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Adresse:

Néprajzi Tanszék
Lehrstuhl für Volkskunde
Universität zu Debrecen
Debrecen, 10
Pobox 16
H-4010
Ungarn

Address:

Néprajzi Tanszék
Department of Ethnography
University of Debrecen
Debrecen, 10
P.O.B. 16
H-4010
Hungary

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THE MAKING
OF
NATIONAL MYTHOLOGY

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NATION AND ITS TERRITORY AS RITUALIZED SPACE:
EXAMINING THE CONCEPT OF THE SACRED AS A BOUNDARY MARKER IN FINLAND

Anttonen, Veikko

The semantic history of the term 'pyhä' (sacred) in Finnish language

The Finnish word '*pyhä*' denoting 'sacred' was adopted from proto-Germanic term *wīha- (> proto-Finnic *püşä) as early as in the Bronze Age, i.e. from 1500 to 500 BCE.. The root for proto-Germanic *wīha- is *vik- (PIE *ueik-) denoting 'to separate'. The term '*pyhä*' was used in the vernacular as an adjective to mark off prominent and exceptional natural places such as lakes, rivers, rapids, ponds, larger hills, capes, bays and fells as outer borders which separated the wilderness areas (Fi. *eränkäyntialue*) of distinct population groups from each other.

There are more than 200 place names all over the Baltic Sea Culture Area where the term occurs in a compound word as an appellative designation for a place. The question is why these places were designated as *pyhä*, i.e. sacred? Should we understand the prehistoric term *pyhä* meaning something altogether different from what it does today? Did it, perhaps, have none of the religious connotation that it has in Christian parlance and in popular discourse in today's Finland? What the 'sanctity' of the places actually entailed?

According to my findings, the term was used only when all of the following conditions obtained:

- 1) The place was situated outside in an uninhabited area in the wilderness.
- 2) There were no previous names in this area. The attribute *pyhä* is first name to be given in the place. The place or the area designated by the term *pyhä* was newly occupied land; the first people ever in the area had just taken the land into their possession.
- 3) The place had a special function for the people whose territory it belonged to and who had the right to use its natural resources. A "*pyhä*-place" was used as boundary marking the limits of the occupied territory and of the right of exploitation.
- 4) The "*pyhä*-place" as a boundary point was chosen from among the topographically exceptional or anomalous places in the region, or from places where routes intersected. Since the term *pyhä* appeared in similar places all

over the geographical area where Finnish was spoken, it became an established term for marking places and boundaries in the landscape.

The adjective *pyhä* had a religious referent only to the extent as the category of 'religion' can be equated with the categories of 'the social' and 'the territorial'. According to methodologies of both Émile Durkheim and Arnold van Gennep, 'religion' as a category can be used in connection with popular traditions of hunting and agricultural societies in the meaning of its comparative use. It does not mean that religion actually has an autonomous ontological existence, but forms of cultural representation in local settings are theoretically conceptualized as such (see e.g. McCutcheon 1997, viii). According to this comparative methodology linguistic expressions in vernacular, oral narratives in folklore and other forms of cultural representation forming the nucleus of performances conceptualized as 'religious' are part and parcel of the overall social and spatial categories by which the members of ethnic communities comprehend and communicate the structures of meaning of their life-worlds. As Arnold van Gennep has emphasized spatial boundaries are not only legal and economic in nature, but also magico-religious. The boundaries marked by natural features such as rocks, trees, rivers and lakes or by natural objects such as stakes, portals or upright rocks are known by local people through collective tradition: as van Gennep writes, "the inhabitants and their neighbours know well within what territorial limits their rights and prerogatives extend" (van Gennep 1960, 15). The boundary points cannot be crossed or passed without the risk of supernatural dangers and sanctions. The boundary point is most often accompanied with interdictions, behavioural norms, rules of avoidance and prohibitions. Depending on the cultural value of situation when boundaries are crossed, socially prescribed rituals are considered as only proper ways to deal with the crossing (van Gennep 1960, 15-17).

For the population groups of prehistoric Finland, *pyhä* represented a boundary between two conceptual spheres of sociocultural processes, i.e. those taken place within the inside and outside of the inhabited territory and the human body. Such a categorization is a major cognitive element on which various population groups have traditionally based their symbolic cultural behaviour. The symbolism of the boundary crossing from the inside to the outside and from the outside to the inside have become manifest both in hunting and agricultural rituals, but also symbolically in so-called crisis rituals and in rites of passage.

The majority of the Finnish place-names beginning with *pyhä* are the product of the concepts guiding the categorization of space and the customary law

tradition by which groups of settlers sought either to separate themselves from one another and to mark off the territory claimed by them from the shared inner domain or the outer domain. In place-names *pyhä* signified the outer border of the inhabited area. As a temporal category *pyhä* was used to denote times that are, as it were, on the border and 'fall between' temporal categories. It thus became a basic term in the reckoning of time according to the lunar calendar. Among the Baltic Finns it was used to mark off times into periods by virtue of its meaning of prohibition and non-violation. *Pyhä* meant forbidden, something to be avoided, dangerous, so that the behavioural norms prescribed by society had to be observed during the time marked off as sacred. In addition to territorial and temporal borders, the notion of *pyhä* was used as an adjective to mark off an object, a phenomenon, a time, an animal or a person that was to be avoided and held as forbidden because of its dangerousness or impurity and to separate it from the sphere of everyday social life.

The sacred as an attribute to the Forest

The forest is the primal and original context for the sacred in Finland. While Germans use the expression "Urwald" to describe the significance of the forest, the Finns use the expression cradle (Fi. *kehto*). The forest has never been wilderness in the strict sense of the term in Finland, since from prehistoric times people have exploited its resources and left their marks on its terrain. The forest precedes the markers of sacrality such as temples and other sanctuaries, cemeteries and in modern times also libraries and museums as carriers of values and meanings according to which the making of national identities are assessed. The forest is no less enchanted domain of the divine than its architecturally, theologically and ethnologically constructed counterparts. The forest holds, but also reveals its secrecy in the silent language of its landscape, its trees, cliffs, rocks, holes and clefts, its fauna and its flora. The ways of reading their messages are stored in the collective memory of local communities. In hunting and peasant societies there used to be special persons who could master multiple vocabularies of various forms of forests and decipher their languages to non-specialist members of the community.

In Finnish folk tradition, the secret knowledge about forest life belonged to the sphere of activity of *tietäjäs*, i.e. people who know. The *tietäjä* was a ritual specialist who could master supernatural powers. He could ward off evil forces or keep illnesses at distance or he could prevent accidents. But at the same time

tietäjä had power to cause damage or revenge to his enemies. The *tietäjä* was not a shaman (Fi. *noita*) who could manipulate souls and with a ritual technique withdraw his soul from the body, i.e. fall into a trance. *Tietäjä* manipulated the forces of nature by incantation formulas. *Tietäjä* could lift power (Fi. *väki*) of natures from the earth, from the forest, from the lakes, from the air and from the wind. Shamanism was based on the idea that instead of one world, there were 'other worlds'. A strong-blooded *tietäjä* could, however, act like a shaman and transform his anthropocentric view of life into that of an animal in order to steer his way into the forest. Shamans and *tietäjäs* were mostly men and maintained the social order. Women, on the other hand, had their own ways of contributing to the secrecy of the forest. Due to their physiology and gender-specific roles, women had marginal position in society. In traditional agrarian Finnish society women were dependent on their husbands, but they could, however, take advantage of their marginal position and use their power both for positive and negative ends.

The forest and the notion of boundary

Evidence of multiple meanings of the forest in Finnish folk tradition can be obtained both from linguistic expressions and to a certain extent from archaeological findings. In an attempt to understand the richness of forest discourses in Finnish folk tradition, it is first of all important to pay attention to the linguistic history of terms that belong to the same conceptual sphere as the forest. The Finnish word denoting forest, '*metsä*' is closely connected with words such as '*erä*', '*pyhä*' and '*hiisi*'. All of these words were used as attributes of places that were set apart from spaces where people lived. The notion of boundary, a border between this world and other world was an essential element in their meaning. The forest, '*metsä*' denoted originally an edge where the inhabited region ends, not the totality of space where trees are its dominant feature (Vilppula 1990, 287). The word '*erä*' was used to refer to the space beyond the *metsä*-edge. The word '*erä*' denotes part or portion that has been separated from the larger totality (see Taavitsainen 1987, 214-215; cf. engl. 'round'). '*Erä*' appears as a prefix in the compound word '*erämaa*' meaning wilderness. *Erämaa* was a specifically marked area of distinct population groups for subsistence activity (Fi. *eränkävintialue*). *Pyhä*-places or alternatively by specific places set apart as '*eräpyhä*' were used to make the distinction between the interior and the exterior of *eränkävintialue*. The sacredness of the *eränkävinti-*

regions can be comprehended according to the notion of the boundary. Prehistoric hunter-cultivators employed the attribute the *metsä* (edge) as a boundary-line by which 'this world' of everyday social life was clearly demarcated from the 'other world' in the wilderness. The terms '*pyhä*' and '*eräpyhä*' were used to mark an outer-border of the *eränkäynti*-region. Both adjectives were used as an appellative designation for topographically anomalous places in the forest or in lakes along the pathways. (Anttonen 1992, 62; Anttonen 1996, 111-116; Anttonen 1999, 12-14). Elias Lönnrot was probably referring to slash and burn cultivation in the wilderness-regions in explaining the word *pyhä* in his Finnish-Swedish dictionary: "*on ruvennut koivua versomaan kun maa on ollut pyhässä*" (the ground has begun to push up birch after having been in the sacred). In other words, the ground has been marked off and burned for cultivation. For *eräpyhä* Lönnrot gave explanation 'particularly sacred place' (Lönnrot 1958, 292-293).

Finnish archeologists (Taavitsainen, Simola & Grönlund 1998, 235) have shown that in prehistoric hunting and fishing economies people had to move extensively in forest regions before they could capture prey such as wolf, brown bear, lynx and wolverine. Hunters did not consider the forest region hostile if the social conventions connected with the taboo norms were respected. These concerned particularly sacred places in lakes along the pathways and in forests for burn-cleared areas (Fi. *kaskimaa*; *huuhtakaski*) set apart for cultivation. Behavioral restrictions (*pyhä*-norms) concerned also burn-cleared plots under cultivation, since unharmed growth of crop was one of the most important social values. Slash-and-burn (Fi. *kaski*; *kaskeaminen*) demanded occupation of extensive forest regions, since slash-and-burn cultivation was for the short-term. The latest results of pollen analyses (Taavitsainen, Simola & Grönlund 1998, 239) also indicate that burn-cleared areas of different ages provided hunters with game. Hunting and cultivation in distant forest regions were not distinct subsistence strategies, but complementary. Fertile hilltops and slopes that were most suitable for the slash-and-burn, actually promoted hunting, especially trapping. Archeologists (Taavitsainen, Simola & Grönlund 1998, 240) have also assumed that *eränkävijä*-hunters also cultivated crops for brewing beer for the fur trade. Ritual drinking was an essential part of forest behavior in connection with *eränkäynti*. Beer was not only an intoxicating drink; it was a substance which conveyed symbolic meanings of local *erä*-cultivation communities. Beer promoted 'luck' (Fi. *onni*) which meant the growth of things with special social value.

The fourth important word that is closely connected with the forest is '*hiisi*'.

In Viking-Age peasant society people had used the term '*hiisi*' in a positive sense. *Hiisi* denoted both a 'cult place' and a 'burial ground'. *Hiisi*-places were usually wood-covered, stony hilltops that were located in the close vicinity of village dwellings. *Hiisi* was originally not a supernatural being, but a place set apart for ritual purposes. After the advent of Christianity in Finland in the 12th century, the word '*hiisi*' turned into a designation for the supernatural agent that ruled non-evangelized spaces, mainly forests, but also lakes. In Christian parlance the meaning of *hiisi* turned from an adjective into a noun denoting 'Hell'. (see Koski 1990, 427). *Hiisi* was adopted as a designation for an evil spirits originating from the place where the diseases and harmful things have their birth (Fi. *synty*), i.e. the place outside the authority of Christian God. The meaning of the exclamation "Go to *Hiisi*!" came to mean "Go to Hell". One could even argue that the most important tool for converting the late Viking Age population in the Western part of Finland to Christianity, was not only the Word of God, but also the axe.

Christianity became established in Finnish society by felling the trees at *hiisi*-sites and building churches on those sites. It was a common strategy to build churches on *hiisi*-sites and uproot pre-Christian habitual strain of thought from the people's minds. In Christian folklore, the dominant theme concerns *hiisi*-beings as giants and as collective, post-mortal beings who dwell in forests. These were called 'hiisi-inhabitants', *hiidenväki*. In legends *hiisi*-giants often co-operated with converted Christians in building churches with them. Especially the existence of big heaps of stones dominating the landscape came to be explained as stones by which *hiisi*-giants had thrown at each other. In pre-Christian popular thinking stones were important boundary markers of social spaces. (Koski 1990, 429).

The sacredness of the bear

The most important rituals concerning Finnish forest behaviour were bear hunting rituals. These rituals also included beer consumption. Inaugurating the Academy in Turku in 1640, bishop Isak Rothovius describes Finnish forest behaviour in connection with bear hunting: "It is said that having killed a bear, hunters hold a feast and drink from the skull of the bear and make a sound resembling its growling, in this way wishing to secure themselves successful hunting and rich quarries for the future". (Kuusi 1976, 252). In the healing and hunting incantations of Finnish-Karelian folk poetry anthology, *Suomen kansan*

vanhat runot (SKVR), the forest is being described as “the stony home of a grizzly” (*kontion kivikoti*), “the boulder bedroom of a bear” (*karhun rautakammari*), (see Ilomäki 1989, 82; 85).

The relationship between the forest and the bear is depicted in epic poems like a human marriage. The relationship is that of the bride and groom in the wedding ritual. The bear is the groom and the forest is the bride. Marriage between the partners is an ideal one; in moral terms, it is innocent and harmonious within the forest boundaries. No violation of rules take place between the spouses. In folk tradition the forest is depicted as “clean, God’s creation”. Its innocence is contrasted with the sinfulness and impurity of human life. In bear hunting rituals while the bear has been killed and brought into the village, the human community, especially the spokesman for the community in Karelian tradition, *patvaska*, places a woman in the role of the forest, because of her birth-giving capacity and physical cycles (see Tarkka 1998, 116). According to the Finnish folklorist Lotte Tarkka, woman is a symbolic mediator between nature and culture. The bear is defined as male and wedded to a woman for the sake of maintaining the ideal image of the innocence that should prevail in the forest and moreover, in the relationship between the human community and the forest.

Even though bears are a constant threat to the cattle, it was considered a sinful act to kill the sacred animal because of the mythic image by which the balance between the order of human community and that of the forest is kept in force. The wedding is a conciliation ritual drama by which the boundary-line between human community and the forest is being purified after the violation of the ideal norm. The state of innocence is being restored by the act of giving the bear his lost bride, i.e. the forest, its natural habitat. The ‘soul’ of the bear regains its former status after the skull has been taken back to the forest and set up on the twigs of a specific pine.

In everyday social life, luck was ensured by keeping women away from any contact with the bear. The world of the bear in the forest and the world of women in the village should remain separate. Even the name of the bear was taboo. It was not allowed to mention the bear’s name in the village. Only when the bear was killed, could the killer call it by its proper name. Lotte Tarkka has emphasized the significance of taboo norms and ritual procedures connected with the bear. She points out that an encounter of the feminine in the village and the feminine out in the forest should be controlled and protected by specific ritual means in order for people to be able to secure a harmonious and continuous contact between the village and the forest and for preventing the possible vio-

lent confrontation between these parties. (Tarkka 1998, 115)

The sacredness of the forest implies that there was not only dynamic tension between the human community and the forest in agrarian Finnish-Karelian society, but also that this dynamism is governed by gendered division of labour (Tarkka 1998, 93-94). Human community had clear gender divisions. Women's world was limited to the village, while the man's world embraced both the known social world and the unknown world beyond its borders. As men stepped into the forest, they left the world of women, children and cattle behind, but the paradox is that in their forest activities men were facing again the feminine. The forest is personified as female, although the King of the forest is *Tapio*, the spirit ruler of its wealth. Finnish hunting incantations depict the hunting ground as feminine territory into which hunters enter. The forest is addressed by feminine metaphors: "*the wealthy wives of nature*", "*Tapio's precise wife*", "*Tapio's daughter*". (Tarkka 1998)

The femininity of the forest and the femininity of the village are aspects of one and the same 'sacred' principle according to which the growth is produced within the interior of their boundaries. The forest should be bountiful for both for the animals and for the hunter. The forest without game animals is tantamount to women who cannot become pregnant. It was men's duty to ensure security of the community and see that woman's womb (*kohtu*) was kept safe. The wedding drama is needed between the bear and the woman, because human community cannot produce growth within the interior of community-boundaries. Interaction and co-operation across the borders is always needed with the owners of the forest nature, i.e. with its mythical beings.

Why did then the bear have such an important position as a mythical being in the interaction between human community and the forest? As a matter of fact, we should ask; why was the bear a sacred animal. The fact that the bear was the most powerful animal of the forest and its personification was not the sufficient to determine its exceptional position in folk taxonomy. The sacredness of the bear depended on its relation to the human community and the importance of the boundary-line which separated the village from the forest. In addition to these important aspects, the sacredness was due an anthropomorphic perception of the bear. The bear was seen as a human like being. The bear had a special taxonomical status in animal classification of traditional societies in arctic and sub-arctic cultures, because of its human like characteristics. The bear had no clear-cut boundaries according to which its position in the category of 'animal' was assigned; it was not totally human, but it was not totally animal either. The bear was an anomaly.

Traditional forms of forest knowledge and behaviour have today been replaced by religious, philosophical, ecological attitudes about the value of the forest. In Lutheran Finland the forest still holds its position as a special icon of the nation and its citizens inner character. 85 percent of the population are members of the Lutheran Church. In secularized and privatized postmodern Finnish society, the forest has, however, become an object for Christian retreat seminars for restoring the personal integrity by the methods of silence practice. The forest has become an icon of the individual. The forest is a mirror against which human beings can reflect the sacred dimensions of their individual lives. The forest is a means to approach God (see Bordessa 1991, 85). Since inwardness is characteristic of the Finnish socio-religious personality, the forest can still function as a sacred place also in the Lutheran religion. In the forest an individual has more mental and physical freedom than in the Church. The forest of the traditional Finnish society and the forest of modern Finland are not, however, the same. The modern forest has become designed to serve various ideologies, including religious - not only the Lutheran heritage, but also other ideologies such as nationalizing the landscape and designing the collective image of the forest through architecture. Architects have produced modern buildings where both the wood and the rock are their essential elements. They aim at large concrete structures where people could feel themselves equally at home as they once felt in the forest. (See Bordessa 1991, 88). Through the centuries the forest seems to have maintained its function as the second skin of the nation.

The sacredness of Finnishness

In the early 1800's there grew a national romantic movement in Finland that employed the notion of the sacred in connection with the concept of Finnishness. The young adherents of the National Romantic ideas in 1820's and early 1830's stressed the sanctity of the ancestral land and created a cultural program in order to arouse historical and mythological consciousness of the glorious past in the minds of the Finns. Since Finland had become a Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809, they emphasized the importance of setting the Finns apart both from the Swedes and from the Russians. When Helsinki had become the new capital in 1828, these men founded a society for the advancement of Finnish language and culture in 1831. The society became to be known as the Finnish Literature Society. The main task of the society was to write the history for the Finns by

organizing the collection of oral poetry and folk traditions in the rural areas of the Finnish speaking population in Karelia. The process led to the publication of the Kalevala by Elias Lönnrot in 1835.

But before the Kalevala had been published, the leading members of the society were puzzled by its public image. The chairman of the society in 1831, J. G. Linsén had first suggested that they should create a logo that depicts the culture hero Väinämöinen sitting on the steep boulder with his *kantele* on his knees together with animals that had gathered around him to listen his enchanting playing. Linsén suggested that the text in the logo should read: *Credite Posteris* which means: "those who come after us, have your faith in this". In 1834, before Elias Lönnrot published the first edition of Kalevala, Linsén came up with a new idea. Instead of Väinämöinen, the seal should depict five-string kantele, Väinämöinen's instrument that he had made out pike's jaws. Kantele could be placed on the clouds in the sky with Northern Star (Aurora Borealis) placed above it. The text that circles the picture should be read: *Pysy Suomessa Pyhäinä* meaning the advice or even the duty for every Finn 'to be concerned about the sacredness of Finland (see Anttonen 1993, 33-35).

The message of this symbol was that Finland should be treated with respect and dignity. Her cultural heritage must be respected, her language, people and territorial boundaries kept intact and not violated. Finland must be made a matter of heart for every Finn. In nationalistic rhetoric Finland was considered as sacred space as Israel is to Jews. It is the country of God that already the ancestors had set apart from other countries and sanctified by its own language, traditions and cultural heritage.

The sanctity of wars in Finland

One can see continuity in the various discourses concerning the term 'pyhä' in Finland. The norm of non-violation governing behavior in specific places and especially in regard to their boundaries have been expressed from the prehistoric times up to the 20th century by the term 'pyhä'. In 1900's there are two major ethnopolitical episodes in connection of which the term 'pyhä' appears. The first episode burst out right after Finland had declared her independence on December 6, 1917. The episode was the Civil war. The country had been divided into two competing political camps whose ways of interpreting the political ideals were highly different even though both of them strived for gaining Finland a sanctified status among the nations. Members of the right-wing party

(labeled as 'whites') emphasized both the sacredness of the ancestral land and its traditions and the unrestricted freedom of private ownership of means of production. Members of the left-wing party (labeled as 'red') were committed to the sacred ideas of classless society lacking lines of demarcation between social groups and setting up a nation where equality of all people and common ownership of property were held as the supreme value in life. The right-wing party won the Civil War. When the second world war broke and the Winter War against Soviet Union was fought in 1939-1940, both of the Civil War parties transcended their differences and joined their forces in order to unite the nation in the name of the fatherland.

Winter War is a sacred episode in Finnish history. It is told in stories that form an event-pattern in the sense the historian of religions Ninian Smart has emphasized. The war united every man and woman defending the nation and made it as a whole in the moment that was considered one of life and death. The Winter War has become a myth that gives the Finland and its citizens strength in moments of weakness and despair. It offers a fixing point in time that can be looked back to and used as a source of power. The annual celebration of March 13, when the Winter War ended, is celebrated as a ritual by which the power and inner substance of Finnishness is renewed and enhanced by those who have internalized the myth and the heroism it represents. The victory over the Russians was not achieved as a result of greater manpower, but with feeling of unity and unanimity. Winter War celebrations and narrations follow the pattern which emphasize the Finnish strength (*sisu*), unity and heroism in front of more superior army than the Finns had. Marshall C.G. Mannerheim's formulation of the Winter War forms the canonized dogma of the significance of the war to Finnish identity. In his memoirs (Mannerheim 1953, 373) we can read:

"May coming generations not forget the dearly bought lessons of our defensive way. They can with pride look back on the Winter War and find courage and confidence in its glorious history. That an army so inferior in numbers and equipment should have inflicted such serious defeats on an overwhelmingly powerful enemy, and, while retreating, have over and over again repelled his attacks is something for which it is hard to find parallel in the history of war. But it is equally admirable that the Finnish people, face to face with an apparently hopeless situation, were able to resist a feeling of despair and, instead, to grow in devotion and greatness. Such a nation has earned the right to live".

The Winter War holds its sacred character in its significance for the Finns as sign of unity and unanimity by which independence and sovereignty of the nation was achieved. The heroic war opens up, according to Smart, an inter-

face through which the power of the object flows. It enhances Finnish substance in the minds of those who understand that they are not looking back on random individuals of the past, but individuals who were performatively bonded by their consciousness of the value what meant to be a Finn and what it meant to fight for Finland. (Smart 1983, 25).

Finnish nationalism can be comprehended as a form of religion. According to Ninian Smart a nation is a complex performative construct; it is sacramentally bonded. The nation is like an individual: its land is its body, its population is its mind, its mythic history is its biography, the flag, the monuments and the poetry of its tradition are its clothes. Like a person, a nation has a future. And like a person, it has a religion in its identity and in its various processes of sanctifications. As Smart has written, the nation is a daily sacrament. It is created every day again and again by language, culture and history, in a word - by myth.

The notion of nationhood as a religion contains that the ancestral land is considered as sacred space. This implies that the culture-specific images of man are territorially bounded. According to this image it is the geographical area where one is born and where his or her home and family ties lie that makes a difference and creates a special way of looking at the ancestral land. Smart writes: "To tell the story of how the ancestors settled the land and defended it, developed it and beautified it, is to express the charge the land has for the group" (Smart 1983, 21).

What Smart wants to say is that historiography is a sort of modern myth-making. History does not attach people only to their territory, but also to their fellow-citizens. Smart considers history as a charged narration with special meaning. People's stories of their glorious past, its gains and victories just as well its losses and sufferings, are arranged into patterns of event which they confer special meaning. It becomes a myth for them. Smart (1983, 19-20) writes: "The storytelling is the way the event-pattern is conveyed to us. But that 'conveying' is not just a question of the transfer of information: it is a performative act of celebrating the event-pattern; for the event-pattern is not just flat events, but ones charged with meaning. They include victories over oppression, heroic deeds, and so on. A myth thus may be considered simply as a charged story; in this sense, history is myth, for it is ...a story that has a charge for the people for whom it is the history."

People act performatively according to the mark they acknowledge as one of their defining characteristics. (Smart 1983, 17-18). Any act or an expression of

feelings may have a performative function as long as it conveys messages of marks and boundaries by which people express their identity as individuals and members of a society or an ethnic group. According to Ninian Smart man is a territorial animal. (Smart 1983, 21). Human beings tend to fix their cultural identities in some specific topos, either in physical reality or in utopian (non-topos) reality. It is an anthropological fact that the self-consciousness of human beings is inseparably connected with a territory or a place where they live more or less permanently or that they regard as their origin.

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FEATURES OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CHICAGO

Fejős, Zoltán

Preceding to the period of mass emigration from Hungary, the first Hungarian settlers in city of Chicago, Illinois were the emigrants of the Hungarian War of Independence in 1848–1849. In 1851 about eighty people settled and scattered all about the city. Many found employment at a railway company, others became successful doctors, language teachers, while others became salesmen, restaurant owners, clerks and journalists. A smaller group of the first emigrants took part in the American Civil War. A riflemen league - *Lincoln Riflemen* – was established under the leadership of Géza Mihalóty. Mihály Pipady, who emigrated from Miskolc in 1848 opened the first Hungarian restaurant on the South Halsted street in 1861 that became the gathering place of the first Hungarians.¹

The Kossuth-emigrants were followed by enterprising travellers, businessmen, entrepreneurs and craftsmen. We have very few information on the first settlers, however, it's presumable, that there were some contacts as single relations or personal contacts between the refugees of the Hungarian War of Independence, the early Chicago Hungarians who arrived individually and the representatives of the first labour emigrants.

One of such contact persons was József Beifeld (Byfield). He was born in the multiethnic city of Pozsony (Bratislava) in 1853 and arrived to the United States at the age of 14. He had a great career. First he owned a taylor workshop, then a cloth factory, and later a famous hotel. He bought his first hotel, the Sherman House, in 1902 that he fashioned into one of the most distinguished hotels of the United States, while he had other stakes as well. He died in 1926.² Károly Zádeczky, who emigrated from Gönc (a village in Northern Hungary's Abaúj county) was one of the first Hungarians in Chicago, and worked as a manager in his factory.

"Thousands and thousands worked under his control" as the chronicle says. He could provide with jobs many of his compatriots. It's very likely, that the first people from Gönc and Abaúj (Northern Hungary) came to Chicago through him. His house became a "real 'Hungarian house' with Hungarian friendliness and heartiness" - we can read in an article. The founder of the Hungarian daily *Szabadság* (Liberty), Tihamér Kohányi, whom he also supported during

his stay in Chicago remembers as follows: "His fate was tragical. The overwhelming work abused him, it made him nervous, his fortune was spent on doctors and at last he returned to Gönc, to die."³

Beifeld initiated the first Hungarian society in Chicago also, he started the *Deák Circle* together with Lajos Weber in 1871. The aim of the Circle that organized the small group of emigrants of 1848–1849 as well as more recent arrived entrepreneurs and educated people was to provide opportunity for communication and to preserve Hungarian language and customs. Their activity expanded step by step. The Circle produced jobs for the arriving immigrants and supported the needy. In 1891 with changing its constitution the Circle carried on with its activity under the name of *Chicago Hungarians' Charity Society*. Although, a Hungarian architect became the first president of the organization its official language was German in the first years. In 1895 Adolf Weiner, who was also born in Pozsony, succeeded as president and made Hungarian the language of the Society. Its members were multilingual middle class businessmen, mostly Germans, immigrated from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy successful both in business and social life.⁴

The Society was in good relationship with the city authorities that espoused their activity. The Society enjoyed the support of Jewish charity organizations in Chicago, transportation companies and of American and Hungarian private individuals. For instance in 1900 out of 112 appeals that arrived to them, it fulfilled 92 in the value of about 1500 \$. In three cases it granted large families to start their own business. The society not only granted cash for the needy but fuel, groceries and railway tickets also. The Society counted 142 members in 1901 and within ten years (1892–1901) it distributed nearly 10.700 \$ among the 'poor compatriots'. At that time the daily wage of an unskilled worker was between 1,5–2 \$.⁵ The *Deák Circle* and The *Charity Society* performed a well perceptible transitional role between the early Hungarian settlers and the new immigrants arriving in the end of the 1880's in Chicago.

Big territorial mobility and relatively flexible changes of working places characterized the newcomers before World War I because of the changing labour market. They were motivated partly also by their own intention, that is, they arrived to the United States with the aim of temporary employment. Continuous remigration identified the prewar period. Itinerant life fundamentally influenced the forming of the settlements. The question is how the development of Chicago Hungarian communities appear in this general picture? What are the local characteristics of settlement compared to other American Hungarian settlements?

The differences derive from the geographical location of Chicago. Chicago is situated in the heart of the country app. 630-750 miles from the East Coast of the United States and about 380-500 miles from the industrial region in the Eastern part of the country. Chicago was unanimously the gate to the West in the beginning of the century. It was the westmost city where a reasonable group of Hungarians settled down. Comparatively few turned up more west from Chicago. Only some small 'colonies', 'islands' emerged as St. Louis, Omaha or in the mining areas of Montana or Colorado or around Butte and Denver (the later ones didn't prove to be lasting communities).

According to the statements of immigration statistics, the number of Hungarians moving to Mid-West states became significant only after 1905.⁶

Examining the 1910 census of the city of Chicago we can come to the same conclusion. In the Hungarian centres of Southern and Western quarters, in the sample of 368 persons enumerating the heads of families, 48% emigrated after 1905:

Table 1. Heads of families, per quarter, year of emigration; house owners and American citizens, 1910.

	S.Chicago	Burnside	W.Pullman	W.Side	Total
Persons Emigrated	50	178	115	23	368
1880-84	1	2	6	-	9
1885-89	-	2	14	-	16
1890-94	9	14	11	-	34
1895-99	4	15	8	1	28
1900-04	14	53	31	8	106
1905-	22	91	51	13	177
native	-	1	1	1	3
no data	1	-	1	-	2
Citizen	5	21	21	1	47
House owner	4	28	15	1	48

Source: Census Manuscripts, 1910. Enumeration Districts: 456, 1549, 1571 (South Chicago), 1429-1430 (Burnside), 1448 (West Pullman), 1454, 1456, 1458 (West Side).

Chicago was not the primer target city for the immigrants as the low figures of the 1880-90s suggest for its relatively far location. The Table 1. indicates well, that only the minority of the persons (families) involved in the sample took the first step towards integration and settlement: 13 per cent bought an own house and assumed American citizenship. It is to be noted that these figures do not mean necessarily the same people (families).

The individual biographies can serve as another source to complete these data to be able to ascertain the major types of migration and settlement. However, biographies provide good points of reference, one has to take into account that settlement developed in subordination of the time factor. The majority of biographies in our disposal are dated from the early 1840s, thus, in the documents used early settlers are represented in smaller proportion than in real. In spite of this, it's likely, that this source reflects the major tendencies of settlement in Chicago well.

The biographies derive approximately in half according whether the primer target of immigration was Chicago (or its neighbourhood) or another city in the United States.

Table 2. Immigration targets according to biographies

Source	Persons	1	2	3	4*
Szabadság	130	54	58	-	8
Káldor	47	18	21	-	8
Chicago South Side	281	66	49	67	99
East Chicago	238	27	30	64	117
Indiana Harbor	119	42	37	30	8
Others	37	18	10	-	10
<i>Total</i>	<i>843</i>	<i>225</i>	<i>205</i>	<i>161</i>	<i>243</i>

* 1. Migrating further, 2. Migrated straight to Chicago, 3. Second generation, 4. No information.

Source: Zoltán Fejős: A chicagói magyarok két nemzedéke 1890-1940. Budapest 1993. Appendix, I.,2.

1. The first type: Chicago as *secondary target*. In the beginning the first Chicago settlers arrived from the Eastern States. On the ground of biographies it can be ascertained that the first emigrants in general reached Chi-

chicago after certain experiences, through further migration. In lack of data we don't know how 'pioneers' as Károly Zádeczky got to Chicago. In the period of mass migration the most regular route led from Pennsylvania, from the industrial region around Pittsburgh or from the mining areas to the Midwest. Cleveland or its neighbourhood meant a stop over often.

Some people stayed in Chicago only temporarily as Tivadar Kohányi.⁷ While others 'commuted' among different cities. József Kiss for example started his American life in New York in 1911. First he left for Chicago and after another 6 months travelled to Cleveland. He stayed there for one and a half years when he returned to South Chicago to a steel factory. He didn't stay long but returned to Cleveland soon where he joined the Hungarian group of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).⁸ For others the Midwest metropolis or its neighbourhood grew to be the terminus of their American migration. József Kovács, who emigrated from Kenyhec (Northern Hungary) in 1890 spent almost two decades in Pennsylvania. In 1908 he moved to Chicago, where he opened a liquor store with his large family.⁹ János Zelenák arrived from Bodrogszerdahely, Zemplén County (Northern Hungary) in 1901. First he lived in Uniontown, Pennsylvania later in Huron, Ohio, then he moved to Whiting, South Bend, both Indiana. He settled finally in a southern quarter of Chicago in 1915. Gyula Tóth from Vaján, Ung County (Eastern Hungary) emigrated also in 1901. He worked as a miner in Hollister, OH when after four years he returned to Hungary. In 1909 he emigrated again and settled in Whiting close to Chicago, where he found employment in an oil refinery.¹⁰

In the early times (roughly before 1905) this type can be considered more general than migration directed straight here in the development of Hungarian communities. However, migrating further from East to West was continuous later as well. The favourable work and life conditions stimulated this process. Pál Sebők was born in Tiszabercel in 1882. As his father passed away early, he had to start to work at the age of 10: he became a servant at a big farmer. After his military service was over he got married. He emigrated in 1906 to Youngstown, Ohio where he worked in iron factories. In the hope of better payment for the recommendation of the people of his village he moved to the area of Upper-Michigan copper-mines. He brought his wife and daughter over also. In 1918 the enlarged family encouraged by his brother and brother-in-law moved to Chicago to Burnside, where he became a worker at the Illinois Central Railroad. He died at the age of 91, in 1973.¹¹

2. The second type: *Chicago as primer target*. One who intended to come here had to *know* something about the city of Chicago and vicinity. Either personal contacts or certain previous knowledge could be the source (or both at the same time). The salesmen, entrepreneurs, intellectuals or skilled workers could possess more knowledge about Chicago in the beginning than the unskilled workers coming from peasant environment.¹² However, there are some very early examples against the previous statement: Antal Balogh emigrated from Tiszabezeréd in 1891 and moved to East Chicago, Indiana what he never left.¹³ In the case of peasant emigrants this form came forward from the mid-1900s and succeeded in a larger scale after a couple of years only. In the 1910s compared to the Eastern states the work conditions were better in the Midwest. It was easier to get a job in Chicago and the neighbouring industrial areas than in the mining fields or in the industrial towns of state of Pennsylvania.¹⁴ Those who migrated to Chicago straight, did not necessarily stayed in the city for good. With the industrial development of the area mobility within a more narrow region gained importance. The migration of Hungarian settlers from Chicago, mostly from the quarter of South Chicago to the industrial towns of Calumet Region of Indiana seems to be typical.

There were migrations further on eg. from East Chicago to Gary, Indiana or to Chicago West Side even from here. The life of János Czako examples the combination of the first and second type: he emigrated from Hejce, Abaúj County (Northern Hungary) to South Norwalk, Connecticut. A year later he went to South Chicago and after another three years he moved to East Chicago.¹⁵

Some of the immigrants moving to Midwest arrived to Chicago or to its neighbourhood from the mining region of Southern Illinois. It's possible, that the early Hungarian immigrants who worked in the mines of West Virginia and Pennsylvania found out about the softcoal-mines of Southern Illinois through mining and news reaching the mining colonies. Westville as well as East-St. Louis and vicinity in particular attracted immigrants from Hungary in fairlay large numbers. Workers of these places seeking for better conditions wanting to move to a city, moved to Chicago.

Although, out of the migrants who moved to Chicago some wondered around the country from here. The 50 year jubilee issue of *Szabadság* illustrates it in connection with the biography of Ferenc Bella as: 'Upon arrival he went to West Pullman, but just as almost every immigrant he was

moving around for a time seeking better opportunities, more congenial neighbourhood, getting acquainted with the new country, and learning its language.’¹⁶

3. On the bases of biographies it seems clear, that after the development of migrational chains, that we will return later, the emigrants found an easier way that led straight to Chicago. Regularly, the second or the third emigrant of a family didn’t need to adventure many places before choosing their final residence. Having family in Chicago meant a well prepared way to the city. The case of Benkó brothers, who were probably the most well-known businessmen in South Chicago, renders it more perceptible. The older brother, Ferenc, left Kiszegjóc, Ung County (Northeastern Hungary) in 1885. He went to McKeesport, Pennsylvania first and moved to Chicago in 1891. He opened a grocery there immediately, and became a successful wholesaler soon. His brother, Ambrus followed him in 1903. He started in his brother’s shop, and learned to be a butcher. In 1908 he returned for the last enlisting but he was not declared fit for military service. He got married and returned for good with his wife. He entered into partnership with his brother and took over the shop some time later.¹⁷

The characteristics of Chicago settlement derive from the frontier feature of the city. The evolving Hungarian settlements were far from any other significant Hungarian centres of the United States. In the beginning it meant some sort of isolation also. As an example, the countrywide Hungarian-American newspapers in the end of the last century and at the turn of the century – the *Amerikai Nemzetőr* (American National Guardian), the *Amerikai Népszava* (American People’s Voice), the *Szabadság*, the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (American Hungarian People’s Voice) – in general reported on the Chicago Hungarians as a distant, fairly known community. Sándor Harsányi, who was a Protestant pastor in Cleveland, Ohio at the time, summarized the experiences of his third mission trip to the West in October 1896:

“Undoubtably Chicago with its immense territories, numerous quarters, huge industry, is one of the places that encloses the biggest group of Hungarians. Whether the far west situation or by being scattered or for neglecting the tools of enthusiastic work, I don’t know, but the fact is, that there is very little sign of salutary movement and very rarely only from the white city. (...) I consider it to the circumstance, that moving powers are missing, those not only able to initiate and to espouse single noble and

saint matters but are brave to fight for their success even."¹⁸

The long distance from other settlements, being scattered within the city itself, weak organization of community, missing leaders is the balance of the early years. From one of Reverend Harsányi's remarks it seems, that he was invited for the urge of a worker who moved to Whiting, Indiana from Niles, Ohio (close to Cleveland) not long before. This also shows as the examples of Beilfeld and Zádeczky, that information spreading through family and personal relations played an important role in settlements in Chicago and in its neighbourhood. Two years after his quoted visit Reverend Harsányi established the First Hungarian Reformed Church in South Chicago, that became a significant step in the development of the community.

As a conclusion, it can be ascertained that one of the strongest characteristics of the Chicago Hungarians is that the Hungarian community stands meant small communities within the city in real, as well as many boundlessly dispersed groups and individuals in the immense area of Chicago and its neighbourhood. In addition, the constant altering was also typical to the local Hungarian communities. All this had strong consequences on the development and forms of the immigrants' social and cultural identity.

Notes

1 Pierce, Bessie L.: *A History of Chicago*, Vol.2. (1848-1871). Chicago, 1937.; Ed. by: Tihamér Kohányi: *Az amerikai magyarság múltja, jelene és jövője*, Cleveland, 1901. (Jubilee issue of the 10-year-old Szabadság/Liberty/) 19.; Julian Kune: *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian Hungarian Exile*. Chicago, 1911. 69-124.; Károly Rácz-Rónai: *Az amerikai magyar telepek története*, VII. Chicago. *Külföldi Magyarság*, 1922. No. 13. p. 2.; Géza Kende: *Magyarok Amerikában I*. Cleveland, 1927. 179-180.; Ödön Vasváry: Lincoln és a chicagói magyarok. *Amerikai Magyar Népszava*, February 1939; Gilbert Mihályi: Az első magyarok Chicagóban. *Chicago és környéke*, 11 11 December 1982., 19 February 1983; Gilbert Mihályi: *Kune Julian: a chicagói 48-as magyar Lincoln eszméi szolgálatában*. Chicago, 1976.

2 "Byfield József", Vasváry Collection, Szeged, B6: 75-77., V.Ö./I. 221-222.; *Magyar Tribune*, 24 September 1926 .

3 Kohányi, *Az amerikai*, p. 19.; Returned home in 1905, See, *Szabadság*,

9 October 1905; *Kohányi Tihamér élete, küzdelmei, sikerei és politikai végrendelete*, Cleveland, 1913. 26–27. Sámuel Zádeczky, ‘the old American’ was presumably his brother, who died at the age of 60 in Chicago: *Magyar Hírlap*, 7 November 1913.

4 Kohányi, *Az amerikai*, p. 23.; Kune, *Reminiscences*, p. 144.; History of Cook Country, Vol. II. Ed. by Goodspeed, W. A. – Healy, D. D. Chicago, 1909. p. 792; Pál Berák: Visszaemlékezés a chicagói magyarságra. *Az Írás*, 27 August 1937; On Adolf Weiner see *Amerikai Népszava*, 2 September 1896, *Magyar Hírlap*, 20 March 1910, *Magyar Tribune*, 19 November 1920.

5 *Szabadság*, 12 September 1901. The 1900 Annual Report of the Charity Society: *Szabadság*, 21 November 1901; Kohányi, p. 23.; On Wages see Gilette, pp. 27–28. After a couple of years wages rose to 1,75–4 \$. See *Szabadság Naptár*, 1907. p. 189.

6 Reports of the Immigration Commission. Vol. 3. *Statistical Review of Immigration 1820–1910*. Washington, 1911. 307.

7 *Kohányi Tihamér élete*, 1913. pp. 26–27.

8 National Archives, Washington, DC. Record Group 65, Roll 810/368807. József Kiss was a member of the Social Democratic Party in Hungary.

9 Census Manuscripts, 1900. Enumeration District: 1420.; *Amerikai Magyar Népszava Naptára*, 1912.

10 *Hungarians in America. Golden Jubilee*. Cleveland 1941. pp. 199., 198.

11 On the bases of death bulletin of Pál Sebők (a copy at the possession of the author); *A Chicago South Sidei Magyar református Egyház családi albuma*. Chicago 1942. pp. 52., 71.

12 Cf. Keil, Harmut–Jentz, J.: From Immigrants to Urban Workers: Chicago’s German Poor in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, 1883–1903. *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Vol 68. 1981. 1. 52–97. (p. 79)

13 *Egyházi és gyűlkezeti krónika az East-Chicagói Első Magyar Evangéliumi és Református Egyház és Templom harmincöt éves fennállása jubileumi ünnepére*. East Chicago 1942. p. 61.

14 *Magyar Hírlap*, 13 April 1913.

15 *Indiana Harbori Első Magyar Evangéliumi és Református Egyház családi albuma.* Összeáll.: Balla Zsigmond. Indiana Harbor 1943. p. 37.

16 *Hungarians in America*, 1941. p. 188.

17 Imre Gellért: *Amerikai magyar karrierék albuma.* New York, 1923.; *Hungarians in America*, 1941. p. 188.; Kálmán Káldor szerk.: *Magyar-Amerika írásban és képben.* St. Louis 1937. p. 141.

18 *Amerikai Nemzetőr*, 21 October 1896.

DENOMINATIONAL SPACE – NATION-STATE SPACE*
THE GREEK CATHOLICS IN EUROPE-BETWEEN

Keményfi, Róbert

Samuel P. Huntington's impressive essay and later his book, that aroused a wide-ranging debate, turned the readers' attention to the great fraction-lines of civilizations of the world that are arranged along the different religions.¹ According to Huntington, "the end of history"² is far from being here and the bipolar division has been replaced by a multi-polar world full of conflicts of civilizations. And these fractions are threatening with regional clashes (fraction-line-wars), even with a world war. Two of the nine great civilizations of Huntington covers Europe: the "West" and the "Orthodox" civilizations.³

But where is that borderline? Do the Eastern, orthodox regions belong to Europe's cultural image or the natural, geographical border (the Ural) coincides with the boundary of the European cultural and religious traditions? Can the orthodox world be left out of Europe? Is the cultural fraction-line so sharp between Western and Eastern Christianity that a threat of war can be imminent? After the downfall of the Soviet Union, these questions have been inspiring several essays.

There is a wide-ranging geographical bibliography that aims to determine the geographical content of Europe. Two trends can be identified. An Anglo-Saxon one, that, during the long decades following WWII, sharply divided Europe into a western and an Eastern part according to the political systems (the notion of Central Europe did not exist, for example). On the other hand, the German geographical thinking had a more elaborated image of Europe since the first decades and, considering the cultural and historical characteristics, divided it into smaller regions (eg. Southeastern, Southwestern, Central Europe).

Since the German division, mostly in the countries of the former Habsburg Empire (the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy), the most debated issue has been and still is the exact definition of Central Europe. The main question is not the western division line⁴, but rather the borderline of Eastern Europe. The most varied conceptions, of natural geography, history, economy, art history, ideology and those considering the spreading of cultural traits⁵, made their way in the attempt to divide Eastern and Central Europe. Pál Beluszky, however, calls the attention to the real question, the *content* of Central Europe and not the exact location of the borderline. "So, what is the basis of this division?"⁶

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It can be stated that there is not any uniform system of consideration. We have to investigate, Beluszky writes, the reasons why the language is the boundary in one place, the plants in the other and the river in the third, whereas the whole area can more or less be interpreted as Central Europe. The *substantive* traits of this part of Europe should be defined. He believes that the different definitions of Central Europe are close-knit, not flexible enough, although rather multi-faceted⁷.

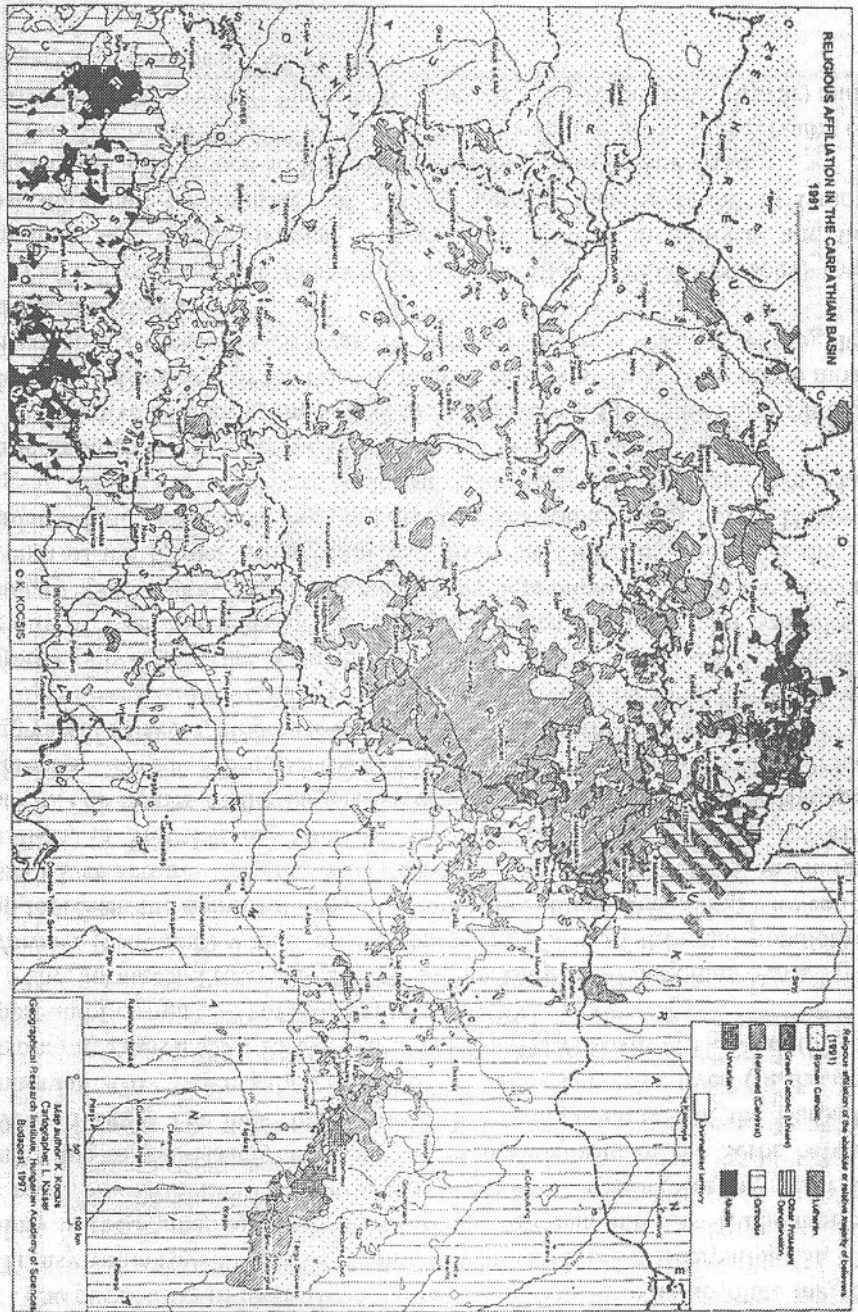
They are talking about concretely defined (by sharp dividing lines) spaces. However, if historical criteria are kept in view, then the changes of historical structures have to be accepted, in other words, we have to face with the *moving* and not with the sharp line-like nature of the borders of Central Europe, we have to face with its *zonality*. Central Europe has not been present since the beginning. It has had different historical characteristics in time and space. So, Central Europe cannot be defined with one straight line as a great region (or as an Euro-region⁸ according to the present usage), only *between*-regions, border-regions should be mentioned.

In the first half of the century, the attribute *between* appeared in geo-political thinking as the middle term in the trichotomous European spatial model and it replaced the first part of the notion Central Europe⁹ to create *Europe-Between*, the political region ensuring the maintenance of the balance between the territories of the Eastern and Western great powers. Arising from that, *buffer-zones*¹⁰ consisting of little states, serving primarily French interests, were consciously created by the peace-treaty of World War I. After World War II, in the bipolar Europe divided by rigid borders, the attribute *between* was replaced by attributes referring to the region's political *affiliations*, such as East-Central or West-Central¹¹ (East-Central-Europe, Central Eastern Europe: the socialist countries; West-Central Europe: West Germany and Switzerland). From the second half of the 80s and the years of the political change, the geo-political term *Europe-Between* (Europe-Between, *Zwischen-Europa*¹²) has returned again. It was partly triggered by the recurring geo-political uncertainty that the region disrupted into small nation-states would become a *crisis-centre* of opposing territorial (separatist) national endeavours of small states on the one hand, and, by its insecure, "boundary" position, it would become a *crisis-centre* as a transitional conflict-zone between the collapsing Soviet Union and the united West, on the other hand. The volume "Europe-Between" with hundreds of maps was edited by Lajos Pándi. Here, we can see the classic three-fold spatial model of Europe (east, centre, and west). The maps, among other things, contain the spatial projection of the 200 years history of Europe-Between. According to

Pándi's phrasing, historiography treats the area he believes Europe-Between (which is different from the traditional notion, Central Europe) as a heterogeneous region between Western Europe and Russia, moreover, as a *natural* buffer zone.¹³ So, this puffer element and aspect as a possible conflict-solving medium has endured in our political thinking up until today.¹⁴ The "puffer medium" can be rather diversified. Between the two World Wars and even today, the ethnic and small state *split up* means that puffer nature in case of Europe-Between. In the buffer-zone, the Székelys and the Saxons settled in the Carpathian Basin with privileges and primarily with defensive function have such a puffer role, as well as the interposed smaller ethnic groups living also in the Carpathian Basin (eg.: as a regional example: the Ruthenians, the Jews and the Swabians).¹⁵ More generally, the types of puffer inside the border-zone can be very diversified, and can fulfil the role of a *cultural* dividing-medium besides the purely defensive and geo-political meanings: for example the *Greek Catholics* living in a, geographically also, in-between position between the western and eastern Christians. After the bipolar world, the fall of the Soviet Union, the revaluation, moreover the *renaissance*, of the European Greek Catholic space can be witnessed in the Huntington-model. According to the moving belt later conceived by Beluszky, Jenő Szucs parts the Eastern and Western side of Europe by the changing boundary of the Latin and Orthodox Christianity. "The concept of the "West" has broadened as the Latin Christianity expanded it."¹⁶ As a result, the "cultural" area of Eastern Europe diminished in the Middle Ages and gradually retired with the increase of the states accepting Rome's religious control. During the Reformation, the areas of the Latin Christianity have lessened. This happened not because the outer frontiers were repelled or because of the secession of the rimlands, but because of the *centrifugal* religious spatial process, from the German speaking areas, the centre, to the rimland. By the spreading of the Reformation, the denominational picture of the western side of Europe has changed. Its stable, homogeneous texture of denominational regions was disrupted and became multi-polar.¹⁷ In the 16th and 17th century, those movements, that emerged in the small states of the Orthodox Europe as an important step of emancipation from, Russia, that has ruled the Orthodox world for centuries as the independent orthodox state, became very important for the Roman Catholic Church because of their expediting of religious union.¹⁸ After the first serious attempt of unification (Firenze 1439), the idea that Moscow, as the "third Rome", is the only protector of the Orthodox believers against the sectarians started to grow further.¹⁹ The Union of Brest was signed after the fashion of the Union of Firenze, in 1596, Poland (in the Polish-Lithuanian State) and resulted in some of the

Orthodox believers' joining the Western Church. A Catholic Polish-Ukrainian area with Orthodox liturgy has emerged in the eastern part of Europe.²⁰ So it is by no accident, that, in 1838-39, the Greek Catholic Church was abolished in the Polish areas annexed by Russia after the dismemberment of Poland.²¹ With the Ruthenians' Union of Ungvár in 1646, the Greek Catholic Church has also appeared in the historical Hungary, among the peoples living under Habsburg rule. The process has continued in Transylvania with the verting of the Romanians living here (1699) and this "church-between" took thousands of square kilometres in area.²² In Hungary, the House of Habsburg, similarly to the Greek Catholic Church of the Polish of Western Galícia, together with the Roman Catholic Church (and often with its serious pressing) attempted to give any help to those who wanted the union to organize a normal church-structure.²³ For example, when the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Várad (1776) was formed, large areas of land were given to them from the estates of the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Nagyvárad (however, not the best lands²⁴) to ensure the perpetuance of the Greek Catholic bishopric. The Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania was growing because of the Romanians verting in great numbers mainly in Máramaros, Szatmár, Szilágy, Fogaras and Hátszeg. Their independent Archsee of Gyulafehérvár-Fogaras was formed in 1853.²⁵ The number of the Ruthenian Greek Catholics has increased further in Transcarpathia as well.²⁶ The number and territorial expanse of the Greek Catholics reached its highest measure by the end of the 19th century in Europe-Between. By the turn of the century a Greek Catholic region with 2 million believers (Map 1) wedged in between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic areas from the Russian Olonyetz government to the borders of Croatia, mainly into the eastern part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.²⁷

After the dismemberment of the Monarchy, the return of the Greek Catholicism into the Orthodox Church was expedited between the two World Wars in Romania and in the Slavic successor states (even in Czechoslovakia). Although the number of the Orthodox Catholics increased a little in the Romanian Transylvania because of the high population growth²⁸, the number of Greek Catholics in Transcarpathia fell back from 64.1% to 49.1%.²⁹ The misery of the Greek Catholics in our region culminated only after World War II. Between 1948 and 1950, one by one, the Orthodox Catholic Churches were abolished and incorporated into the national Orthodox Churches by administrative measures in the neighbouring countries of Hungary (in Romania: 1948; in Transcarpathia: 1949; in Czechoslovakia: 1950).³⁰ Although the Greek Catholic Churches continued to work on illegally,³¹ the number of believers has decreased significantly



because of the measures.

*Changes of the Greek Catholic population living in the Carpathian Basin*³²

Country	Year	Total population	Greek Catholics	Greek Catholics %
Slovakia	1930	3 323 347	212 653	6,40
	1991	5 274 335	178 733	3,39
Hungary	1930	8 685 109	201 092	2,32
	1982 ³⁴	--	228 772 ³⁵	--
	1989	10 374 823	230 000	2,22
Transcarpathia	1930	734 249	360 269	49,10
	1989	1 245 618	350 000	28,10
Transylvania	1930	5 548 991	1 385 452	25,00
	1992	7 723 313	206 833	2,68
Vojvodina	1931	1 624 158	18 026	1,11
	1991	2 013 889	24 000	1,19
Pannon Croatia	1931	3 785 000	12 883	0,34
	1991	4 784 265	12 003	0,25
The area of the Carpathian Basin	1930	23 461 521	2 190 114	9,33
	1990	30 605 540	1 000 884	3,27

The Orthodox Catholic Churches were restored after the political changes 1989-1990, but the rebirth of the Greek Catholic religious life came about only the '90s. Although the Greek Catholic population of Transylvania, Eastern Slovakia and the North Transylvanian region has increased to one million, from a territorial aspect, after 1989, the Greek Catholic Church could not wedge in between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church, but in diasporas. The largest Greek Catholic communities live Ungvár, Munkács, Budapest, Kolozsvár, Szatmárnémeti, Kassa, Debrecen and Nyíregyháza.³⁶

The question what political considerations motivated the neighbouring, mainly Slavic, Orthodox states to abolish the Greek Catholic Church would be answered by paralleling the *ethnic* and *denominational* affiliations, by inter-

preting the connections between ethnicity and religion, because I believe that the answer, together with other aspects and processes, should be found in the Eastern and Central European, ethnically-based nation-conception.

There are two ways (Staatsnation, Kulturnation) of forming the modern nation. The first type (Staatsnation) is based on belonging to the same legal – political frame and the same territory, although territory appears only as a given state-frame. In this model, the religious minorities are identified as one cluster of the social minorities with equal rights. So, even if religious minorities are described somehow, similarly to national minorities, they are not interpreted separately from other social groups.³⁷ Denominational affiliation is irrelevant from the aspect of *state existence*.

In case of the second type of nations (Kulturnation), the common language, culture, and the myth of common origins are decisive.³⁸ However, in the Eastern European Orthodox countries, religion should also be mentioned besides language, culture and origins because of its important role in building and holding together the nation. As opposed to the West, an almost sacral “state-religion” exists in this region of Eastern Europe. According to the Russian Slavophil thinking, those Slavic peoples should also be implied in “the myth of common origins” that live outside Russia, but have the same confession as the Russians. Moreover, they also believe that it is Russia’s (not necessarily political) duty to unite and lead the Slavic-Orthodox peoples in a Pan-Slavic liberation movement.³⁹ Contrary to the state-nation, neither territory, nor the state had any decisive role among the criteria of the culture-state. Territoriality gains significance in the Slavophil thinking in this particular Russian form of nation-state, that is the Russian Orthodox nation has a right to unite and rule the Slavic peoples, in fact, it has to be done. The *symbolic religious-cultural control* exercised by the Russian Empire over these states is often complemented by real territorial control. Religion appears as a cloak, moreover as a means, of the aggressive Russian political nationalism⁴⁰. A particular form of the nation-state appears in this endeavour (Pan-Slavic idea). Such a form, that aims to realize the coincidence of the borders of the Slavic states and the borders of the areas confessing the Orthodox faith. It means the abolishment of peripheral, denominationally homogeneous areas of religious minorities (or their integration in the state-church) by rapid, immediate measures. However, in an extreme case it may have an additional meaning, that the state is willing to extend its rule, even by force, over areas outside its borders but interpreted as its own ethnic and/or religious territories (see the dismembered Yugoslavia and the Serb endeavours). Then the state-border gradually becomes a moving rimland or buffer-zone (fron-

tier).

The primary aim in the abolishment of the Greek Catholic Church in Romania and Czechoslovakia (although Slavic people live in the latter country and there was a strong Pan-Slavic movement, too, the Czechs and the Slovaks are not Orthodox peoples) after World War II was to weaken the minorities, the minority churches and the language use in the minority churches.⁴¹ In Romania, the abolishment of the Orthodox Catholic Church was intensely supported by the fear that the national unity based on the Romanian language would not be enough to be the counterpoint of the mainly Hungarian Roman Catholic and Calvinistic minority living in Transylvania. The unitary national church should also be an important basis of the ethnic identity – equally to language.⁴² The aim is to detach the Greek Catholic Romanians with a “specific Transylvanian identity”⁴³ from the Catholic Church that embraces Hungarians as well. This way religion is a technical means serving a possible national homogenization. This endeavour impliedly serves the preservation of the country’s *territorial integrity*, as well. In the *construction of the nation-state*⁴⁴, the majority nation pursues to diminish the spreading of the homogeneous minority or mixed zones and diasporas, to disrupt and abolish the inner, almost sacralized ethnic boundaries (religious fault-line in this case) on its territory, in other words it aims to fill the whole available space (between the state-borders). They believe that the *equilibrium* of nationalities can only be found only in this (ethnic and religious) state.⁴⁵ Although the churches have been sorely tried for 40 years in the orthodox states of Eastern Europe (70 years in the states of the former Soviet Union) and religiosity was attempted to be repelled, it can be stated that the *national churches* did receive some kind of protection. However, the minority churches, including the Greek Catholic, did not possess any guarantee of perpetuance.⁴⁶ As we see, the ethnic dimension of the concept “culture-nation” (nation as a language- and blood-community) is gradually transforming in the countries with the orthodox state-religion. The Greek Catholic Church does not belong only to the minorities and the linguistically unitary state-nation in the given countries (Romania, Ukraine, and Belo-Russia) is also divided by a sharp religious (unionist P Ü orthodox) fault-line. Nowadays, when the Greek Catholic Churches regained their independence in the post-socialist countries with the orthodox state-religion, safety-politicians always call attention to these regions in their *macro-level* analyses. In these analyses, the places of discourse are the state or national framework, the larger religious communities and the global international stage besides the smaller communities.⁴⁷ These analyses show that in this last decade the religious fault-lines do change (*may change*) the concept of

the East European culture-nation (one language – one nation) and that tendencies similar to the processes prevailing in the Islamic and Far Eastern countries (one nation – one religion) can be observed in the countries with the orthodox state-religion, that sometimes denominational affiliation predominates over religious attachments. From this tendency the question is raised: how is the concept of the religious nation delineated in Europe?

The religious nation does not depend on the territory and the state border, similarly to the ethnically dimensioned culture-nation. Even states can fall apart by religious fault-lines and independent countries can emerge in Europe.⁴⁸ The geopolitical, or “state-breaker”, situation of the Greek Catholics has been analyzed in two countries. Huntington believes that among the eight great cultures the sharp and inevitable fault-line between the Eastern and Western civilizations, that may unleash a war, is drawing through Ukraine. As he writes, the difference between East and West Ukraine is best revealed in the people’s attitude.⁴⁹ Among other things Huntington analyzes the results of the presidential elections in 1994. A sharp line can separate the Greek Catholic regions with their western-oriented election results (Leonyd Kravtchuk and the parties behind him) from the Ukraine that elected an Eastern Orthodox “national” president (Leonyd Kutchma).⁵⁰ The author believes that the result of the election is only a surface indication of the cultural-mental processes that (may) lead to the parting of the country on a long view.

Gusztáv Molnár analyzed the Romanian elections. In the elections of 1996, Constantinescu and the Democratic Convention behind him won with a sweeping triumph throughout the whole Transylvania and this result was enough for the final victory of the presidential candidate, because he could counterpoise the defeat he had suffered in the Regát. According to Iliescu’s Transylvanian campaign, the results of the first (and later the second) round show that Transylvania is wanted to be torn out of Romania, and the elections will be followed by the autonomy and federalizing of Transylvania.⁵¹ The national minorities and even the Romanian-speaking inhabitants (!) of Transylvania bordered by the Carpathians all voted along the civilization fault-line. The European liberal parties won in the western, in this case Greek Catholic, regions (Transylvania), while the nationalist parties with orthodox background won in the eastern part of the country (the Regát). Iliescu’s fear confirms Huntington’s thesis: *cultural fault-lines are not merely boundary-lines, but also factors provoking political tension*.⁵² Naturally, the “specific Transylvanian (containing Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons) identity” has emerged out of many constituents. One cannot overestimate the role of religion, although the Greek

Catholic dimension of the Transylvanian identity has a significant role besides the also important economic and legal (eg.: the Saxon rights) identity factors.

Based on the cases of the countries described above, the western geo-political thinking draws up the developmental trend of the European spatial structure, according to which the integrated area of the unitary Europe will only stretch until the eastern borders of Hungary and Poland, but the outer sphere of influence of the EU, with the help of a very sharp cultural ("West" – "Orthodox") border-line, will cover the area of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and "the more western-like" regions in it, "with Greek Catholic mentality". So it is traceable, that on macro-level a territorially isolable religious zone does exist in Europe-Between, although that only functions in connection with *certain situations*, primarily with *symbolic* functions (e.g.: political elections).

In this territorial-political thinking the question is raised whether or not the Greek Catholic belt is the artificial eastern guard-band of the West. The united Europe conceives this region not merely as a cultural puffer medium, but also provides it with the "dumping-ground" function of phenomena undesired on the western side of the united continent. This Europe surrounds itself with such states that were made "friendly", and, by contracts, economic shares and subsidies, were made willing to handle, for example, the admission (deportee contracts) and the temporary settlement of refugees aimed for the EU, while the united Europe attempts to close its borders before these phenomena (see the contract made in Schengen). This intention prevails especially in the German foreign policy that often departs from the European Union's policy. Germany's primary interest is to end its "peripheral" position it takes in the EU, to surround its eastern boundaries by states that are (already) part of the union, and this way to ensure its position in the centre and its permanent safety. This endeavour, while positions Europe-Between and the Greek Catholic zone in it *inside* the integrated Europe or positions it as a contracted area, still treats it as a *peripheral, transit* region.

As a cultural borderline, the Greek Catholics in their horizontal spatial partition may function as a means of spatial partition in Europe. The concept of border has four basic functions: dividing, connecting, colliding and filtering.⁵³ The Greek Catholic "space-between" as a culture-region has no sharp borderlines. This region itself functions not as barrier, a division line, but as a *dynamic border-zone* described earlier.

Notes

1 Huntington, S. P., *The Clash of Civilization*. In: *Foreign Affairs*. 1993. 3. 22–49.; Huntington, S. P., *A civilizációk összecsapása és a világrend átalakulása*. Budapest 1998.; Mezo F., *A posztmodern geopolitika és kultúrföldrészek*. In: *Valóság*. 1999. 9. 1–10. – It should be noted though, that the science of geo-politics is associated with negative notions in our region, because of its role in World War II. German researchers would hardly use the term even today. The term political geography is more likely to be used instead of geo-politics for the research of the correlation of geographical space and politics.: Pap N. – Tóth J. (szerk.), *Európa politikai földrajza*. Pécs 1997. 1. – About the historical load of the science (geo-politics) and about the use of the concept: I. A. Gergely A., *Kisebbség, etnikum, vallás*. Budapest 1997.; Galló B.; *A mediterrán térség és az európai integráció*. In: Kulcsár K (szerk.), *Az integráció: történelmi kihívások és válaszkísérletek*. Budapest 1998. 96–124. The term geo-politics has no negative associations in the French and English-speaking areas. The word designates the science of the correlation of geography and politics: Foucher, M., *Európa-köztársaság*. Budapest 1999. 17.

2 Fukuyama, F., *A történelem vége*. Budapest 1994.

3 In his volume Huntington shows the two different conceptions of the relationship between civilization and culture. The German sharply distinguishes between the two, while the English tradition considers the two to be each other's synonyms. Huntington, 1998. 48–62.

4 The western border is the line of the Rhine, as the margin of the spread of the German language and culture, and that is the dividing line between Western and Central Europe indicative of compromise. Although it should be noted that this border cannot undisputedly be accepted in the Anglo-Saxon countries and in France (because of its “German” nature – why should it be the German linguistic border?), this dividing line is less controversial than the Eastern one.

5 Natural geographic: the river Bug. Rétvári L., *Közép-Európa: a kohéziós földrajzi erovonalak*. In: Dövényi Z. (szerk.), *Tér-Gazdaság-Társadalom*. Budapest 1996. 293–313.; Historical-economical: The time of the abolition of serfdom. Gunszt P., *Kelet-Európa gazdasági-társadalmi fejlődésének néhány kérdése*. In: *Valóság*. 1974. 3. 18–29.; Art historical: Europe ends where the last Gothic cathedral stands, or Europe ends where the Renaissance influence ends.; Ideologies: The propagation area of the Baroque and the Enlightenment. L. Chaunu, P., *Felvilágosodás*. Budapest 1998. 289. (the map); The spread of cultural traits: eg. the borderline between the spread of the Latin and the Cyrillic

alphabet.

6 Beluszky P., Közép-Európa – merre vagy? In: Földrajzi Közlemények. CXIX. (XLIII.). 1995. 3–4. 223–232.

7 See Beluszky P., op. cit. 223–232. for the different Central Europe conceptions and maps.

8 The region's content and its size is uncertain. The concept of region should be defined by setting it to the framework of the given research. In case of Central Europe with uncertain borders and content, see the approaches of different aspects (historical, geographical, ethnographic and geo-political) on the basis of a large bibliographical reference: Ring É. (szerk.), Helyünk Európában. I–II. Budapest 1986.; Rétvári L., Közép-Európa földrajzi igazsága. In: Földrajztanítás. XXXIII. 1993. 3–4. 17–22.; Bayer, K., Közép-Európa: útkeresztződés és élo paradoxon – Csehország, mint magterület példáján. In: Földrajzi Közlemények. CXIX. (XLIII.) 1995. 3–4. 251–262.; Beluszky P., Változó helyünk Európában. In: Frisnyák S. (szerk.), A Kárpát-medence történeti földrajza. Nyíregyháza 1997. 77–96.; Lendvai L. F., Közép-Európa koncepciók. Budapest 1997.; Carter, F.W., Közép-Európa: valóság vagy földrajzi fikció? In: Földrajzi Közlemények. CXIX. (XLIII.) 1995. 3–4. 232–250.; Ruppert, K., Közép-Európa. Egy fogalom megközelítése. In: Dövényi Z. (szerk.), Tér-Gazdaság-Társadalom. Budapest 1996 293–313. – The term Euro-region, that emphasizes the presently widely used political considerations, also occurs as a definition of Central Europe. Through this term I would like to suggest that the region contains several countries and has a separate geo-political significance. For a geo-politically similar regional division of Europe that also considers the hardships of demarcation, see Pap N. –Tóth J. , (szerk.), op.cit.

9 Mackinder, H., Democratic Ideals and Reality: A Study in the Politics of Reconstruction. New York 1919. The term (Europe-Between) is primarily politically motivated. It describes the small state region that wedged in between the great powers. Pándi L., Köztes-Európa. 1997. 21.

10 Hajdú Z., Az európai politikai földrajz fejlődésének jellegzetes szakaszai. In: Pap N. – Tóth J. (szerk.), op.cit. 3–28.; Pozdnyakov, E., Oroszország esélyei a geopolitikai összeomlás után. In: Kiss I. – Sakelina, T. – Kortunov, A. (szerk.), Doktrínák és alternatívák. Budapest 1998. 86–117.; Miletics P., Egy európai határrégió: Kelet-Közép-Európa geopolitika térben. In: Pál Á. – Szónokyné Ancsin G. (szerk.), Határon innen – határon túl. Szeged 1996. 240–250.

11 Kissinger, H., Diplomácia. Budapest 1996. 377–406.

12 Pándi L., op.cit. 21.

13 It is not only Europe-Between that history can describe as a „natural”

buffer zone. In Europe, such a region is the Partium in the historical Hungary, where the mountains and the plains meet, or the Polish-Ukrainian areas between the Pripyaty-marshes and the Bug(the zone of the Curzon-line) or the region of Alsace-Lorraine.

14 Yugoslavia was a good example. The acquiescent national endeavour, that did not attempt to solve the situation, to make the impossible, to organize the new, ethnically clear states by very sharp ethnic borders, had a decisive role in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia.: Kocsis K., Jugoszlávia. Egy felrobbant etnikai mozaik esete. Budapest 1993. – One sign of the failure: the „IFOR, then SFOR puffer”. By their presence in uncertain ethnic areas with intermediate positions, the troops only treat (delay?), but does not solve the crisis.

15 Csorba Cs., A tiszántúli régió néptörténeti vázlat. In: Kunt E. – Szabadfalvi J. – Viga Gy. (szerk.), Interetnikus kapcsolatok Északkelet–Magyarországon. Miskolc 1984. 17–26. However, it is very difficult to interpret the wide forest-belts between the completely separate Walloon and Flemish areas as a geopolitical or even as a cultural dividing zone. Today the Walloon-Flemish conflict mobilizes separatist forces as well.: Karsai L., Vallonok és Flamandok. Budapest 1986; Pap N., Nyugat–Európa politikai földrajza. In: Pap N. – Tóth J. (szerk.), op.cit. 85–105.

16 Szűcs J., Vázlat Európa három történeti régiójáról. In: Történeti Szemle. 1981. 3. 313–359.

17 About the religious distribution of Central Europe, see the statistics and the map. Rónai A., Közép–Európa Atlasz. 1993. 152–155.

18 Font M., Oroszország, Ukrajna, Rusz. Budapest – Pécs 1998. 164.; Kis I. (szerk.), A megváltó Oroszország. Budapest 1992. 245–304.

19 Szvák Gy., Moszkóvia és a Nyugat. Budapest 1988. 146.

20 For details, see Halecki, O., A nyugati civilizáció peremén. Budapest 1995. 126–128.; Molnár D. I., Vallási kisebbség és kisebbségi vallás. Budapest 1995. 7.

21 Pándi L., op.cit. 30.

22 About the “between” position of the Greek Catholic Church (liturgy, institutional structure): Gesztelyi T., Egyházak a mai Magyarországon. Budapest 1991. 55–72.; Ivancsó I., Görög katolikus szertartásban. Nyíregyháza 1997. Továbbá: Petrassevics, N., Ortodox görögkatolikus vallásos néphagyományok kölcsönhatásai a Kárpát–medencében. In: Fejos Z. – Küllos I. (szerk.), Vallásosság és népi kultúra a határainkon túl. 1990. 74–94.

23 About the formation of the Greek Catholic Churches of the historical Hungary: Pirigyi I., A magyarországi görögkatolikusok története. I–II. Nyíregyháza 1990.; About Poland: D. Molnár I., Vallási kisebbség vagy kisebbségi

vallás? In: *Dimenziók*. 1993. 1–2. 22–39.

24 Data concerning the poverty of these estates can still be collected in the formerly Greek Catholic, but since 1948 orthodox villages of the Partium.

25 Bulk K., A görög–katolikus egyház szervezete és köziazgatása. In: Borovszky S. (ed.), *Magyarország vármegyéi. Bihar vármegye*. Budapest é. n. 420.; Adatokat l. Kocsis K., A Kárpát–medence változó vallási térszerkezete. In: *Földrajzi Közlemények CXXIII. (XLVII.)* 1999. 1–2. 11–18.

26 Bonkáló S., *A rutének*. Budapest 1996. 109–111.

27 Source of the map: Kocsis K. op.cit. 13.

28 Rónai A., op. cit. 158.

29 Kocsis K., op.cit. 15.

30 From 1968, as the result of the “spring of Prague”, the Greek Catholic Church became independent again in Czechoslovakia. András K., *Tények és problémák a magyar kisebbségi egyházi életben*. In: *Regio*. 1991. 2. 3. 15.; Gesztelyi T., op.cit. 69. For the detailed history of the Greek Catholic Church of Transcarpathia, see Botlik J., *Hármas kereszt alatt*. Budapest 1997.

31 In 1991, in the Romanian Várafenes, the Orthodox curator told in the interview that he was a Greek Catholic (!), but “that’s the situation”.

32 The statistical conspectus was made on the basis of the table from Kocsis K., op.cit. and the *A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye és a Miskolci Apostoli Kormányosság Schematizmus* (1982).

33 For the spatial structure of the Hungarian Greek Catholics in 1920, see Bartha E., *Görög katolikus ünnepeink szokásvilága*. Debrecen 1999. 10–11.

34 On the basis of the Greek Catholic Schematism.

35 The unnumbered 45–50,000 people living in diasporas outside the dioceses and the apostolic government complete this number given by the Schematism.

36 Kocsis K., op.cit. 17. For data concerning the whole of the Carpathian-Balkan region, see: *A Kárpát–Balkán régió etnikai–vallási arculata*. In: *Földrajzi Közlemények CXV. (XXXIX.)* 1991. 3–4. 165–189. For the changes in the institutional structure of the Greek Catholic Church, see Sebok L., *A katolikus egyházszervezet változásai Trianon óta*. In: *Regio* 1991. 2. 3. 65–88.

37 Meinecke, F., *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat. Studien zur Genesis des deutschen Nationalstaates*. München–Berlin. 1922. 1–22.; Heckmann, F., *Minderheiten. Begriffsanalyse und Entwicklung einer historisch–systematischen Typologie*. In: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie*. 30. 761–779.

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Bartha, Elek

Several sciences and disciplines have proven that the deepest cultural borderline inside Europe is drawn between the Eastern and Western Christianity. This line starts from Northern Europe, Eastern Finland, from the succession states of the former Soviet Union and draws on through the Baltic states, Poland and Western Ukraine, through the Eastern regions of the present Slovakia and Hungary and mostly through the Transylvanian parts of Romania for thousands of kilometres long and reaches its Southern end in the succession states of the former Yugoslavia. From the part of Western Christianity, mainly the Roman Catholic religion, Evangelicalism, Calvinism and other forms of Protestantism have been and are in contact with the orthodox religion and its national churches by the cultural borderline. Along this contact-line so-called contact-zones have been formed that can be regarded regions of transition from the aspect of few or more elements of religious life and culture.

One of the most important historical consequences of the meeting and co-existence of Catholicism and Eastern Christianity is the coming about of Catholic churches with the Eastern liturgy, together with all the cultural aftermath. The union has come about in several Central European regions, several times, among similar historical conditions. The result of this process is the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church with its 350 year history. Partly because of the historical circumstances at its birth, the often troublesome events of its 300 years long past, and partly because of the various ethnic origins, the Hungarian Greek Catholic people have regarded the question of their own identity, and their relationship to the other neighbouring and co-existent ethnic and religious communities, to be a matter of great interest. That defines a possible direction of investigation. However, an ethnographic research of identity of this kind could provide important aspects to investigate other denominations, other kind of communities in a similar way. The research of identity of Hungarian Greek Catholics has just begun. The relevant data, with those I am going to use, have mostly appeared as "by-products" of researches of different kinds.

One of the most important components of the religious and ethnic identity is the shaping of historical consciousness. It has a special significance

among the Hungarian Greek Catholics though, since they have often faced with the unexplained questions of their ethnic affiliations and origins throughout their history.

Church historiography is one of the main impacts on historical consciousness, where the question of the ethnic origins of the Hungarian Greek Catholics is often raised.¹ Ideas from church historians concerning the continuity of the Eastern Church² reached a wide range of believers through the minor orders. Results of field-works show that many of the believers have heard about the question and take sides in a way, usually by declaring the Hungarian origin, the Hungarian continuity. However, the scientific observations concerning different ethnic origins, and the results confirming these observations³ have not reached a wide range of believers.

However, the image created by the communities about their historical past is different. Several Greek Catholic villages know ethnographic works about themselves and works about the local history and vernacular of the village; and they are often familiar with facts about the settlement of the village. Since investigations on the Greek Catholic topic are rather in an early state in most of the specialities, most of the work is the collection of materials on the field. As a result based on experience, there is a strong relationship between researchers and the local people. And that also leads to a quick feed-back of the local research results. So, the knowledge of the Greek Catholic villagers, communities and congregations about their history is much more grounded than their knowledge about the history of the whole Hungarian Greek Catholicism.

The name *orosz* (Russian) applied to Greek Catholics by co-existing or neighbouring communities, and the name *tót* (~ Slovak) applied by several Greek Catholic congregations and villagers to themselves can be associated with ethnic affiliation and self-identification.

The Greek Catholics of Carpatho-Ukraine were often called *orosz* (Russians), *magyar orosz* (Hungarian Russians) in 19th century portrayals, returns and scientific publications. The *orosz* term appeared in the vernacular, too. In those villages of Transcarpathia with mixed confession, the term *orosz* was often applied by Roman Catholic or Calvinist Hungarians to the often also Hungarian Greek Catholics, usually with a pejorative meaning and often with negative attributes. Most of such data were collected among the Transcarpathian Hungarians in the years following the political change.⁴

Other data show, however, that the term *orosz* applied to Greek Catho-

lics refers primarily to their liturgy.⁵ It's worth noting that the observation had been taken before the political change, in the era before a larger-scale of data collection in Transcarpathia was started and before the rebirth of the local Greek Catholic Church that had been abolished for decades.

The term *tót*, according to my research, is unique. I believe that certain Hungarian Greek Catholic congregations prefer to apply it to their own members, differentiating themselves from the neighbouring, mainly Roman Catholic, Slovak inhabitants. The non-Hungarian, but according to them and the researches not even Slovak, language used by previous generations is part of the collective memory of most of the Greek Catholic congregations of Northern Hungary that are totally assimilated as regards their language and ethnic identity. The language is usually known as the language of the grand- and great-grandparents.⁶ In connection with linguistic identity, I refer back to the Greek Catholics' use of language, and the language of the liturgy and practising, later.

As a given ethnic community's self-identification against the neighbouring ethnic groups is a fundamental part of ethnic identity, the relationship of the members of a certain congregation with other congregations and their members is a similarly important part of religious identity. The Hungarian Greek Catholic Church has such specific traits in this topic that are only typical of this congregation and that make the investigation especially justified.

Mainly Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and orthodox people live together with and next to the Hungarian Greek Catholics. There are areas where the co-existence with the orthodox people is recent, the result of the decades-long incorporation of the Greek Catholic Church after World War II. No wonder that the prevailing attitude in these areas is the rejection of orthodoxy. In the 80s, the era when, according to the soviet example, the Greek Catholic Church had been incorporated into the Orthodox Church was still fresh in the memory in the eastern parts of the present Slovakia. Those priests who refused to accept the incorporation were not allowed to continue their service and they either gave up their vocation or continued it in secret. As a reaction, the Greek Catholic inhabitants of Csicsér, that lies near to the present Slovak – Ukrainian border, did not let any orthodox priest in the village for 18 years, and all the exercises were done with the help of laymen, without a priest. Many received the sacraments in secret. Because of the well-known historical facts, the re-establishment of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia and in Transylvania was

started later, happened parallel with the political changes and in various ways. The still unclear questions of the Church's possession cause a lot of problems in many places. The few data concerning the process do not give a basis enough for an adequate evaluation. One thing is sure, though, that in many re-established Hungarian Greek Catholic communities the utmost enemy is the Orthodox denomination.

The notion of togetherness and yet the need to differ in many points are both significant of their relationship with the Roman Catholics. There were periods in the 20th century history of the Greek Catholic Church when the liturgy and the feasts were modified according to the Latin ceremony.⁷ But the adherence to and pride about the Eastern ceremony have always been present. For example, from the sacramentals known from both of the ceremonies, those performed according to the Byzantine ritual are considered more effective (eg.: the holy water). After the incorporation, the Greek Catholic believers went to Roman Catholic churches in many places.

There is not much known about their relationship with the Protestant churches and inhabitants, and even that information is rather one-sided, concerning such occasional events when Calvinists and Lutherans have had recourse to certain services and benedictions of the Byzantine rite.

Besides the denominational endogamy, the most important point of collision in being in contact with both the Roman Catholics and the Protestants was the different ecclesiastical chronologies. It is still fresh in the memory, even today, that the great feasts of Christianity were held on different days. These time shifts caused a lot of problems in mixed families. The same phenomenon lead to new conflicts in certain Transcarpathian congregations and in the otherwise also troubled relationship with the Orthodox Church.

The most important element of religious identity is practising for the Greek Catholics. Church ceremonies, feasts, customs, the sacral layers of text-folklore and a wide range of liturgical texts belong there. The primary significance of the ceremony and the custom-system existing and evolving around it is that the Greek Catholics join to the Eastern tradition through it, that is what they know as their own, and that draws a distinction between them and the Roman Catholics. The spectacular ceremony is mentioned in the interviews several times and the Greek Catholics often emphasize their pride in and adhering to it. These statements can be illustrated with lots of examples, that are to be presented later.

In the religious layer of the customs, there are feasts, high days and

traditions connected with these days that are only or primarily characteristic of the Greek Catholic religion. For example, the blessing of the crops and the fruits on the day of the ÚR SZÍNEVÁLTÓZÁSA, the blessing of the herbs on the day of St. John the Baptist or the cock-blessing on St. Michael's day.

For a long time, the difference from the Catholics was manifested in the different times of the common feasts as well. This has already been mentioned before, but since it applies to the most important religious feasts as well, time-shift as a denominational speciality deserves attention.

Even the feasts and high days common with the Catholics have their special traditions often exhibitively only of the Greek Catholics. However, these cannot always be regarded as customs characterizing all the denomination, since these are often regional or ethnical characteristics. Such customs can be found in the Christmas and in the Easter tradition, or in the ceremony of the wedding and of the funeral.

Besides the features mentioned above, the Greek Catholic tradition keeps or kept such elements that had fallen out of the Latin ceremony earlier or have survived in it only sporadically, or only in the folk tradition. Practically there is not any Greek Catholic congregation without food-blessing on Easter-day; house-blessing on Twelfth-day is practised in many places as well as the cantor's singing funeral oration. These and similar customs have ceased to be found among the Hungarian Roman Catholics in most places, or can only be found scarcely and isolated.⁸

The procession is an important constituent of several types of identity. Its religious importance is well-known, similarly to the fact that processions, especially those with great traditions, often appear as national pilgrimages, while certain places of worship appear as national places of worship. These statements are justified by the earlier studies of Sándor Bálint and the more recent researches of Gábor Barna, Gábor Tüskés, and of mine. Since places of worship provide points of contact for several cultural fields, their influences can only be revealed through individual and complex investigations. Nevertheless, some common traits can easily be found, especially in connection with the Greek Catholics.

The procession places that specifically belong to the Greek Catholics should be mentioned first. Máriapócs is such a place of worship. It has been playing a central role in the life of the Hungarian Greek Catholics for a long time. Its traditions cover several fields of the folklore and religious life, from the official liturgy to popular religiousness, from the custom-tradition to the folklore.

Onehundred-thousand believers of different ethnic origins appearing in the more significant processions were not rare before the party's official persecution of religion. The number of participants in itself is a very important factor that cannot be disregarded. The phenomenon called muster-concentration, the term borrowed from the ethnography of trade, has an important role in every kind of information-flow, in the direct contact between individuals and communities, in the temporary elimination of spatial distances, not to mention the ground of the connecting functions and its importance in religiosity.

Similarly to most of the important Greek Catholic places of worship in the Carpathian Basin, Máriapócs has been an international procession place from the beginning. It has been regularly visited by Ukrainian, Romanian, Serb, Armenian and Slovak pilgrims besides the Hungarians, and Roman Catholics, Calvinists, Lutherans and Orthodox people have also come. According to data from 1940, pilgrims from 93 villages of Galícia started off that year to participate in the procession held on the day of the Feast of the Assumption in Máriapócs.

Since the political change, Máriapócs's importance has increased again in the confessional life of the Hungarian Greek Catholics. This is partly manifested in the growing numbers of pilgrims, and partly in events like the Pope's visit, when 300,000 people came to the mass, or other international events like the recent international European congress (held in August, 1996) titled "Places of Worship and Pilgrimages", where the Orthodox churches were present together with the Latin ones. Although there are no factual data for the present, one could boldly infer the effects of the facts mentioned above on denominational identity and religious consciousness among the groups of different qualification and profession.

Those Roman Catholic places of worship with greater areas of attraction that are visited by large numbers of Greek Catholics should also be mentioned. Beyond the borders of the present Hungary, it is primarily in the eastern parts of the present Slovakia where the Hungarian Greek Catholics consider the visitation of places of worship in Northern Hungary to be the manifestation of national affiliation as well. Here, Mátraverebély-Szentkút should be mentioned in the first place. Among the functions connected to processions, here we should mention first the regular maintenance of connection with individuals and communities of the same ethnic group, but with Latin liturgy; and through the place it is the maintenance of relationship with the motherland. Further additional elements are the

acquisition of hymn-books and religious prints in Hungarian, the direction of the sacral material culture's relationships with places of worship, and so on... Similarly to other fields of identity, without sufficient data, there is no possibility of even just proposing the important entries.

Linguistic identity is strongly related to ethnic identity, and from many aspects it can even be regarded as part of the latter. Religion has an effect on the linguistic identity in many fields, first of all in practising, in religious information, in the field of education – catechesis and in the sacral folklore. For a long time, the use of the mother tongue has been the most important and most conflict-burdened question for the Hungarian Greek Catholics, and it is by no accident that the monographer of the topic called this issue “the last way of the Cross” for the Hungarian Greek Catholics.⁹

I have already elaborated the topic of the relationship between practising and linguistic identity in an earlier work.¹⁰ However, this phenomenon is more significant in the lives of Greek Catholics than the general problems. The issue deserves special attention in areas with mixed ethnic groups, since there are very few data about it from the reorganized churches of Transcarpathia and Transylvania.

The sacral custom-folklore is part of practising. In some of the Greek Catholic communities its linguistic manifestations have preserved linguistic traces from the times before the assimilation. The Carpatho-Ukrainian dialectical ritual words usually termed *tót* by the performers and presented at Christmas, New Year's Eve, Epiphany or at other occasions still keep the memory of the ancient ethnic group in the communities that became wholly Hungarian by now. The same applies to some of the folk terms that refer to certain elements of religious customs (*szirik*, *hрутka*, etc.).

The written language, that contains texts with religious meaning, is a means of linguistic identity. The language of acquiring and constantly supplying the information essential to religiousness has a special importance, since it works in a different kind of external context and with a different kind of internal meaning than the everyday language because of its sacral nature. Written sacral texts can be ranged into different types according to their nature and function that influence identity differently.

It is well-known that the language of liturgy could not officially be Hungarian until the turn of the century. However, the ban of the Holy See was evaded long before in practice and Hungarian was used in the liturgy to some extent in several villages. There are data proving that “home” translations of liturgy texts were passed round from parish to parish, and cer-

emonies in Greek or in Church Slavonic were carried out in Hungarian in the village by the village priests. The unsettled state that characterized the Hungarian liturgical language for long generated a kind of defensive attitude in the Greek Catholic priests that was complemented with the feeling of indignity. Greek Catholics felt to be insulted in their Hungarian nature, but it only intensified their national consciousness. Ethnography investigates these phenomena because such questions and ideas that kept the minds of the major orders and the intelligentsia occupied reached the people through the minor orders and appeared as powers shaping the mind. Such data are often found during local researches concerning religious experiences.

Books in Church Slavonic have reached our country in great numbers during the last centuries. Travelling booksellers carried these books from printing-houses of Galícia and Volhína through Eastern Hungary to the Balkans. Such prints were found in great numbers in the Basilitan library of Máriapócs.¹¹

The most important occasions of the circulation and acquisition of non-liturgical religious books and prints were the processions mentioned above. In the processions of Máriapócs or Szentkút, the Greek Catholic Hungarians of the neighbouring countries could obtain religious literature written in their mother-tongue, that they could read at home or could use individually or commonly in practice in different forms of prayer-meetings. A direct relationship with practising is clearly traceable here as well.

Researching folk-hymns is also promising. Experiences show that church hymns belong to those layers of individual knowledge that are considered the most abiding. The prayer and the hymns often sung represent a strong bond, and live in the memory of those who get away from their community for a long time. I am not a specialist in this topic, but I see great possibilities in it. The foregoing investigations have mainly focused on the tunes that are the most varied church music tradition among the Hungarian churches and also the most articulated by the local tune-variants.

One cannot talk about religious identity and its correspondences without mentioning the question of endogamy. The tendency to endogamy is still strong among the Greek Catholics. Although I have not done explicit investigations in the question, experiences of other field-works support this latter statement. At times it is difficult to differentiate between local and denominational endogamy, especially in pure Greek Catholic communities. I believe that more profound investigations of endogamy cannot be evaded

in the near future.

However, the Greek Catholic Church also supports another kind of endogamy: professional endogamy. Among the families of Greek Catholic priests, it is common to choose the spouse from another priest-family. For a long time, a traditional occasion of this practice has been the Máriapócs-procession on Elijah's Day, where the youth of the Greek Catholic priests, who often lived isolated from each other, could meet.

There is a lot to be done in the research of the Greek Catholic Hungarians. One of its broadest and most promising field is the research of identity, although the data available is insufficient to have an overall picture about this topic. The political change, the re-organization of the Greek Catholics of the neighbouring countries have led to fundamental changes in this field, and these changes are too close to have a clear view of them. As I mentioned in the introduction, my purpose was not to elaborate and analyse the topic indicated in the title, I only tried to delineate the problems and the possible directions of further studies for myself and for other researchers.

Notes

1 See, more recently: Berki 1975, Pirigyí 1991, Timkó 1971, etc.

2 Timkó 1971. 436.

3 Cp. Eg. Paládi-Kovács 1973.

4 Lots of data can be found in Erzsébet Pilipkó's handwritten notes. The material is under publication as well as my notes collected in Transcarpathia.

5 Bartha 1990. 427.

6 According to the information given by Anna Gyivicsán, a further investigation of the question from another aspect would not be promising.

7 Cp. Bartha 1990. 427.

8 Cp. eg. Bálint 1976. 163.

9 Szabó 1913.

10 Bartha 1992. 109.

11 Ojtozi 1982. 20.

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Hoppál, Mihály

It may be stated with some certainty that for the last two centuries scholars of the history of Hungarian culture have tried eagerly to ascertain what the old religion of the ancient Hungarians must have been like. Now, at the time of the 1100th anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest, this interest is still active, and questions and problems, if possible, are only increasing in number as we learn more and more about details, possible parallels and analogues.

Addressing the members of the scholarly community of Gottingen in the late 1700's, Daniel Cornides naturally spoke of a 'religion' but the first problem that actually emerges in this connection is whether we can talk about a religion at all or whether instead we ought to refer to our subject as a mythology or a popular belief or system of beliefs. A correct and readable summary of these problems was provided in one of Voigt's last lectures (1996).

While earlier research usually speaks of 'ancient religion' (e. g. Solymossy in 1929 pointed out elements of an ancient religion in Hungarian folk tales, mentioning oriental parallels to the motif of the duck-legged spinning castle), Vilmos Diószegi's attempt (1967) was directed at reconstructing the "belief system" of pagan Hungarians. Unfortunately, he failed to finish the grand project that he had laid out so carefully, but he did complete its most important part, the comparison of Hungarian *táltos* beliefs and Siberian shamanism. In other words he invested a great deal of difficult and meticulous labour to assemble a mosaic from its fragments. What are the elements that belong to the system of '(ancient) Hungarian shaman belief'? Instead of using the term shamanism I prefer to speak of shaman belief, not only because it sounds less modern but also because it expresses a degree of abstraction. Shamanism I believe is not a religion but a world view of a kind, a relation to things, to the world and to one's environment. It is not much a collection of sacred dogma as a practice of everyday life.

In 1967 Vilmos Diószegi published a short monograph on *'The Belief System of Ancient Hungarians'* (Budapest, Akadémiai, Kőrösi Csoma Books, No. 4.). In this book he summarises the results of his earlier research regarding the world view of pre-Christian Hungarians and the figure of the Hungarian *táltos*. Naturally, Diószegi based his statements mainly on his research into shamanism, or more precisely on the results of the comparison he car-

ried out between Hungarian popular beliefs and the shamanism of Siberian peoples.

His starting point was the methodological principle according to which he only included those elements of Hungarian popular belief in his comparative study which are not to be found among the neighbouring peoples and of these elements only those which have parallels in the Far East. It is evident that his main interest was in these oriental elements. This is no wonder as his original orientation during his university study was Manchu Tunguz linguistics and only later did he become an ethnographer. As such he left behind him a most coherent body of work, not to mention what is called his Shamanism Archive, which is unparalleled throughout the world.

In the following paper we are going to provide a brief summary of Diószegi's views and describe the oriental elements that he detected in Hungarian popular belief. A summary of his ideas could be that 'the backbone of the world view of pagan Hungarians was a shamanistic cosmology'. He emphasised however that this was not a homogenous world view just as Hungarians were not a homogenous people. He warned about the difficulty inherent in the fact that after the assumption of Christianity the belief system of the pagan era gradually became less potent since remnants of the old faith were subject to persecution. It is a characteristic of oral tradition and ethnic folklore that even in such conditions it retains elements, constellations of elements, motifs and texts for centuries.

One such series of elements is the 'world tree with the sun and the moon' and another is the bird-peaked tree which clearly retains reminiscences of the world model of Siberian shamanism. Diószegi supported his ideas with a multitude of data and the conclusions he draws are thoroughly well-founded (a detailed treatment of the topic in question can be found in Diószegi 1969). Another surviving series of ideas is the set of views regarding the underworld. Talking of these, Diószegi points out that "on the basis of the image of a land of snakes, lizards and frogs which is presented by Ob Ugrian, Samoyed and other shaman-faithed peoples, it is possible that the faith of Hungarians in a similar underworld also goes back to pre-Christian times and was thus once a part of the cosmology of pagan Hungarians" (Diószegi 1967:21).

The most coherent part of Diószegi's explanations, in fact of his life's work, is the comparison between the tradition of beliefs surrounding the 'pagan Hungarian *táltos*' and the phenomena of Siberian shamanism. In Hungarian popular belief the shaman is selected for his or her mission after an illness, just as in the case of the shamans of most Siberian peoples. Apart from selec-

tion through illness, other features are the experience of some sort of a 'calling', a long sleep and the dismemberment of the candidate's body which is followed by reassembly - both the latter are experienced in a state of dreamlike vision (for more details on this question see Hoppál 1989, 1995).

The correspondence between the Hungarian features and the distant, Oriental tradition goes well beyond the rough outline - it extends to details like the candidate's reluctance in consequence of which he or she becomes seriously ill or the rite of passage which usually means climbing the shaman ladder or the tree that reaches the sky. It is worth noting here that of all the Far Eastern data cited by Diószegi the ones that come closest to Hungarian *táltos* folklore are the parallels from the Altaie Turks, Tuva and Mongolia.

Diószegi lists the objects which belong to the *táltos* shaman's equipment - the drum which served as vehicle for the trance journeys to the other world, the head-dress which was ornamented with birds' feathers or was shaped like a crown and adorned with antlers and the *táltos's* tree - as each shaman had his or her own tree (cf. Hoppál 1994:22-228, pictures, Yakut data and Diószegi 1967:91). I myself had the occasion during my Siberian journey to see a shaman tree in a Yakut village and to photograph the Nanays perform their animal sacrifice in front of the three *туру*, which is the name of the sacrificial tree.

Speaking of the *táltos* shaman's activity, it is the etymological analysis of the Hungarian words *révül-rejtekezik* (to go into a trance, to hide) which leads us into the area of Ob Ugrian parallels (as Balázs pointed out in his 1954 article, cf. Diószegi 1967: 95-103), including details like yawning which is a sign of the commencement of trance or an altered state of mind. Diószegi's most detailed analyses regard the struggling of the *táltos* (1967:108-122) and it is noteworthy that these narratives are perhaps the most complete surviving presentations regarding the shaman's struggle. These usually take the form of a bullfight, or more precisely the shaman's animal-shaped helping spirit fights the helping spirits (*tin-bura*) of the other shaman. The best parallels and motif correlations are to be found in the material collected among the Yakut and the Buryat Mongolian people and it is from here that Diószegi himself cited them. Diószegi's work is not a mere comparison of individual elements but of coherent motifs and, ultimately, of the entire image system. He pointed out that he found a system of images which form an organic whole and 'among which there is no part or detail that is not paralleled among the images and notions of the shamanic faith of the shaman ladder or the tree that reaches the sky. It is worth noting here that of all the Far Eastern data

cited by Diószegi the ones that come closest to Hungarian *táltos* folklore are the parallels from the Altaie Turks, Tuva and Mongolia.

Diószegi could not be very well acquainted with the material of Manchu shamanism and thus did not rely on it to any particular extent. It must be said in his favour that until a few years ago Manchu scholars who lived in a minority in China were prevented from publishing their own works and even now their work mainly appears in Chinese.

During my study trip to Uyguria in 1995, I met a young scholar belonging to the local Manchu minority, the *Shibo*. Kicheshen had only recently sent off an English translation of his richly documented paper on the shamanism of his own people. In this the first similarity with Hungarian features is that the shamanic candidate, usually when still a child, falls ill which indicates to the people around him or her that the person in question has been selected by the spirits for the shamanic mission. He or she must undertake the task, no matter what suffering it entails (Kicheshen 1996:5, or as the second line of a related Hungarian folk song says, 'he must go through hell'). Thus, for example, the Shibo candidate must climb the ladder that reaches the sky and is built of sharp knives (*chakur*) so as to meet the main deity of shamans (*Isanju Mama*). (Representations of the shamanic pantheon and of the ladder had been published in Stary 1993:23 1, 235).

In the Manchurian city of Yilin the local Manchu colleagues have assembled in the last few years a collection of several objects from the attributes of Manchurian shamanism. They collected shaman costumes, drums and other ritual objects of the most varied kind from the different peoples living in the area (e.g. Dahur, Shibe, Oroch, Evenki, Hezhe). Among the objects is a clay statuette which represents a breast-feeding woman with an eagle's head. In answer to my question they told me that this woman is the mother of the first shaman who was inseminated by an eagle (her name is *Ise n-mama*).

This myth, the origin myth of shamanism seems to exist not only in Buryat shaman mythology but all over Siberia (and Eurasia) with the eagle and the shaman both figuring, to an equal degree, as mediators between the worlds of people and of the gods (Eliade 1972:69-7 1, further examples in Halifax 1982:23). The Tunguz Gilyak people, for example, use the same word to signify eagle and shaman. At any rate the mother of the tribe of shamans was begotten by an eagle of heavenly origin which is a motif that bears noteworthy similarity to the basic motif of the origin myth of the tribe of Arpád, leader of the Hungarians of the conquest. This is the myth of Emese's dream, in other words the myth of the Turul bird (Regarding this see Róheim 1917, regarding the ani-

mal-shaped mothers of Siberian shamans see Lommel 1967:62. A very interesting analysis of Almos has recently been published in Dümmerth 1986).

It is interesting that neither Diószegi nor Jenő Fazekas gives any attention to this motif and even Dezső Pais (1972:302-307) only mentions it as a tribal totemistic legend in his linguistic work entitled 'A magyar ősvallás nyelvi emlékeiből' ('Some linguistic remnants of the ancient Hungarian religion'). The Turul legend was recorded by the chronicler Anonymus in his *Gesta* thus we have all reason to consider it not only old but also authentic since Latin chronicles borrowed and retained a great deal of folklore motifs. It is not entirely unfounded to assume that at the time when the Nameless Chronicler was working there were still bards living and working from whose 'chatters and silly stories' the chronicler may have heard or borrowed this motif. The institution of the king-shaman is well known from Korea where it functioned during the time of the Silla dynasty in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD (which dynasty is assumed by Korean scholars to have originated in Inner Asia (Covell 1986:139-137), see the example of crowns adorned with a world tree and of the horses that fly to the sky).

Still talking about Manchuria and the Orient we must add that one of the basic motifs of Hungarian *táltos* stories, the 'bull-fight' (meaning a fight between shamans) is to be found among many Turkic peoples (e.g. in Kazak folk stories) and it also survives in the form of a popular game (sport) among the Hui tribe which lives in the Xhingjiang area. The director of the Ethnic Minorities institute of Yilin still remembers having seen such games in his childhood. Fu Yuguang, an expert in Manchu folklore and oral tradition, has told me that this game, i. e. the sport of stopping the bull with one's bare hands, is also known among the Manchus. Three or four decades ago young men would not elect a man leader unless he fought the bull bear-handed. Such men were then called *batur*. As is well known, this motif survives not only in Hungarian *táltos* stories but also in the 19th century poet János Arany's epic poem, *Toldi*, as a sort of vague reflection of long bygone Oriental connections. It can be no accident that the Hungarian words 'Álmos/álm', *Emese*, *Turul* and *táltos* belong to one etymological group and also outline a myth cycle.

Another interesting element of the set of beliefs surrounding the Hungarian figure of the shaman is the everyday meaning of the word *táltos* which is none other than the image of a horse of great strength or extraordinary abilities. Since it mainly occurs in folk stories, the *táltos* horse has been to some extent ignored by Diószegi's analyses. In folk stories it appears as a winged, flying horse. This correspondence is probably not accidental, since in Yakut

shamanism the shaman appears in the form of a stallion while the helping spirits invoked are of the female sex (from the early part of the century, based on G. V. Xenofontov 's collection, see Balzer 1995: 178).

Here as well as in the traditions of other peoples the shaman enters sexual intercourse with the helping spirits and/or the entire session can be transcribed in sexual symbols (as in the case of the rein-deer sacrifice among the Ostyaks). This aspect of shamanism has been little researched thus far (it is mainly drumming that is usually interpreted in this light -Harnayon 1990), even though the French scholar Roberte Hamayon 's explanation is based on a very convincing logical argument when she points out that the essence of the session is that 'the shaman must obtain a woman from the world of spirits' (Hamayon 1995:418).

The image of helping spirits as sexual partners is quite wide-spread in the shamanism of Siberian peoples (cf. Basilov 19484:53) and it might be worthwhile to examine the character of the spirit helper-lover which appears in the Hungarian cycle of belief surrounding the figure of the *lidérc* (will-o-the-wisp) (a reference to it was made in Pócs 1992:48), as it is possible that this would reveal a further shamanistic element in Hungarian popular belief.

The *Emese Turul* motif is not mentioned either by Hungarian scholars (Gunda 1957) nor by those working in other countries (Róheim 1954) even though they were examining the remnants of totemism in old Hungarian shamanism. They did, however, mention an ancient element, probably of oriental origin, and this is the use of 'magic mushroom' (*Amanita muscaria*) in order to achieve the altered state of mind (Czigány 1980). This article is little known in Hungary as it was published in the *Slavonic and East European Review*. Similarly little known are F. Goodman's (1978) and Jenő Fazekas's (1967) studies. They both examined, one by one, the categories of Hungarian 'shamans' on the basis of the available linguistic material. They distinguished the clearly circumscribed social roles of *~.i~os garabonciás, néző, boszorkány* and *regös*. (Cf. Pócs 1994).

Without going into details we must mention that the word which forms the root of *regös*, which is also present in our words, *révül_(reitezik)* originates in the oldest, probably Ob Ugrian (perhaps Uralic) stratum of our language (Cf. Balázs 1954). Together with the word *kiált* it retains the memories of the shaman belief of the Ugrian era (*kalált, kaj, hal, hwi,*) but *hejgetés* can also be included (Mészöly 1952, Demény 1994), in other words the memory of shaman songs has very probably been retained by our language and there are also traces of it in folk customs. (e.g. *regölés, hejgetés*).

The *regös* question can be seen in an even more interesting and more clearly historical perspective if we recall the explanation of the archaeologist István Dienes who assumed that in the horse-riding nomadic society of the age of the conquest, which was similar in a typological sense, there existed institution-alised shamanism. The shaman partly played the role of the organiser of the ceremony and partly that of a bard, occupying quite a high position in the social hierarchy.

"The institution of the sacred monarchy was meant to support the structure of the state organisation through the means of religion, by institutionally controlling social consciousness. The order of the shamans, who were in the service of the court, was organised around the sacred king." These enjoyed a privileged position under the leadership of the much respected shaman and "...their main task was to keep alive the circle of legend surrounding the founder of the dynasty and his progeny as well as to laud and glorify the current monarch and his leaders at any one time and to enhance their prestige." (Dienes 1989: 376, 383).

Besides these there existed also the healing shamans who attended to everyday tasks of healing, as we can observe to this day all over Siberia. In fact the number of these is even increasing at the present time. With the help of *regös* bards (Dienes 1985:387) fragments of the ancient heroic epic survived through centuries, as is witnessed by numerous references. We find it likely that certain motifs of the Toldi legend which hint at an oriental origin also survived in this fashion. The same is probably true of certain images in folk stories (e.g. the winged *táltos* horse, about which we are planning a major study in the future, cf. Kiss 1995).

Quite naturally, critical remarks are also repeatedly voiced regarding the oriental elements in Hungarian popular beliefs (e.g. Géza Róheim, Tekla Dömötör). Gyula László questioned Didszegi's entire theory in 1976 in an article which he wrote in memory of Dezső Pais entitled 'Különvélemény ősvallásunkról' ('A dissenting opinion regarding our ancient religion'). In this he voices his disbelief regarding the possibility of correlation between our word *táltos* and the word meaning shaman. Referring to Dezső Pais, he questioned the etymological evidence of the Turkic origins in spite of the fact that words that correlate to the stem *tal* are not to be found anywhere else. But even he did not deny the identity between folklore texts and certain motifs. He quite logically pointed out that obvious differences which separate *táltos* and shaman must be taken into account as well as correspondences (László 1990:169). Indeed the *contrastive* research which is to collect differences is

still a task which has to be completed but that will be the topic of another lecture or paper.

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JOURNEY INTO THE UNDERWORLD *

AN EXPERIMENT TO INTERPRET THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF SHAMANISM

Szabó, Csaba - Takács, András

Shamanism is a deep rooted belief of Siberian cultures. Its central figure is the shaman who mediates between the human and the spiritual world. One of his main characteristics is that he reaches an altered state of consciousness, which helps him wrestle successfully with the problem he intended to cope with.

The shaman cosmology divides the universe into three spheres: the upper-, the middle- and the underworld. The upper- and the underworld are the spiritual spheres, where gods, spirits and ghosts live. These two spheres break up into even more sub-spheres. Depending on the different cultures their number can be three, seven or nine. The middle world is the habitation of people.

The shaman must be familiar with the structure of the whole universe and all of the ghosts and spirits of it. These figures play an important role in his life. They help him to initiate and to find his way, and to cope with the problem when he is taking his journey into the underworld.

One of the basic experiences in a shaman's life is the so-called shaman-illness. Its visible signs are similar to those mental states which are diagnosed as psychosis or depression in current psychiatric terminology. We know from several studies that in this special state the Siberian shaman is lying unconsciously for days or weeks, or in other cases he disappears and stops the communication with his society. This state is similar to a metaphorical death, where he goes through a total bodily and mental disconnectedness.

The recovering from the shaman-illness means his revival and initiation, and he also gets the spiritual strength that is necessary for his coming work. This rebirth into a higher state of being makes him able to help others, to heal the sick. If one has not experienced the heal himself, he will not be able to help others, says the ancient wisdom.

It is important to emphasise, that contrary to the priests of world-religions, the shaman does not prepare intentionally for his new identity. He gets his calling from spirits, who later endue him with special powers. The shaman, very often, tries to reject this calling, but later, usually suffering from the shaman-illness, he undertakes it, goes through the hard process of initiation, and finally accomplishes the way of shaman ordered by the culture he lives in.

During the rites the shaman wears special objects on his clothes and a crown

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on his head, which give him even more strength in his work. But his main instrument is his drum. Even its preparation is an important part of his learning process and initiation. It is round like a disc, covered with leather and decorated with painted symbols related to the structure of universe mentioned above. First, the shaman warms it up, he says to weak it up, at the fire, and then, like a good horse, it flies his owner into the underworld. It also helps him to wake up the spirits and call them to the place of the rite.

Studies on shamanism usually focus on the behaviour and trance of shamans and do not pay much attention to the mental processes which are going on in the other participants of the rite. Vilmos Diószegi mentions somewhere how deeply people, who are present, get involved into the rite, how they follow the shaman on his journey and how they become more sensitive to suggestions. Their mental state also changes in more respects. Their imagination becomes more vivid, and they feel that the time and space are changing dramatically around and inside them. These experiences are very similar to those in hypnosis¹.

In our laboratory experiment people were asked to enter into the underworld and to take a journey while drums were on. We focused on three questions. How do the persons' suggestibility and perception change? How does it depend on their original hypnotic suggestibility? And what kind of images and emotions do they meet during their journeys?

Methods

Subjects

28 university students volunteered to participate in the experiment: 21 females and 7 males. They were given no money and no credit point for their participation. They were told that the experiment would be a shaman journey.

Procedure

Subjects were asked to make an imaginary journey in the underworld, while listening to the drums. The instructions and the rhythm of drumming were in accordance with Harner's proposals (1997).

The instructions were the following:

"Shamans live in many places even nowadays. Once upon a time they played an important role in the life of our forefathers, too. They were healers, they helped to maintain the health of both the individuals' and the community's soul and body. They knew the effects of plants, they frequently used them in the course of

healing. There were shamans who had their visions by using certain drugs. Other shamans used drums in the course of their work. The drum was called the shamans' horse because they made their underworld trips by the help of drums.

In the next experiment you may take a journey of this nature. You'll hear drums similar to a shaman's drum. This drumming will help you in taking a journey into the underworld."

After this the subject was seated comfortably in an armchair and the instruction followed like this:

"Imagine a hole in the ground, something you've seen sometime in your life. This can be a childhood memory or something you've seen last week or today. Any kind of passage leading down is proper - a den, a cave, a hole in a tree-trunk, a spring or a swamp, anything. It can be a man-made hole as well. The proper hole is the one which is comfortable for you and which you can imagine. Look at the hole for a while without entering, observe all the details..."

When the drumming begins, imagine this hole, enter and begin your journey. Through this entrance go downwards in the tunnel. In the beginning the tunnel may be dark and dim, usually sloping moderately, but certain parts of it can be steep as well. Sometimes it seems to be ribbed and it bends many times. There are some who pass through the tunnel without perceiving it. Sometimes one finds a stone-wall or other obstacles in it. In this case walk around or find a hole on it to pass through. If you don't succeed, come back and try it again. Never make too much effort during your journey, because if you try it properly, you should succeed effortlessly. The most important in the journey is the moderate way of performing your actions, between making too much and less than enough effort. At the end of the tunnel you'll reach the surface. Observe the sight, make a tour and notice all its characteristics. Discover everything, until I am calling you back. At that moment come back through the tunnel, on the way you went down. Bring nothing with you from there! This is only a discovery." (Harner, 1997. p. 57.)

After this the drumming has begun.

Measurements

The drumming lasted for 30 minutes, but after 15 minutes the test suggestions of the Stanford Hypnotic Susceptibility Scale form "B" were given the subjects (SHSS/B, Weitzenhoffer, Hilgard 1959)².

At the end of the experiment subjects were interviewed and the tape-recorded

text was written down for further content analysis. Subjects rated their subjective involvement, they rated the depth of their journey on a 10 points scale, where "0" means that they remained on the surface and "10" was the deepest possible point of the underworld. After this they filled out the Phenomenology of Consciousness Inventory (PCI, Pekala, Wenger, 1983.) for rating their subjective experiences. This is an instrument for retrospective measurement of subjective experiences on 7-point scales. Subjects rate the quantity of change in the perception of time, or in their body image, the degree of the vividness of their imagery, the pleasantness or unpleasantness of their experiences etc.

Separately, about one week later, the subjects' hypnotic susceptibility was measured with the Stanford Hypnotic Susceptibility Scale, form "A" (SHSS/A, Weitzenhoffer, Hilgard 1959)³.

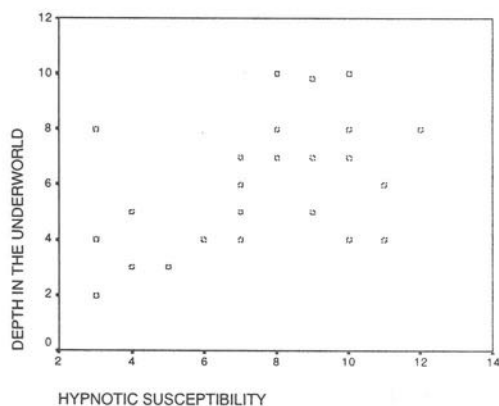
Results

The depth of the journey

There were significant individual differences in the subjective involvement. The average depth was 6,03 $sd=2,45$. The deepest point rated by a subject was "10", that is the deepest point of the underworld, from where one cannot go deeper; the least deep point was "2". The subjects' personal involvement was affected by their hypnotic susceptibility. The higher one's hypnotic susceptibility was, the deeper his involvement appeared. The correlation was significant ($r = 0,55$ $p < 0.01$).

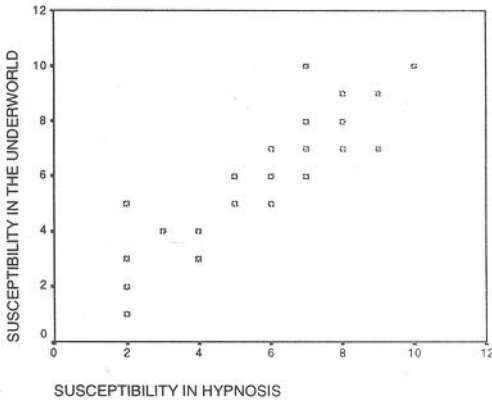
Depth in the underworld and the hypnotic susceptibility

The susceptibility for suggestions



Results show that, while listening to the drumming and taking their journey into the underworld, subjects became more susceptible to suggestions. They became susceptible to such a degree as if they had been in hypnosis, $r = 0,55$, $p < 0,01$.

*Susceptibility in the Underworld and hipnosys
Body image, space and the perception of time*



Distortion of the body image was a general phenomenon. They could become very little to be able to pass through the roots, they could fly and sometimes they felt tiredness while they were sitting in a comfortable armchair in reality. The change of the body image was rated to 3 on the 6 point scale of the PCI (sd = 1,66).

“So, I was slipping, slipping for a while, through a lot of roots and there was very little space. And later it felt as if I had become a little smaller. And then there was enough room.”

“And there was a moment, when I thought: still, I don’t need to suffer, and than... moving up like a fish, so I could reach the surface, hence simply I started upwards... and thus there was an area I could go into. I reached the surface but I came down with the same motion, as if a had taken a breath.”

“And suddenly I realised that I am like a flock, a piece of feather. And so, being a flock, I could descend on my back. So, turning my back to the deep... so I felt descending. For a long time, for a very long time... so slowly... so

gently... really, as if I were a flock... and that was very good for me."

There was a distortion in the subjects' perception of time. Practically nobody could estimate the length of the 30 minutes of the experiment, not even approximately. There was a person who perceived 3 minutes, while there was another who perceived 3 hours (means: 49,7 minutes, sd = 50).

Descending into the underworld - the question of effort

Results show that if someone makes too much effort, descending won't be successful.

"The first thing I did was trying to imagine the opening you asked. This would've been the entrance of the Sirok castle first, but I was not able to reach it, ...that was in a very high place, and I could not go up... I think I was not down that deep... But I was very conscious. I wanted to go by will."
-Did you have any idea about that entrance in advance?

"Yes, I thought about this entrance at Sirok. That was what I have seen at the end, down, under me. I didn't succeed, I stayed at first, and was looking up, that I have to climb there. So, in reality I climbed up there many times, and I know the place, I even know where to put my legs, and then I was climbing and climbing, and it was very dark in there, and I couldn't enter because it was very dark."

According to the experiences of several journeys it becomes clear that the easiest way of succeeding is not through craving to get down at any costs, but through being open, being willing to go down if there is any chance to it.

"There was a little door made of oak. It was constructed of timbers, it was round... I looked around whether there was anybody seeing me and whether I could go down or could not. But suddenly, as if someone had pushed me, I fell down through it."

The Importance of the Drum

The drum seems to be a basic component of the shaman's journey. According to the subjects' reports, the drum takes over the leadership from the conscious ego, and like an inner centre of power, leads and controls the entering into the underworld, and the speed and direction of the journey.

Our research has supported the claim of shaman-cultures to a large degree that the drum is the "horse of the shaman", it is his carrier in his journeys.

According to the accounts of those people taking part in our investigation even the acoustic perception of the drum (or actually its rhythm) is changing. The steady rhythm applied in the research situation was perceived as changing by the participants of the experiment. It has slowed down, has become faster, dominant accords have strengthened and faded away. This imaginary change of the rhythm was often parallel to the speed of the journey, to the experienced emotions and the visual material.

"The music was changing. It has become faster and more intense. It was the most intense when I was crouching on the dolmen, and probably this urged me to go into the forest, for it had become faster and more impulsive and then I had to do something. It was imperative, as if it was saying: 'Enough of crouching, get moving!'"

"First I felt the music rather rough. However later on I felt it to be different. It sounded completely natural. ...as if it had not been a music outside of me, but something natural around me or inside me. It was also getting faster and there were beats and accords that were shortening and were following each other faster and faster. I was waiting for them to shorten completely so that they would become something else. Or that they would suddenly transform into something, or that there would be something very loud, a tremendous drumbeat, or something that would last forever."

"So, what happened was that I was standing next to a big...some kind of a big tree all alone, as if in a white veil, like in an almost transparent, muslin-like veil and that music...it just did not let me go away from that place."

In Trance ?

In the anthropological and psychological terminology the interpretation of the notion of trance is rather vague. In this study we do not try to interpret this psychological phenomenon either, but by quoting these accounts we intend to refer to those situations that may indicate the development of states of trance during a shaman's journey.

"When you opened your eyes at the end, you said you felt very hot. What was the feeling like."

The fire at the end was very surprising. I felt it when I was over. At the place where I went down I was already out in the open air. Right after the music has stopped, there were like huge flames of fire. Then I felt as if I had reached the bottom, which I actually did not. However then I felt as if I had... I would have liked to stay there the best. However, then I had already been over it. It felt very strong and that was good. Then I was waiting for the music to play again."

The altered states scale of the PCI questionnaire showed a medium degree of change and relevant individual differences ($x=3.42$, $sd=1.44$).

The change in the state of mind is also indicated by the fact that, while hearing the drum and walking in the lower world, the participants were more susceptible to suggestions. The typical sign of deep regression was that those, taking part in the experiment, to put it in a little exaggerated way, almost forgot to speak. Starting their account of the journey they struggled hard to find the words and formed sentences that were grammatically incorrect. This grammatical uncertainty hasn't disappeared until the end of the accounts, when the conscious "I" could govern the verbal structures again.

Discussion

All the people who took part in the experiment had the same opinion that they had experienced something novel during their journey. All of them, except one who gave an uncertain answer, said they would be happy to take part in an investigation similar to this one in the future.

A major part of them were not invited to take part in the experiment but they themselves asked whether they could participate in it, having heard the accounts of their friends who were former participants. It seems that their first journey was a lasting and positive experience for them. They had had the opportunity to gain experiences about themselves in another spiritual dimension. That other spiritual dimension can be associated with the unconscious region of analytic psychology. The journey was a real one, incredible distances and depths of the psyche were accessible within a given time, often giving a sense of going somewhere, looking for something, finding something.

The psychic reality and authenticity of the visual and emotional experiences - however bizarre and irrational they seemed from the point of view of the conscious "I" - were not questioned by any of the participants of the experiment. Even with the help of rather superficial psychoanalytic references, they could more or less identify the travel-experiences bringing about vivid emotions with

former actual and many times traumatic situations in their lives.

In some cases the journey contributed to the personality development described as individuation by Jung, which contains the experiencing of the big ideas of life and the positive archetypes of the soul, as well as their integration in the conscious personality.

The most typical example of that is the travel-experience of one of the girl students, and its subsequent impact.

"Everything went on like that: I was walking on and on in a labyrinth and then there came like a big hall. That was a cavern. It was covered with soil and rocks and there was a throne at the end. A throne. There was nothing else. ...And I sat in the throne, I sat in it! And then people came in. But they weren't people, but like... well, they were people. And like they were dancing too. They were like in a big trance. And people were brought to me, and animals and I healed one, I made a bird out of the other. ...that one flew away and the third became a tree branch. ...And then I wanted it to rain. I don't know why I wanted it, but I wanted it and then I signalled like this, the way rain falls on the ground, and they like started moving, just like rain drops reach the ground and then it started raining up above. And I like designated a certain, well, not person in the crowd to go up and then he went up and came out as a tree or a flower..."

In the afternoon of the day of the experiment this girl said she had been thinking about what love and responsibility means in this world all day long, since her experience in the morning.

Concluding the results of the experiment we can say that the healing rites of shaman cultures had known and used that psychotherapeutic knowledge and experiences for thousands of years that the modern medicine began to rediscover only since the nineteenth century on. It is also overwhelming to see their natural skill for integration, that helped them to apply those experiences in unity, which form the basic principles of today's separate psychotherapeutic schools.

In traditional cultures the shaman, the patient waiting for a cure, his or her family, and often also the wider community, were all participants of the healing rite, furthermore the world of spirits was also involved. Today at least five psychotherapeutic schools keeps breaking this knowledge into parts and thus loses major part of the possible healing power: the Freudian analysis of the unconscious of the individual, Szondi's analysis of the family unconscious, the Jung-

ian analysis of the collective unconscious, the analytic group therapies and hypnotherapy.

In our research we have tried to model the healing rites of the shaman cultures the simplest way possible. Instead of the jungle or the sacred glade of the taiga we worked in the laboratory of the Institute of Psychological Studies, where there were not any campfires. The "rite" reached its culmination not at midnight or at dawn, but many times between two university lectures. Instead of the magic drumbeat we listened to the sound of a synthesizer from the cassette recorder. The members of the tribe, the family were not present, nor were the spirits of the ancestors in forms of a totem-pole or in some other symbolic form. We had not dressed into shaman-clothes, and the "potion" we offered to the participants was only coffee from the automata, downstairs. They, together with us, are only late twentieth century people. No-one knows whether the notions "sacred", "rite" and "spirit" mean anything to us. Still, magic came about and the participants of the experiment, who listened to our requests many times with a smile, returned from a real journey and never with empty hands.

Notes

1 Hypnosis is a method widely used in psychotherapy. It can be induced by verbal instructions, generally involving relaxing suggestions and imagery. It can be induced also by increasing the activation, for example by over-increased motion. The characteristic features of the altered state of consciousness induced by hypnosis are the following: the imagery is more vivid, there are distortions in the perception of space and time and the person accepts experiences contradicting usual normal logic. The other important characteristic of this state is that subjects become more susceptible to suggestions. In the consequence of suggestions they may experience, for example, that their arm is really so heavy as if they were holding a heavy weight in it, or they may become insensible to pain or may even vividly relive past experiences in imagery. The subjects' susceptibility for suggestion is differing, some of them experience less, others experience more suggestions.

2 The SHSS is a method most frequently used in hypnosis research. You can measure the subject's susceptibility for suggestions following a hypnosis induction. Subjects are given different suggestions e.g. they are asked to imagine that they're holding a heavy weight in their arm. There're some, who really perceive

the heaviness and in the consequence of this their arm is lowering. The reactions following the suggestions are evaluated. The value of hypnotic susceptibility is a number between 0 and 12. Because of technical reasons in this experiment the 3.-12. suggestions were used.

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Tore Ahlbäck

Olof Lagercrantz is one of the foremost contemporary Swedish men of letters. He has produced "a dozen biographies and essays in which he tells with originality about notable authors: among others Gunnar Ekelöf, Agnes von Krusenstjerna, August Strindberg, Dante, James Joyce, Joseph Conrad and Marcel Proust. He has studied the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg during recent years." Lagercrantz' book about Swedenborg came out in the summer of 1996 under the title of *Dikten om livet på den andra sidan*.

Olof Lagercrantz is not a scientist but an author. I have nonetheless decided to address some questions to him in an essay within a scientific context for the following reasons:

1. I am interested in finding out how a notable author succeeds in a hand to hand struggle with Swedenborg;

2. I do not deny the possibility that a notable author might give impulses and ideas to a scientist who may not always be as notable;

3. I propose that this can be valid to an especially high degree in the area of science of religion, where the requisite of an empirical theory of knowledge is obligatory despite the fact that much, incredibly much of what takes place in the area of religion is played out behind the exterior of human behavior, and thereby is not susceptible to intersubjective control;

4. My final point of view is scientifically-speaking more questionable. I perceive Swedenborg as an exceptionally gifted person and perhaps one to whom the word genius can be applied. Consequently I have nothing against mediating points of view on Swedenborg which have their source in a person who shares with Swedenborg a burden of giftedness much more than I, especially since the person in question (as I myself), although from the point of view of time lives a quarter of a millenium later than Swedenborg, yet in the same country, of the same culture, and, as controversial as it may be, belonging to the same social stratum.

The book *Dikten om livet på den andra sidan* presents Swedenborg's manifesto as follows:

I come to read Swedenborg's work as a poem about a strange country and unfamiliar mores. In the nearly thirty years before his death, Swedenborg worked out this "poem", which demanded all his powers and is one of the

greatest monuments of thought possessed by Western literature. It contains an infinite store of wisdom about humankind and about the passions which shake and shape it. But it is foremost an utopia, inscribed upon the other side of the grave, of a more valuable life, made possible by our earthly limitations being the echo of the spirit world.

When Lagercrantz says that he shall read Swedenborg's work as a poem he means that he intends to deal with it as belonging to an intra-worldly context, in the same way that a scholar of religion would do. When he proposes that it is dealing with an utopia, he offers a classification which is by nature of the same kind as a scholar of religion would produce: Swedenborg's spirit realm belongs to the genre of utopian concepts which belong to the broader set of messianism or millennialism. As such Lagercrantz for the time being shows that he has gone far on the same road that scholars of religion have always traveled. But there is something else: Lagercrantz says that Swedenborg imparts "an infinite store of wisdom about humankind". This is an evaluation of which a scholar of religion may not make himself guilty. An author, by contrast, may do so and my own interest in Lagercrantz is based on the fact that I wish to grasp his evaluation of Swedenborg, in order to clarify what it is which motivates one to sit at the feet of Swedenborg. I shall not enter further into how Lagercrantz arranged his exposition of Swedenborg, other than to note that he takes the dream book as his point of departure; nor shall I touch the method Lagercrantz uses, other than to remark that he is not bound by the reigning empirical theory of knowledge and therefore can produce much more of interest than a conventional scholar.

Emanuel Swedenborg (29/01/1688 - 29/03/1772) experienced a religious crisis in 1744 at the age of 56. During this year, more precisely from March 24 to October 1744, he wrote a dream journal, of which Lagercrantz says "I believe our literature, perhaps the literature of the whole world, does not possess another such document" (Lagercrantz 1996: 16).

Lagercrantz states outright that he cannot explain the state of Swedenborg during the time in which he wrote the dream journal. On this point he is in the same position as the scientific investigator. Lagercrantz notes that during the period of the dream journal Swedenborg met Jesus two times, in dreams. The first occasion was in the night between the sixth and seventh of April 1744 in the Hague and the second occasion was in April 1745 in London. Lagercrantz interprets the scientific researchers' evaluation of this meeting with Jesus in the following way: "In our Christian world superstition is bound up in everything to do with Jesus so that there is no place left for healthy reason. The two

encounters with Jesus have become part and parcel of a myth detrimental to the view of Swedenborg in later generations. Now and again certain scholars, among them Martin Lamm, have compared Swedenborg's encounters with Jesus to St. Teresa's visions of Christ and consigned him to the mystics" (Lagercrantz 1996: 19-20).

The basis of Lagercrantz' opinion in this question is doubtless that he came to the conclusion that Jesus in fact was not a necessary element in the scheme of salvation, a matter to be seen in more detail later. The notion that Jesus does not take a central position, is consequently one of the most important discoveries of Lagercrantz in my opinion, along with the perception that Swedenborg changed a search for immortal fame from the arena of natural sciences to the religious.

When Lagercrantz presents Swedenborg's writings in the *Spiritual journal* (*Andliga dagboken*) he remarks: "Spirits reveal themselves to Swedenborg in a never-failing stream. It is not that he steps into their world himself to seek contact. Some spirits wish him well and others ill. One often fails to understand why he calls spirits what other people would experience as impulses, temptations, and oddities of the kind which people our inner scene every hour" (Lagercrantz 1996: 23). From the point of view of Lagercrantz, other people, and even scholars of religion, what Swedenborg calls spirits are experienced as "impulses, temptations, and oddities of the kind which people our inner scene every hour". But Swedenborg calls them spirits, and as Lagercrantz remarks, that is something we do not always understand. At this point is found the difference between an empirical and religious interpretation of reality. My interest in Lagercrantz depends precisely on the fact that he has in principle the same outlook on Swedenborg as a scholar of religion, but because of his background and his different way of examining Swedenborg may well produce something of scholarly interest which a scholar could not come up with himself.

I note here by way of parentheses that on a visit to the display of the Swedenborgian Society of Sweden at the book and library fair in Gothenburg from October 30 to November 2, 1997, I asked some questions about Lagercrantz' book, which was on display. In answer, the attendant Björn Sahlin, remarked that the book is read a great deal, but that the members of the society did not appreciate that fact that Lagercrantz dealt with Swedenborg mainly as a poet and not as a person chosen of God to reveal the truth, God's truth.

On several occasions Lagercrantz brings up Immanuel Kant's book about Swedenborg, *Träume eines Geistersehers*, which appeared in 1766, and in

which Kant diagnoses Swedenborg as more or less insane. Lagercrantz points out that Kant was influenced by a number of tales going around about how Swedenborg conversed with the dead, while Kant could find no evidence of life after death in *Arcana Coelestia*. Lagercrantz reacts against this. (From the point of view of the study of religions it is naturally not relevant to take a position on the question of factuality, but nonetheless a scholar of religion does so as well through his demand for intersubjective control). Lagercrantz sees Kant's evaluation to depend on ignorance and superficiality. He says that Kant's criticism of Swedenborg is analog with the attempt to show in the case of Jonathan Swift that his giants do not exist and that therefore *Gulliver's travels* are "falsifications". "Because Kant starts out on the basis of the anecdotes about conversation with the dead, he follows a false scent and arrives where a good share of people still are today" (Lagercrantz 1996: 27).

In spite of that, Lagercrantz has understanding for those who like Kant pose the question of factuality. He says that when the reader finds no evidence of the existence of the spirit world, it is easy to suggest that Swedenborg writes as he does under the influence of hallucinations, automatic writing or insanity. Lagercrantz quotes the explanation of Martin Lamm (whom he characterizes as the foremost Nordic authority on Swedenborg). "Swedenborg's revelations of spirits are 'objectivized manifestations of his own world of thought, an unconscious continuation in dreams and hallucinations of his conscious speculation'" (Lagercrantz 1996: 26). Lagercrantz appreciates Lamm's explanation, but prefers to replace the words "dreams" and "hallucinations" with "poetification." In so doing he changes Lamm's explanation in a truly radical way.

Lagercrantz' own position is thus as follows. He considers it irrelevant to pose the question of factuality, that is, whether what Swedenborg transmits in his writings is true or false, whether it corresponds with reality or not. "Discussion around the reality behind Swedenborg's spirit world can and should in my opinion cease. Swedenborg may contend that what he perceives is truth and tell his friends about spirit visitations. Such mixing of the poetical and reality is met with in the history of literature. For the reader it is all the same, for the words which he follows on his way to understanding seem real to him, whether or not they are "false" or "true". What the reader wants is an inner structure, hidden within the opus, and nothing more" (Lagercrantz 1996: 28). This appears to be an acceptable opinion, in the context of literary analysis, but is it so in the context of science of religion?

Lagercrantz claims that mixing of the poetical and reality is found in the

history of literature. What about in the history of religions? The answer is that it is also found there, but not necessarily to a greater extent than in the history of literature. The question now is: can I as a scholar of religion accept Lagercrantz' position? To consider that it is irrelevant whether Swedenborg himself believed that what he wrote and presented as the truth that God Himself had given him as a task to make known. And in its place to limit myself to attempting to find "an inner structure, hidden in the opus", that is, in Swedenborg's writings. I suppose I can do so. In so doing I no longer pose the question whether Swedenborg's spirits exist, a question I had not posed earlier either, since ascertaining the existence of spirits is not a scientific task. Nor do I pose the question of whether Swedenborg himself believed in the existence of spirits, angels and such-like, but merely note that he wrote about them as if he believed they existed.

I once wrote a monograph about a German messiah, Oskar Ernst Bernhardt, who founded the so-called Grail Movement. One of my research goals was to try to ascertain whether he himself believed in his message (the background was that he was sentenced to four years imprisonment for fraud). I naturally failed to show anything about Bernhardt's alias Abdruschin's inner beliefs. I have difficulties even when I ask myself what I in fact believe, when it comes to existential questions. I consider Lagercrantz' view of how he intends to investigate Swedenborg as fruitful also from a science of religion perspective, to study Swedenborg's text "as a poem about a strange country", as a "utopia, inscribed upon the other side of the grave." There are of course other possibilities and Lagercrantz remarks: "Those who consider this utopia something truly to exist will not relinquish their right to do so. Dreams of everlasting life are part of our human condition" (Lagercrantz 1996: 28).

The Poet Emanuel Swedenborg and his Poetry

I have already summarized Lagercrantz' point of departure in his study of Swedenborg. I shall now look more closely at how he carries out his program and whether I as a scholar of religion can learn something further from his way of working.

Lagercrantz spends a good deal on Swedenborg's Bible interpretation. Swedenborg begins with the assumption that the Bible is the Word of God, but considered that it had to be read as a cipher. For Lagercrantz, who is a modern interpreter of texts, Swedenborg's methodological point of departure, that is that a poeticized Bible held hidden meanings, is not controversial. If there is anything controversial in his method, it is that Swedenborg "[...] it must be admitted, practices thought on the basis of the hidden language in absurdum.

He separates himself from everyone else by his radical demands. The hidden meaning of the word applies to every episode, every name of place or personage, every word and even every letter" (Lagercrantz 1996: 45). Lagercrantz has seen that Swedenborg considers every image before Christ as a type. They are figuræ and one sees a pattern: the theme is man's becoming god, the climax of which is that God appears as man, Jesus Christ. Lagercrantz comments: "Such a concept of interpretation is fruitful as applied to every earthly poet, but also produces results from God's book because despite its variety it appears within a long common tradition" (Lagercrantz 1996: 46). This shows how Lagercrantz goes about just what he has promised, he intends to examine Swedenborg's writings as a poetical text.

But Lagercrantz has several problems with Swedenborg's Bible interpretation. He considers it more or less an impossibility to wade through *Arcana Coelestia*. He notes that Swedenborg made long alphabetical lists of words and episodes in the Old Testament and quite simply created his own concordance. Since the text is written by God every word has a meaning and this meaning thus has a constant celestial correspondent. Swedenborg looks up in his concordance and takes note of all the places where a word he is investigating appears. Lagercrantz comments on this as follows: "It is possible that someone who more or less knows the Bible by heart, and many such existed in Swedenborg's time, can appreciate the value of the word lists from one Bible book to another and be stimulated by the variety of combinations. There is research on Proust that works in the same spirit and which will turn out to be dead as stone once Proust's novels are no longer read" (Lagercrantz 1996: 48). Lagercrantz is quite simply irritated that Swedenborg time and again asks angels for advice when he is not able to ascertain for himself the inner or celestial meaning and will have it that the reader loses the possibility of following Swedenborg's reasoning with his own judgment. When Swedenborg asks advice from angels it is he himself who gives the response in the angels' mouth, but it is Lagercrantz' purpose to show that Swedenborg's celestial meanings are sometimes inexplicable: A tree represents knowlege of the good and the true, a sheep means lack of love. But when we are compelled to accept such an interpretation a tree in our imagination withers and sheep lose their wool" (Lagercrantz 1996: 49).

Lagercrantz contends many times that Swedenborg's ambition to find a celestial meaning for every word turns his texts into a wilderness of words, in which there exist hard to find oases of "fortunate and grand results". The reason "he is so little cunning" according to Lagercrantz at least to some ex-

tent is the fact that Swedenborg writes without contact with the reader. As Lagercrantz points out: "He scatters his best things in presentations like catalogues so that the reader is obliged to wander about enormous word wildernesses before he comes to a refreshing oasis" (Lagercrantz 1996: 164).

Lagercrantz is faithful to a science of literature terminology throughout the book. When he wishes to explain that Swedenborg considered the Old Testament God as a horrible dictator belonging to the past he says: "In Swedenborg's interpretation the Bible is cleansed from its barbarity and becomes a novel of evolution with Jesus as the final goal" (Lagercrantz 1996: 54). Lagercrantz is especially sympathetic to Swedenborg's concept of God because it is not based on a "supernatural revelation". God stepped down in the man Jesus, was crucified, which means that Jesus became divine throughout. "Jesus is God." Lagercrantz suggests that "Swedenborg's Jesus can be met and understood by anyone". Swedenborg avoids the idea that Jesus died for our sins, he immediately accepted his own sins, which he thereby overcame. If Jesus did not die for our sins, then there is no redemption either. Swedenborg does not believe in any redemption, and neither does Lagercrantz, who now waxes lyrical:

To call Swedenborg's God the power which makes a human being strive to raise himself out of the uniquely material and see a new, deeper fellowship. Let man be a cathedral filled with streaming light which God has once kindled. Put in place of God the thinkers', mystics', poets', composers', the political dreamers' and every human being's longing for something that transcends time and death or at least invites to relative solidarity and justice, and you are confronting Swedenborg's religion. Jesus as a being which within himself seeks to bring about an inner voice is a true human in which dwells the divine and not in the sacrificial death on the cross. The human who so strives is our God. It matters not what we call him. But he exists and according to Swedenborg he is present on all sides" (Lagercrantz 1996: 56).

It is evident that it is not only Swedenborg's god that appears here, but also in some sense Lagercrantz'. This is demonstrated also by the fact that we are not dealing in Lagercrantz with a reader of Swedenborg who is in principle negative, rather more the opposite. Lagercrantz refers in this context to Ernst Bloch and makes the point with appreciation that he also holds the opinion that humankind must save himself, and he retrieves this opinion also from Swedenborg. One might have expected that Lagercrantz would have associated with gnosticism here, both in what applies to the gnostic model for the creation of man and for the means of salvation, but he does not. On the other

hand he points out that it is not his intention to place Swedenborg in his historical context from the point of view of ideas and religion, but it is rather his "task to investigate Swedenborg as he confronts me at this point in time. I ask what and not how and why" (Lagercrantz 1996: 57).

Swedenborg's view of divine providence also receives unreserved support from Lagercrantz, that is Swedenborg's thought that man sees divine providence uniquely from the perspective of looking back and never beforehand. On this Lagercrantz says: "This is a teaching which speaks directly to me and is in accord with my experiences" (Lagercrantz 1996: 72).

Lagercrantz gives Swedenborg high marks as a depicter of hell. He things that Dante's hell, *Inferno*, is more generalized and pedagogically organized than Swedenborg's, but that Swedenborg is more inventive. Lagercrantz indeed notes that Swedenborg is less susceptible to crime than Dante, he presents Swedenborg as a family son as compared with Dante. A problem with the concept of hell is indeed that it is found in the middle of a word wilderness: "Swedenborg's descriptions of hell are scattered throughout volumes of tens of thousands of pages. He is like an artist, a hopeless waster, who plants diamonds in dark rooms and oases impossible to blunder into" (Lagercrantz 1996: 145).

Lagercrantz touches on the problem as it concerns disobedience and punishment: disobedience applies to the short time of earthly life, but punishment attaches to the sinner during the eternity which follows upon death. Within the Theosophical Society this is a very popular argument in favor of belief in reincarnation. Lagercrantz does not follow this line of argument: "It can seem cruel that a brief time on earth determines our fate in eternity" (Lagercrantz 1996: 141). He also knows that some of Swedenborg's followers have tried to interpret Swedenborg to have thought of the possibility of climbing out of hell after a time and after receiving instruction, a sort of Swedenborgian purgatory.

Lagercrantz also produces criticism of Swedenborg as a person. The criticism is of two sorts. On one hand he finds a lack of empathy and mercy in Swedenborg, and on the other he contends that Swedenborg evinces a thoroughgoing if hidden ambition for fame. In one place this double criticism appears in the same context. Lagercrantz has remarked that Swedenborg did not need Jesus in the worship he described among people in other places in the universe. In Lagercrantz' words: "That true empathy which does not regard opinion and party is missing in him. That is one of the reasons why the man Jesus is foreign to him. Swedenborg will gladly have Jesus replaced by a

more concrete and precise person, himself perhaps" (Lagercrantz 1996: 148). While Lagercrantz gives an account of one of Swedenborg's descriptions of hell, in which fifty people sit in a room, eyes gleaming with greed, claiming to own everything in the whole country, each and every one of them; they are insane and know it, but they assume that they will be cured on leaving the room, he says: "One of them may be Swedenborg himself, although his ambition for fame does not attach itself to gold" (Lagercrantz 1996: 147). A parallel to this expression is found in the context of Swedenborg's doctrine being presented to Socrates, Xenophon and their disciples. Swedenborg's doctrine is well received.

Swedenborg thus legitimates his teaching by ancient authorities and celebrates a fine triumph. His writings are full of successes of this type, easily won since every step in the spirit world reinforces his words. In this he reminds one of an author who waited exactly one hundred years after his death to be born, that is, Marcel Proust. Proust's novel *A la recherche du temps perdu* is plastered with scenes of promotion. The young Proust arrives at a fine hotel with a provincial grandmother and is ignored by the manager. But immediately there enters a woman of incredible wealth and nobility, the grandmother's classmate and near friend. The scene changes miraculously, the manager bows and Marcel turns into a prince. "Proust's novel is built on such scenes. An irrepressible ambition for honor constantly tries to free itself. It is the same with Swedenborg" (Lagercrantz 1996: 161).

Swedenborg describes a father on the other side who is informed that his children, also the newly dead, had caused great harm in life. The father is not disturbed at all to have to forego the company of his children. Swedenborg comments on this saying that it will be necessary to send the whole pack of thieves down below. Lagercrantz' commentary is: "This is a far, far cry from Jesus' parable of the prodigal son" (Lagercrantz 1996: 165).

Lagercrantz says that it is both tragic and comical that Swedenborg should poke fun at one of his contemporaries and one of Sweden's foremost persons of culture and poets, Johan Henric Kjellgren. Kjellgren wrote a celebrated poem "One owns not a genius since one is crazy" in which he places Swedenborg on the list of the insane and treats him as a fool. He knows that Swedenborg also wrote essays in natural science but he evaluates them in the following vein: they should rather testify of "a reminder of what he taught than of an explanation to what he thought" (Lagercrantz 1996: 110). Lagercrantz believes that Kjellgren's doggerel on the face of it served Swedenborg's cause: "He was for generation after generation a mystery and this disdain gave his name an in-

creased luster. Nothing is so powerful as a victory denied and trampled upon.” (Lagercrantz 1996: 111).

My final impression of Lagercrantz’ study of Swedenborg’s writings beginning from the view that they are “like a poem about a strange country and unfamiliar mores” is very positive, and it is my intention to try this angle of attack myself, and also to benefit from these perceptions definitely not of the scientific type which Lagercrantz has exposed and which I have in part examined. I contend that Lagercrantz’ study has a large heuristic value, but it remains to examine the possibility of giving his discoveries a stronger scientific basis.

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