Folklore

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SOCIAL MEANING OF CULTURE IN A STALINIST PRISON CAMP

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Abstract: The Stalinist prison camp system – popularly known as the Gulag archipelago – existed for a relatively short period (from 1931–1960) and became world famous as a synonym for terror, humiliation and human suffering. This article focuses on the social significance of culture in one of the biggest Stalinist prison camp – Karlag in Central Kazakhstan. The first part of the article gives an overview of the institutions of culture in prison camps and their activities. It also gives an overview of unofficial cultural activities and the consequences of being engaged in the unsanctioned creation of art. In the second part of the paper, the social significance of culture in Stalinist prison camps is discussed. Official and non-official art were not separate and existed in symbiosis: people crossed the border between these spheres. Moreover, the camp administration recognised the material value of art produced in the camp and began to organise the production of pictures or handicrafts in order to sell them outside the camp. Nevertheless, both official and unofficial cultures had a deep social meaning for the people. Producing unsanctioned paintings and other objects of artistry can be seen as an act of resistance, producing sanctioned art helped the artists to create their own social and mental space and distance themselves from the everyday grind of the camp. In general, culture and its institutions in the prison failed to fulfill their original purpose – instead of re-educating and changing inmates, culture helped to maintain human dignity and integrity.

Keywords: Kazakhstan, Gulag, social significance of culture

Stalinist prison camps are infamous and their existence is now well known all around the world. These camps are correctly associated with inhuman living conditions, suffering, slave labour, humiliation, tragedy, hunger and death. One influential work in disseminating the scenes and images of suffering, which made the abbreviation Gulag famous is the "Archipelago in Gulag", a book that has been translated into multiple languages (Solženitsõn 1990). However, "The Gulag Archipelago" and several other popular or academic books written about the Stalinist prison camps focus strongly on the injustice and inhuman conditions of this repressive system and touch lightly, if at all, on other aspects of the structure and how the Gulag functioned. The Gulag was a very complex institution and taking a closer look at the nature of the Gulag it is impossible to ignore

the controversial ideologies and practices that were inherent in their structure. The aim of this article is to analyse culture and artistry in the Stalinist prison camp system. More precisely, the cultural institutions, the formal and informal cultural life as well as the artistic practices in one of the biggest camps, Karlag in Kazakhstan. It is hard to believe that there could have existed anything like "culture" in these camps, so much about the Gulag has become a synonym for terror, tragedy and death. However, the culture and cultural institutions in Stalinist prison camps were as complex and controversial as the whole system. The controversy was caused by different motivations and practices involving people engaged in culture within the camps. As will be demonstrated, formal and informal cultural practices were interwoven, instrumentalised and even commercialised in the Gulag system, processes that seem extremely unsuited for the image associated with such an institution. This article does not presume to be a complete analysis of the culture and the institutions of the Gulag.

This article draws on information from different sources. Some research was undertaken in Almaty in the Presidential Archive, Central Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan and in several regional archives by Dinara Kamidullina and Baurzhan Zhangutin. Additionally, in April and May 2012, interviews were conducted with three groups of Estonians who were arrested in 1951–1952 and sent to Karlag where they stayed until the 1954 amnesty. More research followed in the National Archive of Estonia in Tallinn during the same period from April to May 2012. The authors of this article also relied on published sources on the everyday life and history of Karlag. Valuable information with biographies and memories of prisoners was also found in a volume about the art and culture in Karlag (Dulatbekov 2009).

One of the best known books written on the Stalinist prison camp system is "Gulag: A History" by the journalist Anne Applebaum (Applebaum 2003) but there is a longer tradition among historians to study the institution (the Gulag in general and Karlag in particular) by Western, Russian and Kazakhstan scholars. Today there are numerous academic publications on the Gulag that demonstrate the variety of topics associated with this institution. In general, studies on the Gulag appeared in the post-Soviet world only after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Several Russian academics' works explored new aspects of the topic focusing on the economy (Borodkin & Gregory & Khlevniuk 2005), children's camps (Gorcheva 1993) or legal aspects of prison camp policy (Ivanova 2006). For example, the monograph of Ivanova (2006) discusses the Gulag as a new type of Soviet penal system based on a complex analysis of laws, archival sources and financial accounting documents. In the West, the broad spectrum of archive material is published by Stettner (Stettner 1996), survival strategies of prisoners explored by Stark (Stark 2003) and the complex economic analysis

of the Gulag is delivered by the edited volume by Gregory and Lazarev (Gregory & Lazarev 2003). In Kazakhstan, the history and development of the Gulag has been widely covered by historians (Bastemieva 2008; Kukushkina 2002; Shaimukhanov & Shamuikhanova 1999) also memories of former Gulag prisoners have come to light (e.g. Bakhtin & Putilov 1994; Vaisberg 1991). However, most of the (semi)academic works written about the Gulag have been by historians. This paper is a combination of anthropology and history and our aim is to use anthropological concepts for discussing the cultural life and institutions of artistic production in Stalinist prison camps.

THE CONTEXT: GULAG AND KARLAG

A popular saying in Kazakhstan is that "Kazakhstan was the prison of the Soviet Union" (*Kazakhstan byl tiur'moi Sovetskogo Soiuza*). Indeed, the history and further development of Kazakhstan is closely linked to the penal system during the most infamous period of the Soviet Union – the period of the Stalinist regime. In the 1940s, the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan was peppered with a constantly growing network of prison camps concentrated around large central prison conglomerates like Karlag, Steplag and several others. One goal of the camp system was the appropriation of vast steppes of Kazakhstan (Barnes 2008) and some authors even argue that this policy was the main motivation behind the Stalinist purges – to create a free labour force to build industry and master territories (Gavrilova 2003). Moreover, the foundation for the multicultural society of Kazakhstan, with nearly 150 ethnic groups and 80 spoken languages (Perepis 2012), was laid in the era of the Gulag as many deportees or prisoners chose to stay in Kazakhstan after they were freed from the camps, even when movement restrictions were lifted. It must be noted that this period of Kazakhstan history cannot be separated from the general political and historical processes in the Soviet Union although its impact on the development of the region has been unique (e.g. Gavrilova 2003: 44).

The Gulag prison camp system was a product of several parallel developments in the Soviet Union (Gregory 2003). Here we would like to highlight two processes. The establishment of the Gulag took place simultaneously with the Soviet industrialisation project, where labour was required in huge quantities and often in very hostile and harsh environments (Gregory & Lazarev 2003). Solzhenitsyn stressed in *The Gulag Archipelago* that the nature and intensity of work in the prison camps changed when the Gulag became a work camp and ceased to be a purely penal institution (Solženitsõn 1990: Vol II, Part III and IV). This period (1920s to 1940s) was also the era of Soviet nation building (a

process based on terror and fear), where for ideological reasons a substantial mass of people needed to be isolated from mainstream society and – if possible – re-educated in order to fit into the new socialist order. These people were the 'remains' of the 'old order' (nobles, clerics), victims of the collectivisation, people who resisted Soviet ideology or annexation of new territories and people who did not participate in the building of the new state with the required enthusiasm (c.f. Gregory 2003: 4). It is generally agreed that the prototype for the future Gulag was the Solovki Camp of Special Destination (SLON) on the Solovetsky Islands in the White Sea, established shortly after the revolution (Barnes 2011; Gregory 2003; Solženitsõn 1990). After 1926, prisoners' labour was systematically used in forestry and fisheries (Gregory 2003: 9). Similar to Karlag and other Gulag prisons, SLON had its own newspaper – 'Solovetskie ostrova' (Solovetsky Islands) – distributed around the whole country (this was not the case with later Gulag penal colony newspapers). Solzhenitsyn argued, that at this time the state wished to demonstrate the existence of a prison camp that was a temporary place to isolate the 'alien element' to the new socialist society, an institution which would become useless as soon as the new Socialist state became established (Solženitsõn 1990: Vol II, 32).

On 6th of November 1929, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars passed a law that imprisonment of up to three years should be carried out in "regular prisons" whereas confinement from three to ten years should take place in prison camps in remote regions of the country (Prokopchuk 2004). The creation of a network of prison camps was begun. For management of the camp system the Gulag was created (*Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh lagerei, trudovykh poselenii i mest zakliucheniia* or the Main Administration of Labour Camps, Labour Settlements and Places of Detention) which was subordinated to the NKVD of the Soviet Union (*Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennykh Del* or People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, a Soviet ministry for internal affairs). The Gulag controlled, in its heyday, 36 of the so-called "corrective-labour camps" (sing. *ispravitel'no-trudovoi lager'*), in fact each of these camps was a conglomerate of several prison camps (Dulatbekov 2010; Gavrilova 2003). On the 26th of March 1953 Lavrentii Beriia, the deputy prime minister of the Soviet Union at the time, reported to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (the highest institution of the Soviet Union de facto governing the country) that this year the number of inmates in the Gulag prison system was 2,526,402 people (Ivanova 2006). The existence of the prison camp system was quite short compared to the impact and legacy it left: The Gulag was officially closed on the 25th of January 1960 (Ivanova 2006). Ironically, the idea behind the Gulag camps was to re-educate criminals and "enemies of the people" and put them back onto the

"right track". Therefore, Gulag prison camps were not concentration or annihilation camps but were officially called corrective-labour camps (*ispravitel'no-trudovoi lager'*) and had a very specific ideological background: it was believed that through participation in socialist labour and the right cultural and political education, criminal and political prisoners could be turned into loyal Soviet citizens and re-enter society after their prison sentence. During the existence of the Gulag, the camps had various programmes and institutions whose existence made sense only in the light of the ideology of correction, re-education and re-integration of prisoners. However, a certain shift in the Gulag ideology took place after WWII. At the end of the 1940s in the territory of Kazakhstan several new prison camps were opened. In fact all the camps of the "strict regime" (sing. *lager' strogogo rezhima*) like "Stepnoi" (25,000 inmates), "Peschanyi" and "Lugovoi" (both for 15,000 inmates) were a complex of several smaller camps. These camps, especially Stepnoi or Steplag, had a structure similar to the Nazi concentration camps and it is argued that the inspiration for this new form of camp was derived from the Nazis (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 164). The goal of these new camps was to extract natural resources with the lowest possible costs. In these camps, prisoners had a number instead of a name, i.e. "their names were taken away". Living conditions in the camps of the "strict regime" were especially miserable. In addition, these camps engaged in minimal "corrective" activities, if at all (Solženitsõn 1990: Vol II,Part V; Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 164).

Karlag or Karaganda Corrective-Labour Camp (*Karagandinskii ispravitel'no-trudovoi lager'*) was one of the biggest complexes of Gulag prison camps located in Central Kazakhstan, in the Karaganda Province (oblast) of the Kazakh SSR. It is estimated that during the existence of Karlag between 1931–1959 nearly one million people went through its camps and affiliates. On the 1st of October 1931 Karlag housed 12,174 inmates, in January 1941 – 51,404 inmates. The maximum number of inmates in Karlag was in January 1949 – 65,673 convicts[1]. With the growth of convicts the camp complex increased as well and in 1952 included 64 male and 39 female *zil'nye zony* or living zones.[2] Solzhenitsyn named Karlag "the biggest capital of the camp world" (*krunpneishaia stolitsa lagernogo mira*). Suffice to say, in Kazakhstan, camps included representatives of almost every ethnic group from the Soviet Union as well as Poles, Germans, Hungarians and people from other territories occupied by the Red Army: (Dil'manov 2002; Russkii... 1996; Shaimukhanov & Shamuikhanova 1999).[3] Karlag was an umbrella institution for 29 different subunit camps and – what makes Karlag different from other Stalinist camps – most inmates of Karlag were victims of the infamous 58th article, i.e. they were convicted for political crimes (anti-Soviet propaganda, counter-revolutionary activity, espionage for capitalist countries,

etc.) as "enemies of the people" (Gavrilova 2003). After WWII political crimes also included collaboration with enemies or surrendering in war. Karlag stuck out in the Gulag system for its high concentration of so-called intellectuals: famous Soviet scholars, artists and doctors were imprisoned there. The most unique and infamous of the Karlag prison camps was prison camp No. 26, known as A.L.Z.I.R. – Akmolinsk camp for the wives of the traitors of the fatherland (*Akmolinskii lager zhen izmennikov rodiny*). It is argued that nowhere else in world history has a special camp for spouses of convicted political prisoners ever existed (Gavrilova 2003: 46; c.f. Shaimukhanov & Shamuikhanova 1999).

The centre of the Karlag system was the state farm (*sovkhoz*) "Gigant". In fact, Karlag was organised to keep the state farm running. Karlag was established on the 19th of December 1931 when the state farm Gigant was reorganised into an enterprise based on forced labour (Gavrilova 2003: 8).[4] The region around Karlag is rich in coal and the main purpose of the camp was to provide industrial workers with food. Karlag received 110,000 ha of land to cultivate and was engaged in a range of agricultural activities. With the industrialisation in Kazakhstan and growth of the convict labour force, the food requirements increased and the size of Gigant grew – the state farm in 1951 occupied approximately two million hectares of land.[5] As Steven Barnes writes; "Karlag was primarily, though not exclusively, an agricultural camp established to transform the semi-desert of the steppe into a productive agricultural base for the provision of livestock and crops to the region's growing population engaged in the extraction of natural resources" (Barnes 2008). For that purpose, the administration of the camp deliberately selected its inmates by occupation with a preference for those with qualifications needed for the everyday work life in the camps and enterprises, i.e. engineers, farmers and construction workers, but also accountants, artists, and so forth (Gavrilova 2003: 45). Barnes argued that Karlag was an atypical penal colony for the Gulag (2011: 3) due to its focus on agriculture and its high proportion of political prisoners. The structure of Karlag was constantly changing: before its closure on the 27th of June 1959 the camp had departments for political work, cadres for free labour, the 3rd department (security), a military security force, departments of accounting and distribution (of inmates), cultural-corrective work, administration and economics, supply, trading and finance, transport and inspection (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 18).

IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE OF KARLAG

When taking into account the popular image of the word Gulag as a place for death, misery and suffering, the idea that a cultural life existed in the camps sounds absurd. As surreal as it seems, Karlag strictly followed the ideology of a corrective labour camp.[6] Kazakh researchers have formulated the ideology of Stalinist corrective labour camps on the basis of various rules and pre-scriptions that often bore strong ideological connotations (Bastemieva 2008; Dil'manov 2002; Vaisberg 1991). The prisoners should not feel isolated from Soviet society and had to be aware that they also participated in the economic processes while in the penal institution, i.e. the camp prisoners had to feel that they worked for their country. Therefore many camps introduced a five year plan, socialist labour competitions and supported the Stakhanov movement.[7] The inmates were obliged to participate in the "cultural-educational work" (*kul'turno-vospitatel'naia rabota*) to remain in touch with the changes and new developments in Soviet society. Communists were of the opinion that this would enable prisoners to be more easily re-integrated into society after completing their sentence (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 144).

In Karlag, as in the whole of the Gulag, there existed extensive structures with the task of organising and conducting cultural and re-educational work. These activities were officially called "political-re-educational work" (*politiko-vospitatel'naia rabota*) and responsible for that field were two departments – the political department (*politotdel*) and the cultural-re-educational depart-ment (*kul'turno-vospitatel'nyi otdel*), subordinated to the Main Administration of Karlag (*Upravlenie Karlaga*). These departments were engaged in several activities that were called in typical Soviet manner, political-mass work (*politiko-massovaia rabota*) and industrial-mass work (*proizvoditel'no-massovaia rabota*), the first aimed to raise the political awareness of prisoners and the latter was supposed to motivate prisoners to participate enthusiastically in a socialist production process, i.e. to work harder and with better results. Apart from these activities, both departments supervised something called the "wall press" (*stennaia pechat',* wall desks filled with announcements and informa-tion), school work in camps, so called "club-mass work" (*klubno-massovaia rabota*), libraries and organised lectures. To cope with the task, an impressive number of facilities and personnel existed in Karlag. During its existence, the camp hosted 75 clubs and 26 stationary or mobile cinemas. The 85 libraries of the camp possessed 59.879 books (including 35.000 fiction books)[8] and were subscribers to diverse newspapers and journals. In 1947 alone there were: 1,954 educational lectures, 10,404 political lectures (*politdoklad*), 87,747 collective newspaper reading sessions, 1,911 concerts and artistic performances, 1,300

film shows, and 264 of the so called 'wall newspapers' (*stennaia gazeta*) were written in Karlag with the aim of "mobilising inmates to increase productivity and strengthen camp discipline" (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 145). It should be mentioned that the statistics for 1950 were much higher. Hundreds of people worked in the cultural institutions of Karlag with the task of conducting and supervising events. Most of the cultural workers were recruited from among the inmates but dozens were also hired with a regular wage from outside of the Karlag. From the beginning of Karlag, in 1931, the camp newspaper "Putevka" (The Journey) was organised with ca. 6500 copies printed of every issue. The newspaper had 1125 "active camp correspondents" who regularly contributed news and stories from different subdivisions of Karlag (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 148). In 1931, a Karlag boarding school opened, and in 1932 – a vocational school. The teachers were recruited among the educated inmates (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 147–149). Looking at the numbers, the cultural and educational life in Karlag unexpectedly was blooming, a phenomenon which cannot be explained only by top-down initiatives and regulations.

Culture and artistry in this article is represented with a broad stroke. As will be demonstrated, practices that can be categorised as high, low, official, informal and commercial art and culture, were interwoven within Karlag. Therefore activities like handicraft, poetry, painting or making theatre decorations can be interpreted as different sides of artistry.

Several scholars have noted that in Karlag a number of well-known Soviet artists and scholars were imprisoned. A. Chizhevskii, the scholar and experimental artist, E. Olevshikova, an opera soloist from Kharkov, M.Ler, a former director of the Moscow operetta theatre, R.M. Ilisetskaia, a ballet dancer, P.P.Frinzen, a famous Soviet painter were among the artists and academics linked with Karlag (Gavrilova 2003: 50–54; Shaimukhanov & Shamuikhanova 1999: 149,151). Alexandr Grigor'ev, the organiser of the artist association, Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (*Assotsatsia Khudozhnikov Revoljutsionnoi Rossii*), an organisation whose aim was – ironically – to support state ideology, spent several years in Karlag. In the Karlag archive there also exist files on the Leningrad graphist V.V.Lebedeva and the sculptor E.S.Ovoshhnikov, who established the art group Supporters of the new art.[9] The policy of sending "intellectuals" to Karlag seems to be consistent throughout the existence of the camp. Artists and scholars were also sent to Karlag after WWII from the newly occupied territories. For instance, one of our Estonian informants mentioned that he met the well-known prima donna of the Estonian national opera, Gerta Murre, in Karlag (Interview 06.05.2012 in Tartu). Later famous Soviet Estonian avant-garde artist Ülo-Ilmar Sooster spent several years in one of the Karlag

subdivisions. Karlag was also a forced home for several German artists, some of them from Germany, others from the Volga region (Gavrilova 2003: 8).

Any kind of unsanctioned art was forbidden in the prison camps. Scholars who studied the culture of Karlag and other Gulag prison camps have written that even the possession of pens and paper was punishable (Gavrilova 2003: 8). This regulation is also confirmed by our own archival research and interviews. There are numerous cases when people were punished for owning these items or when pictures they had drawn were found. It frequently happened that paper, pens, sometimes even handmade ink or colours were confiscated, and then followed by draconian punishments. For example, when guards found some black and white pictures made by the Estonian artist Ülo-Ilmar Sooster, they threw the pictures into an oven and beat the artist brutally. One of the guards kicked him in the face and breaking several of his front teeth. Interestingly, fellow inmates and the artist himself managed to save some of the pictures from the fire and these works with burned edges are now in the museum of Karlag in Karaganda (Gavrilova 2003: 77–78). As well as physical punishment, such violations included being locked up or transfer to a harder work detail. Nevertheless, despite the risks many prisoners engaged in drawing pictures, writing poetry or carving small items. Some of the Karlag prisoners even managed to keep diaries, another strongly forbidden activity. In most cases, to carry out such risky activities, prisoners were forced to create their own tools and hide them from the guards. It was not unusual that paintings were made using coal from the ovens. In order to make coloured pictures, artists invented complicated strategies. There are documented cases when prisoners boiled pieces of carpet or textile in order to prepare the colour for their paintings. One possibility to obtain colour was to use the blood of the dead dogs and cats that people managed to find. Moreover, people made brushes from the hair of dead animals.

As well as the "real" art, prisoners of Karlag participated in artistic handicraft. In the museum of A.L.Z.I.R. in Akmolinsk, tastefully decorated women's shirts, Ukrainian towels and other items made by convicts are exhibited. For the handicrafts, the source materials were also made by the women – for example by boiling threads in coloured water they produced red, yellow and various coloured flosses to embroider their clothes or towels. Prisoners also decorated their barracks and produced objects and items such as dolls, little sculptures and even ash trays, etc. some of which are exhibited in the museum of A.L.Z.I.R. (see also: Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 145–149).

The policy of the Karlag administration, the guards and various leading personnel of subunit camps towards diverse forms of art was very controversial and interesting. In the prison camps there existed several overlapping policies making non-sanctioned art not illegal but semi-legal. As mentioned above,

pens and paper in the camps were forbidden and possession of these items was punishable. However, there were several cases when a camp administration tolerated and even supported these activities. Galina Semenova writes in her memoirs that as soon as the women in A.L.Z.I.R. had settled into the newly built camp and life attained some routine they asked the camp administration for the permission to decorate their barracks. With great enthusiasm they painted the walls white and decorated the oven and walls with portraits, folkloric pictures, plants and landscapes. One woman drew a picture: silhouettes of the Russian poet Pushkin in discussion with one of his best known heroes Evgenii Onegin standing on the river bank of Neva. The oven was repainted as a classic Dutch oven (Dulatbekov 2010: 240).

The enormous potential of so many artists and highly educated scholars in Karlag occurred to the camp administration. Initially, the skills of the artists were utlised in political-educational activity. Numerous theatres and clubs in the subdivisions of Karlag made use of the artists as actors, directors or decorators.[10] Theatre plays were staged in large numbers, sometimes very complicated and even avant-garde (Gavrilova 2003: 60). This again demonstrates the controversy related to the Stalinist prison system. There is reliable documentation that proves the existence of experimental theatre under the nose of the Karlag administration. It seems that in the prison camp, the theatre, a barometer of artistic freedom, was broader than outside of the camps. The artists performed critical songs where they made jokes about camp officials and theatrical performances that would have been impossible to stage in an 'average' theatre due the fact that the authors, the themes, or the play itself was forbidden. Partly it was due to the ignorance of the prison censors who did not grasp the irony behind the plays or poems (Solženitsõn 1990), partly due to the weaker control in some Karlag camps where the officials and guards were also bored of living in isolated settlements far away from European Russia. However, again there is controversial evidence on how the activities in the prison camp theatres was organised. Memoirs of the prison camp theatre activities tell that artists had to make their own costumes, combining any materials they were able to find, other former prison camp theatre artists counteract that the administration did not count the money when they had to buy material for costumes: "If the plot needed a wolf skin coat then a wolf skin coat was bought" (Gavrilova 2003: 60). As grotesque as it may be to imagine hungry inmates performing plays in expensive costumes, this was one of the Gulag system's contradictions. Apart from theatre, prisoners were used as entertainers for various official music events. In general, state holidays were not celebrated in Karlag, so as to remind the inmates that they were behind the barbed wire and not free citizens. However, concerts and dances were organised to entertain the administration. For

prisoners, concerts of patriotic songs or sometimes even classical music were organised as part of the political-corrective work (Gavrilova 2003; Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999).

In 1938, Karlag opened their 'artistic workshop' (*khudozhestvennaia masterskaia*) whose goal at the beginning was to provide the camp's theatres with costumes and decorations and design wall newspapers or blackboards with information and political or cultural articles (Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 46). In this workshop artists worked with different profiles and performed various tasks from sewing costumes to painting decorations. Pretty soon the workshop became a meeting place of likeminded people who gathered there to communicate and forget the camp's everyday life. The workshop soon became the institution that marked the commercialisation of art in Karlag. Many artists who directly worked in the workshop or were indirectly linked to it remember that soon after the opening of the workshop they started to receive requests to make paintings or other handicrafts for people. Guards, officials from the administration and fellow inmates ordered paintings, mainly portraits of their relatives. The camp administration used talented artists to decorate their homes with portraits of their wives and children or ordered pictures of landscapes and copies of well-known works of art. Also, fellow prisoners asked for paintings of their wives and children, prepared using photos they had received from home. The art and handicraft requests were produced with compensation, for example, prisoners paid with the little money or food they had in order to obtain these pictures (Dulatbekov 2010: 360–363; Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 66).

The art and handicraft produced by the workshop spread quickly outside of the camp and the prison camp administration decided to start marketing the produce. It became obvious that people in the nearby towns and villages were ready to pay money for decorative little items or pictures, and the workshop started to produce art to be sold in the markets and shops surrounding the camp. Slowly the art workshop changed from satisfying the internal demand of theatre decorations, wall newspapers and art produced for the staff, into an enterprise whose produce was sold outside of the camp system. This trade turned out to be so profitable that soon the workshop was turned into a self-accounting (*khozrashchet*) enterprise. The Karlag administration supplied artists with materials, bought different colours, paper, and brushes. There is very little evidence as to what degree the artists working in the workshop profited from their work, but it is obvious that preparing handicraft or pictures for money or food and producing art to be sold on the markets must have improved their living conditions and most importantly their diet. Moreover, having better access to food and/or money increased their social status. Despite the fact that

people in the art workshop were convicts, they were excused from the general labour and enjoyed a relative freedom. According to Solzhenitsyn (Solženitsõn 1990), every position that made it possible to avoid heavy physical work was valued in the Gulag as a possibility to stay alive and survive until the end of the punishment period. In several memoirs, printed in overviews of Karlag, former convicts confess that they always looked for the possibility to join the art workshop brigade and therefore be engaged with physically lighter work. In summary, it could be argued that in the cultural world of the prison camp two different concepts of art existed– forbidden/illegal and semi-commercial sanctioned art (Dulatbekov 2010: 360–363; Shaimukhanov & Shaimukhanova 1999: 66).

ARTISTRY AS A SHADOW REALITY

When looking at the blossoming official and unofficial cultural life in Karlag several questions arise. Why were people engaged in the forbidden artistry? Was participation in the official art voluntary or forced? Is it possible to look at people who entertained the camp's administration as theatre artists, or proponents of the propaganda that hailed the system that sent them to the camp and therefore collaborators with the Stalinist penal system? And the last question – was the making of official sanctioned art purely a practical decision – to earn some money or food and to avoid the hard physical work – or was there more behind it? Fortunately there are several published sources (diaries, memoirs and so forth) that help to give an answer to these questions.

The case of decorating a female barrack was mentioned previously. Galina Semenova writes of the importance of this work, as drawing and painting pictures was an "escape from the darkness of the disaster in consolation of the spiritual pain" (*vykhod iz mraka bedstvii utesheniem dushevnoi boli*) (Dulatbekov 2010: 241). The purpose of art as a way to maintain an inner integrity, and to forget reality, is also mentioned by many former prisoners. Moreover, the creation of art as a means to avoid being broken by the prison system is highlighted by scholars (Dulatbekov 2009, 2010; Gavrilova 2003).

Olsen writes that material objects are related to bodily practices and creating objects is often a process of enacting cultural norms (Olsen 2010: 122). The process of drawing, painting or making handicraft was for prisoners often the only way to create another reality that left behind the barbed wire. It is remarkable how important these activities were for re-creating their personality. For example, it is argued that the uncompromising nature of Estonian artist Ülo-Ilmar Sooster was closely connected with his refusal to give up drawing,

the artist followed the style of the Paris school that he had learned in his youth in Estonia (Dulatbekov 2009: 77–78). Tim Ingold argues that temporality is a selective way of interconnecting physical objects, events and histories (2000: 201–207). In the prison world, the artists re-created their pasts via activities and objects that connected them with the world before the prison camp. Using their creativity to transfer objects from their environment to tools to make art (using coal for drawing, boiling textiles to make colours, etc.) was a 'habit memory' (Olsen 2010: 117), an act re-establishing personalities and skills that belonged to another world and were often not supposed to exist in a prison camp. Applying the strategy of re-enactment and using skills or tools that belonged to "another world" can be seen as an act of resistance in a situation where prisoners were forgetting and ignoring the everyday. This way, Karlag prisoners were able to enter another temporality, an imagined reality that was juxtaposed to the reality, the world where they had no dignity or human rights. As several memoirs and documents show, several Gulag prisoners were keen to establish these temporary realities that reminded them of home and a life of freedom. These temporal spaces were physical (the art workshop) or created with tools (embroidering shirts) or through practices (singing, theatre, etc.).

The making of art was often a collective process to establish an alternative social bonding. Roksana Sats, whose mother was director of a camp theatre, was able to visit her in the camp. She recalls how her mother and her friends made colours from medicine they received from a camp doctor (Dulatbekov 2010: 290). Our Estonian informants told us how recitals of the choir gave them the possibility to withdraw, to forget the everyday life in the camp, speak Estonian to each other and sing Estonian songs (interview 06.05.2012). Collective engagement in the production of theatre plays helped people to escape from their role as a prisoner and temporarily transcend normality. This 'collective remembrance' (Jones 2003: 84) often included groups of people and attracted bystanders. Roksana Sats says that the prison camp actors, whose group also included a big number of female criminals organised sporadic dances when practicing for another theatre play (Dulatbekov 2010: 290). In the 1950s when the camp regime was loosened, Estonian prisoners in Karlag organised a brass orchestra and asked their relatives to send them instruments from Estonia (Dulatbekov 2010: 190; Kärp 1991: 96, 133; interviews in 06.05.2012 in Tartu). Dancing is part of the 'normal' world, emotionally linked to leisure, lack of problems and joy. Brass orchestras are traditional Estonian collectives, a firm part of the pre-war Estonian village culture. The orchestra not only linked musicians with their past and homeland but also confirmed their Estonian identity. The Estonian brass orchestra became popular and performed also outside of the camp, even in dances organised for Karlag officers in nearby settlements (Surva

2010: 24). The success of the orchestra most likely re-asserted the dignity of the musicians, it was a demonstration that they were not inferior to the people who had the power to command them.[11]

Heidegger (Heidegger 1962) theorises how 'forgetting' (*Vergessen*) is a way of connecting the past and present. Solzhenitsyn recalls how prisoners sometimes gathered in the department of culture to forget their hunger and discuss art or philosophy, things that belonged to a "fairytale like past" (Solženitsõn 1990: Vol II, 364). In Karlag, forgetting was a strategy to establish a temporal and illusionary past. Several researchers and former prisoners have stressed the importance of the existence of the art workshop as a place to re-create 'normality'. The workshop was a space behind the closed door that was transformed into a place where 'one lifeworld replaced another lifeworld' (Olsen 2010: 115). Several like-minded people gathered regularly in the workshop to discuss, conduct academic lectures and spend time together. One prisoner recalls how they celebrated New Year's Eve in the workshop, 'as if the camp did not exist'. They decorated the workshop and drank tea and vodka (Dulatbekov 2010: 278). By using their income from official and unofficial artistry, prisoners were able to buy some sweets in the camp shop and have access to alcohol via the prison guards. This showed that hungry people were ready to spend their hard earned income on the celebration of holidays to recreate a home-atmosphere and not directly on food as one would expect. Heiddeger and Mulhall (Heidegger 1962; Mulhall 1996) write referring to the social meaning of material objects that every 'world' possesses an 'equipmental totality' which defines this lifeworld. There are objects that are associated with a certain environment and lifestyle and the other way around, certain objects can represent certain lifestyles or social groups. Material objects embody the order, norms and emotions of the social environment and by the change of lifeworlds, the 'equipmental totality' changes as well or objects shift their meaning. What happened this New Year's Eve in the workshop in Karlag was that by changing the 'equipmental totality', prisoners were able to change their 'world' for a short time.

CONCLUSION

Life in the camps was as controversial and complex as the Gulag system itself. Stalinist prison camps were definitely places of terror, injustice and human tragedy. However, the research shows how ideologically organised the life and inner structure of the corrective-labour camps was. According to the concept of 'corrective' policy and heavy ideological pressure, the camp prisoners were expected to become 'good citizens' via participation in the process of Socialist

labour and cultural re-education. In the Gulag camps, there existed institutions whose direct task was to conduct ideological and cultural work among inmates. These institutions governed an impressive number of libraries, theatres, cinemas and even published the camp newspaper. Similarly, a large number of films were shown, also political and educational lectures, as well as theatre plays happened in these facilities. Even if we assume that some of these and other cultural events never took place and were just a manipulation of statistics, the formal and informal cultural life of the Gulag was nevertheless unexpectedly 'blooming', something hardly anyone associates with a prison camp.

Karganda Corrective-Labour Camp (*Kargandinskii ispravitel'no-trudovoi lager'*) was one of the biggest complex of Gulag prison camps located in Central Kazakhstan of the Kazakh SSR. Karlag was, to some extent, an unusual Stalinist prison camp – it was established around the biggest state farm and was engaged with agricultural production, and a large number of prisoners were from the intelligentsia – actors, artists, musicians, but also people with a technical education. The work force for camp cultural institutions and activities was recruited from among these people. Ironically, it seems that ideological pressure and the censorship of culture was weaker inside the Stalinist prison camps than outside of them: there is evidence of avant-garde theatre productions in Karlag theatres. Another unexpected fact about Karlag was the commercialisation of culture: in 1938 there was an art workshop established whose task was not only to supply camp theatres with decorations or issue camp wall newspapers but also to produce handicraft and art to be sold outside of Karlag for money. The art workshop became a profitable enterprise and a shelter for various artists. Apart from the official art, in Karlag, there existed an unofficial non-sanctioned artistry. Possession of paper, pens and other tools for making art or keeping diaries was strictly forbidden and there is evidence of cruel punishments for people who violated that law. Nevertheless, several people were engaged in illegal art, some of the prisoners even started their artistic career in Karlag (like the Estonian artist Sooster).

The questions this paper poses are: what was the meaning of cultural life in Karlag and why were people engaged in these legal and illegal activities. Apart from residing in an institution of forced labour, with a limited option in choice of activities, handicraft and art were exercised to improve one's living conditions (for extra food and money) or to avoid harder physical labour. Nevertheless, there was little material gain and great risk was involved in practicing forbidden art. To explain the existence of all the varieties of artistry in Karlag, the social meaning of making art should not be ignored. The enthusiasm and passion that was related to producing official and unofficial art is related to the creation of a physical and mental space for people where they can withdraw and forget, at

least, for a short time, the everyday life of a prison camp. As one theatre director told her daughter: "You can do theatre everywhere, even in a prison camp. Especially in the prison camp, you need to do theatre" (Dulatbekov 2010: 290).

Solzhenitsyn wrote that no single prisoner in the Gulag was "re-educated with the help of the department of culture and re-education" (Solženitsõn 1990: Vol II, 352). Engagement with art gave people hope, something to be involved with, and was a strategy to resist the Gulag's goal – of breaking people. To maintain their dignity, some people chose a radical uncompromising way of refusing to obey camp rules, while other people created their space within the official structures. In general, the cultural policy of the Gulag did not achieve its goal. Communists were never successful in liquidating illegal artistic activities in the camps. On the other hand, the official culture and the structures of the Gulag served as a shelter for people to distance themselves from the ideology they had to reproduce.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

[1] Russian State Archive of Russian Federation = GARF 9414.2.108,250.

[2] GARF 9414.1.358:1.1358,11.

[3] GARF 9401.1.99:14, Russian State Military Archive = RGVA 1.7:1.6,7.

[4] GARF 9414.1.108:13.

[5] GARF 9414.1.108:16, GARF 9414.1.509:25.

[6] The strictness of following the ideology of correction in Gulag camps, sometimes also named *perekovka* or reforging, varied regionally. According to informants of Norman Prell (University of Aberdeen), *perekovka* was quite formal in the Russian Far East, where he did his fieldwork (personal email 24.09.2012). The reason for that was probably (among others) that camps around the Magadan route were smaller and had a very concrete task – the supply of timber and taking care of the Magadan route. Also the number of criminal prisoners was much higher in penal camps of the Russian Far East.

[7] The socialist labour competition was an economic competition between work units whereas the Stakhanovite movement was focused on the individual over-fulfilling the plan or work norm. Solzhenitsyn was very skeptical of the Stakhanovite movement arguing that these persons over-fulfilled the norm only because of the additional food they received. However, the additional portion of soup or porridge did not fulfil their increased calorific requirements and Stakhanovites generally died earlier (Solženitsõn 1990).

[8] GARF 9414.1.719:119, 121.

[9] GARF 9414.1.

[10] It must be noted that there is hardly any archival evidence of how theatre plays were organised or costumes and decorations made, for this the memories of former inmates are the most valuable source of information.

[11] It seems that the loosening of the regime before the closing of the Gulag was continuous, in published memories former inmates write not only about the Estonian brass band but also about an Estonian basketball team (Kärp 1991; Surva 2010).

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THE DOG, THE HORSE AND THE CREATION OF MAN

Yuri Berezkin

Abstract: A story that described the creation of man became known to at least some inhabitants of the Eurasian Steppe zone not later than the early II millennia B.C. Not a fragment of it survived across most of this area, and our reconstruction is based on the evidence from the areas to the north and to the south of the Steppe Belt. The texts in question share many specific details and the probability of their independent emergence looks negligible. At the same time the people to whom the story was familiar in the 19th and 20th century could definitely not have borrowed it from each other in recent times.

The only way to reconstruct the mythology of the people who lived in the past is a search of its survivals in the later folklore. The analysis of ancient iconography or scraps of evidence preserved in the early written sources is not enough for the reconstruction of the plots of complex tales.

Keywords: creation myth, creation of man

A story that described the creation of man became known to at least some inhabitants of the Eurasian Steppe zone not later than the early II millennia B.C. Not a fragment of it survived across most of this area, and our reconstruction is based on the evidence from the areas to the north and to the south of the Steppe Belt. The texts in question share many specific details and the probability of their independent emergence looks negligible. At the same time the people to whom the story was familiar in the 19th and 20th century could definitely not have borrowed it from each other in recent times and had hardly been able to do it before. To most of them, however, this tale could become known thanks to the contacts with those inhabitants of the Eurasian steppe zone who probably spoke the Indo-European languages and were displaced or assimilated by the Turkic and Mongolian peoples during the I millennium A.D. The only groups who possibly inherited it directly from their language ancestors, now live in the Pamir – Hindu Kush area.

The corresponding tales can be clustered, both geographically and thematically, according to two main traditions, the Southern and the Northern ones.

Some texts related to the Southern tradition are recorded far to the north or to the west of the main area of its spread but have the same basic structure.

TEXTS OF THE SOUTHERN TRADITION

The example texts of the Southern tradition are recorded from the Northeastern and Middle India to the Caucasus (Figure 1).

The South Asian cases are numerous and detailed. They are mostly found among the people of the Munda language family in the Indian states of Bihar and Jharkhand, in particular among the Mundari, Korku, Santali, Birjia, Birhor and Kharia. No traces of this myth were recorded among most of the Dravidian people, the only exceptions being the Gondi and the Oraons. The Northern Dravidian Oraon (the Kurukh) language and the Mundari language are spoken in the nearby villages. The Oraons could easily have borrowed this tale from the Mundari, and it was recorded among them several times, all versions being more or less identical with the Mundari ones. The Gondi who speak Central Dravidian language and who were not in an intensive cultural interaction with any Munda group have only one version. Some versions have been recorded among the Tibeto-Burman groups of Nepal, the Northeast India and adjacent areas of Mianmar, in particular among the Limbu, Kachari and Mizo (other name Lushei), and among the Khasi of Meghalaya state. The latter speak the Austroasiatic language but of a totally different branch than the Munda. No Tibeto-Burman or Khasi version demonstrates the full set of motifs typical for the most extensive Munda and Oraon versions.

The basic plot of the story was known to the Bhili, more precisely to the Balela-Bhilala of Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Now the Bhili speak an Indo-Aryan language but their cosmological tale shares basic episodes with the Mundaic, Central Dravidian and Southeast Asian myths (Kapp 1986: 266–269; Koppers & Jungblut 1976: 199–201). It is not excluded (though not certain, of course) that the original language of the Bhili belonged to the Munda family.

Almost all variants recorded in India and Nepal were studied by Dieter Kapp (1977). Additional materials were found by Toshiki Osada (2010). The only text that remained unnoticed by them is of the Kachari (Soppitt 1885: 32). The number of the recorded versions is the highest among the Oraons (10), Mundari (6), Santali (3) and Korku (3).

As mentioned above, the plot in question was not known to the Indo-Aryan people of South Asia and is absent both in the early written sources and in the present day folklore. At the same time it was recorded among the Dardic people of Eastern Hindu Kush, in particular among the Kho and the Kalash (Jettmar
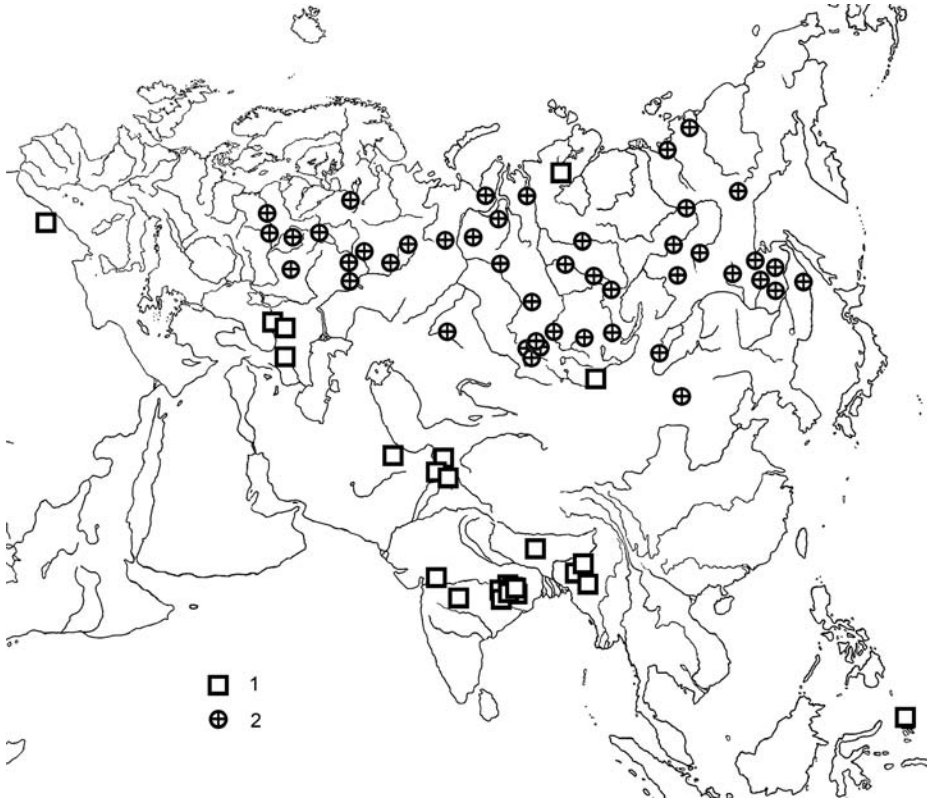
Figure 1. *The location of the traditions that contain the northern and the southern variants of the myth about the creation of the man. 1 – the guard (usually a dog) successfully drives away the antagonist who tried to destroy God's creation or the dog is created from the same substance as the man; 2 – The guard (usually a dog) cannot defend human figures created by God.*

1986: 359, 444). The Dardic languages pertain to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European stock but occupy a special position, probably being slightly nearer to the Indo-Aryan than to the Indo-Iranian branch. I could not find any version among the Nuristani (Kafir) traditions of Afghanistan but we should take into consideration our relatively poor knowledge of the Nuristani folklore.

The typical Indian variant is as follows. God makes of mud figures of a man and a woman and puts them to dry. A horse or two horses, often winged, come and break the figures. The creator makes a dog or two dogs who drive the horses away. The horse is punished by being deprived of its wings and

obliged to serve the man, and to be harnessed and beaten. The horse wanted to destroy the man just because it was afraid that the man would harness it. In one of the Korku stories trees try to destroy the man, being afraid that the man would begin to cut them.

One of the Dardic (the Kho) versions is quite similar to the Indian ones. Before the creation of the man, the world was populated by horses. They tried to trample down the figure of Adam that was made of mud but the dog did not let them to do it and until now remains the guard of the man. The navel on the human body is the trace of the horse's hoof (Jettmar 1986: 444).

To this main group of texts there should be added others that lack some details, e.g. the guard is not mentioned at all or (in some Mundari versions) it is not a dog but a tiger or a spider. Among the Dards (Jettmar 1986: 359) and among the Munda-speaking groups such versions with minor alterations exist along with the typical ones. Among the Limbu the complete texts (with the dog as a guard) are not known. According to the Limbu myth, Niwa-Buma made the first man out of gold and he was perfect, but the envious horse monster broke the figure. Niwa-Buma created the man anew of ashes and chicken dung, and punished the horse. Now it has to walk on four legs and not on two as before and is a beast of burden (Hermanns 1954: 10–11). The Limbu text is rather similar to the Pamir (the Wakhi) version according to which the man created by God was handsome but the covetous horse kicked the half-ready figure and because of this all people have some physical imperfection. God punished the horse by making it the servant of the man. This information was kindly supplied by the late Bokhsho Lashkarbekov in February 2005. Among the Mizo, Kachari and Khasi the antagonists who try to destroy human figures are a snake, an evil spirit, or brothers of the creator (Kapp 1977: 50; Shakespear 1909: 399; Soppitt 1885: 32). The role played by the dog in these texts is the same as in most of the others. In South Asia the most distant from the Mundari versions, both geographically and by its content, is the tradition of the Barela–Bhilala. A goddess makes human figures, "the sky queen of the eagles" tries to destroy them, a male personage kills her, and the high god inserts souls into the human bodies (Kapp 1977: 46).

Myths about the creator (or his messenger) who took some mud, made the figures of human beings and left them for a while to bring the souls are recorded among the Loda and Galela of Halmahera Island (Indonesia, the Northern Malucu). When the evil spirit broke the figures, the creator made two dogs from his (i.e. the evil spirit's) excrements and they drove him away after which the humans were made alive (Baarda 1904: 442–444; Kruijt 1906: 471). This Indonesian variant is similar to some Indian ones, especially to the Khasi text, but it can be left aside. The name of the antagonist is O Ibilisi (from Arabic

"Iblis", the Devil) and it means that the story reached the Maluku after the advent of the Islam. When and how it happened is not essential for our topic.

Moving to the west from South Asia, we should mention "a late Zoroastrian legend" from Iran (Litvinski & Sedov 1984: 166). After creating the first man Gaiomard, Ormuzd commissioned seven sages to guard him from Akhriman but they could not fulfill the task. So Ormuzd put the dog Zarrīngoš ("yellow ears") as a guard and since then this dog protects from demons the souls who go to the Beyond. There is no such story in "Avesta" though it does not exclude the possibility that it could exist in the oral tradition from the early time.

Another cluster of folklore records related to the story about the creation of man by God and a brave dog who saved human figures from destruction is localized in the Caucasus. Among the Abkhazians the story was discovered in the 1990s. One text was recorded by the ethnologist Marina Bartsyts from her mother, another by the folklorist Valentin Kogonia (I am grateful to Marina Bartsyts and Zurab Japua for this information). The version recorded by Bartyts is as follows. In the time of the creation of the world the man was made of mud but the devil sent horses to trample him because otherwise the man would torment them all the time. The man managed to take a handful of mud from his abdomen and threw it to the attackers. The lumps of mud turned into dogs and drove the horses away. In Kogonia's version (published in Abkhazian), the dog also defends the man by its own initiative and not by the order of the creator. God made the man out of mud. The devil warned the horses, "If the man becomes alive, you are doomed, kill him!" The horses rushed at the man but the dogs drove them away. That's why the man and the dog are considered to be close to each other.

The Swan variant was never recorded in detail. It was heard by an archaeologist Alexei Turkin in Swanetia in 2004 from an old man, R. Shamprioni being the interpreter. During a conference in Saint Petersburg (October 2012) A. Turkin told me that the story was practically identical with the Abkhazian one.

The Armenian version is drawn to the study thanks to the invaluable help of Lilith Simonian, a folklorist from Yerevan. This tale was recorded in 1941 in Lori near the Georgian border and recently published in Armenian (Zhamkochian 2012: 138–140). God sent angels to bring the mud, made the figure of Adam and put it to dry. Devils told horses to destroy the figure, otherwise the man would put them to work. God sent the angels again and this time the devils spat on the mud but God wringed it out and the saliva turned into the dog who drove the horses away. The place on the human body from which the devil's saliva ran out is the navel. This text shares specific motifs both with the Abkhazian versions (dog emerges spontaneously out of the substance extracted

from the body of the man) and with the Dardic (the Kho) version in which the origin of the human navel is also explained.

The westernmost text that contains a significant part of our plot is registered among the Arabs of the Tiaret plateau in northern Algeria (Aceval 2005: 10–11). God made the man's figure out of mud. Satan looked at it and spat in disgust, the place where his spittle fell turned into the navel. When angels brought the human soul to be inserted into the body one of them noticed a dark spot, scraped it off and the substance turned into the dog. Because the dog is created both from Satan's spittle and from the same substance as the man himself, it is considered unclean but remains the best friend of the man.

The easternmost Eurasian text related to our anthropogenic tale is found in western Mongolia. The publisher of its Russian translation kindly let me know that the text had been recorded in 1983 in Ubsunur Aimak from the Dörbet man, the Dörbet being one of the groups of the Oirats . God modeled of mud two human figures. The cow came and caught one figure with a horn, it fell down and broke. The fragments turned into the dog, and since then the dog barks at the cow. The dog and the man have common origin, that's why their bones are similar (Skorodumova 2003: 51–52). The major difference between the Oirat tale from one side, and the Caucasian and South Asian versions from the other side, is the replacement of the horse with the cow. Such a replacement is logical but we'll address this topic a little bit later.

The last version of the tale that should be mentioned in this section was recorded in the far North among the Nganasans and represents the only Siberian case of its kind. The primeval mother gave birth to a child, a small branch of willow. Her husband put it to grow but "The disease came and spoiled it." The man asked his wife to give him another child so that the latter would defend the former. The second child proved to be a reindeer without horns. He asked his father to give him horns to fight the worms and evil beasts, received one horn of ivory and another of stone and destroyed the beasts (Popov 1984: 42–43). Another version of the same story was published by B. Dolgikh (1976: 39–44). It contains similar episodes and describes the antagonist who tried to destroy the "blade of grass child" as "something flying". Though neither the horse nor the dog is mentioned in the Nganasan myth, its structure fits the southern pattern according to which the guard successfully drove away the antagonist.

THE AGE OF SPREAD OF THE SOUTHERN TRADITION

To establish the *terminus ante quem* for the dispersal of the Southern tradition across Eurasia, the distribution of variants recorded among the different groups of the Munda are of crucial significance. Now most of the "tribal" people of India are dispersed at vast territories, some groups changed their linguistic affiliation during the last centuries. However, the areas where the number of speakers of the corresponding languages is the highest are mostly the same as they were in the past (Osada & Onishi 2010). The principal area of the spread of the Munda languages is the Chota Nagpur plateau (state of Jharkhand with adjacent territories). The Santali, Ho, Mundari, Birhor, Asur (including Birjia) and other groups that speak languages of the northern branch of the Munda live here. To the south, mostly in the Koraput district of Orissa state, Bondo, Sora and other languages of the southern branch of the Munda are located (Figure 2). Much to the west, in Maharashtra state, the Korku language is localized, which belongs to the northern branch. The position of Kharia and Juang is not certain. Formerly these languages were classified as belonging to the southern Munda but according to the recent classification they stand nearer to the Northern division (Diffloth 2005). Ilia Peiros (Santa Fe Institute) also classifies the Kharia and Juang as the Northern Munda. His conclusions are based on the 100 words list of Morris Swadesh according to the glottochronological formula of Sergei Starostin (personal communication, October 2010). The Juang speakers live in the northern Orissa, and the Kharia is spoken practically across the same area as the Mundari (Peterson 2009: VI–VIII).

Initially, the Munda family broke into the southern and northern branches, then Kharia and Juang split from the northern branch, after this the Bondo and Sora separated from each other and at last the Korku lost contact with other languages. The lexicostatistics gives only approximate assessments of age but still helps to create a rough chronology and to establish the successive steps of the splitting of language branches. The disintegration of the Munda family began in the early II millennium B.C. (the separation of the northern and southern branches), while the isolation of the Korku took place in the mid I millennium B.C.

The myth about the creation of the human figures and an attempt to destroy them is recorded among the northern Munda including the Korku. It should be noticed, that the Korku mythology is poorly known while the materials on the Bondo and Sora are rather rich. The fact that three versions have been found among the Korku indicates that the tale is very popular there. At the same time we can be sure that the Bondo and Sora were not familiar with it. It means that the Munda could have adopted the tale between ca. 1700 (after

the separation of the southern Munda) and 900 B.C. (before separation of the Korku). The age estimations, as I have already mentioned, are approximate but both III millennium B.C. and the middle of the I millennium B.C. are practically excluded. The tale is not recorded among the Juang and the only Kharia version is similar to the versions of the Mundari (Pinnow 1965, no. 26: 142–143). Because the Kharia were in contact with the Mundari, the existence of the version of the tale in their case is not significant. But the absence of the tale among the southern Munda is significant just because these groups were not in contact with the northern Munda for a long time.

Though the Munda can definitely be considered as the main South Asian possessors of the story in question, they must also have borrowed it. Firstly, this tale is absent among the southern Munda and among other Austroasiatic people besides the Khasi. Secondly, the horse, whose role in this story is very important, was brought to South Asia by the Indo-Europeans. Bones of the Equidae from Harappa sites do not belong to the domestic horse (Bryant 2001: 170–175; Parpola & Janhunen 2010: 435). No horses are buried in Gonur, Turkmenistan (ca. 2150–1500), though dog, donkey and sheep burials are common. The isolated horse bones are found but their stratigraphic position is not certain (Dubova 2012).

The cultural change on the western periphery of the Indian subcontinent becomes visible since ca. 1400 B.C. and was probably related to the coming of the Eastern Iranians (Kuzmina 2008: 300–305; 2010: 34). The first Indo-Aryans remain invisible archaeologically, just as the traces of many other migrations known from written sources or linguistic data. However, the linguists and archaeologists almost unanimously put the time of the Indo-Aryan arrival to India inside the interval between 1900 and 1200 B.C. (Bryant 2001: 218, 224, 229–230) that corresponds to the suggested time of the spread of the war chariot and development of the nomadism (Kuzmina 2000).

As it was told already, there are no stories about an attempt to destroy human figures made by the deity neither in Sanskrit texts nor in the folklore of modern people who speak the Indo-Aryan languages, besides the Barela-Bhilala, though slight reminiscence of such a plot has possibly been preserved in the Hinduism. According to one of the legends, the horse had wings and could fly, and neither men nor gods were able to catch it. Indra was in need of horses to pull his cart and asked a saint to deprive the horses of their ability to fly (Howey 1923: 214).

Because the full-bodied versions of the tale in question have been recorded among the speakers of Dardic languages of Eastern Hindu Kush, it is probable that this tale was brought to India by the Dards or some group closely related to them. The traces of these people were wiped off by the Indo-Aryans who spoke
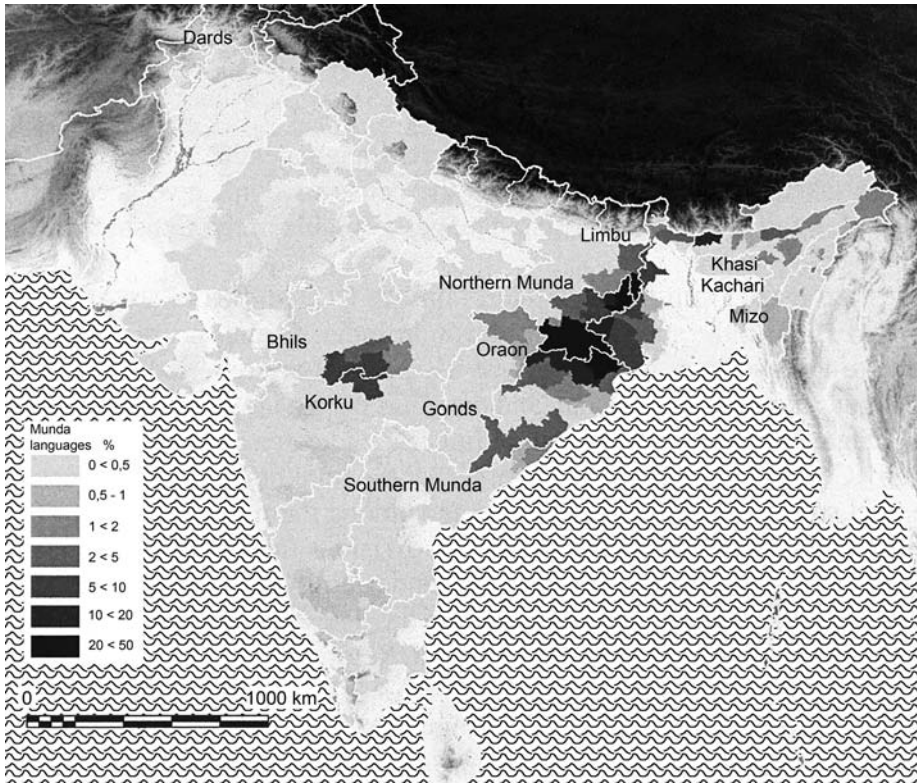
Figure 2. *The present day spread of the Munda languages (after Osada & Onishi 2010, fig. 10) and the location of selected ethnic groups of South Asia.*

a kindred language and came later. The time of the first Indo-European arrival to India fits well the suggested time of the borrowing of the tale by the native people of the sub-continent, i.e. between the disintegration of the Proto-Munda and the split of Korku from Northern Munda. According to the areal pattern of the spread of the story in South Asia (mainly between the Himalaya and the eastern parts of Madhya Pradesh and Jharkhand), it was brought by the groups which moved along the Ganges Valley.

As it was mentioned, the Wakhi are the bearers of the story in the Pamir area. They could have inherited it from their Saka ancestors or borrowed it from the Dards. It is difficult to say if the Eastern Iranians of Turkestan were

familiar with the story, but it is very probable that this myth had been formerly widespread at least in some areas of the Eurasian steppes.

As for the Algerian and the Caucasian versions, they are clearly influenced by the "Abrahamic" mythology, and the tale probably reached Maghreb only after it had been integrated into the folk Christian or even Islamic tradition. The Loda and Galela versions from Maluku and the Armenian and Arabic versions share the motif of the dog created from the antagonist's excreta (his dung or saliva), and this detail looks like a late addition spread with the Islam. It would be wrong, however, to seek the origins of these stories in the Near East. Neither the Bible nor any other early texts from the Near East contain anything like this while the South Asian cases have nothing to do with the Christianity or Islam.

Another argument in favor of the early spread of the tale across Eurasia are the exclusive parallels between the westernmost (the Caucasus and Algeria) and the easternmost (Mongolia) versions. In all these cases the dog was not put by the creator to guard the figure of the man but emerged itself at the very moment when the antagonist attacked the creation. It is also only in these variants that the affinity of the dog and the man is specially underlined. Here it is appropriate to remind of the extremely high status of the dog in the Zoro-astrian tradition (Boyce 1989: 145–146; Chunakova 2004: 203; Kriukova 2005: 202–205). Because this tale has a limited, narrowly localized spread in western Mongolia, the probability of its emergence in Mongolia and the transmission to the Caucasus with the Genghiz Khan warriors can be practically ignored. It is much more plausible that both at the western and eastern peripheries of the great steppe the tale was ultimately inherited from the earlier inhabitants of this region, all or most of whom spoke the Indo-European languages. Only these people could contact the natives of the Caucasus, the South Asian Munda and some groups in Mongolia from whom the story was ultimately inherited by the Oirats.

When it comes to the Nganasan myth with its southern parallels, its Arctic location is not so difficult to explain as it could seem. The Nganasan ethnogen-esis is complex with different components merged, including the Tungus, the Samoyed (which language was adopted) and a local substratum of unknown linguistic affiliation (Dolgikh 1952). There are no data in favor of language contacts between the ancestral Samoyed and the Indo-European groups of the steppes besides a very hypothetical possibility of such contacts with the (proto-)Toharians (Napolskikh 1997: 82). However, the archaeological materi-als evidence a movement of the descendents of the Pazyryk culture of Altai far to the north (Molodin 2003: 148–178). In any case the people of the taiga and tundra zones could have borrowed the variant of the myth from the inhabit-

ants of the steppe. Later this variant was almost completely superseded with the Northern (the European–Siberian) tradition and survived only in Taimyr which this tradition had not reached.

An argument in favor of the existence of historic connections between all the Old World texts that have been discussed is the lack of analogies in the New World. One text of the Plains Ojibwa in Canada slightly reminds the Eurasian ones. Weese-ke-jak makes a human figure out of stone and steps back to admire it. The bear rubs itself against the figure, it falls down and is broken. Weese-ke-jak makes a new figure out of mud, and that's why human beings are weak (Simms 1906: 338–339). The similarity with the Eurasian texts is, however, superficial. Among the Ojibwa the essential detail is not the interference of a particular antagonist into the creation of the man but the opposition between the durable and the fragile materials to make the man. Such an opposition is typical for stories that explain the origin of death in the North America's Northwest (Berezkin 2010: 17–21) but this Plains Ojibwa text alone speaks about the breaking of human figure.

THE HORSE IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN WORLDVIEW

It was told above that the replacement of the horse by the cow in the Oirat version looks logical.

Among the Mongolian and Turkic people of Siberia, Kazakhstan and Central Asia the horse has an almost sacred status and cannot have any negative associations, while the bull or the cow can. In some of the Kazakh, Altai, Tuvinian, Mongol (the Oirat included), Yakut as well as the Nenets etiological legends the cow or bull is the embodiment of the severe frost, or is considered responsible for the existence of the winter. In the Tuvinian and Yakut myths the mean bull is directly opposed to the good horse who desired the warmth (Benningsen 1912: 55–57; Ergis 1974: 149; Katash 1978: 18–19; Kulakovski 1979: 73, 77–78; Lehtisalo 1998: 16; Potanin 1883: 203; 1972: 54–55; Taube 2004: 19).

On the contrary, among the Indo-Europeans of Europe, the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia (Ancient Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Gagauz, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Poles, Czechs, Germans of Mecklenburg, Silesia and East Prussia, Norwegians, Danes, Swedes, Lithuanians, Latvians, Ossetians, Tajik) as well as in the Middle Persian Avestan tradition the horse is considered to be the adversary of God (Balzamo 2011: 78, 85; Balzamo & Kaiser 2004: 104–106; Belova 2004: 176; Bulashev 1909: 401; Bulgakovski 1890: 189; Chubinski 1872: 49; Chunakova 2004: 110, 216; Dähnhardt 1907: 341–342; 1909: 88–94; Grynblat & Gurski 1983: 53; Moshkov 2004: 204–205, 261; Petrovich 2004: 183–184;

Pogodin 1895: 439; Shevchenko 1936: 92; Stoinev 2006: 163; Sukhareva 1975: 39–40; Vėlius 1981: 263; Vukichevich 1915: 109–111; Zaglada 1929: 12) and demonic cannibal horses are described in narratives (Apollod., II, 5, *8*; Biazyrov 1971: 156–173). The Baltic Finns (Estonians, Finns, Veps, Sami of Finland) and Komi probably borrowed these ideas from their Indo-European neighbors (Dähnhardt 1907: 155; 1909: 91–92; Limerov 2005: 68–70, 74–76; Vinokurova 2006: 274) but the Ugric groups of Siberia as well as the peoples of the Middle Volga were probably not influenced by them. According to Mordvinian beliefs, seeing a horse in a dream is a sign of disease (Devyatkina 2004: 113) but otherwise the status of the horse in the Mordvinian worldview is high and associations are positive. In the Ancient Greece, just like among the Siberian Turks, the bull was contrasted with the horse but the signs in this opposition were different (Gunda 1979: 398–399). The bull was considered good (bees emerged from its corpse) and the horse bad (wasps or drones emerged). Adopted by the Christian traditions of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe, the opposition between the horse and the bull was used in folktales about the birth of Christ and the travelling Christ who was in search of an animal to help him to cross a river. The bull tried to cover the baby Christ with a hay or straw while the horse pulled it off making him visible for potential persecutors. The horse refused to help Christ to cross a river while the bull helped him.

One of the Norwegian tales contains some of the motifs found in the South Asian and Caucasian myths described above. The devil decided to create a beast that would run across the whole earth and destroy human beings. He tried to make this monster alive by spitting on it but in vain. God made it alive, told it to become a horse and to serve the man. Horny swellings on the horse' hooves are the trace of the Devil's spit (Dähnhardt 1907: 342). In the 19th century Scandinavia the negative associations of the horse were hardly strong. In most of the tales in which the opposition between the horse and the bull is mentioned the horse is bad and the bull is good but there are also texts according to which it was the bull who refused to help Virgin Mary while the horse helped her (Dähnhardt 1909: 94). However across most of Baltoscandia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, as well as Tajikistan we find direct claims that the horse was the only animal created by the devil or that it is the incarnation of the devil himself. Here are some eloquent examples.

Lithuanians. The horse originates from Velnias (the devil) and is eager to kill the man. Velnias rides a horse, can take the image of the horse, different objects in his possession turn into parts of the horse's body: a gun into a leg, a gun's strap into bowels, a tobacco box into a hoof, festive food into dung, etc. (Vėlius 1981: 263–264).

Byelorussians. A man was harrowing, the devil sat on his harrow and it could not be moved from the place. God transformed the devil into the horse and since then horses exist (Grynblat & Gurski 1983: 53).

Ukrainians. The horse is a transformed devil. Devil could take any form but God performed magic and the devil remained in the guise of a horse (Chubinski 1872: 49). The horse is an unclean animal. People put sanctified objects under the new cattle-shed to drive away witches. However, they do not put anything sacred in the stable because the devil lives there (Shevchenko 1936: 92).

Tajik. If a man sees a horse in his dream, he falls ill. In Samarkand people do not permit children to approach horses because the horse itself is a *dev*, i.e. an evil spirit, an ogre (Sukhareva 1975: 39–40).

There are no parallels for the 19th century "horse as a devil" theme in "Edda" but a well-known episode according to which Loki turned into a mare, copulated with a horse of a giant and gave birth to the eight-legged Sleipnir can be interpreted as an evidence in favor of the negative associations with the horse in the early Scandinavian tradition. To which extent the Eddic mythology reflects the set of stories known to the Germanic people in the pre-Christian times is of course impossible to say.

THE NORTHERN TRADITION

The Northern tradition is widespread across Eastern Europe and Siberia besides Taimyr and the Northeast (Figure 1). It looks like an upside-down version of the Southern tradition.

The well-known variant is as follows. The creator makes bodies of people, puts the dog to guard them and goes away for a while. The antagonist bribes the guard with a warm fur-coat, gets to the bodies and spits on them, making people subject to diseases and death. Coming back, the creator turns the bodies inside out so that the dirt would be concealed from the sight and punishes the dog who since then is a servant of the man and eats garbage.

The Estonian versions are marginal to the tradition in question and do not mention a dog or any other guide of the human figure. The Setu preserved the motif of the devil (*vanapagan*) who spat on the figure when the creator put it to dry and went away and in another variant the devil simply poked the figure (with his finger) making human body sensible to the pain (Masing 1998: 64).

The story about the creation of the man and the punishment of the dog has been recorded in its typical form in Kazakhstan though it has been recorded in such a form among the Russians of the central and northern parts of European Russia, the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Komi, Udmurt, Mari, Mordvinians,

Chuvash, Mansi, Khanty, Nenets, western Evenki, different groups of the Ya-kuts, the Russian-speaking half-breeds of Russkoye Ust'e (Lower Indigirka), Kumandins, Tubalar, Khakas, Tofa, Buryats (Aktsorin 1991: 38; anonymous 1858: 210; Azbelev & Mescherski 1986: 214; Belova 2004: 226–227; Devyatkina 1998: 169, 297–298; 2004: 121; Dobrovol'ski 1891: 230–231; Golovnev 1995: 399–400; 2004: 100; Gomboev 1890: 67–69; Grynblat & Gurski 1983: 46–47; Gurvich 1977: 195–196; Katanov 1963: 155–156; Konakov et al. 2004: 44, 271–272; Kuznetsova 1998: 99, 101, 160; Lukina 1990: 300; Middendorff 1989: 20; Morokhov 1998: 427; Perevozchikova 1988: 39; P.I[vanov] 1892: 89–90; Potanin 1883: 220–223; Radlov 1907: 523–524; 1989: 221; Rassadin 1996: 16; Rochev 1984: 114; Sedova 1982: 13–15; Vasiliev 1907: 50–51; Vereschagin 1996: 134; Vladykin 1994: 321–322; Yegorov 1995: 117–118). The same tale was probably known to the Lithuanians, though the corresponding publication has but a short retelling (Kerbelyte 2001: 76). Some variants preserve the core of the story but add different details. In particular, the motif of turning the human body inside out can be used only in those variants according to which the creator himself makes the human figures alive. If the figures are made alive not by the creator but by his adversary, or if the problem was to make people strong and durable and not only to make them alive, the motif of turning the bodies inside out is unfit for the plot. It is absent among the Khanty, most of the groups of the Nenets and Evenki, the Mongols, Altai, Shor, Negidal, and Lamut (Anokhin 1924: 18; Chadaeva 1990: 124; Ivanovski 1891: 251; Khasanova & Pevnov 2003: 51–53; Khlopina 1978: 71–72; Labanauskas 1995: 13–15; Lar 2001: 188–205; Lehtisalo 1998: 9–10; Mazin 1984: 22; Neniang 1997: 21–23; Nikiforov 1915: 241; Potanin 1883: 218–220; Romanova & Myreeva 1971: 25–326; Shtygashev 1894: 7–8; Vasilevich 1959: 175–179; Verbitski 1893: 92–93). Among the western Evenki several different versions are recorded besides the standard one (Vasilevich 1959: 175, 178). According to one of them, certain "workers" of Khargi (the creator) let Kheveki (the antagonist) approach the human figures. In another version, the "assistant" of Kheveki is the raven who was punished by the creator the same way as the dog in more typical variants, i.e. since then it has been feeding on garbage.

This story has not been reported from Kazakhstan though it was recorded among the "Siberian Kirghiz". The devil made the weather terribly cold, the dog had to hide itself and the devil spat on the man. Coming back, the creator did not punish the guard but recognized that the dog couldn't have done anything having no fur-coat, so the creator himself and not the antagonist gave to the dog its fur (Ivanovski 1891: 250). "The acquittal" of the dog puts this version apart from the usual Siberian cases.

The farthest from the basic scheme is the Oroch version located at the eastern periphery of the tale's spread area and isolated territorially from the others (Avrorin & Lebedeva 1966: 195–196). In the Oroch text the dog itself proves to be the antagonist because, despite the creator's warning, it itself fed the man and made him alive. As a result, people lost the hard covering on their skin that is now preserved only on the fingers and toes (the nails). The text of the southern Selkup leaves the impression of being distorted and partially forgotten: *loz* (a devil) makes the dog to change its skin which originally was as hard as the nails of the humans (Pelikh 1972: 341). Northing is told about the destiny of the man himself.

Despite the obvious Christian Apocrypha elements in some texts, the ultimate origin of corresponding motifs cannot be attributed to the late Christian influence. The names of protagonists in the Siberian and Volga–Permian versions are not borrowed from the Russians but belong to the local mythological personages. The Northern tradition looks like being derived from the Southern one but with the dog's role in creation of the man radically changed. In the southern versions the dog successfully drives the antagonists away while in the northern versions it betrays the man and is punished for this. The punishment itself is the same as the punishment of the horse in the southern versions, both animals must serve the man and suffer bad treatment and a lack of good food. The positive role of the dog corresponds to its high status in the Zoroastrianism and probably among the Bronze Age Indo-Europeans. The change of its role to the negative one probably reflects the transformation of the plot thanks to its adaptation to a different cultural milieu. This process can be provisionally dated to the I millennium A.D. when the ethnic situation in the Steppe zone changed and the influence of the "Abrahamian" religions began to be felt across a large part of the continental Eurasia.

CONCLUSIONS

There is but one historical scenario capable to explain parallels between the South Asian, Caucasian, European–Siberian and other variants of the mythological tale about the creation of the human figures by God and an attempt of antagonists to destroy them. The areas where different versions of the tale have been recorded, are separated from each other by the Eurasian steppe belt. Therefore just these steppe territories could be the area of the initial spread of the story.

The *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of the tale is defined by the time of contacts between the people of the steppe origin and the inhabitants of South Asia.

In the Bronze Age groups of the steppe cattle breeders who were familiar with the domestic horse penetrated South Asia where they came into contact with the speakers of Munda languages. Taking into consideration all the evidence from the Caucasus, Hindu Kush and Mongolia, we can contend that the tale about the creation of man typical for the Munda people was borrowed by the South Asian natives from the early Indo-European migrants and was formerly widespread across the Eurasian steppes. In South Asia, some groups of the speakers of the Tibeto-Burman and Dravidian languages also borrowed it, either directly from the Indo-Europeans (possibly from the Dards) or already from the Munda. In some later traditions the ancient anthropogonic tale was incorporated into the Christian or Muslim beliefs and brought to such distant territories as Maghreb and Maluku.

In the I millennium A.D. a new, the Northern, variety of this tale emerged. The dog, who originally was a successful guard of the man, was transformed into the betrayer and acquired all the negative associations that were initially related to the horse. This variant spread across the forest zone of Eurasia from the Baltic to the Pacific. In the steppes, however, the pre-Turkic and pre-Islamic anthropogenic tales almost totally disappeared, their unique trace being the Oirat story from western Mongolia.

The hypothesis according to which early Indo-Europeans were familiar with a tale about a good dog and a bad horse does not contradict a suggestion shared by most of the scholars concerning a high ritual status of the horse in the Indo-European cultures. At least two possibilities should be considered. The horse could have been originally domesticated not by the Indo-Europeans but by some other groups, thence its associations with hostile forces. Or the horse could have been domesticated by the Indo-Europeans, but before this it was a game animal and a part of the wild and non-human world. For parallels we can address the American Indian myths in which the big game animals like buffaloes or tapirs usually play a role of dangerous antagonists. Such stories also coexisted with an important role of the buffalo in the Plains Indians' rituals.

In any case I am convinced that the only way to reconstruct the mythology of the people who lived in the past is a search of its survivals in the later folklore. The analysis of ancient iconography or scraps of evidence preserved in the early written sources is not enough for the reconstruction of the plots of complex tales.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A PLACE OF MIRACLES.
THE ARTISTIC REPRESENTATION OF LOURDES BY TWO CONTEMPORARY DIRECTORS:
LOURDES (2009) BY JESSICA HAUSNER AND *UNE FEMME NOMMÉE MARIE* (2011) BY ROBERT HOSSEIN

Theo Meder

Abstract: After the Holy Virgin had appeared eighteen times to Bernadette Soubirous in 1858, Lourdes in the south of France grew into the most popular and most visited place of pilgrimage in the western Christian world. Today millions of pilgrims come to Lourdes each year for various religious reasons. Quite a few of them suffer from a physical or mental illness. One of the reasons why they come to Lourdes is the possibility of a miraculous healing, for instance by drinking the healing water of Lourdes, or even bathing in it. Recently, two directors created works of art about and at the holy place of Lourdes, which reflect their convictions concerning miracles and healings. In 2009 the young female Austrian director Jessica Hausner shot her French movie Lourdes, in 2011 the renowned French male director Robert Hossein presented his spectacle Une femme nommée Marie. Jessica Hausner was raised in a Catholic family, but lost her faith and became an atheist, whereas Robert Hossein grew up in an atheist family and converted to Catholicism later in life. Their works offer rather opposite interpretations of (Christian) conceptions such as supernatural healings and salvation.

Keywords: miracle, legend, belief, movie, play

INTRODUCTION

The most famous, and most visited, place of pilgrimage in the Christian Western world is Lourdes, situated in the Hautes-Pyrénées department in southwestern France.[1] To some, it is a miraculous place of grace, to others, it is "Catholic Disneyland".[2] Lourdes developed into a place of pilgrimage after the Holy Virgin Mary had allegedly appeared up to eighteen times before the simple miller's daughter Bernadette Soubirous (1844–1879) in 1858. Lourdes saw the construction of a sanctuary, which has been visited by approximately two hun-

dred million pilgrims since 1860. Nowadays the place of pilgrimage is visited by some six million pilgrims on an annual basis, not just from neighboring European countries but from distant Asian countries like the Philippines and South Korea as well. Lourdes owes much of its fame to the miraculous healings, which have occurred from the very beginning. The water of Lourdes is attributed with healing qualities. On the grounds of the Sanctuary, it can be used for drinking as well as for bathing. In total, sixty-seven miraculous healings have been officially acknowledged by the Roman Catholic Church.

Lourdes has repeatedly been used as an artistic topic. The French writer Émile Zola (1840–1902) wrote a sceptical novel entitled *Lourdes* about the healing of Marie de Guersaint. Even more famous is probably the testimonial novel *Das Lied von Bernadette* by the Austrian author Franz Werfel (1890–1945), published in 1941. In 1943, this book was adapted for the screen in the USA under the title *The Song of Bernadette*. A French version of the girl's testimony was filmed under the title *Bernadette* in 1988 by Jean Delannoy. Very recently, another two directors decided to stage major productions around the theme of Lourdes, the miracle place. In 2009, the Austrian director Jessica Haus-

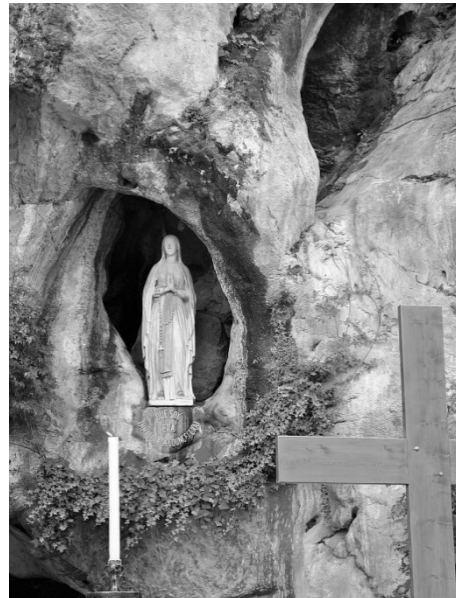**Figure 1**. *The Basilica of our Lady of the Rosary.*

Figure 2 *The Grotto of Massabielle with the statue of the Virgin Mary in Lourdes. Photos: Theo Meder 2011.*

Figure 3. *Jessica Hausner.*   **Figure 4** *Robert Hossein*

ner completed her (French-language) film *Lourdes*, which was not shown in most countries until 2010, and which was notably successful in the art-house circuit. In 2011, the French director Robert Hossein staged the showpiece *Une femme nommée Marie*, which was performed once in Lourdes, on 13 August, the Saturday preceding the Assumption of Mary (August 15).

In this paper, I intend to confront the two aforementioned contemporary works of art. This could be of particular interest, given the rather contrasting position their two creators find themselves in. To begin with, Hausner is a woman and Hossein is a man. Secondly, Hausner was born in 1972 and Hossein in 1927. So at the premieres of their pieces, the directors were thirty-eight and eighty-three years of age, respectively. As far as age is concerned, the two directors clearly represent two entirely different generations. Perhaps most important, though, is the following fact: Jessica Hausner grew up in a Catholic environment, but renounced her faith at an early stage. She is now an avowed atheist (who calls herself an agnostic in her milder moments).[3] Robert Hossein, conversely, was raised as an atheist, but converted to Catholicism later in life.

Below I will first discuss the content of the two artistic pieces, in chronological order, i.e. first the film *Lourdes* by Jessica Hausner, followed by the outdoor theatre spectacle *Une femme nommée Marie* by Robert Hossein. I will then confront the different approaches applied in the two pieces and finish by drawing my conclusions on the contemporary perspective on Lourdes as a place of miracles by two contemporary artists.

THE FILM *LOURDES*

In some respects, the film *Lourdes* by Jessica Hausner resembles a documentary. It tells the fictitious story of a single young woman called Christine (played by the French actress Sylvie Testud), who goes on a pilgrimage to Lourdes in the company of several other pilgrims, some of whom are ill. Suffering from multiple sclerosis, Christine is paralysed from the neck down and in constant need of nursing care. She would have preferred to go on a cultural trip (to Rome, for instance), but, faced with her need of permanent care, she has chosen to go to Lourdes, which is much more wheelchair-friendly. In actual fact, Christine is hardly religious, if at all. Contrary to many of the others in the group, she has not come to Lourdes hoping for a miraculous healing, even though she does experience her disability as a burden.

The lively Maria (played by Léa Seydoux) has been assigned as Christine's special nurse. Maria registered as a volunteer with the Order of Malta, an order of Knight Hospitallers. She pushes Christine's wheelchair, feeds her during meals and helps her to bed. Maria claims to have volunteered to add a sense of meaning to her life, but it soon becomes clear that she is more interested in the handsome Order Knight Kuno (played by Bruno Todeschini) than in caring for people. Consequently, she often neglects her duties towards Christine.

Christine's roommate, a pious and silent elderly woman named Mrs Hartl (played by Gilette Barbier) – who is lonely, though not ill – is happy to take over the duties of the flirting nurse, whenever necessary. The first time Christine is taken into the grotto by nurse Maria, she is not even capable of

Figure 5. *Group photo (still from* Lourdes*).*

Figure 6. *Maria flirting with Kuno (still from* Lourdes*)*

lifting her hand to touch the cave wall. The nurse has to guide it. Next she is bathed in the therapeutic holy water. When she goes to the cave for the second time, she is being pushed by Mrs Hartl. At this point, Christine can lift her hand enough to touch the wall without help. Unfortunately, nobody notices. At one of the masses, Mrs Hartl pushes Christine all the way to the front of the church, which will cost them a reprimand from group leader Cécile (Elina Löwensohn): they should not imagine that jumping the queue will precipitate the healing process. Remarkably enough, both Christine and Cécile have a predictive dream one night, featuring the Holy Virgin Mary, enabling crippled Christine to get up from her wheelchair. Cécile would clearly find this unfair. She is herself terminally ill, and being a much more devout Catholic than Christine, she would be the more rightful recipient of a miraculous cure. But apparently, this is not how it works.

For in the middle of the night, Christine wakes up. She sits up in bed, gets out, walks to the bathroom and starts combing her hair. She then dresses herself. The following morning, she ostentatiously gets up from her wheelchair, to the amazement of the nurse. From now on, she can eat her own breakfast. All of a sudden, Christine becomes the centre of attention – albeit that some pilgrims can barely hide their envy. The group photo in front of the basilica, for instance, must be retaken, now to be gathered round the chosen girl who got up from her wheelchair. Father Nigl, the priest accompanying the group (played by Gerhard Liebmann), takes her to the doctor of the place of pilgrimage to find out if the healing could be acclaimed as a miracle. The doctor appears reluctant: sudden recoveries are not uncommon in multiple sclerosis, but tend to remain temporary. Medically speaking, these need not be indicative of any miracle. For all that, Christine gets a walking stick and no longer needs her wheelchair. Some time later, when she is having an ice cream sundae at an outdoor café, all the waiters gather round to give her a big hand in honour of the latest miracle. Much to the annoyance of nurse Maria, Order Knight Kuno is also beginning to take an interest in Christine: at an outing to the Pic du Jer (a funicular railway at the Pyrenees' summit closest to Lourdes) with all the other pilgrims, he even kisses her in secret and tells her she is "very special".

The pilgrimage concludes with a dancing party. Christine is presented the "Best Pilgrim Award", a small statue of the Virgin Mary. But while Kuno and Christine are dancing, Christine suddenly falls to the ground. Has she just stumbled or has her disease regained power? Christine allows the others to help her up. Smiling at first, she says it was just an accident. She does, however, lean against the wall to stay on her feet. Meanwhile, doubts about the miracle start spreading. After all, temporary miracles are no acknowledged miracles.

Figure 7*. Christine getting up from her wheelchair (still from* Lourdes*).*

Figure 8*. Christine dancing with Kuno (still from* Lourdes*).*

Figure 9. *Preparations being made in Lourdes for the performance of* Une femme nommée Marie. *Director Robert Hossein is sitting in the middle, behind the black table. Photo: Theo Meder 2011.*

Two women from the group wonder in despair if God can withdraw a miracle just like that, and if He is actually in charge. And if not, who is? But their attention soon averts to an entirely different (and apparently far more important) matter: "Do you think we'll be getting a dessert?" Mrs Hartl silently joins Christine, taking the wheelchair along. Christine tries to remain standing for a while, but finally decides to sit down. This is the point where the film reaches its open ending. What really happened and how it all ended remains a mystery to be solved by the viewer.

THE OPEN-AIR PLAY *UNE FEMME NOMMÉE MARIE*

The film *Lourdes* was filmed on location in Lourdes, with permission from the ecclesiastical authorities. The theatre spectacle *Une femme nommée Marie* was performed on the esplanade in front of the Rosary Basilica in Lourdes on 13 August 2011. A direct view of the stage was reserved for the sick and the VIPs invited by Robert Hossein. Others present in Lourdes could watch the performance on large screens. In total there were about twenty-five thousand viewers, including fifteen hundred sick persons. For the purpose of the performance, another large screen had been set up in the city centre of Paris, near the Notre Dame Cathedral. In addition, the national television channel France 3 presented a live broadcast of the show.[4]

Figure 10. The Virgin Mary appearing to Bernadette Soubirous (still from Une femme nommée Marie*).*

Figure 11. *Jesus, Bernadette and Mary (still from* Une femme nom-
mée Marie*).*

The central theme in this son et lumière performance[5] is not some random
contemporary miracle, but the very miracle that put Lourdes on the map: the
apparition of the Virgin Mary in front of the simple girl Bernadette Soubirous,
in the Grotto of Massabielle. In the usual version of the legend, Mary and
Bernadette have several brief meetings, during which Mary primarily pro-
motes the establishment of a sanctuary. Une femme nommée Marie deviates
from this legend in the sense that Mary (played by Séverine Berthelot) decides
to tell Bernadette (Manon Le Moal) the story of her Son Jesus (Pierre-Laurent
Barnon). In a sequence of tableaux, accompanied by a profusion of dramatic
music, we get to see many well-known biblical scenes, like Jesus being
baptized by John the Baptist, the twelve Apostles joining Him, John the Bap-
tist's beheading (at the request of Salome), Jesus curing the lepers and raising
Lazarus from the dead, Jesus multiplying the bread, saving a sinful woman
from being stoned to death, sharing the Last Supper with His disciples, being
betrayed by Judas for thirty pieces of silver and being condemned to death
while Pontius Pilate (played by journalist Henry-Jean Servat, Hossein's biog-
rapher) washes his hands in innocence. Jesus is subsequently mocked, given
a crown of thorns, forced to bear His own cross and left to die on this cross
for the sins of mankind. After His death, the Apostles spread the faith, which
has lived on till this day. The piece ends with actors, dressed in classic and
modern clothing, walking into the audience as evangelists handing out bottles
of healing Lourdes water to the sick. At the final chords, Jesus reappears on
stage to collect Bernadette and His mother Mary from the Lourdes grotto.

ANALYSIS AND CONFRONTATION

Robert Hossein (Paris, France, 30 December 1927) has a substantial oeuvre to his name as an actor, writer and director, although he is mostly a celebrity in his own country. Most people will know him as the (scarfaced) husband of Angélique from the film series of the same name (1964–1968) by director Bernard Borderie. He played opposite Brigitte Bardot in the film *Le repos du guerrier* (1962) by Roger Vadim and in countless other productions, one of which being *Les uns et les autres* (1981) by Claude Lelouch (which was awarded a prize at the Cannes Film Festival). Hossein established his reputation as a director when he adapted *Les Misérables* for the screen (1982) and staged the showpiece *Ben-Hur* (2006). More recently, he directed plays like *L'affaire Seznec* (2010) and *L'affaire Dominici* (2010). Hossein made several religious spectacles about Jesus and about the Pope: *Un homme nommé Jésus* (1983), *Jésus était son nom* (1991), *Jésus la résurrection* (2000) and *N'ayez pas peur! Jean-Paul II* (2007).[6]

Robert Hossein was born in France from a mixed marriage. His father was originally from Uzbekistan, descending from a Persian family. His mother came from a Jewish family from Ukraine. With his parents not showing any interest in religion, Robert was in fact raised as an atheist[7], although he did get acquainted with the Russian Orthodox Church as a child in his boarding school years (Hossein 1978: 28–29; Barthélémy 1987: 114). It was not until the 1970s that Robert Hossein converted to Catholicism. He was baptized along with his youngest son.[8] Passing through on his way to the south of France in 2009, he visited Lourdes for the first time. Completely overwhelmed by the mere sight of it, he fell down and burst into tears (leaving his wife to think he was having a heart attack). His director's eye must have been drawn to the mosaics about Christ on the outside walls of the Rosary Basilica and to the possibilities offered by the steps and the raised platform, which might serve as a theatrical stage. The Esplanade in front of it would complete the ideal open-air theatre (Borde 2011b: 2; Servat 2011; Vayne 2011; Lebard 2011: 4). In his work, Robert Hossein often expresses his commiseration for the fate of his fellow man in general, and of the outcast in particular – his motivation for this being not so much political commitment, but rather religiously-inspired compassion. In actual fact, Hossein testifies to his religious conviction in *Une femme nommée Marie*. In doing so, he attempts to deliver the evangelical message of charity in particular. Focussing on the story of the Passion of the Christ, Hossein's piece stands in a long tradition, dating back as far as the Middle Ages (Vayne 2011). It goes without saying that the gospels cannot be dealt with in their entirety in barely two hours. This has clearly

prompted Hossein to present a selection of scenes showing Jesus from His loving, merciful, charitable and sacrificial side. This image is further endorsed by selected quotes like "it is hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 19: 23), "let he who is without sin cast the first stone" (John 8: 7) and "love thy neighbour as thyself" (Matthew 22: 39). In addition to this, Hossein intends to convince his audience of the truth of a religious mystery like the transsubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ in the scene of the Last Supper. All in all, *Une femme nommée Marie* must be considered as a testimonial piece by a converted Roman Catholic.

Jessica Hausner (Vienna, Austria, 6 October 1972) is an upcoming young talent, who has by now made three feature films: *Lovely Rita* from 2001, *Hotel* from 2004 and *Lourdes* from 2009. As her sources of inspiration for *Lourdes*, Hausner mentions the directors Carl Theodor Dreyer (who made the religious film *Ordet* in 1955[9]), Jacques Tati (because of his silent action and subtle humour) and Luis Buñuel (known for characteristic statements such as "Thank God I'm an atheist"). Critics occasionally add to this list by suggesting Alfred Hitchcock, on account of the *suspense* (which mainly applies to Hausner's film *Hotel*, which focusses on a mysterious disappearance).

Hausner's three feature films have two things in common: the open ending and the questions left unanswered. With each film, the viewer is deliberately left with the questions "What has happened exactly?" and "How will it end?". Each viewer is invited to fill in the gaps: was Christine's fall during the dance an incident or was it the foreboding of the return of her wasting disease? Will she retain her ability to walk or will she face a permanent return to her wheelchair? The following question will remain unanswered too: if the healing was only temporary, does that imply there was no miracle? An existential question that is asked but not answered in this film: if God is almighty and good, then why does He not simply heal everybody? The most important question that everyone, including Christine, asks in this film: why are some people chosen while others – who might deserve and wish for it more – are not? Why does God not hear those who are exceptionally pious and beg for healing wholeheartedly?

What is more, Hausner's *Lourdes* does not connive at the less pleasant traits of people, i.e. their pettiness and envy. A good example is the group's behaviour following Christine's resurrection from her wheelchair. All of a sudden, she becomes the centre of attention. Many of the people near her try to benefit from the situation by making eager attempts to catch a glimpse of the aura of the miracle. But as soon as the miracle ceases to be an actual miracle, attention is quick enough to start dwindling. Kuno, the kissing Order Knight, begins to feel awkward and decides to withdraw. If the miracle can no longer reflect on him, Christine thereby becomes dispensable.

Figure 12. Christine falling down at the dance (still from Lourdes*).*

In spite of all, *Lourdes* should not be considered as an atheist, anti-Catholic or anti-religious film. It seriously examines, and consequently also problematizes, the phenomenon of the miracle. An American Jesuit who saw the film drew a surprising (and not entirely improbable) conclusion: the elderly Mrs Hartl, the silent, god-fearing, helpful roommate is God: she is all-seeing, all-hearing, and always available (Martin 2010).

I must admit I find this an original interpretation, which the director never explicity mentions (nor may have intended), but which the film does not seem to oppose either. Personally, I would rather be inclined to see Mrs Hartl as the Virgin Mary. She does her good works incognito, has deep-rooted religious convictions, is patient and helpful – for better or for worse – and, above all, she is free of prejudice. There is one scene in the film that confirms me in this view more than any other. When we get a close-up of a smiling Mrs Hartl entering the scene, we can see behind her a white light on her right side and a large statue of the Virgin Mary to the left of her, suggesting she has just stepped off her pedestal.[10]

One review of Hausner's *Lourdes* contains the following justified observation: "Put a Catholic and an atheist in the same screening, and they'll see two different films" (Romney 2010). The film is balanced enough to appeal to both audiences. Having said that, it must be noted that the Catholic viewers have not come to a uniform opinion. On 3 March 2010, a certain JohnR posted an

Figure 13. Mrs Hartl (still from Lourdes*).*

enthusiastic comment on a film forum: "As a Catholic, I wish more athe- ists would make such films!" (Film Forum Lourdes). The official Catholic response, however, tends to be somewhat more reserved. The film is said to lack the general atmosphere of love, gladness and affection that is be- lieved to prevail among the volunteers, the sick and the pilgrims. The film is being accused of misrepresentation: the mood in Lourdes would not be this cold or distant, by far.[11]

The two pieces have in common two legend motifs, which have become quite closely associated with Lourdes as a place of miracles and a place of pilgrimage: the Marian apparition and the miraculous healing. In Hossein's piece, the apparition of Mary to Bernadette is the frame story: Mary tells the story of her Son to Bernadette. In Hausner's piece, Mary is present in a differ- ent way: Madonnas keep popping up, the charitable, helpful Mrs Hartl could be interpreted as the personification of Mary, or at least appears to assume some sort of Marian role. Furthermore, Mary acts as a mediator: miraculous healings in Lourdes are said to occur through her intercession. This brings us to the second central motif: the inexplicable and factually impossible heal- ing, which, allegedly, could only be explained by divine intervention. In Hausner's film, Christine is healed after coming into contact with the Lourdes water. This young woman, who was paralysed from the neck down, regains control of her body in the following night. Another pilgrim from the group, a

severely handicapped girl, is also beginning to respond to her mother's stimuli, which awaken her from her lethargy. Hossein's piece shows the true source of the miraculous power of healing: the humanity of God the Son and the omnipotence of God the Father. Jesus cured the lepers and even raised the leper Lazarus from the dead. Significantly, the show ends with the actors handing out bottles of Lourdes water to the sick in the front rows on the Esplanade. Hossein's piece opens the stage to a series of legends that are part of an age-long Catholic tradition and constitute the unshakeable truth of faith for the believers. Hausner's piece is in fact based on the same religious principle, with the difference that the director adds to it the introduction of the concept of doubt regarding the miracle. Is the healing really supernatural? If the cure is temporary, does that still make it a miracle? If God is behind it, why do the miracles seem so random? Why are some people cured, while others are not? Why does it not seem to matter how pious one is and how desperately one aspires to be healed? When God heals somebody miraculously, is it not cruel to see the miracle aborted after some time? If God is good and almighty, why does He not heal everybody? Or is He just good and not almighty, or, conversely, almighty, but not good? The severely handicapped daughter

Figure 14. *The cover of the stage grotto being removed for the performance of* Une femme nommée Marie. *Photo: Mereie de Jong 2011.*

soon reverts to her state of lethargy, and the persistence of Christine's cure is doubtful, to say the least.

CONCLUSIONS

Lourdes is the place of miracles that attracts a great deal of Catholics and other believers, in the form of pilgrims, seekers, sightseers or plain tourists. Some are hoping for a cure or a miracle. Virtually none of the visitors return home without taking along the supposedly miraculous Lourdes water – in jerrycans, if need be – either for their own benefit or to please others. A generally well-appreciated factor in Lourdes is the pleasurable gathering of kindred souls. This does not just apply for the older people, but perhaps even more for the large numbers of young people, who get together in groups and sing wholeheart-edly. Lourdes enables meetings, new friendships and even new loves. Just for a moment, one is free of the pressure to defend or justify oneself, or to feel ashamed in an outside world that is gradually moving away from religion. In this respect, Lourdes can be experienced as a warm bath. Many a pilgrim feels free to openly wear religious symbols, like crucifixes, rosaries, and even habits. All day long, there is a loud resounding of the *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), the *Salve Regina* (Hail Holy Queen) and many other Latin hymns. Lourdes offers a continuous opportunity to join celebrations, masses and processions, in which flags and banners are carried with pride. Only few people will be left utterly untouched by the daily Procession of Mary with the abundance of candles that closes the evening. Perhaps more than a place of miracles, devotion and contemplation, Lourdes is a place of confirmation. The Sanctuary of Lourdes is pervaded with the confirmation that the Catholic faith, with all its dogmas, religious mysteries, traditions and rites, is the only True Faith. The charisma of this holy place does not leave room for doubt. Lourdes allows religious pilgrims and tourists to imagine they are right.

The official bookshop at the Sanctuary does sell the testimonial novel *Das Lied von Bernadette* and the film *The Song of Bernadette* (on DVD), but not the critical book *Lourdes* by Zola, nor the problematizing film *Lourdes* by Hausner. Monsignor Jacques Perrier, Bishop of Tarbes and Lourdes, was pleased with *Une femme nommée Marie* by Hossein, but regretted having given permission to film *Lourdes* by Hausner on location. On reflection afterwards, he condemns the film as "ambigu" and "catastrophique" (Perrier 2011), because it resembles a documentary on the one hand, but on the other contains fictitious elements calling into question the veracity of the miracle. There are more Catholic priests who deem Hausner's film too cold and distant. They

praise the true atmosphere of love, compassion and solidarity that character-
izes Lourdes. I do, incidentally, venture to doubt the obviousness of this at-
mosphere of compassion in Lourdes, which seems to exist mainly in the eye of
the beholder. In the days around the Assumption of Mary 2011, I witnessed
the odd compassion and helpfulness, the usual ritual obedience and a great
deal of miracle tourism. There is no such thing as an atmosphere of doubt or
envy, for that matter. Lourdes is no place for doubt, let alone envy – if only
because of the fact that the miracle-to-pilgrim ratio is far too disappointing to
arouse anyone's envy. Fact is that a testimonial piece like *Une femme nom-
mée Marie* fits much better into the religious strategy of Lourdes as a place of

Figure 15. *Jesus healing a leper (still from Une femme nommée Marie).*

Figure 16. *"Let he who is without sin cast the first stone" (still from Une femme nommée Marie).*

pilgrimage with an obvious Catholic and traditional message than *Lourdes* by Hausner, which is too far out of tune. Significantly, the local cinema of Lourdes has scheduled a daily screening of the film *Bernadette* by Jean Delannoy, which is faithful to the historical testimonies and events as they were handed down and (consequently) to the traditional Catholic doctrine of the faith.

Robert Hossein's open-air play, which got a rave review in *Le Figaro* (Tranchant 2011), admits of one interpretation only: the Catholic miracle stories of healing, the attainment of the salvation of the soul through the gospels and the miracle stories about the Marian apparition in Lourdes together constitute the Truth Beyond Doubt. As long as believers keep practising the mercy and charity of Jesus and Mary, all will be well in this evil world and in the Great Beyond. The artistic story presented by Hossein allows one pro-Catholic interpretation of charity only.

Hausner, on the other hand, prefers to refrain from all-explanatory expeditions in her productions. She expects her audience to give their own interpretation to the images and events. More than anything, she wants to emphasize the ambivalence of the miracle and the miraculous place in the film *Lourdes* (*Lourdes, a Film* 2009: 15). Hausner sets out to find the prickly edges of the fairy tale: "*Lourdes* is a [cruel] fairy tale, a day-dream or a nightmare." She points at the unclarity as to when one should merit a miracle: "A miraculous

Figure 17. *The Officer is telling a joke (still from* Lourdes*)*

healing is unjust. Why is one person healed and not another? What can one do to be healed? Pray […]; choose humility […]; or on the contrary, do nothing, like Christine?" Much seems to depend on coincidence: "One realizes that this 'miracle' doesn't contain a moral or a meaning... that it's perhaps only a coincidence. It's only a temporary stage because nothing is certain."[12]

All in all, we can conclude that Hossein's story of Lourdes is primarily a hopeful Catholic testimony of the traditional religious truth, in the process of-fering a solution for some of the problems of today's world. In doing so, Hossein supports a generation of traditional Catholics in particular. Hausner, on the contrary, casts doubt on the unshakeable Catholic truths, thereby supporting a critical generation who believes it remains to be seen if the time-honoured religious stories and doctrines are valid, if miracles really exist and if one ought to believe in supernatural intervention.

So as to put matters into perspective, the film *Lourdes* by Hausner contains a scene showing an informal chat with an Officer of the Order of Malta telling a joke to a female colleague and a priest:

> The Holy Spirit, Jesus and the Virgin Mary are sitting on a cloud, dis-cussing their holiday plans.
> The Holy Spirit says: "I've got an idea: let's go to Bethlehem." Jesus says: "Bethlehem? Nah, we've been there so often."
> The Holy Spirit starts thinking and says: "Fine. In that case: how about Jerusalem?"
> Jesus says: "No, not to Jerusalem. We've been there too often."
> The Holy Spirit thinks again and says: "I've got it! Let's go to Lourdes."
> The Virgin Mary jumps up and says: "Yeah, great! I've never been there before!"

NOTES

[1] General information about Lourdes was taken from Caujolle 2008, Caspers & Post 2008, Tervoort 1991, Guigné 2011 and from Wikipedia and IMDb pages about Lourdes, Bernadette Soubirous, literature and film. In the Christian world as a whole, Our Lady of Guadalupe (in the Tepeyac desert, near Mexico City) is the largest place of pilgrimage with twenty million pilgrims per year (Caspers & Post 2008: 62). In Caspers & Post 2008: 25–51, there is also more information about the discussion (within and outside the Catholic Church) whether certain places could be allotted a specific kind of sacredness, not to be found elsewhere (the so-called localized cult).

[2] The quoted expression was taken from an interview with actor Bruno Todeschini (*Lourdes, a Film* 2009: 49). This "religious Disneyland judgement" is repeated in sev-eral other reviews of the film *Lourdes*.

3 See the interview by Dave Calhoun with Jessica Hausner: DC: "So, are you an atheist?" JH: "Well, yes, I would say, yes. [...] Usually I'm an atheist, but sometimes I weaken and become an agnostic." In an interview with Emily Seed, she adds: "I believe that inexplicable healings do exist, and not always in a spiritual context. During my research I spoke to many doctors, who told me that phenomenal healings happen every day in hospitals, which fascinates me. I don't believe in religious miracles, however" (Seed 2010). Talking about the director, actress Elina Löwensohn remarks: "Jessica Hausner is revealing the contradiction between what she experienced in Catholic schools and her rejection of this" (*Lourdes, a Film* 2009: 45).

4 About the open-air play and Hossein, see: Borde 2011a, Borde 2011b, Evangiles 2011, Guigné 2011, Lebard 2011, Levrault 2011, Servat 2011, *Télé Z* 2011, Tranchant 2011, Vayne 2011.

5 A French phenomenon: a sound and light show with *tableaux vivants*, presented at nighttime at an outdoor location near a historical building.

6 About his religious spectacles: Dureau 2008: 104.

7 Hossein 1978: 29: "Mes parents n'attachaient aucune importance à ma formation religieuse." This is not to say that Robert as a child did not cherish any sort of religious sentiment. Hossein 1978: 231–232: "Je suis né croyant sans le savoir." Cf. also Hossein 1981: 226 and 2002: 51–52.

8 Hossein & Malherbe 2007: 76: "Je me suis fait baptiser en même temps que mon fils. Le père et le fiston dans la flotte. C'est quelque chose de se faire baptiser avec sa progéniture." See also Hossein 1981: 229–230 and Barthélémy 1987: 33.

9 "Ordet" means "The Word". This solemn black-and-white film is about a Danish Protestant rural family, threatening to collapse under religious disagreements, but subsequently confronted with a miracle bringing people back together: the daughter-in-law, who had died in childbirth, comes back to life while on the bier, when her religious maniac brother-in-law summons her to get up.

10 According to Bernadette Soubirous, the Virgin Mary always smiled at her.

11 See, for example, Catholic Commentary 2009 and Hanvey SJ 2009. By contrast, the American Jesuit James Martin 2010 is very positive.

12 For the quotations, see *Lourdes, a Film* 2009: 8, 11 and 20 (in respective order).

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GOLGOTHA ON CITY PERIPHERIES: THE PASSION PLAY IN BYDGOSZCZ FORDON

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

Abstract: Passion plays are gaining more and more popularity in Poland. Through participation, the faithful seek answers not only to their religious doubts, but also to the problems of the contemporary world. That is why some Easter play organizers decide to depart from the classic script of Passion plays, based on the Stations of the Cross, and to prepare for the audience performances which interpret political and social processes through the religious story. One such Passion play has been staged for over ten years in Bydgoszcz Fordon in Poland. This article examines how the concept of ritual efficacy can explain the particular impact of the Easter play on its participants.

Keywords: Catholicism, contemporary religiosity, efficacy, Passion plays, performance, Poland

This article has two principal purposes. First, I want to present one Polish Passion play that is, in my opinion, worth a separate study: namely the play staged in Bydgoszcz Fordon which is exceptional in comparison with the majority of Passion plays all over the world. And second, through this example I would like to show how religious content is actualized by means of performance. Focusing on three iterations of the Fordon play, I describe three interpretation keys which allow us to grasp the process of actualization of Christ's Passion. Simultaneously I show that the need of actualizing the Passion of Christ and giving it contemporary meanings related to present issues draws from the changing kind of the religious sensitivity of the faithful. Believers seek in the Church for a whole range of experiences, and for answers concerning their everyday problems. The Bydoszcz Fordon passion play is a particular way of providing them with such answers – not, however, from the Catholic Church itself, but through the layman who cooperate with the Church. I would like to place the whole description of the Fordon Passion play within an overarching consideration of the efficacy of rituals/performances and show that in the case of this Easter play we can speak of a very particular kind of performance efficacy which extends beyond our usual understanding of this category, but

simultaneously answers the question often stated by scholars dealing with efficacy: 'what does performance do?'.

RITUAL/PERFORMANCE EFFICACY AND THE NOTION OF PERFORMATIVITY

First I would like to introduce and comment on the general idea of the efficacy – founded on performativity – of rituals and performances. This constitutes the theoretical framework of my considerations. Although I am aware of the differences between ritual[1] and performance theories, and though I am aware of problems with sharp distinction between those two interpretative modes and of those two separate (or not) kinds of phenomena[2] (see e.g. Schechner 1994), notwithstanding, I focus on and present briefly one of the common aspects of both anthropological concepts, namely efficacy. The question of efficacy may be analyzed in reference to the problem of 'what ritual or performance does' (see Lambek 2002: 431) and answered in a very simple and direct way: it brings rain, it transforms a boy into a man, it heals etc. These simple answers are, however, sophistically theorized through the notion of performativity. The most well-known text on the performativity of ritual is Stanley J. Tambiah's *A performative approach to ritual* (1985). Tambiah describes three kinds of performativity with which we can deal in investigating rituals.

> Ritual is performative in the Austinian sense when saying something is also doing something as a conventional act; in the quite different sense of staged performance that uses multiple media by which the participants experience the event intensively; and in the sense of indexical values – I derive this concept of Peirce – being attached and inferred by actors during performance. (Tambiah 1985: 128)

I would like to show that all those aspects of performativity are present in Passion plays, although analogically rather than literarily. Passion plays do not change the status of things in the very Austinian sense, but they have the potential of creating, changing, and transforming things. This may not occur as directly as indicated by Tambiah, but they do evoke new meanings, establish new symbols, and to some degree they transform reality.

In some cases, reflection on ritual/performance efficacy is linked to analysis of the risk inscribed into performance. It appears that if the event is not efficient, it fails (Howe 2000; Schieffelin 1996). That is not, however, the case of Passion plays, since they do not have one particular purpose – e.g. to call down rain, etc. (in their case it is not an efficacy *sui generis*, as Podemann Sørensen puts

it 2006: 524), but their efficacy also can be considered in terms of success or failure. This, however, is much more blended in the above-mentioned example, since it derives from the historical, cultural, and social context in which Passion play is presented.

THE PASSION PLAY IN BYGOSZCZ FORDON: A SHORT HISTORY

Since the fall of Communism, we can observe increasing interest in Poland in participation in Catholic religious events beyond strict liturgical services.[3] The faithful seek for new kinds of religious experiences and thus for new forms of religious events which could provide those experiences (see Zowczak 2008). That is exactly why Passion plays presented during the Lent and Easter seasons, constituting a part of preparation for approaching Easter liturgical celebrations, are at the same time an attractive way of spending leisure time (Kunczyńska-Iracka 1988), and become more and more popular. In Poland dozens of Passion plays are staged each year and hundreds of thousands people participate in them in churches, sanctuaries or other sacred (but not only sacred) places. Most of those Easter performances are based on one main script – the Way of the Cross and crucial events from Christ's life which preceded it. The Way of the Cross is for Polish Catholicism one of most important *root paradigms*; this term, coined by Edit and Victor Turner, refers to elements of religion which "derive from the seminal words and works of the religion's founder, his disciples or companions, and their immediate followers, and constitute the 'deposit of faith'" (Turner & Turner 1978: 10). Most of Polish Passion plays present Christ's story from the Last Supper (some from the entrance to Jerusalem), through prayer in Gethsemane, scenes before Pilate, and culminate either on the Way of the Cross to crucifixion or in the Resurrection. Such presentations of Christ's Passion move the audience deeply; engaging its members particularly because of familiarity of the presented history. People see in those Passion plays exactly what they were taught in their religion classes, and in churches – a story to which they are accustomed and that they have experienced visually through religious images, movies, and religious works of art.[4] These Passion plays refer to icons of commonly-shared religious images.

   Although such performances constitute the majority of Polish Passion plays, there is one more type of Easter play, a type that constitutes a challenge for the audience. Such performances do present main events from the last moments of Christ's life, but their script is much more complicated and grants to viewers the possibility not only to see popular religious images live and on scene, as it were, while at the same time forcing them to reflect on a particular element

of Christ's Passion, chosen by the author and concretized on stage. Usually it is an element actualizing the message of Jesus' Passion for the contemporary faithful. In this article I would like to describe one Passion play of this latter type: the Easter performance in Bydgoszcz Fordon.[5] This performance has been staged annually since 2001 on Palm Sunday (a week before Easter Sunday). Its organizers each year present a new script trying to show new and fresh interpretations of Christ's Passion while simultaneously providing a specific commentary on current events or contemporary problems. I have participated in Fordon's Passion play three times: in 2008, 2009, and 2010. Each time a different script and a different message were presented.

Every year, the Easter performance in Bydgoszcz Fordon is watched by three thousand or more Catholic faithful from various regions of Poland (the majority of them from Bydgoszcz and the surrounding area). The audience is almost entirely comprised of Catholics, and most of them are pious Catholics who actively participate in Church and religious life. Fordon's Passion play's audience consists of people of all ages – from babies to the elderly, from one-year-olds to those in their nineties. Many come to see the performance with their families, some with parish pilgrimages, and all, notwithstanding the distance traveled, whether it was three hundred kilometers or three hundred meters, view themselves and are viewed by the Passion Play organizers as "pilgrims".

The Easter play in Bydgoszcz was initiated by a group of friends who were and still are members of the parish in Nowy Fordon. All of those engaged in preparation of Fordon's Passion play are amateurs and have no professional experience in theatre or with performance realization. Performance organizers have learned how to present a play in the open air through practice, improving their skills through each performance. These organizers and performers desire to prepare a performance that, while it may be not on a professional level, is of a superior quality, and has been consciously elevated from an often naive and kitsch-ridden religious aesthetics which is present in some other religious amateur performances. Such is their play: suspended somewhere between aspirations to professional theatre and popular religious aesthetics.[6] As David Morgan writes (referring to popular religious images, but the analogy is easily visible here): religious art cannot be simply judged as kitsch, since it above all responds to the needs of devout believers (Morgan 1999: 22–25). Passion play organizers, on the one hand, draw from high culture sources, incorporating into their performance fragments of poetry and drama, while on the other hand, they embrace a comparatively low artistic and intellectual level by introducing popular contemporary religious songs. They consciously renounce choosing one, particular aesthetical form of performance – professional drama or naive religious theatre – since such a choice could negatively influence or

limit the audience's mode of experiencing the Passion play. Such a play must fit the faithful's expectations, allowing them deep religious experiences and involving them into the play. It cannot be too sophisticated or too simple, since religious beauty should be estimated not only in aesthetical categories: "We can therefore speak of beauty in visual piety as consisting neither in artistic skill nor in contemplative disinterestedness, but in reassuring harmony of believer's disposition toward the sacred with its visualization" (Morgan 1999: 33). This harmony is in Fordon gained by that conscious choice made by the play organizers: Easter performance cannot take on the form of professional theatre, the form often distant from and alien to ordinary people; at the same time it cannot be a naive religious play, because people expect it to be a stimulus to reflection, they want such a performance to be a serious, refined, but also attractive religious event. That is why Fordon's Passion play organizers pay a great deal of attention to the script of each performance, why they mix soundtracks from various sources (movies, computer games, symphonic overtures) to give the audience as touching music as possible. They use amateur but harmonious scene decorations, all designed and elaborated by a single man who has some carpenter skills but no artistic education. All costumes are sewn by a woman who is an amateur tailor; costumes for the Passion play are a kind of her *opus magnum*. Despite the amateur character of the play which is seen from the very first scene, performance organizers, probably thanks to their determination and hours of a voluntary work, achieve a remarkably high level of artistry. Their play is interesting not only because of religious reasons but also as a performance in the open air as such.

Perhaps there is one more factor which makes their work particularly effective: their commitment to the local parish and to the place where Easter play is presented. All Passion play organizers take active part in parish life. They make use of a *Wiatrak* (*Windmill*) *Foundation* that takes care of district inhabitants, of Fordon's regional promotion, and of local culture animation. The *Windmill Foundation* also cooperates with several parish groups: for students, singled men and women, married men and women, and so on. Most Passion plays organizers and actors are either closely or in some rare cases loosely attached to one of those groups. The foundation, apart from supporting Passion play organization, devotes its work particularly to the Nowy Fordon district since it is a quite poor area, with a high rate of unemployment, distant from the city centre, and somehow sleepy. It displays a typical post-socialist landscape: tightly built, unrenovated blocks of flats, with asphalt backyards and destroyed benches in front of them. There are almost no pubs, no restaurants, no cinemas, theatres, or other cultural institutions, in this section of a town inhabited by 36 000 people. And among many initiatives undertaken by the

Windmill Foundation to make Fordon more attractive for visitors and for its inhabitants is revitalization of the so-called *Dolina Śmierci* (*the Death Valley*) or *Golgota XX wieku* (*Twentieth-century Golgotha*). It is a park and a cemetery in one. In 1939 Nazis incarcerated here one thousand two hundred people in prevailing part intelligentsia from Bydgoszcz. They were all buried there without commemoration. Some of the bodies were exhumed, but around eight hundred were left there. It is the space where Fordon's Passion play is enacted. To understand the full message of the Fordon's Passion play, it is necessary to describe not only the history of performance, but also the history of the very place in which it takes place.

For years, Fordon's *Death Valley* was squalid and abandoned. Some giant sculptures of male figures were placed there, but they had nothing to do with the tragedy which took place in the *Twentieth-century Golgotha*. In the nineties, quite popular concerts of country music were organized in the *Valley*. It was a drunken, ill-behaved rout in the middle of a cemetery. Despite many protests concerning desecrating of a sacred place (a cemetery), the concerts continued for years, until a horrible event which definitively ended them. One year a young boy was knifed to death during a concert – yet another victim whose blood was shed in that place. His death contributed to the perception of the *Death Valley* as a place of martyrdom. This unfortunate event mobilized the local parish to act and transform the overgrown park into the *Twentieth-century Golgotha*, a place commemorating over one thousand victims of the Nazis, as well as the unfortunate death of the young concert attendee.

The general idea of parish members was to build Stations of the Way of the Cross there and to celebrate regular liturgical services during Lent and Easter. It took the parish several years to finish the construction of the Stations. When they were completed, the place became eternally connected with the martyrdom of Bydgoszcz's intelligentsia, while at the same time serving as a symbol of Christ's sacrifice. Passion plays performed in the *Death Valley* came to emphasize even more strongly the character of martyrdom and of sacred space bound in that place. It seems that the *Twentieth-century Golgotha* is an ideal space to present a Passion play. Not only the symbolic dimension, but also geological conditions make the *Death Valley* a good place for an Easter performance: the audience may stand on a small slope and observe events presented on an opposite slope, increasing audience comfort. However, although such factors contribute strongly to presentation of a Passion play, its history was, however, fraught with some difficulties.

The idea of presenting an Easter performance in Bydgoszcz Fordon came from one of the parishioners who participated in a Passion play performed in a sanctuary in Górka Klasztorna (which means Monastery Hill), a village not

very far from Bydgoszcz.[7] The play presented there is one of those performances mentioned in the beginning of the article which are based on the Way of the Cross script. Although the parishioner enjoyed being in this Passion play, he felt the lack of some deeper interpretation of Christ's Passion in it. Leaving behind his doubts if such a presentation of Christ's Passion was the most adequate one, he expressed his feelings to his friends, who were like him members of parish secular organizations, as well as a priest taking care of those organizations with an idea of organizing an Easter play in Fordon. Surprisingly, his fears that the presentation of only the scenes preceding Christ's death and resurrection might not be enough for a contemporary believer met with similar conviction from the local priest who declared that repeating the play from Górka Klasztorna would have no sense. The priest told his parishioners that they have to convince him by presenting an extraordinary project – a performance to which people would come and in which they would participate eagerly. Together with future Passion play organizers he came to the conclusion that despite the closeness of the *Twentieth-century Golgotha*, they could not only look back and propose that the audience reflect upon and brood over the past (both the execution of Bydgoszcz's inhabitants and Christ's death), but they had to give people an opportunity to reflect on their problems, on the problems of the surrounding world, and through this engage them into the Passion play. He delivered an ultimatum that a new script must be prepared every year and that the script should refer to events in the contemporary world and present Christ's Passion as a still actual and important source of everyday inspiration for the faithful. These central points and their consequent realization make Fordon's Passion play quite exceptional among Polish Passion plays. Having established the basic rules of the Passion plays' organization, and seeing in it an opportunity to revitalize the *Death Valley* and give this place a sacred (which here means also solemn) character, Fordon's parishioners begun their work.

Three Easter plays in which I participated had one common feature: they all had at least two main characters. One was Jesus, the other a personage who guided the audience through the performance. Each time the script of a play described Jesus' fate interwoven with the fate of another stage character. This "second" performance personage became a means to present the story of Christ in a contemporary context. The presence on stage of those "second" main characters allows Easter play organizers to actualize the meaning of Christ's Passion, introduce it into contemporary world, and confront it with contemporary problems. By doing so, Passion play organizers achieve an interesting artistic effect: their performance requires careful attention from audience members if they want to follow the action on stage, since it goes beyond the familiar

script of the Way of the Cross. At the same time, this puts the whole event at risk. As Leo Howe and also Edward Schieffelin note, risk is inextricably written into performance (Howe 2000; Schieffelin 1996). They all (and in particular Howe) put the stress on the effectiveness of performance (Howe 2000: 76; see also Schieffelin 1996: 64), but with Fordon's Passion play the risk concerns viewer acknowledgement of the new interpretation of Christ's Passion when they are accustomed to its traditional presentation. By "traditional" I mean the presentations of the Passion rooted in Polish Catholic Church tradition for a long time, but also more recent depictions. In Poland, Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of Christ* is still very popular and very influential and is presented by many parishes and other religious organizations before Easter. For the Polish faithful, there is special meaning in the words ascribed (by legend, rather than authentic history) to "the Polish Pope", as John Paul II is called in Poland, when he purportedly said: "It [i.e. Gibson's depiction] is as it was" (Santana & Erickson 2008: 91). The movie became a certain pattern for presenting Jesus' Passion – not only for the audiences of Easter performances, but also for the their organizers themselves, since directors and actors of many Polish Passion plays (which in many cases began long before the Polish premiere of *The Passion of Christ* in 2004), have declared to me that they would like their play to be as perfect as Gibson's film. Organizers of Fordon's Passion play, however, took the risk of breaking the pattern introduced by Gibson's *Passion* and also partially with the pattern derived from liturgical services. Although they admit that some singular scenes in their play were influenced by that movie (i.e. sorrow of Mary and Mary Magdalene after Christ's imprisonment), the whole performance is, in its structure (since the form is obviously different), dramatically different from Gibson's *Passion*.

PASSION PLAY AD 2008: THE PROBLEM OF ENGAGEMENT

The first Passion play in Fordon in which I participated presented the story of Mary Magdalene. Such a choice for second main character of the play had two reasons. Firstly the performance was directed by two women and they decided to make a woman the hero of their play. It is, however, not always the case that women directors choose women for the main character. One of the directors, also the author of a script, said that she wanted to underline the role of women in Christianity and that is why she decided to write a play about Mary Magdalene. She was even granted the nickname "M&M", after the popular candy, making her a comfortable, familiar, and truly accessible character. Secondly, this choice was strongly influenced by media debate on the "revolutionary" content of the

Da Vinci Code – a novel by Dan Brown. In Poland discussion of the bestseller involved many, including high Church authorities.[8] Responses from the Catholic Church regarding the novel's suggestion that Mary Magdalene was betrothed of Christ were very harsh. Taking this into account, the directors of Fordon's play wanted to present the role of Mary Magdalene in the history of salvation in accordance with Catholic Church teaching and in the same time also to participate in a debate over popular religious "revelations", showing thereby that no new discoveries can compete with Gospels.

Mary Magdalene, however, was not only the main character of the play, not only a "defender" of traditional Church teaching, but she also was supposed to be a certain or "Everyman" with whom each Passion play participant, male or female, could identify. Usually in Polish religiosity, women identify primarily with saint women, especially with Mary (Bierca 2006; Kuźma 2008), while men only pray to them. With male saints and especially with Christ's apostles, men and women identify equally, although women often state that female saints are somehow closer to them. Presenting a male saint as a pattern of values and behavior for all the faithful is a much more common operation. To make a women a person "like each of us", as was said from the stage, was a unique and original idea (see Adamiak 1999).

And so in the first scene of performance we could see a girl named Anka (Ann) who remained in contemporary cloths said that she is going to show us a story which could happen to each of us. Then she took off her contemporary coat and revealed her scene costume as Mary Magdalene. After she had transformed herself into Mary Magdalene, the story of Christ's Passion began. It interwove ultimate scenes of Jesus' life with scenes of Mary Magdalene's conversion. The joint story of those two characters was shown not only as a story of Christ's Passion and Resurrection, but also as a story of a personal fall and Everyman's search for a personal way to God. Jesus' saving of Mary Magdalene from death, transforming her into one of His disciples so that she accompanied Him on His way to Golgotha and finally met Him after His Resurrection, became for the audience a particular mirror of their attitude towards God. She was sinful but through faith she managed to find the right path leading her to God. The message of the Fordon play was very optimistic – the viewers, the faithful, although erring and fallible, may also find their way to God, but they have to keep their faith as Mary Magdalene did.

Presenting the story of M&M parallel to the story of Christ had above all one principal aim: to engage people into the performance, to make them reflect upon their religious attitude. To accomplish this, Passion play organizers decided to present a person involved emotionally in Jesus' Passion, since they wanted all members of the audience also to feel emotionally and personally involved

in the Passion. Organizers of the play focused a great deal of effort in making it possible for the faithful to feel as if they were witnessing Christ's Passion.

The idea of "transferring" the faithful into ancient times when these events took place and of experiencing through Passion plays Christ's Passion in the same way as it could have been experienced by the faithful over two thousand years ago is simultaneously an aim of the Passion plays organizers, and a true experience of some viewers of Easter performances. The organizers in Fordon want their audience to experience "something deeper", to get involved in the action of a scene, to make them feel as if they were a part of the crowd which accompanied Christ in the Way of the Cross. To achieve their goal they not only introduce personages with whom a viewer may identify, they also try to engage people into performance in another way. When Christ shares bread with the Apostles, loaves of bread are distributed among the audience so that they feel as if they are somehow participating in the Last Supper. To make the audience more involved in the performance, in Fordon organizers decided to lead the Way of the Cross not through a separated area such as the stage, but

Figure 1. *Jerusalem enacted in Passion play, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2008. Photo by Paweł Baraniecki.*

through the audience itself. Persons playing Roman soldiers were told to pave the way through the audience, and even to push (gently) or shout at members of the audience to make more room. Further, the Simon of Cyrene character is taken from the audience to help Christ carrying the cross. Usually this person knows he will be chosen to do it, but he wears contemporary cloths and looks like one of the audience members and not one of the actors, which increases the impression that he really is "one of us" – one of the viewers.

Passion play organizers make their every effort to prepare a performance that will strongly influence the audience. And they often succeed. Engagement of the faithful into the play causes them to feel as if they experienced Christ's Passion as if they were there on Golgotha. Such experiences are not shared by everyone, but are common and were described to me by many Fordon Passion play viewers in a subjunctive mood. Such a mode was strongly ascribed by Victor Turner to liminal and religious experiences (see Turner 1982; 2002). The idea that through the Easter play they felt as if they were in Jerusalem expressed precisely the wishfulness and potentiality present in the liminal

Figure 2. *Last Supper, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2008, photo by Paweł Baraniecki.*

Figure 3. *Mary Magdalene mourning Christ, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2008, photo by Mikołaj Olszewski.*

and in the same time allowed the faithful the opportunity for deep religious experiences. The faithful participating in Passion plays are, of course, aware that they are watching only a represented story, but they experience it as if they were watching the real Passion of Christ. And it is precisely this that both the Passion play organizers and their audience members consider the crowning achievement of the performance.

PASSION PLAY AD 2009: THE RISK

Not all performances in Fordon, however, are developed primarily to engage viewers emotionally. Some are developed to involve them intellectually as well, to make the audience consciously think about what is going on the stage, consciously following the action of performance. The second play in which I participated had the most sophisticated Easter play script I have ever heard of; however, the performance, because of the complicated plot, was a very high risk for failure. The script was written by a married couple who had worked in Fordon's Passion play organization for several years. They chose Saul/St Paul for the "second" main character. Such a choice might seem obvious since 2009, the year of that performance, was announced by Vatican to be the year of St Paul. The idea of the script writers, however, was not that trivial. They were looking for a personage who could be confronted with Christ as an opposite thinker, someone for whom the teachings of Christ seem unacceptable, but who finally converts to Christianity. They found such a person in Saul. The concept of the play did not assume, however, the simple presentation of a pious Jew who

Figure 4. Saul losing sight on his way to Damascus, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2009. Photo by Paweł Baraniecki.

Figure 5. *Christ before Pilatus, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2009. Photo by Paweł Bara-niecki.*

converts to Christianity. Script writers wanted to show how similar thoughts, similar intensity of faith, may lead to opposite conclusions – to right (from the Catholic perspective) in the case of Jesus, and (initially) to wrong (again from the Catholic perspective) in the case of Saul.

To gain this goal the Easter play presented, among other scenes from Christ's Passion and Saul's life, parallel and comparable scenes from Saul's and Christ's life. I will enumerate only those scenes which were introduced by the script authors to underline ties or radical differences between the lives of Jesus and Saul. The whole performance began with the journey of Saul to Damascus when he is blinded by lightning and he hears the voice asking him "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" (Acts 9: 4). Later on, blinded and desperate, Saul refuses to eat supper in his room in Damascus; simultaneously, a scene plays out next to this wherein Jesus eats the Last Supper with His apostles. Then Saul despairs that everyone will deny him since he is blind; at the same time St Peter talks with Christ "Although all shall be offended, yet will not I. And Jesus saith unto him, verily I say unto thee, that this day, even in this night, before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. But he spake the more vehemently, If I

should die with thee, I will not deny thee in any wise. Likewise also said they all" (Mark 14: 29–31). In the next scene both Saul and Jesus start to pray–Saul in his room and Jesus in Gethsemane. When Saul asks God to take away this cup from him, his words conclude with Jesus' in His prayer (Mark 14: 36). When Jesus is captured and taken to Pilate, Saul is sleeping and in his dream he constantly hears the question "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" (Acts 9: 4). The crucifixion is in process at the same time Saul prays to God to help him in his hopeless situation. Both Jesus and Saul in the same moment speak: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Mathew 27: 46). When apostles carry the body of Christ to the tomb, Saul converts to Christianity and regains his sight. The resurrected Jesus meets with his disciples and when he says to Thomas "blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" (John 20: 29), Saul, baptized as Paul, confesses his faith. The whole performance ended with a scene in which Paul sits down to write his first Letter to Thessalonians. Small pieces of paper with a fragment of this Letter – "Quench not the Spirit. Despise not prophesyings. Prove all things; hold fast that which is good" (1 Thess 5: 19–21) – were distributed among the audience. After this conclusion, Paul, along with Christ and other actors, moved towards the audience.

Figure 6. *Flagellation, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2009, photo by Paweł Baraniecki.*

The audience watched the 2009 performance with careful attention and its members seemed to be very focused on what they were experiencing. However, I still have some doubts whether it was because of a well-known *root paradigm* of the Way of the Cross, especially important in Polish Catholicism, or if it was the sophisticated script that moved the audience to deeper reflection.

Figure 7. Simon of Cyrene, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2009, photo by Paweł Baraniecki.

Figure 8. *Saul's / Paul's baptism, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2009, photo by Paweł Baraniecki.*

I must confess that I would not understand the main idea of this particular Easter play if I have not discussed it earlier with the author of the script. Thanks to my conversations with him, I tried to follow all of the parallels between Christ's and Saul's histories to grasp the message of the performance. My doubts are also increased by the fact that I have not heard any play viewer state that they have identified with the personage of Saul/Paul, even though he was represented as "one of us" – a person who seeks God but does it in a wrongful way until the moment when this person converts and believes rightfully.

I cannot state, however, that this performance was a failure in a sense described by Howe or Schieffelin (Howe 2000; Schieffelin 1996). The faithful who gathered in the *Death Valley* experienced it truly and this event helped them to prepare themselves for Easter. The play answered their expectations, though not all of them could grasp the main message which was not revealed on leaflets or on the web site. But they without a doubt understood and internalized the message which was inscribed into the Passion of Christ and its interpretation in the Catholic Church. The *root paradigm* of the Way of the Cross worked so successfully in that case that it covered everything that was lacking in acknowledgement of the performance as successful. Passion play organizers in Fordon farsightedly did not change the traditional and popular version of Christ's Passion itself. They innovated only the histories of few personages, suggesting their own interpretation of the Passion as additional to and not in contradiction of the official Church position. This saved the Easter play from the risk of failure and simultaneously gave the organizers opportunity to present their insight regarding their contemporary understanding of Christ's Passion.

PASSION PLAY AD 2010: THE PROBLEM OF COMMENTING REALITY

The last performance I saw in Bydgoszcz Fordon was also designed in reaction to the Vatican's announcement establishing 2010 as a year of the priesthood. Passion play organizers decided to attract the audience's attention to the personage of a priest who loses his faith but finally turns towards God. This time the aim of the Easter play organizers was not to present a person with whom everyone could identify, but to show a priest as a person of flesh and blood, capable of errors and often sinful, although constantly trying to strengthen his faith. In Poland at the time, there was a great deal of media attention focused on priest misconduct, shameful behaviors and acts which discredited them in the eyes of public opinion. Fordon's Passion play showed a man torn in doubt, losing faith, but finally regaining it. It was a way to have a say in a current discussion and to point out that not all erring priests behave shamefully, and are not all the evil, shameless, and cynical men as portrayed by certain members of the media. Some priests err simply because that is human. Fordon's Easter performance showed a priest as an ordinary human being, not a saint, but one who in spite of his imperfections, makes the effort to be better.

The impulse which, in the performance, turned the priest on the right path was a book by Roman Brandstaetter, *Jezus z Nazarethu* (*Jesus of Nazareth*).[9] The priest on the main stage read some fragments of it during the performance,

while scenes described in it were represented on neighboring stages – namely those from the Passion of Christ. The priest regained his faith through reading a fragment about Jesus' crucifixion. When Christ resurrected, "resurrected" also the priest's faith and joy in doing service to others. In the final scene both Jesus and the priest blessed viewers gathered for the performance.

From the three performances I have seen in Bydgoszcz Fordon the last one in the most direct way presented the stand of the Catholic Church regarding a contemporary social problem (earlier, as in 2009, it presented a firm theological stand, such as in the case of Mary Magdalene's role in the history of salvation). There was (and still is) increasing pressure on the Church to solve internal problems; these are manifested principally, at least in the media, in distrust towards priest. The Catholic Church in Poland consequently defended and defends its clergy; the 2010 Passion play could be read as a part of such defense. Usually, however, Fordon's Easter play organizers left more space to the audience members for their individual reflection and judgment on contemporary social issues. The performance about the doubting priest was not the first one

Figure 9. Crucifixion, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2010, photo by Paweł Baraniecki.

touching actual social or even political problems in Poland. In 2004 when an idea of vetting[10] of the politicians was reappearing in Poland, the Fordon Passion play dealt with the notion of betrayal. There were two additional main personages, aside from Christ: St Peter and Judas, two traitors, one on whom was eventually saved and one of whom was forever condemned. The problem of betrayal was discussed in media at that time and particular political parties were trying to gain popularity through their attitude towards Communism and the necessity of settling accounts with it. In broadcast media, however, the conviction prevailed that any kind of collaboration with the Communist government – so-called denouncing and cooperation with the political police – was a betrayal. In the Passion play, two traitors were shown and two possible endings and consequences of treason occurred. Judas became a universal symbol of a traitor and St Peter, despite his original denial of Jesus, became one of His closest disciples. And the viewers of the performance, although it obviously referred to the vetting problem, were left to judge the weight of it themselves.

In 2006, an Easter play also referred to the current problem of a labor migration of Polish youths to other countries of the European Union. After

Figure 10. *Christ's and Priest's blessing, Bydgoszcz Fordon, 2010, photo by Paweł Baraniecki*

joining the EU, work possibilities for Polish citizens increased significantly and many people, especially young ones who saw no real opportunities in their home country, decided to look abroad. The process was a mass one and, as in such cases, was not successful for all migrants. Many returned to Poland with disappointed expectations or stayed in foreign countries in badly paid jobs or working there illegally. The Passion play showed a story of such a migration, also leaving the audience the possibility to work out their own judgment on this social phenomenon.

Notwithstanding leaving the audience the possibility of finding an answer to the presented problem or giving it a ready answer, Fordon's Easter play often raises contemporary issues and in a quite exceptional way actualizes the meaning of Christ's Passion. Only a few organizers of Passion plays in Poland incorporate commentary regarding contemporary issues into the script and, from those plays personally known to me, only those from Bydgoszcz Fordon do it to significant effect and grant contemporary social or political issues that much space in the script.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Such actualization of the Passion of Christ inscribed in an Easter play is particularly important for the faithful. They expect religion to be linked to the present and they also often seek in religion answers for dealing with living in the contemporary world. Fordon's Passion play shows them how religious content may be used in a reflection on contemporary problems. Here we can refer to a process which Edward Schieffelin described as the cultural construction of reality (Schieffelin 1985: 721–722). He pointed out how healing performances being also as a kind of religious rituals may result in transferring some meanings or symbols into social life "after" the performance. Also, participation in Passion plays results in transferring meanings into ongoing daily life – meanings which are sought by the faithful, as they themselves declare. Believers often find in such plays some personal instructions how to act or how not to act. That is why referring the history of Christ to contemporary issues as presented in Fordon fits their religious sensitivity so well. Evoking such meanings is the first kind of Passion plays efficacy. Passion play organizers, as I mentioned earlier, want their performances to give the faithful answers to the problems of contemporary world; they want it to be meaningful and they achieve this goal. Moreover, they realize it through the second kind of efficacy – encouraging people to reflection.

Fordon's performance, as I mentioned, does not only repeat the scheme of the Way of the Cross; this *root paradigm* is present anyway in almost every

religious service of Lent and Easter time. It exceeds it, giving the faithful an opportunity not only to recall and reflect upon the Passion of Christ, but also to refer it to contemporary issues, contemporary problems. Fordon's Passion play invites audience members to reflection and, as many of them admit, does so in a much more successful and persuasive way than regular liturgy. And in this way the Passion play makes experiencing Easter deeper. Deep and conscious experience of the religious reality becomes a crucial expectation of the contemporary faithful who want to develop in their religious life and often seek additional occasions for their spiritual growth apart from liturgy.[11] They attend Holy Mass and liturgical services, but they need also an additional impulse to feel a kind of religious fulfillment. Passion plays give them one.

The last-described kind of efficacy is the most concrete; it brings particular, visible outcomes, but is limited to those participants of the Passion play who live in Bydgoszcz, especially in Nowy Fordon. The Passion play is not only the biggest religious event of the district, but also the biggest cultural event. It is a particular feast in Nowy Fordon, although no commercial event accompanies it. In this aspect Passion plays are quite exceptional religious events in Poland, since there are no market stalls with devotional art, sweets, toys, or fast foods, which are present at all patronal Saint feasts and other major Catholic religious celebrations. In Fordon one can only buy (through voluntary donation) a piece of cake made by parishioners or drink a cup of tea, and all donations raised in that way are allotted to Passion play purposes. Nonetheless, for Fordon inhabitants the Passion play is a great event. After a solemn Holy Mass and the blessing of Palm Sunday palms at church, they go to the performance presented in a place particularly important for all people living in Bydgoszcz. The *Death Valley* is a place marking their identity, reminding them of their particular past: before World War II Bydgoszcz was a multicultural city inhabited by Germans, Jews, and Poles. This epoch was completely erased by the Nazis.

The presentation of Fordon's Passion play, i.e. the martyrdom of Christ, in a place of the martyrdom of Bydgoszcz inhabitants revives history–a history that is still fresh for many inhabitants today.[12] Some Easter performance viewers lost their relatives or friends in the *Death Valley*; some have learned about it at school or heard the story from their neighbors. Through the presentation of the Passion of Christ on this *Twentieth-century Golgotha*, personal identification with the place and its story increases.

Fordon's Passion play gives meaning to the religious story, to local identity and local history, and to contemporary social or political problems. And it is exactly how it constructs reality of the faithful, especially of those living in Nowy Fordon. All these aspects of efficacy do not cover completely the meaning of performativity introduced by Tambiah (1985). The purpose of the Passion play

is also not as clear as in some rituals. Their performative potential produces effects dependent on the historical, cultural, and social context. They are to some degree contingent, since they depend mostly on the faithful's reception of performance (unlike in the other examples of performativity presented at the beginning). In this sense the effect is not inscribed in the nature of Passion plays. Efficacy here deals more with potentiality to do and perform something; it is a performativity with an open ending, based on convention more loosely than Tambiah stated. The convention in the case of the Passion play provides a spectrum of possible effects, in contrast to the Austinian understanding when one particular action gives one particular effect. Thus efficacy described here could be also called effectiveness of performance; however, it constitutes an indispensable part of considerations of efficacy perceived through performativity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

[1] Various notions of this category are in detail described by Podemann Sørensen (2006).

[2] We have to remember that often rituals are interpreted in terms of performance theory and thus gain a name of performances (see Schieffelin 1998).

[3] On changes in Polish Catholicism after the fall of Communism see Borowik (2003).

[4] I mean here Passion plays which follow a traditional script and do not exceed it. Usually they are deeply rooted in Church tradition as well as in popular religiosity. As an example here may serve Italian (see Gisolfi d'Aponte 1974) or Mexican (see Trexler 2003) Easter plays.

[5] Fordon is a district of Bydgoszcz – a city in North-Central Poland. Its full name is Nowy Fordon (which means New Fordon) since Stary Fordon (Old Fordon) is another district, previously a separate town, later included along with Bydgoszcz in its district. For the organizers of the Passion play relation with their district, far from the city centre (not spatially, but mentally) is very important and they themselves align their Passion with Fordon's.

[6] On this particular kind of aesthetics of amateur performances see Gapps on historical reenactment (2002: 68–69).

[7] The Passion play in Górka Klasztorna had been recently a subject of anthropological research on changes in a model of popular religiosity; however, it is still presented as a traditional kind of religious performance (see Eichstaedt 1998; Kunczyńska-Iracka 1988).

[8] See e.g. Jankowska 2008: 141–142. Such responses to Da Vinci Code were quite common, however (see de Groot 2009: 53–54).

[9] Roman Brandstaetter was a Polish poet and writer. He was born in a Jewish family in 1906, and during World War II, while living in Jerusalem, he converted to Catholicism. Most of his works deal with religious topics. Jesus of Nazareth is one of his greatest and best known works.

[10] The idea of vetting, understood here as a necessity of limiting the presence of former communists and above all people cooperating with communist political police on civil service positions, was introduced before 2006 (the first vetting bill was voted by the Parliament in 1992). However, in 2006, to put it briefly, vetting became a political tool of rightist parties in Poland and a discussion on its validity was raised in the media.

[11] Some find it e.g. in so called New Religious Movements within Catholic Church.

[12] To some degree an analogical situation exists in Poznań (Pozen), a city in central-western Poland where the Passion play is represented on a citadel in the middle of the city, called Pozen's Golgotha because of many victims of two World Wars buried there.

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A (FORGOTTEN) VERNACULAR FROM ANATOLIAN VILLAGES: GUESTROOMS IN SİVAS/TURKEY[1]

Uğur Tuztaşı, Mehmet Uysal, Fatih Akdeniz

Abstract: This study aims to introduce a deep-rooted and essential component of authentic folk architecture typology in Anatolia, namely guestrooms/village rooms. The main aim of the study is to analyse traditional lifestyle and architectural structures under the effect of traditional rural lifestyle over a particular sampling area. The social functions of these buildings are limited not merely to housing guests, but also involve rather complex and joint spatial functions, such as providing room for public ceremonies, including weddings and funerals. However, it has been proven during the study process that these buildings, which are on the verge of disappearance, are generally not used for their intended purpose. It is also argued that although the social functions of these buildings are similar, they have their peculiarities in spatial arrangement. To this end, the authors undertook a detailed study of the researches concerning traditional Turkish houses and evaluated, both synchronically and diachronically, the architectural relationship and interactions of the sampled guestroom with the neighbouring dwelling culture. Moreover, other than the literature review, in situ research was conducted at the sample sites in Çallı village, Sivas province, and the social facilities and spatial features of these buildings were analysed. Field studies, interview and observation methods were used during the research. Furthermore, the plan and front elevation reliefs of one of the studied buildings were drawn. The similarities of the sitting plan and spatial structure, both in function and organisation, with divanhane (audience/council hall) and başoda (head room) of Anatolian Turkish houses were discussed over the deductions related to the spatial plan that was created using the aforementioned reliefs. Also, the possible extensions of Central Asian spatial tradition were interrogated and joint architectural details of Turkic spaces of entertainment and housing guests were scrutinised. Moreover, typological concordances were investigated after architectural and decorative interactions had been determined. In short, the cultural and spatial components of guesthouses were studied with a view to contribute to local and international sustainability of such buildings, which symbolise the productivity of rural lifestyle, to provide room for these in the architectural literature.

Keywords: Anatolian dwelling culture, guestrooms, rural architecture, Sivas

INTRODUCTION

Alison Snyder, in a research article concerning the rural culture of Yozgat region, emphasises that "time and space look eternal in the village, but they are not" (Snyder 2009: 42). Snyder uses the concept of "a cultural re-making" in order to determine a simultaneous condition that marks the temporal and spatial coincidence of rural lifestyle. She sees this condition as a re-making, in which a series of spaces pertaining to the earlier lifestyle join the newly built structures and articulate a new situation (Snyder 2009: 46). Snyder's approach points to the fact that new meaning directories are needed for the vestiges of traditional lifestyle that villagers have left behind in their changing life cycle. New cultural and spatial formations appeared during the process of change, and a heterogeneous landscape was constructed. Traditional buildings and building styles have disappeared in contemporary Anatolian villages, giving way to a "hybridized landscape" (Snyder 2005: 24). Thus, in Anatolian villages researches concerning the historical and sociological dimensions of the cultural layer prioritise sorting out the "hybridized landscape" that stems from the physical change and transformation. Furthermore, it is very likely that the hybridized landscape will continue within this intertwined position. It might also be easily maintained that the sample guestrooms underwent such a series of change. This building typology, which lost its architectural functions owing to cultural changes, is on the threshold of disappearing due to physical destruction. As far as the literature consulted is concerned, the rich variety of local building typologies in Anatolia were not adequately investigated, nor were they studied whilst rural lifestyle was gradually disappearing. That is to say, many of the studies evaluated local building typologies within the framework of the dominant "Ottoman-Turkish house" typology (Eldem 1954). The main concern of these studies was to investigate the architectural interactions between urban and rural lifestyles, limiting the understanding of spatial contents merely to architectural relations.

As a starting point, with Sedad Hakkı Eldem's well-known definition, the "Turkish house" became established within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, and developed and persisted for around five centuries as a distinct building typology (Eldem 1954: 12). Many researchers after Eldem abandoned the framework set by this definition, and numerous researches on geographically and culturally different local dwelling typologies were carried out. Although large in number, the mentioned studies failed to encompass small-scale authentic samples including guesthouses. These buildings might be considered as a micro-scale cultural heritage, reflecting the identity of their respective settlements and holding historical value, as they document the social life system of the histori-

cal period that they date from. There are still examples of spatially protected village rooms and guesthouses against all odds. In this regard, architectural material will be analysed considering the architectural and social dimensions of this building typology from a historical perspective. In this context, a detailed study of a sample building, the spatial characteristics of which were exploited and shaped by lifestyle, beliefs, customs and traditions, is undertaken. Although many authentic samples might be found as dispersed throughout Anatolia, Çallı village in Sivas province was selected as the research area, as it was maintained that findings from a province that comprises a vast rural region would be more rewarding. There are authentic samples of guesthouses in this village, in which the traditional building system is complete. The surviving guesthouse samples date back to approximately the second half of the twentieth century.

Given the abovementioned conditions, the research was conducted in 2010, and it was established that four or five guestrooms were still in use in the village at that time. A detailed *in situ* analysis of the buildings was carried out, and drawings were made of a building that was not in use, but had retained its structural details. The findings were then compared to other samples in the vicinity, by discussing architectural interactions and possible shared origins.

SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF VILLAGE ROOMS/GUESTHOUSES: SOCIAL FUNCTION AND FACILITIES THAT DETERMINE THE SPATIAL LAYOUT

Doğan Kuban (1970) mentions three major elements in the planning of vernacular Anatolian village houses: human section, livestock section, and storage and display section. This integrated functional classification used by Kuban might be accepted as a true definition of the spatial requirements for Anatolian vernacular settlement typology. Moreover, in view of these social functions the spatial organisation formed a common structural language in Anatolian villages, and as Kuban (1982) asserts, such structuring dates back to the Neolithic Age. In this spatial organisation, the inability to read and distinguish which blocks belong to human, livestock or storage section appears to be a cultural derivation of the peasant ideology. A limited lifestyle based on agricultural activity increased human dependency on animals and crops, resulting in an equal importance assigned to the cellar, storeroom, barn and life spaces in the spatial organisation (Abalı 1989: 126).

Furthermore, as mentioned by Eldem (1954), every inhabited room becomes a house in its own right, which leads to variations of social activity based on the concept of room. So much so that not only every room inhabited but every

room where a service is provided becomes a 'house'. For instance, 'the house of the older bride', or 'the house of the younger bride', 'oven house', 'storage house', 'barn house', 'visitor house (guesthouse)', 'courtyard house' (assembly room), 'horse house', 'bread house' (bakery), and 'food house' are some of the places in the case of which rooms are transformed into houses. These spaces planned in response to the social needs in diverse regions of Anatolia commonly exhibit a pattern of rooms lined around a courtyard in an organised and equivalent manner. However, it has to be noted that in this egalitarian house plan the units reserved to the elders of the family and to the guests are differently and extrovertly situated. Considering the entire architectural organisation, one does not come across an understanding of spatial hierarchy based on the status quo. On the contrary, an egalitarian understanding of structuring exists especially in a constructive format. In short, both in terms of terminological and physical arrangement, each space occupies a separate yet equal category (Abalı 1989: 126). So the 'guests' might be entertained both in a room within the house and in an independent space outside this spatial organisation. The understanding of independent planning mostly observed in villages is a product of rural architectural culture and this situation represents a social stage achieved in rural life.

This egalitarian understanding also indicates the importance of the guest in Anatolian culture. Guesthouses contain the social facilities of their period and they speak the vernacular of the unique structural patterns. They perform similar functions in different parts of Anatolia, yet with slight architectural differences varying by the region that they belong to. The main function of these structures, which increased in number and gained their basic characteristic components during the nineteenth century, is entertaining the village guests and gatherings of the village folk especially for free time activities (Kaş 1988: 29).

The roots of the tradition concerned with the social function of village rooms might be traced back to the Ahi order. The Ahi dervish lodges dispersed all through Anatolia might be regarded as the earliest examples of guestrooms, and their functional schemes are parallel to the social facilities of the Seljuk Caravanserai (Canozan 1992: 45). These spaces that were used for cultural exchange through socialising activities, such as talks and festivities, were built by the contribution of the wealthier villagers or the inhabitants' cooperation. All wealthy villagers had a village room and these rooms were named after the hosts (Çınar 1991: 68). All the costs of the village room, including the daily expenditures of the guests staying there, inclusive of boarding and subsistence, were covered by the owner of the room. In these rooms people from all age groups gathered and shared their knowledge and experience. Especially during public festivities or grief all the guesthouses in the village were opened to visitors with a spirit of sharing the sorrow or the happiness of the day. How-

ever, the interviews in the Sivas region indicated that women and girls were not allowed to join these gatherings; yet, they gathered in other guestrooms during weddings and funerals.

Although Anatolian village guestrooms, including the guestrooms in Sivas, look almost the same in terms of exterior design and materials, they carry traces of a better workmanship and higher quality materials inside, as compared to other houses in the vicinity. The doors, window frames, closets, and especially the ceiling decorations testify that village rooms were built with a good workmanship, out of respect for the guests (Kaş 1988: 29). These guestrooms derive their functions from the importance attached to guests, and the origins and functions of these rooms and their spatial relationships with other dominant building typologies in Anatolia should be explicated.

TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL CULTURAL LAYER: SIMILARITIES AND INTERACTIONS RELATED TO THE ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE AND ORIGINS

Before discussing the building groups that spatially interact with the village rooms/guesthouses built in Anatolia, mention should be made of the assumptions concerning the origins of these buildings. In the first place, concepts such as 'guest' and 'being a guest' should be etymologically investigated, since they are related to the social function of the mentioned buildings. The main theme here derives from Central Asian spatial culture (Erdoğdu 2000: 37). Another source is the morphological meaning of the room in the house culture of the Turks. The guesthouses that were built with a specific sitting plan exhibit a hierarchical understanding in their spatial organisation. In short, the main factor in the formation of different vernacular types seems to be the morphological interactions based on the independent variations of the room in Turkish house culture.

In order to achieve a better understanding of the issues under debate, the building typology that has developed in Anatolian villages during the nineteenth century under the influence of the concepts of 'guest' and 'being a guest' will be discussed. For instance, in some of the surviving nineteenth-century adobe buildings with courtyards and earth-sheltered roofs in Turkmenistan we encounter the indispensable units of Turkish Anatolian houses, *sedir* (sofa) and *sergen* (shelf), which are called the same.

Furthermore, in line with the saying "Guests are greater than fathers", the understanding of hospitality has led to the emergence of spaces called *mihmanhane* (guesthouse). These spaces share many common features with the *divanhane* (audience/council hall) and the *başoda* (head room) in Anatolian

Turkish houses, both in terms of function and organisation (Tajibayev 2007: 36). In other words, it might be asserted that there are common and unchange- able components in this theme of 'house' culture that has survived both in Anatolia and in Central Asia. Spatial understandings have been shaped by
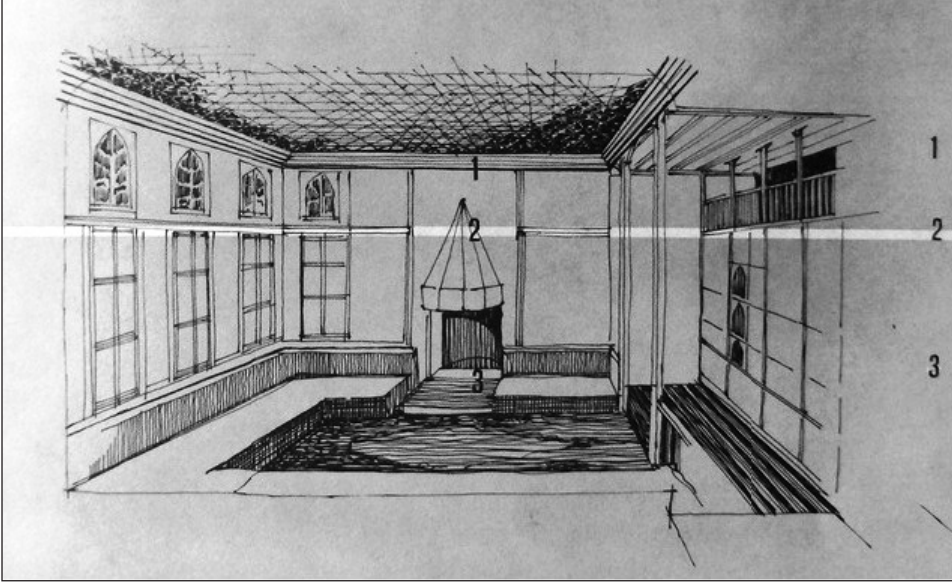

Figure 1. *Sitting plan in a traditional Turkish house (Küçükerman 1973: 42)*

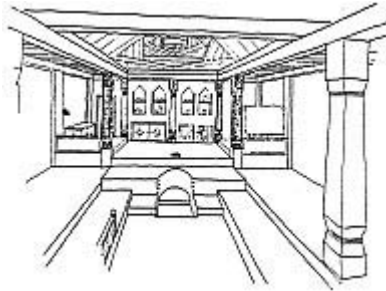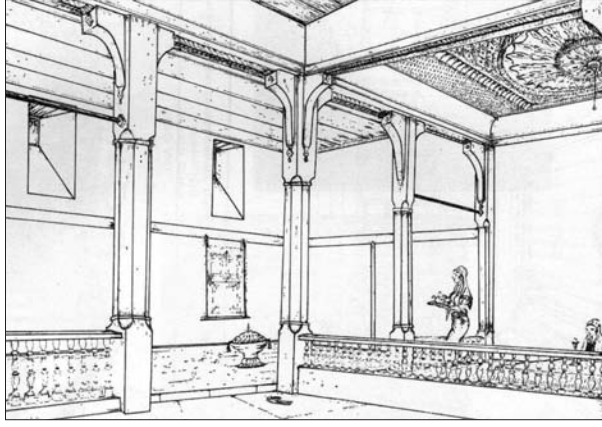**Figure 2.** *Sitting plan in a Tajik House (Akın 1988: 17)*

Figure 3. *Perspective from Divriği-Yolgeçti Toyhanesi (Sakaoğlu 1978: 38).*

Figure 6 (below). *Ahır Sekisi house of Hamza Erdoğdu in Nevşehir-Hacıbektaş (Abalı 1989: 129).*
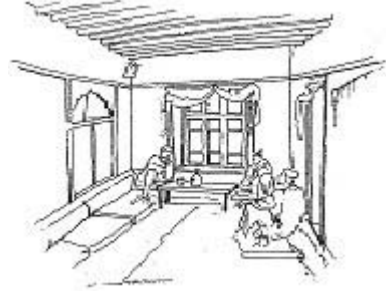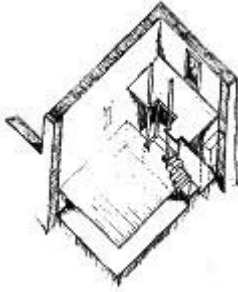

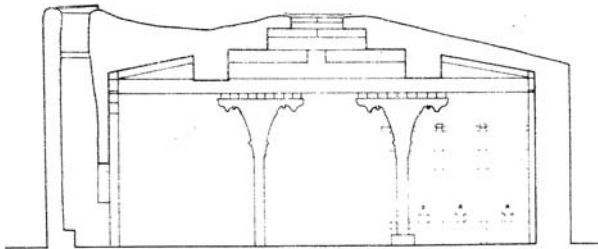**Figure 4 (above).** *A guestroom in Konya: sitting plan (Çınar 1991: 65).*

Figure 5 (above). *Cross-section: Cem Evi, Yahyalı Village, Sivas (Akın 1985).*

the dominant cultural and social elements for centuries. Mention should also be made of the *toyhane* in the Divriği district in Sivas province, as it resembles the plan of guestrooms, and there are etymological coincidences in their spatial connections. The *toyhane* is a larger multifunctional section of the local Divriği house, in which daily activities were performed especially in winters; meals were eaten, guests were hosted and children and elders slept at night. The *toyhane* is situated in the *harem* (women's section) and it resembles the Seljuk winter rooms called *tabhane*. It should also be noted that historically the ceremonies and receptions were named *toy* (wedding) in Central Asia. In addition to that, the origins of the Barana Rooms, which are used for entertainment purposes especially in Yozgat, Çankırı, Konya and Balıkesir, might also be traced back to Central Asia (Yakıcı 2010).

As mentioned above, the relationship among the spatial relations in village rooms/guesthouses should be investigated in the coincidences with the Turkish sitting plan. Günkut Akın, in his study that investigates the expression codex of the sitting culture and status for Turks, identifies a shared relationship as observed from the nomadic culture to Ottoman settlement culture (Akın 1988: 13–14). Even though Akın does not overlook the possible differences, the main activity is related to the spatial layer that determines the sitting plan in the "Turkish" house room: the *seki altı* (lower stone base) and *seki üstü* (upper stone base) planes (Figure 1).[2] Although differences and variations might be observed in local samples, this stratification that enables horizontal and vertical isolation is related to the spatial organisation of the *seki altı* and the larger and higher sitting section *seki üstü*. This stratified plan of the "Turkish house" was functional while it also stressed status, which exemplifies the Turkish aspiration to sit on elevated planes (Figure 2). Ayda Arel thinks that the principle of superiority is related to such an expression (Arel 1982: 79). While this stratification enables sitting in an elevated position, it also defines sitting on a lower plane. The existence of another layer between the *seki altı* and *seki üstü* shows the spatial variations and interactions that emanate from the prevalence of this core type (Figures 3–6).[3] For instance, there is a fourth dimension added to this stratification in the *toyhane,* which we have claimed to have a spatial kinship with village rooms in terms of spatial organisation and function (Figures 15, 16). This layer called *nimseki* is named *kilimüstü* in Divriği, and it is a plane isolated from the *seki üstü,* slightly elevated and with a railing. Sakaoğlu (1978: 31) claims that this section was reserved for the use of younger people. A similar spatial organisation, i.e., the sitting plan of older and younger villagers, might also be observed in the guesthouses.
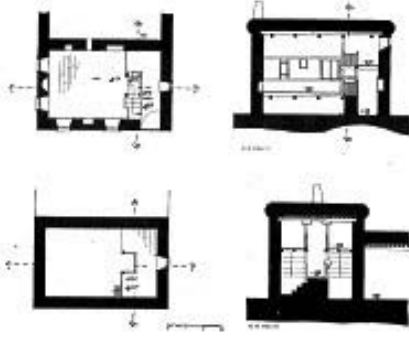
Figure 7a. *"Room and mabeyin" relationship in vernacular Anatolian dwellings (Ahır Sekisi house in Nevşehir-Hacıbektaş) (Abalı 1989: 129)*
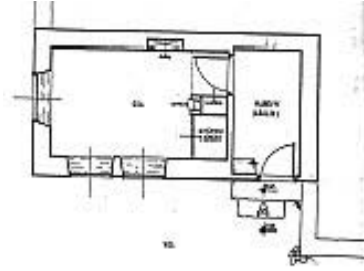
Figure 7b. *Konya-Yörük Village Guestroom (Çınar 1991: 64).*
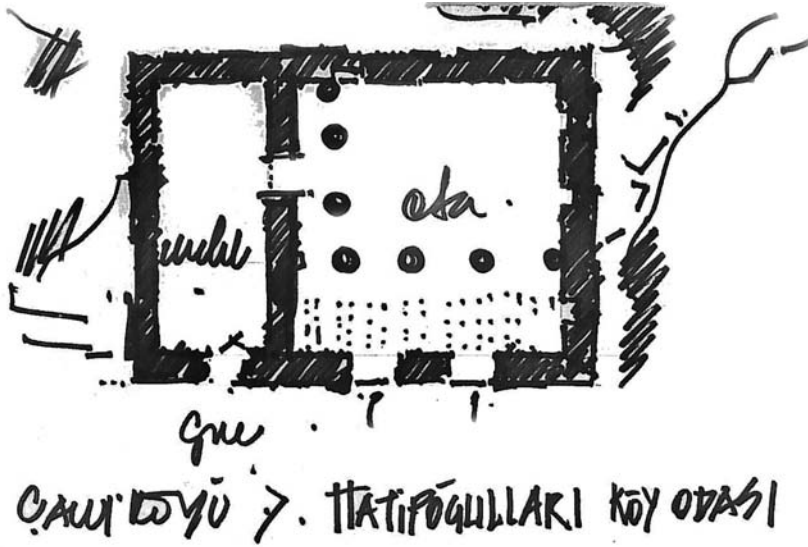
Figure 7c. *Hatipoğulları Guestroom in Çallı Village, Sivas (Drawings: Uğur Tuztaşı 2010).*

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN GUESTROOMS IN TERMS OF ARCHITECTURAL ORGANISATION

Having identified the spatial and social functions of the guestrooms and noted that guestrooms follow a common pattern of spatial organisation in many regions of Anatolia, it can be argued that even though the social functions of the guestrooms (entertaining guests, talking, and leisure) are parallel, the vernacular types were formed in terms of spatial organisation. A common principle in this architectural organisation is the structural contrast between inner and outer spaces. According to this principle, the main theme of many samples constructed in Anatolian villages, whether synchronically or diachronically, gives no clues about the richness of the inner space, which is a portrayal of the cross-section of life. Whether the outer surface is made of adobe brick or stone or mixed (stone, wood, adobe) materials, the inner decoration is strikingly different from other local dwellings with excellent woodwork. As repeatedly emphasised in the study, this condition reflects the importance given to the guest by Anatolian villagers, while it also marks the prestige attached to the owner of the house, as well as the philanthropy of the latter. As a result of the interviews with the

Figure 8. *Location of the sample village room on the map of Turkey. Source: http://www.vidiani.com / ?p=4556.*

Figure 9. *A view of the northern side of Çallı village. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010*

Figure 10. *A view of the southern side of Çallı village. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

villagers living in the research area it was proven that a positive rivalry played an important role in the increasing number of these rooms.

It is further argued that the spatial transmission between urban and rural house cultures increased within the process of change in the Ottoman lifestyle during the nineteenth century. Hence, the efforts of wealthier families in transporting spatial parameters of urban dwellings to the village might be reflective of the mentioned process of change.

Nevertheless, a common pattern of spatial organisation might be observed in the guesthouses built especially in central Anatolia, in which a single room or two rooms open to a hall (Figure 7). Although it has different names, this hall is generally called *mabeyin*. It is smaller than a typical hall and forms a spatial connection that meets the entrance. Indeed, the typical spatial understanding here is the same as in the planning of Anatolian village houses. The units have been developed on the basis of this organisation scheme, with names 'one room-*mabeyin*' or 'two rooms-*mabeyin*'. A third and fourth joint are added to the plan with a separate 'room-*mabeyin*' configuration, which suggests the existence of an understanding of modular growth (Abalı 1989: 126). In short, the simplest guestroom is composed of an entrance (*mabeyin*), living room and a small stable (Çınar 1991: 64). In some regions the stable is placed next to the guestroom, but in Sivas such samples were not observed. Probably, the mounts of the houseguests were kept in the stables of the host, which were adjacent to the village houses.

Figure 11. *Exterior view of Hatipoğulları village room (entrance and rear front). Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*
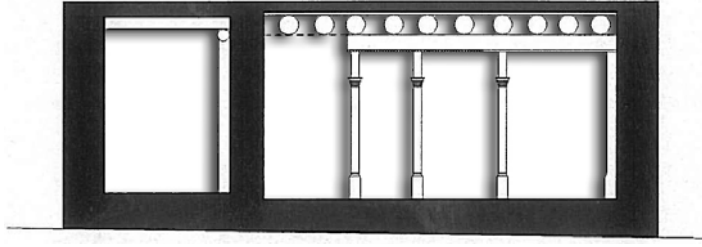
Figure 12. *Plan and cross section relief of Hatipoğulları guestroom. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*
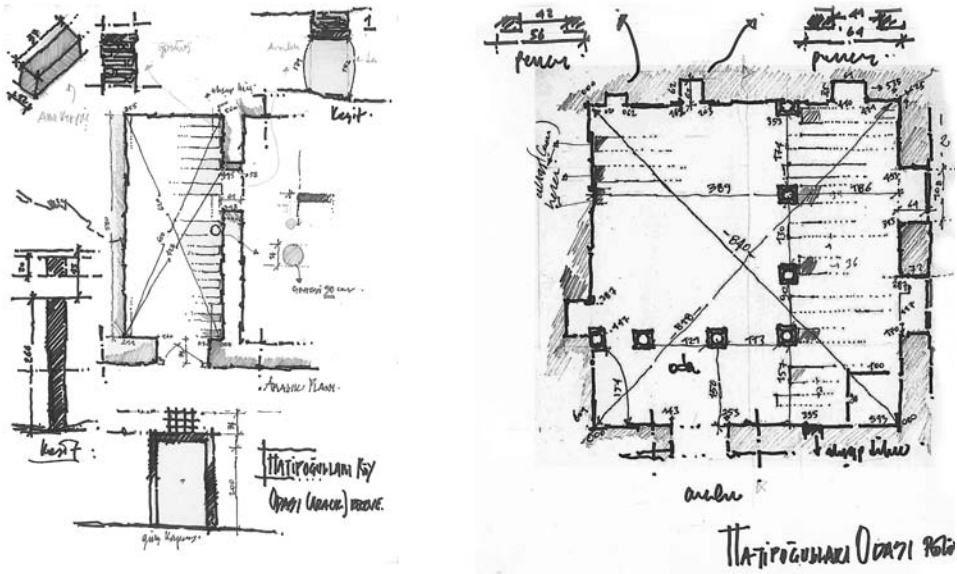
HATIPOĞLU'S VILLAGE ROOM, ÇALLI VILLAGE: DEFINITION AND LOCATION OF THE RESEARCH AREA

The current study was carried out in Çallı village, which is located in the central district of Sivas province (Figure 8). The village is in the region known as Kırkköylü and Elbeyli, and the mentioned villages dispersed over a relatively small area were populated by İlbeyli Turkmen tribes, migrating from the vicinity of Aleppo, Syria; the exact dates of migration are not known. The village is on the 28th kilometre of the old Sivas-Kayseri highway and the 30th kilometre of the Sivas-Yıldızeli highway, with an average altitude of 1400 metres above the sea level. The village was built in the bed of a stream named Çay, which flows in the east-west direction. Most of the houses were built to the north

Figure 13. *Local adobe settlement, Çallı Village. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

Figure 14. *Contemporary use of mud plaster (clay) for maintenance. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

of the stream, while a few were also on the southern banks (Figures 9–10). The houses on the southern side were built on the northern slopes of Sivri and Güdük hills, where the dirt surface is slightly slanting northwards. The houses to the north of the river are located on the southern slopes of Küçük Şahşah and Büyük Şahşah hills, where the surface is considerably slanting to

Figure 15. *Hatipoğulları village room, wooden posts and detail relief. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

Figure 16. *Hatipoğulları village room: wooden posts, motifs on wooden beams. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

Figure 17. *Details from Hatipoğulları village room: wooden posts and beams (Mühr-i Süleyman (Seal of David) motif (hexagram) on the beam. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

the south. According to a cadastral record book, dated 1844, the village had 75 households with a population of 375 people. Before most of the villagers had immigrated to Sivas, the village had approximately 300 households, while the current number of households is below 100 (Pürlü 2002: 96). As a result of the migration, almost 70% of the population migrated elsewhere, while 30% are still living in the village.

There are a number of significant local dwellings other than the studied Hatipoğulları guestroom in the village, namely Ümmet'in Oğlu room, Sülük Paşagilin room and Kaya Kahyan`s Gezenekli house, all of which are dated to the nineteenth century. According to the interviews and the epitaphs, Ümmet`in Oğlu guestroom is dated to 1852, while Kaya Kahyan's house is dated to 1838.

HATIPOĞULLARI GUESTROOM

Located on the northern slope of the village, the entrance of Hatipoğulları guestroom faces south. There are no functionally related buildings in its immediate vicinity. It might be asserted that the building was planned to stand independently. The outer walls of the building, which were built using rocks gathered from the nearby stream, are about to collapse, and the natural elevation of the building has also changed. In terms of the structural and spatial style of Hatipoğulları guestroom, it is estimated to have been built during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is one of the remaining three or four guestrooms in the village; it has fallen into disrepair and is about to collapse. The

Figure 18. *Stone floor remains of the gusülhane located to the right of the sitting space. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

guesthouse looks like a simple building from the outside. Like other guesthouses in Sivas region, it has a rectangular plan and a single unit (Figures 11–12). The main room is accessed through the entrance section called *aralık*. The outer walls are made of rocks gathered from the nearby stream, and the clay and straw plaster has peeled off due to lack of maintenance. The other guesthouses in the village are constructed using adobe bricks, and the walls are plastered with clay (Figures 13–14). The top layer of the building consists of an earth roofing over a wooden ceiling, in accordance with the local building language. In the region, large wooden beams made of thick tree trunks are called *hezen*. The entrance space called *aralık* has a wooden door with a tiny window. The sitting space opens outside through two successive windows, with a wider inner window in the entrance facade. There are wooden beams above and below the windows. While the wooden posts and beams of the building survive, the ceiling has fallen down. Thus, we can deduce that the main sitting space was divided with posts as in other guestrooms that are similar in spatial organisation and typological features. The room is divided into two parts by four wooden posts

Figure 19. *Remains of the* yaşmaklı ocak *(gypsum-plastered oven) and a coffee closet. Photo by Uğur Tuztaşı 2010.*

Figure 20. *Eski Apardı village, guestroom and the ceiling of the kilimüstü section (Ünlüdil 2005: 551–552).*

Figure 21. *Halil Koçak guestroom, Merkez Aylı village, Sivas province. Source: http://www.sivaskulturenvanteri.com/halil-kocak-konuk-odasi/#more-1056.*

on the sides. The workmanship and ornamentation on these posts and joining beams is spectacular (Figure 15). The dimensions and ornamentations of the beams are different as compared to other regions in Sivas province and other guestrooms in the village that we had the opportunity to investigate. The "tree of life" and "Mühr-i Süleyman" (Seal of David) motifs are especially significant (Figures 16–17). As mentioned above, the ornamentations on the ceilings of the sections reserved for the elders and the younger are different, and in many samples the section of the elderly has a sliced ceiling rose carved on wood. The sides are decorated with wooden frames. Since the ceiling of this room is not in place, our interpretations are derived from other samples. Another issue that we would handle with a restitutive approach is the separation of the sections divided by posts with wooden railings. In almost every sample we have observed wooden railings in this section. The inner walls are plastered with lime, although it has largely peeled off. Opposite the door that opens to the room from *aralık* there are traces of a gypsum-plastered oven (*alçı yaşmaklı ocak*). However, the exact shape of the oven cannot be restored since it was largely destroyed. A vast majority of the rooms in the region called *mum sekili* have built-in closets for bedding and next to them a stone or marble bathing cubicle is placed. There are traces of the *gusülhane*, a closet-like bathroom, in this building (Figure 18). While studying other samples, we can deduce that

Figure 22. *Ceiling of the kürsü section, the heating place around which the family members gathered for eating and talking, Divriği-Tevrüzlü Konağı Toyhanesi (Ünlüdil 2005: 305–307).*

the small built-in closet next to the oven was used for coffee sets and books, while the other closet called *çırakman* (Figure 19) was meant for storing lamps and firewood.

As mentioned before, these rooms are significant with reference to their inner space organisation. The rich ornamentation of the inner space of Hatipoğulları room, although in ruins, leads us to an exciting restitution, which might also be observed in other surviving samples in Sivas region. For instance, the richly ornamented inner space and proximity of the village room in the nearby Eski Apardı village is significant (Figures 20–21). In order to determine the sources of this interaction related to vernacular spatial connection, the *toyhane* should be studied. The wooden posts in the room separated by low parapets, the hand-carved ornamentations on the ceiling, the beam consoles, the gypsum-plastered oven, and the gypsum niche called *mihrab* are similar to those of the *toyhane*. As observed in the inner spatial organisation of the *toyhane,* the ceilings of the

kilimüstü, nimseki and *seki altı* sections are ornamented (Figure 22). In addition to that, the hand-carved ornamentation takes the spectator to another dimension. Although woodwork and plasterwork are very similar, hand-carved ornamentation is rare in the *toyhane* (Ünlüdil 2005: 550–551).

RESULTS AND EVALUATION

This study aims at introducing the spatial features and social contents of a building typology observed in Anatolian villages. The guestroom as a distinctive type observed in Turkish rural settlement and building typology confirms the importance of hospitality for Anatolian villagers and marks the depth of the roots of hospitality in Anatolian culture. Let alone guestrooms, the tradition of hospitality even resulted in the building of separate residences for guests. Regarding the present situation, such concerns seem to be disappearing in today's Anatolia, or at least they are losing their original meaning and contents. That is to say, although guests are still valuable for Anatolian villagers, they do not feel the need to build separate rooms for them.

As a matter of fact, architecture extends culture to future generations through spaces. However, in contemporary Anatolian villages such vernacular structures survive only in memories. These buildings that penetrated into the holistic structure of the village and even attracted more attention compared to other building types in most Anatolian villages are culturally and physically disappearing. A repeatedly raised issue in this research has been the spatial components of this building typology and its shared roots with other building types. In the present study the buildings located within the research area were comparatively studied and some similarities were observed. It was deduced that the *toyhane* in the Sivas-Divriği region has strong architectural and decorative kinship with guestrooms. Although this relationship might be reduced to the interaction of the "Turkish house" and "room" typologies, one should also consider the fact that the rich building culture in Anatolia formed many other special types throughout time. Thus, spatial analyses with semiotic insights should be used to reconsider the possibility of interaction in rural Anatolian building types with reference to locality. It would not be correct to assume that the traditional architectural language resulting from the repetition of a certain typology causes extraordinary and special solutions. So much so that only a thorough analysis would lead to success in determining both the authentic identity of the "place" and the protection approaches to be applied to the site. How societies perceive the past is directly concerned with the perception of time. In this regard, protecting such authentic structures that shed light upon the socio-

economic structure and architectural language (both structural and spatial) of their respective time periods should be regarded as a cultural responsibility.

The cultural makeup of the research area has changed due to social, physical and technological advancements, and the process of change has led to the erosion of the functions of guestrooms, which might be regarded as an authentic expression of rural social and architectural characteristics. Although, in Snyder's terms, a "hybridized landscape" is not observed in the mentioned region, it is possible to observe hybridized guestrooms which are affected by contemporary building and communication technologies in other parts of Anatolia. The guestrooms that should be evaluated outside the "Turkish house" typology but still interact with it, especially the sampled guestroom, not only demonstrate rural architectural structuring but also epitomise remains of excellent handcrafting and workmanship. It is also suggested that in pre-industrial times a clear-cut difference between rural and urban architecture is not always possible. Today we can come across reflections of heterogenised urban spaces in rural areas, which physically represent "hybridized landscapes". It goes without saying that the preservation of the cultural, social and architectural features of the studied guestrooms is essential not only in terms of giving a halt to time and taking snapshots of architectural structures, but also in terms of providing future inspiration for architecture and workmanship. What is important beyond restoration or even restitution appears as rehabilitation of guestrooms through assigning contemporary functions to these buildings and opening them to the use of non-governmental organisations for charity work or education.

In this regard, it should be mentioned that although Hatipoğulları guestroom was registered as cultural heritage by the Ministry of Culture, Sivas Regional Directorate of Foundations, currently no attempts have been made to restore it. Today the building is deserted and in ruins. As a matter of fact, in Anatolian villages there are examples of such buildings used as warehouses or stables. In short, there may be considerably more to learn from the remains of a forgotten building tradition. There is still hope to revive such samples of cultural heritage within a disappearing locality.

NOTES

[1] A previous version of this study was presented at the ISVS-6 conference and published in the proceedings.

[2] In the traditional room, the entrance and service space called *seki altı* is separated from the main sitting area called *seki üstü,* with a difference in elevation in both the floor and the ceiling. *Seki* is the only stair climbed up for reaching the sitting platform

of the room. *Seki üstü* and *seki altı* are the planes located above and below this stair (Göker 2009: 167).

³ For instance, Zekiye Abalı mentions a vernacular type built in room-*mabeyin* organisation called *ahır sekisi* in her study covering the Hacıbektaş region of Nevşehir province. According to Abalı, the most important feature that distinguishes this type from Anatolian vernacular building types is the relationship of the area reserved for humans with the stable (Abalı 1989: 125). In the *ahır sekisi* the sitting plane that is the *seki* is separated with a platform and divided by using wooden posts.

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WHAT INFLUENCE DO THE OLD SÁMI NOAIDI DRUMS FROM LAPLAND PLAY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW SHAMAN DRUMS BY SÁMI PERSONS TODAY?

Francis Joy

Abstract: The suppressed history of the Sámi in Lapland contains within it large gaps which span across lost generations of religious specialists called Noaidi. The Noaidi in Sámi society was a healer, curer, diviner and ritual master. One of the important instruments associated with the work of the Noaidi is the magical drum referred to as goavddis, which was richly decorated with symbols and structures depicting an indigenous worldview and cosmic order. The art of the Noaidi has been one of the main inspirations and influences for the preservation of Sámi culture and heritage, to such an extent that new types of decorative 'Shaman' drums are emerging in Finnish and Norwegian Lapland. These new drums reflect both typologies and worldview of the Noaidi from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and provide some level of insight how the transmission of culture continues today.

Key words: Sámi Noaidi, drum, divination, structure, shamanism, Lapland, new drums, symbolism, persecutions

INTRODUCTION

The Sámi are the indigenous people of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula in Russia who have lived as a hunting, fishing and reindeer herding culture for the past several thousand years. The Sámi areas in northern Scandinavia are known today as Sámi. Presently, the Sámi have their own language and culture. Sámi society still consists of traditional subsistence activities such as reindeer herding, hunting and fishing; traditional ways of organizing the society and its occupants are called Siida and land, which form a type of coherent narrative for the structures within Sámi society. Relations to the Siida and land are the pillars within society which have helped to transmit Sámi culture and identity in both a modern as well as historical context. Currently, throughout the Sámi areas in Finnish Lapland there are three languages spoken, North Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi. Tourism is an option of course

but many Sámi work within the education and 'services' (school, health care, shops, restaurants), i.e. the modern sector of working life.

One of the colourful dimensions which is prominent from within the history of Sámi culture is a specific type of art created by persons called Noaidi's who are perhaps better known from outside Sámi society as shamans. The Sámi noaidi from the Pre-historic era as well as from the time when Christianity arrived in Lapland around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, have through tradition been persons' responsible for depicting metaphors and symbols from visions and out-of-body travelling to other worlds, via many natural forms of art which has come from a long standing oral tradition. For example, the earliest traces of work related to the noaidi, is encountered through prehistoric rock carvings and paintings found extensively throughout the Nordic countries and Kola Peninsula in Russia, indicating that the Sámi are a visual culture.

Scholarly research undertaken during the 1990s by Autio (1995), Nunez (1995) and Joy (2011; 2013) has prompted further investigation by the author into what appears as evidence of significant a number of rock carvings from the Alta site in Finnmark, Norway and rock paintings from central and southern Finland from ancient hunting and fishing cultures. These sources of traditional knowledge which can be linked to Sámi identity and cultural Pre-history have strikingly similar motifs and figures that are also recognizable from amongst the nomadic art from Lapland painted on noaidi drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the missionizing began. Rock carvings and paintings are situated close to water where they are depicted on flat and vertical stone terraces and boulder formations. Most sites display an array of different figures including animals, humans, spirits, lunar and solar symbols and geometric patterns and shapes. The reason for creating artwork close to the water's edge is because the shoreline may have represented a membrane between the physical and spiritual dimensions, a type of border region between the living and departed.

Like other indigenous peoples, the emotional and cultural ties to the past historical legacy of ancestors and interactions with spirits are recorded through art. The Sámi saw nature as a huge well of inspiration which provided a basis for decoration and expression of the spiritual aspects of the material culture. It is also common knowledge too amongst the Sámi, that in a past tense in Lapland, the noaidi has been the only person with the authority to paint the magical drum which has been a strong feature in relation to identity. Evidence and analysis of the nature of drum symbolism shows how the inspiration and knowledge has been drawn upon from interactions with the animal kingdom for building and decorating noaidi-shaman drums which are important sources of strength for the Sámi. The usage of symbols and the transmission of culture

with regard to utilizing illustrations from rock carvings and paintings to noaidi drums shows how the symbols have played an essential role in strengthening and maintaining Sámi identity which has seen a radical shift into modern-urban life from the traditional hunting and fishing culture.

Before the Christian priests and missionary workers arrived in Lapland during colonialisation era of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, shamanism was the fundamental basis of a religious tradition that was rooted in a relationship with nature, ancestral and ruling spirits, and close ties with the animal kingdom. Due to the widespread conversion from a nature based religion to Christianity, there are beliefs from within the Lutheran Church in Finland that shamanism does not exist anymore in Lapland which is incorrect. By contrast and in Norwegian Lapland for example, in the municipalities of Kautokeino, Karasjok within the Finnmark area in the far north of the country, traces of the practice of shamanism and traditional Sámi healing are still evident today.

The cultural and religious upheavals caused by Christianity has encouraged extensive research into the nature and context of the persecutions which took place during the colonial era throughout the Nordic countries which saw noaidi drums confiscated and destroyed in their hundreds. Information presented from court records from the 17th century Witch trials in Norway for example from; the scholarly work of religious historian Rune Blix Hagan (2005; 2006) from the University of Tromso, Norway informs us of the following. Hagan states that the Sámi noaidi-shaman was one of the most feared and at the same time revered figures ever to have emerged from within the nomadic reindeer culture throughout Lapland. "From ancient times, the Lapland sorcerers had a strong reputation for wind magic, shape shifting (metamorphosis), employment of familiars, the ability to move objects (such as small darts) across great distances, and for their wicked drum playing" (Hagan 2006: 625). The description presented by Hagen is only one dimension to the position of the noaidi in Sámi society. On the other hand and when viewed in a different light, the noaidi was also a person who was an artist, ritual and visionary specialist, storyteller, healer, diviner and magician. As both men and women, the noaidi was also a bearer of tradition, and knowledge holder within Sámi society and inter-species communicator. The application of painted symbols to drums has been one of the main ways of recording stories and sacred narratives. The early portraits presented of noaidi's throughout Lapland, were compiled through distorted images by priests and missionaries to suit both the Swedish state and Churches political and religious agendas. Many of the sources (for example, see Schefferus 1674) speak about a culture in Lapland which was illuminated by spirits and ancient gods and goddesses of the sky, earth and realms below the earth and water called Säiva, described as a mythical underworld, as well

as Jabma-Aimo, the world of the dead. Both Säiva and Jabma-Aimo appear to have very important destinations to where the noaidi travelled extensively, to communicate and work with spiritual beings with whom the noaidi, through sacrificial activities, trance and out-of-body travelling and with the aid of a drum, formed a working relationship with. On many of the old drums, images and structures of both Säiva and Jabma-Aimo stand out extensively, indicating that relations with the spirits in the afterlife have also played a functional role in Sámi society. It is the author's opinion, that one of the explanations why so many rock paintings in Finland and carvings in Norway are located at the water's edge is because the art has been one way of recording visions and interactions with spirit beings, especially animals who have resided in Säiva and Jabma-Aimo. The nature and content of zones and borders which divided the cosmos into different levels are depicted through rock paintings, carvings and drum symbols that emphasized that the vocation undertaken through journeys to the world of the ancestors and above the earth by the noaidi. Knowledge for example, of the abode of the departed has been one of the main features which are found painted within the cosmological structures of Sámi worldviews in different sources of art. Furthermore, within written sources pertaining to the history of Lapland, early material which presents evidence of the use of the decorated drum by a Sámi noaidi is recorded in one of the

> oldest document that describes a shamanistic séance, [and is from] the eleventh-century Historia Norvegiae; [where] the markings on the drum are mentioned as containing only figures representing whales, a harnessed reindeer, skies and a boat with oars. They have been interpreted as representing the means of transport for the shaman on his journeys or his spiritual assistants (whales). (Pulkkinen & Kulonen & Seurujärvi-Kari 2005: 73)

Illustrating no doubt that drums have been an integral part of the culture for a long time.

PAINTED DRUMS AND OUT-OF-BODY TRAVEL

The magical drum as a sacred vessel was used for different reasons, including the practical use for divination where the noaidi sought the will of the spirits in matters related to fishing, hunting and problem solving. In addition, another common use was for ecstatic entrancement associated with healing purposes where the use of the drum was employed to induce a state of ecstasy via the application of rhythmic chanting and singing in the form of joiking. Joiking creates

tones which produce various sounds, and has been a customary practice used by noaidi's to help shift from mundane consciousness into trance states. When shamanizing the noaidi with the assistance of helping spirits undertakes soul journeys into the world of the dead below the water or inside the earth in order to return lost or stolen soul parts to a sick or injured person. Journeys were also made upwards into or realm of the gods/spirits, which were of a celestial nature, for example, who controlled the weather and helped with successful hunting. The drum as a sacred vessel was also used during sacrificial activities where sacred boulders and carved wooden idol type posts called Sieidi which quite often resembled human or animal forms were approached. Offerings of tobacco, meat, fat and fish were typically made to the residing spirit as a way of invoking help and advice with community, family and individual affairs with life and death situations as well as fortune-telling and prophesying. Sacrifice was performed through appeasing the spirit residing in the boulder or wooden idol which then offered power in return.

On many drums, symbols are placed within a type of network which included a host of features such as the heavens, northern Lights and Milky Way, where the Sámi deities of the upper world resided. In the middle world – physical reality which was concerned with hunting and fishing activities, there were spirits who took up residence in sacred hills, mountains and boulders across the landscape. Below the earth in Jabma-Aimo was where Rota the god of illness and death resided and who the noaidi made extensive sacrifices to as a way of alleviating sickness and disease. The co-existence of all of these elements was both the essence and portrait of a definitive archaic worldview characterized by sacrificial activities, reindeer herding, hunting and fishing, which spans thousands of years.

Variations in the cosmological structures of the universe which could differ in accordance with the noaidi's experience and understanding of the rotational shifts throughout the cyclical year are also evident. As a sacred instrument, the drum for the Sámi had as much significance and value as a bible or Holy book might have, and in some instances, such was the reverence for the vessel, sacrifices were offered to the spirits who had taken up residence inside and were associated with it. Typically, the noaidi made contact with the spirits through the drum when seeking for example, the desired power for successful hunting, healing and divination.

Decoration of the drum was vitally important too. The pictorial content on each of the drum heads which were made of reindeer hide were painted with red dye from alder tree bark that had been boiled or chewed before usage. "The red colour of alder bark, symbolizing blood [is a substance utilized as a medium that acted as] a key to control the elements" (Mulk & Bayliss-Smith 2007: 60).

The red colour of alder dye also had religious significance for hunting, and was seen through the deity who is called:

> […] Leaibealmmái – the alder tree man [who] was the God of Hunting. The alder tree was regarded as a sacred tree. With dyes made from the bark, the people painted figures on the goavddis – drum. Leaibealmmái had control over the wild animals of the woods. (Solbakk 2007: 34–35)

USE OF THE DRUM AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH INTO SÁMI SHAMANISM AND THE NOAIDI DRUM

Previous scholarly research into Sámi shamanism has described in a number of ways the drum might be used by the Sámi noaidi for healing, divination and making out-of-body journeys to other worlds. From these observations, the drum has been labeled as a 'Cognitive Map' in literature, and the pictures drawn on the drum head formed the mental landscape of the noaidi. For example, Pentikäinen (1998: 39), informs us that:

> the drum is a key to the cosmology of the Sámis. The shaman had an intimate relationship with his own drum which was often made by him. The figures of the drum were a kind of cognitive map for the trip of the shaman's ego-soul between the three levels of the universe. […] The cyclic world-outlook of shamanism became manifest in the oval shape and the heliocentric figures on the drum.

According to Keski-Santi et al (2003: 120–122):

> […] the definition of a map is shaped by cultural contexts and that within different cultures maps can vary in both appearance and use. For the Sámi, the drum was metaphorically speaking, the shaman's sleigh: the drum itself, the drumming and decoration of the drum skin together functioned as a map. This map was created by an individual shaman's spiritual journeys, which he or she had made for the benefit of, and on behalf of, the community that he or she had a calling to serve.

By contrast, Swedish Sámi scholar Louise Bäckman also informs us that:

> all noaidi did not have similar experiences during contact with the gods, or 'other reality', but all noaidi were acting within a culture that supplied each with the same frames of reference. Noaidi were brought up with the

same religious traditions, and interpreted experiences in a traditional way, but in accordance with personal experience. (Bäckman 2004: 30)

One important source which has presented a deeper insight into the role and function of the noaidi in Sámi society is provided by Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola in his book: "The Sámi People: Traditions in Transition" (2002). Lehtola provides a description of Sámi shamanism from inside the culture which has historic ties to the past and present:

> In the old culture, human relationships with the two realms of reality, the physical world ("this side") and the spiritual world ("the other side") were bridged by the activities of special men and women – noaidi. Just as the world was divided into the seen and unseen, the tangible and the intangible, so human beings were composed of two parts: the body souls and the free souls. In a non-active state – in dream, trance or coma – a free soul may leave the body and take on another form outside of the person. The noaidi had the skill to reach this state at will. It is described in different ways. The noaidi in a trance leaves the body and moves as a spirit of breath or wind. They have the ability to change into a wild reindeer or hide under the reindeer's neck or hoof; they can fly over tree tops or travel under the ground; they may swim in the shape of a fish; and the Sea Sámi recount that they may even move mountains. The traditional shamanism was an integral and essential part of the hunting culture. Shamanic activities were related to crisis situations in a village or family; the noaidi attempted to find a remedy. The greatest crises for this people dependent on nature were illnesses and problems concerning obtaining a livelihood. Illness is a disturbance of the balance between the two souls and between the two realms of reality. The noaidi, in spirit form, leaves and goes to the "other side" to restore harmony. (Lehtola 2002: 28)

Further research from scholars within all major academic disciplines across the Nordic countries from the 1980s to the present time has made a significant contribution towards understanding the different uses and activities associated with the magical drum. For further examples see the following: Pentikäinen (1998), Laestadius (2002), Sommarström (1991), Ahlbäck and Bergman (1991), Hultkrantz and Bäckman (1978; 1985), Holmberg (1964) and Manker (1938; 1950). During the course of the 1980s in the Nordic countries, interest into the "remaining 71 drums" (Itkonen 1943–44: 68) which survived the colonialism era and were collected from the Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian Lapland when the reindeer and fishing culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries appeared to have reached its peak. Within this period, the remaining drums

and their decorative content, which are currently preserved in various museums throughout Europe, were extensively analyzed within the sources noted above.

Perhaps one of the foremost and comprehensive literary sources that has emerged in relation to the study of Sámi noaidi drums has two volumes and contains extensive photographic records of all the surviving drums, and was published in German by Ernst Manker (1938) and titled: *Die lappische Zaubertrommel. Eine ethnologische Monographie. 1, Die Trommel als Denkmal materieller Kultur, volume 1.* A second volume (1950): *Die lappische Zaubertrommel: eine ethnologische Monographie. 2, Die Trommel als Urkunde geistigen Lebens,* analyses the many symbols, figures and structures painted on the drum heads. Both of Manker's editions have been used widely and extensively within all academic research fields as source material. Because a number of the sources above have been formulated by persons from outside Sámi culture, methodological problems exist in research into how the use of the drums were recorded during the colonialism period. The reason being that interpretation of figues which figured prominently in the so called Witch hysteria, originate from accounts provided by preists, and are therefore, to be treated with a certain amount of caution.

AIMS OF THE RESEARCH AND METHODS USED

The aims of the research is to bridge one of the current gaps which exist in relation to Sámi culture throughout the Nordic countries today, and concerns a lack of data discussing the production of new types of shaman drums which are emerging, as Christian influence begins to lose its grip in Lapland. There is a wealth of knowledge and information published about the old drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but we have no data of any kind about modern drums made by Sámi persons, especially those that are engaged in the practice of shamanism. Furthermore, previous enquiry throughout the past thirty years for example, has sought to study the Sámi noaidi mainly as a religious specialist from within a historical context, and not as an artist or handicraft person. Therefore, the proposed aims in the paper are concerned with examining the influence the painted symbolism from the old drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have had on the production of six modern drums made by Elle-Maaret Helander who lives in Finnish Lapland, and Ovlla Gaup who is a Sámi from Norwegian Lapland. Both drum makers are artists. The material presented herein has been collected through fieldwork and collaboration with the two Sámi persons as a result of interviews conducted between 2011 and 2013 in Finnish and Norwegian Lapland which is introduced

below. To help set the scene and in order to describe the role and function of the noaidi in a historical context, an explanation of Sámi shamanism and use of the drum has been presented above as a foundation for the task ahead. What is also required to support the above is photographic evidence of older drums and their different typologies. The old drums from the reindeer culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries played a vital role in the construction and continuity of culture and identity. When gathered together, rock carvings, rock paintings and drum symbolism illustrate how religious practices recorded as oral heritage appears to go back thousands of years. Reasons for making use of the historic material within the paper are to show the level of influence as well as contrasts noaidi symbolism has in relation to the reproduction of those symbols painted on new types of shaman drums and decorative artwork by the two interviewees.

The formula of analyzing and describing the usage of the noaidi drums from earlier sources, and presenting the material as photographic evidence helps strengthen the analysis because it covers the wide range of uses of the instrument and provides the reader with knowledge of its value and impor-tance as a religious tool. A comparative presentation of material supports the enquiry which draws comprehensive links and parallels between the influences the drums of the old reindeer culture has with regard to the ways they were built-constructed, and the application of shamanistic art, by contrast to the production of new drums in modern society. Overall, the background-historical information is essential for creating the basis for the new analysis. Moreover, both the approach used and methods employed help to show how continuity of Sámi culture takes place, and present a number of the factors and techniques involved in drum making amongst the interviewees that have both similarities and differences. The evidence presented in this way, is done so as an attempt to capture the motivation behind the art. A suitable model for the research warrant's a descriptive approach using a comparative methodology that dem-onstrates how the past influences the present with regard to the reproduction of drums and artistic symbols, and subsequently helps to determine the outcome of the research question. The content of the chapters are presented in this order because they strengthen and support the aims of the study.

In addition to making descriptive comparisons between past and present in relation to noaidi drums and their symbols, it is beneficial beforehand to have some insight into the Sámi handicraft tradition in Lapland which is called Duodji. Duodji is a term used to describe authentic Sámi handicrafts that are handmade by Sámi persons, within a large number of artistic designs and vari-ous handicraft productions that have been decorated with intricate patterns and forms produced from within the culture. Duodji items are decorated with

different symbols and patterns that transmit culture, and are recognized as sources of traditional knowledge, brought into form through products such as knives, bowls, clothing, leather and bone items, made using natural materials and dyes, many of which are decorated with intrinsic patterns which express "[…] an inner human creative process" (Solbakk 2007: 64). It is amongst the traditional practices of making Duodji handicrafts and creating art that one is able to encounter the noaidi drums in both a historical and modern context. Certain drums are used in a shamanistic way, whilst others perform a decorative or cultural function. Drums are one of the central manifestations of cultural heritage on which the noaidi's painted patterns and designs as intricate symbolism are found that reflect the worldview of many generations, and their relationship to the natural world.

MATERIAL OF THE STUDY

The overall content of the proposed paper has three main sections to it. The first section (above) contains literature sources that present an overview of material of the Sámi noaidi drums and drum symbolism from between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from the Lapland areas in Finland and Norway. Motivation for using literature studies in this way is to help introduce the noaidi's role as an artist and bearer of both tradition and culture, from a perspective which creates a foundation for the contemporary analysis of drums made by Sámi interviewees which is presented in the last section. To help support the proposed analysis, it is important to become acquainted with material which gives a brief introduction to the persecutions of the noaidi in Lapland as a way of highlighting the painful historical legacy passed on from generation to generation. The reason for including this dimension of cultural history is done so as a way of providing a certain level of understanding towards the historical landscape being navigated through which is where the origins of the research into Lapland by priests comes from. The treatment of issues concerning persecution is warranted in this case from the point of view of awareness, for persons from outside of Lapland culture. The emphasis being the impact of colonialism and Christianity with regard to the noaidi drums usage and persecutions of noaidi's in a long and brutal campaign throughout Lapland by the church. From literature produced from within the colonialism period that extends from the seventeenth century until very recently, evidence shows that the banning of the use of Sámi language which has been portrayed through two fundamental elements, namely, art and culture, had a serious impact on both the identity and self-esteem of the culture. These issues have to be taken into consideration

because they continue to influence Sámi attitudes, thinking, culture, art and religion, and from more recent observations, the way new drums are produced and the pictorial narratives which accompany them.

As a way of conveying the chapter outlining the persecutions, included is a photograph of a painting by "Esa Marlisto [who] is Finnish speaking [artist] […] born in Tampere, Finland. [Marlisto] has [also] lived in Götebord in Sweden" (Marlisto 2013: 1). [Marlisto's] painting has "no specific historical document behind it, but [from the author's point of view the art] presents a general portrait of Sámi history" (Marlisto 2013: 1). The reason the picture has been chosen as a part of the analysis is because "this particular portrait [of a dead noaidi] exhibits the humiliation of [being stripped naked and] being tied to a religious icon, [in the form of a wooden Sieidi]" (Marlisto 2013: 1) and left to die. Moreover, the portrait helps capture the atmosphere as to why Sámi noaidi's and some handicraft persons are reluctant to give interviews and disclose information to persons from outside their culture, regarding drum making and religious practices.

Information from Marlisto's bio stated that the painter's exhibition titled 'Saami symbolit' (Saami symbols) exhibited in 2013 at the City Library in Rovaniemi, which is the capital city in Finnish Lapland, was a collection of works with this type of content was inspired from the artist's visits to:

> Northern Canada in 1971, where contact was made with indigenous people of the new continent. The second contact with indigenous people was in Greenland in 1976 where Marlisto met Eskimo persons. In 1989 in Sweden Esa learned about the Sámi, who he sees as the indigenous people in Finland who are 'our' indigenous people, and remembered what he had seen in Indian and Eskimo societies previously. As a result, Esa began to study Indians' and Eskimos' and recognized the similarities between Sámi histories. He started to call the Sámi 'Our Indians' and this is where he got the motivation for the theme. (Marlisto 2013: 1)

One further important source of information included herein that follows on from the chapter on persecution, is the chapter titled: 'Old Sámi drums as sources of traditional knowledge for Sámi society today'. This section, like the previous one, also has associations with persecution, and within the content is a photograph of an old drum from Finnmark, Norway which belonged to Sámi noaidi Anders Poulson. Poulson was tried for witchcraft in a Norwegian court in "1691" (Hagan 2005: 309). The reason for choosing the drum is because according to Norwegian scholar Hagan, and by contrast to the information about the remaining drums which survived the Lapland purges, this particular drum "[…] has been preserved, and it is one of the few drums containing symbols and fig-

ures that have actually been described by the drum's owner" (Hagan 2005: 309). The description of the use of the drum in this example has been recorded and is presented in the paper below. Hagan also informs us that whilst Poulson was in custody awaiting a decision concerning a previous ruling against him where he had "[…] been found guilty of evil sorcery" the old shaman was murdered while sleeping in a hut the day the following on the court ruling (Hagan 2005: 312). Additional information by Hagan states that after the shaman's death:

> Poulsen's well-used magic drum ended up in Copenhagen, in 1694. Today we can find the several centuries-old magic drum where it naturally belongs: in the Karasjok Sámi Collections (Sámid Vuorká Dávvirat), Finnmark. The drum was consigned to the Sámi Collection, in 1979, by the National Museum of Copenhagen. (Hagan 2005: 309)

The grounds for placing special emphasis on Anders Poulson's case and the preservation of his drum, is to illustrate the influence it has played through the reproduction of a replica of Poulson's drum. The replica was made by Ovlla Gaup, the Sámi handicraft interviewee from Kautokeino, Norway, and is presented within the context of the study as well. Although the information provided by the drum maker is short, the prototype made by Gaup is a good example of how the historical events surrounding the original drum has influenced the drum maker, and as a result, the instrument is presented as an art form which represents "[...] the maintenance of Sámi culture and identity" (Gaski 1997: 1). In other words, how traditional knowledge survives and is carried forward. As a way of gaining background information about the drums creation and story behind it, telephone interviews with Ovlla Gaup were conducted in 2011 and 2013.

To follow the presentation surrounding the explanation by Poulson and the description of his drum, the chapter further includes photographic material of two more drums, one from Finnish Lapland and the second from Norwegian Lapland. These photographs are examples taken from amongst the "remaining 71 drums" (Itkonen 1943–44: 68) that have survived the Lapland purges of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Documentation of each drum is detailed in Ernst Manker's (1938) edition. Currently, all the surviving drums collected from the Sámi, are preserved in museums in Italy, Sweden, Germany, Britain, Denmark, Norway and France. The photographs of the historical material help to characterize the diverse illustrations of individual spirits and deities; human figures and animals that formed the mythical worldview. Illustrations of figures which are both individual as well as in groups are placed within cosmological structures on the drum heads painted by the noaidi; the structures on each drum have been created from the noaidi's knowledge and experiences. Included too in this section, is information about the collection of materials by the noaidi

used to construct drums with, which was translated from German to English by Martina Schäfer. The drum presented from the Finnish side of Lapland is one of the only two known remaining Sámi noaidi drums that have originated from the former Kemi Lappmark area in Finland. The instrument which is seen presented herein exhibits both frontal and rear views. The reason for presenting both sides of the drum is to illustrate the typology of the instrument which is the frame design; considered by Manker (1938) as a type associated with the Finnish Kemi Sámi. The frame drum consists of a piece of wood bent into an oval shaped which had a handle in the center in the form of a cross piece. The Kemi drum is the segmental type which means through the noaidi's artwork and cosmological picture, the landscape is divided into three segments on the drum head that consists of upper, middle and lower world structures and figures.

Figure four is an additional illustration of a Sámi noaidi from the seventeenth century who is beating his drum prior to falling into a trance. The image is included because it shows the divination ring on the drum head which is being struck with a reindeer bone hammer before the noaidi falls into an unconscious trance. Bronze or copper rings acted as a pointer or guide during divination which helped determine the will of the spirits. A bone hammer used for beating the drum with was typically made from reindeer horn which was Y shaped in its design. Two more photographs are included in the historical section presenting, both front and rear views of the Sámi drum from Norwegian Lapland which is decorated with spirits and deities who have extensively influenced the artistic productions of Sámi persons. The Norwegian drum is a bowl type drum, and is made from a burrell from a birch tree. As is evident, the cosmological structure on the drum has five levels to it. The instrument is a Sun-centered drum meaning the painted landscape is created around the image of the solar symbol thus highlighting how important the reverence for the sun in Arctic cultures, and therefore, how the world picture is structured around it. The cosmological structure of the bowl drums exhibits the variations to different levels, for example, upper, middle and lower worlds but also realms just above and below the earth.

To provide the reader with some idea of the geographic locations of the main areas where the drums in the historical section of the paper have originated from; enclosed is an old map of Lapland which was divided up into different regions by the Swedish state during the colonialism period. This map (see Figure 1) was provided by Risto Pulkkinen who is a Docent at The University of Helsinki.

The third section of the paper examines the transition from noaidi drums to modern 'shaman' drums, and in this case the research material is presented through five drums which have been made by Sámi drum maker, artist and

Figure 1. *Photograph of an old map of the former Lapland provinces which were divided into different Lappmarks for taxation purposes. On the left side is the Kemi Lappmark area. Many noaidi drums were subsequently collected and destroyed from the Umea, Pite, Lulea areas of Sweden as well as the Finnmark municipality in northern Norway. Drums were also collected and destroyed from the Tornio and Kemi areas of Finland which are presented on the map.*

visionary, Elli-Maaret-Helander. Elli Maaret is a Sámi woman, "originally from Utsjoki municipality on the Tenojoki river**,** near Karigasniemi, [the area] is called Rovisuvanto" (Helander 2011: 1). The area is geographically located in Finnish Lapland within the Sámi homeland. Helander who currently lives in Pyhätunturi Pyhäjärvi in Eastern Lapland comes from an agricultural family where there was no reindeer or fishing activities. The background information and inspiration for Helander's drum making began after undertaking a basic course in core shamanism in "1997 with Finnish Shaman Reino Knappila from Helsinki" (Helander 2011: 13). Additional learning was then undertaken through a drum building course in Finnish Lapland in "Inari at SAKK, an educational center for Sámi people" (Helander 2011: 1). Further influences on her path as a drum maker have come from Helander's two daughters who are musicians. As musicians, the girls have, for a long time, been performing "traditional old songs with joiking music" (Helander 2011: 2), in public performances and at concerts. Joiking is the ancient form of singing which is native to Sámi culture and is a strong feature of identity for both man and women.

Because the author does not speak Finnish or Sámi language, one of the ways to try and overcome potential language difficulties prior to the interview with Elli-Maaret, was to employ the services of Jenni Laitinen, a Finnish woman who speaks English, currently living in Rovaniemi, Finland. Jenni offered to translate the interview with Elli-Maaret Helander, who also speaks Finnish. Having to employ a translator brought to mind how perhaps one of the reasons why so little is known about the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi at the present time. The reason being is adherence to traditional ways, customs and taboos, usually, the Sámi do not speak about their religion to persons from outside the culture, especially with regard to shamanism and noaidi drums. The customs and taboos are one reason, but perhaps the underlying factors are because of what happened to Sámi religion during the Christianization of the culture between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the subsequent persecution which followed, by the priest and missionaries who were from outside of the culture. What this means is it is important to explain that as a result of the historical events which have taken place in Lapland, this type of investigation deals with culturally sensitive material in relation to using pictures of the old drums. Another key point to mention is many Sámi persons, especially the elders, do not speak English; they speak either in their native language or Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian.

The essence of the interview with Elle-Maaret Helander was to try and establish how the old drums influence the present, and what the motivation behind the artwork was and where the inspiration for the designs comes from. Material provided through the interview has produced a rare insight into one of

the most controversial topics within Sámi history in relation to ritual art. As a result, important and notable contrasts were made evident during the interview that emphasized a shift in Sámi culture and traditional handicraft production with regard to drum making activities, which had much value for this new type of research. By comparison to the drums that survived the Christian purges of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, these as far as is known, were all owned by male noaidi's, indicating the role which has been a part of the tradition from earlier times. However, the content of Helander's drums although obviously somewhat different from those of the hunting culture, do still bear strong resemblance to ancestral drums with regard to portraits of animals and spirits that are native to Sámi culture, cosmology and religion. Illustrations of figures painted on the drum heads by the drum maker are still associated with rituals, myths and stories found in Sámi culture and also relate to the role of the noaidi in Sámi society around which a substantial amount of Sámi art is produced in relation to identity. Elli-Maaret holds regular workshops on drum making throughout Finland and does not produce or sell drums for souvenir shops because "[…] she does not want to commercialize her work" (Helander 2011: 8). After each drum is constructed it is painted with motifs that are the artist's designs.

During the interview at her home, permission was given to photograph 4 drums that had been had made previously, and to document the nature of the stories behind the painted-decorative content on each of the drum heads, and rear views of two of the drums. Special attention was paid during the collection of data as to how the new illustrations reflected elements of the old culture. The purpose of observation was to try and capture the way symbols which are part of the intangible cultural heritage of the Sámi were adapted to modern culture and society through the artists work. A photograph of a fifth drum made by the Elle-Maaret that was on display at the Sámi Siida museum in Inari, Finnish Lapland is also included below, and was photographed in 2012. In addition to the four drums photographed at Elle-Maaret's home, the drum from the Siida Museum also has value for the study because part of the content of the art shows many of the Sámi spirits and deities who are recognizable on drums from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries presented in the paper. Thus indicating how both of these phenomenon's' and their representations continue to play a role in Sámi society as a way of transmitting and preserving culture, identity and sacred narrative.

The second interview in the research was with Aslak Paltto, a Sámi journalist from a reindeer herding family from Lemmonjoki, in Finnish Lapland who is a drum maker. The interview with Aslak was conducted in English at The Siida Museum in Inari during the Skábmagovat Indigenous Peoples Film

Festival in February 2011. The purpose of interviewing Aslak was to ask the participant about his knowledge of Sámi shamanism and use of the drum in Finnish Lapland. Although none of the text from the interview with Aslak is presented in the paper, he agreed to provide two photographs of a reproduction of a bowl type drum which was made by Ovlla Gaup from Kautokeino that is mentioned above, as belonging to noaidi Anders Poulson.

Later In 2011, in a telephone interview with Gaup, the following information was received.

> In 2001 Gaup undertook a handicrafts course at a Sámi Duodji school in Jokkmolk, Sweden. The reason for choosing Polson's drum was because it is the only surviving northern Sámi drum, and Gaup is a northern Sámi. Through building the drum, there was a sense of reclaiming Sámi identity and Ovlla did not want the skill of drum making to disappear. (Gaup 2013: 1)

The photographs have much value for the research because and "the shape and design of the drum [despite it reflecting the same bowl typology] was a new model, Ovlla's own design" (Gaup 2013: 1).

THE PERSECUTION OF SÁMI NOAIDI'S AND THE COMPLEX HISTORY OF LAPLAND

One of the most investigated fields of enquiry in relation to noaidi drums and the practice of shamanism in Lapland concerns the conquest by the Lutheran Church, its missionary workers and priests during the colonial era throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The authority of the church interpreted Sámi religion and religious practices to be evil and a serious threat to the political climate of the Swedish Kingdom of both which Finland and Norway at the time were a part of. The conquest by the state took place during the Church's drive to assimilate the Sámi who at the time were referred to as the 'Lapps' into mainstream society by hunting down noaidi's, putting many to death and confiscating and burning their drums in the hundreds. Such was the impact of the conversion and terrorism that the religio-cultural upheaval subsequently administered to the Sámi, in turn brought about a significant loss of traditional culture and identity in relation to traditional religious practices. Sámi historian Veli Pekka-Lehtola states that in Lapland up until the 18th century "the traditional shamanism was an integral and essential part of the hunting culture" (Lehtola 2002: 28). After this time the practice appears not to have vanished completely but gone underground and become secret. "The

Figure 2. *Above is a portrait from an exhibition at Rovaniemi City Library which shows a dead Sámi noaidi-shaman, shot by four arrows. The picture has been painted by Finnish artist Esa Marlisto, who has portrayed the persecution of the Sámi people through his art. The title of the picture is: 'Shamaanin Marttyyrikuolema: The Martyrs death of a Shaman'. The text describes the artist's sentiments:*

> *When the Reformation* [missionaries and priests] *came to Lapland they looked down on the Sámi people and thought they were lower. All the tools were taken away which were used for practicing Sámi religion. Also, the Sámi language and joiking, every-thing was wrong according to the outsiders. In my opinion, this was a pure execution. (Marlisto 2013: 1)*

The content of the painting shows the noaidi stripped naked and tied to a wooden Sieidi which has anthropomorphic features to it, that has been constructed from a tree trunk to which sacrificial offerings and worship would have been made. The noaidi's drum is on fire behind him, and the painted images from the drum head as well as the spirit from the drum are travelling towards the sky, thus indicating how the symbols were alive and with power.

noaidi's most important instrument was the noaidi drum [which became one of the main symbols of resistance against the church]. It was a tool to enter the ecstatic state as well as a "map" the noaidi used for orientation in the other realm" (Lehtola 2002: 29).

From this period Sámi religion and related practices were outlawed by the Swedish Church and state to such an extent that many people rejected and denied their own culture and identity; the traces of which are still apparent in Lapland today.

During the course of the Witch persecutions throughout Lapland

> many chose to hide the drum since they then could continue to use it. To mark their ethnicity openly with the drum was not a realistic choice since the superior force was too great. Threats and punishments were used to force the Saami to abandon their religion and take away the drums. (Berglund 2005: 137)

Although there is no written evidence regarding the types of torture and punishment administered to noaidi's who refused to hand over their drums, one account from Norway states the following:

> […] Carl von Linne, one of the greatest enquirers into the laws of nature, of the Enlightenment. Linné also obtained a drum, with which he was depicted on several occasions. In 1732 he travelled to Lapland and then visited the Norwegian coast, for example Tørrfjorden north of Bødo. Linne (1732 [1965]: 103) wrote that he had heard that drums were taken from the 'Laps'. If 'the Lap' refused to hand over the drums they opened a vein in his arm. Then 'the Lap' fainted, begged for his life and gave up the drum. (Berglund 2005: 140)

In relation to the above, in an interview with a reindeer herder called Lauri Ukkola from Vuotso village which is one of the Sámi areas close the municipality of Sodankyla in Finnish Lapland in 2011, the informant described how he remembered that as a boy after the Second World War had ended, there were drums in some of the houses in Vuotso village, and "when he was in school, the priests collected the drums from attics and houses and burned them. They were the Sodankyla priest's" (Ukkola 2011: 4). This account shows how the mentality of the priests from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was still persistent some three hundred years later, and it may also be added can still be encountered in the Sámi homelands in Finland at the present time in relation to the denial of Sámi culture and outlawing of their native religion and practices.

OLD SÁMI DRUMS AS SOURCES OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE FOR SÁMI SOCIETY TODAY

Accounts of witchcraft from the Finnmark province of Norwegian Lapland which have been published through the scholarly work of Norwegian scholar Rune Hagen's (2005) 'Traces of Shamanism in the Witch Trials of Norway: The 1692 trial of the Sámi Shaman Anders Poulsen', who describes for example both light and dark aspects of Sámi sorcery, the darker being referred to as "The black arts of Sámi shamanism" (Hagen 2005: 314), and that the Sámi, like sorcerers in most cultures did use black arts against their enemies.

Another account from a slightly later time describing the usage of a Sami noaidi drum and its different functions was given during the period from the Witch hysteria and executions in Europe at the trial of Sami noaidi Anders Poulsen in Finnmark, northern Norway in who was an elderly man charged under the Witchcraft act.

> […] Poulsen's description of what kind of magic could be produced by the magic drums is of particular interest. He identified the following six areas of use during his February 1692 interrogation:
>
> If someone had cast a spell upon another, Poulsen – by the aid of his gods – could   remove the spell and reverse its power. He could thus send the spell back to whoever had first cast it […].
>
> He could track down thieves, and retrieve stolen property by consulting drum. He would play until God punished the thief, and the thief would then dry up like a fig […].
>
> By the power of prayer and music he could cause good luck to fall upon his people's reindeer: insuring that the reindeer would not be killed by wolves.
>
> He would also play upon his drum to help relieve the pains of childbirth for laboring women. The drum's Maria images (Section C, no 1 and 2) were known to alleviate suffering.
>
> In a similar manner, he could discover how his family was doing at home while he was far away from them. He could know the situation other people were in even though they might be several thousand miles away […].
>
> In addition, Poulsen said that he heard voices when he lifted the drum above his head. It was as though two people were talking to each other […].[1] (Hagen 2005: 317)

To provide some understanding and insight into the process of divination below is a description outlining the procedure by the noaidi, prior to falling into trace and receiving answers and guidance to questions.

> When the noaidi was going to use the drum, he/she placed a triangular object, "a <<pointer>>" made of antler, on the drum skin. The <<pointer>>-called *vuorbi* or *bajá*-<<Baya>> further south, could also be a small copper ring, which was called *veaki*-"Weiko" (which means copper). He or she would then hit on the skin with a mallet made of antler called *bállin* – "Ballem", "Palm". The *vuorbi* (which today means "lot" or "destiny") moved about on the drum skin and touched upon the different figures that were drawn there. The noaidi interpreted the will of the gods based on the figures the ring touched upon, and where it finally stopped. (Solbakk 2007: 30)

Typically, the Sámi noaidi drums are made from pine, spruce and birch burrell's-wood, for the bowl types, as well as strips of wood which were cut from the trees for the frame type. Ernst Manker states that during the search for timber to build a drum with, it was important the tree was in many ways set apart from other ones, in its shape and form, and in particular the way it had grown, and "it was better if the tree had been hit by lightning" (Manker 1938: 191), because via this outcome the wood was seen to obtain special powers.

Collecting the necessary materials for constructing a drum had both practical as well as ritual significance which in Manker's inventory of the drums (1938) the religious aspect seems somewhat lacking because the practical reasons for drum building overshadows the ritual ones. Seemingly, during the search for
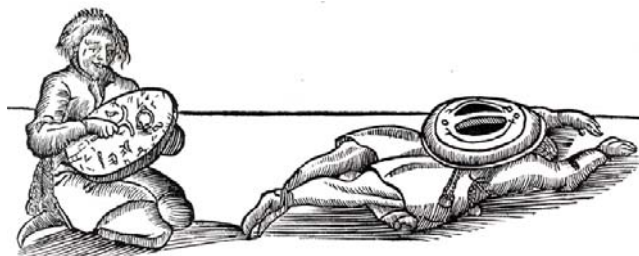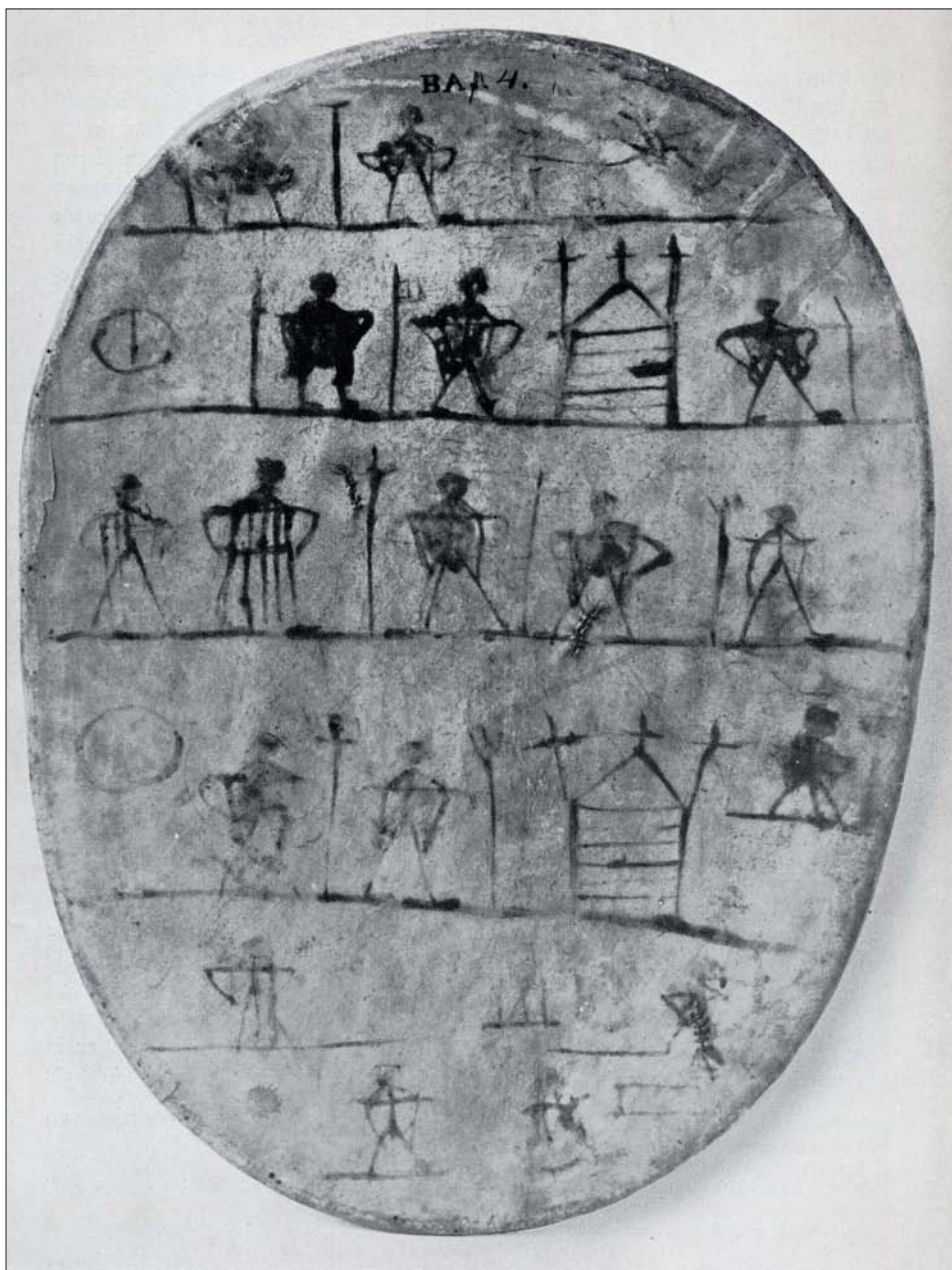

Figure 3. *A noaidi beats his drum with a reindeer bone hammer, which has a bronze ring lying on the surface, he then falls into a trance. The illustration is taken from Schefferus's Lapponia, the original Latin edition 1673, and shows the drum to be of the bowl type.*

Figures 4 & 4a. *This is the old black and white picture from Ernst Manker's book, showing both frontal and rear views of "drum no 71 from Finnmark. [The dimensions of the drum are] 43.8 x 32.8 x 9.9cm" (Manker 1938 drum no 71: p. 814; text & pictures pp. 813–815). This drum which is of the bowl type originally belonged to the Sámi Noaidi Anders Poulson in at the beginning of the seventeenth century and is currently the property of Sámiid Vuorká-Dávvirat in Karasjok (Hagan 2005: 309).*
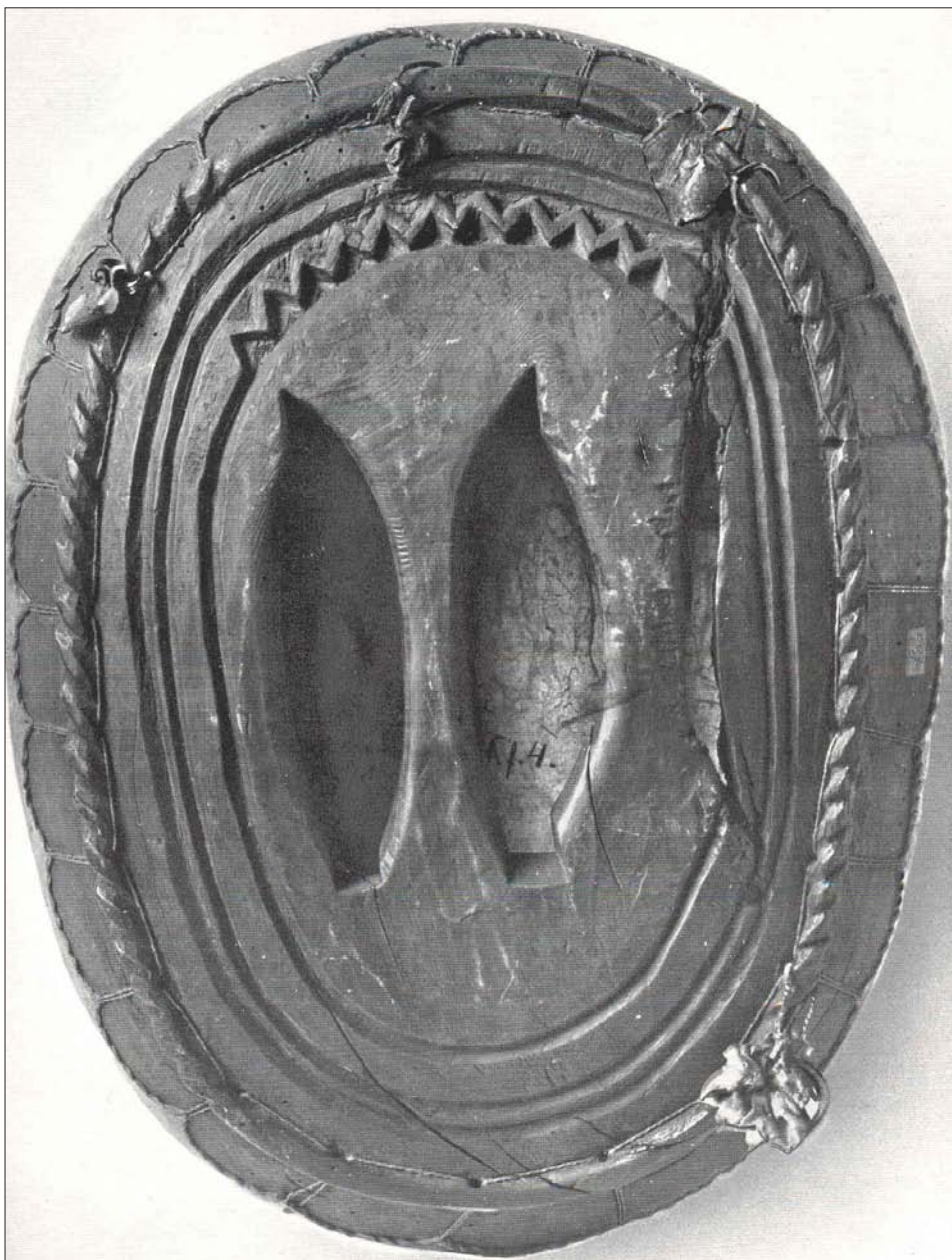
[...] the symbols on the drum skin are arranged into five rows or rooms. They symbolise different Saami gods but also have Christian symbols such as a church, The Holy Spirit and Saint Anna. [...] The drum is of the goadbes [bowl] type and is today in The Saami Collections in Karasjok. (Berglund 2005: 145)
On the top right side it is possible to make out the symbol of a reindeer. The content of the drum also shows the influence of Christianity from this time.
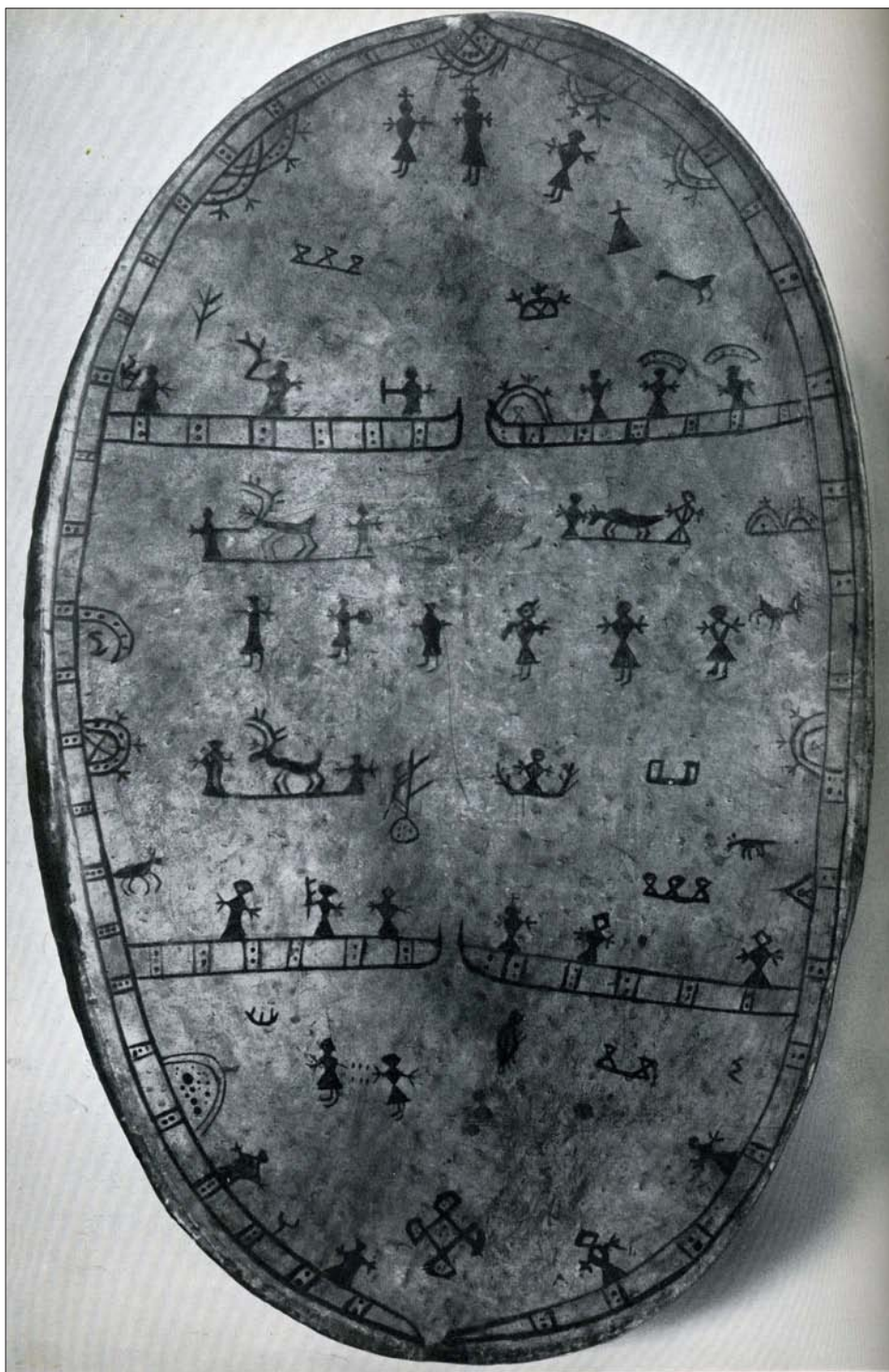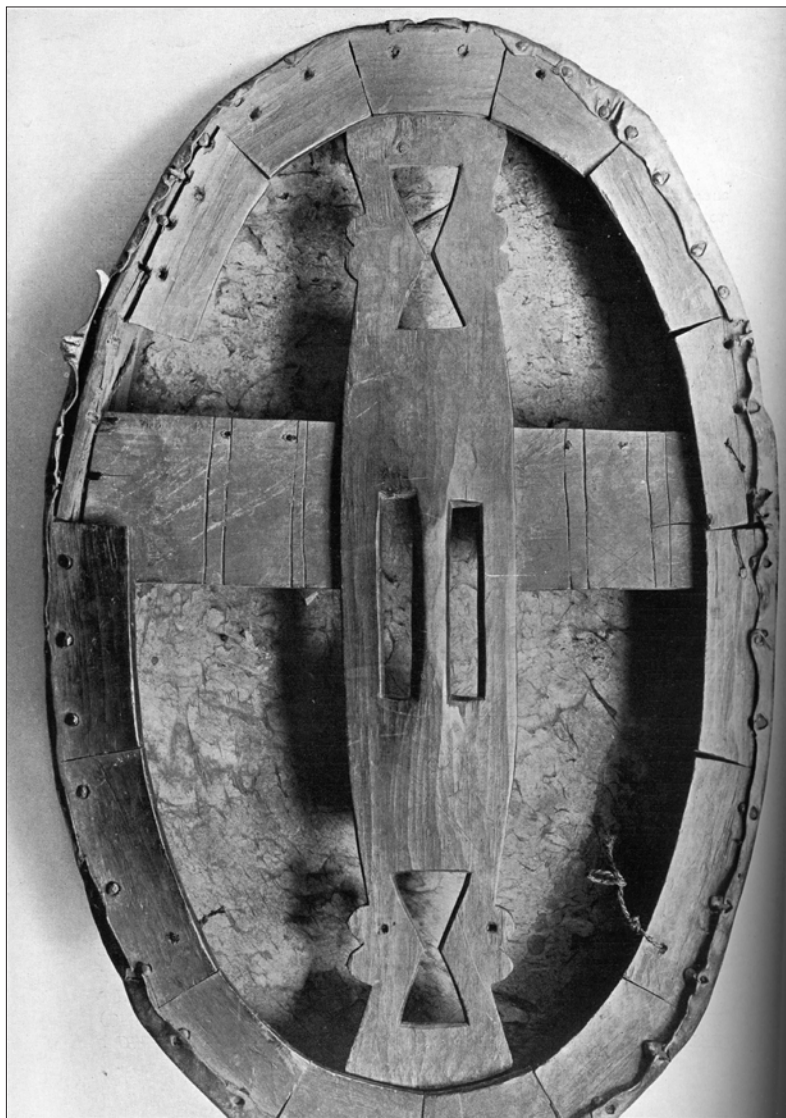
Figures 5 & 5a. *The frontal and rear views of a large drum which is one of the two only surviving drums from the Kemi Lappmark area in Finnish Lapland, and is of the frame type. The instrument has its origins from the beginning of the seventeenth century and information about its history is described in detail by Johannes Schefferus in The History of Lapland (1674), first English edition. The instrument is currently displayed at The Siida Museum in Inari, Finnish Lapland, on long-term loan from The Museum of National Antiquities in Sweden. The size of the drum is recorded to be "85 x 53 x 11.5 cm" (Itkonen 1943–44: 69). Photograph by Manker 1938. The content of the drum head shows in the upper section of the drum, spirits in their respective positions. In the middle section are human figures with reindeer, and the lower section portrays spirits and structures from the world of the dead.*

relevant wood-materials, for construction a tree that was to some extent 'unusual' in its physicality had value for the Sámi according to Manker:

> the type of wood to be used was due to the mechanical properties of the wood and not because of any religious observance. The wood was chosen for its strength and resonance, and it is possible the religious customs were built over this. Due to the influence of the sun, the wood received some rotational structure; one explanation for this was that the sun and gods chose-favored the tree. (Manker 1938: 190)

Because there were only "[…] 71 drums" (Itkonen 1943–44: 68), which survived the Christian purges of colonialism, many of the remaining drums examined in scholarly research have been divided into two classes.

Observations made by Archaeologist Inger Zachrisson in her analysis of the old noaidi drums, tells us they "[…] belong to two types. The oldest is considered to be the so-called 'frame (sieve) type', most of which have a frame consisting of a single strip of wood bent into a circle. According to Manker, in the Saami area this type of drum was gradually displaced, principally southwards, but also northwards. In its place came the so- called 'bowl type', which thus seems to have developed from the former, and is known only from Saami culture. […] The 'bowl type' was more widely dispersed that the 'frame' one […]" (Zachrisson 1991: 81).

Figures 6 & 6a present a black and grey photograph of front and rear views of a bowl drum. The image has been taken from Manker's 1938 edition. The instrument has an unknown origin, however, and according to the documentation by Manker, it may have originated from "Norland (Norway) and is dated as 1732, and currently the property of The National Museum of Ethnography, Copenhagen. The drum is labeled as no 52. [The dimensions of the drum in centimeters are] 42.7 x 36.3 x 9.9cm" (Manker 1938: 732–737). This type of drum which has a sun at its center was specific to areas in Swedish and Norwegian Lapland. The painted drum head shows many figures in all five zones, as well as a celestial reindeer in the top section.
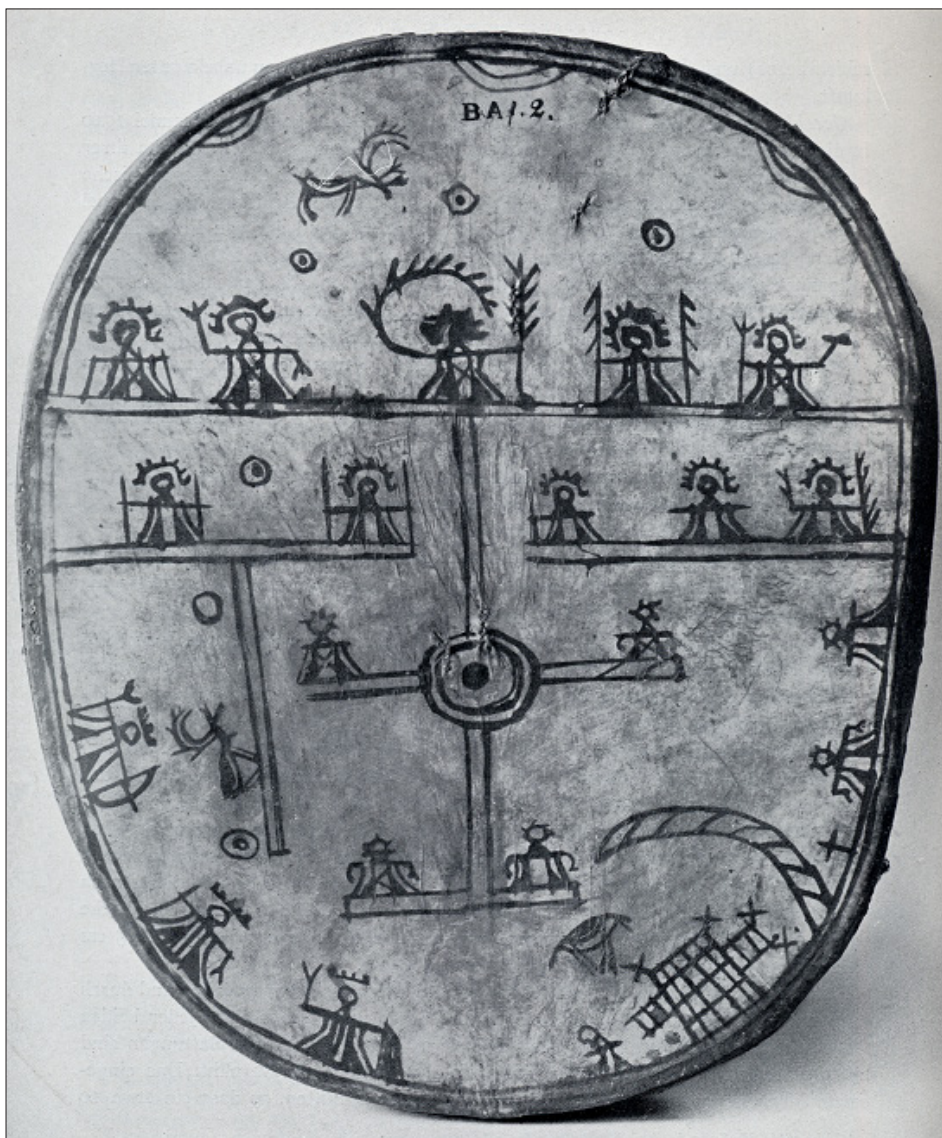
Figure 6a *exhibits the rear view of the drum which has seven bear claws hanging from it that are amulets. Typically, bear hunting was done in the spring when the bears were waking up from hibernation. Sometimes the number of claws indicated the number of bears killed by the noaidi. According to Risto Pulkkinen, "The bear had a special cultic position in Saami culture. […] The Saami consider all animals sacred…but the bear to be the most sacred of all. The bear was believed to come from the Säiva* [the mythical underworld] *(Pulkkinen 2005: 33).*

NEW SÁMI DRUMS, NEW CONTEXTS, ILLUSTRATIONS AND DESIGNS

> Rock carvings, drum symbols, ornamentation on things like knives and spoons, and tin thread, embroidered ornamentation are forms of expression created by our forefathers to cover different needs. Rock carvings, drum symbols and ornaments are symbols that are tied to the spiritual. We regard these ornaments, drum symbols and rock carvings as a common heritage and property. […] In other words, drum symbols, rock carvings and ornaments have been important in religious contexts; others have functioned as storytelling, while other symbols have had a decorative function. (Solbakk 2007: 79–80)

The five drums presented in this chapter are made by Elle-Maaret Helander. Each of the drum frames is made from "Aspen wood [and the frames have been covered with] reindeer skin that Elle-Maaret handles herself" (Helander 2011: 2). The coloured inks used in the decoration process of the skin are "acrylic, in addition to [dye from the alder tree which is used to colour the skins before painting. The basis for using the red dye is it helps to] bring up the Sámi spirit tradition […]" (Helander 2011: 5–6). Through observation, it is apparent that the drums are of a frame type which is a new design, and both the techniques and materials used to decorate them with are also modern. In the creation of a new drum as the preparations are made for painting the skin "Elle-Maaret puts borders [around the edge of the drum first before painting the content inside]" (Helander 2011: 4). The motivation for making drums has several factors to it. The first which could be considered most important is that because of the dread installed into Sámi persons by the church, and the forbidding of traditional culture, Helander "[…] wants to take away the fear especially from the old Sámi people […] even if she is considered a bit weird, she accepts it" (Helander 2011: 1). Prior to learning how to make drums, it was only as recent as "[…] in the 1990s, Elle Maaret started to get to know the old ways. The first push was that the daughters [who are musicians and performers], needed the drum" (Helander 2011: 2). Building drums and studying the culture has been an empowering experience as well as brought healing and a sense of reconnection to traditional ways, to what was previously forbidden within the culture. One of the traditional roles of the noaidi in Sámi society has been the artist and storyteller, where the application of images such as animals, human beings and spirits have emphasized the relationship with nature and the interconnectedness of life.

The inspiration for painting the drums with many of the symbols, some of which reflect the old hunting and fishing culture does according to Helander:

> [...] come from the spiritual world; about forty percent [...]. [Because] she does not want to copy the pictures [from elsewhere, the artist] creates her own pictures, and pictures come from stories [...] from the Sámi tradition, but Helander [also] creates her own images from her own beliefs and how she sees [...] [the spiritual dimensions in life [...]. (Helander 2011: 3)

The construction of drums in earlier times was an activity which took place amongst families in Lapland.

> Decorations could signify affiliation with a particular group, or they could be purely ornamental. There are traces of ancient religion in modern superstitions connected with the acquisition of raw materials, the work or how the object is used or handled. These superstitions also included spells for ensuring success, and there are superstitions for avoiding bad luck. (Pulkkinen & Kulonen & Seurujärvi-Kari 2005: 76)

There are many old taboos and customs associated with shamanism with regard to the making of a new drum for an individual in relation to traditional shamanism in Lapland. During the interview, the question was asked from the author as to how members of Sámi society have reacted to her role as a drum maker with regard to the Witchcraft persecutions that have taken place previously and how the artist deals with the potential stigma which may arise as a result of her work. The response was as follows:

> after an interview on the local Sámi radio, speaking about shamanism [when Helander] went to the city and was walking in the neighborhood and met her mother's relative, the relative [...] [moved far away to avoid contact] because she was afraid. [Elle Maaret] is considered a witch and that is [something bad in Lapland when viewed from within Sámi society due to legacy Christianity has left behind [...]. (Helander 2011: 7–8)

> In Finland, most people are Laestadian's [Protestant, and therefore,] everything [...] [regarding] shamanism is a sin, [or] considered to be a sin [and] people are [...] brainwashed to be afraid of this old wisdom or ways; so when Elle-Maaret has come to old ways, people are [...] afraid of her. [...] Even if Helander believes in these shamanistic ways, it does not mean that she does not believe in God, because God is in the shamanism also. [In her own childhood home and upbringing the family] were Laestadian, [Protestant, however], not as most Laestadian, but really religious [where] all the old beliefs were sin so she did not hear them when she was a child. (Helander 2011: 1)

Further questions were put forward in the interview regarding how interaction takes place with persons who ask for a drum to be made for them and how the symbols or content on the drum head is produced with reference to choices and motivation.

> […] when Elle-Maaret wanted to make a drum and she knows who the drum is for, she thinks about the person [as she is] making the drum; then the drum will have his/her energy also […]. (Helander 2011: 3)

> If the picture comes from somewhere else, from […] [the clients] head or mine, then it is put together in a certain way. But if a picture comes from a story, it is put […] [onto the] drum in the way the person understands it, or who buys […] the drum. [Elle-Maaret] has to understand what the picture is about, so [it is essential] […] the spiritual pictures are understandable; so the person [whom the drum is for] should [also] understand and get the idea of the name from the drum [as well]. (Helander 2011: 6)

The aforementioned references being made are with regard to symbols, human figures, animals and structures which are put into the content of the surface on the drum head.

The third research question was directed towards finding out how after a drum has been built, it becomes alive or empowered. With each drum, there is an information sheet which is provided that has

> English instructions for this blessing ceremony. It is one Elle-Maaret has made [from] her own kind of blessing ceremony, because we cannot know how they have made […] [the ceremony] in the old times. Some people who buy a drum [may] say it's a Witch drum, but I say it is not a Witch drum. It can be a Witch drum only if a Witch has blessed the drum for that purpose. […] Everyone blesses their own drum to the purpose they use it; it can be blessed […] [for] bad use or another. (Helander 2011: 3)

Additional information regarding the blessing or consecration of the drum also revealed the following.

> When Elle-Maaret started to bless the drums she was combining different things, […] [such as those] she read, and was […] [deciding] what she wanted, what was needed to be in those drums. Of course, there are lots of Sámi ways, but also these universal [ones too] because all of the people who come to the workshops are not Sámi. (Helander 2011: 3–4)

The blessing and awakening of the drum is compared by Helander as "[…] like a couple's marriage ceremony […]" (Helander 2011: 3). As a matter of respect

for the work Elle Maaret does, the author has decided not to add the nature and content of the blessing ritual in the paper.

Below are the examples of Elle-Maaret's work presented through five photographs (Figures 7–11).

Figure 7. This is a picture of one of the first drums made to assist both daughters in their performances as singers and musicians. The content shows a combination of both Christian and Sámi figures.

> *The Holy Trinity at the top, with crowns is father and Holy Spirit, the son is the third figure. Sara-Akka is the mother figure [in the center]. Moon on the right side represents the sky. Reindeer represents reindeer herder's daughters. Reindeer also represents their father. A family portrait – two daughters pictured on the drum. (Helander 2011: 11)*

The border area just above the middle of the drum which stretches right across divides the drum into two segments, the upper world and the middle world. On top of the drum is a hammer made from reindeer antler which is used for playing the instrument. What is interesting about the content of this drum head for research purposes in relation to the artwork from the old drums influencing the new one above, is that similar features above the heads of the three deities on the drum head can also be recognized over the heads of deities on the old drum from the former Kemi Lappmark (Figure 5a) which presented above, thus demonstrating some level of influence.

Figure 8. "The second drum has a reindeer mark as seen on the ear of a reindeer which is a personal symbol. Inside the ear is a shaman. [The] drum was made at a time when Elle-Maaret was finding the spiritual path in Sodankyla. [This is a representation of a] more personal drum [which has a] sun symbol in the centre. On top of the sun-are weekend God's, middle is Sunday, left Friday, right Saturday. The shaman who is inside the ear is protecting the reindeers, and asks help from the weekend gods. These gods are from the lower heaven, Friday, Saturday, Sunday men, and sacred men" (Helander 2011: 11).
The marking of reindeer calf ears with a knife, means that a particular design is like a signature of hereditary ownership within families and organizations, and therefore the animals are recognisable thought their markings.

Figure 9. *A decorated drum made by Elle-Maaret Helander on sale at the Siida museum, Inari. Central illustrations portray two Sámi men in their traditional costumes hunting a bear with bows and arrows. The presence of the bear in this picture highlights the value and importance the animal has for the Sámi. On the heads of the two hunters are hats with the four points (winds) on them. These designs were outlawed also by the church. Painted around the edge of the drum are many Sámi spirits and other symbols which represent the culture. At the top are three Goddess figures with their arms outstretched who appear to reflect similar Goddesses on the bottom section of the drum in Figure 6 above, showing again how historical art is utilized in this instance to decorate the new drum.*

Figures 10 & 10a, *showing a drum which seems somewhat typical of the old Sámi drums that were usually oval in their shape. This one is divided into three segments: upper, middle and lower regions. The overall content of the drum:*

> depicts the story about a shaman who transforms himself [through a combination of rhythmic drumming and joiking] *for example, into a snake and he also has a number of spiritual guides* [which are animals seen here as a fish and reindeer, and the spirit of a holy boulder [called *Sieidi* in Sámi language]. *Above his body is his free soul which looks like a combination of human and animal features. In his left hand he has a drum which is divided into four segments representing each of the four quarters and elements associated with each of these; in his right hand he holds a hammer which is*

the instrument used to strike the drum with. [The next part of the ritual drama is where] *the shaman shape-shifts into a snake and* [the hole where] *the shaman goes in to the lower world, extends from the middle world into the lower region, which is recognized by the Kota's and this is where the Sámi people live* [in the afterlife]. *Of course on the surface of the drum the space is limited so the artist cannot draw everything she sees but that's the content of her visionary work illustrated onto the skin where the shaman goes to the lower world to get knowledge. (Helander 2011: 6)*

Figures 11 & 11a. A drum with a bear in the centre.
   *Sun is in the centre divided into four sections, the bear
   is effecting everywhere in the world, going far beyond
   this world. The symbol with the* [three] *crosses* [on
   it] *are* [the] *moon.* [The] *bear is a symbol also of the
   great bear* [or plough constellation which has a major
   influence on Arctic culture]. *The four sections on the
   drum represent the four continents, meaning we are
   all the same, everyone has a dwelling. The man in the
   picture represents native medicine men-healers, kota*
   [a sacred tent where shamans work]. *Elle-Maaret
   wishes to symbolise all peoples or different races
   in harmony. Kota is a home for everyone, same sun
   for us all. Reindeer represents the animal kingdom.*
   (Helander 2011: 11)

Figures 12 & 12a. Two photographs of a replica of noaidi drum belonging to Anders Poulson in at the beginning of the seventeenth century from Finnmark. The drum was made by Ovlla Gaup from Kautokeino, Norway and was sold to the Alta Museum, Finnmark. The materials used in the construction of the drum are as follows:

the drum frame-bowl is made from birch gnarls [*pahka* in Finnish], *which has been hollowed out and it is approximately 50cm in height. This type of drum figured prominently in Norway in earlier times. The bone hammer is made from a combination of reindeer bone and birch wood. At the rear of the drum on the handle is a strip of decorative reindeer bone with traditional Sami patterns. The bronze ring is also included which was used as a pointer during divination by the noaidi. The symbolism and structural content on the drum head has been painted using red dye from the alder tree bark, which is the traditional substance used to paint drum with. (Gaup 2011) Photographs by Aslak Paltto 2011.*

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Analysis first and foremost shows that despite the cultural upheaval administered to the Sámi through colonialism by the church, that there are indeed elements of the old religion and culture which have survived. By contrast to the noaidi from the reindeer society three hundred years ago, the people today in Lapland who make drums and undertake healing work are referred to as shamans, a term which has originated in Siberia. The results of the study show that making drums for a Sámi person is a way of sustaining culture and to some extent cultural heritage and identity. The drum building process is also recognized as one way of overcoming and healing certain aspects of the past. The research presented above does not present any kind of definitive portrait of the practice of shamanism amongst the Sámi today in Lapland but does help to emphasize the influence which Sámi Pre-Christian religion plays in modern society.

Many of the drums made in earlier times were constructed from birch and pinewood. Aspen by comparison, is not very well known as a resource for drum making, but still used as a valuable material for construction. The reproduction of cultural symbols on contemporary drums moreover, emphasizes the importance of communication in the same way the old drums did. Both Gaup and Helander's handicraft productions clearly demonstrate the influence of the noaidi's art from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries whereby, and despite the time span, modern drums do have importance as transmitters of culture, identity and worldview. In a broader sense, the new research shows how the production and analysis of modern Sámi shaman drums is one of the resources used for conducting research into aspects of Sámi religion and culture, thus providing insight and understanding into how the society also has its own heritage practices that help sustain the culture where symbols are used as mediums for communication.

The content of Helander's drums (Figures 8 and 9) which portray pictures of the central position of a shaman in each of the events is very interesting, because in each case the person stands out in world picture, thereby illustrating the role, position and importance of the shaman's status as in intermediary between the spirits and society as well as a protector. By contrast, from amongst the figures on drums 7 and 11 which does not include any shaman, the focus is more concerned with communication between the human world and spirits, thus emphasizing that a belief in the world of spirits still exists and is an important element in modern society in relation to art and expressing culture, whether taking care of family matters or petitioning for hunting luck.

There is a variation between Gaup and Helander's work; meaning both have been influenced by historical symbolism, however, the fact Helander uses her intuitive faculties as well as the content of dreams and Sámi narratives is one way of combining old symbols with new ones. With regard to new drums emerging in Lapland, there are certain attitudes amongst people that are very mixed concerning how the drums are made and by who, which is beyond the scope of this paper. The outcome of the research overwhelmingly shows the value the use of symbols has in relation to drum making and cultural memory. Information in Ernst Manker's 1938 volume demonstrates that many noaidi in Lapland inherited the drums of their ancestors who taught them the craft of shamanizing; meaning they did not build their own. It would be ridiculous to believe that the drums build by Helander, by contrast, cannot be used shamanistically. In fact, one might consider the symbols painted on the drums and the ways in which the information has been received by the drum maker is in one way an effective method for helping create the right circumstances for persons with shamanic abilities to be effective in their workings.

A consecration ceremony used for awakening the drum and dedicating its purpose can be found in Uno Harva's book titled Lappalaisten Uskonto (1914), which means 'Lapps religion'. It may be the case, aspects of the dedicating ritual described in this book have influenced Helander in her work and that such has been the extent of colonialism throughout Lapland that these fragments are all which have survived. Having made this point, nothing remains the same, and therefore new types of drums indicates the adaptation to change which incorporates ancestral knowledge and wisdom into the artistic work of both Helander and Gaup. However, for persons from outside the culture to use the ritual for awakening the drum with regard to Sámi cultural practices seems somewhat controversial.

The fact Helander who could be viewed as an intercultural teacher does not commercialize the drums she makes is another feature of Sámi culture in relation to the ancient religion; signifying a certain level of respect for both the culture and ancestors as well as keeping the work within the ethical framework of Duodji traditional handicraft practices. It is true that many Sámi persons have been supportive of the reproduction of new drums which have been instrumental in allowing them to openly undertake healing work and break through the restrictions imposed on cultural practices for the past three hundred and fifty years in Lapland. Overall, the research shows that shamanism is still an integral part of the life and worldview of Sámi people today.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

[1] Concerning alleviation of childbirth pains in women, in section C of Poulsen's drum which was divided into 5 sections, A,B,C,D,E, Maria is quoted as being "(Jumal Enne or Jumal Ache) – Mary, Christ's mother, God's woman. She helps with child-bearing woman and offers remission of sins" (Hagan 2005: 316). Poulsen was never sentenced for his involvement in so called sorcery; because he was murdered in jail.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

SIBIRSKIE CHTENIIA. *IX INTERNATIONAL SIBERIAN STUDIES CONFERENCE.* **KUNSTKAMERA, SAINT PETERSBURG, 28–30. OCTOBER 2013**

Sibirskie Chteniia is a famous Siberian Studies conference, the place to go when you study Siberia and are interested in the Arctic. The fact that the conference is organised by the Kunstkamera and many sessions take place in Kunstkamera, a semi-ethnographic museum established by Peter the Great, adds an historical atmosphere to the event.

This year Sibirskie Chteniia was a truly international conference, bringing together participants from Russia, Eastern Europe, Western Europe and North America. The international flair of the event was combined with serious academic content that was emphasised by the historic locations of the conference venues.

The opening plenary session took place in the Russian Geographical Society, in the inner city, not far away from the Nevski Prospekt. The event was well planned and gave the participants a notion of community. In this session, leading Siberian researchers gave an overview of ongoing projects in their home institutions and home countries. We received a coherent picture about the state of affairs of Siberian/Arctic research in Germany (Otto Habeck, Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology), Austria (Peter Schweitzer, University of Vienna), Moscow (Dmitri Funk, Russian Academy of Science) and Saint Petersburg (Nikolai Vakhtin, European University, Saint Petersburg). The emphasis was on new plans and projects, for example Nikolai Vakhtin explained the prospects for a new Northern Studies program at his university. The atmosphere in the plenary session was friendly and informal, the general interest in the talks was obvious.

After the opening session, the conference continued with panels. Unfortunately, the panels were located in different buildings around the inner city of Saint Petersburg, which is a large area with quite a complicated transport system. Bad weather – cold rain and wind – did not motivate one to switch between panels too actively. Therefore I was unable to visit as many different panels as I'd hoped, and therefore chose sessions that had the biggest number of attractive talks. This was one reason why I spent my time at two Tungus (Evenki) sessions. The topics covered here belonged more to the traditional research topics in Siberian indigenous studies. Olga Povorozniuk's (Russian Academy of Science, Moscow) talk was based on her recently published works on the Transbaikalian Evenki and discussed social relations between different categories of incomers and local Evenki. The comparison with other regions showed that the local social environment is in every region different, and largely influenced by the concrete socio-economic environment. Donatas Brandišauskas (Vilnius University) presented a theoretically well presented talk about the ontology of luck in the Evenki culture. While most presentations in the Tungus' panels were based on current field material, then Jaanika Vider (University of Oxford) added an historic dimension, discussing the expeditions and museum collections of Polish-British researcher Maria A. Czaplicka in the light of modern theory on Evenki studies.

To me, the most enjoyable talks were on topics that are outside of the sphere of traditional Siberian indigenous studies. Vladimir Kisel (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography, Saint Petersburg) focused on home made alcohol (*samogon*) brewing among Tuva people. It was interesting to hear how the technology of alcohol brewing was adapted from Russians, modified and became part of Tuvinian culture. The process of the revitalisation of Tuvinian home brew as a symbol for traditional culture is not unusual, yet unexpected for the region. Vera Galindabaeva and Nikolai Karbainov from Kazan addressed the topic of Mestization in Buryatia. This is an increasing tendency all over Siberia; the growing Mestizo population that develops its distinctive ethnic identity, similar to the Canadian Métis. Bukharan migrants in Siberia were the topic for one very interesting presentation. Svetlana Korusenko from the Omsk Russian Academy of Science has followed the history of the Il'iaminov family, who appeared in Siberia centuries ago and became a successful trading family. The history of the Il'iaminovs in the Soviet era was a typical trail of repression and hiding. The family, however, maintained its coherence and sense of history and is today emotionally connected to the places where their ancestors lived.

The Sibirskie Chteniia conference is a great opportunity to understand how broad Siberian studies are today. From linguistic studies to the research on industrial development, there are multiple scholars engaged in interesting and important work exploring issues that are relevant not only in the framework of regional studies, but also to be regarded as a valuable contribution to academic work at an international level.

Aimar Ventsel

BOOK REVIEW

NEW TRADITIONAL NARRATIVES

Tokmashov, Boris Ivanovich. *Қаан Оолақ: богатырское сказание кондомских шорцев* **[Qaan Oolaq: a hero tale of the Kondoma Shors]. Novokuznetsk: Novokuznetsk printing centre, 2009. 148 pp. In Russian. ISBN 978-5-8441-0303-2**

In 2009, a unique edition of Shors heroic epics came out as a book in a limited print run of 150 copies from a publisher in one of Kemerovo region's major towns (South of Western Siberia, Russia). It was unique before anything else because, at the moment it appeared, it was the first, over the last 70 or so years, publication of the Shors bogatyr epic tale that represented a poorly known *Kondoma* (after the Kondoma river) epic tradition. However, the circumstances around the emergence of the text itself are also of considerable interest, which makes us yet again go back to the discussion of the case of the epic "tradition".

But first a few words on the structure of the book.

The epic text is prefaced by a brief introduction telling us why this particular text was chosen and what the specific issues with its representation were. Boris Tokmashov edited the publication, and translated into Russian himself one of the epic tales that he had heard in his childhood from his brother Viktor Tokmashov (1914–1973), a renowned storyteller born in the village of Tagdagal (presently, the town of Osinniki). Since Shors epics were performed in a guttural singing style accompanied with the narration of sung fragments; and the storyteller Tokmashov was no exception to that tradition, the publishers broke the epic down into 183 fragments of unequal length, "guessing that the storyteller V. I. Tokmashov in the course of his own performance would unfold the story split in the same manner" (p. 5). As a result, a consistent 1800-line-long text emerged before the reader. The text is followed by comments and notes (p. 114–30) which will be of substantial interest to specialists because they reflect not just the folk etymology of characters' names and a loose interpretation of this or that image or motif in the tale, but indeed also Tokmashov's singular observations of the epic tradition of the Shors in particular and the Shors culture in general. The publication closes with supplements and appendices; and I would specifically single out among them, not photographs or bibliographic matter, which are standard for editions of the kind, but the brilliant biographies of a number of storytellers who had performed in Shors villages of the lower Kondoma river area in the late 19th to early 20th centuries, including those of the editor himself and his assistant.

The Shors are a small Turkic ethnic group[1] in the South of Western Siberia, which had been known in Russian sources under different names, from as early as the 17th

century, as hunters, fishers, and gatherers of the mountainous taiga area; and some of their groups had also been known as skilled iron makers. While the importance of the blacksmith trade declined two centuries ago, the Shors are still known for their unique heroic epics which link them to the world of neighbouring Turkic cultures of the steppe. Despite a fairly long history of recording their epics (for more detail, see: Funk 2005), we still know very little about the epic tradition in the lower Kondoma river area, even though there is every indication that it has been one of the more developed storytelling regions in the whole of Sayan-Altai in the last two centuries. As a matter of fact, before this publication of Boris Tokmashov's appeared, there were available but two lower Kondoma epic texts for scholars. Those were a short edition of the *Altyn-Taichy* tale, recorded by V. Radlov in 1861 (Radlov 1866: 342–49; in German translation, Radloff 1866: 366–72; in Russian translation, SGE 2013: 112–32); and a more or less complete recording of the *Kan Kes* epic, done by N. P. Dyrenkova in the 1930s, with an unspecified storyteller (Dyrenkova 1940: 24–71). It was only in 2010 that another small 683-line fragment of a long epic story performed by the lower Kondoma storyteller Stepan Torbokov ("Khan-Pergen, the Least Tall of All Khans") would be published (SGE 2010: 86–137) and about forty recordings of that storyteller would be located in various Russian archives (Funk 2010: 16–49). Should we recall that there have been published over sixty texts of Shors heroic epics[2] from another area – that of the lower Mras-su river – we realise that the importance of Tokmashov's publication should not be underestimated.

Another consequential detail that I would like to draw attention to is the history of the *Qaan Oolaq* epic, which might be of interest to anyone who is intrigued by the vexed issue of "tradition".

My own field observations over the life of Shors' epic tradition testify to the fact that the ways in which it is transmitted are not always predictable. Indeed, a significant role in the preservation and intergenerational transmission of that tradition has been played not just by the Shors themselves, or neighbouring Khakass, Teleut, Kumandin, or Altai, but also by Russians and Germans; and what is more, often by people who were not practicing storytellers per se. The publication under review is in fact a case in point, for it came into being out of the friendship between a Russian adopted as a child into a Shor family (Leonid Petrovich Kozlasov, 1930–2008) and his Shor friend (Boris Ivanovich Tokmashov, b.1934). It so happened that Boris Tokmashov, whose elder brother was an outstanding storyteller and rival of the famous *kaichy* Stepan Torbokov, was not really much into listening to storytellers himself, while his Russian friend Leonid Kozlasov, on the contrary, could spend nights listening either to Torbokov or to Tokmashov. Decades passed, and *kaichy* Viktor Tokmashov (1914–1973) died, having left behind neither tape-recordings nor manuscripts of the epics performed. His younger brother, who had a background in physics, was perennially busy – first as a village school teacher, then as its principal, then as chairman of the village council, and later as head of an administrative unit in a Kemerovo region town. It was only upon his retirement that Boris Tokmashov realised just how valuable the tales of his brother must have been. Still, he was not able to put down in writing on his own all those voluminous epics with dozens of unfamiliar names and multitude of "epic ways", even though he had not forgotten his native language. In spring 2005, there came a moment when he set about visiting his native village in order to look for things forgotten. Nights spent at the house of his childhood friend Leonid Kozlasov brought back recollections of the past and gave him

what he was looking for. Kozlasov retold one of the epic stories, and Tokmashov wrote down its subject line, character names, and narrative formulas in his notepad.[3] The rest was now just a matter of time. Four years later, the carcass of that story, which came from the repertoire of his brother, has turned into the full-blown traditional epic of *Qaan Oolaq*. However, since the epic was "told" to us by Boris Tokmashov, not by the *kaichy* Viktor, it is Boris Tokmashov that ought to be held as the "author" of the published version of the text. Yet the question about who it was that he took it over from still remains. To put it in more general terms, where was that epic tradition between the times when the "last" Kondoma storytellers passed away (Tokmashov in 1973, and Torbokov in 1980) and when the *Qaan Oolaq* epic as performed by non-storyteller Boris Tokmashov appeared in 2009? Does it mean that in order to (re)construct a heroic epic, it would suffice to know the main story line, character names, and the principles of building epic language formulas? If so, how could one argue that the tradition died or was interrupted on such-and-such day?

I will not go into discussing the peculiarities of recording and translating the epic text. There are pluses and minuses. The text sits rather far away from the literary norm; on the other hand, it does reflect the specific nuances of the Kondoma dialect of the Shor language. In a number of instances, the translation evades the complex vocabulary of the Shor original; and every once in a while there are instances of incorrect or awkward word usage. On the whole, one has to admit though, the translation is nearly as readable as the original, which is especially important for those Shors who do not have a good command of their native language, as it is, of course, for the lay public that can now immerse themselves into the fascinating world of ancient heroes.

I would like to wrap up with a sort of announcement of Boris Tokmashov's forthcoming publication. In January 2008, his Russian friend Leonid Kozlasov relayed to him another story – *Qyr-Chaizan* – from the epic repertoire of Viktor Tokmashov. The reconstruction and translation of the epic text is not yet over; but one cannot help thinking that, even in the absence of proper storytellers, this seemingly fading tradition still keeps discovering the resources to persist.

Dmitri Funk

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1] For more detail on the history and culture of the Shors, see, for example: Kimeev 2006: 236–323.

[2] The largest collection of Shors epic texts in the Shor language (38 epic texts) is available online at: http://corpora.iea.ras.ru

³ The year that the book was published, I was introduced to Boris Tokmashov and learned the intricacies of how the story was reconstructed. The notepad with sketches of the story told by Leonid Kozlasov is still kept in Boris Tokmashov's private archive.

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REVIEW OF DYRENKOVA'S ARTICLES ON TURCIC PEOPLES OF SAYANO-ALTAI

Н. П. Дыренкова. Тюрки Саяно-Алтая. Статьи и этнографические материалы [N. P. Dyrenkova. Turkic Peoples of Sayano-Altai. Articles and Ethnographic Material] C. Schönig & L. R. Pavlinskaya (eds.). St. Petersburg: Nauka, 2012. 408 p. (Series "Kunstkamera – Archives", Vol. VI) ISBN 978-5-02-08314-2

In 2012, the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) collaborated with the Institute of Turkic Studies, Free University of Berlin, on a volume in the *Kunstkamera-Archive* Series, which comprised a collection of scholarly works by Nadezhda Petrovna Dyrenkova (1899–1941), a renowned Soviet ethnographer, linguist,

and folklore scholar. The volume contained previously unpublished articles and manuscripts on the history and culture of Turkic peoples of Sayan-Altai, particularly the Shors.

We cannot but completely agree with the project directors' idea that "academic studies are conducted for the benefit of the public and should be accessible to them"; and one can at last feel glad that Dyrenkova's works that had lain deposited at Kunstkamera (further, *MAE*) for over 70 years finally came out, even if partially. Besides, this is an event of importance just because *MAE*'s archives, as many know, were not always freely accessible to researchers (Alekseev & Kuz'mina & Toburokov 2003: 14).

Dyrenkova belonged to that special constellation of Soviet ethnographers who matured during the 1920s–30s under the guidance of Shternberg and Bogoras, fathers of the famous Leningrad school of ethnography. Her contribution to research on the languages and culture of the Shors, Khakass, Altai, Teleut, and other Turkic peoples was massive and has not been properly assessed to date because the bulk of data collected during her manifold field trips, as well as of unfinished articles, has never been published. "To edit her unpublished materials is our debt to the scholar whose life and work was a heroic deed and selfless service to the homeland science, and who devoted her talent to the flourishing and development of peoples whom she so deeply and thoroughly studied and loved" (Diakonova 1989).

This was the noble and, no doubt, difficult goal that the editors of the volume set for themselves, and that they have handled very well on the whole. As the preface informs us, a large part of the presented articles deals with the study of traditional worldview of Southern Siberia's Turkic peoples (shamanism, in particular), which was indeed among the scholarly priorities of the author. Texts of the articles are provided in the author's original version.

There is an essay of substantial length on the life and career of Dyrenkova [p.19–88] in the volume. The essay's authors draw on diverse sources including memoirs by Dyrenkova's contemporaries, reminiscences of her student class mates and coworkers, accounts of her field trips, her correspondence with Shternberg, Bogoras, and other colleagues, her field diaries, as well as notes by others such as G. N. Raiskaia [Dyrenkova's niece]. The essay is indeed interesting insofar as it casts light on Dyrenkova not only as a singular tireless scholar devoted to her academic career, but also as a surprisingly unique emotional personality deeply affected by what surrounded her and particularly by the fates of peoples whose culture she chose to study.

The assessment of Dyrenkova's contribution to the development of ethnology is quite positive and generally raises no objections, apart from a few statements that appear perhaps too categorical. Thus, one can express doubts about the author's statement that the "typology of oral folk genres offered by Dyrenkova has been foundationally preserved in domestic folklore studies up to the present" (p. 61); as that classification was of a very basic type and is poorly applicable to the oral genres of many, if not all, Siberian peoples (one can be referred to E. S. Novik's works, for example). Similarly, doubtful is the statement that the custom of extramarital relationship "between the husband's father and the bride in cases when the husband was considered under age", as the authors hold it, "has not been observed in ethnographic literature either before or after Dyrenkova" (p. 64). One can take a look at the classic ethnographic work by A. N. Maksimov to see that it is not so.

There are some inaccuracies and inconsistencies in references to Dyrenkova's work. Authors seem to have had difficulties in deciding on the exact count of her published pieces; they mention "over 15 articles and three fundamental monographs" on p.12–13; but then it is stated that there were "about 30" of them, on p.78.

The major part of the volume, however, is taken by Dyrenkova's articles and ethnographic materials per se. The article on the "Shors" is a compendium of data on the history, environment, occupations, social order, and material and spiritual culture of that particular ethnic group; and it is encyclopedic in its scope. The addendum to the article allows the reader to take a peek at an earlier version of the text which somewhat differed from the one being published.

The nine remaining articles deal with the traditional worldview – primarily, religious notions and concepts – of Sayan-Altai's Turkic peoples. The rather solid and lengthy article on "Water, Mountains, and Forest in the Worldview of Turkic Tribes" draws broadly on comparative data to examine the part that these important natural and cult objects play in making the traditional image of the world among Turkic peoples. We would argue that the entire text is permeated with the idea – very subtly felt by the author – that traditional worldview is a complex and elaborate system of interaction between humans and the natural space surrounding them. The article employs the method of studying traditional culture on the basis of a complex analysis of language, folklore, and ritual practices, which has long become a classic genre. Among the merits of the article undoubtedly is the scrupulous description of the rite of feeding mountain and river spirits among the Shors; and particulars of the rite are examined not just in their reference to different districts or kin groups but actually to each village or *ulus* (p. 155–181).

A smaller article on the "Dedication of Animals among Turkic-Mongolian Tribes" (p. 189–199) presents accurately gathered data that reveal the essence of this ritual. The author concludes that the ritual belongs among sacrificial acts and "differs from the common sacrifice only in that the animal is not slain but sent to a spirit or deity alive". The article entitled "The Meaning of the Term *Bura~Puɣra* among the Altai Turks (in Connection to the Cult of Horse and Deer)" turns us toward shamanism and is interesting first and foremost, in our view, because of the parallels that the author draws between epic and shamanic traditions, and correspondingly between the shaman and the epic hero; because of the analysis of semantic rows such as "bird–horse–tree" or "mythical heaven horse – sacrificial horse – drum appearing as a horse – shaman embodied in a horse or deer"; as well as because of the semantic identity of shaman's attributes, such as the drum, stick, and bow/arrow, pinpointed by the author. The text of the article on the "*Albasty* in Religious Notions and Folklore of Turkic Tribes" is but a draft, and probably an unfinished one. Still, it presents a good comparative analysis of notions about the female spirit *Albasty* and its sexual relationships with hunters among various Turkic peoples. The author notes that similar notions did also exist in mythologies of Finns and Slavs.

Fragments of articles on "A Number of Ways of Guarding a Child among the Shors" (p. 245–255) and "On Matchmaking and Marriage [among the Shors]" (p. 256–260) are based mostly on the author's research among the Shors and comparative data related to other Turkic peoples of Siberia. The article entitled "Bow and Arrow in the Culture, Folklore, and Language of Turkic Peoples of Altai and Minusinsk Region" (p. 261–276)

discusses the role of the named cultural objects both as important labor tools and as cult objects having high symbolic significance. Although some of the arguments expounded by the author may seem rather naïve to the present-day reader, one must acknowledge that a number of ideas voiced by Dyrenkova (for example, those on the persistence of ritual significance of material objects that have lost their economic functions; or on the rich religious content of objects important in economic activities) sound quite up to date.

The article on the "Attributes of Shamans among Turkic-Mongolian Peoples of Siberia" (p. 277–339) should be viewed, in our opinion, as the gem of the volume. It presents a thoughtful and comprehensive analysis of a whole complex of shaman's attributes, the drum being considered in the first place. The author discusses in detail the various types of drums, their ritual and symbolic significance, shaman's cosmogonic views related to the drum, and specifics of handling the drum; what is very important is that the drum is considered as an integral cosmic whole whose parts and aspects contain special meanings. The article provides references and connections to North American shamanism, traces interesting links between shaman's attributes and tree symbolism, and contains plenty of other thoughts that have not been conclusively developed in contemporary research.

Considering that the volume has been done quite well in terms of print quality, and that the print run has been limited to 300 copies only, one can and should lament on the inaccuracies with image captions. A large part of those (figures 7–15) – at any rate in the copy we held – appear to have been erroneously placed; which is why there were unattractive glued strips over them with corrected captions.

The closing article in the volume is that "From Shamanic Beliefs among the Shors of the Kuznetsk Taiga" (p. 340–358)[1], which carries unique materials on the period when shamanism was originating among the Shors; most of these materials came from research done during Dyrenkova's own field trips. There are a number of versions of this article available in archives of Russia and other countries; and one can only regret that the detailed drawing of a Shors drum that was there in the article version kept at the Shternberg archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, neighbor to *MAE*, was not used in this publication. This would have given the description the much needed visual aid.

Most of the text in the volume, as well as various Turkic terms used in the articles, are provided in the author's original version. On the one hand, this is good because it lets us observe how Dyrenkova's knowledge of native languages was changing (to the better) as time progressed. On the other hand, minor typos of the author could probably be corrected, or at least pointed to, in footnotes or comments. (For instance, there is a mention of the Shors tale of *Altyn Qymyš* that Dyrenkova edited in the mid-1930s [p.63]; and, obviously, it should have read *Altyn Qylyš*). As for the translation of texts to Russian, the volume editors resorted to providing their own versions solely in the case when there was no translation offered. On the whole, these are quality translations (they are done by the linguist and Turkic scholar I. A. Nevskaya); although one can notice that at times there are untranslated and omitted words (for example, *čoŋ-ġara*, "black" [p.161]; comments to the word *čoŋ* are omitted); and at other times translations are oversimplified or incorrect (such as the following translations from the Teleut: *qoltuq ködürzäm*, "if I raise my armpit", instead of "if I raise my hand" [p.165]; *qol yastyġyn*, "arm pillow", instead of the "little cushion", *podushechka* in Russian, which has become long accepted; *qorbočoġun qorquspa! ürbečegin ürküspe!*, "Don't frighten! Don't scare the sprout!",

instead of "Don't frighten children! Don't scare the young growth!"; *yek*, "devil", instead of "evil spirit", as the term is used as a synonym for *aina* and *körmös*; *yek yamanyn yekirip!,* "disregard the skinny devil" – the translation is stylistically inaccurate and there also is an inaccuracy in interpreting the verb *t'iekker*, "drive out, expel", possibly "defend oneself"; thus, it should have been, "driving out the evil tiek-spirit"). There are instances of incorrect rendering of verbal forms, sometimes overlapping with incorrect translations (*tarangan*, "combing her hair", instead of "having combed her hair" (p. 251); *tapšyp kör*, "you let [one] suck", instead of "feed, do some feeding, try to feed" (p. 253); *ayna yamanyn ayqyr tur*, "spell for the defense against *ayna*", instead of "drive away the evil *ayna*-spirit"). The ritual language is always full of allegories and allusions, so attempts at literal translation do not necessarily lead in this case to the uncovering of implicit meanings (for instance, see the detailed analysis of, and comments on, the Teleut vocabulary in the book on *Teleutian Folklore* (Funk 2004).

The volume is supplied with the index of names, ethnonyms, geographical places, and administrative designations, which help the reader substantially.

Without a doubt, the volume appears as an important source for studying and understanding the culture of native peoples of Sayan-Altai in the first quarter of the twentieth century. What is just as important, however, is the example of analyzing worldview systems provided in these articles, as well as the object lesson of brilliant comparative research and the very modern way of seeing culture as an integrated whole where each element is connected to all others in a complex manner.

Hopefully, the publication of Dyrenkova's work will now continue, as it is promised in the introduction to the volume, and the unique materials contained therein will finally become accessible to researchers who have or have not yet had a chance to examine them. It would be reasonable to suggest that the administration of the archive should think about the digitalization of Dyrenkova's work and making it available on the Internet, which would expedite the process of bringing the scholar's heritage back to the academic world. An opportunity to study these texts, equal for all interested scholars or students, is, as it seems to us, the most basic condition for the successful development of scientific thought.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1] Previously, fragments of the archival version of the article (drawn on the copy from the archive of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest) were published once (Funk 2005: 73–74).

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THREE BOOKS ABOUT EVENKI

Анна А. Сирина. *Эвенки и эвены в современном мире. Самосознание, природопользование, мировоззрение* [**Anna A. Sirina.** *Evenki and Eveni in the Modern World. Identity, Nature Relations, World View*]. **Moskva: Vostochnaia literature, 2012. 604 pages**

Ольга А. Поворознюк. *Забайкальские эвенки. Социально-экономические и культурные трансформации в XX–XXI* [**Olga A. Povorozniuk.** *Baikal-Region Evenki. Social-Economic and Cultural Transformations in the 20th and 21st Century*]. **Moskva: IEA RAN, 2011**

Tatiana Safonova & Istvan Santha. *Culture Contact in Evenki Land. A Cybernetic Anthropology of the Baikal region.* **Leiden & Boston: Global Oriental, 2013.**

Evenki seem to be the most eagerly studied Siberian indigenous group. Therefore, this is no wonder that the Evenki research has shaped several categories and concepts that are used in Siberian and Arctic studies, or in anthropology in general. First of all, the word 'shaman' comes from the Evenki (or Tungus) language and its spread is rooted in a fundamental work of the Russian Tsarist ethnographer Sergei Shirokogoroff – *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus.* Another of Shirokogoroff's highly influential works – *Social Organisation of the Northern Tungus* – helped to shape pre II World War structuralist social anthropology from Scandinavia to South Africa. Soviet classic ethnographers like Boris Dolgikh, Il'ia Gurvich and Andrei Popov developed their Marxist-Leninist concepts – ethnicity, ethnohistory and culture of using their fieldwork data collected among Evenkis. Another Soviet ethnographer, Vladillen Tugolukov, is appreciated by researchers of nomadism for several accounts based on Evenki reindeer herders. In

Western academia, David Anderson (Anderson 2000) wrote his often cited monograph – Identity and ecology in Arctic Siberia: the number one reindeer brigade – also on Evenkis. Cambridge based Russian scholar Nikolai Ssorin-Chaikov (Ssorin-Chaikov 2003) and American anthropologist Alexia Bloch (Bloch 2004) wrote their monographs about the construction of Siberian indigenous ethnic identities also after studying Evenkis.

Evenkis are one of the biggest Siberian small indigenous people's, counting over 35.000 according to the 2010 Russian census. When adding closely related Eveni people – ca. 22.000 – and ca. 35.000 Evenki living in Mongolia and more than 500 Evenkis in China, the size of the Evenki becomes considerably large for a Siberian indigenous ethnicity. Traditionally, Evenkis have inhabited a large territory from the Yenissei River to Sakhalin and the Arctic Ocean to northern China and Mongolia, and have been historically known as nomadic reindeer herders and hunters. However, in Mongolia and Siberia several Evenki communities have shifted to semi-nomadic horse and cattle breeding.

The first book under review, Anna Sirina's (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences) approximately a 600 page monograph, has been informally described as 'the Evenki book'. The book is based on her fieldwork materials, conducted among Evenki and Eveni in different Russian regions since the late 1980s combined with a careful reading of works of (mainly Soviet) ethnographers and archive data. The author has structured the book thematically, beginning with the analysis of different ethnonymes and their historical development, followed with the section about Evenki spirituality and discussing in further parts the use of nature, sense of space and world view. The first contribution of Anna Sirina to larger debates of Siberian studies is a well argued questioning of existing ethnic categories. Throughout the book, the author demonstrates her scepticism on the division between Evenki and Even, arguing that the cultural, linguistic or economic differences are not very significant, nor do Evenki and Eveni see themselves in many Siberian regions as separate people (e.g p. 56).

After a short review and discussion on Evenki rituals and religion, the author focuses on several topics that have been handled in individual works but rarely summed up by using complex material from different Evenki regional cultures. In Chapter 2 of Part II the focus is on Evenki names and nicknames, how these are linked subsequently to Russian and non-Russian influences. Chapter 3 of Part II thematises Evenki socialisation, especially what David Anderson has called 'Evenki pedagogy', the education and preparation of children for adult life. Here, the argument of independent learning through playing is also supported by the third book of this review, Safonova, and Santha. As an economic anthropologist, I find Part III extremely impressive, which – despite the title 'Nature use' (*Prirodopol'zovanie*) – scrutinises the Evenki economy and places it in the larger context of political, social and economic processes of Siberia and the Far East. For an anthropologist it is of great help in the discussion on post-Soviet reforms, indigenous rights, and laws on indigenous land use and reorganisation, topics that are linked historically to the Soviet economy and concept of 'tradition', often used to define the indigenous economy and social organisation (p. 207). Moreover, Sirina goes back to the pre-Soviet period to offer a complex interpretation on the development of Siberian indigenous identities and economies. A similar complex approach is applied for the first time in anthropological literature on the tradition of sharing and giving-Nimat. Nimat has been seldom mentioned and rarely discussed by Soviet ethnographers except in the context of one regional group. Here, Nimat in the works of Soviet scholars is combined

and compared with research from Western scholars on other Arctic regions. Sirina shows that sharing was one instrument of creating an egalitarian society, discussed also in two other books in this review (p. 324–325). Sirina's monograph is an excellent source of data for scholars about the Evenkis, this sophisticated bibliography helps to find comparative and thematic literature on any topic related to the past and present of Siberian indigenous people.

While Anna Sirina's book is a general analytical overview of Evenki culture and economy, then the other two books are in depth case studies. Olga Povorozniuk (Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences) has published a more regionally focused research on the Transbaikalian (*zabaikalskie*) Evenki. This book is based on the author's fieldwork in the region since 1998, unpublished archive materials and newly published archive resources. The focus of the monograph is – among others – on socio-demographic processes like the gender shift, migration and transformation of identity. What, however, makes the book outstanding, is that these developments and processes are discussed through the prism of establishment and transformation of the civil society in the post-Soviet era.

Probably one of the most valuable contributions of the book to existing post-Soviet studies literature is its discussion of the Soviet enlightenment (*prosveshchenie*) in relation to social and economic reforms and the impact of these changes on various cultural, economic and social processes in the aftermath of the Soviet Union. In the book, the author shows the complexity of the enlightenment on a micro level. Soviet era development was accompanied with increasing access to education and medical care; but also forced sedentarisation and psychological trauma (p. 58). The Transbaikalian Evenki, nevertheless, maintained private and state reindeer herding and close emotional ties with the animals. Interestingly, Povorozniuk argues that reindeer herding existed through the Socialist era particularly due to its low costs – reindeer did not need expensive facilities or preparation of winter supplies. Moreover, the Soviets believed that the northern indigenous people were psychologically dependant on reindeer. Therefore state reindeer herding was seen as a compromise, and a tool to prepare the former nomads for a sedentary Socialist life style (p. 60). This is one interesting argument in the ongoing debate on whether reindeer herding was (and is) a cheap or expensive sphere.

The discussion on Soviet enlightenment also shows that people's 'nostalgia' for the Soviet era is, in fact, a quest for the social security and free entertainment provided by the state. People miss child day care (p. 79) or the free cinema shown by *agitbrigady* (p. 86). Simultaneously, respondents have negative memories from boarding school (*internat*) which was an institutional tool for the social exclusion and marginalisation of Evenki children (p. 79). The Soviet enlightenment machinery introduced forms of collectively celebrated holidays that are still a firm part of the demonstration of 'traditional culture', like the Reindeer Herder Day, folkloristic elements in New Year celebrations or the First of May (p. 88–89). The controversy around the Soviet era 'civilisation process' is not specific or unique to Transbaikal Evenkies, but is seldom analysed in its complexity. Therefore a deeper description and analysis of the Soviet era 'inventing the tradition' would have been welcome. The topic of the impact of the Soviet enlightenment continues throughout the book and is nicely wrapped up with the section about the different modes of the 'revival of the tradition' in contemporary times.

Safonova (Centre for Independent Social research, Saint Petersburg) and Santha (Research Centre for the Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of Science) joint monograph is the most theoretical of all three books. The book leans on the linguistic theories of Gregory Bateson, an <u>English</u> <u>anthropologist</u>, <u>social scientist</u>, <u>linguist</u>, <u>visual anthropologist</u>, <u>semiotician</u> and <u>cyberneticist</u> who extended cybernetics to the social sciences. In the context of the book, cybernetics is applied as a tool to identify 'things' via their relationships to other 'things'. The authors believe that Bateson's cybernetics is 'a non-hierarchical language' that is an appropriate tool to 'describe patterns within individual, social and ecological systems' (p. 11). The data was collected in two different regions near Baikal among reindeer herding and horse breeding Evenki. The main arguments of Safonova and Santha are that a) Evenki society is an egalitarian society b) mobility and movement are essential for the Evenki culture c) the egalitarian and non-hierarchical nature of Evenki are expressed by their spontaneous travels and behaviour. These qualities are not new in books and articles focused on different aspects of Evenki culture, society or economy. Apart from being discussed to some extent in the previous two books of the review, the spontaneity and 'Evenki pedagogy' was one of the main themes in the David Anderson monograph, whereas egalitarianism has also been addressed by Gail Fondahl (1998). However, there are segments in the book that include new concepts, intriguing approaches or interesting field material.

The book opens with an introduction that is thoroughly reflective, explaining the difficulties of adaption in the Evenki host communities, subsequent problems and conflicts that (in the spirit of Bateson) had to be solved in order to build a fruitful communication process. The authors also describe how the Evenki life style has influenced their own behaviour after the field work, for example encouraged their own spontaneity and 'wage hunting'. In the first chapter, the authors focus on companionship (i.e. communality) and *pokazukha*. *Pokazukha* is a Russian word for fake or showing off, in this context it is used as ritual behaviour aimed to impress outsiders. Safonova and Santha have been working on Evenki *pokazukha* for a long time and here have summed up their findings. The authors draw on the shamanistic rituals, which are more performed for outsiders than Evenki community members. In the chapter ethnic rituals that are presented as staged performances for Russians or Buryats are analysed. It is interesting that the authors have managed to look behind that screen. In Siberia, every anthropologist has come across such staged stylised performances but only a few have had the privilege to talk to the performers and find out what they really mean and how seriously these performances are taken. As it turns out in this text, Eveki tend to laugh when watching video recordings of their own dances and rituals (p. 31). The authors conclude that *pokazukha* is a strategy to guard their independence from outsiders and leave their egalitarian society untouched.

This book also gives an overview about the relationships and communication patterns of Evenki with the different ethnic groups they meet. The relationships with Russians and Buryats are complex but the nuances fit nicely within the already existing academic interpretations of interethnic relations in Siberia. Relations with the Chinese, however, seem to be qualitatively different to relations with Russian and other indigenous groups. As a fact, Siberian indigenous – Chinese relations have found very limited coverage in the academic literature, if at all. The authors show that Evenki-Chinese economic relations are based on the 150 years history of Chinese presence in the region, where

Chinese have been living from the Tsarist period and throughout Soviet times. During that time the Evenki and Chinese have developed a mutual cooperation that was in 2007 and 2008 used in the trade of nephrite that Chinese purchased with the aim to resell in China. The authors believe that the Chinese possess a certain 'Chinese ethos' that has been formed due the semi-legal status of Chinese workers in the region. Chinese try to maintain a similar autonomous position as the Evenki, keeping their distance from other groups and being independent of other ethnicities. The Chinese ethos in the context of the book means that the actors 'must work hard to maintain their hard-won independence' (p. 119). The Evenki and Chinese 'system of interaction' is based on 'paradoxes' of various kinds of reciprocity, mutual expectations and disappointments (p. 122–123). Using the concept of Bateson – the double bind – Safonova and Santha try to find a logic in – from first sight – irrational interethnic trade and reciprocity. This logic embeds the fluidity between business and friendship. It is not uncommon to move from one sphere to another and back. The shift between different types of interaction also involves shifts in family, gender and social roles (i.e. a wife can turn into a wage labourer and back). It is also remarkable how a partner applies strategies to hinder these shifts if they are unsuitable.

These three books are worthy complementary reading that not only illuminate different aspects of Evenki culture but also enrich the readers' understanding of the historical background of the current social, cultural, ethnic and political processes in Siberia. While Sirina's book is recommended as a basis work to those looking for the general picture and good references on Siberian natives, then the other two should be interesting for readers expanding their knowledge on different shades of post-Socialism in Russian Asia. Povorozniuk adds new facets to the knowledge of how economic restructuring of the indigenous community is linked to cultural and social process, the last work is a good read for people looking for fresh interpretations of formal and informal social relations.

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