

POPULAR BELIEFS
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FOLKLORE TRADITION
IN SIBERIA

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IN MEMORIAM ANTAL REGULY
(1819–1858)



Reguly Antal

Introduction

In 1850 a modestly produced book appeared in Hungary. It was entitled *Reguly-Album* and issued by the Reguly Society. The volume contained contributions by distinguished authors of contemporary Hungarian literature, short stories, poems, plays, and also a few scholarly papers. On the faded pages the readers found treatises about Hungarian pre-history, and became acquainted with problems of Hungarian heroic saga; Ferenc Toldy devoted a rather extensive study to the actual results of research concerning ethnic and linguistic affinities between the Finno-Ugrian peoples, as well as Antal Reguly's travels in Finland, Russia and Siberia, treated from the point of view of the scientific objective this great researcher had set for himself. With this volume the scholars and authors wished to express their deep respect for Reguly whose health was by that time seriously impaired.

After finishing his university courses in Pest, and his preliminary studies in various libraries of Germany, Sweden, Finland and Russia, Reguly set out on journeys in the Finnish, Lappish, Vogul and Ostyak areas, and spent longer periods of time with the Samoyeds, the Zyrian, Cheremiss, Votyak, Chuvash and other peoples. His primary interest lay in Finno-Ugrian linguistic affinities, in the relationships of the Hungarian language with the other Finno-Ugrian languages. The scholars in Stockholm and Helsinki all backed him, and the pride of Finnish science, M. A. Castrén, gave him valuable instructions; and also the *Kalevala* published in 1835 had a stimulating effect on him. In the centre of Russian education, he perfected his knowledge of Russian, but he also learned some other languages, such as Komi, Mari, Mordvinian, Chuvash and Turkish. He endeavoured further to get acquainted with the ethnography, geography, anthropology and history of the Asiatic peoples, in which effort he extended his interest to China, as well as to the Mongolian and Iranian territories.

An essay of his, is evidence enough of his having been well versed in the history and language of the Mongols.¹ He gave due consideration to the cultural interrelations between the various ethnic groups, and the mutual influence that may exist between the various languages. He paid particular attention to Asiatic religion since he was deeply aware of the great influence that the religious beliefs had exercised on the formation of the Asiatic mind and intellect. While dealing with studies like these, he never lost sight of his main object which was to investigate the languages, traditions and way of life of the Finno-Ugrian nations. The Hungarian Academy of Sciences and his Russian friends supplied him with the means that enabled him to begin the series of field-trips to the various Finno-Ugrian and Turk-

¹ A dzungárokról és azoknak a magyarokkal állított fajrokonosságáról (About the Dzungars and their alleged relationship with the Hungarians), in *Magyar Akadémia Értesítő* (Bulletin of the Hungarian Academy) X, Pest 1850, pp. 155-68.

ish peoples which took him three years to finish. Antal Reguly's field research in the Vogul and Ostyak regions is of greatest importance not only for its linguistic value but also for the material it had contributed to the ethnography and geography of the area concerned. One of the results of his geographical observations was a map which he published in St. Petersburg in 1846 under the title *Ethnographisch-geographische Karte des nördlichen Uralgebietes, entworfen auf einer Reise in den Jahren 1844 und 1845 von Anton Reguly*. The map was executed according to the cartographical methods of the time.² Reguly marked the boundaries of regions where tillage, animal-breeding, or forest husbandry were carried on. In the Vogul-inhabited areas he indicated the place of each hunting hut, the yurts of the nomadic reindeer-breeders, the names of owners, the strip of land on which they usually wandered throughout the summer periods of pasturing, and he also indicated the water courses for the boats.

When Antal Reguly returned from Siberia, the learned circles in Hungary – and primarily the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – were looking forward to the publication of his results. But Reguly could never again recover strength enough to publish his invaluable collection. The material he brought home had to wait for some time to be worked up and published by other researchers of the Finno-Ugrian languages and ethnography. The first work of considerable scope and importance in this line was that of Pál Hunfalvy (*A vogul föld és nép* [The Vogul Territory and People]), a monograph on the ethnography of this people, based on Antal Reguly's notes and published in 1864, at Budapest. The extremely copious material of folk poetry in Reguly's collection was successively published by Bernát Munkácsi, partly by József Pápay and subsequently by Miklós Zsirai. For the elaboration of finds thanks are due to József Budenz.³ A considerable part of Reguly's manuscripts are still in need of further elaboration.

It is a matter of general knowledge that Reguly had cherished far-reaching plans. He had envisaged, amongst other schemes, the publication of a large-scale comprehensive work dealing (1) with earlier history of Finno-Ugrian research, (2) with his own field research; (3) he wanted to publish his Vogul, Ostyak, Cheremiss etc. texts, together with the necessary explana-

² A detailed discussion of the Map appeared in No. 20 of St. Petersburger Zeitung, 1847. Later on, J. Pápay entered into thoroughgoing discussion of the Map in a treatise: Reguly Antal uráli térképe (Antal Reguly's Map of Ural), in *Földrajzi Közlemények* (Geographical Bulletin) XXXV, Budapest 1906.

³ Of the relevant literature, the following standard works are worthy of mention: B. Munkácsi, *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény* (Collection of Vogul Folk Poetry), Vols I, II, and IV, Budapest 1892–1921; J. Pápay, *Osztyák népköltési gyűjtemény* (Collection of Ostyak Folk Poetry); *Dritte asiatische Forschungsreise des Grafen Eugen Zichy*, Vol. 5. Budapest–Leipzig 1905; J. Pápay, Die Ostjakischen Heldenlieder Regulys. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* XXX, 36, Helsinki 1913–1918; J. Pápay, *Északi osztyák medvénekek* (Bear Songs of the Northern Ostyaks), 1934; M. Zsirai, *Osztyák (chanti) hősnékek* (Ostyak [Khanti] Heroic Songs). From the unpublished material of A. Reguly and J. Pápay, Vol. I. Budapest 1944, Vol. II. Budapest 1951; J. Budenz, Cseremisz tanulmányok (Cheremiss Studies), *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Linguistic Bulletin) Vol. III, Pest 1864, pp. 397–470, Vol. IV, Pest 1865, pp. 48–105; J. Budenz, *Erdei és hegyi cseremisz szótár* (Forest- and Mountain-Cheremiss Vocabulary), *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Linguistic Bulletin), Vol. 4, Pest 1865, pp. 48–105; J. Budenz, Mordvin közlések (Mordvinian Papers), *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Linguistic Bulletin), Vol. 5. Pest, pp. 81–238.

tory notes and studies, as well as the dictionaries and grammars of these languages; (4) it was also his intention to write a handbook on the history, geography and ethnography of the eastern Finno-Ugrian peoples.⁴

Antal Reguly did not have time to carry out his plans and schemes, nevertheless it is owing to no small measure to his activity that so many worthy scholars of Hungarian linguistics and ethnography focussed attention on the Finno-Ugrian peoples. It was in his wake that Bernát Munkácsi went on research expeditions to the Votyak and Vogul areas, and Károly Pápai, József Pápay and János Jankó visited the Ostyak settlements. Incited by Antal Reguly, Finno-Ugrian research in Hungary arrived at a flourishing stage where the study of these peoples were advanced by such outstanding scholars as — to continue the list — József Szinnyi, Ödön Beke, Dávid Fokos-Fuchs, Irén Sebestyén, etc.

The present volume is dedicated by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to the memory of Antal Reguly. It should not only remind us of the genius and achievement of the great scholar but it is also meant to reveal the close connection that exists between Finno-Ugrian research, on the one hand, and the exposition of folk culture throughout northern Eurasia, on the other. The countless problems of folklore of the various ethnic groups ranging from the westernmost Lapps to the numerous East-Siberian tribes are so intricately entangled, so closely linked up with one another, that a true solution can only be obtained by a complex method of research, which—instead of narrowing down—strives to broaden our approach to the fullest possible extent. Recent investigations into the ethnography of the Finno-Ugrian peoples and Finno-Ugrian linguistics readily support this outlook: they all bear witness to the fact that the present-day cultural circumstances of the Ob-Ugrians can only be clarified in the light of results concerning the folklore of the Paleo-Siberian peoples.

Our volume contains papers by researchers of several countries. The methods are varied with which they elucidate the problems of North-Eurasian shamanism, totemism, burial rites and other phenomena approached, in particular cases, from the angle of ethnography, ethnology, folklore, linguistics, history, archeology, etc. However, the understanding maintained by all contributors is uniform in so far as they are convinced that it is only through international cooperation that the solution of the relevant problems can be promoted. It is very gratifying to see the experts of several nations contributing to this volume in commemoration of Antal Reguly, and setting such an example of international cooperation.

The topics dealt with by the various authors are essentially connected with each other. It has been considered more serviceable to issue such a book than a collection of thematically diverse essays. Questions of shamanism, bear-cult, totemism, sacrificial rites, customs, hunters' rites stand in the foreground of ethnological research, and the authors have contributed by valuable new data, discoveries or theories to what we have already known from the literature. In all likelihood, a great number of particular data, such as are contained in this volume, will have to be published before so substantially comprehensive up-to-date works can be issued

⁴ M. Zsirai, *Finnugor rokonságunk* (Our Finno-Ugrian Relations), Budapest 1937, 519 p.

on the theme as were the books of U. Harva, D. Zelenin, M. G. Levin, and L. P. Potapov at the time of their publication.⁵ May this memorial volume to Reguly be a contribution to further syntheses.

The difficult task of editing has been undertaken by Vilmos Diószegi to whom, also in the name of the Ethnological Commission of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, we herewith express our sincerest thanks. Our gratitude is also due to the collaborators whose contributions from Leningrad, Berlin, Stockholm, etc. has made it possible for us to offer this volume *in memoriam Antal Reguly* with such a rich content to the benefit of ethnology.

Béla Gunda

⁵ U. Harva, Die Religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker, in *FFC*, 125, Helsinki 1938; (D. Zelenin) Д. Зеленин: *Культ идолов в Сибири* (Idol Cult in Siberia), Moscow-Leningrad 1936, French translation: D. Zélénine: *Le culte des Idoles en Sibérie*, Paris 1952; (M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov) М. Г. Левин-Л. П. Потопов: *Народы Сибири* (The Peoples of Siberia), Moscow-Leningrad 1956, English translation: M.G. Levin and L.P. Potapov: *The Peoples of Siberia*, Chicago and London 1964.

Antal Reguly

by

J. Kodolányi Jr., Budapest

From the time of Friar Julian's¹ oriental journey Hungarian scholars have shown an ever-increasing interest in discovering the kindred peoples of the Magyars, and trying to prove the relationship. Many zealous investigators ransacked Hungarian history in order to set up theories—usually without any solid basis—concerning the Magyars' racial or cultural connections with various ethnic groups, but there were few who could support their hypothesis with acceptable evidence. Lack of adequate knowledge and thorough preparatory studies, as well as the false pride that manifested itself in refusing kinship with 'unworthy' peoples gave rise to obscure propositions and untenable, though fanciful theories, some of which gravely obstructed the progress of more serious research conducted by investigators who happened to hit upon the right road.

Although Hungarian research produced famous pioneers such as Sándor Kőrösi Csoma (who was not genuinely interested in the affinity of the Finno-Ugrian languages), Mátyás Bél, András Huszti, János Sajnovics and Sámuel Gyarmathi, the discovery of the relationship between the Hungarian and the other Finno-Ugrian languages is due to West- and North-European travellers and scholars. Nevertheless, the contributions of the Hungarian scholars Sajnovics and Gyarmathi were most significant in this respect. They used methods of comparative linguistics in proving the relationship. Unfortunately, however, they did not have sufficient knowledge about the peoples concerned.

Antal Reguly² was the first Hungarian linguist to base his studies on the material he collected for himself among the Finno-Ugrian peoples. His aim

¹ Friar Julian was a Dominican who, during the reign of King Andrew II of Hungary, not long before the Mongol invasion in the first half of the 13th century, set out with three other members of the same order to discover those tribes of the Magyars who were left behind in the Eastern European homeland. After a long and perilous journey he alone reached a region near the Volga where he found a people speaking a language the sound of which made him feel that he discovered the Magyars who had been separated from the Hungarians of the Carpathian Basin at the dawn of their written history. He returned to Hungary towards the end of 1236 and soon afterwards submitted a report on his journey to Rome. In 1237 he set out again, but turned back because information had reached him that the advancing Mongolian hordes had devastated the region he was planning to go to. A description of his first journey is known from a report sent to Pope Gregory IX by the Dominican Friar Richard, a copy of which has come down to us in a Vatican codex (*Liber Censuum*) dating back to the end of the 13th century.

² Antal Reguly, born on 13th July, 1819 at Zirc (Veszprém county), attended secondary school at Székesfehérvár from 1828 till 1834, then studied for law at the Academy of Győr from 1834 till 1836 and at the University of Pest from 1836 till 1839. When leaving for Germany in 1838, he originally wanted to continue his legal studies. Attracted by Scandinavian culture, he proceeded still farther to the north; studying in the Royal Library of Stockholm and certain acquaintances from the scientific world directed his interest to the Finno-Ugrian peoples and languages.

was (a) to gather evidence which would support their linguistic relationship, (b) to clarify the origin of the Hungarian people and (c) to complete the work which had been conducted before him. He failed during his life-time to reach any decisive conclusions, because Reguly like so many other philologists of his time lacked appropriate scientific training. An even greater handicap was illness, which often caused delays, prevented him from writing down and arranging his material and eventually caused his untimely death.

As a young man, who prepared for the career of a statesman and studied law, he did not acquire the qualifications of an ethnographer or a linguist and did not know much about anthropology and cartography. But the study of history left a deep impression on him. He travelled extensively in Northern Hungary, Austria, Moravia and Galicia and, after finishing his studies, made a four-month tour of Western Europe. He visited Vienna and Prague, then went to Saxony, Prussia and the Island of Rügen and, through Rostock, to Hamburg. A romantic imagination drove him on to Copenhagen and Stockholm; eager to get acquainted with the rugged world of the North, to see the aurora borealis and to learn more about the progressive institutions of Scandinavia, he continued his journey.

Reguly spent a month in Sweden, from October 6th to November 5th, 1839. Brief as his stay was, it became a turning-point in his life. There he met and had exhaustive conversations with the Finnish poet Arvidson, who aroused his ambition to search for the origin of the Hungarians and investigate their relationship to other Finno-Ugrian peoples. Faced with hundreds of problems, he decided then and there to devote his life's work to the solution of these problems. There was no turning back now: he travelled to Finland, made long tours among the Finns and the Saams (Lapps), acquired a thorough mastery of the Finnish language and undertook profuse linguistic and ethnographic studies, under the guidance of Castrén.

In a letter dated October 20th, 1840, he disclosed his plans in the following words: 'It means that I want to spend next winter in Lapland: this will be the practical part of my studies. I hope to sail on October 20th up to Umeå through the Gulf of Bothnia and from there to the Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish Lapps in Kola, then to the Arkhangelsk and Olonets provinces and the Lagoda region, and finally back to Helsingfors. This will permit me to study the influence of Russian on the Finnish language.' Further on he writes: 'But to give a complete sketch of my plan, which I owe you, let me say that in April I intend to go—provided I have the means—to St. Petersburg, a city I regard as the point of departure for any journey to the Eastern Finns. I shall have to spend some time there in order to become acquainted with Russian scholars and obtain instructions from them and means from the sources available there for my further undertakings. It would be a good thing if I could spend some time in the region of Moscow in order to continue my sorely needed Russian studies. Then in the summer I would visit Nizhni Novgorod to whose markets people swarm from all parts of Russia, and from Central Asia, too. There I would gain experience which several months of travel elsewhere could not provide me. My trip to Southern Russia would be undertaken on the basis of information thus obtained. Next winter I would be busy studying Turkish in Turkey—again if I can afford it—and the whole trip would be

wound up by a visit to the Csángós of Moldavia and the Székely population of Transylvania. Of course, the larger the number of languages covered, the more fruitful any studies in the field of comparative philology would be. Just as my knowledge of Finnish is of use to me in my studies in Lappish, so also will these two languages will help me to learn Turkish, for today no one doubts the relationship between the Turkic and the Finnic tongues.³

Reguly's interest in linguistics is stressed again in another letter addressed to his parents: 'At present the investigation of languages attracts me most'.⁴

His interest went far beyond linguistics, as can be seen not only from his life-work but also from his research program he outlined in a report addressed to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on May 2nd, 1842.

'The first part is the groundwork, which should therefore be examined and defined with mature deliberation if we wish to see the problem thoroughly investigated, and if we do not wish to work in vain. The aim being a linguistic one, I must approach it by means of linguistic method. Since peoples speaking related languages must also be ethnically related, this method, which is the only secure and infallible one for ascertaining the kinship of peoples long since separated, will at the same time establish a basis for historical analysis which will frame the second sphere of our tasks concerning the problems of relationship of these peoples. Once the linguistic part has been clarified and defined, we must deal with the ethnographic and historical aspects in order to provide a full discussion of the question. Hence, I have made it my duty to observe during my journey everything related to the looks, work, character, way of living, dress, customs, superstitions, mythology and material culture of the peoples concerned.'⁵

If we examine the above quotation in the light of Reguly's life-work, we can, and should, emphasize three significant features, which, in our opinion, have failed so far to receive the attention they deserve. These are: first of all his interest in ethnography, secondly the importance he attached to the exploration of the mythology of the Ob-Ugrian peoples and thirdly his recognition of the two corner-stones of Hungarian ethnogenetic research—Finno-Ugric and Turkic. Considering his possibilities and the means at his disposal, we can hardly reproach him for his not having carried out all the research tasks he had outlined.

This bold pioneer started the execution of his vast plan by visiting the Baltic Finns. Later, in 1841, he went to St. Petersburg. The letters of introduction with which he was provided, and his engaging manners soon won for him many friends and patrons among the scholars and officials in the Russian capital. It was with their aid that he studied and prepared himself for the long journey and self-imposed task of seeking out the East-European, and particularly the Trans-Uralian peoples related to the Magyars. He never stopped studying but went on without respite even when illness and exhaustion would have made a rest imperative. He became thoroughly familiar with anthropology, ethnology, history, archaeology, geography and above all, of course, with linguistics. An inextinguishable thirst for knowledge, a definitive trait of his mind, drove him further and further, until he was able to understand the profound unity of things he had sensed at the

³ Toldy (1850) pp. XXIX-XXX.

⁴ Toldy (1850) p. XXXV.

⁵ Pápay (1905) pp. 4-5.

bottom of the vast mass of details. His work would perhaps have been more efficient if he had restricted his field of interest to the study of some well-defined actual research problems of his time. But Reguly could not be content with that: he undertook responsibility for others. He realized that the valuable material still available for the collectors of his epoch was rapidly perishing, and was very much aware of the fact that a long time might pass before another Hungarian researcher would be able to access the geographical regions of the distant Finno-Ugrian relatives.

In the beginning his parents helped him financially, but later Reguly had to look for sponsors. A former history teacher of his appealed to the Secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, saying that in order to encourage him in his work he should be made a corresponding member. On February 8th, 1841, the Academy sent him a grant of two hundred forints, urged him to pursue his studies in Finnish and promised more help if his reports would prove to be of some value. Of course, this modest sum of money meant no real help and did not permit Reguly to start his journey to Siberia. While he was busy at his preparatory work in St. Petersburg, struggling against a double handicap of poverty and illness, his affairs at the Academy advanced only very slowly. Months went by, with hope and despair alternating. At last, towards the end of 1842, thanks to István Széchenyi who spoke in his favour, he received a grant of one thousand forints. Announcing this to his parents, Reguly writes: 'This letter has infused new life into me. My whole being is perturbed and I am hardly able to control my thoughts. So now, by a magic touch of the Academy, I have changed from a would-be Russian traveller into a Hungarian traveller.'⁶ By July, 1843, Reguly had packed and was ready to leave but the promised money had not yet arrived. Since he considered winter the most suitable season for the journey, he left on October 9th with a loan from his friend K. E. von Baer. Had he but waited a little longer, the news that he had been elected a corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy, together with the promised money would have reached him in St. Petersburg.

Reguly was harassed by financial difficulties during the whole journey. He was often ill and found himself in desperate situations. But his tremendous will-power helped him to overcome all physical trouble. Finally he completed his Siberian field work in spite of obstacles which, at times, seemed to be insurmountable, collecting much valuable material of folklore and linguistics.

He reached Nizhni Novgorod via Moscow on October 21st, and on October 27th went from there to Kazan through the Mari (Cheremiss), Chuvash and Tatar areas. He spent two weeks in Kazan, studying the Mari and the Chuvash languages and establishing contacts with local scholars. On November 8th, he moved through a Tatar-inhabited region to Malmyz, and from there, crossing the province of Vyatka, he came to the border of Perm, and reached the land of the Udmurts (Votyaks). He stayed for a week in the town of Perm and studied the geography of that province. He went on through Solikamsk and finally crossed the Ural mountains on December 4th. He had hoped to continue his journey along the Lozva river. But he made his first stop in Verkhotur'je, arriving at Vsevolodo-Blagodatski on the 15th.

⁶ Toldy (1850) p. LV.

As he passed through Mari, Chuvash, Tatar and Udmurt districts he took every opportunity to improve or extend his ethnographic knowledge of these peoples. This is clearly evident from the items he collected there.

In Vsevolodo-Blagodatski he was lucky enough to get two Mansi (Vogul) interpreters and after a short rest he began to study their language. An unusually warm friendship developed between Reguly and his interpreters who, later, revealed their innermost thoughts to him. It was through them that he obtained his first true picture of the Mansi people. 'There are some'—he wrote to Baer—'who have painted a terrifying picture of the Voguls; but they lack judgement and are badly prejudiced. They see only the strange outward form unpleasant to their eyes but don't care for what it contains; hence, they do not even suspect that there is a more human and less spoilt nature than their own at work here.'⁷ Reguly found that the Mansi were dying out and regarded only the inhabitants of the banks of the Lozva and the Pelim as the true representatives of this ethnic group. He believed that the place names of the region were of Permian origin and hence concluded that the Mansi had immigrated into the area. He supported his view by referring to the tradition of the Khanty (Ostyak) people, according to which they, too, had made their way from the south-west to their present place of inhabitation.

After a short stay in Vsevolodo-Blagodatski, the Hungarian traveller soon resumed his journey and by March 3rd, 1845 had toured all the Mansi and Khanty settlements, the regions inhabited by the Nenets (Yurak Samoyeds) and the border areas in the northernmost parts of the Ural, adjoining the Komi (Zyrian) territory. Following the instructions of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, he visited, on the way back, the Mari, Chuvash and Mordva areas in the Volga region, in spite of his recurring fits of illness. At last he returned to St. Petersburg with a rich haul of material on August 25th, 1846.

From Russia Reguly wished to go to Germany because he believed that he could do better work in arranging and classifying his collection under the guidance of German experts. Before leaving, he published his *Ethnographisch-geographische Karte des nördlichen Uralgebietes* which remained for a long time the only reliable source for later investigators—although they rarely acknowledged it. This work was given a most favourable reception by the Russian reviewers.

Unfortunately, Reguly could not carry out his plans. Wishing to recover entirely from the illness into which he had so often relapsed—sometimes very seriously—he spent some time at various hydrotherapeutic institutions. He tried to resume work whenever his health showed a slight improvement. Between two spells of treatment he came home to Hungary for a short visit in 1847. The following year he was appointed First Custodian of the University Library, but, because of the tragic end of the War of Independence, was not able to occupy this position until 1850. Even then his serious illness did not permit him to work very much. Encouraged by Ferenc Toldy and Pál Hunfalvy, he occasionally tried to concentrate on the vast material he had collected, but most of it remained as it was for decades after his death. In fact, some of his manuscripts have to this day

⁷ Toldy (1850) pp. LXXI-LXXII.

not been prepared for publication. The first edited material was given to the public by Pál Hunfalvy in a work entitled *A vogul föld és nép* (The Vogul Territory and People). Reguly, however, did not live to see the publication of this book. His death in August 1858 put an end to his scientific work and delayed the submission of the results of his journey to the researchers waiting for them all over the world.

*

As we have already mentioned, Reguly's interests were not restricted to a special branch of science or to a single topic, but ranged over a number of fields in an attempt to collect as much material as possible in order to throw light on the origin of the Magyars and to prove his hypothesis of the Finno-Ugrian kinship. There is no doubt, of course, that he gave priority to linguistics, but he was also fully aware of the importance of the cognate fields. His effort to gather the largest possible amount of data for the benefit of comparative linguistics resulted, at the same time, in the collection of an immense store of ethnographic material. During his field work, which involved several years travelling in the terrain, he recorded a great deal of linguistic material and folk poetry, listed important ethnographic and anthropological observations and collected the related objects of material culture. He also drew maps of all parts of the Ural region he had visited.

In a letter written to Baer on January 24th, 1844, he characterized the Mansi folk poetry as follows: 'Their poetry allows a division into groups of heroic songs, bear songs and lyrics; hymns and prayers constitute a fourth group. Their heroes go about in an armour of iron, wear iron or chain shirts and helmets and carry lances, etc. They sing their bear songs at bear festivities which are usually held three days after the killing of a bear. I took down six songs of this kind, two of which run into some 30 pages; the seventh and last, a burial song, unknown to Baktiar, I hope to record with Yurkina's help during my trip to the Lozva.'⁸ His recordings of folk poetry amount to many thousands of lines, 17,102 lines of Khanty text alone. The publishing of this material was started by Pál Hunfalvy and continued by József Budenz. Later Bernát Munkácsi, József Pápay and Miklós Zsirai furthered this work. Although the approach of these scholars is marked by a linguistic interest, the works they published are of great ethnographic importance, too.

When compared to this bulk of folklore records, Reguly's collection of ethnographic objects seems insignificant. Nevertheless, the impetus they gave to the development of Hungarian ethnography must be emphasized here. Reguly's interest in this line is eloquently proved by the fact that, in spite of his illness and the great exertion such work demanded, he still devoted much time to the collection of objects. Nor was his work fruitless, for these objects are very valuable today, reflecting the culture of the peoples in the period, more than a century ago.

In 1850 Ferenc Toldy gave the following description of Reguly's ethnographic objects: 'At a well-attended meeting in November, 1847, the Academy received a comprehensive report from the Secretary on Reguly's travels and their general results, with all the attention they deserved. On this occasion, also the collection of ethnographic pieces was exhibited

⁸ Pápay (1905) p. 12.

which Reguly had been gathering with so much care and at such great costs. It consisted of various items such as: (1) Clothing, especially Lappish, Samoyed, Vogul, Ostyak and Mordvin furs; men's and women's garments and undergarments made of linen, wool and nettle cloth; headgear, aprons, shoes and a wide assortment of jewellery. Many of these items, particularly the women's shirts, were decorative, and embroidered with great care and skill; the combination of colour and design often displayed good taste. Some of the Lappish and Vogul furlined clothes had been worn by Reguly himself. (2) Puppets, i.e. male and female figures of Samoyed and Cheremiss origin. (3) Models, such as Vogul, Cheremiss, Ostyak and Russian figurines, sleds, skates, bows and nets. (4) Weapons; a representative collection of arrows and similar equipments. (5) A genuine Vogul lute (*sangur*) and a genuine Ostyak idol.

Reguly donated this collection to the Academy, saying that if it did not wish to exhibit the objects, they should be deposited in the National Museum. 'I need hardly mention that this collection, though not very large, is the only one of its kind in Europe. I consider it well worth-while to have all the objects drawn and published, partly in colour prints, either in Reguly's travel book or in the Annals of the Academy.'⁹

After a preliminary exhibition at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Reguly's collection was passed over to the National Museum, where it constituted the basic material for the collections of the Ethnographic Museum which was established much later. Unfortunately, of the whole collection only 76 pieces found their way there, the rest having been damaged in the meantime by moths or destroyed in some other way.

Reguly's ethnographic work covered Finland, the Baltic Finns, the settlements of the Volga Finns, the Tatars and the Chuvashes, but most of his vast legacy concerns the Ob-Ugrians.

Miklós Zsirai said: 'It was mainly thanks to the manuscripts he left behind that a school of comparative linguistics could develop in this country and that the great problem of the origin of the Hungarian language was solved largely through Hungarian contributions'.¹⁰

The same may be said if we examine Reguly's influence on ethnography: the two linguists who followed in his footsteps, Munkácsi and Pápay, really delivered an astonishing wealth of ethnographic material. The ethnographers Károly Pápai and János Jankó started in the same way as Reguly with the avowed intention of doing ethnographic research work. Even their biographies show a strange resemblance to Reguly's, for both died young without having had time to elaborate the material they had collected. János Jankó reached the Ob region starting from Finland and he, too, was interested in the Volga-Finnic and the Turkic peoples.

There is little doubt that Reguly's influence on Siberian ethnography is as important as his contribution to Finno-Ugrian linguistics. Nor must we forget the role Reguly played in the study of the religious life of the Siberian peoples, chiefly of the Ob-Ugrians. Hunfalvy was the first to describe the religious life of the Mansi and he used Reguly's records on folk poetry and his linguistic data. It is true that Reguly collected his material for a different

⁹ Toldy (1850) pp. CXXII-CXXIII.

¹⁰ Zsirai (1939) p. 1.

purpose, but it is no less true that his interests extended to religious life. We read in a letter he wrote to Baer: 'I cannot praise my informant Baktiar warmly enough. Sometimes he sits with me from morning to night, and he is so attached to me and so intimate with me that there is perhaps no phase in their religion and rites about which he has failed to tell me. And he . . . is also well known among his people, since he is a singer and often takes part as a priest in their annual horse sacrifices. These two capacities of his are again of scholarly use to me, for they offer me a rich source of material. So far I have recorded some 600 pages of various songs, prayers and melodies from him, which are of great interest even if their reference to the life and intellectual stage of the people are left out of consideration.'¹¹

In another letter addressed to Baer, he describes a rite: 'Having returned to Verkh-Pelim (Upper Pelim), we prepared ourselves for a Vogul religious rite. *Pälm tärom* "deity of Pelim" listens with kindness to the suffering and supplicant. They pray and make pledges to him not only near Pelim, but also along the Lozva and the Konda and even the Northern Sosva river. My own Baktiar was indebted to him for saving his life when he was seriously ill, two years ago. At that time he had promised him the sacrifice of a horse; so far, however, poverty has prevented him from keeping his promise. Therefore I purchased a colt (after all a colt is a horse) from a Vogul and on March 29th (according to the Russian calendar) we started out to Pegunpaul to see the old *ñait* ("magician, priest", Finnish *noita*). *Pälm tärom's* actual residence is in the *tumen*, a birch grove, near the village of Tarla on the bank of the Pelim, where he stands during the sacrifice on an unusually thick branch of birch almost thicker than the trunk itself. This is where they used to bring sacrifices to him in the past. Some years ago, however, this religious rite was transplanted to the village of Pegun, at a distance of two versts from here, because the road to Pelim passes the grove and profane passers by might disturb the performance of the rite. After having played a hymn on the *sangur* (a Vogul musical instrument) to invoke the deity, they performed the ceremony of killing the animal. Then they cooked it and ate of its meat, and so completed the sacrifice. The next morning I arrived with my sanctified and happy Baktiar at Pelim.'¹²

Further facts, provided by Reguly about the religious life of the Ob-Ugrian people are connected with their bear cult. In a letter sent to his friend Baer on January 24th, 1844, Reguly writes:

'The first of these bear songs tells of the creation of the world and of man, and ends with the genesis of the bear. The subject of the second song is a woman who makes a bear oath which is later fulfilled. The third one deals with a famous bear hunter who was such a good Bowman that he could hit an arrow shot into the air with three other before it fell to the ground. He killed ninety-nine bears but the hundredth tore him to death, etc. Then I recorded a song about the devil, telling of how God had exiled him in eternal swamps. Their customs and ways of living show such a striking similarity with those of the Lapps, Cheremiss and Votyaks that a description of the ancient culture and religion of the entire Finnic ethnic group can no longer be regarded as a task of great difficulty.'¹³

¹¹ Pápay (1905) p. 12.

¹² Pápay (1905) pp. 14-5.

¹³ Pápay (1905) p. 12.

This remark indicates that, while collecting material, Reguly was busy with questions of local religion, too. His records supply scholars with valuable basic data for the study of the religious life of the Siberian peoples. Later research workers, particularly Bernát Munkácsi and Artturi Kannisto, while collecting material, paid considerable attention to bear songs and the bear cult. It is possible that it was Reguly's work that directed their attention to this important field of the Ob-Ugrian folk tradition.

Students of the religious life of the Ob-Ugrian peoples have collected relatively little material on their shamanistic beliefs. Reguly's notes throw some light on this problem as well. They show that the *ňajt* is a kind of a magic healer, corresponding to the shaman of the Altaic peoples, whereas the term itself is related to the Finnish *noita* and the Lappish *noajde*. If we recall the information provided by Pallas, according to whom the Mansi *ňajt* falls into a trance by means of beating a drum, there is no reason to doubt that the *ňajt* mentioned by Reguly is the shaman of the Mansi.

The interests of this pioneer concentrated not only on the Finno-Ugrian but also on the Turkic peoples. During his journeys to and from Siberia he did not neglect the opportunity to collect data on the Chuvash and Tatar peoples. We know from the plan he had worked out before starting on his travels that he had intended to visit Turkey. Evidently he wished to study both the Turkic and the Finno-Ugrian peoples. It is worth while emphasizing that Reguly was one of the first scientists to understand that data on the Finno-Ugrian and the Turkic peoples are of equal importance when studying the ethnogenesis of the Magyars. Although he himself was unable to carry out his plan, the mere fact that he drew the world's attention to this relationship was revolutionary.

1958 marked the one hundredth anniversary of Reguly's death. He died at the early age of 39, returning home from his travels, exhausted and diseased. This anniversary should not be regarded as an occasion for celebrations but rather as an appropriate time to recall his noble example and to re-examine the many problems he raised. His life which was entirely devoted to science and his great work have left their imprint on the works of Hungarian and foreign scholars alike and his collection constitutes an indispensable source for all those who study the European and Siberian peoples.

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Seite Cult and Drum Magic of the Lapps*

by

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Fig. 1. The pre-Christian, animistic Lapps worshipped holy lakes and holy mountains; like the pyramid-shaped mountain which can be seen in the background. Photo by the Author

Nowadays when the church bells are rung in the scattered parishes of the Lapland, in Karesuando at Eastertide, in the peat-covered church-huts of Mellätno in the summer, or in the chapel of Fatmomakke in the autumn, the Lapps are seen to walk to the services with good Christian devotion. But in a show-case of the Lappish Department of the Nordic Museum, we can see a very different figure of a Lapp from the 18th century, dressed in leather, sitting and beating his drum. He is a *noid* engaged in the practice of his profession. Another show-case contains a variety of strange stones, which seem to be surrealistic idols, called *seite*. In a third show-case there sits a primitive wooden figure, strangely moulded by a joint effort of nature and human hands. In the remote Lapland, tradition has preserved places of ancient cult, and geographical names like *Passe*, *Ailes*, *Saiva*, etc. (Figs 1-3) which still indicate something holy or dangerous to the native and remind us of the faith that had existed before churches and chapels were built there.

From time immemorial the Lapps living in close contact with nature had worshipped nature, as shown by their religion which before their Christiani-

* The figures have been taken from the author's study published in *Acta Lapponica* Vols I, VI and XIII (resp. 1938, 1950 and 1957).

zation was shamanistic. Forces of nature were regarded by them as divinities, and all things—animals, plants or lifeless objects—had a soul. The dead continued to live in a world not much unlike that of the living. The Lapps lived in a spiritual world which was for them as real as the material world. This was pure animism.

Magic drums, with their multifarious pictures, have come down as documents of bygone mythical beliefs to the posterity. The sun, *Peive*, occupied a most important place in that mythology, not as a personified figure but as a cosmic, primaeval being whose emanations spread over the world as rays and carried other, more clearly shaped deities. One of these was *tiermes* or *hora-galles*, the god of thunderstorm (called also *ahttje*, i.e., 'father' or 'old man'), represented as a man and fervently worshipped. Another was *biegg-olmai*, who drove the winds out of, and back to, their caves. This central complex of figures, with its natural mythology, is in full harmony with the people's deeply felt dependence on Nature's power. The moon, called *aske* or *mano*, occupies a less prominent place on the drum, nevertheless it was a significant enough figure to become dangerous sometimes. Other natural divinities were *väralden-olmai*, 'the man of the world', a god of fertility and the protector of the reindeer and other animals; *rana-neida*, a female being, who was patronous of spring and vegetation; *leib-olmai*, 'the man of blood or of alder', who ruled over wild animals and venison and was thus the god of hunting; and finally, *tjas-olmai*, 'the man of waters', the ruler of lakes and fishing.

Several of these divinities can be clearly recognized in the nordic mythology. For instance, *peive* corresponds to the Sun-god of the Bronze Age,

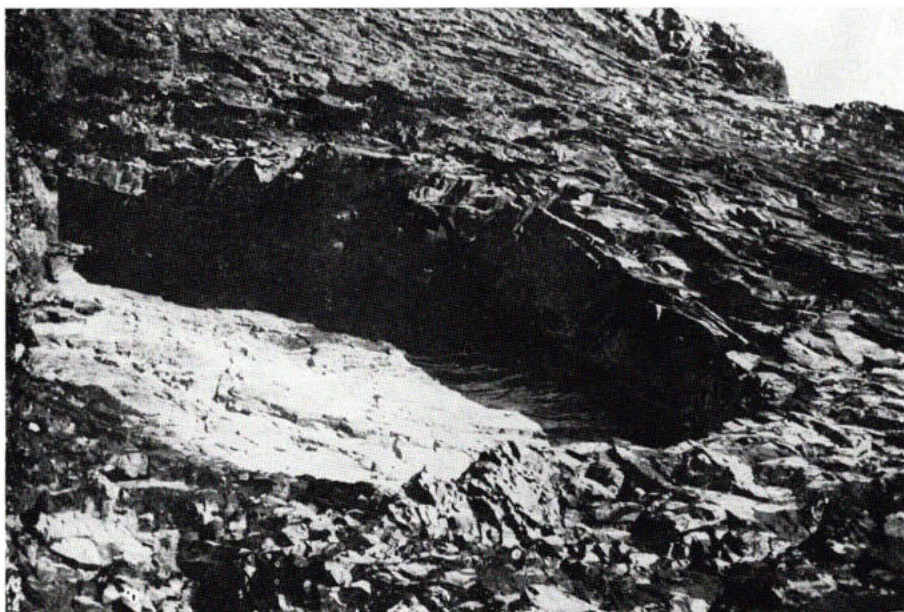


Fig. 2. Impressive natural formations were often chosen sacrificial places like this cavity called *passeuksa*, i.e. 'the Holy Portal'. Photo by the Author

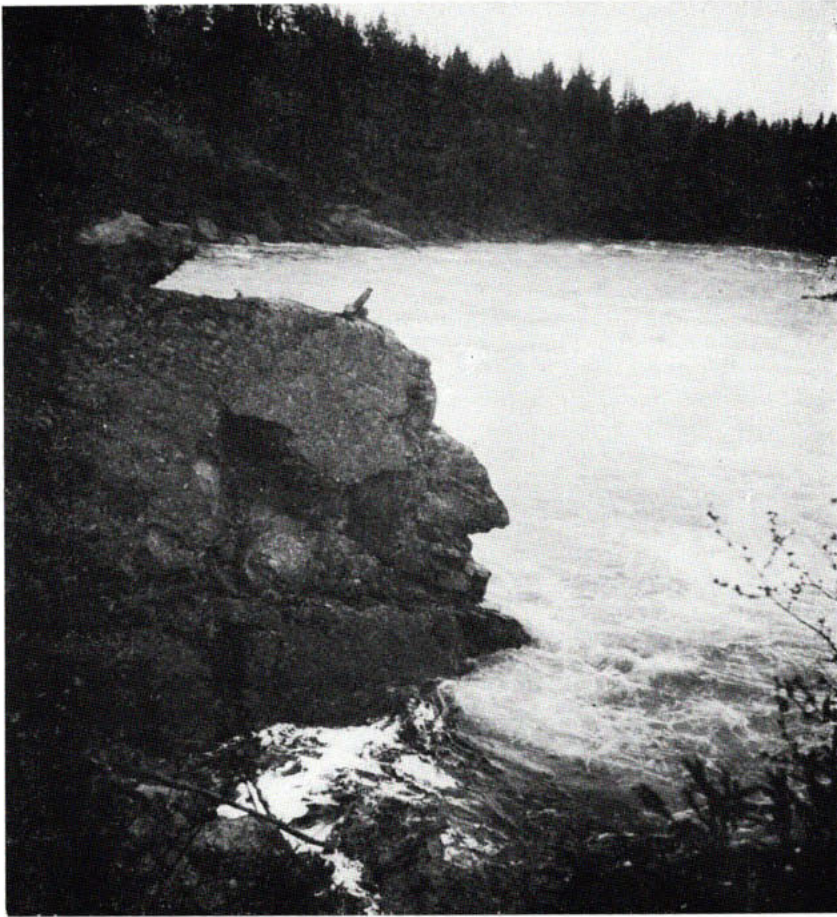


Fig. 3. Near Passekårtje, 'the Holy Fall', a rock with the vigorous profile of a man was worshipped as a *seite*. Photo by the Author

tiermes to Thor, *biegg-olmmaialden-olai* to Freyr Njord, *vär* and *rana-neida* to Frigg. However, this should not lead us to believe that they have merely been borrowed. Among a primitive people, thunderstorm is a far too powerful phenomenon for its divine personification to be borrowed from a higher culture. With a fair amount of accuracy, the same may be said of the sun which in the arctic region is of vital importance, and this also applies to the wind, etc. Frequently two Lappish names are to be found for these and other deities and spirits, one showing connections with the nordic culture, the other being of native origin. Thus, *horagalles* is an exact translation of 'old man Thor', whereas the more ancient appellation *tiermes* is connected with the heavenly god *torym* of the Ostyaks (Khanty), and Voguls (Mansi). *Mano* is only a superficially assimilated form of the nordic word for 'moon' though the moon as a natural phenomenon and divine being was known much earlier under its Lappish name *aske*. These two examples

reflect the following situation: the original Lappish ideas have melted with the conceptions of Scandinavian peoples and the former may have received new features, or even new names, from the neighbours.

Besides these natural divinities, the Lapps had a number of more abstract gods, like *jubmel* or *ibmel*, who is obviously identical with the Finnish *jumala* and is worshipped as the supreme god. Among the Swedish Lapps in particular the same position has been maintained by *radien-ahttje*, 'the father of the Ruler', the Ancestor. His image occupies a central place on the upper half of some drums. Usually he was accompanied by his son *radien-pardne*, through whom he acted among men, and by his wife, *radien-akka* (the old woman of the Ruler). This patriarchal trinity corresponds, in a striking manner, to the Christian Trinity, with the Holy Ghost rationally replaced by a female being. Sometimes this divine family was augmented by *rana-neida*, considered as *radien-ahttje*'s daughter: *radien-pardne* was also called *tjorve-radien*, i.e. 'horned-radien' and is often figured on the drums with an aureole of reindeer antlers around his head.

In this group of supreme divinities there is a large range of smaller, yet important gods, or rather spirits, which are sometimes led by *madder-akka*, 'the Ancestress'. She is followed by her three daughters: *sar-akka* 'the old woman of spinning', who dwelt under the fireplace, spinning threads of sinew and assisting births, as well as the fawning of reindeer; *uks-akka*, 'the old woman of the door', who watched the door, as her name indicates, and *juks-akka*, 'the old woman of the bow', who had a bow as her symbol and was the protectress of boys. The birth of a man occurred in the following stages: first, *madder-akka* received the soul of the child from *radien-pardne*, created a body in herself and passed it on to *sar-akka* who put the little man into his mother's womb and was responsible for his birth. Once the child was in the womb, *juks-akka* could interfere and change a girl into a boy.

A dreaded figure was *rota* or *ruto*, the demon of death and diseases. He was generally supposed to be sitting on a horse and therefore he is closely connected with Odin, the god of Death. The dead, called *jabmek*, lived in *jabmi-aimo*, 'the world of the dead' or *mubbe-aimo* 'the other world'. There was also another world called *saivo*, the Lappish paradise, where the dead—the *saivo-olmak*—lived like here on earth, but under happier circumstances, and they had their herds of reindeer, their huts, their game and fish, etc. Certain mountains and lakes were known as the dwellings of the *saivo* people, as a kind of Lapp villages or *sita* in the *saivo*, and were regarded as holy (*passé*). The *saivo* lakes were generally believed to have a double bottom. (A physical reason supporting this belief was found in springs which were seen as holes at the bottom of some shallow lakes.)

Originally the Lappish mythology does not seem to have included a devil. Strange as it may sound, the devil—*fuodno*—appeared on the scene with Christ. He is known under names which come from the Finnish *perkele*, such as *perkel* or *baergalak*. However, even without the devil which the theologians have rationalized, life was hard enough. The powers of nature, the divinities and spirits—even though not evil—could become rather dangerous if one was not on good terms with them.

Thus the world was full of dangers, including not only thunderstorms, bad weather, snow slides, treacherous ice, wild beasts and other lurking

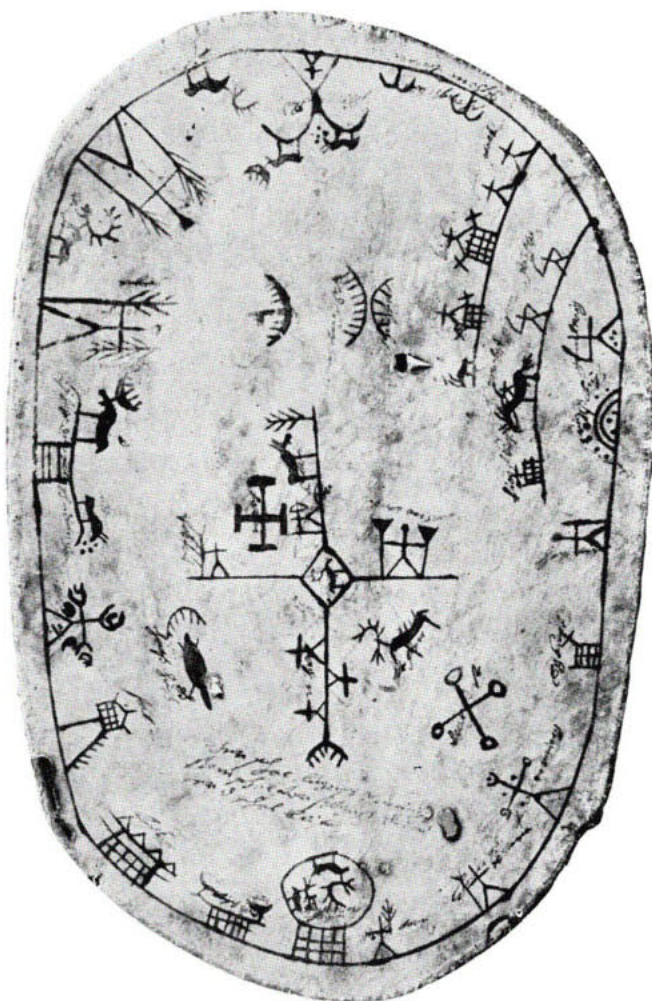


Fig. 4. The shaman drum is the most important instrument by means of which the *noid*, or shaman, was able to get in contact with the gods. The figures on the drumhead symbolize both spiritual and worldly phenomena. (Nordic Museum, Stockholm)

foes, but also diseases and all sorts of evil that could not be understood. Everything was somehow linked up with the world of spirits, and one could not get along if one depended merely on one's own strength and common sense. One had to be able to emerge from oneself, to penetrate everything that was visible, in fact, to lift oneself still higher and enter the world of spirits and divinities. This was done in a transcendental state of ecstasy which was reached with the help of magic drums. Therefore, the father of every household had his own drum which he used to the best of his knowledge. But, as everybody did not possess the right 'power', difficult cases

had to be transferred to those, who had greater talent. These 'well-informed men' came to be known as *noids*, or wise men—the magicians, the shamans of the Lapps. They do not seem to have formed a priestly caste, nor did they wear special shaman's clothes like their Siberian colleagues (only a sort of 'magic belt' is known) but lived and dressed like everybody else. Yet, they used their drums, offered sacrifices and performed other religious duties whenever the need arose.

Like other shamanistic peoples, the Lapps used the drum as a means of achieving exaltation (Figs 4, 5). While drumming, the *noid* fell into trance and often fell unconscious on the floor, where he could lie for a whole day. During that time, his spirit left him and wandered to the other world, where he performed great deeds, if he had luck. He learnt the will of the gods, saved the life of a sick man, found the trace of an escaped herd of reindeer, ascertained the whereabouts of a bear or a wolf, averted the plot of another *noid*, etc. During his journey he could use certain attendants—the 'noid escort'. In the *saivo* world, holy animals such as reindeer, birds and fish were at his disposal, and he succeeded in his battles with either their help, or appearing in their shape. A *saivo-sarva* (*sarva* = male reindeer) would occasionally be engaged in a desperate struggle with the 'magic reindeer' of another *noid*. If he felt exhausted, the *noid* strengthened himself with *saivo* water. Normally he returned victorious; sometimes, however, he was unfortunate and no more woke up from his state of unconsciousness (Figs 6, 7).

The Lapps also used their drums as means of divination and fortune telling. They seem to have developed this custom more than the Siberian peoples. This probably explains the preservation of a multiplicity of figures every one of which has its specific meaning: a god, a spirit or an ordinary object. Small objects, rectangular pieces of reindeer antlers, a ring, or bundles of rings were placed on the drumhead as a pointer. While the drum was being beaten, the vibration of the skin made that object jump about—over, among or right on to the figures. Sometimes the pointer was regarded as a jumping frog, an animal which is also used in other aspects of magic. Fortune was told or the will of higher powers explored by the movements of the pointer or by the place where it stopped on the drumskin (Figs 8, 9, 10).

When the Lapps were converted to Christianity, hundreds of drums were burnt in spite of the fact that, according to some records, people pretended that they used them as compasses were used by the mighty lords who had come to confiscate the drums. Collectors and those who were interested in matters of culture—including some of the zealous priests—managed however to save a number of drums, which gradually dispersed all over Europe. Later, when they were all gathered, it was found out that there are 71 drums, and a few fragments and imitations. Twenty-nine of these *tabulae sacrae* are preserved in the Nordic Museum. In caves and other hiding places in the distant corners of Lapland, there are probably still a few more odd drums concealed by their owners not so very long ago. As a matter of fact, some were used secretly as late as the end of the 19th century.

In some cases the *noid* received information through the drum concerning the kind of offering the gods wished to receive. Otherwise sacrifices were made in accordance with traditional rites. *Peive* was sometimes offered

white reindeer, *tiernes* received occasionally a whole reindeer bull which was buried in the soil so that nothing but its upright antlers were visible, and its genitals were sacrificed to *väralden-olmai*, the god of fertility. *Tjas-olmai* was offered fish tallow which was smeared on the sacrificial stone or *seite*, whereas in emergencies, a horse was bought from a farm for *rota*, the demon of diseases so that he might ride away on it. The offering

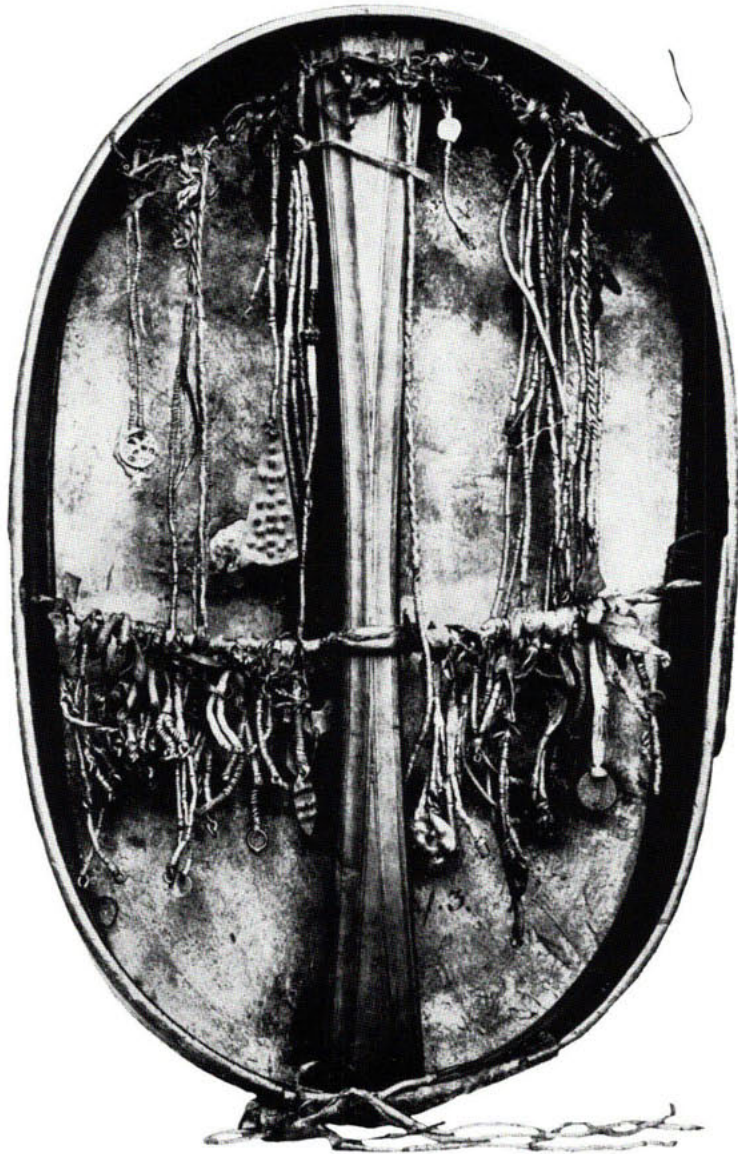


Fig. 5. Various magic objects were hanging from the bottom of the drum. (National Museum, Copenhagen)

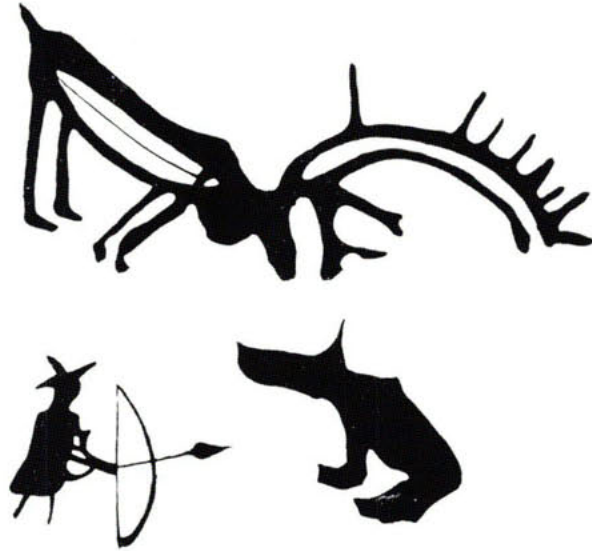


Fig. 6. This group of realistic symbols, representing wild reindeer, bear and hunter, decorates a magic drum kept in Rome. Tracings by the Author

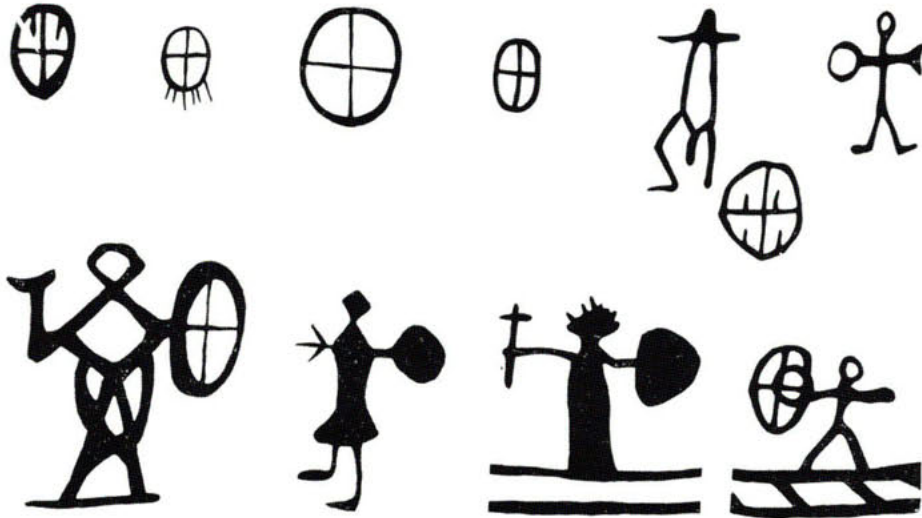


Fig. 7. The pictures on the drum include sometimes the *noid* himself with his drum. Tracings by the Author

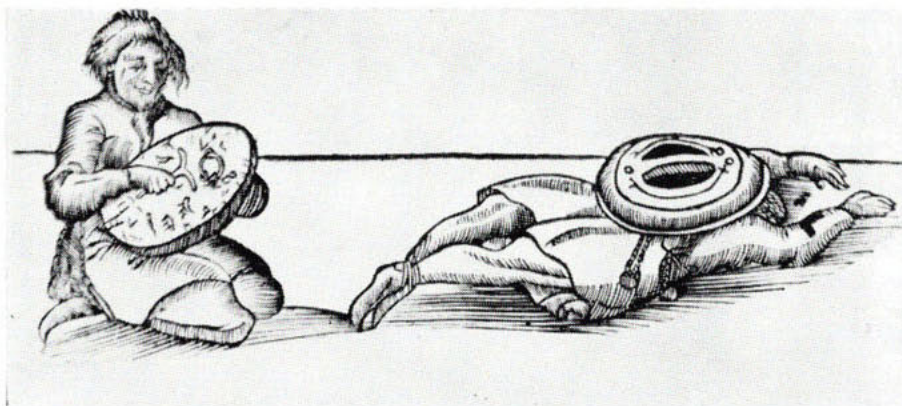


Fig. 8. A *noid* in trance, beating his drum. According to Schefferus, 1673



Fig. 9. The same theme interpreted by a missionary of the 17th century. The slumbering *noid* has fallen into the clutches of the devil

of a reindeer was frequently connected with a sacramental meal, in the course of which the nutritive parts of the beast were retained by the participants, and the antlers, bones, blood and tallow were sacrificed to the deity. In less critical situations, the sacrifice would be limited to small pieces of jewellery, coins, etc. There were also various other sacramental customs, which, more often than not, betrayed Nordic influence. At the sacrificial altar of *väralden-olmai*, for instance, blood was smeared on the pillar with which he was believed to support the world. Explorers drew a parallel between this and the German worship-column Irmensul. *Rana-neida* was offered a spindle which was sprinkled with blood. A brass or copper ring was hung in the chimney of the hut for protection against the Christmas moon. 'Sun-porridge' was eaten at Midsummer night and 'sarakka-porridge' after a lucky delivery in honour of *sarakka*, the nurse of the divine world.

Major deities were offered sacrifices near or on a kind of a sacrificial altar which was built in the same manner as the provision-stands used by the Lapps up to the present day. Reproductions can often be seen on drums, and we possess the sketch of such a sacrificial stand, dating back to the 17th century. There are three 'hora-galles idols' on it with reindeer antlers between them and pieces of meat offered on sticks before them. Big stones and peculiar boulders were also used as sacrificial altars. Several of these are still known through tradition. Sacrifices could also be made in grottoes or rocky caves on cliffs, beneath or, on the summit of 'fjells' (mountains), in fens, beside waterfalls, in lakes and springs, or at a tree. These places of sacrifice belonged either to a single person, to a single family, but they might also be frequented by a clan community or the population of a whole district. In the course of an exploration of the Swedish Lapland which was conducted by the Nordic Museum, 507 such places were charted. They are generally well known for some conspicuous feature of the place itself or in its surroundings: extraordinary size, odd shape, etc. Quite often the sacrificial place is situated at the foot of a steep slope, or of a declivity of rubble where a thundering earth slide had once occurred. Considering the role which thunderstorms play in the great drama of nature, we may suppose that the place was sometimes pointed out by a flash of lightning.

In some of the places of worship roughly carved wooden idols were found. In others, *seites*, i.e. stone images of gods, which showed slight traces of human craftsmanship but were originally fashioned by nature herself: thus the deity must have shaped itself. A woodcut from the 17th century shows a Laplander worshipping a *seite*, which is erected on a bed of brushwood, in a semicircle of reindeer antlers: bare-headed and on bent knees the Lapp is approaching it (Figs 11, 12, 13). As the result of an excessive zeal and ill-advised collecting, most of the important sacrificial places have been despoiled of their *seites*. In other cases, they were destroyed or rolled away with Christian ardour. In some remote places, however, one may still hit upon a *seite* standing intact and majestic. The Lapps even today sometimes make a detour to visit a sacred locality.

In Lule and Pite-Lapland the *seites* are often called *storjunkare*—a late loanword. The notion of the *seite*, on the other hand, must have been an original element in Lappish religion. Explorers have given various interpretations to the conception of the *seite*. At times it was considered the *genius loci*, at others the worshipped god himself, his image, or his residence,



Fig. 10. A *noïd* beating his drum. (From the Lappish Department of the Nordic Museum)

or again a powerful ancestor. To me, the *seite* seems a synthesis: an incarnation of the divine ruler of the place (region) and hence the centre of power of that place (region) as well. The idea of an ancestor is not farfetched either, since, in many cases, the *seite* is situated in the *saivo*-region, that is in the world of the dead.

All over the Swedish Lapland, the religion of the Lapps has developed along the general lines described in this study. Nevertheless, a considerable number of local variants have arisen within the area: a typical feature of the northern districts is the division of the divine and spiritual world into higher and lower spheres, as can be seen in the picture-fields of the drums. The Lappish world of deities in the Finnish and the Russian Laplands differs in many respects from that of the Scandinavian area. There are, however, many fundamental religious concepts and mythological figures



Fig. 11. The *seite*, a stone which is oddly shaped by nature, was worshipped as an idol, an incarnation of divinity, from where superhuman power emanated. Photo by the Author

which have accompanied the Lapps in their migration from East to West and from North to South. The Lapps have the basic elements of animism in common with all the other circumpolar tribes.

The Christianization of the Lapps began at a very early date but produced no results worth mentioning before the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The most ancient document in this connection is a royal letter, dated 1389, by which Queen Margaret calls upon the Lapps to abandon their heathen faith and to integrate into the community of Christian nations. No records are available concerning the impact of this letter on the Lapps. Thirty years later, Erich of Pommern sent the first missionary, by name Toste, to the Lapland. The seed sown by him fell on stony ground—which is found in a great abundance in Lapland! By all means, the result was not to be boasted of. At the bottom of all these attempts at Christianization was the almost mythic 'lappkivinnan Margareta', a Lapp woman who, in her fervent ardour, travelled as far as Malmö to obtain an audience from her namesake the queen.

During the reign of Gustav Vasa and Charles IX, the endeavours were continued. The first churches of Lapland were built, among other towns, in Gråträsk, Arvidsjaur, Lycksele, Jokkmokk, Jukkasjärvi and Enontekiö, as a result of a decree issued in 1603. The Lapps presented themselves in full number at the churches, but at home, in the backwoods, they clung with even greater faith and confidence to their heathen *seites* and drums. (The effect of baptism would sometimes be washed off with chewed alder-bark.) In some places, however, Christianity was victorious: tradition knows

Fig 12. Also primitive wood-blocks were worshipped as idols. (Nordic Museum)



of three Lapp brothers far up north who built the chapel of Rounala in 1606 at their own cost.

At the end of the 17th century, the conversion to Christianity took a more energetic turn. The Lapps were forced to attend church ceremonies and to surrender their drums, which were subsequently burnt. Those of the Lapps who showed resistance, stowed away their drums or made new ones, were sentenced to fines or flogging. In some rare cases, as in 1692 at Arjeplog (executed in 1693), resisting Lapps were sentenced to be burnt at the stake together with their drums, to serve as a warning. Thus, by the second half of the 18th century, drum magic was rooted out by administrative measures. But the old faith still survived and in the distant corners of Lapland well into the 19th century drums were secretly beaten and sacrifices made to *seites*.

Later on, Christianity became just as sincere and fervent among the Lapps as in the Swedish communities. Nevertheless, some reminiscences of the heathen form of worship have penetrated the new form, as can be established from the survival of certain ancient rites: voluntary donations are collected in the bell purse, but also coins are sometimes inserted into the wall of the church. Christianity assumed its strongest and the strictest form in Torne district, where Lars Levi Laestadius was active in the first

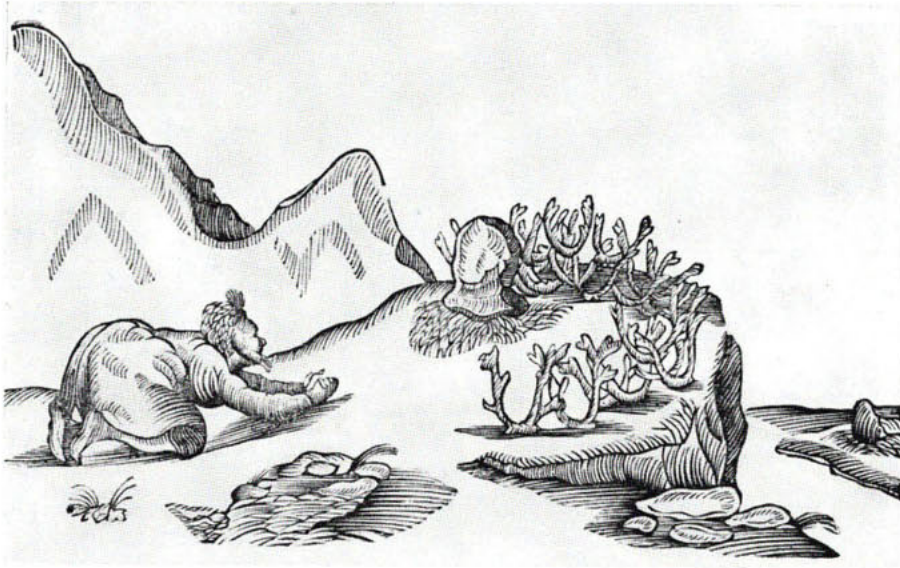


Fig. 13. Worship of *seites*, according to Schefferus, 1673. The *seite* is erected on a bed of brushwood inside a circle of reindeer antlers

half of the 19th century. Occasionally Laestadianism degenerates into fanaticism, and at the meetings of its adherents so-called 'motions' (Finnish *liikutuksia*) can be frequently observed, which in spite of all their Christian appearance remind us that something of the shamanistic ecstasy is still living.

Survivals of Totemism in the Hungarian *táltos* Tradition

by

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The persons termed *táltos* are the most remarkable figures of Hungarian popular belief according to which these men (rarely women) possess superhuman strength or some extraordinary qualities. Although the figure and activities of the *táltos* have often been confused with those of the witch and the 'itinerant scholar' (*garabonciás diák*), the strata of popular tradition related to the problem have been fairly well sorted out by G. Róheim and V. Diószegi.¹ One characteristic fact—already noticed by Róheim—is that no one confesses that he is a witch, whereas one does admit that one is a *táltos*. In the days of witch trials, in 1725, one of the women in Debrecen publicly declared that she was a *táltos* and that she considered her art to be of divine origin.²

According to popular belief a child which is born with teeth becomes a *táltos*. From the first years on it is taciturn, melancholy, reserved, and keeps aloof from the others, but it is very strong for its age. As a grown-up, a *táltos* seldom enters a village, but prefers to roam about the fields and the pasture land, calling sometimes on people who live on lonely shepherds' farms. Often the man with the qualities of a *táltos* is himself a shepherd or a field warden. If he happens to drop in somewhere during his wanderings, he usually asks for milk, sour milk, cottage cheese and eggs. His predilection for milk is remarkable. He will even suck milk from the cow's udder; by looking at milk in a milk-jug, he can tell from which cow it has come. A *táltos* can not only prophesy and heal but he can also raise winds, storms, and cause fires, hail and floods. He can detect hidden treasures by looking at the sun, in a steel mirror, or at the shine of his own fingernail. At the end of the 18th century a *táltos* was accused of singing 'devilish songs' and of 'causing a fire and asking for help from the Prince of Darkness'.

The *táltos* is said to have obtained his art while in his mother's womb. A more widespread belief holds that a person who was born to be a *táltos* often falls into a trance-like state at a more advanced age and so acquires his art. On such occasions the would-be *táltos* has hysterical fits and is on the verge of fainting. He hears strange sounds and sees strange signs. His soul is carried away by supernatural beings. At the age of seven he has to go through an ordeal, he has to fight with a stronger *táltos*. During the time of the struggle, he usually appears in the shape of a bull or of a stallion. In the struggle the teeth of the weaker *táltos* are pulled out by the stronger one. The fight is continued in the sky to which they rise on wings. A great storm arises at the time of the fight. According to some informants, the

* Unless some other source is given, the information comes from the author's field of notes.

¹ Róheim (1925) pp. 3–35; Diószegi (1958).

² Róheim (1925) p. 8. Valesca Klein (1935) p. 374, is mistaken in considering the *táltos* a kind of a witch. Otherwise she gives a good compilation of information about the subject. Her treatise has hitherto escaped the attention of Hungarian scholars.

táltos candidates are trained by initiated persons of the opposite sex. It is also known that during the initiation ceremonies, the candidate has to climb up a tree, trunk or ladder in order to peep 'into the sky'.

The Hungarian *táltos* used a drum while exercising his magic. By beating it he was able to discern malicious persons. With the drum the *táltos* could conjure up supernatural beings, cure the sick and foretell the future. Some informants state that while performing his magic a *táltos* climbs up a tree. As headgear he wears an antler, a horn of an ox and feathers of various birds. The *táltos* can become invisible, he can change into a stallion, a red, dun or black bull, and—less frequently—into a pig, a goat, an owl, or a pigeon. Behind his shape as an animal there lurks generally his 'life spirit' or 'assisting spirit'. His assisting spirit is usually a horse which was identified with the magic drum. The identification of the magic drum with the horse has survived in a Hungarian riddle.³

Considering all these characteristic traits, first G. Róheim and recently V. Diószegi have proved that the Hungarian *táltos* corresponds in fact to the shaman of the Ural-Altai peoples. We know that the *táltos* belief has an Ugrian substratum, which later on absorbed Turkic elements. Where the Ugrian stratum begins and where the Turkic influence ends is, of course, somewhat problematic. G. Róheim's standpoint certainly deserves attention. He is of the opinion that the Hungarian *táltos* has taken over a form of the Asian shamanism at a state which is closest to the shamanism of the Turko-Mongolian peoples and hence is a Turkic rather than an Ugrian shaman. There is no doubt that shamanism was characteristic of the Magyars of the Great Conquest and that the function of the shaman was performed by the *táltos*.⁴

Róheim's standpoint is strengthened by the fact that the word *táltos* is a Turkic loan-word in the Hungarian language (Turkic *taltyš* ~ *taltuš* 'beater, flogger', 'beating into a stupor, a swoon'), dating back to a period preceding the settlement of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin, and it originally referred to some kind of magicians whose functions and characteristic features of behaviour, clothing, etc., corresponded to those of the shamans of the Turkic peoples.⁵

Pastoral life, with its closed and binding patriarchal order, has played an important part in keeping alive beliefs and ideas which are connected with the *táltos* and in preserving the eastern traditions of the Hungarians in general.⁶ The shepherds have best preserved, in the most diversified forms, the *táltos* belief rooted in shamanism.⁷

As to the origin of the *táltos* it is of decisive importance that his ancestors were animals. Róheim mentions data from the middle of the 19th century from Csallóköz (a large Danubian island between Pozsony [Bratislava] and Győr), according to which the *táltos* is born with teeth, but if the fact is revealed by the midwife or someone else, the child cannot be brought up but dies. Horses especially can give birth to a *táltos*. The *táltos* possesses great knowledge and can tell where treasures are hidden in the

³ For details, see the works of Róheim, Diószegi and Klein.

⁴ Róheim (1925) p. 25 and (1954) p. 28; Diószegi (1958) p. 436.

⁵ Pais (1958) pp. 261–95.

⁶ Gunda (1940) pp. 26–49.

⁷ Gunda (1949) p. 7 and (1943) p. 222.

earth. He can assume the shape of various animals, but he lives chiefly among people in the form of a shepherd or a farm hand. Every seven years he must go to an other country to fight his antagonist, an other *táltos*. The country of the *táltos* who gains the upper hand, will be very fertile.⁸

In Békés county a *táltos* infant was carried by a bull between its horns. Inquiries were made as to who his parents were but they were not discovered. According to one of the shepherds he was 'made by the bull', and that is why he was so strong.⁹ His name was Bálint Bika (Valentine the Bull). In a village in Bihar county, a wolf jumped upon a girl and 'covered her'. The girl gave birth to a son who possessed the qualities of a *táltos*. The child was strong, swarthy, had a wolf's teeth in his mouth and at the age of seven had hair on his chest and loins. His strength was great so that the village lads were no match for him.¹⁰

During the period between 1920 and 1930 a strange fellow called János Balog was wandering around the villages of Gádoros and Szentetornya (Békés county). He earned his living by doing all kinds of odd jobs on the farms: he cleaned wells, trod dung bricks for fuel, set ovens, gelded animals, killed old useless cats and dogs, destroyed rats, buried corpses, etc. It was said that he was a *táltos* and 'did not do the work himself', but made someone else do it, although nobody could see who that somebody was. He only drank milk and could tell from which cow the milk came. He had calf teeth in the back of his mouth. Sometimes he disappeared for months and on returning he said he had gone to fight with a black bull. During the fight, he could be seen only in the shape of a red flame in the sky. 'Balog is fighting now' the old people used to say. He was the step-brother of the bull.

The old farmers also knew that János Balog had been born from a cow on a wet meadow near the village of Kisszénás. He had neither male nor female relatives. According to tradition, he was found by the herdsmen. One day he disappeared for good during a heavy wind and a thunderstorm.

The old farmers of Nagyszénás had also heard about this man called Balog. He himself is known to have said that he was a *táltos* but that his strength was waning. The inhabitants of the village believed that his mother was a cow which he had sucked until the age of seven. She had died from sheer exhaustion. Balog knew how to deal with animals. He could subdue a raging bull, and savage dogs ran away from him in fear.

The more sensible farmers only smiled at the stories that were told about Balog. Several of them knew him, but considered him a vagabond. The explanation they gave for his vanishing for years was that the authorities had arrested and imprisoned him for vagrancy and theft. In 1942 I asked the police station of Nagyszénás whether they knew a vagabond named Balog. They had heard from their former chief that a man called Balog had been arrested for vagrancy and theft and two farmers had come to the police asking that he should be at least temporarily released because he could cure their animals. The district court passed no sentence on him, as his mind was found to be 'disturbed'.

⁸ Róheim (1925) p. 14.

⁹ Szűcs (1943) p. 84.

¹⁰ Szűcs (1943). According to Chuvash popular belief, if a woman is made pregnant by a bear, the body of her child is covered with thick hair. See Mészáros (1909) p. 93.

In the village of Öcsöd (Békés county) there was a *táltos* called Lajos Jónás whose father was a stallion. That is the reason why he could fight in the shape of a horse. Every seven years he had to go to a fight. When he returned, he was very tired, exhausted and covered with froth like a dray-horse dragging its load through the mud. Before he fought with the white stallion he would sleep for months in order to gather strength. But in his sleep he could see and talk, and even answer questions. That is how a relative of my informant knew that her husband would return safe and sound from World War I. This particular *táltos*, too, lived on nothing but milk. When he dropped in anywhere, a jug of sour milk was immediately placed before him. According to tradition he became quite prosperous in his old age; he owned a farm and fields. He was an excellent farmer and an expert in animal husbandry, because — according to his neighbours — his father was a horse.

Other informants hold that Lajos Jónás was an excellent farmer because he always read newspapers to which he regularly subscribed. He was also a regular fair-goer, thus he gathered experience and knew so much about animals that a veterinary surgeon could have learned from him. That is how Jónás, originally a poor man, became a well-to-do farmer as he advanced in years.

Between the villages of Békésszentandrás and Öcsöd (Békés county), on a pasture land called Horga, there lived a one-eyed shepherd who gelded animals. He was said to have been called even to the big manors to cure sick animals and he could tell from which egg would come a pullet and from which one a cock. In autumn when the cry of the rails could be heard or the wild-geese were passing overhead in their flight, he kept on gazing at the sky. He said that he had been brought up by cranes in a marshy meadow between Gödény hill and the river Körös. His mother was a crane who had a small red feather in one of her wings. That is why he was called János Daru (Crane).

According to another source from Békésszentandrás, the *táltos* men were brought up by cranes and ospreys and had neither father nor mother. Those who fought with stallions had stallions as fathers.

In Békésdoboz (Békés county), a fieldwarden named Károly Varga was supposed to be a *táltos*. In the summer he lived outside on the banks of the Körös and kept watch over the fields of corn and melons. He guarded the hay and the growing crops so that the shepherds should not drive their sheep into them. The wandering Rumanian artisans who used to come down from the Bihar mountains to practice their woodworking crafts were very much afraid of him. If he looked at their horses, these would throw themselves on the ground and ruin all the wooden vessels they were carrying on their backs. In the winter he sought shelter in a hut where he used to sit by a fire. He never went into the village, and so the farmers used to bring him food there. If one of them shared his meal, he was the first to touch the food. ('Neighbour, please, start eating so that we also may eat', they used to tell him.) In the winter Károly Varga often fished through a hole in the ice. The people of the village were sure that he was a *táltos*. If he was angry with a farmer, it never failed to happen that in the following summer the farmer's crops were destroyed by hail, or else his finest horses died. Károly Varga had a bright button (according to others, a spoon) in which he could

see buried treasures. He never took off his embroidered peasant's cloak (*szűr*) from his shoulders, not even when it was shining with blackness. Tradition says that he wore this cloak because he had crane's or eagle's feathers on his shoulders, which nobody was allowed to see. There was a rumour that both his father and mother had been cranes (or, according to another variant, only his father). In the autumn when the cranes were flying, this *táltos* would say: 'One day I will also go with you!' Mihály S. Szabó's father once saw him rise into the air and his cloak drop from his shoulders. He ran to pick it up, but did not find anything on the spot, where it had fallen.

'*Táltos* people are not of human origin'—declared Zsuzsánna V. Szatmári of Békésdoboz, who believed that only God was stronger than a *táltos*. She had heard about a fieldwarden named Varga, a *táltos*, who kept a tame crane in his cottage. He often played a zither, but the zither always sounded like a drum. He lived on nothing but milk. Neither birds nor the beasts were afraid of him.

On the edge of the so-called Káka puszta (at Szarvas, Békés county) there stood an old solitary oak-tree. Once the shepherds noticed a raven—already a rare bird in this region at the turn of the century—sitting on it. The younger ones did not recognize the bird, only the old shepherds knew that the bird was a raven. For days it had been sitting on one of the branches of the tree. When they wanted to drive it away, it said: 'Come with me, Mihály, my son!' Then it flew away. That very same night an old herdsman named Mihály disappeared. At dawn when the cattle were driven out, his stick and coat were found in the enclosure and even a few bright feathers were discovered in his coat. Nobody knew his other name. He was a kind of *táltos*. He was taciturn and had great strength and could see treasures in a bright spoon. Even when he was asleep he could watch over the grazing cattle. When he drew a circle around a herd, there was no thief or highwayman who could drive the cattle away. Not even a rabid dog could cross the circle.

The old treasure diggers knew about this herdsman named Mihály and eagerly took him along with them at night when they wanted to do some digging in a hill. In Békésszentandrás he once confided to János Bagi that when he was flying he could see treasures even from above. There was a vervain soldered on his palm. When he put his hand on a padlock, a lock or a shackle, they opened at once.

In the village of Öcsöd (Békés county) the belief is still maintained that the seventh child in a family will become a *táltos*. He is born with teeth, and at the age of ten or twelve he must go to a *táltos* of another country to learn his art, which is transmitted to him in his sleep. A *táltos* can raise a storm, he knows how to cure sicknesses and he can see what is hidden in the sky and under the earth. He can foretell a war, a storm and an earthquake. The father of a *táltos* is either a wolf or a stallion. He is often born of a young hot-blooded woman who is unable to keep her passion under control and goes as far as the tenth village for gratification. 'One of them was Queen Maria Theresia!'—said my informant.¹¹

¹¹The informant lived earlier in the farmsteads of Öcsöd, where he heard about this *táltos*.

In the village of Panyola (Szatmár county) I have recorded that the father of a *táltos* is thought to be a stallion, a wolf or a bull. Even as late as forty or fifty years ago, to the east and south of Kalocsa (Pest county) there were extensive pastures where shepherds grazed their flocks, which were not attacked by wolves, and even the most cunning thief could not steal a single animal. All the shepherds had to do was to place their sticks next to the flock and the sticks watched over the sheep. They were *táltos* men whose fathers were wolves or dogs.

Before 1944 near Martonvásár (Fejér county), there was a big farm called Kismarton. In the summer hired German labourers who came from the villages near Budapest, used to work there. Once in the spring time when they went to the farm to work, a sickly man of about forty-five or fifty turned up some days later and cut wood, carried water and did other menial works for their kitchen. They all were sure that they had a *táltos*, who was born from some animal with teeth in his mouth, and that he had the power of healing. Not the hired German workers so much as the servant women had a superstitious fear of 'Ferkó' (that was his name) and avoided him whenever possible. Once when the children were jeering at Ferkó, a servant woman, called Mrs. Árki, scolded them, saying: 'Don't annoy Ferkó, he is a *táltos*. He will torment you and maim you . . . and then your mother can take you to the medicine man of Ósi!'¹²

I knew this *táltos* myself. I spoke to him several times, but could find out nothing about his life or his past. Usually he just mumbled unintelligible words. He was mentally unbalanced and suffered from haemorrhoids. His dull deep-set eyes filled one with terror. It is not surprising that the servant women were afraid of him. They probably linked up the *táltos* tradition with him because of his uncanny demeanour.

Certain other informants, though not explicitly saying that a *táltos* is born from an animal, yet stress those characteristics from which one may infer their bestial origin. In Transdanubia, in the region of Göcsej, a boy who is born with hair on his back, is supposed to become a *táltos*.¹³ In Sárret (Békés county) there was a *táltos* who had hair some ten inches long on the left side of his chest, ever since he was a child¹⁴. In Bihar county (village of Konyár) hair which is growing on the chest, back, or loins of a child is considered evidence of being a *táltos*. A story (from the Jászság) says that János Csorna was born with foal's teeth and was therefore a *táltos*.¹⁵ In Püspökladány (Hajdú county) a *táltos* is generally believed to be born with teeth. Some *táltos* men have foal's teeth or wolf's teeth on either side in the back part of their mouths. Sándor Csompora, who was reputed to be a *táltos*, once looked in through the window of an enemy of his at the farm of Gáspártelek (belongs to Nagyszénás, Békés county), and was seen to

¹² Ósi is a small village in Veszprém county where a man lived who cured gullible people by saying prayers. He was frequently consulted by maid servants. One of them was his patient but she also went to a Budapest clinic for treatment. For details of his activities see Vajkai (1938). When the above data were recorded, he had been dead for some time, yet his marvellous successes in curing diseases were still a constant topic among the woman servants.

¹³ Gönczi (1914) p. 175; cf. Diószegi (1958) p. 342.

¹⁴ Szűcs (1936) p. 42.

¹⁵ Kálmány (1914) p. 168.

have ox-horns on his forehead. He had to fight with a black bull.¹⁶ This Sándor Csompora once fell asleep in a field and when he was found there, he had ox-horns on his forehead and nobody dared wake him. Later when he was told about this incident, he did not deny it and said only: 'It was lucky you did not wake me up for I would have trampled you to death!' He spoke a lot in his dreams and often mentioned a black bull. His fellow labourers said that on such occasions he was fighting with a bull.

In the Hungarian folklore literature there are only hints at the fact that a child born with teeth becomes a *táltos*.¹⁷ The records do not describe the teeth. Evidently, the peasants who told the stories no longer remembered which animal's teeth were in the mouth of the *táltos* in question. But in earlier times the fact was probably mentioned since it helped them to infer his origin. For as we have seen above, a *táltos* who was born from a wolf had teeth of a wolf in his mouth.¹⁸ But the field workers who recorded the cases did not ask what the teeth of the *táltoses* were like.

I am convinced that a further, thorough collection would reveal still many interesting facts about *táltoses*, the descendants of animals. However, it is evident from the part of the material which is surveyed in the present study that horses, bulls, wolves, cows, cranes, eagles or ravens figure among the ancestors, the parents or foster parents of *táltoses*. Elsewhere our material shows that their animal ancestors can only be inferred from physical traits with which they are born (they have the teeth of foals, calves or wolves; they have long hair on their chest or loins, they are seen with horns). We are also told that it is not advisable to marry a girl from a district which has been frequented by a *táltos* in bull form, because she will never desire her husband.¹⁹ It is evident, though we have no direct references, that only a *táltos* child can be born from the love of a bull and a girl.

These ideas concerning the origin of the Hungarian *táltos* agree with the totemistic manifestations of the Turkic and Mongolian shamans.

In many cases we know that shamans also descend from animals. Among the Buryats, for example, it was a widespread belief that they originated from eagles.²⁰ Among the Yakuts the strongest shamans professed to have been sent by eagles.²¹ The eagle, moreover, is a characteristic totem animal among the Yakuts. The clan which regards this bird as its totem is called *tojon törütüch*, 'descendant of the eagle'. If, after having prayed to the eagle for a child, a sterile woman bears a child, it is considered to have been conceived by the bird.²² The Yakuts regard the eagle also as the ancestor and creator of the shamans. L. Šternberg writes: 'They believe that the eagle devours the soul (*gür*) of the child which has been chosen as a shaman, whereupon he (the eagle) flies *with sun and moon* into the field and, there, on a sacred birch planted for this very purpose, he hatches an egg which

¹⁶ Data from Nagyszénás-Kiscsákó, Békés county.

¹⁷ Diószegi (1958) pp. 123-5.

¹⁸ Szűcs (1943) p. 84.

¹⁹ Szűcs (1936) p. 43.

²⁰ Nioradze (1925) p. 2; Sandschejew (1928) p. 976; Harva (1938) pp. 465-6; cf. also Róheim (1917) p. 84.

²¹ Data from Russian sources are quoted by Róheim (1917) p. 84; Nioradze (1925) p. 2.

²² Šternberg (1930) p. 132.

he then breaks. The child which was concealed in it, is placed in an iron cradle at the foot of the tree. It is guarded and reared by the so-called "mother bird" and raised as an *Ajŷ Ojŷna*, i.e. a shaman.²³ The following information given by L. Šternberg is worthy of attention: 'Among the Kachs the eagle appears as the ancestor of the shamans, at the same time also as a totem animal and as the eponym and guardian of a certain clan.'²⁴

It is remarkable that in the language of the Nivkhi (Gilyaks) the eagle has the same name as the shaman (*čam*), which indicates that a close relationship exists between shamanism and the eagle.²⁵

From our point of view the observations made by L. P. Potapov among the Altaic Turks are particularly valuable. Various animals—the stag, the wild goat, the deer, but primarily the reindeer—were the totemic ancestors of certain tribes. Later, with the development and change of social ideas and organizations, these animals were regarded only as the ancestors of the shamans. Still later the reindeer became the chief spirit of the shamans. The shaman drum represents the totemic ancestor, which is at the same time the assisting animal of the shaman. The leather strings and bosses on the drum symbolize the horns, udders, or ears of the animal. Among the Abakan Turks (Khakas), the shaman drum has six dangling leather strings on the upper part. These are regarded as the animal's six nipples by which she feeds the shaman. The Selkups consider the drum a living animal—a stag. The name of the shaman drum or some part of it (*bur, bor*) also means a species of deer. Among the Altai Turks, the genealogical relationship with animals was remembered in regard to the shamans, whereas, the clan as a whole and its individual members had already forgotten the idea of its descent from an animal ancestor.²⁶

It is also customary among other Turkic peoples to trace the origin of shamans to some animal. However there is no need here to go into further detail in this extremely intricate question. I have pointed out a few typical characteristics of Yakut and Turko-Altaic shamanism. In another connection V. Diószegi enumerates further important facts about the mother-animal of the shamans (which among the Yakuts can be an elk, a reindeer, a bear, a giant bull, a stallion, etc.).²⁷ A deeper analysis of this problem would lead us to animal ancestry, that is to say still farther afield, to totemism.

From what has been said, it is evident that the traditions which refer to the origin and the ancestry of Hungarian *táltoses*, undoubtedly preserve the memory of totemism. Their ancestors are always animals or birds and they often originate from the intercourse of a woman (generally a virgin) with a wolf or a bull. The story from Bihar county about a *táltos*, who was born from a wolf and a girl, resembles the Turkic tradition according to which this people traced its origin to a wolf. Kazakh and Bashkir genealogical legends consider the dog as their ancestor.²⁸ It is likely, that in the past,

²³ Šternberg (1930) p. 133. A good summary of the origin of the shamans is: Eliade (1951) pp. 76–9.

²⁴ Šternberg (1930) p. 144.

²⁵ Šternberg (1930) p. 144.

²⁶ Потанов (1935) pp. 134–52.

²⁷ Diószegi (1958) pp. 387 ff.

²⁸ Németh (1930) pp. 69–70 gives a detailed account of the problem of totemism, stressing totemistic names.

totemistic traits were more widespread in Hungarian popular belief than is generally assumed.²⁹

In my opinion the reminiscences of totemism in the Hungarian people have their parallels in the totemism among the Altaic Turks. Among the latter it is the shaman, among the former it is the corresponding *táltos*, who preserves the memory of totemism and of the genealogical relationship with animal ancestors. Originally, larger social groups (families, clans, tribes) or their leaders kept alive the evidence of their descent from animals. The fact that the Magyars of the period of Conquest considered their sacred chieftain as the son of their totemic animal (the *turul*: a falcon-, eagle- or hawk-like bird) and that when the strength of their chieftain was waning, he was solemnly sacrificed, also supports this theory.³⁰ The descent of a social group or community from an animal was expressed by their belief regarding their chief. Evidence of the totemistic descent of the Hungarian clans, or possibly of other social units, may be found in the Hungarian proper names and clan names of the 12th and 13th centuries, which are of totemistic origin. (*Ákos* 'white bird, white falcon', *Karcsa* 'hawk, falcon', *Kartal* 'eagle, black eagle', *Tiván* 'falcon', *Bese* 'sparrow hawk', *Turul* 'falcon-, eagle- or hawk-like bird', *Kaplony* 'tiger, panther', *Thonus-Oba* 'pig-father', *Kurd* 'wolf', *Tege* 'ram', etc.)³¹ Etymologically these are of Turkic origin and go back to a period preceding the settlement of the Magyars in the Carpathian Basin.

In the course of social development the relationship of the tribe, the clan and of their individual members with the totem ancestor has faded and only the *táltos*—like the shaman—has preserved the memory of the descent from an animal ancestor. The shaman, as well as the *táltos*, is thus an embodiment of older traditions.

Totemism raises also economic, social and psychological problems. It has survived in different peoples in various forms, depending on their stage of social advancement. I. Haeckel distinguishes between individual, tribe, clan (or group) and sex totemism.³²

Individual totemism 'as an integral part of shamanism' can be found in Northern Asia, North America and Indonesia. Each shaman has a certain number of guardian and assisting spirits (Schutz- und Hilfsgeister). These, frequently animals, are also the individual totems of the shaman.³³ In the assisting spirit (Hilfsgeist) which appears in an animal form—as well as in the *táltos*—we recognize totem ancestors. The traditions about the origin of the Hungarian *táltos*, like the idea of the shaman's animal descent, actually point to a form of individual totemism. But it is probable that

²⁹ For a detailed account, see Róheim (1954) pp. 4 ff, 48 ff. For totemistic traces in folk tales and curses, see Gunda (1958) pp. 63–72.— The following works refer to the individual problems of Hungarian totemism: Molnár (1954) p. 67; Györffy (1958) pp. 12–87, 565–615; Pais (1959) pp. 76–80; Gyallay (1959). For the Ugric aspects of the question, see Steinitz (1938) and Haeckel (1946).

³⁰ Róheim (1917) pp. 58–99.

³¹ Gomboz (1914); Pais (1922) pp. 31–3; (1949) pp. 37–43.

³² Haeckel (1939) pp. 243–60.

³³ Haeckel (1939) p. 244. Falsirol (1941) p. 69 also points out the totemistic connection between the shamans and certain animals.

here this individual totemism is the result of regressive development. Just as the belief of animal descent was transferred from the tribe to the shaman, so also tribe, clan and family totemism changed to individual totemism.

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