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ANTAL REGULY'S DATA ON THE URAL NENETS

ABSTRACT. In the 18–19th century the population on both sides of the Northern Ural was mixed considering both mother tongue and ethnicity. The impression based on the folkloristic and linguistic research from the second half of the 19th century — that the tundra zone was dominated by the Nenets type of reindeer herding and the taiga zone by the complex Ob-Ugrian husbandry (which includes mainly hunting and fishing). The ‘classical’ borders among ethnic groups and languages could not have marked sharp differences. It seems that instead of examining the history of ethnic groups and languages it is worth following the fates of smaller groups, dialects or even individual life stories to understand the processes of change.

Reguly’s manuscript reveals that, while he was studying certain ethnic groups, his knowledge and main interest went through a significant transformation. Having toured the area between the Ural and the River Ob and later the Urals, he acquired three languages in one and a half years (Mansi, Nenets, Khanty), got to know at least three lifestyles (forest hunting, fishing, reindeer herding), mapped an area hitherto unknown (the Northern Ural), set down several volumes of verses, and took part in more than one sacrificial rites. Ethnic identity of the population of Sigva River was the subject of many debates in the literature already in the middle of the nineteenth century. Antal Reguly’s data demonstrate that besides the Khanty, Mansi and Komi ethnic groups, the Nenets also featured in the history of the Sigva population.

KEYWORDS: Antal Reguly, Ural, Nenets, Khanty, Mansi, ethnic history, reindeer herding

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INTRODUCTION

In 2019 will be the 200th anniversary of the birth of a great 19th century scholar, Antal Reguly.¹ It is timely therefore to revisit the notes and manuscripts he had left behind and raise questions concerning their yet unexplored details. The notes Reguly made on the Ural Nenets have considerable hidden values: their linguistic and folkloristic observations shed light on the important role the Ural Nenets community came to play in the histories of the neighboring Khanty, Mansi, and Komi peoples.

REGULY'S NENETS COLLECTION

In the course of his travels, Reguly encountered the Nenets people twice: first on the river Sigva and in the subsequent tours in the Ural where he made notes on the language of the Ural Nenets; second, on the lower flow of the Ob and in the region extending from the Ural to the Arctic Ocean where he charted their dwelling places. His notes on the latter, which I will not analyze in the present paper, consist mainly of place names and patronymics. Beyond this, the material he collected on the Ural Nenets also contains linguistic observations. The bulk of it, a list of words and expressions, was processed and published by Jozsef Budenz (1890–1892b). At the time of Reguly's travels, the Ural group comprised only a handful of families. Presumably, Reguly was interested in their language because when working on his maps of the Ural he had the impression that the geographical names had Samoyedic origins. The making of maps had played an important part in Reguly's plans from the very beginning, so he was understandably keen to use all available means, including linguistic ones, to support this project.

Like all the known Reguly manuscripts, the Nenets collection also has been preserved in the Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books of the Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA KIK).² The word Samoyed appears in the description of several entries under his name in the manuscript catalogue, however, adequately in only one item: that is, Nr. 54 in the section "Nyelvtudomany 2-r.", with the title: "Reguly Antal: Szamojed tanulmanyok. Szukerje, 1844." (Antal Reguly: Samoyedic Studies, Szukerje, 1844).

Looking at these notes, straight from the slopes of the Ural, the frontispiece, in Reguly's handwriting, details the circumstances in which he worked.

"Samoyedic studies

[written] in the village named Sukerye by the river Sigva on August 16–29, 1844.

Based on communication with a Vogul man called Vojgenpang who had spent his childhood and early manhood in the Ural, breeding reindeers, among

¹ He was born on 11 July 1819.

² From now on MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books.

the Samoyeds, being of Samoyedic origin himself. His grandfather was called Sainah, born a Samoyed; he was baptized in 1712 along with other Samoyeds who founded this village and whose progenies by now had turned perfectly Vogul but among whom the ones breeding reindeers, and therefore living in the mountains, still speak Samoyed.

Certain attachments were written in Alexei Kasimov's tent in the valley of the little Gobi in the Ural where I stayed between 3–11 September.”

(MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Linguistics 2-r 54, 1st page; underlining by Reguly)

It is a pleasant surprise to come across a note with exact details concerning the location and dates of his work because Reguly is usually reticent about this. But comparing the information above with what we know about the geographical situation, history, use of language, way of life and name usage of the peoples in the Ural, each and every statement seems dubious. Shtchekurya and the Ural region are not parts of the tundra, neither the present area of the forest Nenets. Based on our current knowledge about them, it is not surprising to find that the material Reguly had on the Ural Nenets is linguistically not on the forest, but, by implication, on the tundra Nenets. However, we know of a Samoyedic group that lived like the forest Nenets, so it would not be surprising to find that the Ural material is on the forest Nenets after all.

It is clear from Reguly's notes that in this field his most important informant was Vojgenpäng. While Reguly gives details about Vojgenpäng's grandfather — thereby we know that he was a Samoyed and was called Sainah, he was baptized in 1712 and moved to the river Shtchekurya and that his descendants were considered Mansi — we learn hardly anything about Vojgenpäng himself. The only thing we know is his Mansi name: the name Vojgenpäng is easy to translate, literally it means “whitehead”, which could equally refer to his age or his fair hair. He must have been quite old when he met Reguly: if he had spent “his childhood and manhood” in the Ural as reindeer herder (or at least as a reindeer shepherd), and if we calculate the time that had passed since the deeds of his grandfather (i. e. from 1712 to 1844), we end up with extremely long periods of time for each generation. The name Vojgenpäng must have been a byname, for in the 1840s it was customary among the Mansi to enter their surnames and forenames in the church registers, so he had to have a full name as well. Some family names, for sure, came from bynames, but in the available archives we find no traces of the family name Vojgenpäng. Assuming that his paternal grandfather was Sainah, his family name could have been Sainahov,³ a name very popular among the Mansi.

We also know that Vojgenpäng was (at least) bilingual, that is, he spoke Mansi and Nenets equally well. It is also safe to assume that, like his grandfather, he lived in the village of Shtchekurya, where Reguly collected his

³ Сайнахов.

material from him. However, making things even more complex, on one of Reguly's maps, the one charting the Lozva region, far from Shtschekurya, there is a drawing with the remark "woiganpang kwoll", i. e. "woiganpang's house", which, according to Reguly's explanation, marks a tent or a smaller cabin. (Excerpt from Reguly's map. MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books. Hungarian Linguistics 2-r. 4/V Karta Nro I). There are several similar signs on Reguly's maps with the same cryptic marking.⁴ One can only guess the function of these abodes. It seems clear that Voigenpang could have lived in the southern region of the Ural even if his "official address" — where he paid taxes and stayed during the winter — was in Shtchekurya. But if that was the case when he met Reguly, what was he doing in August in his winter accommodation? Assuming that the white-headed, old Voigenpang did not herd reindeers anymore (thereby accepting Reguly's statement that he had spent his childhood and manhood with this, that is, he did not do it in the present), then the accommodation in the Ural did not exist anymore, or at least not under his name. Despite these unanswerable questions one thing seems certain: we know the place where Voigenpang stayed when herding and probably also the whereabouts of his winter accommodation.⁵

In Reguly's diary Voigenpang's name first appears on August 1, 1844. At that time, Reguly was camping at the mouth of river Sigva, and "Voigenpang comes from Sukerje" (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics 16-r. 22: backside of the page 15). This must have been a rather short visit. There is another mention of "waigenpang" (10 August) and during the period of time Reguly specifies on the cover of the manuscript (between 16 and 29 August) we find no further mentions of the name in the diary. But the process of gathering the Nenets material can be followed in detail. On the 18th: "the Samoyed names are explained, the Ural in Samoyed"; on the 20th: "I am listing Samoyed words"; on 21st: "I am listing Samoyed verbs"; on the 22nd: "I am listing Samoyed particles"; on the 23rd: "I can hardly work because of the snow and cold"; on the 24th: "the storm is still raging, I go on with my Samoyed grammar". During the days of stormy weather, Reguly sorts out his folkloristic and Mansi notes, on the 28th he writes down the Nenets declension, on the 29th the definite and indefinite conjugation. In the meanwhile the weather calms down a bit (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics 16-r. 22: 15–16).

As for the founding of Shtchekurya, Reguly again notes something that has been proven by other sources, but to which his remark gives additional prominence. Today, Shtchekurya is one of the most "purely" Mansi locations, so it is surprising to learn from Reguly that it was established by Sainah "with other Samoyeds".

⁴ For example not far from the previous one Katpol oika's dwelling place. See the same reference.

⁵ Reguly reports a similar case of two dwelling places as for Alexei Kasimov to be introduced in the next chapter.

Shtchekurya⁶ has featured in population registers only from 1858; previously, in 1795 and 1816, its inhabitants were registered in Juilsk.⁷ It doesn't follow from this that the settlement did not exist at the time: it just did not exist officially. According to Reguly, Cossacks stayed temporarily at the wooden fortress of Juilsk even at the end of the 18th century. (cf. Antal Reguly's letter to Ferenc Toldy. MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Literary Correspondence 4-r. 88: 6). After its role as a military fortress had ceased, thereby it had lost its importance, its former inhabitants re-settled in a neighboring settlement, named after the tributary of river Sigva, Shtchekurya.

Data proves the existence of the settlement in 1740. Miller made a list of all the settlements by the Sosva and Sigva, among others, with considerable accuracy. He mentions a settlement⁸ "opposite", that is "next to", Juilsk, which would fit the position of Shtchekurya, but it is called Soinak-paul. (Pivneva 1999: 213) In the light of Reguly's remark, this must be "Sainah's village". In 1740 the settlement in the place of the future Shtchekurya was named after the Sainahovs, surely because its inhabitants, or at least the majority of them, had Sainahov as their surname. According to the registers, this is still the case in the present. Families registered in Juilsk are mainly Sainahovs: according to 18–19th century sources the presence of Sainahovs was concentrated to this particular place and only a handful of the families moved to neighboring villages or central settlements (Pivneva 1999: 231–235, 255–257).⁹

Sainah's baptism also raises questions. The very fact of christening is surprising: is it possible that in 1844 a Mansi reindeer herder kept in mind that his grandfather was christened in 1712? The date coincides with the first great wave of conversions and it is relatively well documented (Novitskiy 1973). The missionaries reached the upper flow of Pelim and to Beryozov in 1714 (Glavatskaya 2005: 235–238). It is hard to imagine that the Samoyeds living in the inner Ural could have met them. We might suppose that the Samoyeds were christened on the European side, but "it was still quiet there".¹⁰

Also: Why did Sainah move to Shtchekurya? And from where? He was a reindeer herder and we know that Nenets with great herds moved south from

⁶ Щекурьинские юрты.

⁷ Юильский городок, there were two fortresses under the name of Juilsk in the Ob-Ugrian area. This one stood at the upper reach of the Sigva, but there was another one at the upper reach of the Kazim where the present Juilsk is situated.

⁸ The data from the table are the following: "Soinak-paul; на юж. стороне р. Sewin-ja, напротив Юильских ю., т. е. рядом; в 3 в. от берега р. Sewin-ja." (Soinak-village, on the southern side of the river Sewin, opposite the Julisk yurt; opposite the Julisk yurt that is next to it, close to it; 3versts from the bank of the river Sewin).

⁹ The main reference book concerning the population in the 18–19th century is Sokolova (1983). But in her lists of data there are no Sainahovs neither in the Lyapin district nor in the Sosva district, and the settlements are not the same as in Pivneva's work (see Sokolova 1983: 167–175). The use and interpretation of the processed and published material from the archives is rather problematic, the reason for differences is not clear. Not being acquainted with the original sources I can only use published material.

¹⁰ This is how A. Golovnev put it; private consultation, 6 October 2009, Budapest.

the tundra looking for good pastures in the Ural. We also know that this process started in the beginning of the 17th century, when, due to several factors, reindeer herding in the tundra suddenly had a considerable boost (Krupnik 1989: from 146). If this was the reason for the move, it proves that changes happened quickly and the inhabitants got adapted to them with the same speed. As I will return to this below, the Samoyed inhabitants on both sides of the Ural had been on the move in both directions. (Dolgikh 1970: 42)

Reguly first heard of Alexei Kasimov on December 7, 1843 when he was visited by officials from the neighboring gold-washing fields and was told about “Alexei bogati” (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics 16-r. 22: backside of page 7). Their first meeting is documented in the Reguly letters that Toldy published:

“Up by the Ivdel he had a more agreeable guest, that is, a widely travelled ‘king of the East’, the Croesus of these lands, Alec Kasimov whom the Russians call bogatyi (very wealthy) because they think he own 19000, according to the Ostyaks, 10000 reindeers. This man was raised among the Samoyeds living at the source of Sigva and after moving South he finally settled down between the Visera and the southern Sosva. Since his herds covered extensive territories, in part around the Petshora, in part around the Ob, and he is obliged to make long trips in order to pay the tax in furs each year; he was the man who has the most complete knowledge of these regions, all the way to the land of the Samoyeds. Reguly made this man stay for five days, so he could question him on the northern parts of the Ural, concerning every settlement, mountain and river. This is how he was able to draw three maps which he deposited, along with other writings, in Petersburg by Baer, who presented them at the academy there.” (Toldy 1850: LXXL–XXXI).

Reguly also informed Baer about their meeting and mentions a handful of details which are not available elsewhere:

“This man was raised among the Samoyeds at the source of Sigva and later he lived at the source of Wuolja, then he moved more and more south, and now he has roamed with one of his herds between the sources of the Visera and the Sosva for thirteen years; when he visits his other herds (one of them is at the source of Lozva, the other on the Pechora, the third at Luopsia at the *Kvettnyarr*) — while having his home in Khorumpaul by the Sigva — he needs to make long trips in order to pay the *yasak* (fur tax)”. (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Ms 454/72 II. 2nd page of a folded paper).

When they first met Alexei Kasimov came to greet Reguly himself, and when later visiting him (25–30 January 1844), he “dictated” Reguly the map of a major part of the Ural. Reguly also did anthropological measurements; thanks to these we know that Kasimov was 162 centimetres tall (Vandor 2008: 127, 2 appendix). He gave Reguly practical help as well: according to Reguly’s introduction the “Samoyedic notes” were written in his tent. Which, however, raises further questions.

First, it is worth giving a look into the surname the „King of East”. To scholars of the Ob-Ugrian peoples the surname Kasimov resonates with the river Kazim. We know that the Kazim Khanty historically spread from the Mansi of the Upper Sosva, but this cannot “project” a future surname. One hardly meets this surname in the registers of 18–19th century archives. Except for a very distant mention from Upper Demyanka (Sokolova 1983: 227), there are no names identical, only similar to this. In the 1785 *Lyapinsky gorodok*¹¹ two Kuzimov families (23 persons) were registered, in 1816 only 19; these must have been the ones who were registered in Lombovozh’s yurts — in today’s Lombovozh, also in the Lyapin — as the Kuzimov family (6 persons) in 1858 (Pivneva 1999: 231–235). These families living by the Sigva might have been linked to the family of Alexei Kasimov. It is worth looking at the surnames in Horumpaul, the settlement mentioned in Reguly’s letter to Baer: in the register of 1858 there are two families (9 persons) under the name of Hozymov (Pivneva 1999: 234). In the present, this name is used as Hozumov.¹² It is impossible today to decide whether there were connections between the Hozymov’s and the Kuzimov’s; Pivnyeva recognizes only the Hozymov as the antecedent of the surname Hozumov (Pivneva 1999: 75–76).¹³

The Hozumovs, however, were most probably connected to the Sainahovs. In her anthropological investigations Davidova observed certain ratios between people with certain surnames. She found striking that both in 18th and late 20th century data there are many surnames with small number of family members (on the average, ten families share the same surname). On the other hand, it is rare to see surnames with large families. Examining the 1980s she found two popular surnames: Sainahov and Hozumov. Approximately half of the inhabitants of the Lyapin bore one of these names. Since she found no physiological reasons for this,¹⁴ she sought a historical explanation: this group consists of descendants of a population that had either lived there previously, or had settled there later (Davydova 1989: 33–34). Lacking sufficient expertise, it is difficult to judge this argument, but its results conspicuously coincide with what we outlined above about the Nenets of Lyapin.¹⁵

Reguly noted of Alexei Kasimov, one of the informants of the “Samoyedic notes”, that “certain attachments were written in Alexei Kasimov’s tent in the valley of the little Gobi in the Ural where I stayed between 3–11 September.” At the appropriate places, the Calendarium contains exact notes on this phase

¹¹ Ляпинский городок; it was not far from the mouth of the river Lyapin (Sigva).

¹² Хозумов.

¹³ Ye. Pivneva thinks that the two names might be the same, because the surnames set down after hearing could appear in various versions. Ye. Rombandyeyeva also thinks that the Kasimov and Hozumov names might be the same. Private consultation, August 2009. Khanty-Mansiysk.

¹⁴ The fertility rates of the Sainahovs and Hozumovs are the same as the other inhabitants of the area.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Anna Vándor for calling my attention to this source.

of the Ural tour and this period on the whole, and, furthermore, Reguly provides even more details in his Raifa report on his trip back to Europe:

“At first we went along the river Manja and slowly reached drier areas leading to the farthest slopes of the Ural which from there expanding northwards to end in sudden steepness everywhere, as though they were cut off. From these we descended to the beautiful valley of Lonhla and progressed on bleak ridges, where more and greater views and mountain landscapes opened up, until we reached the range of the Ural dividing rivers along the Jensur, and following this we got up to the valley of Porne without seeing any trace of a human. Therefore I determined to return on the same track after a night’s sleep in order not to lose our ways dangerously. Need raised our attention, sharpened our sight, up until we discovered a herd of reindeer on the far side of the valley of little Manja, then on the plain behind the beetling cliff of the mountain we found a shepherd’s camp consisting of three tents and accommodating the richest man of these lands, Tjobing¹⁶ and his family.” (Toldy 1850: 93).¹⁷

That is, on the 3rd of September Reguly found Tyobing in the valley of Gobi¹⁸ and spent the following days with him:

“My eight days there were not spent in tents by sitting idly but with excursions made to the highest cliffs of the mountains and with constant bustling about Tjobing’s nomadic farm. My generous host came with me everywhere and served me completely as an indefatigable interpreter and guide, especially my Vogul knowledge was greatly enlarged by learning the ways in which this language is applied to the upland nomadic life. Having been born here and have been living here since his childhood, my guide knew every cliff and every path.” (Toldy 1850: 94).

Why is, then, Alexei Kasimov in the introduction of Reguly’s Samoyedic notes, instead of Tyobing? Hard to find an answer. One thing is sure. Reguly certainly did not mix up the two persons. From his reports it is obvious that he had formed close, intimate friendships with both of them. Two explanations are possible.

One of them is that Alexei Kasimov is in fact Tyobing. While Kasimov Alexei Jeremejew¹⁹ is a registered official name, Tyobing obviously belongs

¹⁶ The forms Reguly uses are Tyobing and Tyoping.

¹⁷ The report of Reguly lying in his sickbed in the monastery of Raifa came in German written by a stranger to Toldy. (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Literar Correspondence 4-r. 88.) Its content was published by Toldy in the Reguly album.

¹⁸ I did not find all the place names featuring in Reguly’s map and sketches. Although I did find Porneja and Kobija, the two tributaries of the Manja flowing to the Sigva drawn in pencil on the map drawn in ink of the area of Sosva and Sigva (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics, 2-r. 4/V., Karta Nro II). I think the valley of these tributaries must have been the Porne valley and Gobi valley because according to other geographical names this must have been the route. Based on the form Kobi the name of the river and the valley might refer to *xabi*, the ethnic name used for the Ob-Ugrians. Cf. the geographical name *xab-ne-joxan* ‘Khanty-woman-river’ not far from here at the source of Synya.

¹⁹ Hunfalvy quotes the paternal name following Hofmann, 1864: 54., 12. footnote).

to the category of bynames. This might be so not just because there is not even a similar name in the archives, but because there is a curious remark in one of Reguly's notepapers:

“tyobing bedeutet der einzige mann unter mehreren weibern.”²⁰ (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books Hungarian Linguistics, 16-r. 22 notes without score).

It is a good explanation for a byname, and also makes sense in the light of historical sources on the polygamy of Ob-Ugrian peoples. According to the Mansi dictionary by Munkácsi and Kálmán, *t'uping* means “dear” (WWb687), which may also be connected to the data above. It could be assumed that Reguly mentions the rich, famous reindeer herder he met in the beginning of his Mansi studies by his official name, but uses his byname after forming a friendship with him. This would explain why he uses two names for one person. This theory is further supported by giving the attribute “the richest man of the neighborhood” in both cases. Alexei Kasimov was mobile enough to be familiar even with the valley of the little Gobi. Both of them could have some command of Samoyed as well.

Tempting it is to solve the mystery of Tyobing by identifying these two men, it is improbable that the two names refer to the same person. It is unlikely that Reguly would have mentioned Alexei Kasimov, whom he held in high esteem, by his byname in a letter written to the Academy; these reports counted as official documents. When in February 1845 Reguly leaves Beryozov and the Ural, he travels all over the Mansi region to bid farewell to everyone he knows. On the 20th of February he spends the night in the village of Poseltitt at the source of Sigva where he meets Tyobing, on the 24th he is already by the Karpje at “Alexei's”. (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics 16-r. 22: 23; appendix Nro 3) Based on one of his sketch maps the Karpje flows into the Pelim (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books Hungarian Linguistics, 2-r. 4/V. Karta Nro I.) and is not far from the region where Reguly first met Alexei Kasimov a year before (16 January 1844). It is most probably him, that is, a person different from Tyobing.²¹

Similarly the Ural expedition led by E. Hofmann also met both Alexei Kasimov and Tyobing. Hofmann knew both of them very well, he recorded the names of Tyobing's brothers who lived with him: Titama and Ojo (quoted by Hunfalvy 1864: 61, footnote № 23).²² Reguly mentioned a camp consisting

²⁰ ‘tyobing means that he is the only man/husband among several women.’

²¹ Alexei could refer to other person than Kasimov as well. An old man of 85 years called Alexei Jolkin lived in Pänksäts-paul, not far from the Karpje whom Reguly also knew well, for he measured him for his anthropological survey. (Vandor 2008: 126–127).

²² “Hofmann got acquainted with Työbing whose name he writes as Tjöbin. ‘Auf them Szopak-Nyöl begegnete ich dem Ostiakien Tjöbin mit seinem Brüdern Titama und Ojo, die jeder mit 28–30 Rennthieren zu unserer Unterstützung kamen.’”

of three tents where Tyobing and his family lived, so probably three brothers and their families lived in these three tents.

For Hofmann's first, 1847 expedition Alexei Kasimov provided reindeers for transportation and food:

"The Russian academic delegation made a contract with him in the spring of 1847 that for 260 silver rubels he was to provide twenty nartas (sledges) with two reindeers each and a proper number of reindeers on leading rein needed for the delegation which should be available wherever they are and a proper number of workers with them, an interpreter speaking Vogul and Ostyak and a guide familiar with the neighbourhood. He is, says Hofmann, the only person in the province of Perm in the Ural who has enough reindeers for transporting baggages. Hofmann says he is a Vogul (Ostyak) from Berezov who is called Alec the Rich (Dieser Ostjak, Alexei Jeremejew Kassymov, gemeinlich nur Alexei der Reiche genannt)." (Hunfalvy 1864: 54, footnote № 12).

The Hofmann expedition might have formed an entirely different relationship with the locals than Reguly. Reguly constantly reported that he was welcomed with respect and joy and his hosts almost tried to read his mind:

"I must tell you about the friendliness and cordiality the people here welcome me everywhere with during my whole voyage, because I would like to present the noble sons of nature loyally and vividly to you, Sir. Dear Sir, you will remember my letters that some weeks after my arrival to the Ural two Voguls arrived from the Tapsiya to Vsevolodskoi who, as they said, had come to get acquainted with the man who was sent to their people to study their language and their way of life, and to ask him to visit them and their province as well. Sir, you could hardly identify this phenomenon with the impression which was formed of this people." (Toldy 1850: 88–89).

As noted above the Hofmann expedition formed more of a businesslike relationship with the locals. Certain members of the expedition praised Kasimov. This is how Kowalski describes their first sledge trip:

"The owner of our reindeers, the Ostyak Alexei, an old man of 60 proved that age could often be more important than youth if supported by experience and long practice. On the very first day Alexei wanted to show his readiness for action and left with the whole caravan while we fell behind more and more and followed only the tracks left by his sledge in the marsh. <...> The one who has never seen forests grown wild, never touched by axes, full of marshes cannot imagine the difficulties which traveling through virgin forests in the valleys means. Our respectable Alexei and his helpers' axes were constantly in work, our sledges with the baggages were constantly stuck and we used this opportunity to have a rest..." (Hofmann I: 13).

Hofmann himself was not so satisfied with Kasimov and his men. He complains that they prefer to eat and sleep instead of guarding the herd, they never harness the animals in time, they never make the needed repairs on the sledges after arrival, but always before leaving, etc. They even had an open row.

“Already on the 19th of the midsummer month our rich Alec started to come forward with demands to the Russians stating that he had promised to take the delegation up to the source of Pechora and he would not take a step further. Hofmann was obliged to treat him gently, because he did not have anyone else who was at home in the mountains; he was soon bent by the threats with the police „dank dem gewohnten Rechtsverfahren dieser Behörde”²³ says Hofmann.” (Hunfalvy 1864: 54, footnote № 12).

The other members of the expedition — like Kowalski — probably regarded the situation more realistically:

“Our travels have proved that it is impossible to rely on Alexei’s reindeers till the end of the summer. We still had a long way to go, but we lost hope to go on with the same reindeers.” (Hofmann I: XVI).

As they could not go on with Kasimov the expedition waited more than two weeks at the source of Pechora so that the local reindeer herders could provide the appropriate number of animals. This is what the remark refers to concerning Tyobing and his brothers who helped the expedition with reindeers (see footnote Nro 22). Hunfalvy adds a malicious remark to the story:

“It is strange that Alec Kasimov did not say a word about Reguly to Hofmann, or if he did, Hofmann does not mention this.” (Hunfalvy 1864: 54, footnote № 12).

The first claim that is Kasimov did not mention Reguly to Hofmann, is not surprising in the light of their tense relationship. Probably they did not talk about topics like that – unless considering the fact that Alexei Kasimov heard his own words from Hofmann who used the geographical names of Reguly’s map. Even in Reguly’s life it was striking that Hofmann never mentioned Reguly for the first volume published on the expeditions did not refer to the fact that the newly drawn map by Reguly made possible the orientation of the expedition in the Ural. The correction in the second volume is not so convincing, for after copiously praising Castrén — who did deserve it for his undying merits — Hofmann refers to Reguly’s research very briefly. (Hofmann I: I–VIII).

Anyway it is hardly possible that neither Reguly nor Hofmann said anything if Kasimov and Tyobing were the same person. They had a longer and closer relationship with them than they could hide the fact in their descriptions. Maybe a note in passing — still hiding at the moment — will decide this question in the future.

There is something else which would explain why Reguly calls Tyobing’s accomodation “Alexei Kasimov’s tent”: Tyobing might have worked for him. Kasimov invested his wealth in several herds. He was in charge of one of them — in the south — but the other ones were obviously herded by strangers. He was not young anymore so he could have given the charge of the herds to

²³ ‘Thanks to the usual legal procedure of the administration.’

his sons, but others worked for him as well. The pastures of Kasimov's herds were situated southwards compared to the region accommodated by Tyobing, so there is no reference that he was one of Kasimov's "hired hand". What is more, Reguly mentions that Tyobing was the richest man in his region and he had hired hands himself.²⁴ It could be assumed that he was a sort of "steward" at Kasimov's who is wealthy himself, but there are no data supporting this. So the data regarding Tyobing and Kasimov remain unclear.

Reguly writes about Kasimov to Baer:

"He is the great people's banker of the Voguls for there may be no family neither by the Upper Sosva nor by the Upper Lozva which would not be indebted to him — he did a special service to the Voguls of Tcherdin that since he lives in their region they can buy reindeers at a low price which increased the breeding of reindeers a bit and they can use sledges, they don't have to go by foot and their existence gained a more solid base for the reindeers provide food in case of unsuccessful hunting." (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Ms 4754/72 2. side of a folded paper).

In the same letter — where he gives explanations to his sketch maps — he adds further data on the relations of the Voguls of Beryozov and the Voguls of Tcherdin:

"The Voguls of Tcherdin regard the Ural between the sources of the Southern and Northern Sosva as their own property which they own since the reign of Catherine II who presented it to them. But for a long time no one remembers since what, only Voguls of Beryozov herd their huge herds here. Five families pay their taxes in Beryozov and because of the abovementioned property rights of the Tcherdin Voguls they regard themselves as guests and for the use of the region they help the proprietor of the land, if he is in need, in case of a bad hunt they give him a reindeer or pay the tax instead of him. But is it not still possible that they live here longer, than the Tcherdin Voguls, first of all because of the religious cult of the Sosva Voguls who travel to the Jelping nyarr (sacred mountain — marked on the map) to Numi Tarom's (the highest God living in the sky) seat to give sacrifice and their place for sacrifice (jurpingkam) is situated higher on the mountain, closer to God. The Beryozov Voguls live at the source of the Pelim as well for a while, they settled there because that area does not lack in game and it lies empty, uninhabited." (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Ms 4754/72 I, page -3 of a folded paper).

It is obvious from the quotes above that Alexei Kasimov's family is among these five families. What is more Reguly marked Woiganpang's tent on this area as well, so probably he also belonged to the circle of these five families (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics, 2-r. 4/V., Karta Nro I).

²⁴ "This is why I strove to get a loyal perspective on my own or with the help of Tjobing and his men."

The letter describes that the Tcherdin Voguls went by foot. They could have had dog sleighs as forest hunters. This could have been substituted by reindeer sledges when the reindeer herding reached their area. A detail says that this happened before “the time immemorial”, but according to another source it is linked to Alexei Kasimov who 13 years before 1844 — that is in 1831 — started reindeer herding on the southern pastures. The spreading of reindeer herding was part of a process as well: the wild reindeer and elk herds were diminishing so hunting was not successful anymore. The changes follow the scenario of the explosion-like spreading of reindeer herding which from the 1720s led to the tundra reindeer herding (Krupnik 1989: 161).

Summing up the data on Alexei Kasimov it is safe to assume that he was an important figure in the Ural in the middle of the 19th century: the Russians, the Khanty, the Mansi, the Nenets, the Komi all knew and respected him. His help and support might have increased Reguly’s prestige while Alexei Kasimov’s name was written into the history of mapping of the Ural via Reguly and the Ural expedition led by Hofmann. But his role in Reguly’s Samoyedic studies remains obscure.

PEOPLES AND ETHNIC NAMES IN THE URAL

This gives a lively picture of the ethnic groups living in the Ural. According to the descriptions written in the middle of the 19th century or the second part of the 19th century the living area, farming, language of the ethnic groups were constantly changing.

In case of the Ob-Ugrians the main migratory direction had been essential. As for the Mansi the reason for moving from the western side of the Ural to the eastern side was the spreading of the Russian-speaking population who farmed and industrialized the western side. On the eastern side the Khanty and Mansi inhabitants of the tributaries of the Ob migrated seasonally because of the upsurge of fishing on the Ob. They hunted and fished in the little villages by the tributaries from autumn till spring, in the summer they moved to the fishing settlements by the Ob. This kind of migration led to the establishment of swarming-settlements on the Ob and the lower reaches of the river.

The relations between the Nenets and the Ob-Ugrians — at least according to A. Golovnev and his followers — took a complete turn because of economical reasons. While the hunting-fishing way of life on the taiga was pursued by the Ob-Ugrian population with more success assimilating and pushing eastwards the Nenets population living similar lifestyle, with the boom of reindeer herding the Nenets got into dominant position (Golovnev 1995: 100–106; Perevalova 2004: 112–126). The neighbouring groups of the Nenets who recognized the economic possibilities hidden in tundra reindeer herding — certain Khanty groups and the Komi of Izhma — were influenced by the Nenets as well. This process could have led to assimilation by the Nenets.

Initially the presence of the Russian population could be felt only through trade and bureaucracy, but the abovementioned economical changes — first of all the profit from fishing — set waves of resettling in motion. It is also worth mentioning the Tartars who lived on the area bordering the Ob-Ugrians in the south. Their farming lifestyle influenced the southern Mansi and Khanty groups which acquired the Russian and Tartar neighbours' culture by the 20th century.

There are some smaller notepapers in the same file under the same number with Antal Reguly's Calendarium in the MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books. One of the papers with no page number contains the following list:

die Sigvaer nennen den Tataren Hatny
 [the same] den Russen Rusch
 galy = Vogul von den Sinnya Volk genannt
 der Samojed nennt sich Urich
 dies wort sagt der Vogul
 Joran auf der Syrjne Jaran
 das Sinnya Volk nennt sich Hndi jch
 Habaj werden die wogulen genannt von den Samojuden
 La mnn werden die Pulingauter genannt
 longa jch nennen sich selbst die Pulingauter²⁵

(MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics. 16. r. 22, without page number).

Reguly's collection of ethnic names — similarly to the remarks attached to the Samoyedic material, gives many answers, but raises more questions. It contains almost all the ethnic names from the Ural area. It has the Ob-Ugrian Hatny (*tan*)²⁶ name for the Tartars, Ob-Ugrian name for Russians, the Rusch (*rs*), it features the the names used for the Mansi: vogul and galy (*al*), the name Habaj (*bi*) used for the Ob-Ugrians by the Nenets, and the Pulingauts' (the Khanty name of Obdorsk/Salehard) internal and external name which could be identified as patrynymic using the terminology of literature. The names are well known, so Reguly's list rather reinforces their validity.

But the data concerning the Nenets are problematic. It is surprising that "the Samoyed calls himself Urich"; for in *ur jch* form it is how the northern Khanty call the Nenets; Reguly writes this regarding the Khanty: "or jach samojed (leute), or ho samojed (mann), or ning — weib, keu orjach kamennie Samojed, nimi orjach nizovskie" (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Ms 10.202/27.2: 3). The remarks concerning the Ob-Ugrian word

²⁵ The translation of the original text.

²⁶ If it is not noted otherwise the given examples are from the Synya dialect of Khanty language.

jöran used for the Nenets are difficult to interpret; from Reguly's explanation it seems that the Mansi used the name for the Komi. Although a wide sphere of meaning of *jöran* will be shown, no further trace of this meaning could be found.

NENETS GROUPS

There are two ethnic names in the Northern Khanty dialects for the Nenets: *jöran* and *ur*. For the Nenets are usually divided to the tundra and the forest groups, it would be evident to identify the groups with the two names for the Nenets. Examining the history of Northern Khanty groups ethnographer E. Perevalova publishes countless data about the relations and conflicts between Ob-Ugrians (mainly the Khanty) and the Nenets. She thinks the name *ur* is used for the forest Nenets and *jörn* is used for the tundra Nenets (Perevalova 2004: 113). But based on the usage of the Khanty and Mansi dialects and the historical data this question is not so simple.

The word *ur* is documented in the northern Khanty area, mainly from the Synya dialect. Etymologically it can be linked to the word meaning 'woody hill, forest' (DEWOS 161. 1619), but with the suffix meaning 'man, woman, people' it means 'Nenets'. In today's Synya Khanty usage the name *ur* means the Nenets as an ethnic name, but it means automatically the tundra "sea-side" reindeer Nenets. In the parallelisms typical of the folklore texts both *ur* and *jöran* are used together with the problematic *məs* word. The meaning of *məs*-people may range from 'people from tales and myths' to the 'members of *məs*-phratry'. It is to be noted that the Synya Khanty count the Nenets and the Komi to the members of *məs*, the Russians to the members of the *pör* phratry.

According to lexical data the versions of *jöran* are well known in the Ob-Ugrian language area, its main meaning is 'Samoyed'. In the eastern Khanty and the Kazym (regarded northern) Khanty dialects the Samoyed meaning probably refers to the forest Nenets — living at the source of Kazym, Tromagan or Pim, — they use complementary attributes to differentiate between the more distant Nenets groups. The tundra Nenets are called *öwəs-jöran* 'northern, of lower reach' Samoyed in the Kazym dialect, the Ural Nenets are called *keu-jaran* 'Ural-Samojeden' in the southern dialect (DEWOS 405–407.).

The same word in the Mansi language means 'Samoyed', but in the Lozva dialect it has the meaning 'northern Vogul' as well (WWb 176), and based on this it can be interpreted as an indication of a group living northward — and a different lifestyle. In the Mansi language there is no more data for Samoyedic ethnic name; the more recent (and simpler) dictionaries expressly identify *jöran* as the meaning of Nenets (Rombandyeyeva-Kuzakova 2000: 23). On Reguly's first sketch map *joran* features as a name of an ethnic group as well: "die Joran sind nur 30 Seelen beiden geschl. Sprechen alle auch auf Mansi und

zahlen jassak nach Sukerjä²⁷ (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics 2-r. 4/V, Karta Nro II).

The map was made in January in 1844, not much later than Reguly — based on Alexei Kasimov's information — started his Mansi studies. It seems that later Reguly did not sacrifice as much attention to this ethnic name. In his notes he uses the name Samoyed, in his Mansi dictionary *jorn* features only in compounds (see further), in his Khanty dictionaries the *ur-jɔχ* form has the meaning of 'Nenets'. (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Ms 10.202/27.2: 3).

It is worth noting that besides the two Ob-Ugrian languages the word *яран* 'Nenets' is used in Russian as well (DEWOS 407).

The Khanty word *jörən* appear in three themes besides the ethnic or group names (but connected to them). There are geographical names containing this word. On the upper reach of Synya *jörən jɔχ weləm jöχan* that is 'river killed by *jörən* people', so in free translation 'the river where the *jörən* people were killed' refers to warlike deed. Conflicts sporadically took place with both of the Nenets groups: the Khanty occupied the areas of the forest Nenets, while later the nomadic Nenets reindeer herders overran the Khanty (and Russian) settlements; but no consequences can be drawn based on this regarding a certain ethnic group. What is more, the Synya Khanty do not identify the *jörən jɔχ* with the Nenets (because they are *ur jɔχ* in their interpretation), but talk about them as 'a people living long time ago'. There are some topics which are also linked to 'people living here long time ago', for example the earth house holes or details that meeting people like these it is not allowed to give objects to the hands, for example the tobacco was offered on the shovel of the ski rod, etc.

The other typical appearance of the word *jörən* is in the names of certain objects and tools. These objects are for instance the *jörən χir* '*jörən sack*', *jörən waj* '*jörən boot*', *jörən χot* '*jörən house*', in fact *tent* refer to objects of the reindeer herding culture, since all of them are made of reindeer fur. In Reguly's manuscript Mansi dictionary the word *jorn* appears only in names of objects, there are no data about it as the name of an ethnic group: "*jorn vajä* boot made of leather, *voaj jur* frontal part of a boot-top — *jorn kvel* cabin made of leather, like the [?]²⁸ *šum*" (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books 4-r. 117, subitem without numbering: 22). Although the forest fishing-hunting life was complemented with reindeer husbandry, the reindeers were used exclusively for drawing sleds, their meat was not or just rarely consumed, instead of their fur the Khanty used the fur of the wild reindeers, elks, smaller furry animals to make warm clothes. The processing

²⁷ The number of Jorans is only thirty souls of each sexes. All of them speak Mansi and they pay their taxes in Sukerjä. The "thirty souls of each sexes" probably means all together 30 persons. I am indebted to Zsófia Schön for translating the data in German.

²⁸ It may be read as a Lappish word: *čum*, 'tent'.

of reindeer meat and fur became a common practice only after the large-scale tundra reindeer herding had been established. This is when tents made of fur, fur storage sacks used for moving and fur clothes came into common use. It shows a connection with the tundra type Nenets culture that this group of objects is linked to the word *jōrən*, though it is worth noting that these objects and their names figure both in Mansi and Kazym and eastern Khanty dialects — where the forest type reindeer herding was more frequent than the tundra type.

The third appearance of the word *jōrən* is documented in both the Mansi and the northern Khanty area. The Synya Khanty know about a Mansi clan called ‘*jōrən χατəη χḡjatəi*’ ‘People living in Nenets tents’ whose members got as far as the Synya. This patronymic exists in Mansi (for example Istochniki po etnografii Zapadnoy Sibiri 1987: 191–192) or its existence can be deduced from its meaning as a forename in the WWb dictionary: *jōrən-kwoləη ājkä* ‘forename in *χārəη-paul*’, *jōrən-kwoliη nē kaslä āyi marpa* ‘forename *saw-paul-ban*’ (WWb 176), that is ‘Nenets old man living in tent’ ‘name from Horumpaul’, ‘Nenets woman living in tent? her daughter Marfa’ name in *saw-paul*. As it will be explained the patronymic might refer to a group of Nenets who integrated into the Mansi people.

As a further addition it is worth mentioning the name *sāran-ur jḡχ* among the Synya Khanty which means ‘Komi-Nenets people’. This term is used for the Tilikov family who at present live in Ovgort, but the family originates from a settlement situated close to the Synya’s source. They tell that their ancestors were Komi assimilated into the Nenets and the members of the family still use words of Komi origin, typical exclusively of them. The tundra Nenets reindeer husbandry influenced not only northern Ob-Ugrian groups, but the Komi group of the Izhma (see other references of this essay). In mixed marriages between the Nenets, the Komi, the Khanty, couples used mixed language which — according to sources — made the communication within the family difficult. The Nenets element plays the most defining role in the family’s identity, a member had himself and his children registered as Nenets despite the fact that their mother tongue and culture are the same as the local Khanty group has. The Nenets origin was not only preserved in the family’s memory, but others also refer to them as *ur jḡχ*, *ur χu* ‘Nenets people, Nenets man’ besides the rarely used *sāran-ur jḡχ*.

To sum up the data concerning *jōrən* and *ur*, the two words are used for the Nenets in parallel or complementing each other geographically. The names could not be evidently identified with any of the two groups of the Nenets (the forest and tundra Nenets) despite the fact that one of them (*ur*) is etymologically linked to a word meaning forest, the other (*jōrən*) figures in the names of the objects of the typical tundra reindeer herding culture. For the two names are documented in parallel only from a small area (and in folklore works), the identification with the two Nenets groups are without base, especially in cases when in certain dialects even the identification with

the Nenets is questioned (and when the words refer to northern Voguls or old people).

NENETS POPULATION IN THE AREA OF OB AND URAL — HISTORICAL REVIEW

The ancient history of the Nenets is not to be discussed here, in the following the essay relies on the works by Boris Dolgikh and Vladimir Vasiliev (Dolgikh 1970; Vasiliev 1974; 1978; 1979; Vasiliev, Simchenko 1970).

The first relatively detailed data are available from the 16th century. The number, dwelling places — and indirectly — the lifestyle of the Nenets could be deduced from the documents on registration and administration. Based on data on dwelling places and taxation it is evident that the Nenets were divided into tundra and forest groups not only on the Siberian side — like today, — but on the European side as well.

Out of three territorial groups of the European Nenets a group of both tundra and forest Nenets lived in Pustozersk, while in Izhma and Ust-Cilma Nenets lived forest life. It included forest hunting (for wild reindeers, elks, fur animals) and fishing complemented with small-scale reindeer herding used mainly for transportation. The European forest Nenets belonged mainly to the Hetanzi, Vanujto, Veli clans.²⁹ The names of the administrative archives constantly fluctuate which may have been caused by “accidental”, “occasional” roaming routes, and naturally migratory processes as well. The names of the Izhma and Ust-Cilma Nenets remained more or less the same on the long run. In Pustozersk the population of “two kinds of Nenets” were more heterogeneous because of the mobility of the tundra groups, since on the one hand taiga people often appeared on the Siberian side in the taxation documents, on the other hand the town of Pustozersk drew the members of other groups who occasionally paid their taxes there (Dolgikh 1970: 18).

A forest Nenets group of about 200 persons (49 adult men) in the middle of the 16th century grew into a group of about 360 persons by the end of the 18th century. The European Nenets were divided into three groups even in the end of the 19th century: the tundra Nenets of Kanin-Timan and “Big Plain”³⁰ and the forest Nenets living in the Pechora basin (Dolgikh 1970: 23). The folklore descriptions from the turn of the 18–19th century document well the differences in their ways of life (Dolgikh 1970: 24). The fate of the group of forest Nenets was determined by the economic development of the tundra Nenets and Izhma Komi. With the spread of large-scale reindeer herding the group was assimilated, so there are no data of their folkloristic and dialectic characteristics. (Dolgikh 1970: 25).

²⁹ I do not intend to dwell on the problem of the Nenets social structure and its terminology. The literature divides phratries and within them, clans which all of them have their individual names. They are linked to the family names. So the patronymics and surnames refer to family relations.

³⁰ Большая земля.

Forest Nenets groups lived on the eastern side of the Ural as well. The group living at the source of Kazym went through significant changes, but it preserved its linguistic and cultural identity to this day — today they are regarded as the forest Nenets.

Certain “Vojkar samoyeds” are mentioned on the area between the Ob and the Ural, and geographically they could be divided into Kunovat³¹ and Lyapin groups (for a detailed introduction see: Vasiliev 1974; 1978). Analysis shows that presumably they are the easternmost group of the European forest Nenets. The furs they paid their taxes with shows that they lived forest Nenets life. Their ethnic roots are usually unknown; according to patronymics and family names they were connected to all the Nenets groups. Besides the Lyapin and Kunovat names tundra family names are also present which could be the result of occasional migrations.

It is obvious that Reguly could have met them, the Nenets group living at the source of Sigva and Synya, when he mentioned Samoyeds in his reports.

REGULY'S MAPS AND SKETCH MAPS

Reguly had been seriously interested in cartography even in the preparatory period before his Ural tour. He had planned to collect geographical data. The result: the map of Northern Ural and accompanying explanatory notes.³² This huge work is accompanied by sketches and notes. Five big sketch maps are preserved (MTA Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics, 2-r. 4/V) which used to be independent maps — but they are “degraded” into sketch maps by the publication of the map summing up the information on them (Reguly 1846).

Similarly to the results of his linguistic field works his cartographical notes mirror Reguly's expanding knowledge, changing perspective, evolving independent opinions. In the light of this working process — considering the possibility of constant change — the sketches contain huge amount of data often in a form more useful or visible than a map. This is exemplified by the information concerning the ethnic names and dwelling places.

Reguly sent the first three sketches to Baer to St. Petersburg. In his letter (Pelim, 21 April 1844) he added explanations:

³¹ The river Kunovat is the eastern tributary of the Ob, but the bank of Synya belonged to the Kunovat territory as well. The Kunovat Nenets live by the upper reach of Synya. Their ethnic names elsewhere: *иневские*. The meaning of this attribute is unclear. Vasiliev (1978: 119) thinks that it comes from a different pronunciation of the river Synya which seems improbable for me.

³² He set down his explanations in the letter written to Köppen which were published in the monthly of the Russian Geographical Society (Переводъ письма венгерскаго путешественника г-на Регуликъ члену Русскаго Географическаго Общества, академику П. И. Кеппену, отъ 21 января 1847 года. Записки Русскаго Географическаго Общества. Санкт Петербургъ, 1849). The method and history of Reguly's cartographical activity is well processed, so I do not dwell on this. See Pápay 1906, Borbély 1955, Klinghammer-Gercsák 2009, and most recently the PhD thesis of Zoltán Gulyás (Gulyás, 2016).

“I am sorry for the contradictions as for the names of the inhabitants of the upper reach of Sosva, dear councillor of state, for these map were not drawn at the same time. In Vsevolodskoi where I drew the second one and the third one, due to my narrowmindedness I immediately called them Ostyaks according to the usual usage of the administration, but as soon as I had the opportunity to get acquainted with the real Ostyaks — the Handa people — I was forced to correct my mistake and to call them Vogul, as you will see on the first map.” (Ms 4754/72 I. page 3 of a folded paper).

Reguly accompanied the map published in 1846 in St. Petersburg with explanations which he set down in a letter to Koppen. By this the Ural tour got into perspective and Reguly could have summarized part of his knowledge acquired there. He sums up the data collected on Samoyeds thus:

“Though we might be impressed that over the Urals and the source of river Kara the area is inhabited by the Voguls and Ostyaks, these peoples are mere newcomers there. It is especially true of the Voguls who started reindeer breeding only in the beginning of the last century. Some progenies earlier the Ural belonged exclusively to the Samoyeds — it is proved by the names of the mountains — on the vast area which extends from the river Kara to the source of southern Sosva and the region of Petro-Pavlovsk. All the mountains have Samoyedic names here, some of them are Vogul and Ostyak, but they are translations of the Samoyedic names. For example: *Quott nyar* close to the source of Lopsija — that is the translation of Samoyed *Peney Pae* — (Kisi Kamen), *Ne pubi* next to the river Shtchugor — that is the translation of the Samoyed *Nja haha* (Female idol). This proves that the Voguls and Ostyaks got acquainted with the Ural through the guidance of the Samoyeds. This opinion is supported by the remaining scarce members of the Samoyeds whose number can presumably be 6–8 families all along the Urals. From this point of view it is worth mentioning the fate of the southernmost tribe, the Menelovas. The real home (of this tribe) used to be on the Shtchugor-Ural (that is on the ridge to the west of this river), which is called *Menelovapae* (Menelova mountain) by the Samoyeds because of this.

Besides this the tribe extended to the Ural by the Visera, what is more they herded their reindeers at the source of the Southern Sosva. Only one family remained of this tribe which live their miserable life with about five reindeers on the Shtchugor-Ural. Three families remained from the *Gniwai* tribe which used to extend from the source of Vuolya to the source Tochlya which still have their independent way of life, but the others spread and work as hired hands. A branch of this tribe which lives between the sources of the rivers of Sukerya and Noketi, is called *Gnarka-peng-Gniwai* (Gniwais of the great mountain) after the steep and rocky side of the mountains. We must assume that the tribes Vonoyti and Puchi live at the Sigva, Synya and Voykar, and they have two or three remaining families.” (Papay 1906: 359–360).

His personal experiences illustrated above are only partly reflected here. He does not mark the Ural Nenets neither on his sketch maps nor on the final map. Besides the data concerning the number of jorans on one of the maps there are only certain references to the Nenets presence on the Ural map.³³ There are more than one reason for that. First of all it is the low number of the Nenets — although Reguly reported on them so he paid attention to their presence. A more important reason is that the population was mixed: contemporary sources give examples of almost every possibility of assimilation: there is a Mansi growing up among the Samoyeds, a Samoyed growing up among the Komi and vice versa. It would have been impossible to put these mixed groups on the map. Reguly could have been limited by the his conviction that mother tongue is the marker of ethnic identity. On the Khanty and Mansi areas he marked the groups which still spoke Khanty or Mansi, he did not mark the cases where language change happened. Although he made notes on the Samoyedic language and place names, he remarks that “they speak Mansi, too” (MTA KIK Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics, 2-r. 4/V, Karta Nro II), so the group was not easily identified based on their language. Thus he marked the dwelling places of certain families and clans on his sketch maps, for example the dwelling place of the Gniwai clan mentioned in his explanatory notes at the source of Synya (Reguly 1846) or close to this a dwelling place of the Putschi clan on his sketch maps. (MTA Collection of Manuscripts and Old Books, Hungarian Linguistics 2-r. 4/V. Karta Nro II).

REINDEER HERDING AND ETHNICITY

The reindeer herders visited by Reguly are sometimes wealthy or quite rich, while others are reduced to service. It was a well-known fact that the wealth invested in herds could disappear in no time because of bad weather, epidemics, predators etc. How come that while Alexei Kasimov occupies more and more pastures, extends his territory, has countless reindeers, others “live their miserable life with about five reindeers”? Since for example due to Kasimov’s example reindeer herding spread south and gave a safer existence to the people.

The reason for this controversy could be the “well-known” social layering where the handier, more hard-working, luckier farmer deserves to be more wealthy. But based on the circumstances described above it is assumed that two worlds clashed here and not only material reasons were in the background. One is the world of the taiga hunter who lives a relatively territorially bound life by hunting and fishing, the other is the world of the reindeer herder who concentrates on breeding and thanks to his animals, very mobile and obtains the needed objects by buying them. This change of perspective — as it was

³³ Naturally as an independent ethnic group their border is marked on the tundra.

mentioned earlier — took place in the tundra region and the bordering forest zone from the 18th century though in different pace. It seems that adaptability resulted in the advance which enabled success. The followers of self-sustaining forest hunting lifestyle — the European and Siberian Nenets, but naturally part of the Mansi and Khanty — were left behind during this process and many of them could not keep the pace. The histories of the ethnic groups were shaped by individual life stories: those who grew up in a community different from their origins could have lost their mothertongue and part of their culture but could have acquired skills to make their life more successful. The constant changes led to migrations and assimilations.

Looking at the history of the Ural Nenets it is striking that although reindeer herding is linked to the Nenets, the Ural Nenets are not part of this “success story”, at least not as Nenets. They assimilated into the Mansi, only reindeer herding and its vocabulary remained from their Nenets identity. It seems that their assimilation with the Mansi (and Khanty) on both sides of the Ural had started earlier since if they had acquired the pastures as successful, rich reindeer herders — as the Izhma Komi and Nenets did by the second half of the 19th century — they would have hardly assimilated into the local population. Though this is what happened.

The 20th century researches document the Lyapin population as Mansi. Based on Csernyecov's Sosva and Sigva field data it is known that in this area there was significant difference between the two phratries, the *mos* and *por*. The *por* people significantly outnumbered the *mos* people. The *mos* people — giving one third of the population — were divided into two groups on the Sosva and the Sigva: *Нярас махум* ‘frog people’ and *Ерн колын махум* ‘people of Samoyed houses’ (Istochniki po etnografii Zapadnoy Sibiri 1987: 191–192).

The relation between Mansi patronymic and family names is not well researched that is it is not known which family name belongs to which clan. Besides the Sainahovs, the Alpíns, the Yemtashins³⁴ (Istochniki po etnografii Zapadnoy Sibiri 1987: 198) and the Yaptyins³⁵ also belong to the “people of Samoyed houses” — but the list presumably is not complete with these. As it was demonstrated earlier the Hozumovs might be the members of this group as well.

The name of the group *jörän хотәң хөјәтәт* (people with Nenets tents) was already mentioned in the essay. They obviously cannot be regarded of Nenets ethnicity just because the ethnic name has the word meaning Samoyed (Nenets) in it. The word *jörän* refers to a way of life, the Nenets tent is the name of a tent used by the reindeer herders, regardless of the ethnicity of its dweller. What is more it is sometimes interpreted that the term only refers to

³⁴ Алпин, Емташин.

³⁵ Яптин (based on my own field work).

the fact that a group's member "has a tent similar to the one of the Nenets".³⁶ We may regard the group of Nenets origin because of Reguly's information about the Nenets origin of the Sainahovs. The data available on their body of beliefs prove their Nenets origin. The 'people with Nenets tents' respect the totem of Old Pike (Istochniki po etnografii Zapadnoy Sibiri 1987: 191–192) who lives in the Tshékurya as the ancestor of the Sainahov clan (Csernyecov 1949: 13). Csernyecov found the etymology of the name *šojnaχ* in the word meaning pike (Csernyecov 1949: 4, see: WWb 598). The Pike sits on the sacred sledge, which has its runners turned upside in every direction so it is unnecessary to turn around with it. (Istochniki po etnografii Zapadnoy Sibiri 1987: 186–187). This description is the same as the characterization of other Nenets groups' totems. (Perevalova 2004: 122).

Based on the data demonstrated above it is safe to state that the Sigva population contains a numerous group of Nenets origin. At least one of the waves of assimilation intensified at the end of the 18th century when the reindeer herding Nenets from the Urals settled by the river Sigva. Besides acquiring Mansi language they kept their mother tongue — mainly because of reindeer herding — up until the middle of the 19th century. The researches conducted during the 20th century found only fragments referring to their different origin.

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³⁶ Private communication by Taragupta L. A., July 2009, Salehard.

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МАТЕРИАЛЫ АНТАЛА РЕГУЛИ ОБ УРАЛЬСКИХ НЕНЦАХ

А Н Н О Т А Ц И Я . В XVIII–XIX вв. население обеих сторон Северного Урала было смешанным как в этническом, так и в языковом отношении. Фольклористические и лингвистические исследования второй половины XIX в. создают впечатление, что в тундровой зоне доминировало оленеводство ненецкого типа, а в таёжной — обско-угорский хозяйственный комплекс, включающий, главным образом, охоту и рыболовство. Однако «классические» границы между этническими группами и языками, не могли быть четкими. Для лучшего понимания процессов трансформации, возможно, стоит отойти от изучения этнической и языковой истории и попытаться проследить судьбы небольших групп, диалектов и даже индивидов.

Рукопись Регули демонстрирует, что за время изучения отдельных этнических групп его знания и интересы претерпели значительную трансформацию. Объездив области между Уралом и Обью и впоследствии сам Урал, Регули за полтора года овладел тремя языками (мансийский, ненецкий, хантыйский), познакомился с по меньшей мере тремя способами ведения хозяйства (лесная охота, рыболовство, оленеводство), составил карты ранее неизвестной области (Северный Урал), записал несколько томов стихов и неоднократно принял участие в ритуалах жертвоприношения. В середине XIX в. этническая идентичность населения Сигвы была предметом многочисленных дискуссий в литературе. Материалы Антала Регули демонстрируют, что, наряду с такими этническими группами, как ханты, манси и коми, свою роль в истории населения Сигвы сыграли также и ненцы.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: Антал Регули, Урал, ненцы, ханты, манси, этническая история, оленеводство

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