasure of curiosity, I beg to call your attention to the various meanings of the term `game' in English: hunted wild animals, amusement (especially amorous in the most ancient uses according to the Oxford Dictionary), sport and play (especially wrestling). If I might venture further, I would even propose a shamanic interpretation for the interesting expression `to die game'. Let me also underline the polyvalence of match, which also is meaningful in both sex and play. May be all this is mere curiosity, may be more.

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ASPECTS OF SAAMI (LAPP) SHAMANISM

By

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The following short paper aims at presenting a survey of the main features of Saami, or Lapp, shamanism.[1] It is my conviction that even a cursory report like this one may serve a substantial function, since our knowledge of Saami shamanism has recently been revised and enlarged. Until a few years ago accounts of this shamanism were written in a more general and descriptive, less analytic perspective. Even modern writings on the subject avoided penetrating the field. Moreover, most of these works exist in Scandinavian or Finnish languages,and are thus inaccessible to a wider learned public. Only a few works – by Holmberg (Harva), Itkonen, Karsten and Manker – present their information in English or German.[2] In 1978 however Dr. Louise Bäckman and the present author issued an analytical study of Saami shamanism in the English language.[3] The study gives a close account of the varieties of Saami shamanism and presents a structural analysis of the network of functional relations that make up the Saami shamanistic system. The following survey is partly founded on the results reached in this study.

There is today a resurgence of interest in Saami shamanism in several quarters. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the Saamis are situated in an enclave, as it were, within the European cultural field. Their kind of shamanism has thus been developed in an area rather isolated from the North Eurasian shamanism.[4] Nevertheless, recent studies enable us to see Saami shamanism in a wide ethnographical perspective (Hultkrantz 1979:45 ff.) Earlier the issue was raised if the old Scandinavian magic called seidr had not been borrowed from Saami shamanism; however, this assumption has not been proved true (Strömbäck 1935:121 ff.,136 ff.,147 ff.,161,196 ff.; Buchholz 1968:15 f., 1971:9).

The Saamis have been known for their shamanism since the days of the Vikings. The more systematic observations of their shamanic art go back to the 17th, if not 16th, century. Few observations on northern shamanism have this remarkable age. On the other hand, Saami shamanism was on the wane already in the 18th century, and thus belongs to the historical past.[5] In contradistinction to most other studies of shamanism Saami shamanic research must thus be eminently historical.

Our richest documents on Saami shamanism are the Swedish and Danish-Norwegian records composed by missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries.[6] The Swedish source writers acted at the request of the chancellor of the realm, Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie,

who wanted to gather all the 'antiquities' of the kingdom. The Danish-Norwegian clergymen were intent upon collecting all possible knowledge concerning the 'devil-worship' of the people they have to convert. All these sources are of an uneven quality, some acceptable and even fairly good, others rich in prejudices, misunderstandings, and presenting confused accounts and incomplete descriptions. Almost all of them disregard geographical locations, and it is questionable if any of the authors ever watched a true shamanistic ceremony. However, at least those recorders who were themselves Saamis might have done so.

It stands to reason that only intense and careful field-work enables a scholar to investigate a local shamanistic complex in fuller details. This is of course out of the question in the present case. However, although the old Saami sources are both fragmentary and partly confused, they convey much information that seems reliable, and I regard them as sufficient for an analysis of even some finer shades of Saami shamanism. The scholar takes an obvious risk, of course, in puzzling together notes from different sources, but the aim is worth this risk.[7] If due attention is paid to the connections in which a text appears I think the investigator is standing on a rather firm ground.

The folkloristic source-material on shamans that originates from both Saamis and other Scandinavians is rich and varied. The dread of the devious capacities of the Saami shamans was vivid for centuries among the Germanic-speaking population of Scandinavia (Tillhagen 1969:129 ff.). In particular it was their destructive powers that were feared. Stories of their miraculous feats circulated widely. Most spread was the tale of the shaman who, at the request of a bishop or another prominent person, made a trance-journey to the latter's home to find out the state of his wife, and as a proof of fulfilled mission brought back a ring or other object familiar to his client (Arbman 1968b:49 ff., Bäckman 1982:122 ff.).

The Saamis themselves know many stories of historical or legendary shamans who displayed unusual feats. However, since all such traditions have been recorded long after the extinction of actual shamanism, and thus may contain later migratory motifs, they have not been used for the following exposition.

The oldest account of Saami shamanism is contained in an ancient chronicle, *Historia Norwegiae* (about 1180). It relates how a shaman set about to relieve a sick woman who had been bewitched by another, malignant magician. His helping spirit (or, possibly, his soul) was sent out during trance in the shape of a whale. Unfortunately it met the hostile shaman's assistant spirit that had taken the form of some sharp poles standing up from the bottom of the sea. The travelling spirit's stomach was out open, and the same thing happened, reciprocally, to the shaman lying in a trance. Indeed, he was so severely hurt that he died. A friend of the dead shaman, also a shaman, made a new ecstatic trip, and was more successful. He saw what had happened in the depth of the sea, avoided the danger and managed to restore the sick woman's health (Storm 1880:85 f.).

This is the oldest record we have of northern shamanism (unless the notices on the above-mentioned *seidr* are included), and has therefore been rendered here in some detail. It points out two dominant themes in Saami shamanism: the deep ecstasy which approaches complete stupor and may result in physical death, and the close reciprocity between the shaman and his assistant spirits. The main documents of Saami shamanism which date from the 17th and 18th centuries mediate the same impression. We shall now see what they have to tell.

The Saami shaman, or *noaidi*, was as far as we know almost always a male. There are reports of women who could divine with the help of knives and belts and who could practise black magic, but these reports stand rather isolated. In later times some women

could apparently appear as healers. However, as a rule they were not allowed to touch the magic drum and even had to avoid crossing a path where the drum had been carried. The male shaman was often initiated while still a very young man, and his powers lasted until he was in his fifties. According to one observer, "when he has lost his teeth he is good for nothing" (Skanke 1945:209; similar beliefs were recorded among the Samoyeds, see also Lehtisalo 1924:166). There were probably different kinds of shamans, and we hear of occasions when several shamans have been engaged in one and the same case. The designation *noaidi* seems to have covered them all, and it is indeed possible that anyone who handled a drum, and not just the true shamans, could be called by the same term.

Thus it may seem as if there was no proper boundary- line between the shamans and the laity. This impression is somewhat strengthened by the fact that not only shamans but also common people were supposed to have guardian spirits that they had inherited. It is impossible to say how widespread this ideology has been; so far we have information on it only among the Norwegian Saamis and the Skolt Saamis in northernmost Finland.[8] The conceptions of the Skolt Saamis have been much discussed. Among them every family had a certain set of guardian spirits in animal guise, some good, some dangerous. As a rule they furthered their respective clients' interests. The father entrusted his guardian spirit (*kaddz,* 'companion') to his son just before he died, and similarly a mother gave her spirit to her daughter. The recipient must not be younger than twenty years. The spirit showed itself in a dream to its new owner and offered its services (Harva 1928:65 f.).

This information on the *kaddz* is exceptional since it dates from the present century. It has however its counterpart in the old Danish and Norwegian records which tell us of individual guardian spirits among the western Saamis during the high day of shamanism.

The Saami shaman had a similar array of auxiliary spirits which he had inherited from some relative – his father, his uncle, or some more distant relative. However, in comparison with other spirit owners he had more spirits, and two classes of spirits, and he had to undergo hardships and pains before taking them over from his predecessor (Hultkrantz 1987:110 ff.).

Thus, the shaman's assistant spirits were of two kinds, guardian spirits in the strictest sense *(saiva olmai)* that gave their client counsels when he so demanded, and helping spirits (*saiva* animals) that executed the tasks he imposed upon them (Bäckman 1975:115). The former, human-like beings living in certain sacred mountains, were also the spirits that antagonized the shaman during his vocation period. The helping spirits appeared in animal form – as a bird, a fish or a reindeer bull – and went with the disembodied shaman on his journeys into the supernatural world. They were the servants of the shaman. Their appearances recalled the three ways of travelling in the three-levelled world of northern shamanism. In Siberia, but not in Lappland, these three levels were associated with the crown, trunk and roots of the world-tree.

All these spirits could only be achieved during the utmost strain. Since they were inherited they forced themselves upon that member of the deceased shaman's family whom they thought most apt for shamanizing – in other words, that relative who had the necessary personal and nervous qualifications. Nils Lundius, an educated Saami from the years around 1700, tells us that the guardian spirits approach the designated shaman when he is alone in the woods. They sing a song which the shaman candidate has to repeat. Furthermore,

> "when he is visited by the spirit the first time he behaves himself in affectation like a madman for half a year. He is then unable to stand his wife, his children or his servants, but moves lonely about in the wilderness imagining things. He eats little, and has little strength ..." (Svenska Landsmål 1905, 17/5/:7).

One of Nils' class-mates at the Saami school in Umeå, a sixteen- year old youth by the name of Olof, was severely obsessed by the spirits. He described them as tongues of fire, naked men and long shadows. Sometimes they were as many as nine, but none but himself could see them. They caused him frightening headaches, and they made him throw around books, quickly climb pines and behave strangely.

> "He often wanted to be alone, could not stand other human beings and ran so fast that a horse could not keep up with him. He spoke in the woods to himself as if he had been accompanied by eighty persons" (Svenska Landsmål 1905, 17/5/:25 f.).

As among other shamanic peoples, this agony did not end until the candidate had surrendered himself to the spirits. We are not very well informed of what happened thereafter. Some sources have it that he was now taught the secrets of his profession from the same spirits that had pained him. Skanke mentions that the spirits (called by this missionary 'the angry devil') exercise the candidate partly by giving instructions at meetings they have together, partly by soul flights into the unseen world (Skanke 1945:205). This means probably that, by giving in, the shaman candidate releases his own psychic resources to the extent that extracorporeal expeditions will be possible. The actual instructions were imparted by experienced shamans who knew the traditions and the techniques. This is often mentioned in our old sources. Indeed, one author (Isaac Olsen) says that it was the *noaidi*'s duty to give lessons in the art of shamanizing to becoming shamans (Qvigstad 1910:49).

The above-mentioned Norwegian missionary, Hans Skanke, mentions an initiation rite for the emerging shaman. At a meeting of shamans the young *noaidi* was placed together with an older colleague in such a way that their feet were intertwined. The young man started to beat his drum, and sing a song of magic. During his singing the guardian spirits arrived and moved about over the feet. If the young man felt this, but the old man only vaguely perceived the presence of the spirits, he was officially declared a *noaidi* (Skanke 1945:205 f., Bäckman 1986:257 ff.).

There is no information that the shaman wore a specific shamans' dress. On the contrary, during his exasperating trance séances he had the upper part of his body bare, covered only by his own sweat. One author mentions a belt as the most distinctive feature in his dress. When the shaman appeared as sacrificial priest he had a more elaborate costume, but even so it does not seem to have broken off from the pattern used by other Saamis.

The most important instrument of magic at the shaman's disposition was his drum. It had an oval form and consisted mostly of a wooden frame and a membrane made of reindeer shammy. The shaman drew figures on the drum-skin with the juice from the alder-bark. They represented gods, spirits and Christian saints (in any case during the period of our sources) but also familiar things in his neighbourhood, such as clergymen, churches and district bailiffs. Usually these figures were arranged around a circle in the centre, representing the sun, or in vertical sections over each other representing sky and earth, or the sky, the air-space, the surface of the earth, the subterranean world close under our feet and the underground deep down below.[9] The back side of the drum had various power objects attached with leather thongs, such as bear claws, bear penis bones and bear teeth. The hammer that was used on the drum was made from reindeer horn and had the shape of a Y or a T. About seventy drums have survived the witchcraft trials and autodafés of the last days of shamanism (see Manker 1938-1950).

The drum was used as a means of excitation by the shaman, or as an oracle by any head of family. The beating on the drum, singing and incantations brought on that twilight

of the soul when the unseen world became real to the shaman. The pictures symbolized the spirits and persons and places he was going to see, but had scarcely any important function to fulfil. When, however, the drum served as an instrument of divination the pictures gallery had a most practical function, for the figures represented the gods, persons, game, sacrificial animals etc. that had to be pointed out through the divination procedure. The diviner drummed so that a small object, called *arpa,* moved over the drum-skin. The figure where it stopped was the answer to the question that had been posed: Where can I find the wild game? What spirit has caused the disease? Which animal should be sacrificed? etc. The drum divination may have had a rapid growth under the impact of Scandinavian magic during mediaeval times, but as such it is certainly a heritage of northern shamanism.

In critical situations, such as delivery and disease, shamans undertook drum divination as part of their general shamanistic practices. However, this was probably an insignificant part of their activities. Their main tasks were to give aid on occasions where a direct contact with the supernatural world in ecstasy was necessary.

The foremost tasks of the shaman were healing, divination, hiring of ghosts as herdsmen and, possibly, hunting magic. In all of these operations he was often forced to resort to ecstasy (or trance) . As a consequence of his trance performances the shaman also engaged himself, secondarily, in drum divination and sacrificing. A negative aspect of shamanism is that some shamans obviously turned into evil magicians, using their powers against instead of for society.

The *noaidi* took on healing in severe cases where no herbal medicines or other remedies were sufficient (Hultkrantz 1988:290 ff.). When a person was critically ill his soul was supposed to have wandered off to the realm of the dead, or to have been snatched by the dead and brought to this gloomy place. The realm of the dead was situated in the underground and was ruled over by the sullen mistress of the dead, *Jabmieakka.* By going into trance, or 'diving' as he expressed it, the shaman was able to send his own free-soul and his animal spirit helpers to the other world to fetch the sick man's soul. Only the shaman had the capacity to visit, in his soul, that world and return again. This is how an informant from about 1700 describes such an undertaking.

> "[...] the *noaidi* makes magic, drinks aquavite, and is affected; he walks violently around on his knees, takes glowing fire in his hands, cuts his hands with a knife, and takes hold of the magic drum in order to beat it. After having behaved this way with great eagerness for a long while he falls down dead to the ground and remains lying there breathless for three quarters of an hour. During this time he undertakes a journey down into the realm of the dead in the guise of his sacred mountain fish[10] in order to negotiate with the mistress of the dead about sacrifices to her in return for the patient's soul, so that he may bring the latter with him up from the realm of the dead and back to the sick person. [...] Sometimes it depends on the speed of the noaidi that, with the aid of his sacred mountain fish, he may catch the soul from the dead without their noticing it. [...] When the sacred mountain fish has brought the noaidi unharmed up from the realm of the dead and back into his own body he begins to draw breath and to move. Then he relates how his journey was and how big a sacrifice he had to promise the mistress of the dead before he, with the help of his sacred mountain fish, received from her the sick person's soul that he carried with him back again" (Kildal 1945:139 f.).

It strikes us immediately how violent and how deep this ecstasy was, a truly cataleptic state. Another interesting feature is the role of the helping spirit, which is a fish in this case – or perhaps a snake since the same word may be used for both creatures.

In the same way as just described the shaman brought up a dead person from the underground to guard the reindeer herds. It is said that the ghost was a relative of the shaman.

More important was however the shaman's involvement with ecstatic divination. Mostly this kind of divination was associated with mild ecstasy, that is, the guardian spirits were called upon by the shaman and imparted their information to him while he was in a light trance. Thus, divination aiming at the revelation of the nature of diseases, divination for hunting and about future events took place in such a trance. While the shaman was sitting there singing and drumming the spirits appeared to him and informed him. When, however, the shaman was asked to report on conditions in distant places he had to make an ecstatic trip to these places, unless he had such a clairvoyant capacity that he could see what was going on there. There is testimony that this capacity was acquired through much shamanizing (Bäckman – Hultkrantz 1978:48).

In connection with shamanizing the shaman occasionally functioned as a sacrificial priest. If the dead or their mistress demanded a sacrifice in return for the health of a sick human being it fell upon the shaman to lead the sacrificial animal – usually a domestic animal – to the place of sacrifice. There he slaughtered the animal and followed the rules pertaining to such acts of worship.

These were the more prominent tasks of the Saami shaman. There are reports on his activity as an enchanter of the wild game, but they are debatable or of very late origin (and could thus be part of migratory tales). The transition to an intense pastoral economy which occurred during the centuries just before the time of our sources would have made hunting magic superfluous.

There is no need here to look deeper into the antisocial side of some Saami shamans. They were, of course, antisocial only when their actions were directed against their own group – not when they afflicted other groups. In their mutual relations they often counteracted each other, presumably if they represented different groups. We know, for instance, that they could fight each other by sinking into ecstasy and sending out their strongest helping spirit, the reindeer bull, against each other. Was the spirit reindeer killed, so was its owner. This reciprocity reminds us of the ideas of the so-called mother-animal in Yakuts shamanism (Harva 1938:476 ff.).

The Saami shaman who did not commit himself to antisocial behaviour was highly respected. Titles like 'the ruler of the mountains' or 'the king of the mountains' give evidence of his social position. There are records of how the shaman was greeted with praiseworthy words and bare heads by people who had called upon him, and how he was offered the nicest reindeer-skin to sit on and the choicest food to eat. As a remuneration for his services he received money or other compensation, such reindeer, clothes and silver-work. The size of the remuneration depended on what kind of services he had rendered, whether curing a sick person, performing divination or sacrificing (Qvigstad 1910:89 ff., Holmberg 1927:282).

This short summary of Saami shamanism should have revealed that it was in many respects basically similar to Siberian shamanism and generally of the same intense type as the latter. Indeed, the torpor of the Saami shaman seems occasionally to have been deeper than that of his Siberian colleague. There is every reason to see Saami shamanism as a western offshoot of the shamanism found among more eastern Finno-Ugrian peoples.

NOTES

1. In this article I have adopted the term by which the Lapps designate themselves. It has been transcribed in different ways in authors writing in English. In an earlier article I used the form *Same(s)* at the instigation of the editor, Harald Hvarfner, see Hultkrantz (1965). Graburn and Strong (1973) prefer the form *Samek*. Bäckman (1978:25 ff.) suggests the form *Saami(t)*. My own preference is to follow the recent recommendations of the Nordic Sami Institute of Kautokeino concerning word endings, but to redouble the first vowel. That is, I am going to use the forms *Saami* (sing.), *Saamis* (plur.).
2. Earlier international readers were informed on Saami shamanism through the description in Johannes Schefferus' work *Lapponia* (Francofurti 1673), the Latin version of which was soon followed by editions in the English, German, French, and Dutch languages. A modern Swedish translation, with commentaries by experts, was published by E. Manker (1956).
3. Bäckman and Hultkrantz (1978). See also the following works: Karsten (1955:55 ff.), Collinder (1949:146 ff.), Arbman (1968a, II:615 ff.), Nesheim (1972:22 ff.), Bäckman (1975:114 ff.) For some new articles on the Saami shaman, see Pentikäinen (1984), Bäckman (1987:53 ff.). See also Fjellström (1985:435 ff.).
4. Cf. my views of shamanism and North Eurasian shamanism in particular (Hultkrantz 1973:25 ff., 1978:27 ff.).
5. There were shamans still in the last century, and possibly even longer. Up to the present time the legendary traditions about shamans have been quote substantial. One author asserts that shamans were still active in the 1930s (Therman 1940).
6. On the sources of Saami religion, see Hultkrantz (1955:81 ff.). More penetrating discussions of the old sources and their value will be found in two dissertations published in Swedish: Mebius (1968: 9 ff.) and Bäckman (1975:25 ff.).
7. The necessity of this approach is obvious, for the authors did not only refer to other sources, but also copied each other's writings, disregarding the geographical provenance of their information.
8. The same ideology is as we know predominating among the North American Indians, see Benedict (1923).
9. There could be two, three or five levels. This type of drum was found among some northern Saamis, whereas the drum with the sun in the centre, by far the most common type, was particularly popular among the southern Saamis. Cf. the fine survey in Kjellström and Rydving (1988:8 ff.).
10. The supernatural helper in the shape of a fish mentioned above.

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RETHINKING INUIT SHAMANISM THROUGH THE CONCEPT OF 'THIRD GENDER'

By

Bernard Saladin d'Anglure

After extensive research begun in 1956 among the Inuit of Canada's central arctic, in particular those from the Igloolik area (1971-1990), I reached the point five years ago of being able to construct a three-dimensional holistic model and thus consolidate results from areas as different as kinship and social organization, economics and technology, mythology and world view, the system of dictates/prohibitions, and rituals and shamanism. The model was also an attempt to work out a theory based on these results by picking up where Marcel Mauss had left off eighty-five years ago in his famous "Essai sur les variations saisonnière des sociétés eskimo" (1906). Here I would like to offer the main elements of this theory with all the more enthusiasm and emotion inasmuch as two factors mark my participation at this conference. The first one is the presence of an impressive number of colleagues from the Soviet Union at a time when the USSR is going through social upheavals comparable from a certain point of view of those which gave rise to the first Russian Revolution in 1905, at the very time when Mauss was writing his essay. Moreover, he went to Moscow that year to follow events at close hand. Communism was still a utopia then and the idea of democratic socialism with a human face still seemed possible. It is thus worthy of interest to see Mauss presenting what he called Eskimo 'communism' with its economic, sexual, and religious dimensions – a type of social contract which seemed to fascinate him. The second factor is that my anthropological career began for all intents and purposes in Finland, among the Saamis of Utsjoki and Sevettijarvi. They must still laugh whenever they think back to this young French student who almost lost his life while going down the Tana River in a rubber dinghy.

Among the interesting data collected over the years from Inuit in Igloolik were the intra-uterine memories several informants had, notably Iqallijuq – an old Inuit woman and shaman's daughter who remembered living within her mother's womb, this being laid out like the interior of an igloo. She could also recall a previous life as her own grandfather. When she was in the womb a dog poked its head through the door from time to time. It had a mouth set on its face vertically and vomited food for her. It was probably, so she told me, her father's penis. She was still a man when a desire came upon here to leave so she took a man's knife place on the lefthand side (on the righthand when entering) and headed for the passageway. At the thought, however, of the dangerous hunting life she would have to lead, she put down these male instruments and took from the righthand

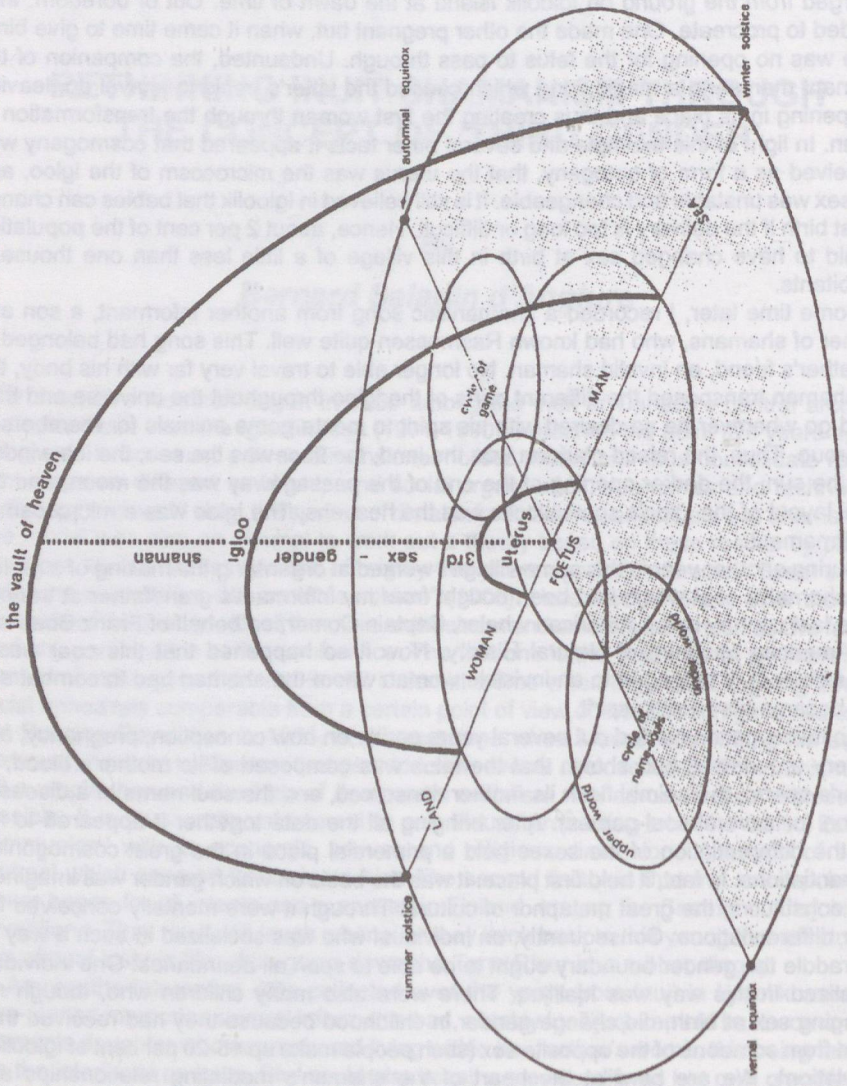
side a woman's knife and a small cooking pot. She pushed her way out with much effort. Then his penis was reabsorbed, a slit opened up in her body, and she became a girl. This long tale from which I made a film provided me with a series of very rich symbols about the reproduction of life, the sexual division of labour, sex, and gender. Once again, I found in a monograph by Rasmussen a short myth telling how the first two humans emerged from the ground on Igloolik Island at the dawn of time. Out of boredom, they decided to procreate. One made the other pregnant but, when it came time to give birth, there was no opening for the fetus to pass through. Undaunted, the companion of the pregnant man sang a magic song which caused the latter's penis to shrivel up, leaving an opening in its place and thus creating the first woman through the transformation of a man. In light of this example and several other facts it appeared that cosmogeny was conceived as a form of ontogeny, that the uterus was the microcosm of the igloo, and that sex was unstable and changeable. It is still believed in Igloolik that babies can change sex at birth if the delivery is too long or difficult. Hence, about 2 per cent of the population is said to have changed sex at birth in this village of a little less than one thousand inhabitants.

Some time later, I recorded a shamanistic song from another informant, a son and brother of shamans, who had known Rasmussen quite well. This song had belonged to his father's friend, an invalid shaman. No longer able to travel very far with his body, the old shaman transposed the different parts of the igloo throughout the universe and thus could go wherever he so desired with his spirit to locate game animals for members of his group. Thus, the raised platform was the land, the floor was the sea, the ice window was the sun, the darker opening at the end of the passageway was the moon, and the spiral layout of the igloo's snow blocks was the heavens. The igloo was a microcosm of the firmament.

During another year in this same village I worked at organizing the making of a replica of a shaman's coat which had been bought from my informant's grandfather at the end of the last century by an American whaler, Captain Comer, on behalf of Franz Boas and the American Museum of Natural History. Now it so happened that this coat was a woman's coat. It belonged to an invisible woman whom the shaman had to combat and who became his helping spirit.

An investigation carried out several years earlier on how conception, pregnancy, and delivery are viewed had shown that the fetus was composed of its mother's blood, its father's sperm, the animal flesh its mother consumed, and the soul-name of a diseased person (or several soul-names). After bringing all the data together it appeared to me that the differentiation of the sexes held a primordial place in the great cosmogonical differentiations. In fact, it held first place. It was the basis on which gender was imagined, thus constituting the great metaphor of culture. Through it were mentally conceived the other differentiations. Consequently, an individual who was socialized in such a way as to straddle the gender boundary ought to be able to span all boundaries. One individual socialized in this way was Iqallijuq. There were also many children who, though not changing sex at birth, did change gender in childhood because they had received their name from someone of the opposite sex (such people make up 15-20 per cent of Igloolik's population). We are here at the heart of the shaman's mediating relationships and probably all religious forms of mediation. We have therefore proposed the expression third gender' as the name for the site of this overlapping, i.e. the site of these mediating relationships which various factors act upon: an unbalanced sex ratio within the family, the passing away of a loved one whose name will be eagerly and quickly taken up anew, or the desire to pass on to a descendent the shamanistic power of a diseased person's name. Thus a ternary model made it possible to pick up on and make complete Mauss's

Figure 1 – **On the Border between Sexes/Genders**



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essay which remains hemmed in by a binary or dualistic approach, as moreover has long been the case of anthropology in its entirety with regard to relationships of sex and gender.

Curiously, this hypothesis also ties in with and makes complete another one which Marie Czaplicka formulated in the early years of this century on Siberian shamanism. She wrote:

> "Socially, the shaman does not belong either to the class of males or to that of females, but to a third class, that of shamans [...] shamans have special taboos comprising both male and female characters. The same may be said of their costume, which combines features peculiar to the dress of both sexes" (Czaplicka 1914:253).

A few years earlier none other than J.G. Frazer (1907) had raised the question of religious transvestism and sex change which religious mediation implied, but the evolutionary ideas of the time and the postulate, borrowed by the Marxists from Morgan, of an initial matriarchal stage in mankind's development resulted in the Siberian data being interpreted as holdovers from this presumed matriarchy. This interpretation held sway despite the studies on Siberia by L. Sternberg who, for his part, wrote:

> "The practice of changing sex for religious motives is known not only in the Chuckchee and the Koryak, but it has a wide distribution, at least in the form of transvestism, among the Eskimo and everywhere else in North and South America" (Sternberg 1925:491).

One can again find in the Inuit's 'election' of a namesake certain characteristics which Frazer and Sternberg attribute to Siberian shamanistic 'election' (or religious 'election' elsewhere around the world), e.g. the wish of a spirit to be incarnated in a particular individual (often of the opposite sex), the fact that this election to a certain extent takes on the aspect of a 'possession' or that it is often expressed through a dream or a trance. This analogy between the two systems would be enough in itself to account for the transvestism or the shamanistic 'sex changes'. As for the distinction made by Sternberg between spirit-masters and helping spirits, we can only assume its existence among the Inuit, for want of adequate ethnographic data.

The rise of psychoanalytic theory as a new major theory of sexuality and Freud's inability to think androgyny through scientifically and objectively whenever he encountered it, notably in the famous case of demon possession he studied (cf. Macalpine and Hunger 1956, and Urtubey 1983) resulted in this interpretation of shamanism being condemned to obscurity. This was all the more so because of the difficulty of distinguishing sex from gender prior to Margaret Mead's pioneering work (1935, 1948) and more recent studies by feminist writers (cf. Mathieu 1971). As well, people have too easily confused homosexuality with symbolic or social androgyny (cf. Murdock 1949). Finally, the binary logic which underlies the principle of the excluded middle and constitutes one of the cornerstones of Western scientific thought makes it hard to apprehend more analogical and ternary belief-systems (cf. Dumont 1983).

We have tried to show that this analogical and ternary thinking operates on all levels of what Inuit live through and conceive – from cosmogony to shamanistic rituals, with a passing nod to socialization. Our latest research also allows us to affirm that this thinking continues to operate in the real-life experiences of Inuit Christianity which has taken over part of the heritage of shamanism.

At this stage of our research it may be useful to consider other instances of shamanism, particularly in Siberia, to see whether this theory would stand up and, if so, in what forms and on what terms. If it turns out that shamanism was indeed marked in one manner or

another by an overlapping of the gender boundary, then such evidence would clear the way for a reconsideration of all religious phenomena in history and around the world, given its recognized place as perhaps the oldest form of human religion. This would be a far-reaching programme which can come about only through collective effort and so will call upon your utmost cooperation.

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PAIN IN SHAMANIC INITIATION

By

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In the past decade, anthropological research has turned with increasing interest towards shamanism. Shorter and longer monographs have been published one after another both in the West (Siikala 1978) and in the East (Novik 1984), by which primarily the former Soviet Union should be understood. It is necessary to stress this because earlier this area of religious life was taboo (cf. Hoppál 1985, with a further ample bibliography). From the early 1980s onwards, a series of conferences have been held enabling researchers – mainly of the younger generation – to report on the experience they have gained in the field. These conferences include Sárospatak 1981, Manchester 1982, Vancouver 1983, Nice 1985, and also one held in Zagreb in 1988. There have been some valuable collections of articles published as well (Diószegi ed. 1968, Diószegi – Hoppál eds. 1978, Hoppál ed. 1984, *Transe Chamanisme* 1986).

The above list suggests that shamanism has come into vogue; this is attested not just by the large number of publications dealing with the subject (both popular and scientific works), but also by the fact that shaman-training courses, demonstration workshops teaching trance techniques are being run all over Europe and America (about these see Hoppál 1984a, Harner 1980). Rather than putting it down to fashion, perhaps we are closer to the truth if we say that shamanism has acquired relevance. Surely, we could learn something from this ancient healing technique!

One such popular publication (Halifax 1982) signals by its very title – 'Shaman: the wounded healer' – that the healing shaman takes upon himself the illness and the pains, for that could be one of the traditional human models of healing. The first picture in Joan Halifax's book shows an Eskimo carving.

> "This Eskimo carving, of a shaman harpooning himself, captures the essence of the shaman's submission to a higher order of knowing which makes him able to handle unbearable pain" (Halifax 1982:4–5).

But one could have selected a much older picture too. The Tungus shaman seen in the finely etched illustrations to J.G. Georgi's book (Georgi 1775) may be regarded as an emblematical figure representing the Siberian shamans. The two pictures portray, from the front and from the rear, a shaman of the region of the Argun river as he is pulling an arrow through his body (or more exactly, through his garment – cf. Gmelin 1751–1752,

II:46–49), symbolizing, as it were, the healing shaman, that is, the 'wounded healer' (Halifax 1982). In other words, the healing doctor must take upon himself the pain, the illness – that is one of the pivotal formulas of the shaman mythology.

Pain is a most natural biophysiological phenomenon, which, however, precisely because of the strong impact of psychic factors, medical sciences tends to interpret more as a psycho-physiological process (Sternbach 1968); and although more and more is known about the nature of pain, there is still a lot of mystery surrounding the process of pain perception (cf. Melzack 1973). The problem of imaginary pain (phantom pain), in particular, needs to be clarified. It is also evident (although the exact interrelationships have yet to be elucidated) that the perception of pain is, to a large degree, subject to emotional and personality factors. In addition, the specific socio-cultural situation also determines the sensation of pain (e.g. in war, under strenuous exertion or in stressful situations – Hárdi 1972:97–99). That is understandable enough, as every new physical stimulus tends to block out pain.

What may be of greater interest to the ethnographer- anthropologist is this, viz. that experiments have shown that the perception of pain is affected by the subject's ethnic origin. In brief, the perception of the threshold of pain is culture-bound, as, indeed, the categorization of pain is also a culture-specific phenomenon (similar to the categories of colour – cf. Ohnuki-Tierney 1981:52–60). The problems of pain perception are further complicated by the fact that the world-image (Weltanschauung) of the given culture – or, in other words, the belief system evolved and used by the community on a daily basis – completely determines the individual's endurance of pain (about the functioning of the belief system, Hoppál 1979b). A case in point is the fact that, in certain cultures, pain is regarded as punishment inflicted by supernatural beings (Rogers 1982:155); therefore it can be cured by shamanic massage. Or, given that pain is the result of an evil spell, the belief system prescribes the removal, the sucking out from the body of the small objects or worms that are supposed to have caused the disease. This too is the task of the shaman, who, in this way, takes over, as it were, receives into himself the cause of the disease, relieving the patient of the pain.

No less culture-dependent than the perception of pain are the methods by which people try to battle against pain. Thus, for example, in traditional Chinese medicine, acupuncture-induced anesthesia has developed almost to perfection the suspension of the sensation of pain (Eke 1986:77–90). In addition to different medicinal herbs, which were also used for anesthesia, rites were developed in the various cultures one of whose principal functions may have been precisely the teaching of the endurance of unbearable pain. These included, in India, various forms of meditation and yoga; fire-walking in Indonesia; and the Flagellant Muslim sects of Turkey and Persia. A common feature in all these is that the individual acts in the altered state of consciousness of ecstasy, that is, of trance. A particularly good example is the sun-dance ceremony of the American Blackfoot Indians (Wissler 1921), which has been revived in recent decades (see Halifax 1982:41 – photo by Richard Erdoes); during the dance, the thongs that the participants fasten onto their breasts tear out the flesh of their own breasts. Pain is an important part of the religious ceremony.

But recent research has revealed that there is an important substance that the body generates during the ecstatic rites. It is called endorphin. Raymond Prince concluded his review of endorphins for anthropologists as follows:

> "(1) the body does have an endogenous pain- controlling system that is in part mediated by endogenous opiates; (2) this system is not brought into play by ordinary day-to-day painful stimuli; (3) the system

> can be activated by artificial stimulation of circumscribed brain areas; (4) oddly, the system may be activated by stimulation of certain nonpain sensory endings as demonstrated by acupuncture; (5) it is possibly activated by emotional excitement and/or intense motor activity" (Prince 1982:311).

The scrutiny of endorphins leads on to the phenomena of shamanism, not simply because endorphins raise the threshold of pain, but also because they provide an explanation for many previously little known problems of the trance state. The other such, by now widely known, reliever of pain is hypnosis, and this technique too sheds light on a new segment of the phenomena of shamanism – for, according to recent research, the so-called 'active alert' state (Bányai 1984) may be one of the best models of the trance state.

Pain had, and still has, an important function in initiation rituals in all parts of the world. That was particularly true of shamanism, and of its *locus classicus,* Siberia. It is interesting, that, for instance, in the Yakut culture, in Northern Siberia, the candidate has to go through two sets of ordeals. In the myths describing the birth of the shaman, the experience of dismemberment is a symbolic experiencing of pain. In addition, concrete exercises in self- torture must be performed as well. Among the Yakuts the novice hid in a forest, threw himself into water and fire, and cut himself. After ten or more days he returned to his village bloodstained and babbling incoherently.

The Indians of the North-West Coast, those young people who sought to take part in a 'spirit dance' ceremony, had to undergo a similarly cruel preparatory training and painful ordeals. Wolfgang Jilek, in his study on Indian healing, wrote, relying on his fieldwork among the Salish Indians:

> "In the Salish Spirit Dance initiates are 'tortured' during the repeated 'grabbing' procedures: they are 'rattled' with the deerhoof staffs, slapped, bitten, tickled, and pinched on exposed areas of chest, abdomen, and legs. In the words of a young initiative: They use the dances to work on you because they've got the power, and they bite on you on your side to put their power inside you. You feel a lot of pain when they bite you, you have to scream and holler, and pretty soon your song comes. I felt the pain in the stomach where they bit me. I passed out about three times while they worked on me. They kept doing that to me every morning and night for four days" (Jilek 1982b:336).

In the above sketched ceremonies, pain stimulation is often combined with physical strain through forced hypermotility. The euphoria- producing effect of this combination is manifested by Salish Indian initiates, who for their exercise runs have traditionally whipped their legs with cedar bows in order to feel lightfooted, exhilarated, and tranced – indeed some candidates experienced their power-vision during such a run. One is reminded here of present-day jogging addicts who forcefully overcome the initial running pain in order to then experience their 'jogger's high' – a euphoric trancelike state perhaps attributable to endorphin release (Jilek 1982b:340). It is interesting to observe the similarity between the two geographically remote, but culturally analogous cultures, as it determines the initiation ritual in terms of pain.

Highly revealing, moreover, is a case which was described by the Jileks, both of them psychiatrists, in terms of intercultural psychotherapy, while working among the Salish Indians. It provides a glimpse of what can be achieved by using, in modern psychotherapy,

the differences between cultures. We quote the case as it provides a good example of a severe neurosis induced by the fear of pain.

> "A Salish high school girl from an Indian reserve was brought to the hospital because of a serious suicide attempt. On the psychiatric ward she remained seclusive and depressed, not responding to any of psychotherapy ... But when she realized that she could talk about 'Indian ways' without being ridiculed she then poured out the traumatizing experiences which had led to the suicidal attempt. She lost her father in a fishing accident a few years ago and had felt haunted by his spirit. Her mother, fearing that her daughter would one day be taken by the ghosts of dead relatives to the land of the dead, wished for her to become a spirit dancer in order to be protected against these threats, but could not afford the cost of initiation. When a group of female ceremonialists offered to do the 'work' free of charge if the patient would be the first dancer of the season, there seemed no escape for her. The girl firmly believed that in the process of initiation she would be 'clubbed to death' – an expression used to denote the symbolic death and rebirth which has to take place before one becomes a spirit dancer. She thought that if she had to die anyhow, she would prefer the more peaceful way of taking an overdose of sleeping pills to the ordeal of spirit dance initiation" (Jilek-Aall – Jilek 1984:165).

This concrete – and, moreover, contemporary – example is a fine illustration of the extent to which the belief system at work in the given culture, precondition the individual. What we have here is really a symbolic experience of pain. We have essentially the same appearing in a Yakut text, where the theme is the mythical birth of shamans:

> "In the far, far north, say the Yakuts, a great larch with many branches stands at the source of terrible sickness. On these branches are nests in which shamans are born ... When the shaman is to be born, a great eagle with feathers of iron and hook-like claws flies to the sacred larch and lays an egg. If the shaman is of the highest order, the bird stays with the egg for three long years. If the shaman is of a lower order, the time for nesting and hatching is only one year.
>
> The she-eagle is called 'Mother of Animals'. On three occasions during the lifetime of a shaman does she appear. The first, when she gives birth to the shaman; the second, when the shaman undergoes *dismemberment* and sacrifice; and the third, when the shaman meets death for the final time. ... When the neophyte has attained the proper age, his shaman-mother turns him over to three horrific black and gaunt spirits who hack his flesh to pieces. They place his head on a pole and scatter his flesh in all directions. Three other spirits take the shaman's jawbone and throw it as an oracle in order to divine the origin of all disease and suffering. If an oracle falls in a proper position, this means that the shaman can help a patient with the affliction in question" (Lommel 1967:55).

The Yakuts hold that the great shamans have to undergo the ordeal of dismemberment at least three times.

As an intriguing, if remote, parallel it is worth quoting here an experiment that the

contemporary Hungarian poet, Ferenc Juhász, carried out on himself. During the experiment, he was given LSD under medical supervision. In his account, which he wrote down just after the hallucinations had ceased, he reported that undergoing 'dismemberment' had been one of his most disturbing experiences.

> "I am dead, it flashed across my mind, I got so frightened. The man cut off my head, tore my body into small pieces, and put it in a cauldron ... when it seemed that all my bones had been separated from the flesh, the blacksmith spoke to me, saying 'All your bones have turned into a river'; and, sure enough, I saw a river in the room, with my bones floating in it ... then, taking his pliers, he started fishing them out of the river. When he had hauled all the bones onto the bank, the blacksmith put them together and covered them with flesh, so that my body regained its former appearance" (Juhász 1967:135).

The poet's vision seems to be identical with the belief in dismemberment of the Siberian shamans; afterwards both felt reborn.

The insight of psychiatrist John Weir Perry into the psychosymbolic process of individuals diagnosed as schizophrenic gives us important clues about the archetypal nature of the shamanic complex. For instance, death occurs in the process of dismemberment and sacrifice, the person is tortured, chopped up, and his or her bones are rearranged (see Perry 1974; Halifax 1982:7). It is interesting to observe how identical the archetypal patterns of the shamanic ordeal are from Lappland to Manchuria; not to mention the fact that the shaman's journey symbolized precisely this, that only after enduring pain is the shaman reborn, becoming strong and possessed of knowledge. "The realization of power occurs most frequently in the midst of an ordeal, a crisis involving an encounter with death" (Halifax 1982:10).

Other culture-transmitting figures related to the shaman, such as the priest or the singer of folk epic, also gain their knowledge after the ordeals of initiation. Thus, for instance, in Turkish folk stories on the *asiks* (a Turkish bard), there is the characteristic motif of the sleep into which the hero falls invariably after some painful and exhaustive physical or moral ordeal. Ilhan Basgöz has compared this motif with the three stages of the shamanic initiation ceremony, notably (1) the ordeal; (2) the symbolic death; (3) the reborn personality embarks upon its new life (Basgöz 1966:3–7).

Examples may be furnished from European culture too, i.e. from the world of ancient Greek religion.

Jack Lindsay, in his book devoted to the study of early Greek religion and culture, as well as the origins of drama, claims that there are striking similarities between the structure of the ancient mysteries, the main parts of the tragedy, and the patterns of initiation rituals. Namely, all of them start with the novice's departure *(pompe)*, followed by death and rebirth *(agon* and *sparagmos)*, and, finally, by the return of the initiate *(komos)*. This pattern expresses the suffering, death and rebirth of the god, the pangs of ordeal, death and renewal in the initiation (Lindsay 1965:295).

It is interesting to note here that these commonalities seem to be cultural universals which are structural of shamanic initiation as well.

Surveying the examples enumerated, it may be stated that pain is an important element of initiation rituals – it appears to be something of a cultural universal. The ritual significance of pain is, in all probability this, viz. that the fear felt prior to and during the initiation is suppressed by means of physical pain; this, sharpened to the point where it is unbearable, subsequently abates, resulting in a sense of rebirth. Every initiation, but especially shamanic initiation, was a preparation for the endurance of pain. Pain, by virtue

of its repetition, foreshadows that which is to be expected; this, while aggravating the fear and the pain itself, tends, at the same time, to make them endurable.

The way to get closer to an (ethno-) hermeneutic understanding of cultural phenomena lies through attending to the voice of tradition (Gadamer 1984:258). The myth and the rite, as texts of culture, reveal their message. Pain, according to its anthropological concept, features, in the shamanic initiation, as symbolic dismemberment; yet, it also denotes the endurance of physical pain. The individual, the shaman, suffers alone for the community, because the experience of pain is a pivotal element in the human formula for obtaining knowledge. Suffering is part of the healing process, since healing is invariably a collective action; thus symbolic pain, such as dismemberment is made subservient to the healing of collective fears (social pain). That may represent the anthropological understanding of pain.

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TRACES OF SHAMANISM IN THE UDMURT ETHNIC TRADITION

By

M. Khrushcheva

The Udmurt tradition can be referred to as a relatively late historic phenomena despite the fact that the Udmurt ethnos took shape on the basis of the tribes inhabiting this territory for a long time. The structure of these tribes was heterogeneous; numerous additions of migrants mainly from Siberia, i.e. from the north and also from the west and south assimilated with them (Semenov 1978). Archeological data prove the heterogeneity of the ethnos. Linguistic analysis of the vocabulary reveals the essential role of loan-words for all that the Finno-Ugrian linguistic pattern was common (Tarakanov 1981, 1982). In Udmurt folk music we observe a vast common layer of archaic melodies, dialectal differences and their borders roughly coinciding with linguistic and some ethnographic ones (e.g. dialectal styles in clothes) and relatively large regions share the same styles of local traditions.

The vagueness of ethnogenesis of the Udmurt ethnos notwithstanding, such a heterogeneous picture stimulates the investigation of early-traditional folklore layers, which turn out to be more integral and can reveal the ethnogenetic lines and the phenomenal qualities of Udmurt folk culture more vividly.

Without going into detail of the voluminous complex of the Udmurt folkloristic problems, let us consider one aspect which is rather important for understanding the phenomenon of Udmurt spiritual culture, namely, exposing the remnants of shamanism and bringing them and the tradition of *vӧśaśkons* (prayers) with the central figure – *vӧśaś* (priest) – in them proper correlation.

On this aspect of the problem it is rightful to ask: did shamanism really exist among the ancient Udmurts and is it expedient to search for what may not have existed in their culture at all? Such questions can arise in the mind of the scholars, first of all because the spiritual and material culture of the Udmurts as we know it has a minimum of information for solving the problem under consideration. At the same time some related Finno-Ugrian peoples have shamanism as one of their essential ethnocultural components, and in the distant past the Ural branch could hardly differ greatly, especially considering the migration was from east to west.

Judging from contemporary research into shamanism and the facts known about Udmurt folk culture, we can single out a limited number of components with functions

reminiscent of shamans and shamanism. And supposing the ancient Udmurts did have shamanism, it was only an undeveloped form.

Among these rudimentary components we can include the following:

(1) The system of religious beliefs of the Udmurts, connected with the traditional world-view and its subdivision into several layers.
(2) The presence of the *tuno,* who had the function of a shaman, in the social environment of the tribal community.
(3) Some rituals, connected with sacrifice.
(4) The peculiar role of the Udmurt priest – *vöśaś*, offering prayers and making sacrifices, which may once have been connected with shamanism.

I'd like to stress here that the classification of the components of ethnic culture of the Udmurts in the sphere of shamanism (or more exactly – their genetic connections with shamanism) may have counter-arguments.

SCHEMA 1A

IN ŚÖR (OVERSKUS)
IN DUŃŃE (THE WORLD OF THE SKY)
TAPAL DUŃŃE (THIS, OUR WORLD)
SOPAL DUŃŃE (OTHER WORLD)

In Udmurt folklore we find the following picture of the world (scheme 1A). On the one hand, it is typologically similar to the subdivision of the world into layers with other peoples. But on the other hand perhaps there is also a genetic relationship with Finno-Ugrian cultures (and first of all with these of the Ob-Ugrians and Estonians).

The most important point here, to my mind, is the absence of a specific, separate world of Evil.

The lower layer where the dead, i.e. the souls of the fore-fathers, dwell, can be referred to as the periworld layer. According to superstitions of the Udmurts, the soul of the dead turned into a moth. The Estonians have similar superstitions. Evil spirits, however, dwell not in their peculiar layer, but around man, in everything surrounding him and connected with his activities. Not the least of the facts is that the evil deities of the Udmurts are borrowed, they are a later feature in their system of beliefs (Scheme 1B) (Khrushcheva 1990).

SCHEMA 1B

IN SÖR
IN-MUMY (The mother of the Heaven) *SHUNDY-MUMY* (The mother of the Sun) *GUDYRY-MUMY* (The mother of the Thunder)
IN DUNNE
INMAR (The god of the air, the god of the Sky) *KWAŹ* (Northern Udmurt) (The god of weather, the god of rain and wind) *TÖL-PERI* (The spirit of wind)

TAPAL-DUŃŃE
ŃULES-ŃUŃA, ŃULES-MURT (The god of woods and winds) *KYLDYŚIN, KYL'CHIN, MU-KYLDYŚIN* (The god of the earth, the Creator) *MEZHA-VOŹMAŚ* (The god, protector of boundary, earth, he walks along the bound and guards the prors) *BYTSYM-ŃUŃA* (The protector of cattle) *IN-VU* (The god of water) *VU-MURT (VU-KUŹO)* (The god, spirit of a pool, river, stream, lake, etc.) VORSHUD (The keeper-feeder, the protector of the kin)
Spirits living at home and protecting it: *KORKA-MURT* (at home) *GID-MURT* (in the yard) *MYNCHO-MURT* (in the bath-hause) *OBIŃ-MURT (OBIŃ-KUŹO)* (in the barn)
SOPAL-DUŃŃE
Spirits of dead fore-fathers: *VOZHO* (Evil spirits) *CHER* (The god of illness) *KUTYŚ* (Evil spirits, sending illness or spirits of those who died a violent death) *Adapted evil gods:* *KEREMET* *AKTASH* *SHAITAN* *AKSHAN* (The god of twilight)

The *tuno* is an Udmurt variant of the shaman which has lost its direct function in the 20th century but remained a particularly honoured figure.

The following features allow us to compare the *tuno* with shamans (and first of all with Siberian ones):

The *tuno* – a personality having a peculiar force and authority;

— is capable of associating with gods, deities and spirits (he provides communication between the world of people and that of spirits);
— cures maladies and diseases (the main function of the shaman);
— as the upper hand in making sacrifices, the choice of sacrifice;
— is a fortune-teller;
— is a user of the modes characteristic of the shaman:
  a) trance;
  b) cries, shouts, exclamation;
  c) ecstatic dance.

E.S. Novik classifies shamanic *kamlaniya*, in particular, as fortune-telling *kamlaniya*, sacrifice-making *kamlaniya* begging for something *kamlaniya*, "in their functions paralleled to sacrifice-makings, exorcism, and fortune-telling, which were performed without a shaman" (Novik 1984:21). Besides, the shaman's actions include ritual verbal (oral) formulas (exorcism, song prayers, etc.) (Novik 1984:21-22). The function of begging service as well as of prayers may have come first partly, and then wholly from the *tuno* to the *vöśaś*.

In Udmurt folklore one can trace a definite 'seasonal prevalence' of addressing this or that deity. So in the period of late autumn and winter, i.e. in the time of evil spirits' activities, rituals were performed involving the spirits of the dead fore- fathers (mummers at *Pörtmaśkon,* at *Vozho kel'an*) (Khrushcheva 1989, Khieyjae n.d.). Then they addressed the god and spirits, of water, the river; in spring, when sending the cattle to grass – they addressed the protector *Bytsym-ńuńa,* the god of the woods, *Ńules-Murt,* the god of the Earth, the creator *Kyldyśin* and the god of heaven *Inmar.*

In summer, during the hay-making and harvest, they addressed *Kyldyśin, Inmar;* in autumn – thanksgiving prayers and sacrifices to all the protectors and particularly to the spirits of dead fore-fathers. *Vorshud* was addressed constantly, in almost all the prayers. This 'seasonal prevalence' of the deities and spirits' activities must have been more differentiated before the strong influence of Christianity, the tradition of sacrifice-making, when every deity and spirit was given its particular sacrifice.

The 19th century ethnographers used to write about the 'calendar timing of prayings':

> "In general on the holidays *e ke-l'an, Gery potton a Gery śektan* the Votyaks offer prayers to all the deities most respected in ancient times, and besides to each separately, namely: (1) in *e ke-l'an* – sacrifices to rivers and *Vu- Murt*, (2) on the eve of *Gery potton* in *Dzekkwala* – sacrifices to Inmar, (3) on the same day and the next one in the home tent of skins – a sacrifice and prayers to *Vorshud*, (4) on that very day, (i.e. on the eve of *Gery potton*) vows of offerings to all the deities for the future,(5) on the very day of *Gery potton* – offering to *Kyldyśin* in the field and (6) *Shyd-sion* in the village houses also in his honour and in the honour of the ancestors, (offerings to them are food leavings, taken into the backyard) and of *Ńules-murt,* for whose offering they put an egg into the gutter and then bring it away together with pan-cakes in *Vöśaśkon-chatcha.* This offering is called *kutskon*, i.e. the beginning of the year offerings. And at last (7) in *Gery śektan* they make an offering to *Kvaź* and a religious Votyak is satisfied for some time" (Pervukhin 1988-1990:57-58).

All the offerings brought by the Udmurts to their highly-honoured deities and spirits can be subdivided into two groups.

The first group of offerings is characterised by killing an animal and then cooking food of it.

The second group of offerings consists of food and drink *(kumyshka)* i.e. it is a bloodless sacrifice.[1]

In Table NI shows the kinds of offerings in the calendar rituals of the Udmurts. Besides them, in the course of the year there were performed special rituals of offerings not connected with any agrarian holidays.

The offering rituals included the following features, of certain interest to us:

1) A certain form of offering for a certain deity.[2]

2) While making sacrifices of living creatures there existed a ritual of the sacrifice choice: welcome to the deity;

3) Special modes of killing a sacrifice.[3]

Though on the whole an animal or fowl was dedicated to the deity, *pars pro toto* was used in all kinds of sacrifices, including bloodless ones. More than that, both the whole sacrifice and its separate parts were prayed for. It is symbolic that the bones of the animal or fowl sacrificed were burnt in the sacrificial fire, and if the sacrifice was dedicated to

Mu-kyldyśin, its bones were dug into the earth (Vladykin 1970:156-157). In some cases the bones of animals sacrificed were hung in the trees in the sacred grove.

A similar ritual can be found among the Mari people:

> "As usual while-making offerings to this or that deity, the sacrifice (domestic animal or poultry), after being killed in the sacred grove, was boiled and eaten by the participants of the prayer. Some pieces of the sacrifice parts (the heart, liver, internal organs, ligaments and gristle, the head and extremities), possessed of its vital forces (as the Maris believe) were thrown into fire for the fire spirits to pass them to their deity. The leader of the praying – the *kart* – was reciting the peasants' requests in the traditional form in front of the *onapy*" (Popov 1983:39).

4) Sacrifice making was accompanied by verbal formulas including *kuriśkons* (prayers) as among the Mari people.

Typologically the offerings in the Udmurt tradition are included in the system of traditional rituals of the Siberian peoples, and in particular, of the Ob Ugrians, where the main aspect is one of economic barter.

In the Udmurt tradition there existed a 'special' connection among certain rituals: early in the year or season they made a 'small' sacrifice with the *kuriśkon* of begging and promising – if the deity provided material welfare, they would make a more substantial sacrifice (they pointed out which one exactly), and that was made afterwards. Of not the least importance were such rituals as the many day spring *'Busy vöś'* (a floor sacrifice), in which in consecutive order offerings were made to all the deities, both the autumn *'Zok kwala oshpi'* and *'Pirdan śoton'*. But such 'special' rituals were not only agrarian they could also be of a private character.

Among those who played the role of an intermediary between deities, spirits and people were also the *vöśaś* and his helpmates. The *vöśaś* offered prayers, made sacrifices and kept an eye on the observance of the traditions.

The function of the Udmurt priest-*vöśaś* differs from that of the shaman. We see the principal difference first of all in the fact that the *vöśaś* (in contrast to the *tuno*) is not a unique personality with peculiar abilities. At the *kenesh* (the council of the elders) any man of mature or old age could in principle be chosen as *vöśaś*, he was the representative of the kin, he expressed the collective consciousness and collective needs. And, what is very important, the social function of the *vöśaś* was not for life. Here it is quite appropriate to quote E.S. Novik:

> "In the collective the attitude to them was determined by a special ceremony, they were held in high respect, very often connected with fear and awe, but not with lawful privileges, and their authority in dependence of their individual qualities affecting the temporal power, was nevertheless indisputable even in the *sacred* sphere, as it depended on their effective practice depended on how successful their practice was" (Novik 1984:110).

In the social aspect the *vosyas* can be included in the same group as the shaman. For a man notable not only for his thorough knowledge of traditions, rituals, but also for his impeccable morals, eloquence, austere behaviour in the daily life, a man having authority could be chosen to be a *vöśaś*.

There is no doubt, the *vöśaś* can in no way be equated with a shaman. The *vöśaś*

carries out the communicative function of a shaman, but without a reverse relation, only sending a deity or a spirit a prayer – *kuryśkon* (a begging prayer, a thanksgiving prayer).

But if the Udmurt *tuno* played an essential role in the Udmurt community at the early periods of their ethnic history, and the *tuno* and the *vośaś* may have existed simultaneously, carrying out various functions, we can suppose the following.

In the time of shifting to a settled way of life and agriculture the social domination gradually displaced from the *tuno* to the *vosyas* and some ritual fragments of the *tuno* turned out to be in the function of the latter one. To such we can refer the role of the *vośaś* in the sacrifice-making of live creatures, and also the ritual dances of the *vosyas*, and his helpmates in some rites, e.g. in *yo kel'an (e kel'an)*.

The *kuriskons* (Nasibullin – Khrushcheva 1986) themselves, pronounced by the *vośaś*, as well as *camlanias* can be classified not only according to their form but also to their communicative function, more exactly, to their intention; for in these or those strophes begging the texts bearing the regularities of exorcism, begging, thanksgiving formulas, invocations, have dominating features of this or that genre i.e. one can say about exorcism-*kuriśkons*, thanksgiving-*kuriśkons*.

Coming back to the initial thesis of shamanism in the Udmurt tradition we can state that in the well-known formed ritual system of the Udmurts one can find only traces of shamanism, that may have been brought by the Ugric tribes as genetic memory in its way, but which did not develop in other conditions of the agrarian culture of the Volga-Kama.

NOTES

1. To the first group we could also refer the use of the obligatory ritual dish, wild fowl as a rule, that must have come down from the hunting traditions of the ancient Udmurts.
2. "When making prayers in *keremet*, they made sacrifices of colts, sheep, goats. *Mukyldyśin* was more often offered a black bull; *Inmar* was offered a bull and a heiter; other deities were dedicated sheep, geese, ducks to. These were the most popularized offerings" (Vladykin 1970:155).
3. As E.S. Novik notes: "With observing all ritual rules of sacrificial animal was transformed to a speaking mediator between people and spirits and provided both verbal (oral) communication" (Novik 1984:140).

Table 1

Calendar rites and holidays

Season	Rites, holidays	Praying	Sacrifice-making
Winter	*Tol sur* (Winter beer)		
	Vyl' ar shyd (New year dinner)	⊗	⊗ (food)
	Vozho kel'an (Seeling off Vosho)	⊗	⊗ (food)
	Ö arńa (Vey Maslencha)		
	Kyren Nunal (Horse radish day)		
	Short miśkon (Hanks washing)	⊗	⊗ (food)
Spring	*Bydzym nunal Veliktem nunal* (Great Day) (Easter)	⊗	⊗ (food)
	Guzhdor (Jhawed patch)	⊗	⊗ (fowl)
	Akashka Gery potton (Taking out this wooden plough)	⊗	⊗ (food)
	Jo kel'an (Seeing ice off)	⊗	⊗ (food)
	Busy vöś (Field wedding)	⊗	⊗ (animal)
	Tulys sur (Spring beer)	⊗	⊗ (animal)
	Dzok pominka Bagim pominka (Radonitsa)		
	Kwar vöśan Bacton (Trinity)	⊗	⊗ (food)
		⊗	⊗ (fowl)
Summer	Gerber (Sowing end)	⊗	
	Hay making	⊗	
	Harvest	⊗	
Autumn	*Dzok kwala oshpi orchy ton* (Common sacrifice-making in the Pörtmaskon kin kuala)	⊗	ñ (bull)
Early winter	*Pirdan śoton* (offering)	⊗	ñ (fowl)
	Vozho dyr (Green time) (Christmas tide)		

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THE COSMOLOGY OF FINNISH SHAMANISTIC FOLK POETRY

By

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My vision of the cosmology underpinning traditional Finnish folk poetry was born out of an attempt to understand what folk singers wanted to say through their poetry. What did the poems mean to them? What kind of world picture lies behind the arresting and mysterious figures of speech, metaphors, and symbols which the poems reveal? I see various ancient mythical themes relating to the centre of the universe, the world tree, the giant snake, fish, and bird, the smith as creator of the world, and the birth of the world from an egg, as forming fundamental components of the cosmology of the poems. I have looked at some of these questions in my collection of essays entitled *Gates of the North.*[*]

My approach has been an artistic and intuitive one, open to ideas from numerous sources. Scholars of comparative religion, folklorists, philologists, meteorologists, archaeologists, astronomers, and geophysicists have all contributed building blocks for my vision. I found a personal point of contact with the world of the folk singers through the sharp contrasts of light and temperature characteristic of the annual cycle in the wide open spaces of the northernmost parts of Finland.

The fact that the vault of heaven is seen in many ancient cultures as a god, the ruler of all existence and the natural order, is eminently sensible. It is the heavens, after all, which regulate the basic conditions of life, providing us with light, warmth, and water; the constantly moving heavens govern the growth of game, fish, and the crops in the fields. For reasons of livelihood, if for nothing else, man has had to try and understand what is happening when the sky appears to turn its back on us, when the sun loses its strength, the days grow shorter, the ground hardens, the water freezes over, and the birds fly south.

Based on the metaphors found in folk poetry, I have concluded that folk singers described the annual cycle of the seasons as the 'world'. The 'world' flourished, declined, died and was reborn every year.

It is natural to assume that, when interpreting the world around them, our forefathers took account of all the visual phenomena associated with the cycle of the seasons: the

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* Published in Finnish as *Pohjan portit*, Helsinki, 1982. Here I try to briefly outline my interpretation of the cosmology implicit in Finnish folk poetry.

sun, the moon, the stars, the Milky Way, auroral displays, thunder and lightening, rainbows, and halo phenomena.

The Finnish summer is short, but light. During it, the stars, the Milky Way, and the northern lights disappear from the sky. The night sky is nevertheless visible for the greater part of the year. According to geophysicists, Finland's location in what is known as the auroral zone is exceptionally opportune. On clear nights, the *aurora borealis* can be seen in northern Finland on around 200 days a year, compared to some 20 days in southern Finland, and around 10 days south of the Gulf of Finland. Because of this, the role of the aurora borealis in the metaphorical world of Finnish folk poetry is considerable and important.

For all their very varied forms, auroral displays follow certain recurring patterns. Geophysicists have divided the *aurora borealis*[1] phenomenon into four acts, like a classical play. The first act is the longest, and can last an hour or two. One or more yellow-green arcs arching over each other appear on the northern horizon early in the evening. These evenly-illuminated arcs stretch in an East-West direction from horizon to horizon, leaving the segment bounded by the arcs darker than the rest of the sky, almost black.

The second act begins when the arcs become brighter, and red appears above the yellow-green. The evenly-illuminated arcs splinter into vertical rays, and the arcs kink or fold, and move southwards to the zenith. This act last around half an hour.

The third and most dramatic act lasts only about ten minutes. The auroral arcs change into broad curtains and bands, which stream and fold over, twisting into spirals, or tangling up like snakes or wood shavings, filling the whole sky with their rapid movements. Wave-like shafts of light and bundles of rays rush along the forms of the display, and reds, blues, and purples are added to the dominant yellow- green. Individual shapes are picked out in single colours, such as bright green, flaming red, crimson, or blue. The display reaches its height in a corona.[2] Resulting from a perspective effect, the shafts of light aligned in the direction of the earth's magnetic field appear to converge virtually at the zenith, at the magnetic pole, near the North Star.

During the fourth act of the display, which lasts around an hour, the brightness of the light dims, the movements calm, and finally the sky is covered with a translucent grey-green mantle. After a while, a new arc appears on the northern horizon and the display is repeated. In Finland, displays can be repeated three to five times during the course of a single night. Flame-like waves of light can spread across the sky at great speed in the early hours of the morning.

Paralleling the *aurora borealis,* both in terms of the timing and outward form of its appearance, the *aurora australis*[3] is visible in the southern hemisphere. Similar beliefs to those found in northern areas can be found in the traditions of native peoples in the area where the aurora australis can be seen in New Zealand and southern Australia. The heavens are described as multi-layered by a flood of fire, and containing a 'dark place resembling a mountain', to which the shaman of the Wotjobaluk tribe ascended when making his journey into the sky to meet the gods and the tribe's ancestors.

Auroral activity increases every eleventh year, when the phenomenon is visible more widely in Central Europe and around the shores of the Mediterranean.[4] During magnetic storms, observations have been made as far away as Sri Lanka, Bombay, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. Last year, observations of auroras were recorded in Jamaica, California, and Texas. Sidney Chapman has proposed calling these displays *'aurora tropicalis'*. I have come to the conclusion that auroral phenomena have left their mark on man's ancient myths across all the world's continents.

Over the centuries, man has interpreted the lights he can see in the heavens through

numerous images. Symbols and metaphors have been used to create new conceptual worlds and to answer the basic questions: where does everything originate from, where does everything disappear to, what forces decide our fate?

It is a matter of conjecture when the images, concepts and motifs around which the cosmology of traditional Finnish folk poetry is built took their place in the culture of the ancient Finns.

Finnish folk poetry composed in the traditional Kalevala metre is characterized by a strong use of parallelism, the synonym interplay of the content of the main line and its refrain. By following the linguistic imagery used in synonyms, it is possible to get a grasp of the singers' concept of reality. The highly-expressive metaphors employed in both epic poems and charm poetry point to the accuracy of singers' power of observation. Singers, for example, distinguish between different types of auroral displays, taking account of the forms, movements, structures, and colours of displays, in the same way as a modern geophysicist does.

The arcs of the *aurora borealis* on the northern horizon I see as the most important place in the cosmology of the poems. According to my interpretation, these arcs of light gave birth to the central symbol in the cosmology of Finnish folk poetry: the centre of the universe, the sacral land of death and birth. This ancient myth is elaborated in the poems through numerous metaphors, or sets of metaphors. One of the more common descriptions used is that of a navel; the navel of the land, sea, sky, water, and marsh all appear in the poems. The singers identified this navel with a mythical mountain. Synonyms for the mountain include the brass ridge, the golden knoll, the red, blue, or multi-coloured stone, mound, or hill. One folk singer described it as the nine-stoned navel. The epithets, smithy ridge and charcoal hill, point to a divine smith. One set of metaphors emphasizes circular forms; singers describe the mythical centre in terms of an iron or fiery barrel, or as brass bands which, when removed, release the sun. A golden circle, a brass basket, or a golden cradle, in which the fire is rocked to sleep, have also been depicted by singers.

The arcs of the *aurora borealis* repeatedly appear on the northern horizon from display to display, shining in the form of a low hill or rising up mountain-like as high as the Northern Star. The arcs appear immune to influence, or the movements of the rest of the heavens, such as the sun and the moon.[5] The same sense of permanence and stability at the navel is also evident in a Votyak disease charm: 'At the centre of the land lies the navel of the land; take away this navel, and you take away the sick man's life and blood.'

The centre of the cosmos, defined by multiple arcs, has been portrayed as made up of many layers. separated by 'multi-coloured lids', an image employed for describing auroral arcs. Singers counted six or eight, or most commonly, nine of these multi-hued covers. Wide spaces opened up from the different levels, down 'into the bowels of the earth and the heights of the heavens'. It was in this sacral landscape that the powers that determine human destiny were conceived as living: good and evil spirits, ancestors, and sprites of various sorts. It was also the abode of long-dead shamans consulted for advice by living shamans, and that of the beings known as the 'sons of Kaleva'. It was also the home of the shaman and smith culture heroes, Väinämöinen and Ilmarien. There too lay the realm of death, *Tuonela,* or *Pohjola* as it was also known, and the mighty people of *Pohjola;* it was there that the beautiful daughters of *Tounela* forever washed clothes on the banks of the river of death. And there, above all the rest of creation, ruled the most powerful of all, the god of thunder, 'Ukko, hub of all the heavens'.

This mythical centre was also where everything was seen as ultimately originating. It was here that man was born again to continue his life in the hereafter; it was here that fire, frost, iron, disease, and healing balms originated; it was here that the bear was

reborn from his bones, in the same way as all other game animals. It was also the source of the 'boneless flesh' which seers used in their healing charms to tempt away 'hungry' afflictions from tormenting man. It was also the place, in the form of the mountain of steel, the rock of iron, to which seers exorcised diseases, 'to the heart of the sea's navel, into a blue rock, a liver-coloured crevice'. And here, at the centre of all power, new worlds were given birth to during the cycle of the season.

Gates are also an important image in folk singers' descriptions. The evil gates of Pohjola are depicted as shining outside 'the village of man-eaters'. In hunting charms, the golden gates of the people of Tapio, the spirits who watch over game and ultimately allow man hunting success, glitter on 'God's charcoal hill', beside fiery rapids.

Links to this mythical centre are described as taking the form of threads in hunting charms. Hunters called on Tapio's daughter to blow a red or blue silken thread as a bridge for the game to run 'across Pohjola's river'. The image of brightly-coloured strands points to the rays of light seen in auroral displays. Auroral arcs and rainbows themselves acted as bridges to this centre. Both auroral arcs and rainbows could act as a route for abducting a person to the other world. A blue bridge was described by singers as leading to the 'back of a blue stone', or a 'pitching stone' was depicted as lying beyond a red gate.

The Milky Way has also been seen in folk poetry as a road to the mythical centre of the world. One metaphor used for the Milky Way is a river. The great oak, another metaphor for the Milky Way, also serves as a bridge to Tuonela.

The Milky Way has also played a part in describing the passage of the winter. Particular attention was focused on the development seen after Christmas, when, with the change in the planet's inclination, the Milky Way begin to tilt away from the high-point of the sky down towards the horizon. Beginning in the early spring, the glow of the sun below the horizon strengthens, until at Candlemas it 'cuts' the Milky Way at its juncture. Later in the spring, only its two ends can be seen on opposite sides of the sky. The Milky Way can also be broken by Orion, known as 'Kaleva's sword', which, as the nights begin to shorten, rises high in the southern sky . 'The sword rose up from the sea', recounts the singer.

The most extensive set of folk poetry metaphors describing the various stages of the Milky Way is associated with the image of a tree: beginning with a sapling and a twig and stretching all the way to a fiery birch, a golden juniper, a three-forked willow, a mighty spruce, a submerged tree at the bottom of a marsh, a sauna whisk, and a rotten tree stump. The tree is described as growing on the mythical mountain at the centre of the cosmos. The most commonly referred to tree growing here is the oak, its branches blocking out the sun and the moon. The migratory birds inhabiting its branches or living on a mythical 'island' are also described as being able to blot out the sun and the moon. Folk beliefs tell the same story: migratory birds spend the winter months at the end of the Milky Way on an island in the sea where it is always summer and warm, and where their sheer numbers hide the sun from sight. Folk poems place the birds of the soul either in the branches of the world tree or on an island in a distant sea.

The belief in a winter land for birds is considered one of the oldest myths of mankind. Kai Donner tells how Ostyak shamans claimed to visit a spirit who lives in the place where the sky and the land join, and where there is an opening through which the migratory birds in the autumn fly one by one to the warmer side. If, by mistake, they fly too high, they burn up in the sky's fire, which is reminiscent of the northern lights. The Chukchi referred to the opening as the 'birds gate'.

According to measurements made by geophysicists, the strongest auroral discharges during the annual cycle take place around the autumnal and vernal equinoxes. The auroral oval rotating around the earth's magnetic pole widens, and the arcs rise in the southern rather than the northern sky. In interpreting this phenomenon coinciding with the departure

and arrival of migratory birds, folk singers linked their observation to the wider mythical world, creating an island of birds in the sea.

The 'island' in the southern sky was looked upon as the abode of the dead, in the same way as that in the northern sky, but as a somewhat different one. In depicting the island, populated by the birds of the soul, singers emphasized the small size of its inhabitants, their beauty, their plentiful life, and their sumptuous clothing and jewels.

Folk singers referred to the sky with its mythical islands, mountain, and tree as a 'sea'. The 'islands' rising up out of the sky's primeval sea were also called 'clouds', often 'clouds of Ruija', a term used to denote the northern lights. Echoing the number of the multi-hued lids of the heavens and of the navels of the world, singers often referred to nine seas. The sea can be burned, or it can burst into flames. The waves of the sea are described as being of blood or fire. Divine figures sail and fight out their battles on a red sea.

'The northern sea is on fire' and 'Ruija's rapids are burning, turning the sky red' are typical popular expressions used to describe auroral displays. In Ingrian folk poetry in particular, the mythical sea often billows blood and fire. According to observations made by geophysicists, Ingria, bordering on the south-eastern shore of the Gulf of Finland, is characterized at the equinoxes by unusually powerfully red auroral displays, which can be visible through even heavy cloud. The northern lights have been similarly referred to in Estonia as the 'waves of a bloody heaven' or as the 'burning northern sea'.

A conflict and struggle between two opposing seasons and the mythical figures representing them forms a fundamental part of the cyclical cosmology of Finnish folk poetry. When the nights lengthen and the land of the dead makes its appearance in the sky, the battle of the god of thunder to reinstate the summer's full firmament begins. Ukko, the god of thunder, was the ruler of both the auroral displays and the rainbows, the victor over the powers of death, and lived at the mythical centre of the cosmos.

The folk poetry concept of the northern lights as a manifestation of thunder was still known during this century. The northern lights have been referred to as 'winter lightning' and 'thunder's fire', and thunderstorms were thought to give birth to auroral displays. An early scientific assumption based on folk belief also linked thunder to the northern lights, which were seen as 'matter which had not yet matured into thunder'.

In depicting the battle between the opposing forces at work in the world, folk singers combined mythical themes in a number of different ways and made use of diverse metaphors. Common to narrative elements in both charms and ritual poetry was their shared view of the structure of the mythical world. In this mythical landscape, the culture heroes Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen bring light and warmth into the world. Opposing them are the powers of darkness, cold, and death: the inhabitants of *Pohjola,* or *Tuonela.*

On their way to the centre of the cosmos the heroes are described as encountering a black or fiery river, fiery rapids, the 'burning whirlpool of the northern sea', a 'foaming abyss'. A fiery oak or birch was sometimes depicted as growing at the centre of the rapids, a fiery eagle atop its branches. Spears and swords could be seen in the eddying waters of the River Tuonela and the rapids. These point both to ancestors, who had been buried with their swords, and to the struggle between the two opposing forces.

Some folk singers described Väinämöinen as being helped in this struggle by a mythical snake. In charms narrating the origin of fire, Väinämöinen brings light into the world, striking fire from a 'glittering snake' or from the 'midst of sea stones' on the back of a multicoloured snake. Väinämöinen himself turns into a snake when fleeing through the iron net he encounters in the waters of the Tuonela river.

The snake is described as being born against a marine backdrop from the spittle of a gorgon in a cranny of a multi-coloured rock or a crevice of an iron ridge. The snake is also to be found at the centre of the cosmos threaded around the roots of the world tree.

The epithets given to the mythical snake, 'gorgon's brooch' and buckle of the belt of 'one beyond the river' bring to mind the snake motifs to be found on Viking jewellry and grave goods, and the abundance of snakes in rock paintings, and on shamans' drums and ritual clothing in northern Eurasia.

I see the giant snakes coiling and twisting in the primeval sea, which feature in myths around the world, as interpretations of the snake-like forms of the bands of light in auroral displays. Geophysicists consider the oldest written description of auroral bands as coming from China. San-Hai Ching, 'The Book of Mountains and Seas', dating from 2200 B.C., contains a reference to a god of the northern regions, Chu-Long, the candledragon, described as a red snake glowing in the dark.[6]

The bright arch of the summer sky is often described in Finnish folk poetry as having been fashioned in a smithy. Ilmarinen or Väinämöinen forge the sun and the moon in a smithy on an 'iron rock' on the mountain at the centre of the world. One singer linked the smith theme with the origin of the world from an egg, describing how Ilmarinen both forges the sky from a rock and charms it forth from an egg.

Other poems tell of the world being born out of an egg with the help of Väinämöinen. He raises his knee up out of the sea to form a base for a brass nest for a scaup-duck, an eagle, or some other bird. The place is sometimes defined as the 'navel of the sea' or an 'island'.

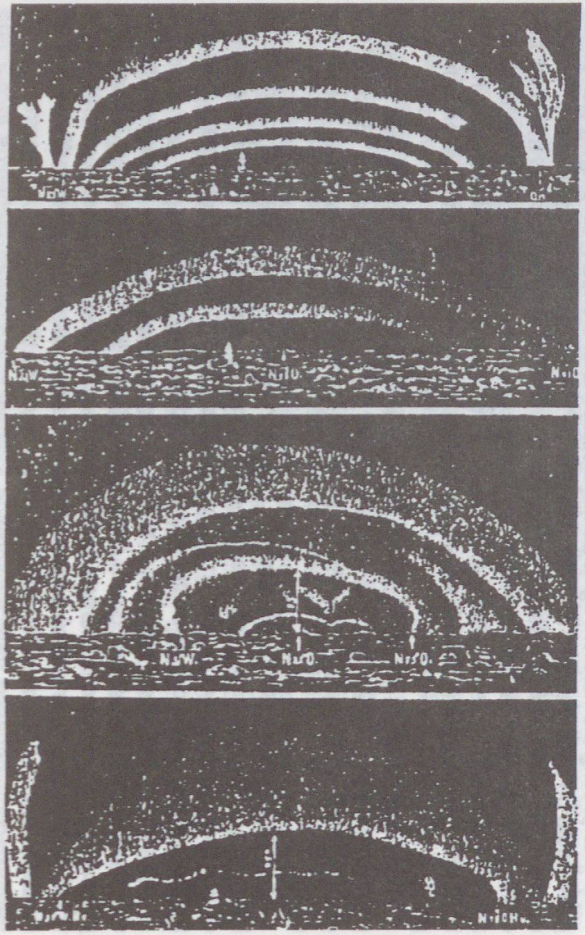
The bird of thunder is concentrated in Finnish oral tradition in charms telling of the origin of fire: a spark is struck by the Old Man of the Air, or Ukko, the 'stone-taloned bird of the air', the oldest of the birds. In healing charms, soothsayers sometimes called on a giant eagle for assistance, a bird with a wingspan so wide that when one wing brushed the surface of the waters the other touched the sky. The wings of the giant bird are frequently described as red, blue, or green, and 'fire swirled from its mouth, smouldered from its wings'. In their role as shamans, Väinämöinen and Ilmarinen, sometimes turned into large birds, as did their adversaries, the inhabitants of Pohjola.

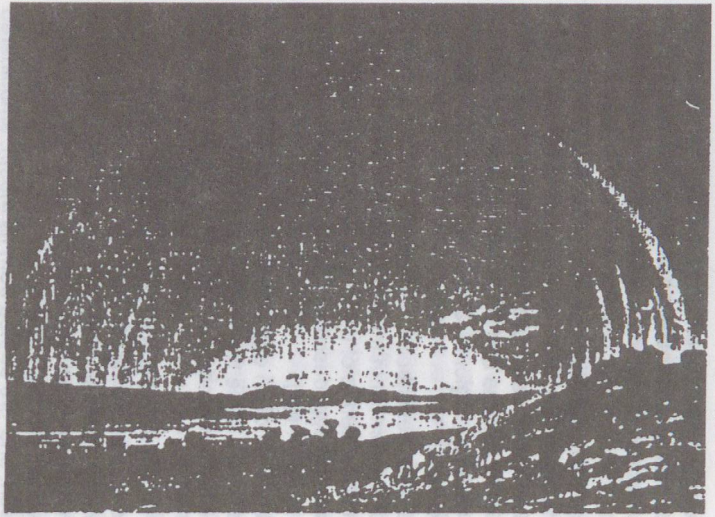
In interpreting the northern lights as manifestations of thunder, folk singers placed the giant eagle on a 'fiery tree' in the Milky Way, or on the 'tip of a brass ridge' at the mythical centre of the world, where it struck fire with its talons. Singers perhaps saw the giant 'bird of the air' in the auroral corona which appears when the auroral arcs pass the magnetic zenith. The radiant pulsating corona, whose blue, red, and green rays stretch from horizon to horizon, lights up and dies down only to light up again in the high sky, like an immortal phoenix.

The mythical eagle is also described as participating in the birth of the new world by mauling the fish of death, the 'great pike of Tuoni'. In the primeval sea, the mouth of the giant fish is the mouth of death, into which the great flood of the Milky Way carries the dead.

A giant fish, most commonly a whale, has been seen as the originator of the northern lights in an area stretching from south-east Estonia to east-central Finland. The scales of the fish are pictured as creating a mysterious glow. Other variants relate how the northern lights were born when the whale opened its 'bright mouth'.

In outlining the world as subject to the changes inherent in the annual cycle, folk singers depicted both the decay of the old 'world' and the birth of the new 'world'. The poems include numerous themes familiar from eschatological myths: a cosmic fire, a flood of blood on a mythical sea, strange 'diseases without names' suffered by the inhabitants of Pohjola, and the moral decline of mythical divine beings. In a corrupt world, habits become debased, fratricide spreads, together with murders, stabbings, incest, and infanticide.





Figs 1-4 – Drawings of auroral arcs ment for scientific use. They were drawn at the wintercamp of A.E. Nordenskiölds expedition 1879.

Fig. 5 – Aurora Australis, Melbourne, September 2, 1850.

Typical of the depictions of the new 'world' is that rebirth takes place through death. A personified sun descends like a shaman to the 'cold village', redeems gold and silver, and rises from the realm of the dead to fell the great oak. Or the sun is described as a 'brother' taken to war while still a child, who returns in a mighty ship from a place 'nine seas away', 'his hair stepped in gold', his ship laden with treasures. The sun, in the form of an elk, also descends in the poems to the other world of Tuonela, returns and bites through the Milky Way or kicks asunder the 'oaken grove'.

Characteristic of many of the poems symbolically describing these cosmic events is the destruction of the symbols of the old 'world', and their re-use as building blocks for the new 'world'. Boats and *kanteles,* the Finnish zither-like instrument, are made out of the mythical tree and giant fish. The boats are used by divine beings returning from *Tuonela.* A *kantele* made from the jaw bones of death serves as a symbol of the new universe, in the same way as the shaman's drum does in Lapp tradition. The culture heroes disappear with the birth of the new world. In a couple of poems, they are described as going to *Pohjola* to marry; in one poem, Väinämöinen leaves for *Pohjola,* in another, he rushes headlong in a brass- bottomed boat 'to the mouth of the throat of the maelstrom'.

When the new 'world', the era of the god of thunder, starts, the centre of the cosmos is drawn on the sky in the form of a rainbow. I also see stone-built ring graves and labyrinths as symbols of the centre of the cosmos.

The metaphors, symbols, and stories employed in traditional Finnish poems in the Kalevala metre are numerous, but the basic principle, the concept of the structure of the cosmos, running through them is the same. It was born out of a highly cogent conception of the community of fate of man, his means of sustenance, and light.

NOTES

1. Galileo was the first to adopt the term 'aurora borealis'. Writing in 1616, he commented: "...the sky at night-time is illuminated in its northern '(settentrione) parts in such a way that its brightness yields nothing to the brightest dawn (aurora) and closely rivals the sun ... thus forming for us this northern dawn (questa boreale aurora)".
2. Edmund Halley christened the display formed at the magnetic zenith the `corona'.
3. The term 'aurora australis' was invented by James Cook, referring to the phenomenon strongly reminiscent of the aurora borealis observed from his ship, the HMS Endeavour, off the coast of the island of Timor on September 16, 1770.
4. In his book *Majestic Lights, The Aurora in Science, History and the Arts* (American Geophysical Union, Washington D.C., 1980), the geophysicist Robert H. Eather considers the first section of the Book of Ezekiel (1:vv, 1-28, 593 B.C.) in the Bible as a clear description of an auroral display: "... a stormy wind blew from the north, a great cloud with light around it, a fire from which flashes of lightening darted ... [living creatures appeared] ... between these animals something could be seen like flaming brands or torches, darting between the animals; the fire flashed light, and lightning streaked from the fire ... Over the heads of the animals a sort of vault, gleaming like crystal, arched above their heads ... [a human form appeared] ... And close to and all around him from what seemed his loins upward was what looked like fire; and from what seemed his loins downward I saw what looked like fire, and a light all around like a bow in the clouds on rainy days ..." "To one familiar with auroral displays, this

metaphorical description is nearly perfect," writes Eather.

5. In his book *The Ancient Beliefs of The Finns,* Uno Harva describes the ancient Finns as having imagined that the sky was supported by a giant column having its summit in the sky at the North Star. This image has been preserved in popular speech: people living to an old age have been describes as pillars of the world, a lazy person as motionless as the world pillar. Similar expressions are also to be found in Estonia.
6. The example is from Robert H. Eather's book quoted earlier. Eather also refers to Hesiod's *Theogonia*, a creation story from the eighth century B.C., which refers to `flaming heavens' and 'fiery sky dragons'. Auroral displays in medieval European chronicles are often described as snakes or dragons. In 1571, a Czech manuscript described a display seen in Domazlice: "Fiery pillars were observed ... about the third hour of the night, and a dragon flying in the air above the whole town from the lowest gate to the upper gate". This was interpreted as a portent of bad things to come.

   Fridtjof Nansen's book *The Fram Expedition – Nansen in the Frozen North* is often quoted in the literature on auroral displays. His research ship Fram became trapped in the ice on November 28, 1893 off the islands of New Siberia. Nansen wrote in his diary:

   "... Unusually powerful and beautiful northern lights blazing in all the colours of the rainbow ... On the far horizon in the West a fiery snake twisted and turned in the sky, getting brighter the higher it moved. After dividing into three, all shone at first in multicoloured splendour. Only then did the colours divide as well; the southernmost snake was almost completely dark red with fine yellow streaks, the middle one was quite yellow, the northernmost pale green, and all of them stretched across the entire sky. Bunches of rays flamed along the snakes in waves."

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ASPECTS OF THE OTHER WORLD IN IRISH FOLK TRADITION

By

Matti Y. Karjala

We cannot but accept the fact that, even today, there exists what has been called 'an enormous confusion' when talking about the nature of shamanism (Hultkrantz 1973).

Here, it would be pointless to go deeper into this question of definitions, except to say that the main issue in talking about shamanistic, or shamanic, aspects or elements in the Other World context in Irish tradition, is also one of definition.

The essential question of course, is whether one may talk about indigenous Irish, or perhaps more to the point, indigenous Celtic, shamanism at all.

I won't try to give any affirmative answer to that question, but neither will I claim that the question as such would be an absurd one, even though it might involve difficulties.

I feel that if researchers trained in Western methods of enquiry, would be willing to free themselves of the notion that shamanism is necessarily something that *other* people do, or have done, in *other* cultures, the way might open to acknowledging the possibility that through shamanic studies we might very well learn something essential concerning our own selves.

I feel sure that in shamanism, we have to do with an experimental system that is open to most, if not all of humankind, irrespective of time, place, or the accident of culture.

So, I will for the most part sidestep the issue of definitions, and will only give some examples of what I think may be pertinent when tackling the problem of some Irish Other World traditions from a shamanic point of view.

Now, in ethnographic or anthropological literature, shamans of course have been known by various terms, such as medicine men, witch doctors, sorcerers, wizards, brujos, magicians, curanderos, seers, persons of knowledge, etc.

Often these terms may be more or less literal translations from various tribal languages from around the world. Indeed, the word 'shaman' – with 'medicine man' to a somewhat lesser degree perhaps – has been widely adopted as a sort of inclusive or collective term, taking in the others as it were.

But of course, 'shaman' too is originally a tribal name, possibly deriving from a Tungus verb meaning 'to know' (Hultkrantz 1973; cf. Walsh 1989, Rees – Rees 1961).

I may contend that quite a lot is known today about shamans, about shamanism in its world-wide context, as well as about shamanic ideas, conceptions, and practices.

But what then about the Druids, who are usually referred to as the most powerful

priestly class among the pre-Christian Irish people, and indeed, as the priests of the larger Celtic world?

Or what about the Druids' 'descendants,' or inheritors of their functions in Ireland, the *filidh,* or, as the word is usually rendered in English, 'poets'?

The derivation of the word 'Druid' is somewhat obscure. The once widely accepted translation 'wise man of the oak' has been largely rejected (e.g. Ross 1967), and though the exact meaning eludes us still, some fascinating alternatives have been suggested.

Among them are 'the very knowing one' or 'the far-seeing one' (Rutherford 1983), and these certainly seem to place the Druids on the same footing with shamans, and especially so if we may accept that the shaman too is 'one who knows'.

With the word *fili,* on the other hand, we stand on safer ground. The word comes from a root meaning 'to see' (Nagy 1985, Ó hÓgáin 1979). Joseph F. Nagy has written that

> "The Irish poet's function as the proclaimer of truth who reveals the hidden has a definitely 'shamanic' quality to it: that is, the *fili* knows, 'sees', and can communicate because he is regularly transported into the otherworld, or because he becomes possessed by otherworldly inspirational forces."

Nagy even goes so far as to speak of "the shamanic dependency of the *fili* upon the otherworld" (Nagy 1985).

From early description we further know that the *filidh,* like the Druids before them, during rituals such as divination, wore characteristically druidic vestments, such as cloaks, robes, or headdresses made of bird feathers (Rees – Rees 1961:17,236).

In one story, *The Siege of Druim Damhghaire,* the following is told of the Druid Mog Ruith:

> "[His] skin of the hornless, dun-coloured bull was brought to him then, and his speckled bird- dress with its winged flying (i.e., head-dress), and his druidic gear besides. And he rose up, in company with the fire, into the air and the heavens" (Rutherford 1983, cited by Ross 1986).

This description definitely has a certain "shamanistic flavour", as is pointed out by Anne Ross (1986).

Mediating between this world and the Other World, or world of the spirits, is of course one of the major functions of the shaman. More than this, the shaman must be able to protect members of society against hostile supernatural forces, as well as seek the help of benign ones.

Few shamans are 'ready-made' men or women. Rather, their learning is a long process, more often than not lasting several years, during which time they gradually get to know more and more about the extra-physical realms and the entities who live in them. But in the end, a shaman worthy of his calling becomes able to journey freely in the various worlds, and to make contact with his helpers in these worlds.

The Druids' learning, as well as that of the *filidh,* lasted up to twelve, or even twenty years. Their initiation too, included several intermediate stages, some of which in the case of the *filidh,* had to do with things pertinent to their functions as poets, such as study of verse forms or composition of tales, others being more in line with traditionally shamanic learning: incantations, divination, and magical practice, for example (Chadwick 1982; Mac Cana 1985; Rees – Rees 1961, Roos 1967, Sharkey 1984).

We also know that the Druids were believed to be able to keep the often hostile forces of the Other World at bay, and that they knew the correct ritual which could canalise

these powers for the good and benefit of mankind in general and the tribe in particular (Ross 1986).

It would be easy enough to dismiss these sorts of similarities between the functions and ways of shamans on the other hand, and those of the Druids and *filidh* on the other, if in the case of the latter figures we had to rely only on some few and disconnected instances that have come down to us over the centuries in the form of tale- or story fragments.

Happily, this is not so. Irish folklore is among the best documented in the world, and the greater part by far of what we know about ancient Celtic ways of life, comes to us through Ireland.

About Druidism, it is true, we know very little. This is because the Druids themselves left no written documents at all behind. Even so, we may be reasonably sure that the Druids were in fact literate. But their religious teachings belonged to esoteric, sacred knowledge, and was transmitted strictly orally – writing was used only in connection with secular transactions (Chadwick 1982, Mac Cana 1985, Morris 1973).

However, when ancient Roman and Greek texts that tell us about the Celts are put together with archaeological findings – inscriptions, for example – and written material from Ireland, we do actually get a picture that may not be complete, but which, even incomplete, tells us a lot about the way of life in the ancient Celtic world.

In some ways, this world was an astonishing one. The Celts knew how to work iron, for instance. They shod their horses, developed seamless iron rims for their wheels, gave us several iron tools, and even developed a harvester more than two millennia ago (Severy 1977).

A culture like this might seem very far removed from one that anthropologists would call shamanistic. Yet the similarities between shamans and Druids remain, and I may mention in passing that many beliefs existed which stressed unusualness of behaviour which set the poet apart from the rest of the community (Ó hÓgáin 1979).

No religious dualism existed among the ancient Celts, of the kind the Christian world has come to know. The Other World was out there, of course, but little more so than the next village was out there. The Other World with its denizens was present everywhere, and could almost be touched (Ross 1986).

Could in fact be touched, and even entered: at least on occasion. And this is where I must briefly touch upon Irish folklore, or that part of it having to do with shamanic conceptions of the Other World in Irish tradition.

The ancient Irish, or Celtic society was a warrior aristocracy in form. What this means, most importantly in this treatment, is that, in the words of Proinsias Mac Cana,

> "The early Celtic literatures are preponderantly aristocratic with an infinite capacity for ignoring the fortunes of the masses..." (Mac Cana 1985).

And what this in turn means is that even if most, and indeed, almost all early stories or tales come to us through the 'court poets,' i.e., the *filidh,* it must be kept in mind that this tradition was originally an oral one. There is no reason to suppose that what during the early centuries of the Christian era was being recited in the courts of kings, was so very different from what at the same time was being told among the common people, by the *seanchaide,* or traditional story-tellers.

There is also evidence pointing to the fact that many literary texts have been noted down in actual narrative situations (Murphy 1961).

In tales or stories, it is for the most part some heroic figure who has dealings with otherworldly beings, and the one thing we have to guard against, is not to confuse purely wonder-tale motives with genuine elements of belief.

However, even in quite recent Irish folklore, and most importantly in the Fairy Faith, the ancient Other World of the tales is still far from dead, living on in much the same guise known to us from the earlier tales.

Here, I will only mention some few examples suggestive of shamanic ideas.

Modern scholars have been fond of listing early Irish tales in cycles; e.g., the Mythological, Heroic, Fenian, and Historical Cycles. However, the native system of classification was by themes of the tales (Mac Cana 1985, Murphy 1961), and in a shamanic context there is one that should interest us above many others.

This is called *Uatha,* i.e., Caves. The main action of these tales, in other words, is depicted as happening in caves. Only it is not so simple. Gerard Murphy has pointed out that there is an Early Modern Irish word seemingly derived from *uatha,* and meaning "a hole (in the ground)" (Murphy 1961). And indeed, the 'caves' even as such are clearly actually otherworldly sites, and the actors other than humans, beings of the Other World.

Now, how should one define an otherworldly region, complete with non-human beings, and reached through a hole in the ground?

Without going into any deeper analysis, it is impossible, of course, to maintain that we here would really have an example of a genuine shamanic experience, preserved in the form of a story or tale. But evidently the possibility exists.

Other tales, classed along the old system, include such captions as journeys and adventures, and in these among others, we often find the human protagonists in the sort of perils and dangers that will ultimately yield them access to otherworldly knowledge, as well as otherworldly power (Dillon – Chadwick 1974, Nagy 1981).

However, it is the Fenian Cycle of Irish tales that contains perhaps the most straightforward material, capable of being interpreted within a shamanic frame of reference.

The Fianna, or Fenians, are depicted as a sort of mercenary militia, living outside the boundaries of ordered society – in the wild, as it were – and because of the fact that theirs is a way of life quite different from that of the common run of people, they are described as having closer connections with the supernatural (Mac Cana 1985, Nagy 1981). In fact, they seem to be borderline cases in more ways than one.

The leader of the Fianna, Fionn mac Cumhaill is, perhaps not surprisingly, much more than a leader of a military band. Fionn is actually a poet or seer, and with his friends he is in constant touch with otherworldly forces.

There exists a whole group of stories of Fionn and the Fiann that have to do exclusively with otherworldly settings, and these stories are grouped under the heading *Bruidhean* tales, *bruidhe* meaning a hostel in English.

These 'hostels' are actually portals between the everyday world of humans and the Other World, and in a nut-shell, the bruidhean tales seem to contain too many elements that may be classified as shamanic ones to be a mere coincidence (Nagy 1981).

Shamanic elements as such do not, of course, make shamanism, but taken together with so many other indications of an Irish, or Celtic, form of shamanism, they would seem to deserve closer scrutiny.

And last, I will point out that Irish folk healers, such as the famous Clare woman Biddy Early, were generally thought to have received their curative powers from the fairies, i.e., from the denizens of the Irish Other World, and such beliefs have a definitely shamanic ring to them (Mac Manus 1979, Ó hÓgáin 1985).

So, there may or may not have been an indigenous Irish, or Celtic, form of shamanism, but the possibility of its existence certainly seems to exist.

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SHETLAND FINN-MEN – INTERPRETATIONS OF SHAMANISM?

By

Jane Mack

Introduction

Oral tradition, which is still relatively strong in the islands of Shetland and Orkney (the Northern Isles) can be one of the most revealing indicators of the many sources of influence on historical and social development. Although influence has stemmed from a vast number of directions, the field of folklore within the Islands is a particularly strong on in examining the aspect of sustained Scandinavian and North European associations. This paper will analyse a specific folkloric figure known as the 'Finn-Man'. The discussion is not only intended to illuminate the various sources of development on the figure, but on a broader scale to show how interpretations of shamanistic practice have entered the folklore of non-shamanic peoples and acquired an interesting development of their own. I shall concentrate largely on Shetland material here, although many Finn-Man characteristics are shared between the two island groups.

A brief overview of Shetland history may be useful here in providing a context for interpretation. Norse settlers began arriving at least as early as the 9th century, gradually superseding a Pictish culture. The Islands remained officially Norse until pawned to Scotland in 1469 with the general idea that they would be redeemed at some point. As a result, there was some subsequent doubt as to the status of the Islands which for a long time "looked to Bergen as their natural centre of administration, commerce and law" (Schei – Moberg 1988:41). Despite growing influence from Scotland then, contact with Norway and Northern Europe, especially the ports of the Hanseatic League, remained an important factor. Although the Norn language (a form of Old Norse) had largely died out by the 18th century, isolated words continued to be used as part of a 'secret language' replacing taboo words at sea *(The Midbrake Papers)*.

It is in the folklore, however, where Norse imagery and terminology has perhaps remained strongest. Finn-folk have been regarded as magical creatures with myriad characteristics ranging from shape-changing to control of the elements. I shall argue for what appears to be a Norse origin of the figure, rooted in an interpretation of shamanism which was possibly Saami. I shall then examine how the semi- mythical figure developed into the composite Finn-Man recognized today.

An Overview of the Finn-Man

The diverse characteristics of the Finn-figure make a single definition difficult. The term has generally been used to describe people with certain magical abilities such as divination, second sight and metamorphosis (usually into seals). Together with these are the *specific* powers to travel great distances in a short time to find information or recover a lost object for someone, and the ability to 'raise winds' and control the fishing catch. In 1822, Hibbert mentions that Shetland Finns were famous for controlling events depending on the atmosphere and for 'untying winds' by means of knots (Hibbert 1822). Spence, writing in 1899, is one of the many to mention the Finn ability to travel great distances. He writes:

> "A Finn could cross from Norwick in Unst to Bergen in Norway between the hours of sunset and sunrise, the traditional speed being nine miles to the warp (stroke of the oar). They were adepts at recovering things lost in the sea which to ordinary mortals were irrecoverable" (Spence 1899:22).

As for their metamorphosing ability. Tudor notes in 1883 that "they have the power to take any shape of any marine animal, as also of human beings" (Tudor 1987:167). Indeed, within Island oral tradition, there is often considerable interchangeability between tales of Finn-Men and those of Selkie-folk (seals who assume human form). A similar interchangeability which I shall discuss is between Finn-Men and Trows (which, despite the name, are often more akin to the Huldrefolk than the Troll).

These characteristics, then, seem to form the basis, albeit rather diverse, of what is commonly understood by the Finn-Man. Important unifying factors seem to be that they are generally referred to as 'Norway Finns', human beings with a touch of the supernatural about them, and their magic is largely seen as benevolent but to be treated with respect. Physically, they tend to be small and dark- featured, and have also at times been female. With this preliminary definition in mind, then, it may be helpful to examine any Finn traditions elsewhere, in order to establish a probable origin of the Northern Isles figure.

Finn Traditions Outside the Northern Isles

Although the name 'Finn' is common in Celtic tradition, it is unhelpful in terms of the Northern Isles, referring almost exclusively to the Fenian heroes. Interestingly, though, the wind-tying element is strong, particularly in the Western Isles and the Isle of Man. Moyne (1981) suggests this may be connected with periods of strong Norse influence there, but the basis is likely to be much broader than this. Within Northern Europe as a whole, though, the 'Finn' tradition abounds in a form much closer to the Northern Isles figure.

Unfortunately, however, there has been a long tendency to use the word 'Finn' to refer at the very least to both Saami and Finlanders (Suomalaiset), both of whom were renowned for shamanic traditions. A serious attempt at disentangling this terminology is beyond the scope of this paper, but a good deal of work has been done on the subject (Olsen 1986).[1] I shall concentrate instead on two very early literary representations of Finns which have some plausible bearing on the Northern Isles. The first is Otthar's account to King Alfred in the 9th century, in which he notes that a good proportion of his income derives from tribute paid him by 'Finns' in Hålogaland (*From King Alfred's Version,*

1855). These particular Finns are now generally accepted to have been Saami,[2] and geographical and historical settlement factors would tend to support this (Olsen 1986). Indeed, the terminology has been used widely in Norway to refer to Saami.

In terms of Shetland and Orkney, the significance of these Finns becomes more apparent with the examination of Saga material. Egil's Saga again refers in detail to the tax mentioned by King Alfred, although it seems to have been paid not only by Saami themselves, but also as tribute to the King by anyone *trading* with the Saami (*Egil's Saga* 1976:30,31,37). The most pertinent Saga references, however, are concerned with Finn 'magic', for the most part in Northern Norway. In Heimskringla, for example, Gunhild says that her father lived in Halogaland and that she had been there "to learn witchcraft from the two Finns who are the cleverest men in Finnmark" (Sturluson 1967:40). Moreover, the *type* of Finn magic referred to in the Sagas bears a strong resemblance to that of the Northern Isles Finn. Especially popular are references to prophecy/divination, shape-changing (*Egil's Saga* 1976:156) and the ability to travel great distances in a short time, to recover lost objects.

It seems here that these Finn representations are some sort of interpretation of shamanistic practice, and in these specific cases, the terminology 'Finn' is most likely to refer to Saami. Less mythical accounts of trances from which the Saami shaman awakes with information from far away appear in European literature in the work of Olaus Magnus (1555), for example, in the 16th century, and yet already in the Sagas a more mythical flavour has begun to appear which is very likely a result of Norse interpretations of the practice.

In view of the fact, then, that the Norse of the Saga period were well acquainted with the magical Finn image, it is not inconceivable that it reached Shetland at a relatively early stage of settlement. Moreover, it seems likely that any factual image of shamanism would already have given way to a 'folk' image before it even reached the Islands.

The Folkloric Development of the Finn-Man

The latter point can be well illustrated by the interchangeability mentioned earlier between Finn-Man and Trow, which corresponds to a similar interchangeability in Norway, common as early as the Sagas. Amongst Shetland oral material, a good example can be found in one of the best known Finn stories, concerning the mythical origins of a prehistoric stone wall known as Funziegirt (pronounced Finnie-girt) Dyke, which almost literally divides the island of Fetlar into two. The generally told version, reproduced in Jessie Saxby's *Shetland Traditional Lore,* speaks of a man in Fetlar troubled by sheep and ponies getting onto his land for lack of an adequate wall. one night, a Finn came to him in a dream and offered help. When the man awoke, his land was enclosed by a fine high stone wall" (Saxby n.d.). However, in a version by the late Jamesie Laurenson, perhaps the most celebrated of Fetlar story-tellers, the Finn becomes a Trow (Laurenson – Aithbank 1972). Moreover, certain parts of the wall are traditionally associated with trowie magic.

The Sagas abound in references to Finns who were 'troll-wise'. Indeed, the *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder* (1975) discusses the Norse association between Saami and troll magic under 'Samisk Trolldom'. If this early association was as widespread as it seems, then the 'troll'-type terminology may already have been incorporated into any early Finn-Man imagery that reached the Northern Isles.

The other major association worthy of mention is that between Finn-Men and Selkie folk (seal-folk), the linking element most probably being a shape-changing ability. Ernest

Marwick reproduces a tale told of a Fetlar man who was wagered by a Finn that he would not taste fresh fish before Yule. When he attempted to do so, his life was threatened by an immense wave into which he threw a keg with oil inside; he was thus able to reach land. When he met the Finn again, the latter showed his broken teeth and a deep scar which he said had been caused by the barrel (Marwick 1975). The 'wounding' element here can be compared with a very common story of Selkie-folk told by, amongst others, the late Tom Tulloch and North Yell. A man hunting seals at Ve Skerries stuck a knife into a particular seal which, however, swam away with the knife in it. Many years later, when the man was fetching a boat from Norway, he saw an old crippled man in the house of the boat-builders. When he asked how the man had received his wounds, the old man showed him the very knife the fisherman had stuck into the seal (Tulloch – Yell 1973). The shape-changing element in both these tales is a common and ancient one almost universally, especially amongst shamanic peoples themselves, and the Norse were also well acquainted with it in the person of Odin. Saami ability in this sphere was, however, particularly renowned – indeed, the potency of Saami magic is celebrated from the Sagas to the Kalevala. Vorren notes that

> "there were a number of sacred animals at his (the shaman's) disposal... whose help he could call on or whose form he could borrow when he fought or had to cover great distances quickly" (Vorren – Manker 1962:123-124).

Although, as I have shown, the *folkloric* Finn was probably already a fairly mythical composite of various elements from an early stage, it nevertheless seems that the shape-changing factor was one of the noticeably shamanic characteristics which remained.

It is important to note here, however, that it may be rather misleading to present the various components of the Finn-figure separately. This is not intended to imply that they *developed* separately or in any specific order. In the course of the development of oral material, elements my appear and reappear in various different forms at several different times, creating a lot of overlapping influences and multidimensional levels of meaning. The Northern Isles for a long time held a much more strategic position on Northern European trade routes, and the complexities of cultural influence that this implied become apparent when examining other characteristic components of the Finn-Man.

A very significant element in this respect is 'wind-tying' ability. The Norse of the Sagas already had a concept of Saami-connected wind-control: Raud the Strong in the Saga of Olav Tryggvason (Heimskringla), living in Northern Norway

> "was a mighty man and there followed him a great number of Finns whenever he had need of them... He always had the wind where he wished to sail and it came by wizardry" (Sturluson 1967:108).

It is, however, a medieval tradition common within the seafaring lore of Northern Europe that is perhaps of most significance here. Early written accounts, such as those of Saxo Grammaticus (1886) and Olaus Magnus (1555) mention reports of sailors being 'sold winds' in Norwegian ports, and eye-witness accounts of the practice appear throughout the Middle Ages and into the 19th century. As Ernest Moyne (1981) shows in his extensive analysis of 'wind-tying' in North European and American literature, the image was taken up as a literary theme even into the present century, from Marlowe and Shakespeare, through Coleridge to 19th century seafaring novels. Although the following tale, told by Andrew Hunter of Nesting in 1975, does not specifically mention Finns, 'wind-tying' ability is also a strong feature of the Shetland Finn. Some men were fetching a boat from Norway (boats were rarely built from scratch in Shetland because of shortage

of wood, but were assembled in Shetland from 'kits' that had been made up in Norway – this was common during the time of the haaf fishing.[3] Before they left for home, the lady of the house gave them a length of string with three knots in it, telling them to untie the first knot for a fair wind, the second for a quick passage, but on no account to untie the third. The men obeyed and had a fair wind until nearly home, when one of them untied the third knot. An immense storm suddenly blew up and they only just escaped with their lives (Hunter 1975a).

This can be compared with almost identical stories from the Western Isles, the Isle of Man and indeed the whole of Northern Europe. The tradition seems to have been based on an actual practice of 'wind-selling' encountered by seafarers in ports in Norway and elsewhere (including Shetland itself). However, as Alan Bruford has pointed out, only in Shetland is the seller referred to as a 'Norway Finn'. Given the wide distribution of wind-tying, it therefore seems likely that its Shetland form has been influenced both by an existing understanding of the Finn figure and by a wider seafaring tradition, some aspects of which were probably encountered first-hand.

Another important example of seafaring influence is a tale common in the 19th century, and remarkable for its accurate description of a shamanic trance. A Shetland version of the tale called 'Peter White and the Finn', told by Andrew Hunter in 1975, differs from other European versions only in the proper names and the locality. Peter White has had to take work on a ship just before the birth of his first child, and when he expresses his anxiety to a shipmate, who turns out to be a 'Rooshian' Finn, the latter offers to find out the state of affairs with Peter's family in return for a keg of spirits. He tells Peter to let no-one so much as touch him, and then lies down and appears as if dead for several minutes (in a version by George Nelson of Tingwall the Finn actually begins to shake). On returning to consciousness, the Finn tells Peter he has a son, and hands him a distinctive silver spoon from the White's household as proof of his visit (Hunter 1975b). In George Nelson's version (Nelson 1971), when Peter returns home, his wife mentions the loss of the spoon, and remembers a strong wind blowing through the house on the night in question.

This story is almost identical to one collected in Denmark and reproduced in the 1850s by Benjamin Thorpe, called 'The Ship-master of Aarhus and the Finlap' (Thorpe 1981:193-194), and one known as early as the turn of the 19th century told by a woman called Anne Godlid from Telemark (Christiansen 1964).[4] Apparently, some fifteen variants of the tale have been found in Norway, mostly in the north (Christiansen 1964). As regards the nationality of the 'Rooshian' Finn in the Peter White story, Moyne provides an interesting insight. Frank Thomas Bullen, a 19th century English seaman turned novelist, speaks of Finns he had known in his career at sea. He says:

> "Russian Finns, seamen always call them, although there is far more of the Swede than the Russian about them, and their tongue is Swedish also" (Bullen 1899).

This particular example could therefore refer to Finlanders, but is yet another instance of the generally ambiguous use of the terminology. In other words, it seems that each occurrence of the term 'Finn' should be analysed on an individual basis. However, in the case of the Peter White story, the exact nationality is of limited relevance. a more significant point is that it underlines the influence of a broad seafaring lore in dispersing and developing 'folk-interpretations' of aspects of shamanistic practice. Andrew Hunter himself spent most of his working life at sea, and would most certainly have been exposed to this wider tradition (*Tocher* 1979:270), although Alan Bruford has suggested that Peter White probably told the tale himself, adapting an existing Shetland story by adding the description of a trance which he may have witnessed.[3]

Local Additions

There were, of course, also indigenous additions to the Finn-Man figure, an interesting use of the terminology appearing around the turn of the 18th century in Orkney to refer to Greenlanders in their kayaks found off the coast of the Islands with extraordinary regularity about that time (Tudor 1987, Idiens 1987). In reality the boats, some of which are still to be seen at the Marischal Museum in Aberdeen, were probably brought south from Greenland by whalers as curiosities and 'dumped' close to shore for fear of fines imposed for the practice (*Eskimo Kayaks ... n.d.).* The use of the term 'Finn-Man' to describe them in Orkney, however, could have several explanations. A likely one seems to be that, as early as the 16th or 17th century, there was some interchangeability of terminology between Lapland and Greenland 'wizards'. Moyne quotes a number of instances of this from Elizabethan literature (Moyne 1981:24). In other words, it is again shamanic type elements which provide a definitive link between an actual observation and the folkloric figure.

Further local additions to the terminology appeared in the 19th century, again in Orkney. They seem, however, to have been largely embellishments (Bruford 1974), if not total inventions, by the writer Walter Traill Dennison (1961), who created a whole nation of Finn-folk inhabiting a submarine world called Finfolkaheem. Discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper, although it is an interesting illustration of how what is probably a literary addition can find a firm place in folklore.

In conclusion, then, an early basis for the Northern Isles Finn figure may well have been a Norse interpretation of aspects of shamanistic practice. Whether the root was specifically Saami or not seems to depend largely on the meaning attributed to the word 'Finn'. Although each reference should be treated individually in this respect, I have shown that a good deal of pertinent Saga references can reasonably be taken to refer specifically to Saami. Possible wider applications of the term within Scandinavia will certainly, however, provide interesting angles for further research. What seems clear, nevertheless, is that the Saga Finns most probably link up with the Shetland figure in some way, and that the figure is likely to have reached Shetland in an already semimythical composite form, containing other Norse folkloric elements. Additional and interwoven features seem to be traceable to a North European seafaring tradition, combined with the Islanders' possible first-hand experience of some of the elements.

In other words, if the shamanic element can indeed be said to exist within the Finn figure, then, seen within its specific context of the Northern Isles, it is an interesting example of one of the many routes by which shamanistic practice has influenced the beliefs and folklore of non-shamanic peoples.

NOTES

1. Acknowledgements to Venke Olsen, Trondheim, Norway.
2. For example,H. Palsson and P. Edwards use term Lapp instead of Finn in their translation of *Egil's Saga* (1976).
3. Personal communication, Dr. A. Bruford, School of Scottish Studier, May 10, 1990.
4. Original in Barge, Rikard (n.d.), *Norsk Sogukunst,* 3-4. – Anna Godlid lived 1773-1836.

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SHAMANISM AND PARANORMAL PERCEPTION IN THE SAAMI TRADITION

By

Bo Sommarström

"Certain revelation is good for the hunter during long wanderings", I was told by the Saami Anders,[1] when we discussed how to explain a case of precognition, or presage, which happened some time around 1900. Then Anders' father was young and owned a few reindeer tended by pastoral Mountain Saamis. Just before September he went to the peasants at Nausta to tell them "Now the herd with reindeer bulls will come, bind the dogs!" When he passed Tjaura, near which a poor old Saami woman Greta made a living by fishing and collecting of aquatic birds' eggs, Greta told him this:

> "I have been quite frightened by hearing cow bells. A large herd of cows came from the south and stopped before the fence. They had all sorts of colours. It was right now, this evening. But when I opened the door and went out to the entrance, then they did not exist."
>
> I said: "Maybe she dreamed about this?" – "No, no", Anders protested.
>
> "Think of the Revelation of St. John, why should only John have revelations? Why, the Scriptures state that It will be disclosed to the innocent. Certain revelation is good for the hunter during long wanderings",

said Anders, who was one of the last of a line of hunters and fishermen in this region since more than 300 years. Anders' younger brother Jonas added:

> "At least 40 years afterwards Fredrik Lestander moved a herd of cows sheep and goats from Mjörklunda 25 kilometres to the southwest at Vuolvokaure by the Pite river, passing by Nausta [near Tjäura] to the market town Jokkmokk to sell the animals there."

This story is a clear sample of precognition in the from of a vision, at least in the minds at these Saamis living in Central Swedish Lapland. The opinion of Anders and his two brothers Lars Erik and Jonas varied, however, as to how this imagery came into existence – whether in a dream or in a waking state.

I noted this and other similar stories as secondary material under the heading 'Superstition' in my report from a general anthropological investigation carried out in the region of Udtja in south Jokkmokk 30 years ago.[2]

Background of the Investigation

The material on which I base my paper is chiefly from this field-work carried out by me during the summers of 1960 and 1961. The Swedish Air Force had then just started a project to test missiles regularly in Udtja, a forest reindeer herding unit in the commune of Jokkmokk. According to Swedish law, a cultural investigation had to be made before changes took place. In this case it became a joint venture between the Nordic Museum in Stockholm and the County Museum of Norrbotten in Luleå, with me in charge of the actual field-work. This was mainly anthropological, but did also include elements of archaeology, folklore, and folk music.[3] The main theme was the study of reindeer pastoralism.[4]

The Udtja Forest Saami village is a very small society with only about 40 individuals among a dozen families or households, formally belonging to three sub-groups. Even if Udtja village is small, its reindeer economy has been generally regarded as flourishing during most of its history as documentated for the last hundred years. This was naturally worth checking, searching for possible traditional co-operation patterns, ecological insights, aptitude for innovations, and so on; therefore, the study of Udtja has continued after 1961 when the official investigation had ended.

Shamanic Remains

A few holy place names remain from the time of general shamanism among the Saami people, before the 19th century. Ernst Manker noted the following ones from his preliminary investigation (Manker 1949):

Vierro-njarka, 'Sacrificial cape', situated at the western end of the central lake Udtja-jaure in the 'heart land' or summer grazing ground for the reindeer of the forest type belonging to this region. At this point antlers and bones of reindeer from sacrifices have been found, together with bones of swans – the latter probably from sacrifices for luck in hunting according to a local tradition. On the northern shore of Udtja- jaure is the 'Holy Stone', *Passe-kierke.* A 'Church Bog', *Kirkojegge,* which is situated near the mountain Tavelkvare, which is situated near the mountain *Tjavelkvare,* may have something to do with the possibility that this mountain was one of the 30 known sacrificial mountains used by Saami kins in the parish of Jokkmokk (each kin had its own mountain). This statement is according to Samuele Rheen, a priest who lived here in the 17th century. Finally, there is a small lake called *Saiva,* a name which is typical for lakes with spiritual properties. This *Saiva* is connected with the large lake Naustajaure.

According to stories told by settled people at Nausta, as well as by the pastoralists of Udtja, hosts have always harassed *Saiva,* which one formerly had to pass by when travelling between Nausta and Juokkel or Kåbdalis to the east. All stories are about a man who had shown himself for a short time and then disappeared in an unaccountable way. One informant said that the man had black, wavy hair. The father of the Saami cultural historian Carl Johansson (himself a Saam) had once in winter-time travelled to Nausta, when he saw the ghost and tried to reach him on his skis, but the appearance disappeared all of a sudden.

The concept of *Saiva* is an important part of ancient shamanism among the Saami people, as has been thoroughly demonstrated by especially Louise Bäckman (Bäckman 1975). It is therefore near at hand to believe that the so-called ghosts here are not personal, or accidental fantasies only – instead they could very well represent the kinds of spirits coming from the deep bottom of this *Saiva,* especially ancestor spirits.

Tales about Supernatural Experiences

In previous generations there had been a lot of talk about 'ghosts', so the Saami children naturally must have seen ghosts everywhere. For instance, a spruce-fir tree in a mist could have looked very suspicious indeed, perhaps be a ghost.

Once, when Sigurd was 16 or 17 years old and was out in the bush to tend the reindeer, he was accompanied by his father's dog *Frajata* (Frej). This dog was dark with a white dot above each eye and was accordingly belonging to a special category called *nelje-tjalma-bana* ('Four-eyes-dog'). This kind was supposed to be able to indicate ghosts, and each family previously wanted to have one. *Frajata* was the last 'specialist' in Udtja and lived until he was about 10 years old or more, so he may have died around 1930, Sigurd humorously imitated *Frajata,* who had barked each time the coffe- boiler boiled over with a whistling sound apparently similar to that of ghosts.[5]

The people in Udtja did not seem to hesitate telling stories like this, or more generally referring to irrational concepts and activities of olden times. They were also willing to discuss such things from their own experiences, among which telepathy, for instance, was regarded as a quite ordinary phenomenon.

Now, let us return to the theme of animals who may represent spirits, or the loss of spirits, as indications of illness or death, or animals who are helpful spirits. These types of tales are very common in the folklore of both Saamis and other Scandinavian groups.[6] However, there are local variations and some of these may have their roots in ancient Saami shamanism. I will here relate three tales about animals with oracular potency:

> "*Muorra-karan* is a bird. When one heard its cry, one said: 'Well, that person doesn't live any longer'. It should be true of someone of the same kin, or of the companion when you and he are together in the forest. But I have heard *muorra-karan* many times without my companion dying!" said my informant Sigurd, and he continued: In March, the reindeer cow is then halfway with her fetus, when I hear *muorra-karan* the first time, I then use to say: Now *muorra-karan* is heard, now the calf has become alive."

> "*Levek-tåleke* (Levek-down) was a white down which showed the way to something you had lost. It was thrown out in a swinging motion, and as it fell with its tip one went. Levek-down was kept at ones breast close to the shirt. The raven was not to be killed but was snared, or only lightly wounded when shot with a gun. He was taken and trained to sit on *levek- tåleke,* alive. It was an old tradition. Levek-down guided the raven to the proper place (i.e. to find things)."[7]

A much easier way to find out about the future was told by Anders, the fisherman from Tjaura and lake Tjavelkjaure.[8]

> "After the boiling of pike one used to take the jaw, place it on ones head and nod while saying this: '*Kavvot vuorepe, kåbmot ii mike* (lying on the back: luck; overturned: none)'. On the back meant with the teeth upwards. This 'oracle' was made half jokingly, half seriously."

These and other similar stories tend to show that the spiritual tradition in Udtja is rather a general mental pattern than a coherent system of related concepts at the time

of the investigation. This accounts for the attitude to the following story told by Sigurd and Anders together:

> "Mattis Junsa, he was mentally behind, an old man he was, and carpenter who lived in the old part of Juokkel. Someone asked him: 'What are you making?' He answered: 'I am making a machine which will fly in the sky. I will drive along the ground up into clouds.' Yes, the Last Judgement starts passing Juokkel and passing Nausta. And Juokkel will be empty of people, and the cape of Nausta will be empty, and the reindeer will be without pastorage. But Maitum will, nevertheless, remain."[9]

This event was regarded as a prediction a considerable time before these calamities actually happened (more or less), when Udtja became a test region for missiles, from 1960 onwards! Mattis Junsa is most probably Maats Lars Jonsson, born in 1865 as son of a Saami farmer in Juokkel. He was registered as mentally backward, and he died about 1925 when he was 60 years old. Thus the 'prophecy' occurred at least 35 years in advance – according to one of the informants even before the appearance of the first 'real' flying machines. Mattis Junsa was related to all of the kins of Udtja, both those of the fisher-hunters at Tjaura, and those of the reindeer pastoralits. More than anyone else did he represent the ancestral spirits of the whole region, which we can trace back to the oldest known families Slimmerslag and Havvar in the 17th century. Maybe this record has something to do with the high local evaluation of Mattis' clairvoyant prediction – in spite of his so-called mental backwardness, or just sanctioning it.

That Mattis' ability to predict was not accidental but latent was shown by another story.

> "When one of my aunts had given birth to her first child, a daughter, Mattis took the baby on his lap and said that it would be the only one. The mother laughed, being sure of her fecundity. She really bore three more daughters, who, however, all died in their youth because of appendicitis, scarlet fever, and diphtheria respectively."

This story told by Sigurd represents a prediction in the form of a vision, or perceived in some other way, was not stated.

Once we discussed *mirages*. Sigurd mentioned that 15 years ago (i.e. 1945) he had seen a reindeer herd walking a little more than one meter above the ground, which was covered by snow. "It was a mirage ... They went in a northeasterly direction, they had large antlers." It happened at the large swamp near *Nillitievva*.

This hill had been named so because Sigurd's mother (who had been 69 years old at the occasion) had seen a spirit in the shape of a man, who disappeared behind a spruce-fir tree (which Sigurd has seen). She thought: "It is a *nillik* who came". As such entities were helpful, she guided the reindeer to graze at this place. And actually, they kept to the spot in an unusually quite way, as if there had been an invisible border. And after the sunset she could easily milk the reindeer cows. To this Sigurd commented: When one sees a Katnih,[10] maybe it is a mirage? It may be (in the from of) reindeer or human being." And Anders added: "I have seen mirages in the mountains, they are common. Mirages come into existence at certain atmospheric precipitations."

The spirit could of course appear in the form of a woman, as well as of a man. This happened to Nils once when he had lost the reindeer herd. After having searched for a long while in vain he was completely tired out and laid down on the ground. Then a young woman appeared and said to him: "You should search in the direction of Nelkek". Nils woke up as from a dream, went to the place in question, and found the reindeer. This is

also a common type of fairy tales, but here closely adapted to the environment and husbandry of Udtja.[11]

One of the oldest women in Udtja, who was originally a neighbouring Swedish farmer's daughter and had married Nils in Udtja, and therefore may bee said to represent a border case from an ethnical point of view, told the following two stories.

At one occasion she had seen a 'quiet light, as if from a stearin candle' between the well and one of the houses on the old part of the Udtja summer hamlet. The light was so clear that the house was visible when the woman stood in the open at the new locality for the hamlet. She became so certain of the light being a serious token, that she had a black gown made for a funeral. A few days later, after the sight, one of Sigurd's brothers died after having been ill in his lungs for some time.

At another occasion this same woman went on skis to Jokkmokk in order to participate in the market, which takes place in February. Two other Udtja Saamis, Lars and Brita, went away a little earlier. Nanny, the above-mentioned informant, after a while saw two persons sitting at a fire and greasing their skis just in front of the hill *Nuortåivasj*. But when she came to that place there was no fire, no human beings, no traces at all. Later at *Fatsas* she finally met Lars and Brita, who had waited for her under a fir tree, without fire, for a long time. They were all scared of what had happened, because it could apparently not have been a natural mirage.

Magicians

Penner, or Varjek-Penner as he was also called,was one of a few persons in the parish of Jokkmokk, who were regarded as *noai'des,* or magicians, during the last century or so. Penner's real name was Nils Petter, and he lived in Verjek until he died in 1922 or 1923. When Nils from Udtja visited *Kojkul* to look after reindeer (it was when he was quite young), he saw Penner there. Penner asked Nils, holding his own hand over a cup with brandy:

> "Do you want to know (literally 'see') your future wife?"
>
> "Yes, I will", said Nils. "First you will be engaged to a girl in Kojkul, but that will not last ... Oh, now I must stop this, my wife is sitting at home crying. But what has happened? Well, you will probably hear about it later."

Then Penner returned to his home. There his newly born boy had died. One used to say about Penner, that "he could see something in advance, and such things". Some of the other stories I noted down and which concerned *noai'des* or magicians, are not so directly linked with Udtja or people from Udtja, and will therefore not be considered here.

Maybe 'Old Unnes'[12] was the last one in Udtja to use shamanic methods openly: A very dry summer he wanted rain, then he climbed the mountain Udtjapuoda and rolled down stones. Afterwards he went down and said: 'Now rain will come'. When he arrived near the southern grazing ground of the hamlet, the rain came and lasted for three days.This same summer 'Old Unnes' went with one of his sons to the lake Paktja to fish with a drag-seine. Then a gale of wind upset the boat and the boy was drowned.

Imagery in Practice and Theory

When analysing this material from Udtja, of which a few samples have been mentioned, I have tried several models.[13] For instance, you can divide the perceptions resulting from imagery or visualization in categories without or with means or implements; Mattis Junsa's prophesy' exemplifies the first, and Penner's synchronic clairvoyant experience of his crying wife by means of alcohol in a cup represents the second type.

You can further classify some of the 'motifs' according to a folkloristic literary scheme, for instance S. Thompsons. You can also look for the amount of stress caused by loneliness, exhaustion traumatic situation, etc. an approach of which O. Nordland was one of the pioneers, and you can use several psychological therapeutic systems who have included visualization as one of the methods; here Kretschmer and Jung are among the earliest practitioners.[14]

A quite up-to-date reference work for some of these aspects is Jeanne Achterberg's book *Imagery in Healing. Shamanism and Modern Medicine* (1985). She is a medical doctor herself, an associate professor in USA, and has been director of research in rehabilitation science. She gives samples of her co-operation with native Indian healers, combining their practices with the latest data from modern medicine. Her work

> "shows how the systematic use of mental imagery can help patients through painful events such as childbirth and burn treatment as well as act as a positive influence on disease states such as cancer."

A basic prerequisite must be present, however, both in traditional and in modern (Western) therapy:

> "both doctor and client must believe in the magic or it doesn't work" (Achterberg 1985:97).

Applying such modern insights to the material from the investigation in Udtja 1960-1961 is not an easy task. The notes were made without enough competence as 'additional', peripheral parts of a research chiefly aiming at the documentation of the reindeer pastoralism in the region.

Nevertheless, I hope that some of the information here put forward which concerns extra-sensory or paranormal perception can be drawn on for other studies made with better competence and, even more important, with better insight in such phenomena.

If I had known thirty years ago what I know today, then I had asked Anders to disclose to me what kind of revelations he used to have as a hunger. He had obviously not referred to the ordinary knowledge of an experienced hunger about how to reach his game. He also could distinguish between natural mirage and 'revelation'. Was he then 'seeing' the prey before the prey saw him, as some kind of imagery, or what? Now I would not have been astonished in any case; knowing Andres as an exceedingly genuine and serious person, explanations from him should be taken at their face's value. It is probably too late now to clear up this problem with Anders himself, even if he is still alive. But I am sure that there are a lot more like him and other personalities in Udtja and elsewhere having the same kind of 'extra-sensory' sensitivity, which is one of the prerequisites of shamanism as well.[15]

Maybe the time has now come to start more specified scientific research on paranormal perception, like clairvoyance and precognition, based on a close *co-operation with traditional shamans* and other wise persons with similar knowledge, as e.g. Jeanne Achterberg has done in connection with healing.

Preliminary and additional information is already being produced through more manageable experiments with persons having received some basic insights in 'core' shamanism. A system of this type is the one which is taught through Michael Harner's Foundation for Shamanic Studies, which is based on critical scientific research.[16]

NOTES

1. I have used the given names of the informants when they have openly contributed to the investigation, which they knew was official. This was in fact their wish because it strengthened their case in the negotiations with the Air Force about the terms for participating in a missile project. But I have not used any name if there has been any uncertainty about if they would have consented to having their names made public more then perhaps in the form of field-notes kept in the archive of the Nordic Museum (see note 2).
2. No. 802 in the Saami part of the archive of the Nordic Museum; field-notes and a manuscript with a preliminary analysis and survey of the results from the investigation 1960- 1961.
3. About 30 songs (*vuoleh* 'jojks') were taped by Ernst Emsheimer in 1961 in connection with the investigation. This material has now been transcribed and analysed by Doris Stockman and included in her general study on Saami folk music, to be published in a near future.
4. Parts of my report (L.A. 802) was used by Ernst Manker for a preliminary survey the Udtja Forest Saami' reindeer economy and culture (Manker 1968:78-85).
5. This story was also retold in my article about supernatural dogs (Sommerström 1964:402 f). Ernst Manker had previously (1934) published a note about a dog Musti, who lived in a more northernly forest Saami village (Vittangi), had the same characteristic light dots as extra 'eyes', and was said to 'see' more than other dogs (op.cit. 402, after Manker 1934:62).
6. Cf. especially Harald Grundström's collection of such tales (Grundström 1942-1943), where he has grouped together material from both Saamis and Swedish farmers in Lapland. Notwithstanding that he was an eminent authority on Saami language, he could not clearly determine the ethnic origin of most of these tales.
7. Sigrid Drake also referred to this magical down which she calls feather (Drake 1918:346). Her information is from Lule lappmark, to which region Udtja also belongs. "*Leven-tâlki* ... belongs to the eagle, the raven, or the cuckoo. It is believed to be inside under the wing, but that is a secret. When one shoots and hits, one should immediately hurry to the bird. Is he alive one should wait until the last breath, then a feather comes loose and jumps up. This one should quickly take and hide away as the most precious treasure as long as one lives, and even give to ones children as an inheritance. Possessing it brings all kinds of fortune." This version was collected in the first half of the 19th century, and therefore is older than the one from Udtja.
8. Anders has given a lengthy description of his life as a fishermen (in Sommerström 1965:416-419).
9. This is one of two slightly different versions noted down by me during the investigation 1960-1961.
10. *Kani,* pl. *Katnihah,* small subterranean spirits of human and animal forms, including *Nilliks.*
11. This tale was told by Nils in connection with Ernst Emsheimer's documentation of the songs of Udtja. The fairy's information had been in the form of ą *vuolle,* a 'jojk'- song. Nelkek in the eastern part of the summer grazing grounds of Udtja is one of the traditional places for collecting the reindeer in corrals. – Cf.Pettersson 1982,I:45 for a similar story about another, Swedish, Nils who had become tired of hunting wood-grouse, and laid himself down, and been approached by e beautiful fairy. In this case the woman told him that he "will be a wise man for seven years" (i.e. be able

also to catch woodgrouse!), which really happened.

12. 'Old Unnes', whose real name was Anders Mattsson Unnes, 1835, established one of the two earliest farms in the region of Udtja. He had immigrated from Arvidsjaur parish south of Udtja and been accepted as part-owner of the region in 1929 together with Påhl Larsson Udtja of the Havvar kin, the latter being the original heir to the region. 'Old Unnes' was known of swearing quite freely, but that might have been strong oaths or curses, perhaps really meant!
13. A detailed account will be part of another larger study *Precognition in Traditional and New Shamanism in Scandinavia.*
14. See e.g. Rutherford, chapter on "Extra Sensory Awareness", "Shamanic Therapy", and "Beyond the Conscious' (1986: 150-154), Nevill Drury gives a short introduction to Jung's theories about the unconscious psyche, which he regarded as "embracing a much wider ranger of imagery" than the "manifested infantile tendencies" that were especially important to Freud (Drury 1987:106-109). Drury also describes Wolfgang Kretschmer's techniques of psychotherapy which according to him have "pronounced shamanic aspects" (op.cit. 115-116).
15. Similar experiences have, for instance, been described in the collection of essays on 'seers' from different parts of the world, which Hilda Davidson has recently edited (Davidson 1989).
16. Harner is presently working on a book based on experiences from his teaching of 'core' shamanism, this time not solely for educational purposes as was principally his now classical *The Way of the Shaman. A Guide to Power and Healing* (1980). It will be a scientific analysis of a statistically valid, very extensive body of information.

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PSYCHOIMMUNOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF SHAMANIC DRUMMING*

By

Sandra D. Harner and Warren W. Tryon

While the mind's relation to the body has been a long-standing subject of debate, interest in the mind-body problem is currently enjoying a renaissance. In his examination of cross-cultural psychology, Frank (1961, 1973) contends that despite their superficial differences in practice, healing principles throughout the world's cultures are fundamentally consistent. He emphasizes the relationship between patient and healer, shared cultural and belief systems, the importance of suggestion, the placebo effect, and the patient's demoralization. In recent year it has become evident that the body's own healing mechanisms must be figured into this formula.

The discovery of the enkephalins and beta-endorphin over the period 1973-1975 (Prince, 1982a) was followed by the emerging field of psychoneuroimmunology which is helping define the integral relation between the brain, behaviour, and the immune system (Ader, Cohen, and Felten 1987). Results from one such study indicate that "depressive symptoms [...] are related to a reduction in NK (natural killer cell) activity during bereavement" (Irwin, Daniels, Smith, Bloom and Weiner 1987).

Essay writing about previously undisclosed trauma was found to actively promote health based on studies of immune function and physical health (Pennebaker, Kiecolt-Glaser and Glaser 1988). There is also evidence of significantly increased Salivary Immunoglobulin A (S-IgA), which may decrease susceptibility to upper respiratory illness and dental caries, following each of several relaxation methods – massage, visualization or Benson's relaxation response (Green and Green 1987). Assessment of certain psychological aspects of functioning, using the Taylor Manifiest Anxiety Scale, the UCLA Loneliness Scale, and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, revealed no significant changes in those factors, although S-IgA secretion rate increased following relaxation (Green and Green, Unpublished manuscript).

Traditional Western medicine has long looked to the plant kingdom and native people's knowledge of herbal remedies to expand scientific pharmacology. Likewise, other traditional native healing practices bear thoughtful consideration in advancing contemporary concepts of illness, its prevention and cure. This is particularly true in the areas of innate

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capacities of the body, because in the thousands of years before modern technological medicine, peoples the world over developed some remarkably consistent healing practices often involving little more than one person helping another without benefit of an extensive pharmacopoeia or the presently familiar diagnostics, life-saving devices, and technology such as lab tests, blood transfusions, respirators, and resuscitators, to mention only a few. As one such native healing tradition found throughout the world, shamanism provides a unique perspective. A distinctive characteristic of shamanism is that the shaman enters a trance state and makes a 'journey' to the Upper, Middle, or Lower World on behalf of the patient, typically to the accompaniment of percussive sound, most often provided by drumming (Eliade 1964:5,347n,456; Eliade 1987; Harne, 1980a, 1988b:7).

Shamanism is occasionally given more or less cursory acknowledgment as an ancient, perhaps interesting, religious healing practice but probably unfathomable and minimally important to modern healing. Very little serious attention has been given to shamanism in psychological or biomedical research. Some important exceptions include Achterberg (1985), Ackerknecht (1971), Boyer, Boyer and De Vos (1982), Boyer, Klopfer, Brawer and Kawai (1964), Ervin, Palmour, Murphy, Prince and Simons (1988), Jilek (1974, 1982), Neher (1962), Noll (1983), Prince (1982), and Simons, Ervin and Prince (1988). The study of shamanism offers a striking interdisciplinary opportunity for which there have been calls (Harner 1980a:xiv,52; Jilek 1982; Neher 1961, 1962; Prince 1982a, 1982b, 1982c). It has been variously claimed that such research has been avoided because "neurophysiologists and neurochemists have had little interest in religious experience, and anthropologists have lacked competence in the basic sciences" (Prince 1982b:301), that "Psychology ... has turned away from such concerns, and for obvious reasons has concentrated increasingly on more limited and manipulable phenomena", in reference to "elementary forms of experience" such as the connection between the "music of the drum" and the evocation of emotion, and that science does not provide the tools to actualize such an empirical test (Needham 1967:607).

The present exploratory study, drawing on information and technology particular to psychology, anthropology, and psychoneuroimmunology, was undertaken as a first attempt to gain an indication of some of the practical consequences of shamanism for contemporary psychology. Cross-cultural study of shamanism has revealed common "methods for achieving well-being and health" (Harner 1980a:xviii). Because percussive sound, especially the drum, is used throughout the world to initiate and accompany the shamanic trance and journey (Eliade 1964:168; Harner 1980a:50; Needham 1967:606), it is proposed that the drumming itself may have an effect on emotion and physiological state relevant to healing. Laboratory study of auditory driving revealed a number of subjective responses, including "fear, astonishment, amusement, back pulsing, muscle tightening, stiffness in chest, tone in background, humming, rattling, visual and auditory imagery" (Neher 1961:450-451). Based on the premises that the percussive sound may have the potential to activate physical or mental properties or processes (Goldman 1952; Neher 1961, 1962; O'Flanagan and Gibson 1951) and may aid in the healing process, preliminary research was undertaken to examine Salivary Immunoglobulin A (S-IgA) and Salivary Immunoglobulin M (S-IgM) responses as well as feelings of anxiety and of well-being. The purpose of this study was to explore the relation between the effects of shamanic drumming, immune response and mood states. It was expected that there would be changes in immune response and in affect from predrumming to postdrumming. Because a health- enhancing effect was anticipated, it was also expected that anxiety would decrease and well-being would increase, in general.

Method

Subjects

Ten participants, 6 women and 4 men, 35-60 years of age, all of whom had received training and were practised in the procedure, served as their own controls and were selected to maximize effect, to minimize variability due to individual differences and to avoid confounding due to skepticism. Sample size was necessarily limited by the logistical difficulties in locating and testing such uniquely experienced individuals.

Apparatus

Each participant using his or her own tape recorder and player with earphones and Dolby soundreduction made a journey to the accompaniment of taped drumming (Harner 1980b:Side A, a steady, regular beat at the rate of about 257 beats per minute) for twenty-seven minutes (cf. Harner 1988a) with the express purpose of activating the immune response. Saliva samples were collected in sterile plastic cups with lids, labeled, and immediately refrigerated. Participants also completed Speilberger's State Trait Anxiety Inventory, STAI, (State version only) and Schlosser's Well-Being Scale (WBS-58). WBS-58 is a preliminary, refined version of WBS-36. Filler items in WBS-36 were omitted in accordance with Schlosser's proposal (Schlosser, 1990: 137) as were three items not appropriate to current state and 35 new items were added. The Physical, Cognitive, and Affective Well- Being subscales were maintained from the original Well-Being Scale items (B. Schlosser, personal communication).

Procedure

Three saliva samples were collected for two minutes at approximately thirty-minute intervals as follows: (1) thirty minutes before journeying; (2) just prior to journeying; and (3) immediately after journeying. This permitted evaluation of the stability in the immune measures prior to the drumming treatment as well as evaluation of differences from pre- to posttreatment. While making the journey, participants simultaneously narrated their experiences which were taped. This was expected not to interrupt their journey, as they were practised in the technique of simultaneous narration and taping.

Immediately after providing the first and last saliva samples, the participants completed the anxiety and well-being inventories. Finally, they answered a brief questionnaire regarding demographic information and current health status, as well as their present and prior history with journeying.

The entire procedure took place in one group evening session in order to standardize the experience and because most shamanic journeying in traditional cultures takes place at night. Salivary IgA and Salivary IgM were assayed because the sampling procedure is non-invasive and the specimens easily obtained. The studies by Green and Green cited above indicate that evaluation of S-IgA has the potential for providing promising

data with regard to upper respiratory disease and dental caries. Assay of S-IgM was added because it could be evaluated from the same sample, is relevant to a different disease state, Epstein-Barr virus, and might act as a further check on immune response to drumming.

At the outset, the participants signed an informed consent statement which briefly described the purpose and procedures of the research. They were also verbally informed of the purpose, given an opportunity to ask questions, and assured that they could drop out at any time. One person of the original eleven who appeared for the session did, in fact, choose not to participate. Participants were requested not to drink alcohol in the 24 hours prior to meeting. Following the session, participants were again given the opportunity to discuss the project and to ask questions.

The saliva samples were analysed by MetPath Laboratories, using nephelometry to determine the presence and amounts of S-IgA and S-IgM. The STAI was scored for anxiety state and the Well- Being inventory scored for Total well-being as well as for Cognitive, Affective, and Physical Well-Being, respectively. In addition, the recorded journeys were analysed for length of verbalizations.

Results

All subjects were experienced in journeying, from one to seven years, and practised from one to sixteen times per month. Six had journeyed within the week prior to the experimental session. Three participants described themselves a 'night' persons, six as 'day' persons, and one as 'both'. Three subjects had colds (#5, 6, and 7) at the time of the session and three were taking medication ('Prozak,' fluoxetine hydrochloride, #4; 'thyroid and vitamins', #10; and, 'Benadryl cough syrup', #5).

The mean results of all assessments indicate a tendency to increase from pretreatment to posttreatment, except anxiety which decreases (see Table 1). Mean S-IgA concentration increased from predrumming to postdrumming as did S-IgM concentration. Mean Total Well-Being scores increased in both the short and long scales from predrumming to postdrumming. Physical Well-Being and Cognitive Well-Being mean scores increased, but Affective Well-Being mean scores decreased from pre- to postdrumming.

Because of the influence of one participant's extreme responses on three of the four instruments, a second set of summary data, omitting that individual's scores, is also included (see Table 2).

This resulted in an even greater decrease in mean Anxiety score from pre- to postdrumming. In addition, the mean Affective Well- Being score reversed direction to that predicted; that is, the Affective Well-Being mean score increased at Postdrumming. Mean S-IgA did not increase as much and mean S-IgM increased more.

These results are consistent with the hypotheses that there would be changes in immune response, that anxiety would decrease and well-being increase. For none of the measures did the pretreatment means differ significantly from the post-treatment means at the $p < .05$ level on repeated measures ANOVA. The changes in the means are, however, in the required direction to meet the expectation of the hypotheses, but they do not quite meet requirements for significance.

Table 1

Means and Ranges by Assessment at Pre- and Posttreatment

	Pretreatment			Posttreatment		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
S-IgA§	6.41*	5.045	1.5-18.0	8.57*	5.992	2.1-22.8
S-IgM§	1.56*	1.24	0-4.4	2.1*	3.239	0-10.4
STAI	29	5.754	23-40	25	4.876	20-34
WBS-58	309.5	56.419	225-397	323.5	81.432	117-404
WBS-22	119.8	18.866	95-147	122.8	35.382	35-158
PWB	41.8	7.554	28-49	45.4	13.309	12-58
CWB	36.3	6.684	25-46	37.6	9.287	16-48
AWB	36.0	6.253	26-47	35.3	11.671	7-47

n=10; * ML/DL; § no reference range established for S-IgA and S-IgM; Ranges possible for STAI = 20-80, for WBS-58 = 0-464; for WBS-22 = 0-176, for PWB = 0-64, for CWB = 0-48, for AWB = 0-56.

Because the data are essentially supportive of consistency with the hypotheses, effect size was used as a means to determine the relevance of the data to the hypotheses. Effect size of the treatment was gauged by calculating r and determining the size sample that would be required to reach significance at the $p < .05$ level. Instead of the 10 subjects available, 354 would have been required for well-being, 15 for anxiety, 168 for S-IgA and 89 for S-IgM to reach significance at $p < .05$.

Table 2

Means and Ranges by Assessment at Pre- and Posttreatment

	Pretreatment			Posttreatment		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
S-IgA§	6.411*	5.351	1.5-18.0	6.988*	3.504	2.1-12.4
S-IgM§	1.544*	1.39	0-4.4	3.111*	3.543	0-10.4
STAI	29.666	5.678	23-40	23	9.836	20-34
WBS-58	246.333	149.819	225-397	346.44	39.213	279.5-404
WBS-22	121.444	19.236	95-147	132.555	18.378	105-158
PWB	42.222	7.886	28-49	49.111	6.669	41-58
CWB	36.666	6.982	25-46	40	5.6789	31-48
AWB	32.888	12.046	26-47	38.444	6.482	28-47

n=9; * ML/DL; § no reference range established for S-IgA and S-IgM; Ranges possible for STAI = 20-80, for WBS-58 = 0-464, for WBS-22 = 0-176, for PWB = 0-64, for CWB = 0-48, for AWB = 0- 56.

If the pre-treatment S-IgA scores are averaged and subject #4 is omitted as an extreme outlier, then the number of subjects required drops to 15; likewise, by omitting the S-IgM score of subject #4, the number of subjects required to reach the $p < .05$ level of significance drops to 17. Keeping in mind that subject #4 was medicated with fluoxetine hydrochloride, this adjustment appears justified.

If subject #2, with the aberrant well-being score, were excluded from consideration, only 12 subjects would be required for the well- being differences between pre- and

postdrumming conditions to reach $p < .05$ level of significance. Support for such a strategy is not immediately obvious, except for the observation that this participant's change in well-being was so extreme and in the opposite direction from the group trend.

As a group, the participants initially averaged low on state anxiety as measured by the STAI and at postdrumming this tendency was strengthened (see Table 3). Nine of the ten subjects showed change in anxiety scores at post-test. Anxiety decreased for six subjects by a mean of 8.1 points, increased for 3 subjects by a mean of 3 points, and remained the same (very low anxiety level) for one subject.

Table 3

Comparison of Mean Anxiety Scores with Spielberger's Norms for Working Adults

	Working Adults*		Predrumming Participants			Postdrumming Participants		
	M	F	M	F	Group	M	F	Group
Mean	35.72	35.20	26.75	30.50	29.00	26.25	20.83	25.00
SD	10.4	10.61	4.11	6.53	5.75	6.13	10.87	4.88

* Norm adapted from Spielberger (1983:5). Possible range = 20-80.

The tendency for well-being to increase, as hypothesized, is reflected in a similar trend for each of the versions, WBS-58 and its sub- set WBS-22. Total Well-Being (WBS-58) scores increased in seven participants. The predrumming overall well-being item mean was found to be 4.35, corresponding to 'moderately' experiencing well-being on average and postdrumming overall item mean increased to 5.58, corresponding to 'very much' experiencing well-being on average.

S-IgM concentration increased from pretreatment 2 (immediately prior to drumming) to posttreatment in four subjects; it decreased in four and remained the same (undetectable) in two. In seven individuals, posttreatment S-IgA concentrations increased over pretreatment 2 concentrations. Particularly striking is the increase observed for Subject #2.

Subject #2 showed aberrant responses on three assessments and this individual's responses impacted the group results in the following ways. Well-being and S-IgM concentration decreased dramatically, while S-IgA concentration increased to an uncharacteristically high level. Anxiety remained unchanged. When subject #2 is removed from consideration, the S-IgA average change is reduced, but the group tendency continues to increase from pre- to posttreatment measures. Average S-IgM increase is even greater, as is average Total Well-Being (including all three components, Physical Well-Being, Cognitive Well-Being, and Affective Well-Being), and mean anxiety decreases more when Subject #2 is removed from consideration.

Affective Well-Being decreases from pretreatment to posttreatment when all subjects are grouped together and the data analysed, but when Subject #2 is omitted from the analysis, Affective Well- Being increases overall. In the case of Subject #2, pretest well-being was initially low and dropped to the lowest in the group on posttest analysis. For the same subject, at pretest, both S-IgA and S-IgM were initially at about mid- range; at posttest the S-IgA level rose to the highest level, while S-IgM decreased to zero. Anxiety for this subject was low at the outset and remained unchanged at posttest.

On the STAI, no change is noted for any subject in response to the following statements about anxiety: (1) I am presently worrying over possible misfortunes; (2) I feel

frightened; and, (3) I am jittery. In addition, nine of the ten participants remained unchanged in their responses to two statements: (1) I feel nervous and (2) I am worried. In all cases the responses are at or next to the non-anxious end of the STAI scale on these questions. On the statement, 'I am tense', the five subjects at the lowest end of the scale remain there and the remaining five decrease in anxiety from predrumming to postdrumming. In response to the statement, 'I am relaxed', one subject became less relaxed, three remained the same (at or next to the most relaxed limit), and six became more relaxed. Five participants expressed greater security and five remained the same (already secure). In no instance does S-IgA decrease when anxiety increases.

With respect to feelings of well-being, eight participants noted increased tranquillity and increased physical and mental balance. Seven reported feelings of increased strength, contentment, self-esteem and health. Further observations reveal that S-IgA and S-IgM tend to increase as Total, Physical, and Cognitive Well-Being increase and Anxiety tends to decrease as each, Physical Well-Being, Cognitive Well-Being, and Affective Well-Being, increases.

There are no obviously consistent relationships between subject characteristics and the results of the assessments. It is interesting to note that the longest journey transcripts were provided by two of the three self-described 'night' people; the third 'night' person's recording could not be transcribed because it was undecipherable due to a technical problem. Also, both S-IgA and S-IgM decreased in the participant medicated with fluoxetine hydrochloride and the one medicated with 'Thyroid and vitamins', but not for the one taking cough syrup. The recordings corroborated the expectation that narrating and recording the journeys would not interfere with the journey itself, for all subjects recorded journeys.

Of the three participants reporting colds, S-IgM decreased to zero for two (#5 and #7) – both 'day' persons – and increased considerably for one (#6) – a 'night' person. S-IgA also increased considerably for subject #6, slightly for #5, and decreased slightly for #7.

Eight participants reported feeling some physical discomfort prior to journeying, while after journeying, only two reported such feelings. In addition, five subjects volunteered feelings of body vibration after the treatment session; none reported such sensations before the drumming. Eight volunteered that they felt relaxed or peaceful afterwards, compared to four who reported feeling relaxed prior to treatment.

Discussion

This preliminary study indicates that, although there were no findings statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level, the results were all in the direction required for satisfaction of the hypotheses. When effect size is taken into consideration, significance could be expected at reasonable sample sizes. For Anxiety, 15 subjects would be adequate. If the apparent outliers are truly that, significance could be expected at sample sizes of 12, 15, and 17 subjects, for Well-Being, S-IgA, and S-IgM, respectively; if not, sample sizes of 352, 168, and 89, respectively, would be required to reach significance.

If future controlled studies confirm the trends found in the present observations, there may be the possibility of a drumming therapy for some physical and emotional ailments such as colds, anxiety, and low sense of well-being for some people.

The trends look most promising for future studies of S-IgA, anxiety, and well-being. S-IgM results are the most problematic, with no clear trend, except that change occurs in the present study for eight of ten subjects, and this, in itself, may become important as

more is understood about the mechanisms of this particular immune response. One reason that the S-IgM response data are unclear may be that not everyone in the study may have been exposed to the Epstein-Barr virus or have antibodies specific to it.

By comparison, S-IgA is specific to upper respiratory disease and dental caries, for which probably all participants are likely to have the appropriate antibodies ready to be stimulated. This may account for the difference in responses between S-IgA and S-IgM. Another reason the results are not more clear may have to do with the fact that there was only one experimental drumming session and it lasted only approximately one-half hour. Some native healing rituals may last several hours or longer, may continue for several consecutive nights, or may involve 'booster' sessions. Also, postdrumming measures were made only directly after the treatment session. Follow-up measures several hours and one or more days later may provide more revealing data. In addition, full-frequency, live drumming would be expected to increase response over that obtained with audio-taped drumming. It may also be that the process of providing saliva specimens and responding to questionnaires may interfere with the effects.

Is there a health effect? As an exploratory study, the present investigation does not rule out the possible effectiveness of journeying to the sound and monotonous beat of the drum in activating the immune system, in enhancing well-being, and in reducing anxiety. At this point further study is needed.

In future studies, it would be useful to collect data on the medical history of participants and perhaps use a symptom check list as well as a personality inventory in order to clarify aberrant results and to lead to further hypothesizing about the effects relative to these variables. Tracking these data over time could also be an informative adjunct to continued research on the effect of drumming on health. In addition to S-IgA and S-IgM response, another measure of immune function in which blood samples are assayed according to their response to phytohemagglutinin (PHA) and concanavalin (ConA) is proposed, along the lines adopted by Pennebaker, Kiecolt-Glaser, and Glaser (1988).

Differential effects of drumming on the shaman (who is journeying) and the patient (who is not journeying) deserve particular attention. In an upcoming study, various aspects of the therapeutic process (physiological, cognitive, and communicative) will be examined. Studies with larger numbers of subjects, multiple treatments, comparisons of the effects of live drumming versus taped drumming, a control group that listens to a different kind of sound, a patterned rhythm of drumming, or the tape in the present investigation without journeying are all projects likely to contribute to the understanding of what relationship exists between shamanic drumming and some aspects of health.

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The language of the Voguls living in Western Siberia is related to Hungarian. This language – one of the very few among the Uralian languages – has had no scientific dictionary this far. Only glossaries with up to 3,000 words have been available and these cannot give a real picture of the Vogulian vocabulary. Neither can they be of assistance when texts from Vogulian are to be translated.

The present dictionary with its 15,000 or so words comprises almost the entire territory where Vogulian is spoken. As the words were recorded as early as in 1888-89, the work is also of historical importance. The original entries are amended by the editor's own collection of words (in brackets) from the Northern dialect.

The meaning of a word is given both in Hungarian and in German. The equivalents of sample sentences are explained only in German.

A German and Hungarian index completes the work. These indexes can simultaneously serve also as a German-Vogulian or Hungarian-Vogulian dictionary.

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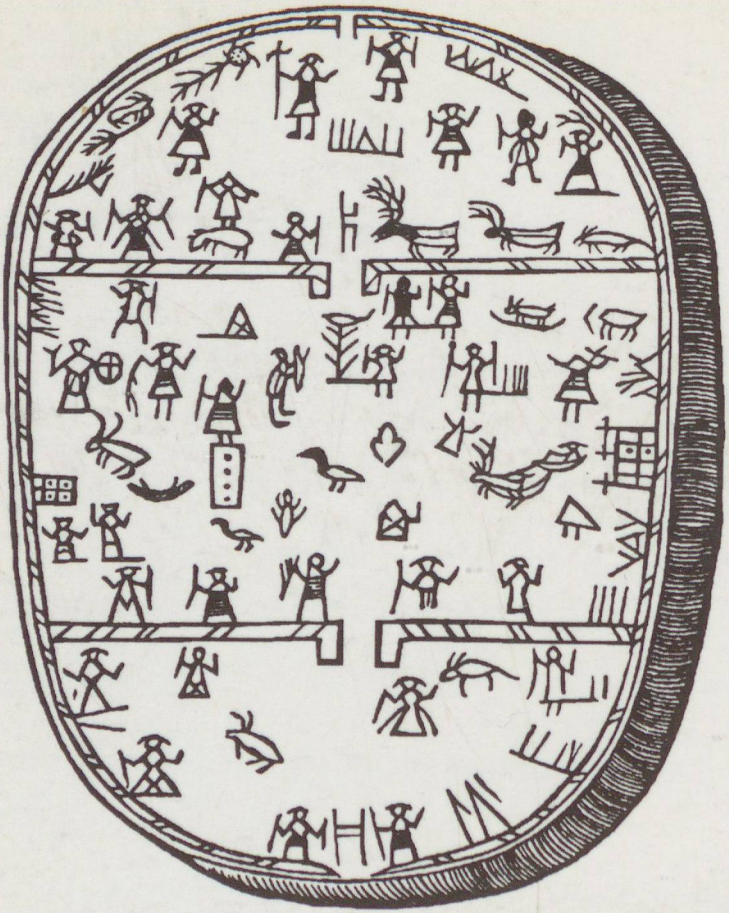

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