

the objects showing simultaneously different sides of them (periphrasis).

The functions of the expressive markers shown in the article constitute in their totality several pragmatic functions of the prayer. They include the conservation of ethic and aesthetic values of the nation, intermediary contacts between generations, evaluation of everyday life and behaviour as a frame of social orientation, a therapeutic effect (self soothing) that helps to overcome personal and cosmic loneliness. So the contemporary reader will find not only the 'direct' information elements of the early stages of religion, but also some indirect knowledge about the ancestors.

Literature

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³Galperin, I. *Stylistics*. Moscow 1977; Leech, G., Short, M. *Style in fiction. A linguistic introduction to English fictional prose*. London, New York, 1981.

⁴Porkka, V. *Tscheremissische Texte mit Übersetzung*. Helsingfors, 1895.

CIVIL ENGINEERING ASPECTS OF THE FORMATION OF MANSI AND UDMURT WORSHIP COMPLEXES

Oleg Grachov. Izhevsk, Udmurtia

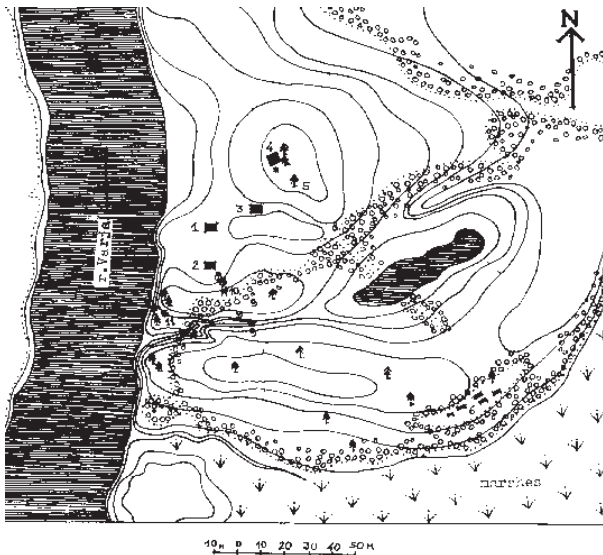
Traditional architecture takes a special place in the material culture of the Fenno-Ugric peoples. It includes two indissolubly connected and equally important elements: the architecture of buildings, that is the material part of traditional architecture, and civil engineering that places the buildings in relation to each other, which is the spiritual part of architecture. Depending on the function the building is initiated in – economic, habitable or worshipping – the part of utilitarian and spiritual saturation is changed till the full absence of the spiritual or material elements. Of special interest in this connection are the works of S. Bakhrushin, I. Gemuev, A. Sagalaev, Z. Sokolova, V. Kulemzin,

B. Chernetsov.

The task of our report is to dwell on the spiritual and also the material elements of the worship complexes and worship places. Special attention is paid to the civil engineering aspects of the formation of staging, carrying out and natural surroundings of worshipping.

The starting point of our research work is the assumption of homogeneity of Early Ugriic culture on the both sides of the Urals and its uneven evolution.

We need to stress that while examining the worship complexes, we do not get a full picture: the economic and dwelling houses and their complexes also have a spiritual charge. Besides, the examination of worship complexes is impossible without viewing them in the structure of the settlements and the set-



Mansi worship complex on the Varya river.

1. Old dwelling house.
2. Washing house.
3. Barn.
4. New dwelling house.
5. Totem tree.
6. Cemetery.
7. Lake.
8. Places of distribution of worship bones on trees.
9. Places of distribution of the things of the dead.
10. Places of distribution of the worship stretchers.
11. Sacrificial fire-place.

tling system. The analogies of traditional architecture with traditional medicine, music and folklore, which are nearer to spiritual elements, at the same time being elements of material culture, are very interesting in this connection. Can we single out the purely material and the purely spiritual? If so, then only conditionally. But with the multiple repetitions that have become clichés, we do not notice the spiritual beginning in dwellings and economic buildings, which does not mean, however, that they do not exist.

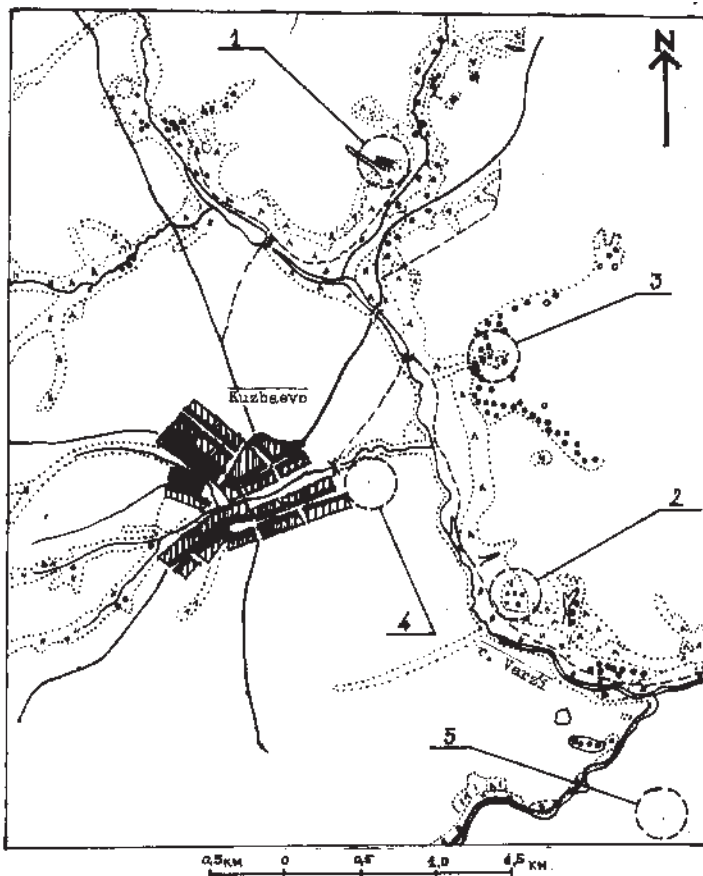
Among the Mansi worship complexes, the complex on the Varya River and that on a lake near the Varya River are of special interest. Both complexes are in approachable radius from each other, on the same river and of the same significance.

While the first inhabited complex is situated somehow on the island among the marshes, the second, uninhabited one is situated among the marshes turning into a lake. The first complex is situated in an open place, of the edge of a forest, the second one is in the forest – in the sacred grove.

While examining the Mansi complexes, the first one bears the features of a funeral rite of a late priest. On the trees along the way to the cemetery there are the clothes of the deceased man, under the trees there lie shooting and fishing accessories, skis, etc. Well traced is the place for stretchers for the dead. But with this, we can be surely convinced that the principal purpose of the complex is worship. Some trees have the skulls of the sacrificed animals on them. One of the trees has sacrificed ropes. Set or nailed to this sacrificed tree and to each building we can see flat boards with sloped edges – idols. Of special interest is the cemetery: the road to it passes through a shallow lake full of stagnant black water. In the middle of the lake there is a mat-bag with the winter clothes of the dead. On three graves, which are situated in the South-West orientation, there are the worship accessories: cups, spoons, bowls and plates with their bottoms up, a set of them on each grave. A subjective sensation while crossing the lake is fear that can be compared with a visit to the sacred grove of the Udmurt public *Kuala*.

The second Mansi complex is a worshipping barn or *sumyak* on two 3-metre pillars. It has a meridian orientation with the entrance to the south. To the left there is a pillar of 2 meters. It probably is the idol-pillar or the pillar for fastening of the idol.

Let us consider in this way Udmurt worship complex near the Kuzebaev settlement, the neighbourhood of two kin worship-places and one tribal worship place. Two Vorshud tribal groups, Bodya and Omga, live in Kuzebaev – they are remnants of one tribe and thus related kins. It is interesting to note that the Varklet-Bodya settlement, situated nearby, also has preserved a worship complex with a public *Kuala* and can be regarded as a Bodya kin Vorshud



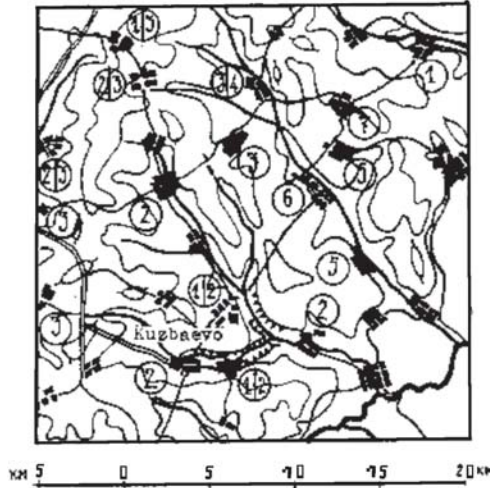
The Udmurt worship complex near Kuzbaevo village.

1. The kin worship-place *Badd'z'ym kuala*.
2. The kin worship place of *Ludi*.
3. The kin worship place *bulda*.
4. Old cemetery.
5. New cemetery.

group.

Let us dwell on the sacred grove and public *Kuala* complex. This place is thoroughly protected from strangers and has its own peculiarities. First of all there are acoustic characteristics of a mixed forest that creates silence and a feeling of fear. While entering the grove you clearly feel the transition from acoustic market and a variety of the sounds of nature to an acoustic vacuum. A

thick layer of vegetation, moss, deciduous leaves and tree trunks create the conditions and acoustics of a good concert-hall. It is the most interesting fact that while entering into the public Kuala, the usual acoustics for any building



The Vorshuds near the Kuzbaevo village. The Bodya, Omga and Kibya kins are located only in the south and middle parts of Udmurtia. The other Vorshuds are scattered all over the country. Once in every three years the inhabitants of the villages gather in the worshipping place or *bulda* of their kin.

returns. Such acoustic complication is associated with the formation of the protective layer of the worship building or an aura. Besides, the sudden silence from additional factors overgrows into the ability to hear oneself and to feel fear.

The Udmurt worship complex in an open place with the full absence of the front plan creates the conditions of unusual perception of the full moon, the size of which is enlarging by itself, also creating a definite worshipping atmosphere. The group prayer gives the opportunity to feel not oneself, but also the surrounding space, to full extent.

While analysing the Mansi worship complexes, we come to the conclusion that these consist of ordinary worship-places without buildings, but with clearly expressed natural-landscape model of this. The evolution of the Udmurt and Mansi natural landscape stimulates the construction of worship-buildings there. A Mansi worship-building is erected on high pillars (two or four), while an Udmurt one on stones or small pillars at the corners of the frame. Further evo-

lution of the complex is concentrated just on these buildings and partly on the interior and the size of the building.

In spite of the fact that a Mansi worship complex develops on the lowlands, the structure of the dwellings, economic and worship complexes has to some extent a 'mountain' character. This mountain worship, expressed in the calculation and fixing of every hill or hillock, is used in the dwelling system.

In the woodlands, when it is difficult to single out space structure, the excavation of a cave in a whole rock that possessed great favourable force was used. The cave, in the almost flat landscape, plays the role of the glade in the sacred grove, which is notable in the surrounding large forest. Taking into account that the selection of the worship place or place for living was necessary first of all for favourable use of these functions, we can trace the parallel with the ancient Chinese work *Fin Shun* about the favourable influence of mountains on the people's lives. In this comparison it is important for us that there have always been specialists who defined the favourable conditions for placing dwellings, economic and worship buildings, and there have always been people who believed in those specialists, which in its turn is a good grounds for placing of traditional formation. This is reflected, to some extent, in the general Mansi world outlook.

In its turn, we can see in the structural dependence of the worship places on the placing of inhabited settlements. It is known, for example, that relatives usually settled along on the same bank of a river at the distance of 1,5-2,5 km with 5 to 8 tributaries.

That is why the worship-places of inter-kin level were placed at the tributary mouths: to have comfortable access to all the relatives. An inter-kin worship place is situated near the settlement, not more than 1 km up the flow. We suppose that the Mansi had a worship place connected not only with the location of worship places, but with dwellings and economic activities. It is possible that the traditional Mansi palm tattoo, during small rural district rule, was the original personal certificate; a pair of symbols could show these specific features of the place or territory or the revered animal. Most of the symbols belonged to that part of the river where the owner of the tattoo lived. It signified the number of streams at the present section, the presence of a lake or spring nearby etc. The symbol of the animal is usually defined as a deer or otter.

In conclusion we are to underline that the strict requirements for the selection of Mansi dwellings, economic and worship buildings are due to vital force of the tradition of planning and the ability of self-preservation during the evolutionary process, which in its turn proves the great spiritual potential of Early Ugric material culture.