



Описания шаманизма в исследованиях Н.Н. Харузина и В.Н. Харузиной

Исследование выполнено при поддержке гранта РФФ, проект № 16-18-10083

Аннотация. Российские учёные Николай Николаевич Харузин и его сестра Вера Николаевна Харузина, стоявшие у истоков отечественной этнографии и её академического становления в российских университетах, за время своей исследовательской деятельности собрали большое количество этнографических материалов о народах, проживающих на огромной территории Российской Империи. Теоретически осмысляя полученные данные, включая их в первые университетские курсы, Вера и Николай Харузины отмечали важнейшую роль изучения

религиозных верований исследуемых народов. Так, одной из первых исследовательских работ Н.Н. Харузина стала статья «О нойдах у древних и современных лопарей», посвящённая описанию и анализу лапландского шаманизма; выявлению степени влияния христианской религии на мифологическую и религиозную традиции лапландцев. Особое внимание шаманизму исследователь уделил в университетском курсе лекций по этнографии, изданном посмертно под редакцией его сестры Веры. Сама же Вера Харузина в последствии издала свой собственный лекционный сборник для Московского Археологического института, где представила специальный раздел, посвящённый теоретическому описанию и анализу феномена шаманизма. В.Н. Харузина подчёркивает роль индивидуальных качеств в становлении шамана, при этом отмечая зависимость действий, видений и слов шамана от социального окружения. В данной статье будет представлен комплексный анализ работ Н.Н. Харузина и В.Н. Харузиной, посвящённых шаманизму.

Ключевые слова: В.Н. Харузина, Н.Н. Харузин, история религии, история религиоведения в России, интеллектуальная история, шаманизм, лопари, нойды

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Descriptions of Shamanism in the Research Works of N.N. Kharuzin and V.N. Kharuzina

The research is supported by a grant of the Russian Science Foundation, project № 16-18-10083

Abstract. Russian scholar Nikolay Kharuzin (1865–1900) and his sister Vera Kharuzina (1886–1931) were standing at the origins of the Russian Ethnography and its academic formation in the Russian universities. They collected a great ethnographic material about the peoples living on the territory of the Russian Empire such as the Votyaks, Yukaghirs, Tunguses, and Lapps. Summarizing this material and rethinking it theoretically, the Kharuzins noticed a crucial role of studying the religious beliefs of different peoples. Thus, one of the first research work by Nikolay Kharuzin was “About the noaidis among the ancient and modern Lapps” (1889) dedicated to description and analysis of the Lapp shamanism, and to comparison of the ancient and modern Lapps with the reasoning about the impact of Christianity on modern Russian Lapps. A particular attention to the shamanism was paid by Kharuzin in his course of lectures “Ethnography”, which was edited and printed after his death in 1905 by his sister Vera Kharuzina. She was interested in the history of religion and presented more theoretical view on the issues of shamanism in her own course of “Ethnography” (1909). V.N. Kharuzina emphasizes the role of individual qualities in shaman’s becoming and notes that social influence is reflected in actions, visions, and speeches of a shaman. This paper presents the analysis of descriptions and research of shamanism in the works of Nikolay and Vera Kharuzins.

Key words: V.N. Kharuzina, N.N. Kharuzin, History of Religion, Religious Studies, Intellectual History, Science in Russia, Ethnography, Anthropology, Shamanism, Lapps, noaidi

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Nowadays shamanism is described as one of the oldest and widespread religious practices of humankind. The base of this practice is a belief in spirits and shamans as a special people who can influence the spirits. Thus, shamans, men or women, seem to possess a great power and knowledge. The main skill of shamans is a possibility to visit the other world filled with various spirits. Other roles like healer, protector, or sorcerer are rose exactly from the role of mediator.

The focus of this article is not shamanism itself, but the history of Russian studying of shamanism in the early stages of forming of ethnography and religious studies.

Russian scholar Nikolay Kharuzin (1865–1900) and his sister Vera Kharuzina (1886–1931) were standing at the origins of the Russian ethnography and its academic formation in the Russian universities in the second half of the 19th century.

Their first expedition to the Russian North was organized by The Society of Devotees of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography in 1887. For student Nikolay Kharuzin, it was the first independent research sail and he requested a permission for his sister Vera to accompany him in this trip. Vera was a graduate of the Moscow Female Gymnasium and already had a great interest in anthropology and ethnography, so it was the first and excited experience of scientific expedition for her as well. During the trip, the Kharuzins visited many places around Lake Onega and White Sea seaside and reached the Kola Peninsula. They collected there some empirical data about the customs and beliefs of the Lapps – one of the indigenous Finno-Ugric peoples inhabiting this area. On return to Moscow Vera Kharuzina wrote and published an essay “On the North” – the interesting travel notes made in expedition. This essay included some of the materials collected by Vera: legends, popular beliefs, spells, and descriptions of traditional holidays.

The first theoretical result of the expedition was an article “About the noaidis among the ancient and modern Lapps” [Kharuzin, 1889, 36–76] written by Nikolay Kharuzin. It was published in “Ethnographic review” journal in 1889. The article was devoted to ancient roots and contemporary vestiges of shamanism among the Russian Lapps.

A further description of the content of this article needs several terminological remarks. The term “Lapps” in the denomination of one of the Finno-Ugric peoples is often replaced by the term “Saami” or “Sami”. Both terms are correct, but in this paper we’d rather use the term “*Lapps*” because of its proximity to a Russian word “Lopar”, which is used in the original texts by the Kharuzins. Also, we would like to use the word “*noaidi*” to refer Lappish shaman as the most widespread term in research literature while it has different variations such as “noaide”, or Russian “nojđ” and “nojda”.

In the beginning of the article, N. Kharuzin noted that it is necessary to distinguish the Scandinavian and Russian ethnic groups in the study of contemporary Lapps. However, if we are dealing with former/ancient Lapps, it does not have any major significance since the various customs of Lapps are merely ramifications and modifications of some common Lapp's religious practices like their different dialects are modifications of the one indigenous Lappish language. This introductory remark explained that the author mostly used sources related to the Scandinavian group of Lapps because of lack of the data about the ancient Russian Lapps [Kharuzin, 1889, 36–38].

The next particular idea of this article is a clarification of the differences between noaidi as a “shaman” in the old religion of Lapps and noaidi as a “diviner” and “magician” in its post-shamanistic period [Kharuzin, 1889, 37, 41].

N. Kharuzin suggested that the role of shaman used to belong to the head of a Lapp family. [Kharuzin, 1889, 44]. On the base of the several scientific resources described the author the ancient custom of worship to the specific stones the Lapps call “seids”. These stones, he supposed, appeared as the monuments to ancestors, but was transformed gradually into the “gods of ancestors”. The “seids” were endowed with antropomorphic features: they were supposed to move, eat, and send misfortune or diseases [Kharuzin, 1889, 45–46].

Moreover, the ancient Lapps had a belief in a household spirit living with every family. The sacrifice for the household spirit was chosen through the divination by a special drum, which was a family heirloom [Kharuzin, 1889, 47–48].

This data derived by Kharuzin from the works of Matthias Alexander Castrén and Franz Joseph Mone, logically explained why only the head of the family as the offspring was able to officiate the rituals referred to the ancestors.

Later the shamans were separated as a particular group of the priests that discharged the same functions. They were making some divinations by drums, foretelling which god or spirit was waiting for offerings and practicing the rituals with sacrificing.

Thus, the separate group of the shamans-noaidi emerged and possessed the skills of the priests and powers of the sorcerers. Their inseparable item was a drum. And it was used by noaidi in the following cases:

- when it was necessary to know if anything happened at a great distance (for example, in other settlement) or to find something or someone;
- for foretelling a resolution of any case or disease;
- for healing;
- in order to find out which god or spirit needs a sacrifice and what kind of sacrifice is needed [Kharuzin, 1889, 51–53].

However, noticed Nicolay Kharuzin, the most particular skill of noaidi was a possibility to travel in other worlds and bargain with spirits. It was believed that noaidi use special animals for travelling to the realm of the dead. These magical animals were bird, fish, and deer. The birds were in the form of swallows, then in the form of sparrows, eagles, pigeons, or vultures. They always followed a shaman if he caused them by singing; showed him the way, helped in the hunt, retell other people's talks, etc. The fish carried the noaidi to the realm of the dead. These “spirits of sorcerers” were sold or passed down by inheritance from generation to generation. Magical animals were necessary for shaman in case of going to the land of the dead. And he had to go there either to call the deceased to the world of living, or to personally persuade the spirits to give the patient more time to live or to find out the cause of the illness and to enquire what is needed to propitiate the underground spirits. In order to visit the land of the deceased, the shaman fell into an unconscious state by striking a tambourine and singing a song at the same time, and his spirit traveled to the underworld [Kharuzin, 1889, 53–55].

Kharuzin continued his idea of comparison of the ancient and modern Lapps with the reasoning about the impact of Christianity on modern Russian Lapps. He suggested that it was accepted that Christianization of the Russian Lapland should have fundamentally changed the worldview of the Lapps and forced them to forget their ancient religion. However, the rich mythology of the Lapps was replaced by a new pantheon, since Christianity was assimilated only on the external side. That is why Christianity having smashed and destroyed the former beliefs of the Lapps, did not completely erase them, but left at least some remnants in which we could hardly see the ruins of the previous beliefs [Kharuzin, 1889, 57].

He described that the modern Lapps still believe in the spirits of houses, forests, mountains, and lakes, but the power of these spirits and the central place it took in their lives were diminished. It was no longer required to appease them with the sacrifices. Consequently, the role of noaidi as a person who can communicate and bargain with the spirits was forgotten. However, noaidi still exist among the modern Russian Lapps. Kharuzin described how they were identified by the Lapps. First of all, the modern noaidi did not look like the ancient shaman; the magical drum was no longer in use and the methods and means of sorcery were changed. Noaidi, as Kharuzin noticed, were considered by the other Lapps as only a «little bit more magical» [Kharuzin, 1889, 58, 62–63].

There were several functions, which still remain at the noaidi's competence: for example, the healer function, divinations and foretelling. The modern Lapps come to noaidi for an enchantment or love spell; less often in order to solve family problems. Also, the author collected some examples of the Lapps' stories, in which they come to noaidi for a divination by means of dreams and visions [Kharuzin, 1889, 67–70].

As for the healer function, it was believed that every noaidi had an ability to send the strange disease, which was called “an arrow” and had a form of the colic pains. These pains could be send by the outsider or ill-wilier. In order to find out the person and send the “arrow” back, a noaidi, who was trusted in a family, was invited to a house of a patient and received a wrap and a silver coin. The noaidi came home and went to bed having put the wrap and the coin under the pillow. In the state of deep sleeping found he out the foe and declared its name after awakening. Then, in order to set patient free of disease, the family gave the noaidi another wrap and coin and the process was repeated once again. After that,

the patient should have feel well and the arrow was sent back to the ill-wilier [Kharuzin, 1889, 67–71].

Also, there was a belief among the Lapps that every noaidi had a spirit-helper, which accompanied him in everything. N. Kharuzin characterized these beliefs as not very strong and deep, but as the remnants of ancient perception of the shaman noaidi remained in the form of narrative. In the rituals of healing or foretelling, modern noaidi did not communicate with the spirits, and every miracle he made was explained by his own power and skill, which were inherited [Kharuzin, 1889, 72].

Kharuzin said: “There is a huge difference between the priest – the head of a family, the powerful noaidi shaman of ancient times and the modern Lappish sorcerer. But we still see a weak reminder of ancient shamans in the modern noaidi. We can describe in general terms the gradual development of witchcraft among the Russian Lapps. Firstly, it relates to the separated group of shamans, which was usurping the functions of the priests from the heads of families and the sequential decline of this group under the influence of the new ideas [Kharuzin, 1889, 76].

Kharuzin’s great experience of research of the Russian Lapps during the expedition among the people, while observing its life and views, interviewing them and finding out about Lappish beliefs, legends, and tales allowed him to clarify the evolution of their religious attitudes and historical differences of the perception of the noaidi.

The article «On the noaidi among the ancient and modern Lapps» was included to the monograph by N. Kharuzin named «The Russian Lapps» [Kharuzin, 1890]. It also contained ethnographical and anthropological materials about the Lapps, their families and social life, forms of activity, etc.

Next work in which Kharuzin returned to the study of shamanism was his own and the first in Russia academical course of ethnography [Kharuzin, 1905]. He had been working with the text of the course in the closing stages of his life. It was divided into four parts, and the last one was devoted to religions and beliefs of different peoples of the world and contained a special chapter about shamanism [Kharuzin, 1905, 391–450]. It is a full theoretical chapter where Kharuzin used the methods of the new (for the 19th century) science of religion. Thus, the phenomenon of shamanism was considered in the context of general issues of the history of religion. The author concerned the issues of the definition of shamanism, its proliferation on the globe, its origin and modern forms of its existence – this kind of discussion was really essential for the current science. Kharuzin considered different points of view in these issues, analyzing and comparing his own materials and investigations of other scholars. For example, Kharuzin contradicted the statement made by John Lubbock in the work «The origin of civilization and the primitive condition of man» about the place taken by shamanism among the other forms of religious beliefs. Lubbock considered shamanism as a fourth phase of evolution of religious beliefs after atheism, fetishism, and totemism, for this phase was characterized by him as a perception of almighty gods and weak humans trying to communicate with them. However, Kharuzin was against this opinion and argued that shaman is considered as a person who can be more powerful than spirits and, moreover, has an ability to handle them [Kharuzin, 1905, 400].

This chapter was concluded by the author’s suggestion concerning the future of the study of shamanism. He expressed the expectations that shamanism would be studied comprehensively by ethnography and anthropology and all of the current gaps that which he mentioned in this work would be filled by the investigations of the new science of religion [Kharuzin, 1905, 450].

Unfortunately, his life and research activity were interrupted by the heart condition. N. Kharuzin died early at the age of 34, and a lot of his works were not finished and published. However, the great work of his life – The Lecture Course of Ethnography was edited and published by his sister Vera Nikolaevna. All of the texts were structured, edited, and printed with the lists of references, indicators, and full bibliographical descriptions made by Vera Kharuzina.

By this time, Vera had upgraded her education attending the anthropology and history of religion courses in Paris and Berlin [Sankt-Peterburgskiy filial. Fund 282. Inventory 2, file 304, fols. 1–2]. She got experience in expedition to the different areas of the Russian Empire and collected ethnographical material for her own research. Shamanism

was not of her special scientific interest: she described shamanism of different peoples shortly in several essays [Kharuzina, 1898; Kharuzina, 1902], which were very close to fairy tales created for reading classes in gymnasiums.

However, Vera Kharuzina, as her brother Nikolay, was appointed to the position of Professor of Ethnography at the Moscow Archeological Institute [Sankt-Peterburgskiy filial. Fund 282. Inventory 2, file 304, fols. 3–4]. The educational activity inspired Vera to write her own lecture course. The construction of the course was similar to N. Kharuzin's work and the special chapter about shamanism was included to the part devoted to the study of religious beliefs. Having summarized the materials and rethought it theoretically, V. Kharuzina noticed a crucial role of using the methods of the study of religion. Thus, she approached to the description of shamanism in theoretical way [Kharuzina, 1909].

First of all, the author rejected the definition of shamanism as a logical step of development of religious beliefs of any people. V. Kharuzina stated that shamanism is not a stage in the development of religious thought; it is not a religious system that presupposes a certain set of religious ideas. Shamanism is only one of the manifestations of religious beliefs of people, which is very complex and often rest on polytheistic and animistic views. Shamanism in the form it exists among numerous nations already presupposes the developed system of beliefs, the world of spirits, certain ideas about them, their appearance and properties, ideas of the afterlife and higher spheres inhabited by deities or spirits. V. Kharuzina considered shamanism as a concomitant phenomenon of religious evolution. Its main feature remains just the way of building relationships with the world of supernatural beings, communication with the unseen and inaccessible, and penetration into the sphere, which is felt by a human so closely, but is not unaffected of its control and remains independent of human actions and desires [Kharuzina, 1909, 450].

Kharuzina concerned a question related closely to the psychology of religion: how does the perception that any persons are more capable to communicate with the invisible forces appear?

Psychological abilities, Vera Nikolaevna suggests, are not the same for different members of a shamanistic society. Someone is able to see more vivid dreams and hallucinations; someone is more disposed to nervous manifestations, to feel them more clearly and to bring them into connection with the phenomena of the surrounding life. The role of individual qualities is extremely strong in shamanism. However, the individual is dependent on the group: social influence is reflected in the fact that the actions of shaman, its visions, and speeches bear a vivid imprint of inner ideas of the environment [Kharuzina, 1909, 452].

Kharuzina described two ways by which the shamanic power could be attained.

The first way is the choice by spirits. It could be due to the fact that the nervous predisposition of certain individuals to visions and hallucinations, hysteria and seizures is perceived by a connection with a supernatural power or spirit. Shaman looks at himself the same way – he or she feels a force that others do not feel, and on the basis of this confidence the nervous behavior develops, intensifies, and receives an appropriate explanation. If a shaman resist, he will be punished by spirits – with a disease or even death. The author gave several examples of these cases from the materials collected by Russian ethnographers such as L. Sternberg and V. Bogoraz.

The second way to attain the status of shaman is inheritance. Vera Kharuzina explained it by a heritable specific of nervous diseases, and the shaman's gift is quite often held in one family because of the fact that various kinds of diseases and addictions are transmitted from parents to one of the children [Kharuzina, 1909, 454–456].

The author noticed that shaman is identified by people not only as a powerful person, but as the one possessing great knowledge. He must know the properties of the spirits, the most correct methods of communicating with them, and the most powerful spells. He must be aware of dangers that may happen on the way to the other worlds. Therefore, he must know the religious heritage of his people. Moreover, he must develop his psychic abilities for benefit of his people, his group. It is very difficult; therefore, we could meet ideas about training of a shaman by a senior shaman or even by spirits at numerous nations [Kharuzina, 1909, 457].

Also, Kharuzina described the stimulating means which can lead a shaman into ecstasy – the state in which he gets complete freedom in communicating with the spirits. Among these means, she listed tobacco, mushrooms, variety of plants and herbs, intoxicating beverages. Within some peoples, she noted, blood could be the excitative agent.

Certainly, music and percussion instruments serve to bring the shaman into frenzy. A tambourine or a drum are the most common shamanistic instruments. Inside its group, the acts of shaman are perceived only as signs of contact with the spirit world, as an indicator of strength of the shaman, and its superiority over the spirits; and ecstasy is an indication that spirits are close to the shaman, obsess him or let him enter their world [Kharuzina, 1909, 459].

At the end of the chapter, in opposition to the statements of her brother writes Vera Kharuzina that the succession of shamans from priests is not so obvious and could be optional. There are separate linguistic concepts for the shaman, sorcerer, and witcher among different peoples. There could be several persons executing different functions, and, nevertheless, connected with religious cult or magic. The same person can be at once a priest, a sorcerer, and a fortuneteller, and most often it is a shaman. However, by the time this role was divided into several persons, it had been proved by the linguistic analysis of language of many peoples. This supposition led the author to the issue of correlation between magic and religion, which she considered in the next chapter, giving bright examples of the materials collected in expeditions.

Vera Nikolaevna Kharuzina and Nikolay Nikolaevich Kharuzin made an invaluable contribution to the promotion and institutionalization of ethnography in Russia in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries. They both paid a particular attention to studying beliefs of different peoples. Being familiar with the works of European researchers such as J. Frazer, Max Müller, P.D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, E. Tylor, and other scholars who contributed to the establishment of the «science of religion», the Kharuzins helped to introduce it to the Russian public. Thus, the special approach to the analysis of empirical materials and current scientific literature allows their own works to become fundamental and must read ones in academic sphere. The description of shamanism supported by ethnographic data and its theoretical analysis made by the Kharuzins were widely disseminated within ethnographers and anthropologists, and using of some of the data appears possible to this day.

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Текст поступил в редакцию 20.10.2017.