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The Creation of New Spirits in Nanai Shamanism

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The Nanai pantheon of the shamanic figures changes constantly. Some spirits lose their traits and others are forgotten for one reason or another. At the same time other spirits turn up and take their place. The present article deals with two categories of spirits—the helping spirits of the shamans, the sevens and the spirits of ancestors, former souls of shaman fathers and mothers, who were patrons of the clan.

Nanai shamanism presents extremely favorable material for the study of the ways of coming into being of spirits and their origins. The spiritual traditions of the Nanais are now fading, but, at the same time, they are developing and being enriched by new plots and figures. I.A. Lopatin commented on the instability and creative character of Nanai mythology more than 70 years ago (1922:212). According to him “the development of Gold¹ mythology has not finished yet”, and this is the reason that “many Golds know neither the classification of their spirits, nor the number of them” and “new ones are being created at every turn” (Lopatin 1922:212). The latest expeditions² have provided extensive material to support Lopatin’s opinion. When a shaman sets forth on his meditative journey in search of a soul that has left the body of a sick person, he does not know for certain what will happen during the successive stages of the ceremony. He may come across entirely unknown spirits. The situation was the same at the beginning of this century, when Lopatin

¹ I.e. Nanai.

² In this paper I make use of the materials I collected during my expeditions to Nanai villages in the Khabarovsk district between 1980 and 1990 and with Juha Pentikäinen to the villages of Naikhin and Daerga in 1991.

(1922:213) wrote: “during every shaman ceremony, some new spirits can be discovered, and forgotten spirits recalled”. The pantheon of the shamanic figures changes constantly. Some spirits lose their traits and others are forgotten for one reason or another. At the same time other spirits turn up and take their place.

However, the different categories of Nanai spirits vary in the degree of their stability. The most stable conceptions are connected with the most powerful spirits, known as *endurs* (deities). It is unlikely that a new *endur* has turned up recently. This can most probably be explained by supposing that the origin of these spirits is beyond the Nanai culture; indeed, there is evidence that they are of Manchu origin. On the other hand, it is quite common for new figures to appear among the Nanai spirits proper. The present article deals with two categories of spirits—the helping spirits of the shamans, the *sevens*³, and the spirits of ancestors, former souls of shaman fathers and mothers, who were patrons of the clan.

The fresh materials that were collected during the recent expeditions allow us to presume that the spirits originate in real, everyday life. I was able to record a legend telling how *simurs* become *sevens*—the helping spirits of shamans.⁴ *Simurs* are creatures that resemble large snakes. The Nanais claim that hunters sometimes see them in the taiga.

One summer a young man—a shaman—wished to travel from one place to another, a journey of a few days. One morning he got up and decided to go hunting. He was rowing a boat on a lake in a thick fog. Suddenly he noticed something floating in the water. He thought it was a roe or something similar. He propelled the boat towards it as quickly as he could and when he came near he saw that it was not a roe but a *simur*. By now it was too late to get away. What could have he done to have come so close to a *simur*? He gripped his lance and killed the *simur* by piercing it three times. After that, wherever he happened to be he saw *simurs*.

Once he was boating up the Amur river. He was passing a cliff (either Sandar or Sikachi-Alan) when a big *simur* jumped from the top of the cliff into the boat, landing just where the lance was. The man was sitting

³ The *sevens* usually personify some natural creatures or phenomena. Not all kinds of *sevens* are shamanic spirits.

⁴ This legend was related by Nikolai Petrovich Beldi in April 1990. Beldi was born in the village of Naikhin, Khabarovsk district, in 1927.

at rudder. He took hold of the lance, killed the *simur* and went on rowing. At night, while asleep, he saw both *simurs* he had killed in a dream. "You defeated us," they told him, "and from now on any time you are shamanizing or doing something else we'll serve you in the form of *sevens*. If you come to grief or get into trouble, call us like this: 'My father Simur! My mother Simur!'" And from then on the two *simurs* became *sevens*, the shaman's helping spirits.

A new helping spirit appears when a shaman meets some unusual creature in real life—most often during encounters with dangerous beasts which he cannot overcome or reach some accommodation with. In the course of accumulating experience of real life the number of his helping spirits multiplies and the shaman's power increases.

Let us consider another example. A female shaman called Gara Geiker⁵ had an assistant which she called "my kid". She explained how it first appeared in the following way. Once, after a normal childbirth, she gave birth to something else. She was frightened by what she had produced and got rid of it. But at night, in dreams, she saw the creature she had thrown away. It appeared as a little girl and said that it was her daughter. Later the spirit girl began to help Gara Geiker in her shamanic practice.

It must be emphasized that dreams are of great importance in the process of making a new spirit. After a shaman encounters an unusual but wholly material creature in reality he (or she) meets it again in dreams, in the course of which the shaman discovers that he has acquired a new spirit. Some dreams of this type are difficult to understand. If the shaman cannot understand the meaning of his dream he or another shaman sings, calling the spirits, and with their help he finds out what real event has caused the dream, whether the figure in the dream is a new helping spirit or not and if the spirit can be called on for shamanic ceremonies. And only after that is the shaman given the opportunity to operate in the world of spirits with the aid of a new assistant.

Any kind of personal spirits—not just shamanic spirits—are generated in the same way. Sometimes the process of the shaman's guesswork in interpreting the dream is omitted. For instance, a widespread legend tells of the acquisition of a spirit that brings success in hunting.

⁵ Noted from Gara Geiker (1914–1985) in the village of Daerga, Khabarovsk district, in January 1985.

Some hunters took a boy along with them to the taiga, leaving him alone near their hut while they went hunting. During their absence a tiger attacked the boy. The boy managed to take hold of a double-headed spear and hurled it at the tiger, impaling the animal between the two ends of the spear. In another version of the legend the boy climbs a tree, where the tiger tries to reach him but becomes entangled in the tree's branches. The boy takes pity on the tiger, which cannot move and so is doomed. He helps the tiger to free itself and it goes away. That night the tiger appears to the boy in a dream and promises to bring him good luck when hunting. Afterwards the boy becomes a successful hunter.

Thus, it seems that the shaman's life experience is embodied in a concentrated form in his new helping assistants. However, not all of the shaman's spirits are created during his own lifetime. Most of them belong to tradition and are passed on from one generation to another. The first meeting with such spirits takes place in a dream the shaman has that is not preceded by some real event. For example, Gara Geiker had another spirit, which she also called "my child". It appeared after she dreamed of a child with the tail of a fish being born from her mouth. The half-child, half-fish rowed on the water in a little boat made of wood shavings. Gara shamanized after the dream and discovered that the child was her new helping spirit. Later, when she had to cover long distances quickly along the Amur, across a lake or by sea, she would call for this spirit, which came to her aid.

It seems that although her dream was preceded by some real event, it was not one that occurred in Gara Geiker's own life but in the life of one of her ancestors, who, it may be supposed, was able to produce different creatures from his mouth. Many Nanai shamans possess such an ability. The Nanais believe that there are two woman shamans at the present day who can produce snakes from their mouths during shamanic ceremonies.

When he dreams about a new spirit the shaman does not usually know what bygone event generated the spirit or in whose life the event took place, but he can find out by performing a shamanic ceremony. After an unusual dream, the shaman takes his drum and summons his spirits. He sings the words that explain the meaning of the dream, and it becomes clear if the figure that appeared in the dream is a new spirit. The shaman also discovers the nature and the history of the spirit.

Folk legends very rarely preserve information about shamanic spirits or how the shaman acquired them. This can be explained by the fact that

such knowledge belongs to the most sacred level of Nanai tradition. The Nanais believe that speaking of his spirits exposes a shaman to danger and that if he begins to talk about them without fear, his death is undoubtedly near at hand. Knowledge concerning the shaman's helping spirits is not handed down in the form of told stories, as in the case of folklore genres, but is passed on through dreams in an ideal world and when the shaman is directly in contact with his spirits during shamanic ceremonies. Thus, it is not people but the spirits themselves who pass this knowledge on to the next generation.

When a shaman dies, the spirits that were created during his life do not cease to exist but only fall asleep for a while. Then they wait for their hour to come—the time when they can pass themselves on to a descendant of the deceased. The event that caused the original appearance of the spirit does not recur in the life of the spirit's second master; because the spirit already exists, there is no need for such an event to be repeated. But the descendant of the deceased shaman (i.e. the spirit's second master) sees in his dreams the event that took place in his ancestor's real life. Thus, the shaman whose ancestor killed two *simurs* had a dream in which he encountered a *simur* swimming in a lake in a fog and another that leapt down from a cliff into his boat.

It seems, then, that the shaman is given the opportunity to acquire helping spirits. But the chances he is afforded to do so are limited and the way the situation develops depends on the shaman himself. He has to defeat the dangerous figures that appear in his dream and demonstrate that he is able to get along with them. However, the new shaman is different from his predecessor, with other skills and different physical attributes, and it may turn out that he cannot meet the demands of the dream. Sometimes it is not easy for the shaman to adopt and assimilate his ancestor's experiences. If the shaman dreams, for instance, that he defeats the *simurs*, it means that he has inherited the helping spirits from his ancestor and can use them in future shamanic practice. If he is unable to overcome the *simurs*, the dream may recur several times, giving the shaman more opportunities to defeat them and turn them into his helping spirits. But if the shaman fails, suffering defeat in every dream, he cannot adopt his ancestor's life experience and accept the heritage and strength that were intended for him. Furthermore, he usually becomes ill after the dreams or may even die.

Besides the *sevens*, there is another category of Nanai spirits, which are like an imprint of past real life. These spirits are transformed from the souls of deceased people. They are clan spirits but not ancestor spirits; they are simply the spirits of fathers and mothers in the clan. Sometimes they are called grandfather's or grandmother's spirits. Such spirits originate from the souls of members of the clan who have died within the last hundred years. In 1926, I. Kozminskii noted down from informants named Fiodor and Konstantin Kogo-Samars the events that had brought about the rise of the spirit Khari mapa ("The Hovering Old Man"), which was later also known as Sagdi ama ("The Old Father"). Khari mapa was a man who died some time in the last years of the 19th century.

"Khari mapa was a powerful shaman belonging to the Khadger clan. But, as he had a liaison with a woman of his own clan, after their deaths his soul and the soul of that woman turned into *sajkas*, that is, into evil spirits, which were killing the members of their clan and sent epidemics over them.

Once the shamans succeeded in sending these *sajkas* to the world of the dead, called *buni*, and the devastating epidemic also ended after three years. However, the *sajkas* were able to return to the clan and the epidemic struck down on the clan with a doubled strength. The Nanais asked the spirit of Laoja, one of the most powerful *endurs*, for help, but without success. It seemed that those *sajkas* were more powerful than the *endur*. The epidemic continued, and it affected especially the Khadger clan."

According to material collected during our expedition in 1990, one unsuccessful attempt that was made to save the people from the *sajkas* went as follows. The evil spirits were driven into special figures made of grass. These were then hidden on one of the steamers that began to sail along the Amur River at that time. The Nanais wanted the steamer to take the *sajkas* as far as possible from the area where they lived. But when the steamer left a strong wind sprang up, raising heavy waves that sank the vessel, and the figures representing Khari mapa and his lover miraculously turned up again in their former villages. The Nanais now claim that Khari mapa sometimes takes the steamer and sails along the Amur. The story came to an end when—according to Kozminskii—a Nanai man "decided to pray to the *sajkas* for success in hunting in the coming season. He promised, that if his request is fulfilled, he would consider him as god, and he would sacrifice animals in his honor every year. Kha-

ri mapa very much wanted the people to regard him as god—as the Golds say—and he helped that man to kill a lot of sables, while the best hunters killed only a few. Afterwards, many Golds began to regard Khari mapa as their god. Finally, he has become the main patron of the Khadger clan, and later an universally recognized god among the whole Nanai population.” (Kozminskii 1927:45–46).

In the years after Kozminskii’s expedition many analogous entities attracting worship have arisen among the different Nanai clans, but Khari mapa or Sagdi ama is the most sacred among them. The Nanais say that he has become like an *endur* (a god), although he cannot become a real *endur* and cannot excel them in power. Presently Sagdi ama is worshipped by all Nanais and not only by members of the Khadger clan. In contrast, the other spirit fathers and spirit mothers are worshipped by their own clan only. Informants confirm that before Sagdi ama’s appearance the Nanais never worshipped spirits who had originally been human beings. Shaman Khadger was the first shaman to be worshipped after his death. The long-lasting epidemics that broke out after his death were explained by saying that other shamans could not accept the fact that a shaman—a human being just like themselves—had become a spirit and that the people should worship him. The Nanais say that if the other shamans had accepted Sagdi ama as a spiritual being immediately he would have helped the people sooner and such a prolonged epidemic would not have occurred.

If the data concerning the worship of other spirits—the spirit fathers and spirit mothers of a clan—are compared, many common elements can be seen in the making of these spirits. All of them were human beings and lived among the Nanais. All were powerful shamans and possessed an unquestioned authority among the members of their clan. However, something unusual happened to them after their deaths. For example, after a shaman of the Posar clan was buried, his skull emerged from the grave in a miraculous way. When it was found on the tomb it was reburied. After a time it reappeared on the grave and was buried once more. Another shaman, named Alha (“Two-Colored”), of the Oninka clan died of smallpox and his body was interred in the *karan*, or burial place. After a few days he revived and left the *karan*. One part of his face turned red, the other black. Alha lived on for a while and practised shamanism. Another shaman of the same clan was torn to pieces in the taiga by a bear. Since his body was not found for a long time, burial was

delayed and his soul was not dispatched to the world of the dead (*buni*) in due time. Similarly, shaman Khadger's soul had to remain among the people because it was impossible to send the soul of someone who had married a woman of his own clan to the world of the dead, and his soul became Khari mapa, as related by Kozminskii.

There is another version of the legend of Khari mapa. Although it does not contain the motif of the forbidden relationship between the shaman and a woman of his own clan, his soul is still not sent to the world of the dead. In this version the Nanais liked the shaman so much that they did not want to part company with his soul, so after his death it stayed at home. Gradually, however, the soul changed into an evil spirit, called *amba* (and not *sajka*), and began to kill relatives. Another case concerns a female shaman known as Zaksor, who herself did not want her soul to go to the world of the dead and expressed this wish to her relatives before her death.

In cases where the relatives understood immediately that the soul of the deceased shaman was to become a patron spirit of the clan they performed the necessary rituals and everything turned out for the good. But sometimes people did not understand the situation and either lost time—not performing the appropriate ceremonies soon enough—or, even worse, acted in a way that was wrong. For example, when shaman Posar's skull appeared and reappeared on his grave it was reburied each time. Another example was the attempt to get rid of the *sajkas* that emerged from the souls of shaman Khadger and his wife. In such cases the souls of the deceased shamans turned into evil spirits and epidemics struck the members of their clans. The first to be killed by the epidemics were those who had played the most active role in trying to prevent the making of the new clan spirit—for example the people who buried the skull. It seems that sometimes the soul of the deceased shaman's spirit itself tried to instruct the people on the proper way to proceed. The deceased shaman would appear to a relative in a dream to let him know that he would help the members of his clan and fulfill their wishes provided that they prayed to him and sacrificed animals to him. As soon as people understood what the spirit wanted and established relations with it in a way that was customary in such cases—praying to it and asking it for help—the evil spirit turned into a guardian spirit of the clan. People would then call the spirit Clan Father (or Clan Mother) and worship it in a dedicated sanctuary.

The sanctuaries of clan spirits are usually set up in the house of a clan member. They consist of a large clay vessel, called a *saola*, in which the skull of the deceased shaman or his image is kept. When the owner of a house containing such a reliquary dies the sanctuary is passed on to someone else in the clan who can afford to raise pigs for the annual sacrifice to the spirit. Sometimes the sanctuary is carried from one house to another.

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Shamanism and Traditional Healers in Modern-Day Indonesia

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MACERATA

The following article examines the present-day role of shamen and traditional healers in the Republic of Indonesia, and how their respective trades are sustained by the stubborn persistence of essentially animist beliefs and practices within the archipelago. It goes on to describe the psychological foundation of certain shamanistic crafts and cures, and how they have, in many cases, been adapted to the demands of modern urban life with some commercial success.

When the Republic of Indonesia officially declared its independence from the Netherlands in 1945, it was to be a new state based on five principles; five core elements that the entire population of the previously disunited thirteen thousand islands could agree upon: Nationalism, Humanitarianism, Representative Government, Social Justice and the Belief in One God – collectively known as the Pancasila.

Indonesia was at that time was not so much a nation as a complex ethnic mosaic made up of hundreds of different tribal groups; each with its own culture, its own legal traditions, its own long-standing loyalties and rivalries. And so religion, which remains the bedrock of the people's lives, was adopted by the central government in Jakarta as a cornerstone of the establishment, and its unifying social power harnessed to the machine of state.

Despite the nominal adherence of a substantial majority of the population to Islam, politicians at that time were wary of making it the country's official religion since it was thought that this would render the followers of other faiths second class citizens within their own society and cause unrest. Such a step was a prudent one in order to preserve what delicate social harmony existed once the aim which had united them all, the expulsion of the Dutch, had been achieved. Consequently, although Panca-

silā demands a "Belief in One God" for all Indonesian citizens, it does not specify which one. Atheism became a criminal offence, polytheism, too, was outlawed and between 1954 and 1982¹ the state conducted a rigorous campaign against the followers of tribal spirit religions during which the most stubborn pagans suffered imprisonment or worse.

Now, fifty years after independence, the period of such heavy-handed suppression has largely passed, and those animist beliefs and practices which have survived into the 1990's seem to have done so on the basis of their essential practicality.

Far removed from the abstract philosophical niceties of the major world religions, the traditional belief systems of Indonesia's animist tribal cultures chiefly concerned one's day to day business and demonstrated a shrewd understanding of eternal human problems – the relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, the old and the young within the community and those between the living and the dead. They answered the individual's fundamental questions about life: how to live well and how to die well. They told him where he came from, where he was going and the nature of his role within the community as it stood.

But as more and more Indonesian tribes, from the Mentawai Islands in the west to Borneo in the north and New Guinea in the east, officially adopted one or other of the five accepted monotheistic world religions, so the function of the shaman within society underwent a shift of emphasis. While his influence in the field of spiritual teaching has steadily declined, one area of life in which shamanistic powers still thrive is in the realm of dramatic spectacle. Here the witch-doctor's ability to put others into a trance, or call a spirit to earth to communicate with the living have long been incorporated into the Indonesian world of dance, drama and performance, and while the mediumistic phenomena described below are officially permitted as a form of what we can only loosely term entertainment, anyone who has witnessed such performances can testify to their extraordinary disturbing power.

SHAMANISM IN SHOW-BUSINESS

Long before any of the major world religions arrived in the archipelago, Indonesian shamans demonstrated their powers in a variety of posses-

¹ "When the Spirits Lose Their Hold", *Voice of Nature Magazine* 42.

sion rituals which seem to be unique to the Malay world and which are even today still to be found, barely concealed, in the form of dances and performances.²

The *kuda lumping* or "horse dance" is one example of a commonly found trance dance, and is typical of Western Java. In Central Java it is known as the *kuda keping*, and as *jatilan* in the East of the island. In all its various forms it is an example of a type of animist possession ritual which is thousands of years old. It is usually the climax of a performance by one of the many travelling companies who mix acrobatics, comedy, fire-eating and stunts with earthy peasant humour to entertain crowds at street corners in villages, towns and even among the housing estates of major cities like Jakarta.

Typically the horse-dance takes place accompanied by the hypnotic rhythms of gongs and drums played by members of the company. The master of ceremonies has a huge whip of about five metres in length which he cracks repeatedly over the head of the trance dancer while uttering magical phrases inviting a spirit to inhabit the man's body to give him superhuman powers.

Usually the performance reaches its climax when the dancer mounts a hobby-horse made of wood and, apparently possessed by the spirit of a horse, gallops around in circles whinnying furiously, chewing grass, rolling like a stallion in the dirt, oblivious to everything except the commands of the whip-man. When the spirit takes over the dancer is able to eat glass and razor blades, the heaviest blows of the whip leave no mark upon his body; he can even be pounded with rocks and feel no ill-effect. Typically he can shred the fibrous outer covering of a coconut with his teeth and ingest large quantities of chilli pepper and uncooked rice.

A collective of individual *kuda lumping* companies constantly on tour in Java was formed in Surabaya in 1942 under the title of the Beringin Sakti *kuda lumping* society; and they continue to represent a particular tradition of performance which stipulates certain rules for its followers.

For example, the all-important power to put people into a trance is passed only from the father to the oldest son in each company, and only after a rigorous initiation which consists of fasting every Monday and

² These performances date from the period between 2000 BC and 1500 BC according to the Indonesian academic Burhan in a lecture entitled "Tranced Horse Dance" at Gajah Mada University in 1980.

Thursday for a month followed by forty days of a rice-only diet, and then a further forty days eating only vegetables. "When you have finished all this", claimed a professional practitioner called Suparmi in December 1988, "whatever you ask from God, he will give you." (Widman 1988).

The *reog* is another kind of traditional black magic trance-dance dating from the same animist period of Java's history somewhere between 2000 and 1500 BC. One version comes from Ponorogo, a small town in East Java and this account of it was written by a girl who saw it performed in the street in front of her house in Surabaya in the late 1980's.

"There were about fifty dancers dancing in a traditional way in traditional costume. The dancers behind the *reog* wore costumes of many different colours and the musicians wore mainly black. The *reog*, who is the focus of the show wears black and red. He also wears a huge mask which looks hideous and strange and is so big that a man can sit on it.

The *reog* dances to call to the spirit to enter his body. He uses strange movements influenced by the sound of the traditional music. It looks like black magic dancing.

After he has tired himself out by dancing wildly, he stops. His eyes look empty like a man who has been hypnotized. Then another dancer approaches him. He drinks a mouthful of rose-water from a glass but does not swallow it. Then suddenly he spits it out into the face of the *reog*. After that the *reog* falls down and the others help him to sit on the road. His mind is empty now. The spirit is coming into his soul. The other dancer spits a second glass of rose-water into the face of the *reog* to make him rise up and stand. Now it is the spirit that is really controlling his mind and his soul. He dances more wildly, rolling on the ground. Strange voices can be heard coming from his lips.

While dancing he can eat glass and nothing happens to his mouth although he is chewing it. Kruk...kruk... kruk... He enjoys it. He looks as if he is eating something delicious. Then he takes a young coconut and breaks it on his head. His head is absolutely alright but the coconut is broken. After that another dancer comes with a rope in his hand, he whips the *reog* hard with the rope but the *reog* feels nothing at all, he doesn't even scream a little. When someone cuts him with a sharp sword he doesn't even bleed. He is completely strong and immune because of the spirit that is in his soul. One thing is most important: you must not wear red clothes when the *reog* is mad because he doesn't like it.

At last, to bring him back to normal, his friend spits rose-water into his face twice more so that he falls down and becomes normal like before." (Novi 1988).

Another way of calling spirits to earth is to use, not a human body, but a puppet to contain the spirit force and to enable it to speak. The most famous of these puppets is the *si gale gale* still to be found on the island of Samosir in Lake Toba in North Sumatra and various neighbouring villages along the shore-line, and its controller is a kind of shaman who routinely exhibits the most extraordinary vocal and mimetic abilities.

THE SI GALE GALE

The Toba Batak people of North Sumatra, until their conversion to Christianity in the late 19th century, carried out a series of animist rituals and dances to mark the death of a prominent person. In the case of a man who had died without leaving a son to take his place or to do him honour, a life-size effigy was constructed with moving limbs, head and shoulders which were manipulated by the puppet-master by means of wires and levers to give it the appearance of life and to imitate as closely as possible the dead person that it had been fashioned to represent. During the two-week period of the traditional Batak death ceremony the dead person would appear to cry, to eat, to drink and even dance with the friends and relatives which he was leaving behind forever, thus satisfying one of the most deeply felt needs of grieving relatives everywhere – the need to make one's peace with the departed and to say goodbye.

At the end of the funeral period the *si gale gale* puppet was dismantled and its constituent parts distributed among the people as objects of power. Then the puppeteer was ritually driven from the village like a scapegoat, taking the last vestiges of the dead man's soul with him so that it would not return to terrorize the village with bad luck, death and disease. The village was then purified with holy water and the last remaining spirit-force was frightened off with dances and noise-making.³

The psychologist C.G. Jung (1977:122–123) noted the Batak belief, shared by the inhabitants of Nias and Toraja, that there often seems to be a degeneration of character on the part of the deceased after death.

³ See *Aspects of Indonesian Culture*.

Surviving relatives may feel tormented or persecuted by memories, dreams or visions of the dead person and intense feelings of guilt and inadequacy may even result in physical or psychological illness. Jung drew exact parallels between the sufferings of these pagan villagers and those of some of his own psychologically disturbed patients whose troubles were associated with the poor relations they had enjoyed with a deceased parent or relative, which continued long after their association in life had been terminated. Whereas a Batak might ascribe such symptoms as deep depression, lassitude or a physical wasting away to a disgruntled spirit haunting the living, Jung preferred to discuss the phenomenon in terms of an autonomous complex within the psyche coming to the surface of the conscious mind in the form of illness, dreams or hallucinations concerning the dead person. Where a western psychologist might "exorcize" the emotional pain by encouraging his patient to talk to the dead relative as if he or she were still alive, the puppeteer of the *si gale gale* tradition achieves the same result by giving the grieving family a concrete focus for their feelings in the form of an animated effigy; and perhaps it is the demand for this sorely needed therapeutic catharsis that has ensured the survival of the *si gale gale* performance into the present day.

THE DALANG

The puppeteer of the *si gale gale* ritual also has his counterpart in the *dalang*, or puppet-master of the Javanese shadow-play known as *wayang kulit*. Shadow puppet performances are known in China, India, Turkey and parts of South-East Asia but the Javanese *wayang kulit* tradition has deep roots in the philosophical, historical and spiritual life of the island and still enjoys a central and enduring role within Javanese popular culture.

Wayang kulit are two-dimensional figures made of thin, flexible, translucent buffalo hide and are, on average about 30 centimetres long, although giants, such as *Rahwana* are larger than this, and dwarfs such as *Bagong* are smaller. Each puppet has a central supporting rod made of bamboo and the arms, which are jointed, can be moved into a series of expressive gestures by operating rods of bone attached to the hands. The puppets are held up behind an illuminated cotton screen by the *dalang* to cast shadows which reveal the identifying features of each one.

There are up to 125 different characters in the *dalang*'s repertoire and he may portray dozens of them during the course of a typical all-night performance. In giving each of the puppets its own distinctive voice and characterization the *dalang* may use a variety of languages ranging from the commonly spoken Javanese, Sundanese and contemporary street slang to the ancient aristocratic Kawi dialect, and Pali, one of the Classical Indian languages.

At the beginning and at the end of a performance or to mark a change of scene, time or location, the leaf-shaped pentangle known as the *Kayon* or the *Gunungan* is placed against the screen. Like the puppets of the *wayang kulit*, the *Kayon* is made of painted leather and mounted on a stick. It has great religious significance, however, since as a representation of the ancient religious symbol the Tree of Life or the Mountain of Life it is no less than a cosmogram, a map of the universe. In it the whole of creation is depicted as one interdependent whole comprized of many parts, its roots deep in the underground in the world of death, darkness and decay, its highest branches stretching ever upwards into the realm of light and air and, in its branches, the creatures in between. Halfway between angels and demons, striving to escape from the heavy world of matter into the realm of pure spirit. Significantly, humanity is not alone in this halfway state but is surrounded by animals and birds: fellow travellers with equal status on the journey through eternity according to the Javanese view.

The symbolism of the shadow play runs deep in the Javanese consciousness. Just as the shadows of the great mythic heroes have no substance except in the patterns of light and shade they cast, and in the eager imaginations of the audience; so too, the endless unresolved struggles of humanity somewhere in the morally ambiguous no-mans land between good and evil, order and chaos, have no substance in themselves but are merely reflections of much greater cosmic forces. The *dalang*, significantly, is never seen but, like the divine motive force at the centre of all things, directs and manipulates the whole show even when the characters seem to take on a life of their own.

In addition to his dramatic talents the *dalang* must be able to lead and conduct a gamelin orchestra and, often, a chorus of singers who provide commentary and interludes of song to punctuate the performance. He may also provide sound effects by clashing metal plates together with his feet.

Given the average *dalang*'s extensive knowledge of Javanese history, legend, religion and philosophy, his ability to extemporize in a poetic and dramatic fashion, the vocal range he has to employ and the sheer stamina he must have in order to sustain a performance of some ten hours, he represents a truly remarkable and impressive artistic tradition. No less than the National Theatre of Java since, with its cast of flawed heroes and idealistically motivated villains, the shadow-play has served up morally didactic tales, examples of good and bad conduct, and workaday wisdom for the ordinary folk of Java for hundreds of years. His religious and community functions, however, mark him out as an even more significant figure.

Nowadays a *wayang kulit* performance may recount stories from Javanese history and mythology or, alternatively, Christian and Muslim sources. The staple tales, however, are taken largely from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata of the Indian tradition although set in Java and modified for greater relevance to ordinary people. Its origins, however, lie much further back in Java's animist past. The oldest stories of the *wayang purwa* repertoire, those concerning the rice goddess *Dewi Sri* or *Kala* the destroyer, seem to be prehistoric in origin although the Javanese characters have in many cases acquired Indian names over the course of time.

Anthropologists believe that Javanese shadow-theatre developed out of indigenous animist ceremonies and the suspicion that the *dalang* is, in reality, a shaman in the guise of a story-teller is borne out by the fact that a full performance is offered at various times of crisis and uncertainty or to mark important ritual occasions. Families may provide a *wayang kulit* show for the village as a part of a wedding celebration, to mark the building of a new house, at the important circumcision ceremony, during the crucial seventh month of a pregnancy or at the ceremony in which an eight year old child has its hair ritually cut.

In addition, a performance may be given as a form of thanksgiving for an unexpected piece of good fortune, to celebrate the Javanese New Year known as *Tanggap Warsa*, or to mark a national holiday. Something more of its ritual origins can still be discerned in its use as a protection against evil spirits and misfortune. For example, a village might employ a *dalang* to mark the purification of its graveyard in a ceremony known as *njunjung*; the *ruwatan* performance is specifically to protect a weak or vulnerable child, and the services of the *dalang* are also required at vari-

ous crucial stages of the rice-growing cycle or in order to bring rain vital for the well-being of the crops. The *dalang* may also be called upon use his powers to look into the future or to give advice although this is often done obliquely through his choice of the story for the evening and in the way in which he tells it.

TRADITIONAL HEALERS IN THE CITY

Perhaps it is not so surprising that a belief in spirits and their powers is still to be found in the backward rural areas of Java and to a greater extent among the far-flung outer islands where traditions are strong and development has been minimal. Perhaps, too, the rituals surrounding such thresholds of experience as birth, coming-of-age, marriage and death might reasonably be expected to perpetuate arcane superstitions with roots in the stubborn cult of ancestor worship. More curious is the extent to which the animist past continues to make its presence felt in certain areas of the day-to-day lives of educated city-dwellers. One such is medicine.

To take a couple of everyday examples, the Indonesian term for the common cold is *masuk angin* which literally means "let the wind in". Superstition has it that when the wind enters the body it causes a cold which can only be relieved by letting the wind out again. This is done by repeatedly scoring the surface of the skin with a coin until it is an angry red colour. It is a painful process and yet one which is routinely followed even by those with a university education. It is also common to see Indonesians with grains of rice taped to their temples since this is held to be the sovereign remedy for a headache. In addition to these Do-it-Yourself methods there are the professional practitioners of the ancient Javanese medicine. This account of a visit to a modern-day witch-doctor comes from a Javanese university student:

"Four years ago something strange happened. My sister got a strange illness and no-one could find a reason for it. At that time she seemed very well but while she was getting ready to go to college, after she had packed all her books she suddenly felt very very tired. She had never felt like this before. She felt like she couldn't stand or do things. The tiredness came suddenly and lasted from one to three hours at about 11 o'clock in the morning. When the

tiredness disappeared my sister seemed fine again and she could continue her activities as before, as if there was nothing wrong with her.

After several weeks my mother decided to take her to the doctor in Bandung because day by day the strange illness was getting worse and there was something like a bruise covering my sister's legs and hands and it made my sister suffer. The doctor examined my sister carefully and took a blood test. Several days later the doctor said there was nothing wrong. He said that my sister was 100% healthy and he couldn't find the strange illness that made my sister tired.

My mother was unsatisfied with what the doctor had said and took my sister to a specialist in Jakarta. But after he had examined her the result was the same. The doctor said that my sister was 100% healthy.

This lasted for about one and a half years. She felt tired more and more often. After she had been unsuccessfully examined by eleven specialists her boyfriend advised her to go to a *dukun* (witch-doctor) because many people said that he could help. My sister and her boyfriend went to see the *dukun* in his small house in Bandung. They had a chat for a few minutes and afterwards the *dukun* told her that the illness was caused by someone who hated her; maybe someone who had loved my sister but had been rejected by her and wanted to make her suffer.

The *dukun* gave my sister a bottle of water and ordered her to put it in her bath. He also gave her some prayers. My sister did everything the *dukun* told her to. After a month my sister never felt that strange tiredness again and the bruises which covered her arms and legs disappeared." (Lia, Jakarta 1988)

Obviously the symptoms felt by the unfortunate girl could be ascribed to a number of viruses commonly affecting adolescents, such as glandular fever, which would not respond to western antibiotics. The interesting point is the faith in magical medicine shown by urbanized young people of some education rather than the older generation whose notions might understandably be fossilized into a system of superstitious beliefs. This seems strange given that the youthful populations of newly developed nations commonly despise their native traditions as mere primitive mumbo-jumbo for unsophisticated rustics. Such is the degree of faith that still persists in the powers of the *dukun*, however, that it is not uncommon for a conventional doctor to refer a patient to a charismatic practitioner of native medicine when his own methods fail. Whether this is due to a psychosomatic element in the patient's ailment, the more holistic scope of eastern medicine, or the witch-doctor's more intuitive

psychological approach, it seems to work often enough for the practice to be a regular one even within the thriving high-tech metropolis of Jakarta.

I, myself, came face to face with this phenomenon one day when I came home from work to discover my servant lying under her bed in a deep trance from which nobody could wake her. I called the doctor who examined her closely and told me that there was nothing physically wrong with her and that it was some sort of psychological condition, advising me to deposit her the next morning at the local mental hospital before wishing me goodnight. The next day, by virtue of walking her round and round in circles as one does with drug-overdose cases, we managed to restore her to some sort of consciousness. A relative was sent for and the poor girl was taken back to her village in the depths of central Java. It transpired that she had been suffering from unrequited love and fierce jealousy.

The *dukun* in her native village examined her and told her that she had been attacked and briefly possessed by a malevolent spirit. In order to confuse the spirit and deflect its evil influence he changed her name from Sari which means "flower" in Javanese, to Ria, which literally means "cheerful" and ordered her not to refer to, or to think about the traumatic period of her life which had culminated in her collapse. The *dukun*, shrewd psychologist that he was, returned her to work a changed person. Her old life and identity with all its problems was in the past. He had given her a fresh start and a new life.

THE DUKUN

The *dukun* is a mixture of native healer, psychologist, spirit-medium, conjuror and magician. In Indonesia a belief in spirits and the power of the occult is current throughout the 13,000 islands which make up the nation and from the top to the bottom of the social scale. President Suharto himself grew up in the household of a Javanese *dukun* and has a healthy respect both for the Javanese mystical tradition and the lore of the magician. Magic has also been given some credence by the Indonesian State. For example, to prepare for a recent state visit to the Buddhist shrine of Borobodur in central Java by the British Prince Charles and Princess Diana, a team of "wise men" were specially recruited by the state to ensure fine weather. In addition, Jakarta's Governor Wiyogo regularly presides over the annual offering to the goddess of the sea by

the capital city's ostensibly Muslim fishermen. In this ceremony a *dukun* sails out to the Thousand Islands in Jakarta bay and in a colourful ritual offers a bull's head, rice and fruit to the sea in order to gain the favour of its ruler and to provide all those who gain their living from it to continue to prosper.

Hard-headed businessmen routinely employ the services of a *dukun* to perform ritual sacrifices of goats, chickens or buffalo when a major building is begun. The heads of the sacrificial beasts are then buried in the foundations to bring good luck and working harmony. It has even been known for off-shore oil installations to be blessed in this way despite the considerable expense to the company of flying a witch-doctor and a freshly severed bull's head to their destination by helicopter. Houses and offices may also need to be blessed or exorcised following a family disaster or an inexplicable run of bad luck in the company. A religious ceremony known as a *selamatan* is performed in order to restore harmony and quell bad feeling since it is a commonly held notion that a continuing series of misfortunes may stem from an evil event in the past which will, unless it is resolved in some way, disrupt the harmony of the present just as ripples in a pool continue to spread outwards long after the stone which caused them has disappeared under the water.

In some parts of the country, notably southern Borneo, the *dukun* must be a woman and, in Java too, there are some tasks which only a woman can perform. One of these is the control of a supernatural entity known as the *tuyul*.

THE TUYUL

A *tuyul* is rather like the leprechaun of Irish legend – a miniature man invisible to the vast majority of people, with a mischievous streak in his character, fascinated by mirrors. In the Javanese tradition, however, he has one specific role which is to acquire money on behalf of his mistress. The money he can steal is limited to that which is not under lock and key and that which has not been counted. At this point in the story it looks rather as if Javanese legend has enshrined a moral message, “always lock your money away and always count it first”, in the form of a cautionary tale. However the nature and behaviour of the *tuyul* also accords with the behaviour of certain poltergeists in Western countries which have been known to regularly deposit coins at the feet of people they seem to have

taken a liking to. Like the poltergeist, too, the *tuyul* is a dangerous and unpredictable pet, and its services carry a high price. According to the Javanese villagers interviewed by Patrick Guinness, the *dukun* generally has to sacrifice her own child or another member of her family in order to gain control of the spirit.

BLACK MAGIC

The *dukuns* fall into two camps – the practitioners of white magic and black magic. Black-magic *dukuns* are much in demand for cursing their clients' enemies and the preparation of love-potions for the seduction of unwilling women. They are not, as one might expect, purely a rural phenomenon but continue to ply a thriving trade even within the metropolis of Jakarta.

One strange case occurred in the capital city itself in 1988. An expatriate Welshman of my acquaintance was given the task of identifying and removing those employees within his company who were surplus to requirements. Two women who fell into this category worked in the records office where they had access to the company's personnel files. Upon receiving the sack they took with them a couple of passport-size photographs of the boss and took them to a *dukun* who was instructed to curse him. This he did by burning one of the photographs and intoning certain spells. They then bragged about their revenge to their former colleagues, telling them to observe my friend closely during the following period and report his progress.

Sure enough, the Welshman suffered a strange and painful deformity of the nose which quickly worsened and spread. Since I shared a house with him at that time I was a witness to the suffering that he underwent. He consulted doctors frequently, to no avail, and once the pain was so acute that he was forced to do so at four o'clock in the morning. Antibiotics had no effect on whatever it was that was troubling him.

Eventually his nose swelled to a size that was painful to see, let alone experience, and gave him the look of a pig. At about this time, having done his job with ruthless efficiency and firmly identified as the villain of the piece by the Indonesian employees of the company, he was himself fired and subsequently went to Japan.

Six months later I met him again. His nose, he said, had recovered its former dimensions as soon as he had left the country and had not both -

ered him since. It has been suggested that curses, which are used in many cultures, are effective because the subconscious mind of the victim works upon itself to produce the very results that the ill-wisher has threatened. This, however, depends upon the victim knowing about the curse and, in this case, I can testify that he most certainly did not.

TRIBAL SHAMANS

Although the witch-doctors of Jakarta seem to have tailored traditional methods to modern requirements with some commercial success, it is still possible, with a little effort, to witness tribal shamans in the more isolated jungle communities of the archipelago doing it the old way.

Siberut, one of the Mentawai islands off the coast of West Sumatra, is still a wild and dangerous place. It is flat, inhospitable and covered in dense primary jungle which logging companies have been forbidden to exploit. A number of state schools have been set up in villages near the coast and a certain amount of missionary activity, including the gifts of chocolate or pencils to children who regularly attend services, has resulted in a few churches being built. The majority of the population, however, continue to live deep in the bush. Regular doctors are unwilling to serve the inhabitants of the interior since house-calls inevitably mean a three or four day trek through trackless jungle on foot, so medicine is still largely in the hands of the local shamen known as *kerei*.

These are colourful figures, covered in tattoos, with hibiscus flowers in their hair and a short kilt of parchment to denote their special function within the island community. Inspired by significant dreams or summoned directly by *Taikamanua*, the spirit of the sky, they act as intermediaries between the spirit world and the world of men, trying to keep the two in harmony.

Many centuries before western science had postulated the existence of conscious and sub-conscious levels in the human psyche, the Mentawai people had developed a belief in the dual soul of Man. One soul, the thinking, feeling self, has its home in the everyday, material world. The other lived before birth, inhabits the world of dreams and spirits and survives the body after death. When someone falls seriously ill, it is believed that this second soul has been alienated from the body and is wandering in the world of dreams dangerously close to the point of no return. Just as a man's spirit is said to be bigger and more powerful than

those of the animals, so a *kerei*'s soul is supposed to be larger and more charismatic than those of other men. The *kerei* claim to have the ability to launch themselves into the dream-world at will, retrieve an errant spirit, take it into their own bodies and then push it back into the body of its rightful owner. A complex system of herbal medicines and the accumulated psychological insights of a hundred generations are the mainstays of such healers, but when they fail the potent mixture of religion and show-business that accompanies an exorcism seems to work often enough to instil belief in people desperate for a cure (*Voice of Nature* 24).

According to the animist view there are two commonly recognized causes of physical and psychological illness: one is losing one's soul and another is the attack of a malevolent spirit. C.G. Jung, in an article concerning the psychological foundation for the belief in spirits first published in 1920 explained the same symptoms in terms of autonomous psychic complexes which he divided into soul-complexes and spirit-complexes. Soul-complexes are those parts of the psyche which rightly belong to the ego. Their repression can bring about a profound sense of loss and symptoms of either physical or mental ill-health. In such a case it is necessary for the alienated part of the psyche to be reintegrated into the ego in order to heal the sufferer who, when this process is successfully accomplished, consequently feels a sense of release (Jung 1977: 114–119).

Spirit-complexes, by contrast, are those morally, aesthetically or intellectually inadmissible thoughts repressed in everyday life by the individual, lurking somewhere in the sub-conscious mind which may break through into the conscious mind in the form of a number of pathological symptoms. Because they emerge from another part of the psyche, the ego perceives these complexes to have a life of their own and, to the unfortunate sufferer, it certainly seems as if they are under attack from or possessed by something from outside themselves. In a sense this is true because something has invaded the individual's conscious mind which really ought to be relegated to the unconscious. As a result patients are frequently seized by weird and monstrous thoughts and the world seems changed, as if seen through someone else's eyes. At this point it is the psychologist's task to remove the autonomous complex in order to restore a sense of normality.

Thus it seems that primitive societies such as those to be found in the Mentawai islands have indeed grasped some of the truths about man's conscious and unconscious selves that Jung explored although their conclusions are expressed in the religious terms of a religious society; thus the *kerei* talk of spirits and souls and exorcism whereas the 20th century psychologist couches the same thoughts in terms of "autonomous complexes" and therapy. A crucial difference, however, is that whereas westerners tend to view the conscious, rational, logical mind as the most highly developed part of the psyche, Indonesians regard the soul that lives in the land of dreams as the wiser, eternal aspect of the self. It is this part of the soul which is to some extent aware of the pattern of destiny which lies ahead of each individual and may warn the conscious mind of impending danger with a flash of intuition, for example, or cause it to fall in love with a stranger at first sight. The notion of the loss of soul or the possession of a spirit clearly does not explain every malady but since it seems that an average of 0.5% of every society, whether urbanized or rural, developed or developing, eastern or western, seems to be afflicted by illnesses such as schizophrenia (Pancheri 1993:1341) it is hardly surprising that jungle witch-doctors are familiar with such phenomena.

DREAMING AND THE DREAM WORLD

Vestiges of this kind of essentially animist belief still abound throughout the islands since, unlike westerners, many Indonesians do not make a clear division between the world of matter – objects and phenomena linked by cause and effect – and the universe of the imagination where time and meaning and the needs of the spirit hold sway. With no clear dividing line between the two, of course, paradoxes abound. Dreams, for example, continue to have a sacred place as bringers of omens even among urbanized professionals brought up in the modern state. In the case of a true portent, a modern psychologist might say that the sub-conscious mind had realized something that the conscious mind had shut out and delivered a message in the form of symbols but in Indonesia the belief in a dream world where the spirit wanders at will, unencumbered by physical or temporal shackles, persists. As a result it is customary, even among the educated Jakartan middle-classes, never to wake a sleeping person abruptly but gently by rubbing the forehead, for example. This is

to give the spirit a little time to cease its wanderings and return to consciousness rather than yanking it back by main force which is considered very bad form indeed (Draine and Hall 1988:80).

ANIMAL CHARMING

Certain shamans have specialized in the animist tradition of calling a spirit to earth to use its powers, as we have seen; others, building on the widespread belief in the timeless, spaceless dreamworld, have refined the complementary power of consciously sending one's spirit out of the body to observe or perform an act elsewhere. A small band of highly specialized practitioners in the more isolated parts of the archipelago have even claimed to be able to call certain animals into the traps of hunters or to divine their location by deep meditation during which the soul of the shaman leaves his body and journeys to the prey in a dream. In order to lure an individual animal or the leader of a group of animals to a particularly favourable spot for the hunter, the shaman may put hypnotic thoughts into the animal's mind such as tempting images of food and where it may be found. As one veteran rhino-hunter, a Punan Dayak from Central Borneo, put it in the 1980's:

"We Punans know we have two souls. There's the physical, emotional soul...and the 'dream wanderer'. In sleep and special trance, the dream wanderer travels, sees with different eyes, sees pathway of wild animals or lost people.

Sometimes three moons we travelled, just five of us, tracking one rhino. He knows we follow him. He has strong 'dream wanderer'. Very difficult... He hears our soft feet on the ground from many rivers behind him. I look in his dirt and talk to him. Tell him where to go, so we corner him. 'You need more bamboo shoots,' I tell him. 'You love them. Head east, O rhino, to the bamboo forests at the end of the Deng gorge.' or: 'River roots, rhino, so sweet, so tender – go back a bit, for a week or so, towards the trap where the great rivers meet'." (Blair 1988:242)

There are many such accounts to be found around the world but, like the famous Indian Rope Trick, it is a phenomenon which always seems to have been witnessed by a third party and never at first hand. However, in his book the erstwhile colonial administrator of the Gilbert and Ellis islands, Arthur Grimble, gives an account of a Polynesian shaman, the

hereditary porpoise-caller for the high chiefs of Butaritari and Makin Meang, who summoned animals in the same way as his rhino-hunting counterpart in Borneo. His method was described thus (Grimble 1981: 142):

“He could put himself into the right kind of dream on demand. His spirit went out of his body in such a dream; it sought out the porpoise-folk in their home under the western horizon and invited them to a dance, with feasting, in Kuma village. If he spoke the words of the invitation aright (and very few had the secret of them) the porpoise would follow him with cries of joy to the surface.

Having led them to the lagoon entrance, he would fly forward to rejoin his body and warn the people of their coming. It was quite easy for one who knew the way of it. The porpoise never failed to arrive.”

The high chief arranged for a demonstration in Grimble’s honour and asked him to name a date. Grimble suggested early January and duly witnessed the calling of an entire school of the creatures from the deep sea into the shallow waters of the island lagoon. The porpoises, contrary to all instincts of self-preservation, then proceeded to beach themselves. Finally they were carried, unresisting, up onto the sand to be dispatched by hungry islanders.

Grimble witnessed these events during the First World War but such happenings are not confined to the distant past. One incident in Indonesia was captured on film and shown on Sydney’s Channel 2 in 1990. A camera crew followed a group of hunters guided by an elderly and bearded shaman on an illegal tiger-hunting expedition deep in the South Sumatran jungle. In one sequence the elderly guide was shown meditating deeply, a large tiger then appeared and was promptly killed by the hunters. Later the shaman claimed to capture about twenty tigers a year using this technique, which were usually sold to dealers in Palembang. He claimed that it was the only skill he possessed and, in his defence, pointed out that he had a large family to feed. Such figures may be rare nowadays but they used to be commonplace among the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra whose villages were frequently decimated by rogue man-eaters. The shaman who could fathom the tiger’s behaviour and lure it into a trap was a hero indeed to his community and over the centuries certain men with a particular talent in this area built up a web of

ritual, songs and prayers which are still extant around the close intuitive link they had developed with the tigers they shared their land with.

The cultivation and use of such a gift as animal-charming may seem rather far-fetched in a world now dominated by industry, science and technology but if we consider the most pressing needs of the earliest human hunting bands it is difficult to imagine any more useful attribute, excepting the internationally well-attested skill of water-divining, than the ability to track prey and manipulate its movements from a distance, as tribal shamans claim to have done for thousands of years.

With tiger and rhino populations rapidly diminishing in size and increasingly better protected, though, one would logically suppose the animal charmer's twin talents of astral projection and hypnotic power to be of decreasing usefulness in the modern era. And yet it seems that possessors of this particular shamanic power have also adapted to the times, and just as some village *dukuns* have found success by moving their country medical practices into the more lucrative thoroughfares of metropolitan suburbs, so masters of the art of astral projection have made money by imparting this esoteric discipline to willing students from among the nation's criminal fraternity. In Java such occult knowledge is known as *ngelmu*, and if Patrick Guinness's Indonesian informants are to be believed, the kind of *ngelmu* I have described as being used in animal charming in Sumatra and Borneo seems also to have been tailored to the demands of urban crime in cities such as Jakarta in recent years. Guinness reports local residents' claims that the ability to send one's spirit forth from one's body to observe faraway places and events has been mastered and misused by professional criminals in order to discover unguarded houses for burglary, together with the power of hypnotism which is used to put householders to sleep during the raid, or else to incapacitate unsuspecting Jakartans before robbing them of their money and jewellery in the street.

CONCLUSION

Thus in the case just described, as in many others, the magic that still abounds in Indonesia is of an intensely practical rather than religious nature. It is largely used for the attainment of simple objectives, not as an element of social control to instil fear or to command obedience. In this it contrasts strongly with the religiously sanctioned magic-working of

Aaron, to cite a biblical example, with his serpent staff. It is, by contrast, mundane rather than miraculous; workaday rather than revelatory. In the current scientific age, sceptical as it is of anything which smacks of the supernatural, this essential practicality may go some way to explaining the extraordinary and stubborn longevity of the intuitive and irrational arts in Indonesia as a whole.

Of course, the question most people would like to ask is this: does the shaman's power ever really work? But the debate as to whether Indonesian magic and the animist sensibility which underlies it have any validity in the sort of terms which would satisfy a sceptical westerner, is ultimately irrelevant. More important is the enduring effect it has certainly had on Indonesian life, given that a substantial majority of the population still believe in it enough to take it seriously, and, indeed, to pay hard cash for the services of those shamans or traditional healers whose talents have now led them away from the shrine or the longhouse, and into the market place. As the twentieth century draws to a close we can say that shamanism and the belief systems which underlie it have shown a truly startling resilience in the modern-day Republic of Indonesia, and one reason for this may be that while the population at large is estimated to be about 90% Muslim, it remains 100% animist at heart.

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Some Points of View on Ecstatic Shamanism, with Particular Reference to American Indians

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In recent years the basic ecstatic structure of shamanism has been questioned by leading representatives of shamanology. The following article undertakes a reassessment of the ecstatic elements in shamanism. It is concluded that if we wish to retain the concept of shamanism as a scholarly instrument we should stress its ecstatic character. Particular consideration is given to the meaning of ecstasy in shamanism.

In the history of ideas shamanism has somehow passed beneath the magnifying-glasses of four different disciplines: psychology, historical ethnology, the history and psychology of religion, and social anthropology. It seems that each of these disciplines has given shamanological research a new direction. This is especially true of the role assigned to ecstatic phenomena in shamanism. In latter years the importance of ecstasy in shamanism has been diminished, or ecstasy even abandoned as a key concept. This is, in the opinion of the present writer, an unfortunate development if we wish to retain the concept of shamanism as a meaningful element in the analysis of early ideologies.¹

However, there are authors who wish to do away with shamanism as a scientific tool. Thus, the American Robert Spencer has denounced shamanism as a specific category, characterizing it as "a potentially random phenomenon" in the cultural world (Spencer 1968).² A leading anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, deplored the way in which "the individuality of religious traditions has so often been dissolved into such desiccated

¹ On my definition of shamanism as an ecstatic complex, see Hultkrantz 1973, 1978 and 1993.

² Cf. my criticism of Spencer's point of view in Hultkrantz 1977:87f.

types as 'animism,' 'animatism,' 'totemism,' 'shamanism,' 'ancestor worship,' and all the other insipid categories by means of which ethnographers of religion devitalize their data" (Geertz 1966:39). Such immature declarations do not deserve our attention. There is ample justification in viewing shamanism as a complex in its own right. It is concentrated around a mediator between a social group and the beings of the other world, the gods and the spirits. Furthermore, the mediation is implemented by an ecstatic experience.

It is my task here to prove the validity of this last statement and thereby pay particular attention to a shamanic area—North America—where the ecstatic element has been considered rather weak relative to that seen in the case of the Siberian shaman (Dixon 1908:9).

THE APPRECIATION OF ECSTASY IN SHAMANISM

Let us first consider how shamanic ecstasy has been evaluated in the professional literature on shamanism.

The first presentations of shamanism were most descriptive and concerned dramatic séances in the northern parts of the Russian Empire.³ At this time (the 18th to the 19th centuries) and until the 1900s shamanism was regarded as the religion of northern Eurasia (MacCulloch 1928:446). The phenomenon of shamanism itself was taken up from a psychological perspective by a good many European scholars, who debated whether the shaman was psychically sound or not, whether the shamanic ecstasy was genuine or not, and similar questions. Here Marie Antoinette Czaplicka paved the way, and was followed by Russian scholars such as Vladimir Bogoras, Dimitri Zelenin and Sergei Shirikogoroff, German authors such as Hans Findeisen, Georg Nioradze and T. Konrad Oesterreich, and French authors such as Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and Marcelle Bouteiller. In the work of all these authors the emphasis was on the psychic state of the shaman. Alongside the fascinating appearance of the shaman himself, this subject was of compelling interest to the scholarly world.

More recent writings in the history and psychology of religion have also devoted attention to shamanic ecstasy, among which those of Åke

³ Cf. for example W.L. Sieroszewski's descriptions of Yakut shaman performances (Sieroszewski 1902), and V.M. Mikhailowski's work (Mikhailowski 1894).

Ohlmarks, Mircea Eliade and Ernst Arbman may be mentioned. Eliade's (1964) contribution was ground-breaking, and most scholars engaged in the analysis of shamanism refer to his work. For all of them shamanism stands and falls with ecstasy—or religious trance, as Arbman also calls it (Arbman 1963–1970).

Ethnology was until the 1950s predominantly historical and phenomenological (classifying), or—in the Soviet Union—evolutionistic. Typical exponents of ethnological shamanology were (and in the case of those whose work continues, still are) the Austrians Wilhelm Schmidt, Martin Gusinde and Matthias Hermanns, the Germans Andreas Lommel and Ulla Johansen, the Estonians Ivar Paulson and Gustav Ränk, the Hungarians Laszlo Vajda, Mihály Hoppál and Vilmos Diószegi (the last predominantly influenced by Soviet scholars) and the Russians A.F. Anisimov and V.N. Basilov. It is characteristic that all of them assumed that the shaman has a natural psychic disposition to ecstasy.

This common understanding of the role of ecstasy in shamanism gradually gave ground with the appearance of social anthropology. Indeed, even in early North American anthropological work there was little concern with shamanic trance states. In an early paper on shamanism in North America by Roland Dixon (1908) we are told that the shaman is, more or less, a kind of vision-seeker of the common American Indian type—albeit particularly directed by his profession, the cure of his fellow human beings. Dixon defined shamans as “that motley class of persons, found in every savage community, who are supposed to have closer relations with the supernatural than other men, and who, according as they use the advantages of their position in one way or another, are the progenitors alike of the physician and the sorcerer, the prophet, the teacher, and the priest” (Dixon 1908:1). However, apart from mentioning that “the shaman goes into a trance”, Dixon was not particularly interested in the nature of this trance.

The same general attitude to shamanism is reflected in the writings of A.L. Kroeber, one of the founders of American anthropology. For him, the shaman was mainly a curer with an honoured and respected status and was “associated” with a spirit (Kroeber 1948:298f.). In discussions with the present author Kroeber saw the shaman primarily as a religious leader. Edwin M. Loeb had a better feeling for the inner world of the American shaman, but erroneously characterized shamanic possession (on the northwest coast particularly) as an “inspirational” state (Loeb

1929:275). More recent authors have noted in their ethnographical tribal overviews occurrences of ecstatic shamanism, but in general they do not accord ecstatic phenomena much consideration. There are exceptions, however, particularly among anthropologists with a psychiatric training. Among modern scientists may be noted Georges Devereux, Bryce Boyer and Wolfgang Jilek—although they can hardly be said to have emanated from traditional American anthropology.

Modern social anthropology, with its roots in French sociology and structuralism and British empiricism, has largely taken over the cultural and social-anthropological scene in recent years. Society, not culture and certainly not religion, is in the foreground. Ritual is an important word and Victor Turner the dominant name in ritual analysis. As regards shamanic research, Ioan Lewis has been ranked a leading scholar of shamanism. It should be noted, however, that Lewis deals primarily with spirit possession rather than shamanism and tends to regard Siberian shamanism as a case of possession—not entirely correctly in this author's opinion (cf. Lewis 1971:50f.)

ROLES, RITUALS AND ECSTASY

The emphasis placed on ritualism in shamanism by the social anthropologists is certainly very important and has not been examined closely enough. Some more recent contributions in this field are particularly important: Lucille Charles' worldwide exemplifications of shamanic drama (Charles 1953), and Lauri Honko's and Anna-Leena Siikala's discussions of ritual role-taking by the shaman. Although these authors are American and Finnish folklorists, they testify to the scope of the social-anthropological influence. Whereas Honko (1969:33) tends to downplay the importance of ecstasy as a distinguishing mark of shamanism, Siikala sees the shaman's ritual interaction between this world and the other as "fundamentally an ecstatic role-taking technique" (Siikala 1978:28). In other words, Honko emphasizes the social role-changing of the shaman, while Siikala seeks to show how "role changes or the shaman's role-taking technique link up with his ecstatic behaviour" (Siikala 1978:29). Both approaches are invaluable, but Siikala's is of more importance to us in the discussion of the role of ecstasy presented here.

In any event, these examples demonstrate how an analysis of ritual can be coordinated with that of ecstasy. This is, however, less often the case

where socio-anthropological methods are more rigorously applied. This was not so from the beginning, as earlier works on shamanism in France indicate. Thus, it is well known that Marcelle Boutellier, in her book comparing American shamanism and French folk medicine, also gave attention to dreams and ecstasy (Boutellier 1950:119ff.) and that Mircea Eliade's *grand oeuvre* on ecstatic shamanism was first published in Paris (Eliade 1951).⁴ In this connection one could also mention the fine student of South American shamanism, Michel Perrin (1992). Nevertheless, later French publications on shamanism generally give the impression that the psychic state of the shaman is less important than the social drama of the *séance*. This is, for instance, the case with the works of Roberte Hamayon, an outstanding expert on Siberian shamanism.

Hamayon has recently published a monumental work on Siberian shamanism (Hamayon 1990) based on her own field investigations and studies of Buryat shamanic literature. A cluster of special studies has emerged from this research. Some of her observations are very valuable, such as her emphasis on the mutual relations between the spirits and man (as in the shaman's marriage with the daughter of the game-giving spirit and the parallelism between the human's feeding on game animals and the animal master's feeding on human flesh and blood). The author stresses the partnership between man and animal—indeed, she diminishes the supernatural factor and lays stress on the social tasks and bonds of the shaman. Thus, "being similar to man's soul in essence and on a par with men as alliance and exchange partners, spirits are not transcendent" ... "they are feared but not worshipped" (Hamayon n.d.:4).⁵ As to the shaman, his exercise of power is controlled by the community and, if he does not achieve the right results, he is dismissed by the community (Hamayon n.d.:6). This is a consequence of the social-anthropological approach: investigation of the interior experience of the shaman is depreciated in favour of sociological analysis.

In effect, Hamayon here attacks the religious interpretation of shamanism. In her study of the ritualization of shamanism she writes of the observers of shamanism in Siberia: "s'ils ont tous perçu le phénomène chamannique comme religieux, tous sont restés perplexes face au comportement du chamane en séance, et certains l'ont mis sur le compte

⁴ As a Romanian emigré Eliade was, of course, only temporarily in France.

⁵ Cf. my criticism of her use of the concept of transcendence below.

de la pathologie" (Hamayon 1989:149).⁶ To this one might say that, of course, not everything pertaining to the shamanic complex is religious, but the rites of shamanism are dependent on the beliefs and ideas of the religious experience (see further below). Hamayon does not see shamanism from this angle, however. She retorts by asking how an action can be considered religious that is characterized by "une conduite qui n'a rien de codifié, mais offre au contraire l'apparence de la folie?" She adds that shamanism does not present any of the usual supports of a religion—a dogma, a temple or cultic objects common to a collectivity of people (Hamayon 1989:149f.). Her own solution is that shamanism offers a "pragmatic" ritual that is symbolically related to the action of hunting. (The special problems that are involved in such an interpretation will not be considered here.)

In a recent article Hamayon has declared that shamanism is not, as previous scholars have suggested, meaningfully explained as founded on experiences gained in "ecstasy" or "trance" (Hamayon 1993; cf. also Hamayon 1990:29ff.). This is a startling view considering the overwhelming evidence of ecstatic shamanism from many parts of the world, not least from Siberia.⁷ We remember, for instance, how Eliade saw the kernel of shamanism in "archaic techniques of ecstasy" and how Findeisen, from a psychological and phenomenological perspective, considered the spiritistic trance or ecstasy to be the constitutive basis of shamanism (Findeisen 1957:8, 1960). On the contrary, maintains Hamayon, any approach to shamanism through the study of trance or ecstasy⁸ is "an obstacle to the anthropological analysis of shamanism", "is irrelevant" and "impedes anthropological analysis of the shaman's behaviour" (Hamayon 1993:4, 6, 18). Instead, she finds a conceptual continuity in the shaman's ritual behaviour which portrays his or her contact with the

⁶ To this may be added that no understanding scholarly observer today thinks that the shaman's behaviour is influenced by madness, nor does he expect that a religion with shamanism should necessarily have a temple and a dogma. Many tribal religions lack these accessories.

⁷ Mihály Hoppál has now made available an excellent collection of shamanic pictures which show ecstatic shamans and shamans with the ecstatic instrument *par préférence*, the drum (Hoppál 1994).

⁸ Hamayon makes a distinction between trance and ecstasy (on grounds which I cannot endorse) and reserves the term "trance" for the shaman's possible inner state.

spirits, “a functional behavior that follows a prescribed pattern” (Hamayon 1993:3). We notice here a reductionistic tendency to exclude all operations that involve an approach other than the strictly social-anthropological.⁹ To my understanding this means that a more holistic scholarly approach is sacrificed on the altar of the demands of a method.

Moreover, Hamayon attempts to disqualify trance as an analytical object. There are, in her opinion, no native terms homologous to “trance”—which means in Latin, as she points out, “to die, to go beyond, to pass from one state to another” (Hamayon 1993:7). I fear she is quite mistaken. My investigation of the American shaman’s trance state shows that the latter is conceived as, and is called, death (Hultkrantz 1953:280ff.)¹⁰ It is thus not true that native tongues only represent trance as a “ritual episode” without reference to “a specific physical or psychic state”. Hamayon is certainly right when she concentrates on the relationships between the shaman and the spirits as a major theme in people’s discussion of the shamanistic art, but this does not exclude their awareness that the shaman’s trance is likened to death—indeed, is death. Hamayon considers that the characterization of shamanism as trance arose in the great Western religions in order to denigrate, in the eyes of a transcendent faith such as Christianity, this belief system in which man and spirits are viewed as equals (Hamayon 1993:17ff.). However, I am not in agreement with her use of “transcendent”. Spirits are both transcendent and immanent in American Indian beliefs. Even in Christianity the two may coincide—in mysticism for instance, where the soul of man and the spirit of God may coalesce.

My position is thus clear: ecstasy is a necessary part of the shaman’s psychic equipment. Moreover, it is the precondition for all shamanic ritual actions.

There are, certainly, shamanic ritual actions where the ecstatic element is not palpable, as in the Spirit Canoe curing ceremony among the Coast

⁹ Cf. Hamayon 1993:7: trance “does not belong to the system of representations which is the ultimate subject matter of the anthropological analysis”. See also Hamayon 1993:20.

¹⁰ Although I have not perused the terms for trance in Arctic Eurasia, I have occasionally noted that some languages place trance on an equal footing with death. My colleague, Professor Louise Bäckman, herself a Saami, has informed me that the Saami word for ‘dying’, *jaamedh*, is included in the word for going numb, *jaamelgidh*, ‘die a little’. Cf. also Bäckman and Hultkrantz 1978:98, 101, 102.

Salish Indians. Concerning this ritual, which visualizes a journey to the spirit land by several shamans, the available sources do not give reliable clues as to the presence of ecstasy—although certain details suggest that this was the case (Hultkrantz 1992:69), just as the Siberian shaman climbing the world tree clearly presupposes an ecstatic trance. Ohlmarks (1939:122ff.) called this shamanism “imitative” and considered that it went back to an original fully-fledged trance. As noted earlier, Siikala adopts a more cautious attitude, with preference for a parallelism between ecstatic absorption and role-taking.

Shamanism and shamanic ritual cannot be understood without reference to the ecstatic experience of the shaman. If shamanism is retained as a concept in the international debate (and it is hard to see that it can be abandoned considering the homogeneity of shamanic forms over wide areas of the globe), then the ecstasy of the shaman must be reckoned as an inalienable part of it—indeed, as the overture to the shamanic séance and ritual and as part of the myths and legends that surround shamanism. Some implications are discussed in the following section.

THE MEANING OF ECSTASY TO SHAMANISM

If Professor Hamayon and this author cannot agree on the import of ecstasy in shamanism, we are nevertheless both inclined to find a dichotomy in the world interpretation of most peoples between an ordinary, natural world and another, “supernatural” world, or, as Hamayon formulates it, *nature* and *supernature* (Hultkrantz 1983; Hamayon 1990). The difference between us is that Hamayon does not draw the same conclusions from this dualism as I draw myself. This is apparent in our respective evaluations of shamanism, which, to her, is a role-play and drama conducted in a social context rather than a complex of beliefs, rituals and sacred narratives (myths and legends) with supernatural sanction. The latter interpretation is my own, though one shared by many other investigators. I do not assert that in all details the shamanic complex should be referred to the supernatural sphere, but I do contend that its motivation and force have a supernatural origin, in accordance with the belief held in shamanic circles.¹¹

¹¹ Cf. the discussion of the basis of mystical phenomena in Arbman 1963. I: 433ff.

Now, if the sanction for shamanic beliefs and rituals is given in supernatural experience, we are within the confines of religion. Religion gives the impetus to the entire shamanic scenario. This has been underlined by many classical authors on shamanism and also by recent authors (Closs 1960, Ripinsky-Naxon 1992:38, 42, Harner 1980:21). In an earlier paper I have myself voiced a similar opinion (Hultkrantz 1988). In the same work I declared that not every aspect of shamanism is religious: "There is also the element of human care, the shamanic personality, profane existence as a part-time shaman, the construction of drums and other auxiliary instruments, the role-playing of the shaman, his social position and sexual life, the poetry of shamanism, and so on" (Hultkrantz 1988: 37). Still, the driving motor of shamanism is, beside the social needs, the practitioner's contact with the spirits. This contact is realised through experiences that are anormal and transferred to another world, the world of gods, spirits and ghosts. No normal person meets these supernatural entities in the natural world. Only trance, dreams and coma open the door to that magic world.

It is the shaman's privilege to be able to initiate a journey to the other world or to call on the spirits of that world to help and inform him. To reach this other world he has recourse to trance. There are two kinds of occasion when the shaman needs to enter a trance: at the time of his calling—when the helping spirits appear to him in visions—and during the shamanistic séance, when curing and divination require communication with the powers of the other world.

Elsewhere I have pointed out that, if we wish to establish a boundary-line between the shaman and the medicine man (the common term for an aboriginal doctor and magician in North America among both scholars and the public at large), the occurrence of ecstasy is diagnostic (Hultkrantz 1985). The ordinary medicine man may experience an ecstatic calling, as he does in North America, but his curing séance is not typically of the ecstatic kind (Hultkrantz 1989, 1992). The typical shaman, on the other hand, is an ecstatic on both counts. Now, ecstasy or trance is, of course, a relative concept, since we can observe different degrees of trance. Thus, mere visits of supernatural beings during a curing procedure may take place in a light trance, whereas shamanic expeditions to the other world, or remote places of the ordinary world, are usually en-

acted in deep trance.¹² However, there are certainly exceptions where imitative shamanism and shamanic role-taking occur. It is difficult to draw an absolute line between trance and role-taking, and role-taking often merges imperceptibly into trance (Siikala 1978:61ff, 330–341).

The shamanistic séance certainly, as Hamayon and others have insisted, mirrors the social situation and the popular demands of those taking part in the séance. However, no séance would occur without the main figure, the trained practitioner in ecstasy. He or she not only plays the leading role but is also in control of the communication with the spiritual world, which can only be reached in ecstasy or trance.

Seen at its most fundamental level, the communication with this other world is the source of health, harmony and power, all those qualities that the audience of the shamanic session wish to achieve. The function of the shaman is to open this channel to the supernatural beings who can bestow such boons. The ecstasy realised with the aid of guardian spirits transfers the shaman from his mundane surroundings to the supernatural world. That is the meaning of ecstasy or trance, and makes it an intrinsic part of the shamanic activity. No account of shamanic ritual can be satisfactory if the ecstatic framework is ignored.

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¹² For a more detailed treatment of this subject see Hultkrantz 1975 and Bäckman and Hultkrantz 1978:94–109. Both these references concern the Saami. There are similar cases among North American Indians, but I have not as yet made a thorough analysis of the material, except among Shoshoni Indians. See however Hultkrantz 1992:158ff.

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Pursuit of Happiness Through Reciprocity: The Korean Shamanistic Ritual*

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CANTERBURY

The Korean shamanistic ritual, called kut, is based on the principle of reciprocity which underpins most social interactions in Korean society. Analysis of the three groups of the participants, the spirits, the shamans and the sponsors, reveal a common denominator, i.e. grief or grievances. Kut is a festive gathering of mostly troubled beings, who exchange gifts of consolation with one another. Through venting and sharing their troubles, all of them experience catharsis, thus achieving 'happiness', which is the ultimate objective of kut, as its etymology suggests. An implicit faith in the Maussian obligation to reciprocate, therefore, is the essence of Korean shamanism. When faced with inexplicable disasters beyond modern science and technology, sponsoring kut is a positive move by the sufferer to alleviate the pain and despair. Their belief that the spirits will reciprocate with blessing in return for their gifts gives them confidence and hope, which helps them get over difficult times. The modern Korean people, therefore, will continue to sponsor kut not only for "joy of public giving", but also for the solace that their faith in the spirits' obligation to reciprocate brings them.

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fascination that shamanism exerts on most people who come across it, it has more or less disappeared in most modern nation-states (Blacker 1975:10), rejected and scorned by rationalized people. Even in Siberia, where its practices were first spotted among the Tungus by Russian travellers in the late 17th century, thus giving it its name (Shirokogoroff 1935:268), shamanism is no longer widely practised.

* This paper is the lecture I delivered at the Oriental Institute, Oxford University, on 25 May, 1995. The lecture was entitled, *Reciprocity, Status and the Korean Shamanistic Ritual*, and is based on my Ph.D dissertation of the same title.

In Korea, however, shamanistic rituals, called *kut*, have persistently been performed, despite centuries of persecution by the authorities, mainly by oppressed female and peripheral male members of the society. Today, nowhere can one find such highly organized, elaborate, spectacularly dramatic shamanistic rituals as *kut*.¹ Why, then, does this "archaic" polytheistic religious phenomenon persist in rapidly industrializing Korea, which boasts the 12th largest trade volume in the world?²

My research is an attempt to find an answer to this intriguing question. I conducted fieldwork during 1993 and 1994, mainly in Seoul, since it seemed quite apparent to me that Seoul is the place with hegemony over South Korea, hence most shamans congregate there. I endorsed in principle the Boasian approach of data collection, aiming at "total recovery", since I felt that premature generalizations were too frequently attempted, resulting in theories far removed from reality and forced or false analogies in anthropology. Taking heed of the wisdom contained in an old Korean proverb, "Intelligence is inferior to even bad handwriting.", I set out on my fieldwork, armed with two cameras, a camcorder, a tape recorder and a clipboard. I was determined to record every relevant detail, so that my memory or wishful thinking would not play a trick later during my analyses.

After some initial difficulties, because of a great social stigma attached to all shamanic practices, I managed to succeed in establishing a rapport with numerous shamans and sponsors. I must thank Mr. Ch'oe Namök, president of a shaman society called, *Taehan Sünggong Kyöngshin Yönhaphoe* (The Korean Spirit Worshippers' Association for Victory over Communism), and some 200 shamans, for their invaluable assistance.

To sum up, I will discuss the principles underlying *kut*, through analyzing the three groups of participants in it, namely the spirits, the shamans, and the believers/sponsors, and the social interactions between them, to divulge its idiosyncrasy. It will help us understand the reasons for its persistence in contemporary Korean society.

¹ According to Sö Chöngböm. Personal conversation on 7 October, 1993.

² According to a recently released statistical report, in 1993, Korea's exports and imports amounted to \$82.2 billion and \$83.8 billion respectively, making Korea the 12th largest trading nation in the world. (Newsletter of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, October 1995).

KOREAN SHAMANISM

First a definition of shamanism is necessary. Shamanism is notoriously difficult to define, but is best defined in terms of who and what the shaman is. Since 'shaman' came from the Tungusian *saman*, North Asia seems to be a logical place to look for a definition of it. According to Shirokogoroff (1935:269), shamans are capable of having direct contact with the spirit world through ecstasy, controlling spirits and using their power for helping other people who suffer from illnesses or misfortune, attributed to the influence of malignant spirits. Thus shamans have the socially recognized abilities to achieve ecstasy, summon their guardian spirits, and with their help ascend to heaven or descend to hell, to bring back the lost soul, or fight with and win over evil spirits, which cause illnesses or misfortune, and thus obtain the cure. They have socially-sanctioned ritual codes and paraphernalia, and enjoy a privileged social status.

Korean shamans, collectively called *mudang*, largely fit into this model, although there are considerable differences. The main difference lies in the fact that Korean shamans invite the spirits in *kut*; the latter then materialize through possessing and speaking through the former. In other words, the shamans "become" the spirits. Erika Bourguignon's (1979: 233–269) division of institutionalized altered state of consciousness into trance and possession trance, linking it with the type of society in which they occur, explains this difference. Korean shamans, predominantly women, mostly utilize possession trance, which according to Bourguignon's paradigm usually occurs in agricultural societies. Although in traditional Korean society, shamans' social status is the lowest of the low³, they enjoy a special status, at least in their community, particularly during *kut*.

Kut is a comprehensive shamanistic ritual in which *mudang* invite the gods by entering into ecstasy, and through entertaining them, supplicate them and propitiate evil spirits, which are believed to be the cause of

³ During the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), there existed four strict social classes, namely, *yangban* 'aristocracy', *chungin* 'middle people', *sangin* 'commoners' and *ch'ŏnmin* 'base people'. *Mudang* belonged to the *ch'ŏnmin* class, together with slaves, performers, butchers, etc. Although this rigid social hierarchy is now defunct, the ethos of ostracizing *mudang* still remains.

misfortune and illnesses, send off the dead to the other world, or merely seek health, happiness and prosperity of a village or an individual family.

Gluckman's (1962:22) dichotomy of ritual and ceremony applies strictly in Korean society, although the division is made by the criteria of sacredness and profanity, rather than religiosity and technicality. Thus a ritual, i.e. a sacred formality, is called *chel-je* (as in *chesa* 'ancestral sacrifice') and a ceremony, that of profane nature, is called *-shik* (as in *kyōrhonshik* 'wedding', *chorōp shik* 'graduation ceremony'). However, the Korean shamanistic ritual is called neither *-je*, nor *-shik*, which implies its ambiguous nature. Instead of being called *muje*, a literal equivalent of 'the shamanistic ritual', it is called, *kut*.

Unlike many Korean words, *kut* does not have an equivalent Chinese character. Yi Nūnghwa (1927:176) interprets *kut* as based on a pure Korean word, *kutta*, meaning 'nasty, foul or unfortunate', as in *kujūn nal* 'a rainy day', or *kujūn il* 'a nasty affair, i.e. a bereavement'. Thus *kut* is concerned with solving the problems of misfortune, particularly illness and death. That is why *kut* is also sometimes called *p'uri* ('solving' or 'dispelling'). Ramstedt (1949:132) traces the origin of *kut* to the Tungusian *kutu*, the Mongolian *qutug* and the Turkish *qut*, which all mean 'happiness' or 'good fortune'. Thus the purpose of *kut* is to bring about happiness and good fortune. I would endorse Ramstedt's interpretation, since *kut* is not always performed on 'nasty' occasions. As we will see later, a large proportion of *kut* performed today are *chaesu kut* '*kut* held to pray for good fortune', *chinjōk kut* 'a shaman's own *kut*' and *naerim kut* 'a neophyte shaman's initiation ritual', which are not directly related to unfortunate events.

Kut basically consists of twelve *kōri*⁴; each *kōri* is a small independent *kut*, dedicated to a specific god. Twelve does not always represent the exact number of parts inside *kut*, but a number symbolizing 'a whole' or 'completeness', as twelve months complete a year. (Yu 1975:296) The contents and number of *kōri* can vary according to the officiating *mu-dang*, but the basic structure of *kut*, i.e. 1) evocation, 2) entertainment, and 3) finally send-off, of the spirits, remains unchanged. The same pattern applies to each *kōri*, which is a part dedicated to one or a group of spirits.

⁴ *Kōri* has a variety of meanings, such as 'subject', 'stuff', 'task' or 'cause', etc.

Kut can be broadly classified into four kinds; 1) *kut* performed for the dead, called *chinogi kut* (in the Seoul area), *ssikkim kut* (in the south), etc. 2) healing *kut*, called *uhwan kut*, *pyöng kut*, etc. 3) *kut* performed for *mu-dang*, i.e. initiation *kut* (*naerim kut*), and seasonal offerings to the shaman's tutelary spirits (*chinjök kut*) and 4) *kut* performed to pray for good fortune, which can be subdivided into a) private *kut*, called *chaesu kut*, etc., and b) community *kut*, called *taedong kut*, *pyölsihin kut*, etc.

My analyses of the *kut* that I attended reveal that there exist seasonal variations for types of *kut* performed. Thus over 60% of *kut* performed at the beginning of the lunar New Year are rituals praying for good luck if you include *chinjök kut* in this category. On the other hand, community *kut* occupy about 35% of rituals performed in the autumn. *Naerim kut* and *chinogi kut* do not seem to have similar fluctuations, occurring more or less consistently at a mean average of around 20% and 15%, respectively. What is interesting is that unlike shamanistic seances in other parts of the world, where the main purpose is curing diseases, purely healing *kut* account for a mere 4 to 5% of the total number of the *kut* that I attended, since for somatic diseases, people go to the hospital for cure, shamans actually telling them to do so. Inexplicable or incurable diseases are attributed to the noxious influence of malignant spirits, often the spirits of one's own recently dead relatives. Thus *chinogi kut* is held to console them through gifts and entertainment and send them safely to the other world.

In *musok* gods are not worshipped as metaphysical beings, but materialize via possessed shamans, and in a sense manipulated by humans as a means to obtain this-worldly goals, such as long life, wealth, health and children. Thus *kut* is not a sacred exercise, but a very profane "strategic party", in which gods participate as honoured guests, enjoying food, drink, drama and other entertainment provided by man. By offering sumptuous feasts, liberally accompanied by gifts of money, etc., humans bind the supernatural beings in an obligation to reciprocate, forcing the latter to return their hospitality by granting them their wishes. In other words, gods and humans communicate freely with one another on equal terms in *kut*, bound by the rules of Maussian obligation to give, receive, and reciprocate. Before analyzing the reciprocal relationships that exist among the participants in *kut*, it is necessary to divulge their characteristics, dividing them into three groups, i.e. the spirits, the shamans and the sponsors.

THE KOREAN SHAMANISTIC PANTHEON

Innumerable spirits occupy the Korean shamanistic pantheon, which is reflected in a polite term of address for a shamaness, *manshin*, meaning literally 'ten thousand spirits'. It implies that a competent shaman/ess is capable of controlling all the spirits, which number 'ten thousand', a number often used in the sense of 'countless' in Korean. My research into the Korean shamanistic pantheon was carried out through shamanistic paintings and statues, which are their anthropomorphic reification, and the songs and recitations by the shamans during *kat*, commonly termed, *muga* 'shaman songs'.

According to Wolf (1974:131–182), the spirit world is viewed as a replica of a people's social world; in traditional Chinese society, gods, ancestors and ghosts are viewed as bureaucratic officials, family and beggars, respectively, which also applies to the Korean spirit world. Gods correspond to bureaucratic officials, who should be supplicated and propitiated. This concept is manifest in Korean shamanic costumes, which are donned by possessed shamans, during *kat*. Spirit costumes are based on those of the Chosŏn dynasty government officials of various ranks, which prompts some scholars (Cho 1983:102) to describe the Korean shamanistic pantheon as reflecting the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) social structure. However, on account of the long history of Korean shamanism, it is much more complex, reflecting the Korean people's belief system over the ages. Ancestors, on the other hand, are rather like family elders, who have to be appeased, soothed and served. Thus shamans casually throw on a particular costume, bought and prepared for each ancestor, while performing the part for ancestors. Ghosts should never be neglected, in the sense that beggars should not, because the obligation of the rich to give to the poor exists strongly in Korean society. If this obligation is not met, the rich become the object of moral condemnation by the less fortunate. Likewise, if the ghosts do not get "given alms" at the end of *kat*, they inflict all sorts of misfortune on those who are fortunate enough to sponsor it. However, just as one does not stand on ceremony, while "feeding" beggars, shamans wear their everyday clothes, while performing *twitchŏn*, while the others get ready to leave, distributing the money and the ritual food, clearing up the table, packing the costumes, etc.

The gods are most often classified by shamans themselves into *ch'on-shin* 'heavenly gods', *chishin* 'earthly gods' and *inshin* 'human gods') reflecting the basic shamanic concept of the tripartite structure of the universe. The first group of gods are derived from the ancient indigenous belief in Heaven, and the second based on animism, which decrees everything that exists in the universe has a spirit, hence ten thousand spirits. What is idiosyncratic about the Korean shamanistic pantheon is the third group of spirits, i.e. those derived from humans, often historical personages, such as kings, queens and culture heroes.

The third group of gods present us a most intriguing question: "What kinds of historical personages are apotheosized?" Kim T'aegon (1981: 186, 285) calls human-derived gods "hero gods", indicating that they are the spirits of culture heroes, who were larger than life personalities in their life time. *Prima facie*, many seem to have lived heroic lives, eventually dying for an altruistic cause, such as defence of the nation or betterment of the suffering mass. However, many great historical personages are not accorded the same prominence comparable to that given to them in mainstream Korean society. The best two examples are the two most famous Korean heroes of all time, Admiral Yi Sunshin⁵, often referred to as the Nelson of Korea, and King Sejong the Great, who invented the Korean alphabet in 1443.

What then are the criteria for shamanistic apotheosis? The answer can be found in the lives of the most popular deities, which are derived from the Chosŏn dynasty kings and generals. A brief study of the three tragic kings, included most frequently in a group of shamanistic deities, called Pyŏlsang, Yŏnsangun (1476–1506; reigned 1494–1506), Kwanghaegun (1575–1641; reigned 1608–1623), and Crown Prince Sado (1735–1762), reveals that they all lived in a turbulent period of Korea's history, eventually becoming unjust victims of the political factional wrangling. According to a Korean historian Han (1970:265), Yŏnsan-gun was "perhaps the most execrated monarch Korea ever had". However, a close scrutiny into his life suggests that he was a victim of the political intrigue of his time, with a shamanic propensity.⁶ Kwanghaegun (1575–1641;

⁵ *Changgun* is a Korean word, which usually refers to a general, but used for an admiral.

⁶ For details, see Hogarth 1995:158–159.

reigned 1608–1623) was the eldest, but illegitimate⁷ son of Sŏnjo (1552–1608; reigned 1567–1608). To safeguard his crown, he killed his young half-brother, Yŏngch'ang Taegun (1606–1614).⁸ He also deposed and imprisoned his stepmother Inmok Wanghu (Queen Inmok: 1584–1635) in 1623. His depraved behaviour made too many enemies, which led to his dethronement. Crown Prince Sado, in particular, met a gruesome end, having been put to death in a rice chest by his father King Yŏngjo. He was posthumously named Changjo by his son King Chŏngjo (reigned 1776–1800), and features prominently in the Seoul area *kut* as Twiju Taegam (Lord Rice Chest), or the Coffin King.

The most prominent among the deified generals, appearing as *Kunung*, are Gen. Ch'oe Yŏng (1326–1388), an illustrious general, who was unjustly killed by the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, Yi Sŏnggye, and Gen. Im Kyŏngŏp (1594–1646), a 17th century general, who offered strong resistance to the invading Chinese (Ch'ing) army. They both had a profound, lasting influence on the ordinary people of Korea, as their protectors from foreign powers. Their appeal to the general public can also be attributed to the fact that they were victims of the Confucian establishment.

As seen above, most deified historical personages were members of either royal or aristocratic lineages, whom the common Korean folk looked up to in fear and adoration. However, despite their high births, which entitled them automatically to a life of luxury and prestige, they all had eventful lives and met tragic ends. This fact alone should be enough to generate pathos and the sympathy of the downtrodden mass, who, although dissatisfied with the unfair social stratification, accepted it as based on the cosmological principle. The sorrow of the ill-fated royals and nobles, persecuted by the very establishment which oppressed the women and the lower-class mass, is shared by the latter, through cathartic tears in shamanistic rituals, thus cleansing away the grievances of the former.

The same principle applies to the second group, ancestral spirits, who, in sharp contrast to “ancestors proper” worshipped in Confucian style

⁷ Illegitimate offspring were severely discriminated against in Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) Korea. Royalty were an exception, because of an implication of their “divinity”.

⁸ Of Sŏnjo's 14 sons, only he was legitimate.

ritual, called *chesa*, include the spirits of those ascendants who cannot achieve ancestorhood, for reasons of their “bad deaths” and/or failure to leave legitimate descendants. They are embraced into shamanism by women, who dispel their grief of not being offered proper and regular food offerings. Unlike *chesa*, which is offered by male descendants to their agnatic ascendants, *kut* is offered to all cognatic kin, not only ascendants but also descendants. The importance of ancestors in *kut* is such that it is often identified with “treating ancestors” by many sponsors whom I talked to.

The third group, ghosts, consist of all kinds of malevolent spirits, including those which wield noxious influence through wood, earth, stone and an arrow which hits people at a feast, and the ghosts of victims of all manner of bad deaths. Also included in this category are, “the souls of all the people who die as members of some other group”, who are potentially dangerous. (Wolf 1974:172–173) By treating them all to feasts, they are prevented from wielding noxious influence on the sponsors and their families.

The fact that so many shamanistic spirits had tragic lives and died untimely deaths has been used to support the theory that the essence of Korean shamanism is *han*, i.e. grievances, unfulfilled desire, or grudge. Kim Yölgü (1977:194) argues that that is why the ambience of *kut* is mournful, underneath its often boisterous appearance. Cho (1990:244) attacks this notion, claiming that most of what he calls “proper deities” actually bear no *han* ‘grievances’, and even ghosts do not always bear it.

The ambience of pathos is indeed immediately apparent to any spectator of *kut*, particularly *chinogi kut*, during which shamans, as well as sponsors shed copious tears at one time or another. However, tears are viewed as cathartic and purifying, therefore therapeutic, rather than signifying hopeless grief and *han* ‘grievances’. Many parts of *kut* are cheerful and entertaining, giving an impression of a party which include theatrical performances enjoyed by all. *Han* ‘grievances’ is just one of the obstacles lying in the path to the ideal condition of total happiness. What is of paramount importance is getting involved with others’ *han* ‘grievances’, or grief; by helping dispel it, and exposing all the skeletons in the familial and societal cupboards, at a very public social gathering, reciprocal solutions are attempted and often found through catharsis, by all the participants. Thus it would be wrong to say that *han* ‘grievances’ *per se* is the

essence of *musok*, dispelling it being a means to the ultimate objective of *kut*, which is as Ramstedt's etymology (1949:132) suggests, 'happiness'.

THE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS: SHAMANS AND SPONSORS

The central figures in *kut* are shamans, collectively called *mudang*. There are basically two types of *mudang*, depending on the way they are recruited; the god-descended type called *kangshinmu*, and the hereditary type called *sesümmu*. The former is the norm to the north of the Han River, and the latter to the south, and along the East Coast. The *mudang* among whom I conducted my fieldwork are all *kangshinmu*, since I consider them "shamans proper", *sesümmu* in my opinion being degenerated or socially constructed variations, which can be explained with Max Weber's routinization of charisma, as Kim T'aegon (1981:403) suggests.

According to Ch'oe Namök, President of *Taehan Sünggong Kyöngshin Yönhaphoe* (The Korean Spirit Worshipers' Association for Victory over Communism), there are about 45,000 registered members, of whom 35,000 are female. He reckons that they account for about one third of the total number; thus it can be said that there are about 135,000 practising *mudang* in South Korea.⁹

My research revealed that the male : female ratio is roughly 20 : 80. Male or female, my shaman informants were unanimous on the fact that *mudang* were all unfortunate wretched people, who have suffered all sorts of disasters and misfortunes in their lives. They are invariably from derived backgrounds, often from broken home, and suffered severe lack of love, often having lost one or both parents early in their lives. There also exists a shamanic ancestry in the lineage, called *puri*, meaning 'root', even in the case of *kangshinmu*, which is consistent with Akiba's observation (1950:65) that a shamanic propensity seems to be hereditary. However, since *puri* also exists among a woman's affines (particularly her husband's relatives), the hereditary theory becomes weak in the Korean case. Thus *puri* is culturally constructed, rather than biologically

⁹ The exact number of Korean shamans is almost impossible to obtain, since some belong to more than one societies, while others operate freelance and/or covertly.

inherited, supporting Bourguignon's "prelearning" theory. (1979:241, 267)

Shamans share certain personal traits, such as a high level of intelligence despite their lack of formal education, hyper-sensitivity, their subversive ambition, and superfluity of what Sö Chöngböm (1993:29–40) calls *ki*, or equivalent to what Freedman (1966:122) calls "cosmic breaths". In English a parallel for *ki*, would be 'spirit' in the sense of 'high-spirited' or 'in high spirits'.

There are three different ways in which spirits descend on people; the first and the most common is through sickness, the second through financial ruin, and the third and the most feared, through deaths of loved ones called *indari*, meaning 'human bridge'. Sometimes all three can happen in turn. In the midst of these extreme sufferings, the first sign of a "choice" from above manifests itself in what is commonly called *shin-byöng*, i.e. 'possession sickness', which has been likened to acute schizophrenia (Silverman 1967), and other forms of psychosis, because of a remarkable similarity between people suffering from it and psychopaths. They get meditative and dreamy, seek solitude, seem absent-minded, and have prophetic visions and sometimes seizures that make them unconscious. They lose appetite and sleep, and often wander off alone to the mountain or forest. They occasionally find shamanistic objects buried by shamans who died without leaving successors. (Shirokogoroff 1935:255; Eliade 1951:33–66; Akamatsu and Akiba 1938:52–74; Akiba 1950:63–82; Harvey 1979:235–240; Kim T'aegon, 1981:12, 13, 194, 357, 418, 520, 521; Kendall 1985:57–65; Sö 1993) Most of my shaman informants have told me their life experiences of possession sickness before becoming shamans, which all fit Eliade's traditional schema of the future shaman's vocation: suffering, death and resurrection.

A shamanic vocation, be it hereditary or by divine election, is obligatory: one cannot refuse it. A person who receives the call suffers a mysterious illness or the above-mentioned misfortune until she/he obeys it and becomes a shaman. However, she/he cannot become a shaman without several years of training and being initiated at an initiation rite, called *naerim kut*. *Naerim kut* is a rite of passage for the shaman, in which the "psychopath" dies and is reborn as a consecrated shaman by demonstrating her/his mystical capacities. Thenceforward, the teacher shaman is called the spirit father/mother. On becoming a fully-fledged shaman, the

person recovers completely from the sickness, which recur if she/he stops shamanizing. Here lies the main difference between a shaman and a psychopath, i.e. a shaman is a sick person who has cured her/himself and is prepared to cure others suffering from similar ailments.

The sponsors of *kut* are much more diverse than the shamans, since they include a cross section of people with a wide variety of socio-economic background. They can be classified into 1) Sponsors of private *kut*, divided further into believers/regular clients, called *tanggoll/shindo*, and non-believers, i.e. occasional sponsors, who can be Buddhists, Christians, or atheists and 2) Sponsors of community *kut*. What most of them have in common is illness, grief, insoluble life problems, or worry over an uncertain future. When faced with a dilemma in their lives which cannot be solved with modern science and technology, they try to find an answer, through turning to what their ancestors did, by first offering them gifts, much like the ones they themselves would like to receive in return.

Mudang's close associates mostly consist of their consanguineal and affinal relatives, on account of the long history of their ostracization. What is interesting, however, is the existence of fictive kinship in the shamanistic community. Teacher *mudang* is called spirit father/mother, and the neophyte, spirit son/daughter. Regular clients or believers "sell" their children, by hanging a long piece of cloth, called *myōngdari* 'long life bridge' at the shaman's shrine to pray for their long life. They then become the shaman's *suyang adūl/ttal* 'adopted son/daughter'. Regular clients often address their shaman, *ōmma* 'Mum'. Thus their social relationships are modelled on natural kinship relations.

RECIPROCITY, KOREAN SOCIETY AND KUT

The ideology and ethos of mainstream Korean society is directly reflected in *kut*. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the principles underpinning all social relationships in Korean society in general.

Polanyi (1968:3-26) divides the types of economy into primitive, archaic and modern economies, based on reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange, respectively. In Korean economy, which undoubtedly belongs to the third group, reciprocity plays an important role. Extensive gift exchange is immediately apparent to any visitor to Korea. Gifts are taken even on a causal visit, extensive gift exchange takes place on spe-

cial occasions, particularly at rites of passage. Extravagant feasts are given by hosts, and guests bring gifts of money, always put in envelopes which act as a symbolic barrier, to distinguish gifts from trade. Since overall in a person's lifetime, the actual economic gain/loss is insignificant, gift exchange is more symbolic, rather like the Melanesian *kula*, which goes around in a circle. What is of paramount importance is the act of giving, which carries Maussian obligation to receive and reciprocate.

Sahlins (1972:193–196) analyzes reciprocity into generalized reciprocity, balanced reciprocity and negative reciprocity, linking the type of reciprocity to the kinship and residential distance. Thus generalized reciprocity, or sharing of resources without any strict expectation of return, applies to the relationships between closest kinsmen (1972:196–204). However, Sahlins's model does not fit Korean society, since relationships between even parents and children can be said to be based on balanced reciprocity. Korean children are never allowed to forget the debt they owe their parents for the gift of life and their upbringing; thus *hyodo*, or filial piety, is considered a supreme human virtue. The former are expected to show deference to the latter when young, render them financial, emotional assistance when grown up, and offer ancestral sacrifices to their spirits after the latter's death. What is valued above all else in Korean society is life, as manifested in many Korean proverbs. The Korean word for human being itself is *saram*, literally 'living being'. Life can only be repaid with life; thus the children can only repay their parents by keeping them "alive" as it were, after death, by offering them food and drink on a regular basis. One of Griffin Dix's (1979:67) informants told him, "the ancestor worship is not useless. Wearing mourning clothes is labour exchange, *p'umashi*." I would argue that in Korean society most regular/long-term social relationships, including those between parents and children, are based on balanced reciprocity in principle, generalized and negative types occurring only sporadically or aberrantly.

Kut is often identified with ancestor worship by many shamans and sponsors, as one sponsor said: "We treat our ancestors to food and money, with all our hearts, and cleanse away any *han* they might harbour. They then bring us *pok* 'good fortune'. That's what *kut* is all about in a nutshell. It is not really much different from *chesa*." Ch'oe Namök, president of the Korean Spirit Worshippers' Association for Victory

over Communism, also said, "Sponsoring *kut* is no different from seeking advice and assistance from your parents."

However, although *kut* and *chesa* share a commonality of ancestor worship, in essence they represent polarization of ideology of Korean society. Put it simply, *kut* is to *chesa* as nature is to culture. *Kut* is performed mainly for and by women, while *chesa* is officiated by men: the former is born of the heart, while the latter of duty; the former temporarily abolishes social codes and restrictions, while the latter imposes and strengthens them. This concept is well represented in ritual procedures, music, costumes and paraphernalia. Even ritual food offered manifests this ideology, in that food offered in *kut* is mostly raw, while *chesa* food is mostly cooked. The most important difference, however, is the shamanistic worshippers' implicit faith in obligation to reciprocate, which is universally found in human societies.

Let us briefly examine what the sponsors say that they receive for their sacrificial offerings through a few case histories.

1. A healing *kut* was sponsored by a 54-year-old market woman to cure her 26-year-old daughter-in-law's Bell's Palsy. It cost about £1,800. The patient was said to be cured soon afterwards.

2. A *chinogi kut* was sponsored by a 36-year-old woman for her recently dead mother-in-law, and also to cure her mild illness, attributed to the latter's restless spirit. It cost £3,000 plus. During the *kut*, her mother leapt at the spirit of the mother-in-law, i.e. the possessed shaman, accusing the latter of having given her daughter such a hard time. The spirit apologized, and they all fell on one another's shoulders, weeping for some considerable time. She told me afterwards that her heart was much lighter (*kasūmi shiwōnhada*) for having had a "go" at the previous source of her daughter's misery. The patient's health improved soon afterwards.

3. A *chinogi kut* was held for a three-year-old boy, killed by a lorry nine days previously. A few days after the accident, his then pregnant 26-year-old mother miscarried a boy foetus. It cost about £3,000. The whole family, parents, grandparents, father's two sisters, cousin, were all present. The little boy's spirit possessed the shaman, and they all wept. All of them told me that they felt now that the little boy had gone safely to the other world, the misfortunes would no longer come to them.

4. A *chinogi kut* was held for a 58-year-old mother of three grownup children, who had died of liver cancer. It cost £5,000. The extreme grief

of the three children, all highly educated, the eldest a doctor, was exacerbated because they would have no opportunity to repay their debt to their mother, who had gone through all sorts of hardship for their upbringing and education. All three told me that they arranged the *kut* to show their true hearts to their mother, which made them feel better.

5. A small-scale *chaesu kut* was sponsored covertly by a battered wife, aged 43, of a moderately affluent timber merchant. Only herself and her young son were present. It cost about £1,500. She wept, confided in the shamans, who all sympathized with her, condemning her brutal womanizing husband. She told me that Ms. Chǒng, the chief shaman, was like her mother, who had died long ago.

6. A top rate combined *chaesu/chinogi kut* was sponsored by a wealthy business couple, who each owned a business. The cost of the *kut* was about £8,000. The wife told me that they had no problems, but were thanking their ancestors for their success and asking for their continued support by treating them to a feast and offering them money.

Thus what the sponsors say that they get from *kut* is cure, solace, psychological relief through catharsis, and hope and confidence *vis à vis* the future.

Scientific interpretations for the cure through *kut* have been presented by various psychoanalysts such as Rhi Bou-yong (Yi Puyǒng), who discusses the beneficial effects of “emotional relieving” through encounters with the ancestors. (Rhi 1983:416) It is a well established fact in medicine that a patient’s emotional wellbeing influences the course of even a somatic disease. However, *kut* is most effective in curing psychosomatic complaints. My case histories support Kleinman’s stipulate (1980:361) that indigenous practitioners must successfully heal, since they primarily treat three types of disorders: “(1) acute, self-limited (naturally remitting) diseases; (2) non-life threatening, chronic diseases in which management of illness (psychosocial and cultural) problems is a larger component of clinical management than biomedical treatment of the disease; and (3) secondary somatic manifestations (somatization) of minor psychological disorders and interpersonal problems.”

The woman’s illness in Case History 2, for example, might well have been caused by her guilt about feeling a great relief at the death of her cantankerous mother-in-law. According to her mother, who made an outburst during the *kut*, the old woman, who had been ill for a long time before her death, had continuously bullied and pestered her. The under-

standable feeling of elation at having been released from her bondage, must have been accompanied by a severe sense of guilt, for the woman, who had been brought up by the rigid Confucian ethics. Applying the Freudian projection theory (1913/1975:61), her sense of guilt was projected onto the mother-in-law's spirit, who got blamed for being guilty of inflicting an illness on her. By treating her mother-in-law's spirit well with gifts of food, clothes and money, and sending her happy to the other world, her guilt feeling may well have been assuaged, thus effecting a cure for her mild illness.

Despite the great advancement in medicine, there are so many diseases, and many aspects of them, particularly the causes, which are still beyond human comprehension. Shamanism, which blames the various malignant spirits, can be said to be an attempt to explain the incomprehensible. In many cases, the care shown the patient by the shamans and the resulting relief of psychological tension which could well be the cause of a particular disease, have a great therapeutic effect. When all fails, *mudang* are clever enough to emphasize the inevitability of one's *p'alcha*, i.e. fate, claiming that they can only prevent minor misfortunes, not change the course of one's fate.

More importantly, the sponsors derive from *kut* new hope, confidence, and optimism about the future. One of Chŏng Wŏnhae's clients told me that *chaesu kut* was effective, because of the confidence it gave the sponsor. They strove harder, safe in the knowledge that all the spirits were helping them, and by trying harder they achieved good results. The successful couple in Case History 6 told me that they felt more confident *vis à vis* many important financial decisions, after sponsoring *kut*. That very confidence might well help them become more decisive in their business ventures, making them more successful.

The sponsors whom I "interviewed" invariably told me that they felt the cost of *kut* was money well spent. The shamans' whole-hearted preparations and the execution of the elaborate ritual gave them a great sense of self-importance. It was as though they and their problems were at the centre of the universe, during *kut*, all the participants sharing their grief and thus giving them catharsis, as well as a boost to their morale. Catharsis achieved through shared tears is a well-known theme in Greek and other tragedies. In *kut*, the effect is much greater, since the audience also participate in the drama as actors/actresses. Viewed from this perspective, what *prima facie* is an outrageously extravagant fee does not seem

so unreasonable. The sponsors get a psychoanalytic session, lasting eight or more hours, plus a banquet complete with an orchestra and live theatre, not just for the sponsors themselves, but for all the ancestors who join them. It was no surprise, therefore, to hear the sponsors say that they had value for their money.

An important aspect in reciprocity in Korean society is the statuses of donors and recipients. The spirits, as supernatural beings, enjoy the highest status, while *mudang*'s traditional status is the lowest of the low. It is manifested in the mode of speech, used by the participants. Even child spirits are addressed in the honorific mode, while the former use the blunt speech even to their grandparents, who carry seniority, on account of their age. The paradox that arises from the fact "lowly" *mudang* assume the lofty status of the spirits may well account for the fact that *mudang* become ill, if they try to break away from their profession.

The status of the recipient is well reflected in the gift, as much as, and in some cases more than, that of the donor. In Korean society, traditionally social subordinates must first make a gift to their superordinates, in acknowledgment of their inferior or junior status. Also the quality of the gift is important, in that the recipient gets offended, if the quality and value of the gift is considered unsuitable, which accounts for the extravagant and sometimes financially ruinous gift exchange. Thus in *kut*, the first thing a god often does, when he/she materializes through the possessed shaman, is to complain about the paucity of the offerings, however, sumptuous they are. The sponsors must apologize abjectly for the inadequacy, pledging their full hearted devotion, which then appease's the spirit, who then proceeds to give them blessings. Maintaining harmony through keeping to the Confucian-based cosmological statuses of all entities, both living and spiritual, is one of the essential elements in Korean shamanism.

CONCLUSION

Homer Hulbert (1906:403-404) writes "As a general thing, we may say that the all-round Korean will be a Confucianist when in society, a Buddhist when he philosophizes and a spirit-worshipper when he is in trouble". He argues that to know a man's true religion you should see what he does when in trouble. Despite the centuries of the attempts by the authorities to obliterate the notion that most Koreans are "spirit-wor-

shippers", more and more Koreans, including some of the elite of society, are acknowledging an element of truth in it.

Musok reflects the centuries of Korean culture, society and its ethos. *Kut* is based on the principle underpinning all social interactions in Korean society, i.e. reciprocity, particularly the Maussian obligation to reciprocate. *Kut* is a festive gathering of supernatural and human beings, most of them troubled beings, to help one another, exchanging gifts of cure, consolation, new hope for the future through catharsis. All the participants in *kut* are back in the Eliadean primordial paradisaic age, when gods and humans freely communicated with one another. The shamans' androgynous behaviour, which can also be found in other societies, is thus explained with this theory.

In Korean society, because of a long history of social stratification, the superior status of the spirits as immortals is firmly recognized by mortals, which is reflected in the sumptuous and costly ritual offerings. However, the status in *kut* is highly ambiguous, *mudang*, who traditionally belong to the lowest of the low social class, taking on the highest status of lofty gods. This concept of ambiguous status is well suited to modern Korean society with a highly mobile class system, which is why some university students recently performed parts of *kut* in anti-government demonstrations.¹⁰

The basic ideology of *kut*, i.e. an implicit faith in the Maussian obligation to reciprocate, however, is the essence of Korean shamanism. When one is drowning, one would even try to grasp a piece of straw. When faced with a terminal disease, or other inexplicable disaster, well beyond modern science and technology, sponsoring *kut* is a positive move by the sufferer of ill fortunes in an attempt to alleviate the pain and despair. According to the contemporary Korean shamanists, in the days gone by, before the advent of advanced science and technology, that was all their ancestors had and did. Therefore, in a situation which cannot be helped by modern science, they turn to the methods used by their ancestors. Their belief that gods and ancestors will reciprocate with blessings in return for their whole-hearted gifts gives them confidence and hope for the future, which helps them get over difficult times.

What will happen to *kut* in the future? There still exists a considerable stigma attached to not only *mudang*, but also their clients/believers. *Kut*

¹⁰ For details, see Kim Kwangök 1989.

is performed covertly; one would never dream of saying, "I am going to a *kut*." in the way one says, "I'm going to church." *Mudang* themselves still feel offended to be called *mudang*, preferring various other euphemisms, such as *musogin* 'musok people', *kyeja* 'the person who has received the gods' revelation', *manshin* 'ten thousand spirits', *posal* 'Bodhisattva', *tosa* 'a enlightened Taoist', etc. Ms. Pang said (7 March, 1994), "Maybe in ten years' time, our time will come". They may be recognized and will take pride in their profession. Already some successful *mudang*, who have achieved financial independence have gained a measure of self-confidence. When their true identity is divulged, they will no longer be shunned or feared. It is possible that they will rightly be regarded as novel ritual specialists who might do a lot of good under certain circumstances which are beyond modern science and technology. Once recognized and earning a decent living, their much-deprecated obsession with money may even recede, making them respected, albeit bizarre, practitioners of by-gone religious beliefs and carriers of traditional Korean folk culture.

As has been already happening, the folklorization of *kut*, will take place. However, *kut* in its original form, i.e. for specific purposes of praying for good luck, sending the dead off to the other world, curing, etc., will not disappear in the near future. Private *kut* will possibly be performed mostly in abbreviated form as the one that I attended on 1 March, 1994, which lasted four hours. Being less costly and time consuming, it can appeal to busy people, since although much shorter, it nevertheless contained all twelve *kōri*. Community *kut*, which, according to Rhi Bou-yong (1983:417–418), are to be encouraged for maintaining solidarity, may well be performed more frequently in the future. They have an advantage of incurring minimum costs to individuals, whilst achieving maximum effects, creating community spirit and maintaining solidarity, while providing them with entertainment and catharsis through group therapy.

The modern Korean people, although rapidly becoming highly individualistic, will continue to seek in *kut*, "the joy of public giving; the pleasure in generous expenditure on the arts, in hospitality, and in the private and public festival" (Mauss 1925/1990:69).

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Contemporary Shamans and the “Shaman’s Handbook” of the Sibe*

QI CHESHAN¹

URUMQI

The Sibe have practised shamanic ritual continuously up to the present day. In Chapchal today there are more than ten practising shamans, and new ones are being initiated. Two handwritten manuscripts, “shaman’s handbooks” have been discovered, they are, in effect, shamans’ teaching manuals. In this article I address several questions: 1) the “shaman’s handbook” 2) how shamans are chosen 3) the shaman’s mirror (toli) 4) the ladder of knives 5) the shaman’s ritual objects 6) sacrifice 7) the 18 karun and the shaman’s spirit painting 8) some names and other problems.

INTRODUCTION

Shamanic healing amongst the Sibe² has a long history. Although the introduction of new technology, modern medicine and scientific thinking

* Translation and footnotes by Rachel Harris.

¹ Qi Cheshan’s article is interesting in that he writes as both “insider” and “outsider”. Born in a Sibe village, for him shamanism is a matter of belief. Now working in the provincial capital, Urumqi, an expert in five languages, he is also able to place Sibe shamanic culture in its wider context. He argues strongly for a historical interpretation of shamanism, emphasising change, and mutual influence between different systems of thought. Qi Cheshan works in the Languages Research Committee, Xinjiang, China. He is also a member of the anthropology unit in Xinjiang Normal University. This article was first published in Chinese in the Xinjiang Normal University Journal (Qi Cheshan 1995).

² The Sibe, one of China’s minority nationalities, originate from South Siberia. They were drafted into the Manchu coalition and in 1764, 2,000 Sibe soldiers and their families made a long march across China to the western border with Russia. They settled in Chapchal in the Ili valley. Their descendants are the subject of this article.

have changed attitudes in Chapchal, shamanic healing rituals thrive, and new shamans are still emerging. There is a persistent official attitude that shamans are fraudsters and cheats; obviously fakers do exist but in an academic study of shamanism, we must take into account the persistent belief of ordinary people that ritual healing works.

In October 1993, I conducted ten days fieldwork on shamanism in Chapchal, with my colleague Meng Hui from the National Academy of Social Sciences.³ All of the shamans we interviewed considered themselves under a form of obligation to alleviate the spiritual and physical suffering of the people, and their calling could not be denied, even if they were unwilling. One seventy year old woman shaman told us,

“When I was young, I was always ill, I couldn’t eat, and medicine did no good. Then we went to see a shaman, who said I had the calling. I didn’t want to take it on, but it was no good, my illness got worse. There was nothing I could do. When ‘above’ chooses you, you must accept. When shaman’s heal people, actually they are also healing their own illness. If you have the calling and don’t heal, you will be punished.” (Qing Hua Saman)

There are more than ten practising shamans in Chapchal today, the majority are women. The oldest is seventy and the youngest thirty years old. We interviewed ten shamans, recording 19 hours of tape. Quotes in this article are drawn from these interviews. With the shamans’ permission we attended a ritual offering to the ancestors made by a local family; two sacrifices for the initiation of new shamans; and a male shaman’s personal sacrificial ritual. All of these took place over two days of the mid-autumn festival (15th and 16th of the 8th month). According to Fu Qing shaman, this is the “festival of our masters”. “Our masters” refers to ancestral shaman teachers, and other spirits residing in the upper world.

We also visited the homes of two patients whose cases the shamans had spoken about. One was a case of eye infection, the other was a psychiatric disorder. The patient with psychiatric problems had made a full recovery. When we arrived at his home, he had just come back from working in the fields. His speech and manner revealed nothing out of the

³ Qi Cheshan is himself Sibe and has lived in Chapchal for most of his life, these ten day’s formal fieldwork are complemented by his insider’s knowledge.

ordinary. The patient with the eye infection had already recovered and gone back to university in Xi'an; we were received by her mother. She gave us a detailed account of the illness and the cure, and spoke of her gratitude to the shaman who had healed her daughter. The shamans admit that they cannot cure every patient who comes to them. The shamans were all very busy, people constantly came to them asking to be healed. Even while we were interviewing, several people came. It was clear that they came in the belief that the shaman could heal them, and this cannot be dismissed as the result of "superstitious propaganda".⁴

With one exception, the shamans we interviewed were not highly educated people. They were also differentiated in terms of their shamanising skill, some were considered more effective healers than others. They gave varying answers to our questions, on some subjects they preserved silence, not daring to reply, all fearing the sanction or punishment of "above". On many subjects they could only tell how it is, not why it is so, notably on the subject of the source of their healing power. This is probably due to the fact that none of them had studied formally under a shaman master. The last "true" Sibe shaman, Morniang, died in 1976, since then no Sibe shaman has climbed the knife ladder. Fu Qing shaman did spend some time studying with her, but due to the limitations of the social climate at that time she was able to learn only a fraction of the knowledge and skills of Morniang.⁵ Such problems hinder research today, making it very difficult to discover the underlying meaning of shamanic practice today. Further study is needed.

One great consolation is the discovery, some ten years ago, of two mid-19th century handwritten shaman ritual manuals. These have proved to be an invaluable resource for the understanding of Sibe shamanism in that period and changes in practice today. Through these manuscripts we

⁴ The writer is protesting against the continuing government opposition to ritual healing as "feudal superstition", cheating and defrauding the people. Whilst shaman rituals are generally tolerated in Chapchal as an "ethnic custom", they are still stigmatised. In fact at the time of publication of this article in China, a national "anti-*qigong*" campaign was underway.

⁵ Ritual activity was vigorously suppressed in Chapchal from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s. While healing rituals did not cease during this period, they were conducted in great secrecy. Ritual activity in the 1990s is still a much more covert affair than the spectacular public initiation and healing rituals of the early 20th century, vividly recalled by the older generation.

have discovered or clarified many rituals that are lost or partially understood today. Through the comparative study of these manuscripts and the study of contemporary shamanic practice, we can piece together a fuller picture of Sibe shamanism.⁶

ON THE “SHAMAN HANDBOOK”

“Shaman’s handbook” is the folk appellation for a ritual text, written in poetic form, which appears to be lyrics to the songs sung during shamanic ritual. In the summer of 1980, Mandurtu and Xia Zhiqian from the National Academy of Social Sciences, discovered a handwritten copy of a “shaman’s handbook” while conducting fieldwork in Chapchal. This manuscript was preserved by Nan Jinbao of the Nara clan, handed down to him from his ancestor, Nara Elci, born 1855 and initiated as a shaman in 1873 at the age of eighteen. Eleven years later, in 1884, he wrote down two manuscripts, one was kept in his home, the other he gave to his disciple who became a shaman of some fame, Pa Saman. This manuscript was passed on by Pa Saman to his disciple, Morniang (also called Huk Saman, the lady shaman). She in turn passed it on to her disciple, Yong Fuqing Saman, who still has it in her possession. The copy discovered by Mandurtu now resides with the Xinjiang Minority Affairs Council, Ancient Relics Department.⁷ The manuscript is divided into two sections, the first is entitled *jarire jakire jandara jarin bithe* (prayer, blessing, prayer), the second, *nimeku de urhu fudere jarin bithe* (prayer while sending off paper images for healing).

In 1991 another manuscript was brought to the attention of researchers in China by the Italian scholar of Manchu studies, Giovanni Stary. When he came to Xinjiang to conduct fieldwork in Chapchal he told us of the existence of a Sibe shaman manuscript, written in 1877, entitled *Saman Kūwaran i bithe* (“The shaman’s altar”), preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.⁸ This

⁶ See the introductions to these texts in Stary (1993) translations and Pang (1993).

⁷ Annotated translation into German by Stary (1992); into Chinese by Qi Cheshan published in (Tong 1989). Published in the original Manchu as *Saman Jarin* (Jalungga and Hewenjiyun 1990).

⁸ Now published in facsimile with transcription and an annotated translation by Pang (1992).

manuscript had been collected in Ili at the turn of the century by N. Krotkov (1869–1919). About this study trip in Ili, Krotkov (1912) wrote, "In between my official work in Kulja and Tacheng, I made use of all my spare time, collecting information on Sibe shamanism in the Ili and Tacheng regions."

Today, unfortunately, we cannot state exactly where he found this manuscript, since Krotkov travelled widely in the area, but left no detailed record of his collection. It is incomplete, but still a valuable and interesting resource taken in conjunction with the Elci manuscript, with which it is roughly contemporary.

Until today, most scholars have considered that shamanism is a religion without a doctrine.⁹ The discovery of these manuscripts must make us reconsider this problem. As far as I can see, the "shaman's handbook" is the written doctrine of Sibe shamanism. The proverb has it, "without rules, there is no completion". A religion without "rules" could not survive the passage of time. I think that before the "shaman's handbook" was written down, it is certain that many shamanic ritual songs (as many songs as there were shamans) were handed down orally, from generation to generation, from shaman master to disciple. It is also quite possible that other written manuscripts were handed from master to disciple, which have not been discovered. Another factor is the reluctance of shamans to reveal their teachings to the outside world. Elci wrote a warning in his book to its future owners,

⁹ This is problematic. We are familiar with arguments in the West on the viability of the over-arching term "shamanism" for diverse ritual practice worldwide. Equally there is no consensus about the definition of shamanism as a religion. In contemporary Chinese writings, "shamanism" is usually termed *saman jiao*, 'shaman religion', and applied to most ritual practice amongst ethnic minority groups. However government policy tends to regard shamanic ritual as "feudal superstition". Qi Cheshan has campaigned for the official re-definition of Sibe shamanism as a religion, hoping thus to raise the status of shamans in Chapchal.

“Keep this book hidden from generation to generation
 Do not reveal it lightly
 No matter if your disciples are many or few
 Give this book only to the one closest to your heart
 Show it to no other.” (Jalungga 1990).

Such stern warnings may well have prevented the discovery of many other manuscripts. From the structure and content of the “shaman’s handbook” we can surmise that it existed in oral form long before it was written down, refined and crystallised in the memories of many earlier generations of shamans. It is not the isolated scribbling of a certain man at a certain time. The whole book is clearly organised and structured, and the language throughout is elegant. It records the shaman’s initiation, receiving of the spirit mirror, and ascent of the knife ladder; the shaman’s progress through the eighteen karun; the names and dwelling places of the spirits; a genealogy of the shaman ancestors; a cosmology; protective incantations; rituals of worship and songs for calling down the spirits; in a word, a total record of shamanism. Is this not a doctrine for Sibe shamanism?

ON THE CHOOSING OF SHAMANS

For successive generations, Sibe shamans have considered that a shaman’s successor is chosen by the “spirit world”, not everyone can take on such a role.

“If you don’t have ‘the road’ there’s no way you can just learn to be a shaman. ‘Above’ must show that you have ‘the road’ before you can learn.” (Guan Shumei)

This is how Guan Shumei replied when we asked her who could become a shaman. Here it seems that “above” is the spirit world, and “the road” is the shaman’s fate. These terms are frequently used by Sibe shamans. Some are chosen by “above” when very young, some may be in their teens. Most of those chosen fall ill, they are often prone to fainting or dizzy spells. At the same time, they will have frequent strange dreams. Modern medicine can do nothing for them. Almost all the shamans in Chapchal had similar experiences. At last they went to an established

shaman, who told them that they were chosen by "above". They accepted the role, erected a spirit altar, and after some special rituals were performed, their illness lessened. After this they must fulfill a difficult three years learning period. Only when they have learnt to heal successfully can their illness be fully controlled. In interview, it was clear that many shamans felt that they had been forced into accepting the role of shaman. None had taken it on willingly. Below I give some comments made by the shamans themselves:

"As for me, I was sick and frail since I was small, I had to wear padded clothes winter and summer alike. I went to hospital, I had injections and medicine, but none of it did any good. Then we went to see a shaman, and found out that I had the road. My husband's father was a famous *elci*¹⁰ and I had to take over his job. My husband's little brother was always getting ill as well, it was for the same reason. And so I had to take on the job of *elci*. I found a teacher and started to heal. Look at my hand. Before I couldn't pick things up, now it's much better... I was hardly willing, I was sick, I had no choice. If people didn't get sick, they wouldn't take this on, who would want to do that?" (Guan Shumei)

"I was ill for fifteen years, I had two operations. I took every kind of medicine, none of it did any good. At that time it was very strange. Every night after I went to sleep, someone would come to fetch me, and take me to a place, it was always a young person. They made me get on a brown horse, with a white bit on its head. They taught me how to read a pulse, then to heal wounds, then how to deliver a child. Then, every night, they taught me four words, then I came home. the strange thing was, the next day when I went to hospital, those four words would always appear on the doctor's prescription. I told my husband about it, but he didn't believe me. I was like a madwoman, all over the place. Every night after I'd gone to sleep they came, I sat on the *kang* talking to them, my family thought I was talking to myself, they were frightened. Finally they decided I was incurable, and they sent for a shaman, who said it was the shaman road. There was a shaman in my mother's family, he was my grandfather. he was a great shaman, it was his road that I was given." (Yu Xian Saman)

This perception of contemporary shamans does not differ greatly from the shamans of the last century. Compare this description by Krotkov:

¹⁰ A shamanic ritual healer, specialising in smallpox.

“The Sibe believe that the spirits who help them drive away evil ghosts react to different people in different ways. To some they are kind, but not to others; they can happily co-exist with certain people, but not with everyone. Therefore, it is not everyone who can serve as the go-between for the spirit world and the human one, a shaman. And for the same reason, not every son of a shaman may take his father’s place, and the name of shaman.

The spirit world chooses the shaman, and this may manifest itself in many ways. If a child suffers a long-term illness, the family may call on a shaman who will divine that the child is fated to be a shaman, and after the child formally takes on this role, the illness will quickly be cured.” (Krotkov 1912).

The same perception is also evident in Elci’s “shaman’s handbook”:

“I am of the Nara clan
 Born in the year of the dragon, I am fated
 I was chosen to be shaman
 I accepted my fate and began to learn.” (Jalungga 1990).

From the sources quoted above, we can see an idea very similar to the lama Buddhist belief in the reincarnation of the *tulku*. The Sibe believe that the appearance of their *tulku* is announced by the spirit world, the news is carried to the human world by other shamans, who receive the information in dreams. The information is not transmitted in direct or clear fashion, it is received as metaphoric images, or veiled words. The chosen one (and her families) do not understand at first, they seek all kinds of cures, she may even refuse to take up her calling. Her condition worsens, and this is seen as the spirit world putting increased pressure on her. Several shamans receive the news of a new shaman from the spirit world, though the strength of the communication may vary, and the message is clouded. The ability to understand the message depends on the shaman’s interpretive powers. The sick person may seek out several shamans, if they have not been able to interpret the message, then they cannot cure the illness. It is as if the spirit world is sending its messages along many different channels to many different destinations; eventually one will get through; a shaman master will meet the chosen one, and (in the shamans’ words *poolem acenhei*, ‘divine correctly’) reveal her fate. Then she must put up a shaman altar, and make a sacrifice (usually a white ram) to signal her acceptance to the spirit world. In the “shaman’s handbook”, we find a vivid depiction of this process:

"Nara Elci, was confirmed by Utola Tuchian Saman and Tongge Eyonga as a reincarnated shaman. They chose the fourth day of the eleventh month, the festival of the yellow road, for the ritual sacrifice. Before the altar, under the guidance of his master, Elci cleansed a goat with pure water. His shaman master sang prayers, and spoke to the spirit world through his own guiding spirit:

A descendant of the Nara clan
Born under the sign of the dragon
Pure of blood
White of bone
Unknowing of love
The choice is sure
I beg you, my guiding spirit
Tell them true
Tell them his origins
Tell them his name and clan." (Jalungga 1990).

At the conclusion of his words, the goat shivered violently, showing that the spirits accepted the sacrifice. Thus the spirit world confirmed Elci as a reincarnate shaman.

THE SHAMAN'S MIRROR *TOLI*

In some studies of Sibe shamanism, *toli* has been rendered as 'heart-protecting mirror', however I consider this term rather inaccurate. There are two reasons which have led to its use: firstly, the shaman wore the *toli* strapped onto his chest with a red ribbon, covering the heart; secondly, the folk name for the *toli* is 'niyamen tiyeli', *niyamen* meaning 'heart'. However, the function of the *toli* is not merely to protect the heart, it has other powers, and I will assert that it is the shaman's spirit or his life's root. Therefore I prefer to translate *toli* as 'spirit mirror'. There are few spirit mirrors in existence today. A few others are kept by the families of earlier shamans; of the contemporary shamans, only Yong Fuqing has one, handed down to her by her master. The spirit mirror was kept on the shaman's altar, taken down only for rituals, and strapped to the shaman's chest. It was said that during the ritual, the shape of the illness could be seen reflected in the mirror, and thus the shaman could divine the illness, and administer the cure prescribed by the spirit world.

Krotkov (1912) had this to say about the spirit mirror:

“The Sibe accord some importance to a ‘toli’ mirror, a bronze mirror which every shaman possesses. The mirror is handed down to him by his shaman predecessor, and presented by his master during initiation, representing a transmission of power or skill. Balishan told me, ‘If the mirror is real, it is alive. If it flies up into the air, you can try to catch it by its ribbons, but it will fly up and away; It’s almost impossible to catch a flying mirror, but a true shaman can do it... One who wants to become a shaman should be able to catch a mirror, only then can he be tested, and allowed to try the knife ladder.’”

Folk tales about the spirit mirror likewise testify to its magical powers. Consider the following accounts:

“In a dream I went over there, when I got there I saw a house, inside there was a long table, on it there were many spirit mirrors, arranged in a line. My master told me to choose one, and pick it up. Then he told me to look in it and tell what I saw. When I looked, I saw two men and one woman, walking along in file. The first was wearing white, the one in the middle was in red, and the last was wearing black. My master asked, what do they hold in their hands. I said, the first one holds a cock, the last one has a hen. I couldn’t see what the middle one held clearly, his other hand was shielding it. I said to him, turn this way, it looked like an owl, he was holding it facing down. The other two were holding theirs by the wings. I said to my master, it’s an owl. He said, wrong, you must learn better.” (Yu Xian Saman).

“I heard a story the old people used to tell. Once there was a shaman of our family, my grandfather, who was in competition with another shaman, neither could beat the other. Then one evening their spirit mirrors suddenly flew out of the chests where they were kept, and began to fight fiercely in the air. At daylight they flew back to their chests. My grandfather woke at the slight noise. He opened the chest and saw his spirit mirror lying there, still vibrating, and there was a nick in its side the size of an apricot pit. When I was young I saw it myself, then we lost it...” (Na Sun).

“We used to have a whole set of shaman tools in our family, but we lost them in the Cultural Revolution. We had a spirit mirror that was just half a mirror. The old people used to say there was a shaman in our family who went with

the army to Kashgar to fight.¹¹ Before he left he said to his wife, ‘While I am away, if I run into any problems my spirit mirror will make a loud noise. If that happens you must open its chest straight away.’ Then he rode off, and for a long time there was no sound from the spirit mirror. Then one day the old lady was in the garden, pulling weeds, when she heard a strange noise, but she wasn’t sure where it was coming from, and didn’t pay much attention to it. Gradually the sound got louder and louder, and suddenly she remembered her husband and his mirror. She ran into the house, but before she got there, there was a crash, and the spirit mirror came flying through the window, and flew off. She went inside and saw the chest was smashed to smithereens, and lying in the splinters of wood was half a mirror. Then she was afraid. And what had happened was the old shaman had died in battle because of that delay, and so the other half of the mirror didn’t know where to fly to.” (Da Chongya).

In sum, the Sibe believe the spirit mirror to have supernatural powers, and if the shaman loses it, his power is weakened or destroyed. The “shaman’s handbook” offers us further detail on the spirit mirror. The book describes how the new shaman receives his spirit mirror, which he can only achieve with the help of his familiar spirit *weceku*¹²:

“Out of the waters of Artanor
From the mouth of the *arun* fish
Let the spirit mirror leap forth!” (Jalungga 1990).

The mirror does not come directly to the shaman, but flies first to the highest spirit of the spirit world: Isanju mama. She takes the mirror in her own hands, and presents it to the new shaman through the medium of his guiding spirit. This process is fraught with danger for the shaman. If there is a mistake, and the mirror he receives is not “true”, his power is not confirmed.

¹¹ The Sibe were sent as part of the Qing army to suppress the Janggar rebellion which raged across southern Xinjiang from 1820 to 1828.

¹² The *weceku* can be termed ‘familiar spirit’, as it parallels descriptions of familiar spirits in other shamanic cultures. However, the *weceku* is not so much linked to the individual shaman as to the clan. As we shall see, the *weceku* is the constant, and the shaman is the variable. In some ways it is the embodiment of the clan.

“Pray to the three shamans
 To send a true spirit mirror
 Pray to the guiding spirit
 To bring a true spirit mirror.”

Here the spirit mirror is termed *temgetu* literally ‘symbol’, indicating that the mirror is symbol of Isanju mama’s acceptance of the new shaman, and a symbol to his community of his efficacy.

THE LADDER OF KNIVES

The knife ladder is called *cakūran* in the Sibe language, literally ‘sandalwood’. It is probable that the term is derived from the word *satu*, ‘ladder’ in the Mongol language.

Not one of the contemporary Sibe shamans has climbed the knife ladder. Social changes have caused the loss of many aspects of the old shaman culture. In the past a shaman who had climbed the knife ladder was known as *iletu* meaning ‘bright’; one who had not climbed the ladder was *butu*, ‘dark, clouded’. The ascent of the ladder indicated that the shaman had travelled to the spirit world, he could contact the spirits and was acknowledged by them. The last great Sibe shaman, Morniang, climbed the knife ladder over sixty years ago but many of the older generation still vividly recall the event:

“Early that day I heard the sound of the shaman drum, we had a bite to eat, then my mother took me out to see the fun. Everyone we met said that the lady shaman was going to climb the knife ladder. When we got there, many people were gathered around. I couldn’t see what was happening, so I climbed onto a wall. I saw that they had put up a knife ladder in the courtyard of her house. It was made from two straight wooden poles, the thickness of a bowl. Knives were lashed tightly between them, I can’t remember how many. The ladder was at an angle, there were two ropes holding it firm. There was another rope cordoning off the area around the ladder. There were brightly-coloured bits of cloth tied to it, it was pretty. A goat was tethered underneath the ladder, and I think there was an oil lamp burning. Pa Saman was in his shaman clothes, beating on his drum, doing the spirit dance around the ladder. The rhythm was fast and exciting, the dance was beautiful, his belt bells going *ding dang* as he danced. After a while the lady shaman came out, then Pa Saman took a spear, he waved it about, then suddenly he speared the goat.

The goat squealed, and its side started to bleed. The lady shaman came over, she drank a mouthful of blood straight from the wound. Her mouth was all red with the blood. Then she started to climb the ladder. First Pa Saman climbed a few steps, then jumped down. He was barefoot, I think he was giving her courage. There was yellow paper fastened over the blades of the knives. The lady shaman started to climb, she was barefoot too. Pa Saman's movements got faster and faster, sometimes you didn't know what he was doing with the drum, then he would beat it as if in a chase, and shout 'Heh! Heh!' She climbed the ladder, step by step. At the top there was a pole tied horizontally, she held onto it, still standing on a knife blade. Pa Saman was sweating, red in the face. He shouted to her, what do you see to the south, the east, and the west.¹³ She answered what she saw. Then she turned and fell from the ladder. Underneath they had prepared a thick mattress of hay. She fell into it, then some people carried her into the house. After a while she came out again and danced the spirit dance. Then I could tell that she was unhurt. The old people said that her familiar spirit protected her." (Guo Jinan).

A description by Krotkov of the ladder ceremony differs in some respects:

"Two stout poles support the ladder, every rung is a sharp knife... In the evening they erect this ladder in an open space, burying the poles deep in the ground. Many people come to watch. The initiate's family provide a white bullock. The new shaman puts on his masters ritual clothing, he is barefoot. Then he spears the bullock in stomach, kneels, and drinks a mouthful of its hot blood. Then he slowly climbs the fearsome ladder. A rope is tied to his waist, the other end is held by someone below. When he reaches the top, he prays to his guiding spirit, and if there are shamans among his ancestors, he must pray to them also for protection. Then the people on the ground pull on the rope tied to his waist, and he falls to the ground.¹⁴ Hay is piled around the ladder to ease his fall...

On the same evening he climbs another knife ladder in his own courtyard. This ladder is not tall, with only nine rungs, it is also called *cakūran*." (Krotkov 1912).

¹³ She must not look north, which is the abode of dead souls.

¹⁴ This seems to indicate that the shaman must be literally pulled back from the spirit world to the world of the living.

The above two accounts describe ceremonies which took place over thirty years apart. While the basic form has not changed, the content has changed in three respects: the white bullock is replaced by a white goat; in the first instance the shaman is pulled from the ladder, in the second she jumps down; in the first description, two ladders are climbed, the first outside the village, the second in the shaman's courtyard, while the later ceremony has just one ladder in the shaman's courtyard. Is this simplification and impoverishment of the ritual, or small differences between the customs of different clans? The knife ladder ritual in the "shaman's handbook" also displays some variation from the above descriptions. However, while the ritual varies in detail, its basic significance remains constant.

What does the knife ladder signify to the shaman? In the "shaman's handbook", Elci writes:

"Ride a camel without saddle
 Ride a white bull
 Where heaven and earth meet
 Erect a golden ladder
 Between the sun and the moon
 Erect a ladder of light rays
 Let the descendant of the Nara clan
 Born under the dragon
 Fly up the golden ladder
 Climb the silver ladder
 Let him come happily down
 Renowned in the spirit world." (Jalungga 1990).

Here the term *cakūran* meaning 'knife ladder', is not used, it is replaced by *aisin wan* 'golden ladder', and *siren wan*, *siren* meaning 'light, ray'. These terms have particular cosmological significance. The "ladder of light rays" is erected between the sun and moon, and reflects the ancient belief that messages were carried in the rays of the sun or moon.

"Many shamanic cultures believe that the world is full of spirit and heavenly bodies. Our world is cylindrical, like a plate, and in the centre is a hole, through which the upper and lower worlds can be reached, via the 'universe

tree' which stretches between the three worlds. The upper world is the abode of the spirits."¹⁵

It seems clear that the Sibe ladder of knives is a form of this "universe tree", the shaman's path of communication with the spirit world. Only those who have ascended the ladder can tread this path, and communicate with, and receive information from the spirits. This is the path that the true shaman must tread.

THE SHAMAN'S RITUAL OBJECTS

A shaman's ritual utensils included: cap, shirt, skirt, leather vest, belt bells, spirit drum, spear, spirit painting (commonly known as ancestor painting), image of his guiding spirit, and spirit mirror. No shaman today has a full set of ritual objects. Some are preserved in families of former shamans, but these are also incomplete. Shamans today do not wear any special clothing for healing, though they may don them for their personal rituals, performed before their own *sarch*, spirit altar. On the acquisition of ritual objects, Krotkov commented:

"On the day following the initiation ritual, the new shaman and his master go about the village, visiting the villagers. When they enter a courtyard they shake their bells and sing... beautiful songs, which they can sing without end, and no family will send them away empty handed. This is their tradition, a mark of their gratitude for the shamans' blessing and comfort. Some give money, others give grain or cloth, firewood or raw cotton. When the new shaman has sold these items, he can buy himself a set of shaman clothes." (Krotkov 1912).

The Sibe call this custom *bos bargiyam*, 'receiving cloth'. *Bos* is a borrowed word from the Mongol language, *baerk*, which is used in reference to giving alms to Buddhist temples, indicating the influence of lama Buddhism on shamanism amongst the Sibe.

The "shaman's handbook" on the other hand, gives a mystical account of the acquisition of the shaman's ritual clothing. The book describes how the shaman goes to a great city to buy bronze, which he gives to the

¹⁵ The quote is taken from the section on shamanism in a Chinese encyclopedia: *Bu liezhen baike quanshu*. Beijing. 1980.

smith to make his cap and belt bells; he goes to Suzhou to buy silk, and gives it to a nimble-fingered woman to make his skirt and shirt; he goes to Sanxing town to buy mulberry wood, which he gives to the smith to make the body of his drum, he uses a wild goat for the skin, a branch of the pear tree blown to him by the wind makes the frame, and a marten's tail to bind it.

“Isanju Saman
Was armoured in these things,
She dressed in these things,
She carried these things.” (Jalungga 1990).

Thus we can see that Elci considered these ritual objects to be handed down from the ancestors.

The style and colouring of the shaman clothes are clearly feminine, this is not unconnected with the gender of the spirit world's highest spirit: Isanju mama.

SACRIFICE

Sacrificial rituals comprise an important part of the shaman's activities. All shaman's admit that their power and skill in healing is entirely dependent on the help of the spirit world. Therefore they conduct two sacrificial rituals every year. The healing ritual also demands a sacrifice by the patient's family. In the past a white wild goat was used, today it a white sheep. See Krotkov on this subject:

“The shamans attach great importance to establishing that their proffered sacrifice has been accepted by the spirits or ancestors. They pour alcohol into the sheep's ear, and when it shakes its head, this is a sign that the sacrifice is accepted. Then the animal's windpipe is severed. No other method of killing the animal is permissible. Then the meat is boiled, and offered to the spirits with the words, ‘Joyfully accept this true sacrifice.’ They wait for a while until the shaman ancestors are considered to have eaten their fill, then everyone present finishes off the spirits' meal.” (Krotkov 1912).

Today the method of sacrifice is no longer by cutting the windpipe, but by piercing the jugular, allowing the animal to bleed to death.

In the "shaman's handbook: song for sacrifice", each ancestor and familiar spirit is invited to partake of the sacrifice. They are called on in strict hierarchical order, called by name and by their place of abode. The order of calling reflects the hierarchy of the spirit world. Nara Elci prepares the offering, then kneels before his altar. First he calls on the three ladies (*ilan enduri gege*); then the six *bakshi*: Burkan baksi, Šara baksi, De baksi, Siri baksi, Ulan baksi, and Isanju baksi; next the three shamans: Jaceng Saman, Deceng Saman, and Yeceng Saman; last he calls down the familiar spirits of the Jashur clan and the Nara clan, "a pair of brave tigers", to join the feast.

The Sibe shamans believe that the shaman is the human manifestation of the *weceku* (clan or familiar spirit). In its human form the *weceku* can interact with other humans. When its human form dies, the *weceku* will choose a new human manifestation to fulfill its role. At the same time, its former manifestations live on in the spirit world, they watch over and aid the activities of the new shaman. In this way the responsibilities and powers of the old are passed on to the young.

Through sacrifice the shaman communicates with the spirit world, with his former manifestations and with his familiar spirit; demonstrating his respect through song, through dance, and through the spilling of blood.

THE 'EIGHTEEN *KARUN*' AND THE SHAMAN'S SPIRIT PAINTING

Here we can translate *karun* as 'guardpost'. The new shaman who wishes for the acknowledgment of Isanju mama, highest power of the spirit world, must first pass through the 'eighteen *karun*'. Contemporary shamans have heard of this ritual, but have no idea of its exact meaning or content. Let us consider the views of some Sibe experts. He Ling:

"The journey of the eighteen *karun* starts at night in the new shaman's home. Master and disciple sit together in a darkened room, facing each other on the north *kang*. The master introduces his disciple to the spirits, using the following formula: a descendant of a certain clan, born under a certain sign, acknowledged by the ancestral spirits, by the brightly coloured shamans, let him walk out of this room, stumbling and hesitant go forward, to receive the blessing of the spirits, may they point out his road.

Then the disciple sings the song of the eighteen *karun*, which he has learnt in the course of his training. In the form of question and response, the master leads the disciple, one by one, past the spirits which block his path at each of the eighteen *karun*. At last they reach the abode of the Sibe shaman ancestor, Isanju mama, who acknowledges the new shaman and then sends him back down to earth." (He 1988).

He Ling describes their progress as a metaphoric journey, but Krotkov describes a physical representation of the same journey:

"On the same night that he climbs the knife ladder, the young shaman still has to climb a second ladder in his own courtyard... Like the previous ascent, the shaman is linked to people below by a rope, and he ascends with the encouragement of drumming and song. At the first rung he pauses, and his master calls out, 'Where have you reached?' The new shaman replies, 'I have reached the first *karun*.' At the next rung, he cries that he has arrived at the second *karun*. The Sibe told me that the nine steps of the ladder represent the nine layers of the universe." (Krotkov 1912).

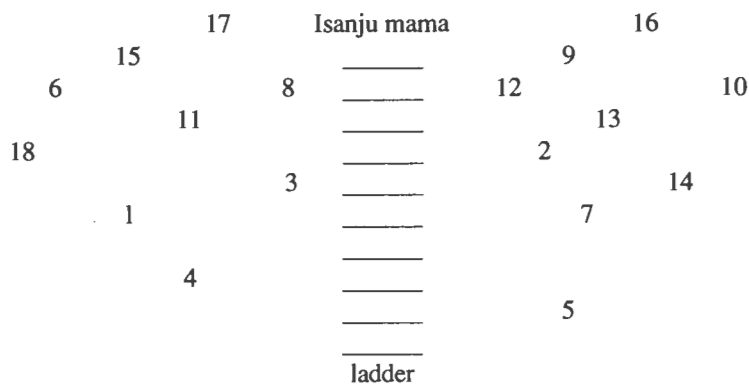
I believe that the Sibe's journey of the eighteen *karun* was both a spiritual and a physical journey. Outwardly the ritual took the form of the disciple's ascent of the knife ladder while master and disciple sang to and fro. The significance of this ascent was the journey of the disciple's consciousness or soul into the spirit world, to gain the acknowledgment of Isanju mama, and the promise of aid from the spirits. The common name for this ritual was *bilher yavum*, *yavum* means 'walk' or 'go', *bilher* is not found in the Sibe language, but comes from the Mongol *beleg*, *belgeer* meaning 'sign' or 'omen'. Thus, only the shaman who had undertaken this spiritual journey could receive 'signs' from the spirits.

The shaman's spirit painting is a representation, not only of the shaman's spiritual genealogy, but also an illustration of the journey of the eighteen *karun*. By comparing the 'song of the eighteen *karun*' in the 'shaman's handbook' with the spirit painting of the Nara clan, we can map out this journey.

KARUN	PLACE IN THE SPIRIT WORLD	GUARDIAN SPIRIT	FAMILIAR/CLAN SPIRIT
1	Green wilderness	6 wolves	Wolf spirit
2	Black forest	5 wild boar	Boar spirit
3	Great river	4 horses	White horse spirit
4	Great mountain	Archer on white horse	Iron General ¹⁶

The familiar spirits which help the new shaman defeat the guards of the *karun* and proceed on his journey are clearly derived from spirits in place before the Sibe's journey to Xinjiang, since their homes in the spirit world correspond to place names in southern Siberia. When the shaman has safely passed through the eighteen *karun*, he must breach three doors, guarded by tigers, before he reach Isanju mama. Finally Isanju mama places her hand on the new shaman's head¹⁷, before sending him back to the human world.

The shaman's spirit painting depicts the familiar spirits associated with the eighteen *karun*. From this painting we can see the shaman's journey, not as a direct upward movement, but as an ascending spiral.



¹⁶ I present only four of the eighteen stages here, to give an idea of the cosmology. For the whole list, see Stary's (1993) introduction to the "shaman's handbook".

¹⁷ A gesture clearly derived from Buddhism.

The painting places Isanju mama at the top of a ladder of nine steps, with nine spirits placed on either side, which I have numbered according to their association with each *karun*. Thus we see that the spirit world is reached via an ascending spiral. The “eighteen *karun*” is in fact a representation of the shaman’s conception of the universe, and closely parallels the Buddhist concept of the eighteen worlds. The Sibe situate their shaman ancestors and clan spirits at different layers of the universe, and delimit their sphere of activity. When the shaman prays, he must first call on the shaman ancestors and their familiar spirits, and through them reach the highest spirit, Isanju mama.

The “eighteen *karun*” lies at the heart of the “shaman’s handbook” and together with the shaman’s spirit painting is an important resource, revealing to us much about the Sibe shamanic cosmology.

ON SOME NAMES AND OTHER PROBLEMS

The process of development of Sibe shamanism has created different names for ritual practitioners. For a detailed description see He Ling’s article in (Tong 1989). I will not duplicate his description here, but comment briefly on the origin of some names: *elci*, *dooci*, and *siangtong*.¹⁸

Firstly *elci*: some scholars have suggested that the term derives from *elcin*, ‘messenger’, and if the *elci* is conceived as a ‘messenger’ between the spirit and human worlds, we can concede the logic of this argument. However, I consider it more likely that the term derives from the Mongol *emci* ‘doctor, healer’. As for *dooci*, it is usual to attribute the term to a borrowed term from the Chinese *dou*, ‘attack, fight’, indicating that the

¹⁸ He Ling considers these three types of ritual practitioner to be offshoots of shamanic culture, their rituals clearly based on shamanic ritual. They were commonly found amongst the Sibe up to the 1950s. Today there is one *elci* still practising, though her rituals differ from descriptions of early twentieth century *elci* ritual. He Ling delineates their spheres of activity as follows: *Elci*: (male or female) specialising in the healing of smallpox, presided over one important calendric ritual, expelling the spirit of smallpox from the community. *Dooci*: (male) specialising in the healing of mental disorders, designated as possession by bad spirits *ibagan*. His public, communal healing rituals featured beautiful songs. *Siangtong*: (female) healing rituals for lesser physical or mental disorders, featuring the use of elaborate paper cuts, burnt as offerings, and incense for divination. For a detailed description see Pang (1994).

healer is a 'fighter' of bad spirits. However we should not overlook the form of his ritual, in which song is prominent. Song in the *dooci* ritual is the main factor in the healing. In the Mongol language, *doo* is 'song', and a *dooci* is a 'singer'. *Siangtong* is clearly derived from the Chinese *xiangtou*, literally 'incense head', a title used for ritual practitioners throughout northern China.¹⁹

The reader may have remarked upon the number of names pertaining to Sibe shamanism which are of Mongol origin. This is linked to the history of the Sibe, who spent 400 years under the rule of the Korchin Mongols. To this day, the Sibe spoken language contains many words not found in the Manchu language, which are of Mongol derivation.²⁰

Now I will comment on the name Isanju, the first Sibe shaman ancestor, and a woman. In many of the legends of the northern peoples, the first shaman is a woman, and the names in these legends are linked: the Sibe Isanju, the Manchu Nišan, the Hezhe Ishin, the Daur Yasun, etc. This argues for a common source of the shamanic culture of these peoples.

The "shaman's handbook" records "protective incantations" and methods for their practice. These incantations take the form of "meaningless words". Though there is little source material on these incantations, and shamans today have lost this knowledge, I would suspect that these words were a dream language, and their repetition stored up magical power in the speaker, paralleling the Chinese practice of *qigong*.²¹ The Sibe shamans' ascent of the knife ladder, and other "magical" displays: plunging the hand into boiling oil, walking on hot coals, placing a glowing iron band on the head, were based on the practice of a kind of *qigong*. Contemporary shamans have lost these skills, and this is perhaps connected with the loss of these "protective incantations". However, shamans today still use the "power" of incantations in healing rituals. I will address this question more fully in a forthcoming article.

¹⁹ I would add that the ritual of contemporary Sibe shamans resembles that of the *siangtong* much more closely than that of the former shamans. Perhaps this form of ritual survived best under pressure from the CCP reformers, since it was originally a more covert form of ritual.

²⁰ The Korchin were a powerful group in eastern Mongolia. The Sibe lived under their rule from the 13th to the early 17th centuries, before being drafted into the military Banner system of the Manchus.

²¹ The practice of meditation techniques to attain inner or supernatural powers.

Contemporary Sibe shamanism has absorbed some aspects of Buddhism and Daoism. This process has probably been ongoing since the thirteenth century, though Daoist influence may have come rather later, perhaps when the *I Ching* was translated into Manchu. Buddhist terms in the “shaman’s handbook”: *burshen* (Buddha), temple, placing the hand on the head of the initiate, as well as the fact that amongst the Sibe it was the custom for a Buddhist monk to officiate at a shaman’s funeral, all indicate the influence of Buddhism on Sibe shamanic culture. Reference to the “five elements” in the “shaman’s handbook” derive from the cosmology of the *I Ching*.

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Linguistic Notes to “Shamanism in Yughur Folk Tales”*

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A-si-ha-si (page 55), read *asyas* ‘a speech delivered during a wedding ceremony’, perhaps a contamination of *a^hlqis* L10b, C86:2, *a^hlq^his* L10b, C93:42, *alqis* C86:2, *hatq^his* T180a, *atqis* M14b ‘blessing’ < Common Turkic **alkiš* (cf. *EDPT*:137b); and *a^hlqasma* L10b, C93:42, *asqasma* L17b, C93:42 ‘congratulation, eulogy’, a deverbal noun in -MA of *a^hlqas-*, L10b, CL50, C93:42, *a^hlqas-* L10b, C93:42, *atqas-* M14b ‘to congratulate each other’ < Common Turkic **alkaş-* (cf. *EDPT* 139a).

Mo-la (page 57): read *mila* ‘child; boy’, cf. *mila* L81b ‘id.’, CL31, *mila* M78b ‘child’, *mula* CL163, T192 ‘child’, L87a, *mola* L86a ‘id., boy’, *mīa* T192a, M77a, *mala* PotII:435a ‘child’, *melá* Man63, *m’la* Man63 ‘son’ probably < Common Turkic **bala* ‘the young of an animal’ (cf. *EDPT*:332b). This semantic development can also be seen elsewhere in Turkic languages; the phonetic development **b-* > *m-* in this word without following nasal cannot be explained. An English translation of this story was published in Hertz (1985:140–149).

Sa-ka (page 59): read *saqa* ‘man’s name from a tale’.

Sarmila (page 61): read *sar mila* ‘eaglet’, cf. *sar* CL160a ‘eagle; black-eared kite; hawk’, L319b ‘id., goshawk’, *sa* CL16 ‘goshawk’ ← Eastern Yugur *sar* B99 ‘hawk; eagle’, cf. Literary Mongolian *sar* Les 674a, and *mila* ‘child’.

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Eldzi (page 61): read *e^hlçi* 'shaman', cf. *e^hlçl* L27b, *e^hlçi* L27b, *ye^hlçl* L260b, CL164a, *i^hçi* T181a, *iççi* T18, *ilçi* M57:1b, *elçi* M25b 'shaman' < Common Turkic **elçi* 'ambassador' (cf. *EDPT* 129a).

Gong-er-jian (page 62): read *qoŋirçin* 'heroine's name in a tale', cf. *qoŋirçen* CL145, T200b, *qoŋüçan* T200b, *qoŋiržan* M58b, *qoŋirçay* CL121, T200b, *qoŋiržam* M58b. Of unknown etymology. The text of this story can be found in Malov (1967. No. 105) and Tenishev (1976. No. 5).

Yang-ka-sa (page 62): read *yanqisaq* 'hero's name in a tale', cf. *yanqissaq^h* CL63, *yanq^hissaq^h* T182a, *yanqissaq* T182b, *yanqisaq^h* T182b, *yanq^hissaq* T182b, *yanğisaq* M36b. Of unknown etymology. The text of this story can be found in Malov (1967. No. 105) and Tenishev (1976. No. 5).

Mangus (page 62): read *maŋqis* 'monster', cf. *maŋq^his* L79b, CL66, T191b, *maŋqis* L79a, *maŋk^his* T191a, *miŋk^his* T192b 'devil, demon', *maŋğis* M75b 'id., demon living on the moon' ← Eastern Yugur *ma:ŋ-qās* B89 'evil spirit, demon', *maŋqès* S480 'demon, monster', cf. Literary Mongolian *mangγus* Les527a.

Shu-mu-shi (page 63): an orthographic error occurring in the original article in Chinese: *shù dà shí èr mǎ sān gē* (read *dà* 大, and not *mù* 木) Another version of this tale appears in Monguor, cf. Lőrincz (1979. No. 131).

Khatun (page 64): read *qatīn* 'wife; queen' cf. *qatīn* L184a 'queen, wife of a khan or high official', CL163a, T200a 'wife', M55a 'woman of high rank' < Common Turkic **katun* 'lady' (cf. *EDPT* 602:b).

Jiao-wa-shi (page 65): read *çoryawaş* 'girl's name in a tale', cf. *çor-ga waş* M30b. Of unclear etymology, perhaps a compound consisting of *çorya* L233a 'spout' ← Eastern Yugur *ç^horyo* S576 'id.', cf. Literary Mongolian *çoryo* Les198b, and *paş* 'head', cf. *paş* L51b, CL161b, T195b, *paş* M88b, *waş* L311b, CL35, T219a, *waş* M88b < Common Turkic **baş* (cf. *EDPT* 375a). Note the irregular development -*ş* < *-*ş*, instead of -*s* < *-*ş*. The text of this story can be found in Malov (1967. No. 78). Another version of this tale appears in Mongolian, see Lőrincz (1979. No. 143).

Su-er-ke (page 65): an orthographic error occurring in the original article in Chinese for Su-ke-er; read *suk^hir* 'hero's name in a tale', a compound consisting of *sv* 'water', cf. *su* L331b, CL157a, T207b, M105a < Common Turkic **sv* (cf. *EDPT* 783a), and *k^hir* 'dirt', cf. *k^hir* L166a,

CL171b, *ker* M66b < Common Turkic **kir* (cf. *EDPT* 735a). Similar names are *yak^hir*, cf. *yag^h-ker* M66a, in which the first element is *yag* 'butter', and *sut ker* M106b, from *sux* 'milk'.

Qam (page 65): read *q^ham* L203a, CL164a, T202b, *qam* M52a 'shaman' < Common Turkic **kam* (cf. *EDPT* 625a).

Note that [ç] and [ɟ] represent IPA retroflex [tʃ], and alveolo-palatal [tɕ]. From Chinese phonetics the symbol [ɿ] has been introduced, indicating the retroflex pronunciation of the high unrounded vowel following the retroflex phones.

ABBREVIATIONS

B	Bolčuluu 1984.
C86	Chén 1986.
C93	Chén 1993.
CL	Chén and Léi 1985.
<i>EDPT</i>	Clauson 1972.
L	Léi 1992.
Les	Lessing 1960.
M	Malov 1957.
Man	Mannerheim 1911.
Pot	Potanin 1893.
S	Sūn
T	Tenishev 1976.

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Corrigenda

In Vol. 4 Nos. 1–2 (Spring and Autumn 1996), in Jacques Lemoine's article the following passages should correctly read as follows:

Page 149, last line:

journey in the Beyond

Page 150, paragraph 2, lines 1–6:

The metaphorical space of the Beyond which the ordinary mortals cannot see, thus encompasses the human community close environment with its protective territorial deities, who can help and inform the shaman, as well as a whole gamut of wild spirits whose attacks provoke different specific diseases, and it is open on the ways to death and reincarnation. Once this environment has been thoroughly explored and nothing special has been found, the shaman and his spirits rush to the paths of death and reincarnation.

Page 154, paragraph 1, lines 6–9:

He is a direct male ascendant of the shaman (his father or grandfather), who has provoked the illness announcing the election of a new shaman to be the new "father" of this particular group of spirits who previously, when he was still alive, belonged to him.

Page 157, paragraph 2, lines 5–8:

A few characters are singled out such as the spirit of the trance of all the shaman's masters, the four guardians of the four directions, with their celestial and terrestrial troops, and all the emperors and empresses of China on 88 generations.

Page 160, paragraph 4, lines 11–12, page 161, paragraph 1, lines 1–2:

The power, obviously, is not a spontaneous natural gift but has been deliberately and methodically constructed by the shaman before taking control of the sphere of illness and suffering into which his patient is trapped and secluded.

"Projecting shadow soul" should read as "jutting out shadow soul" throughout the whole text.

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Healing Magic Among the Bashkirs*

FIRDAUS G. KHISAMITDINOVA

UFA

Bashkir healing magic was little studied before the late 1980s, but recent years have seen a growth in interest and a proliferation of publications on the subject. Based both on her own fieldwork and on hitherto unpublished data, the author discusses the Bashkir demons osoq, yelpew, sarpïw and büöter, which are held to be responsible for a number of diseases. Consideration is also given to linguistic evidence and a wider Turkic context.

Bashkir healing magic is a subject that has received very little attention until quite recently. Sporadic references to magical practices can be found in the works of 18th and 19th century researchers¹ and in those of a few present-day folklorists, ethnographers, physicians and linguists.² In the last decade, however, interest in the subject has increased and much new information has been published.³ It is the present author's belief that a systematic study of their healing magic can throw light on a number of questions relating to the history, cultural history and language of the Bashkirs.

* The editors express their sincere gratitude to József Torma, Szeged, Hungary, for his help in editing this article, checking the Bashkir texts and providing some missing data. The ethnographical material published and discussed in the article was collected by Firdaus G. Khisamitdinova together with József Torma with the help of a detailed questionnaire compiled by the latter.

¹ See Pallas 1773–1809, Georgi 1774, Lepekhin 1802, Kudriashev 1826, Nikol'skii 1890, Arnol'dov 1894, Katanov 1900.

² Rudenko 1955, Kiräy Märgän 1976, Gumarov 1985, Söläymänov 1995, Torma and Khisamitdinova 1992, 1992a.

³ Torma 1988, 1988a, 1990, 1990a, 1991, 1991a, 1992, 1992a, Torma and Khisamitdinova 1990, 1991, 1991a, 1991b, 1991c, 1991d, 1992, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d, 1993.

According to Bashkir belief, diseases can be caused by possession by the spirits of diseases, loss of the fortune-spirit (*qot*),⁴ bewitchment by objects (*sikhür*), bewitchment by spells (curses and gossip), substitution of children by the devil, harm caused by other mythical creatures (*albaŧ-ä*, *bisura* or *yen*), stings by snake-spirits and bee-spirits, bewitchment by blue and black eyes and, finally, by "evil blood".⁵ The data indicate that a range of conditions result from possession by disease-spirits, including: inflammation (*osoq*), pain in the small of the back (*birtek*), psychiatric disorders (*yelpew*, *sarpïw*), stomach disorders (*büŧer*), children's stomach disorders (*ösyän*), fever (*tapma*), illness brought on by extreme cold (*säykew*), acute toothache (*teš hiðlau*), chronic recurring disease (*öðlök*), rickets (*yetyän*), dog-bite (*et tešläw*) and ear afflictions (*tatran*) among others.⁶

There are several ways of diagnosing, curing and preventing illness among the Bashkirs, such as casting spells (*arbaw*, *äfsenläw*), making offerings (*qorban salïw*), fortune-telling and bewitching (*sikhirlaw*, *osoqlaw*, *ämälläw*), homoeopathy (*hariŧa qaraw*, *qiðilya qaraw*), frightening the ill person (*qurqitiw*), exorcising the spirits of the disease (*qiwiw*), reading prayers from the Koran (*öšköröw*, *öröw*), wearing amulets (*qot*, *irim*) to prevent diseases, visiting the shrines of Islamic saints (*äwliä qäbere*), and others.⁷

Some of the most common and traditional Bashkir methods of healing are discussed in detail in the following sections.

OSOQ

A certain demon known as *osoq* was the most dangerous and could bring on a wide range of diseases. In particular, the Bashkirs attributed rashes and patches on the tongue and lips, epilepsy, sties, women's ill-

⁴ On *qot* see Khisamitdinova 1996.

⁵ See Torma 1991a, Torma and Khisamitdinova 1990, 1993.

⁶ See Torma 1988a, Torma and Khisamitdinova 1991b, 1991d, 1992b.

⁷ See Torma 1988, 1990, 1990a, 1991, Torma and Khisamitdinova 1991, 1991a, 1991c, 1992, 1992c, 1992d.

nesses and sterility, bladder inflammation and other afflictions to the evil-doing of *osoq*.⁸

In the southeastern regions of Bashkortostan *osoq* was considered to be a female creature, a half-spirit and half-corporeal being. She inhabited certain “bad places”—still backwaters, rivers or lakes, and crossroads or refuse-pits where ashes, bones, rags and other wastes were dumped. If, in such places, a person picked up something, fell down or trod on an object, *osoq* would catch them and they became ill.⁹ The resulting ailment had to be treated by performing a special magic procedure called *osoqlaw*.

The healing ritual of *osoqlaw* had several variations. The simplest was to cast the clothes of the sick person into a river or pit or on to a cross-roads at sunset. Bashkir informants from the districts of Uchaly, Böryän, Äbyälil and Beloret say that, to get rid of a disease, healers, known as *osoqso*, made a doll which the patient was asked to keep about their person for three days, after which it was thrown into a “bad place” together with ashes and pieces of bread.¹⁰ A similar procedure was observed among the Bashkirs near Samara.¹¹ In other regions, however, it was customary to use two dolls, and the patient’s nails, along with tea, chaff or bones, were used in the ceremony instead of ashes.

In treating female sterility the ritual of *osoqlaw* was applied in a modified form. According to one informant, in this ceremony a sheep was killed in the house of the afflicted, a small patch of blood was painted on the woman’s forehead and she was beaten with the animal’s warm, uncleaned guts. The guts and the woman’s stained clothes were then taken away in a bucket and left on a river bank.¹²

A variant procedure was recorded in the village of Makaiutovo, in the Kügärsen district of Bashkortostan. To treat such diseases as herpes or scabies a healer first put a wet rag to the sore and then pressed it against the ground. The procedure was accompanied by prayers—sometimes in

⁸ Card Index of the Bashkir Explanatory Dictionary, Institute of History, Language and Literature, The Ufa Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (referred to in subsequent notes as ‘Card Index’).

⁹ Scientific Archives, Institute of History, Language and Literature, The Ufa Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. File 3. Inv. 13. Dep. 317.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Card Index. File 3. Inv. 13. Dep. 317.

¹² *Ibid.*

Arabic, sometimes in Bashkir—and would be repeated three or seven times.¹³

In yet another *osoqlaw* ritual¹⁴ a black hen was killed to exorcise the demon. The healer carried the dead bird around the patient's head, striking the bird's corpse lightly and saying *Küs, küs, küs!*—"Go away, move to another place!" The hen would then be taken away with the words "Come with me to pay a visit" to be thrown into a pit or buried at the junction of seven roads.

The text of a spell is as follows:

*Osoq bulhañ, osop kit,
tawdan kilhäñ, tawya kit,
taştan kilhäñ, taşqa kit,
qaydan kilhäñ, şunda kit.
Bil bakhırda neyeñ bar,
yar awtında öyöñ bar.
Bar, kit, os,
mine küp etläneñ,
inde himeð keşegä bar,
yomşak tüşäklegä bar.*¹⁵

If you are *osoq*, fly away!
If you are from the hill, return to the hill!
If you are from the rock, return to the rock!
Why do you reside in this unfortunate person,
If your home is in the dry river-bed?
Go away, fly away!
I am so tired of you,
Go now to someone else.
Who is fat
And has a soft bed to lie in.

This spell—or, at least, parts of it—is known in many regions of Bashkortostan. In addition, a common or rather similar procedure was adopted when returning home after throwing *osoq* away. During this time it was necessary to observe certain rules: one was not supposed to

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Däwlätšin 1963:127 and Card Index. Inv. 63. Dep. 2. Pack. 12, page 21.

¹⁵ Card Index, Orenburg oblast', District of Kuvandy, Tiryakly village.

glance behind one (this was particularly important), the route taken should be roundabout rather than direct and it was advisable to remain at crossroads for as long as possible. The Bashkirs believed that the disease would not depart if the rules were broken.

Thus, the evidence indicates that the Bashkirs related many diseases to *osoq* and almost everywhere resorted to the ritual of *osoqlaw* in treating them. The main feature of the ritual was that some object had to be provided for the demon to “move into”. This might be a doll (*i.e.* an “on-gon”), or it could be a black hen, the patient’s clothes or various other items. Another characteristic is that the magic actions of *osoqlaw* were accompanied by exorcism. *Osoq* was driven away into the ground, into water or into the wind, depending on where it was believed to reside.

In the Bashkir language, the word *osoq* is used not only as the demon’s name but also to designate any object that was thrown away after the magic rite, such as the doll, hen or clothes. Thus, both the demon herself and the substitutes into which the diseases she caused were transferred are designated by the same word, *osoq*. The word is a stem, from which *osoqso*, *osoqlawsı*, ‘a healer who exorcises the demon *osoq*’, and *osoqlaw*, ‘the ritual of exorcism’, are also derived.

Additionally, there are other Bashkir terms, such as *osonow* and *osonyan*, that also refer to diseases of supernatural origin. Rashes and patches on the lips and tongue, as well as on other parts of the body, are called *osonow* (e.g. *dänem osonop sıya la qısıy*, “a rash breaks out and itches”, or *irenem osonyan*, *telem osonyan*, “I’ve got patches on the lips, I’ve got patches on the tongue”).¹⁶ The Bashkirs believed that the disease referred to as *osonow* resulted from the demon’s kiss. Hence the use of the following spell:

Telem osonyan,
telem osonyan,
besäy artın üp,
tfü,
khayran telem
khur buldä,
khur buldä,
khur buldä.

¹⁶ Scientific Archives, Institute of History, Language and Literature, Russian Academy of Science, File 3. Inv. 13. Dep. 317, pages 32–52; Card Index cited.

I've got patches on my tongue,
 I've got patches on my tongue,
 Kiss the cat's ass!
 Fie!
 My very tongue is astonished,
 My tongue is ashamed
 My tongue is ashamed.

It is interesting to note that in the Old Turkic language the word *učguk* is recorded as meaning 'rash, or patch on lips' (Nadeliaev et al. 1969: 604). The same dictionary includes the compound *učiq yelpik*, or 'fever', which contains the element *učiq*. Among modern Turkic languages *učuk* can be found in Azeri, Turkish, Türkmen, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Modern Uighur and Kazak, and it is also attested as a Turkic (Uzbek) loan word in Tajik *učuq* 'rash, bladder' (Rakhimi and Uspenskaia 1954:404). The word has the following primary meanings: (1) 'blisters, rashes on lips (in the case of a chill, fever and high temperature)'; (2) 'blue marks on the body at sepsis or disturbed circulation'; (3) 'a blotch on lips'; (4) 'a small ulcer'; (5) 'sores'; (6) 'a slight headache with rashes on the face'; (7) 'epilepsy' and (8) 'bladder inflammation' (Sevortian 1974:616).

It should be noted that in Kirghiz the word *učuk* forms part of a compound term, as in *kayri učuk*, 'an abscess to be treated by searing'; *kurčak učuk*, 'tuberculosis'; or *ak učuk*, 'the name of a disease'—literally 'white disease' (Iudakhin 1965. 2:313). There is also an ethnographic term, *učukta-*, in Kirghiz that means 'to administer vapotherapy' by splashing water on red-hot iron, as well as 'to scare, to frighten somebody with something' and 'to get to know something by asking questions' (Iudakhin 1965. 2:314). The Chovdur tribe of the Türkmen also refer to the sacrificial animal used in shamanic ceremonies as *učuk* (Basilov and Niiasklychev 1975:33).

Another word that is recorded in many Turkic languages is *učun*. The primary meanings of this term and its phonetic variants are 'to fall into an epileptic fit', 'to be frightened suddenly and shout' and 'to break out (in rashes)' (Nadeliaev et al. 1969:616). In the Tatar language the word *očan* is used with the meaning 'children's stomach-ache' (Makhmutova 1977–1981. 2:484). In Bashkir the same children's illness is called *ösyän*—literally 'three souls'.

Thus, all the linguistic and ethnographic data that are discussed in this paper lead to the following conclusions: (1) the word *učuq*, with the meaning ‘disease’, can be found in many Turkic languages and is a possible phonetic variant of the Bashkir *osoq*; and (2) the diseases denominated by these words are generally similar both in Bashkir and in the other Turkic languages. Hence, it can be supposed that the Turkic peoples use one and the same word to refer to an identical concept—namely, a spirit of illness.¹⁷

YELPEW AND SARPĪW

Yelpew, the demon of disease, is one of the most dangerous demons. The Bashkirs believe that it causes epilepsy and mental disorders. *Yelpew* is often invisible, affecting human beings in the form of lukewarm rain or a hot wind at sunset. This belief explains the various taboos and persuasions, still current among the Bashkir, in connection with sunset, warm rains and hot winds. Thus, they maintain that it is not permitted to sleep in or enter houses where there are newborn babies and nursing mothers, or to enter water, touch milk or bath, and children are not allowed to run about in the streets, especially without headwear.¹⁸

The *yelpew* spirit sometimes assumes the form of a magpie or human being. Among older people it is still the custom, when a magpie is seen on the roof, to throw a stone at it and say:

Šiqir-šiqir, hayiŋ qan,
ike ayayın tayışqan,
izge bulhaŋ, qunip kit,
awiriw bulhaŋ, osop kit.

Shoo, shoo, magpie,
 Both your legs are like a bow,
 If you are sacred, stay,
 If you are the illness, go away.¹⁹

¹⁷ According to Sevortian (1974:616), the stem of the words *učuk* and *učun* is formed from the verb *uč-*, ‘to appear’. In this case the Bashkir words *osok* and *osonow* have the verb *os-*, ‘to appear, to rise, to fly out’, as their stem too.

¹⁸ Data collected during the author’s fieldwork in 1985–90.

¹⁹ As note 18.

However, most informants agree that *yelpew* is 'wind, the winnow of wind, breeze blowing at sunset'; this is supported by the existence of the Bashkir expressions *yelpew qayıla*, '*yelpew* touches [someone or something]', and *yelpew huyıla*, '*yelpew* hits [someone or something]'.²⁰

It is interesting to note that the spirit that is believed by the Eastern Bashkirs to cause epilepsy and other mental disorders is called *sarpïw*.²¹ If we take into consideration that, in certain Bashkir words, *y* corresponds to *s* and *l* to *r*, it can be supposed that *yelpew* and *sarpïw* derive from the same root—*yel*, or 'wind'. Similarly, the two spirits have the same function, and they can be traced back to the Old Turkic spirit of disease known as *yelpik*.²² It can further be surmised that in Old Turkic and Bashkir, and also in other Turkic languages, the word *yel* meant—among other things—'disease' in general, certain specific diseases, and 'spirit' (cf. Bashkir *yel qayılıw*, *teyew*, 'disease, caused by the touch of wind'; *yel küñele teyew*, 'fit'; *yaman yel qayılıw*, 'to get epilepsy';²³ the Kirghiz *kan jel*, 'a man's disease, haemophilia, swelling and ulceration of the nose'; *jel kabız*, 'name of a post-natal catarrhal disease';²⁴ and Old Turkic *yel*, 'evil spirit'²⁵).

Like other peoples, the Bashkirs consider that places where seven winds meet are dangerous and unlucky. Thus, according to elderly Bashkirs, it is forbidden to build houses and farm buildings or to collect berries, cut grass, sit down or sleep in such locations.²⁶

The diseases caused by the *yelpew* and *sarpïw* spirits are cured by magic rituals and spells. Most commonly the spirit of the disease is exorcised or transferred, offerings are made and holy places are visited. In addition, all the rituals are accompanied by both pre-Islamic Bashkir prayers and the following sura from the Koran:

Bismillahi, rakhmani, rakhim...

Ber, ike, ös, dürt, biş, altı, yete, higeδ, tuyıδ—tıpraqqa,

²⁰ As note 18.

²¹ Data collected in Beloret and Äbyälil and Uchaly districts of Bashkortostan in 1990.

²² See Nadeliaev et al. 1969:255.

²³ *Başqort teleneı hüdlege* I:312.

²⁴ Iudakhin 1965:244.

²⁵ Nadeliaev et al. 1969:254.

²⁶ As note 18.

*Ber, ike, ös, dürt, biš, altı, yete—yelgä, quđya,
 Ber, ike, ös, dürt, biš—böthön, kithen
 Ber, ike, ös—oshon, kithen
 Ber—berdä qalmahin.²⁷*

Bismillahi rakhmani rakhim...

One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine—to the ground,
 One, two, three, four, five, six, seven—to the wind and to the ashes,
 One, two, three, four, five—may it be ended, may it go away,
 One, two, three—may it fly away, may it go away,
 One—may it not remain at all!

In Bashkir belief *qoyon*, the whirlwind, is especially dangerous for health. People caught in one become deaf, dumb and blind or suffer injury to the face. When they see a whirlwind the Southeastern Bashkirs throw a knife or other metal object into it and recite the following male-diction:

*Qoyon, qoyon, qorop qal,
 Tiđ arala ülep qal.*

Whirlwind, whirlwind, dry up
 And die quickly!

The Kübäläk clan of the Bashkirs use animals during the ritual that is performed to cure the disease caused by the spirit *sarpıw*. Reciting prayers three or seven times, the *molla* leads an animal around the sick person, who has to touch it. At the end of the ritual the animal is killed and the *molla* spreads the blood of the sacrificial animal on the patient's forehead. Afterwards, the sacrificial animal is cooked and eaten. The *molla* forbids those taking part in the meal to touch the bones with their knives or teeth or to break them while eating. When the meal is over the *molla* collects all the bones, takes them to a place where seven roads meet and buries them. It is believed that the *sarpıw* spirit responsible for the sick person's condition leaves along with the bones of the sacrificial animal.

²⁷ Data collected during the author's fieldwork in 1987–92.

To sum up, wind—and everything connected with it—evoked negative emotions among the Bashkirs, who believed the wind to be the source of cold and diseases. It has to be remarked here that in Greek mythology Boreas and his sons, the Boreads, are the gods of winds that are also associated with the world of darkness, cold and disease.

BÜÐER

Büðer, another disease spirit, causes stomach-ache, swelling of the stomach and hernia. According to Bashkir belief, this spirit is small and causes pains in the stomach as it moves about. The pain may be felt in the navel or reach as far as the thighs and the groin. Like any living creature, *büðer* can sleep, and when it does the pains stop. To deliver a person from the spirit the Bashkirs employ both magical and physical means of healing—for example, a medicinal massage may be administered accompanied by spells.

The most commonly applied remedy is exorcism, of which there are several regional variants. Thus, the Bashkirs of the southern and southwestern regions expel the spirit using charms and a broom with a head made of wool. Massaging the painful stomach and touching it lightly with the broom, they say:

*Hari büðer, qara büðer,
Qara başlı hari büðer,
Qara büðer, siq büðer,
Estän tışqa küs büðer,
Küs büðer, kit büðer, siq büðer.*

Yellow *büðer*, black *büðer*,
Black-headed yellow *büðer*,
Black *büðer*, go out, *büðer*,
Come out from inside, *büðer*,
Pass over, spirit, go away,
Come out, *büðer*!²⁸

The Eastern and Northern Bashkirs perform other rituals to exorcise the spirit *büðer*. Saying a prayer, the *molla* strokes the stomach of the

²⁸ Data collected during the author's fieldwork in 1991.

sick person and then gently touches it three times with an axe. He recites the following spell:

Ni sabay, ni sabay?
Büðer sabam, büðer sabam
Ni törtäñ, ni törtäñ?
Büðer törtäm, büðer törtäm
Alip yodroqqa kertäm
Köš, köš, köš.

What are you breaking? What are you breaking?
 I am breaking *büðer*, I am breaking *büðer*.
 What are you poking? What are you poking?
 I am poking *büðer*, I am poking *büðer*.
 I catch you and I hold you in the hollow of my hand.
 Shoo! Shoo! Shoo!²⁹

The axe and the broom also feature in the healing ritual of some other Bashkir groups, although in a somewhat different way. In the presence of the sick person, the healer or *molla* uses his axe to fashion a birch-twig besom. This ritual is accompanied by the following spell, which is repeated three times:

Ni sabahïñ, ni sabahïñ?
Büðer sabam, büðer sabam.

What are you cutting? What are you cutting?
 I am cutting *büðer*, I am cutting *büðer*.

A noteworthy method of healing was observed among the southern Bashkirs. According to an informant, Z.I. Aqbalina, her grandfather Shaghivali (who was a *molla*) used a special stone, called the *büðer tašï*, or 'büðer stone', to cure the disease caused by the spirit. He would leave his village and go to a cave to find a stone of the kind he needed. After cleaning it, he read a prayer and gave the stone to the patient. To heal a hernia caused by *büðer* Shaghivali employed another method. He took a

²⁹ Unpublished dissertation of D. Shangaraeva, student of the Bashkir Pedagogical Institute, 1992–93.

saucer and wrote a prayer in the base with an indelible pencil. (Another informant reported that the *molla* did not write a prayer on the saucer but drew an image of the spirit; the drawing resembled a frog with many arms and legs.) After the *molla* had made the inscription or drawing he said a prayer and poured water into the saucer. Then he poured a second lot of water into the saucer and gave it to the sick person to drink.

In the hilly regions of Bashkortostan there exists a ritual known as “biting *büðer*”. When a healer—in this case an old woman—is invited to a house where there is a sick child, she “bites” the child through its diaper or clothes and says:

*Büðer, büðer, qara büðer,
Läp-läp büðer, läp büðer.
Bey min, bäk min väžäki,
Värnäki, qolqolosï, tırnaqï.
Ay qayttï, kön qayttï
Yä büðer, hin dä qayt!*

*Büðer, büðer, black büðer,
Läp-läp büðer, läp büðer.
I am a lord, I am powerful
Värnäki, qolqolosï, tırnaqï.³⁰
The moon has gone, the sun has gone,
Hey, büðer, you go too!*

During the ritual those present ask the healer—three times, one after the other—“What are you biting?”, and she answers each in turn “I am biting *büðer*”. It is believed that the spirit will depart and leave the child in peace only if the ritual is performed in precisely this way.

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³⁰ The meaning of this line is not clear. It may include some distorted Arabic words.

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Candidates for a Theory of Shamanism. A Systematic Survey of Recent Research Results from Eurasia and Native America

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ULM

The article investigates the distribution of some central features of shamanism among cultures of Northern Eurasia and Native America. So far, little scientific attention has been given to the question whether, first, shamans remember the experiences and actions they have in a state of trance and, second, to what extent the way shamanic trance is induced influences memory and controlled actions during trance. As will be shown, investigation of shamanism is partly hindered by the usual anthropological bias of "mute anthropology", as opposed to the method of "speaking anthropology".

SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This paper is based on a systematic analysis of scientific publications on shamanism. Despite the fact that this religious phenomenon has been a "favourite" research field of cultural anthropology for decades, the analysis shows that there is still a great lack concerning our knowledge of shamanism. Following Peters and Price Williams (1980), I will examine the distribution of some essential elements of shamanism in the aboriginal cultures of North and Central Asia as well as in the Western hemisphere. Peters and Price Williams (1980:403, 418) distinguish the following elements of shamanic ecstasy:

- (1) trance
- (2) trance connected with "possession"
- (3) magical flight

- (4) control of trance
- (5) memory of trance
- (6) transic communication interplay

As far as these topics have been referred to in the available literature on shamanism, my comparison will focus on the actual performance of shamanistic rituals and the self-designation of shamans. Thus, this article will constitute a contribution towards an empirically founded understanding of shamanism, thereby defining its differences from other religious phenomena.

On the basis of the elements referred to above, it can be shown that the first two aspects of shamanism (trance and possession trance) have quite obviously received the broadest attention in the literature. This fact is not surprising, since trance and ecstasy are usually considered to be a *conditio sine qua non* of shamanism.¹ Considerably less consideration has been given to the question whether a shaman remembers his or her actions during trance.

THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF TRANCE AND POSSESSION

With reference to Bourguignon (1976a, 1976b, 1989), Dittrich and Scharfetter (1987:35, 36), Peters (1981, 1989) and Winkelman (1990), trance, ecstasy and possession will be treated as different qualities of altered states of consciousness (ASCs²). ASCs is encountered in more

¹ Cf. Eliade (1957). Dobkin de Rios and Winkelman (1989), who define ecstasy on behalf of the community, shamanic crisis and being chosen by the spirits as essential elements of shamanism. According to them, magical flight is a characteristic feature of shamanism, but not a necessary condition. Walsh (1994:9) defines shamanism as a "... family of traditions whose practitioners focus on voluntarily entering altered states of consciousness in which they experience themselves or their spirit(s) traveling to other realms at will and interacting with other entities to serve their community." According to him, elements of shamanism are magical flight and the ability of "interacting with and controlling 'spirits' ... only shamans claim to be able to command, commune, and intercede with them for the benefit of the tribe." (*ibid.*).

² Ludwig (1968:235) lists the following constituting elements of ASCs: "(1) reduction of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity, (2) increase of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity, (3) increase of alertness or mental involvement, (4) decrease of alertness or mental involvement, (5) a series of 'soma-

than 90% of all human cultures and can be considered a universal human feature. Usually, ASCs are highly esteemed and are applied especially in the "classic" shamanistic fields of healing and divination. Within ASCs, trance and possession constitute psychological states of converse character: trance implies the control of ASCs by the shaman, manipulation of the spirits and active travel to meet them,³ whereas possession implies the manipulation by spirits of humans, who thus become a vehicle for the spirits.⁴

In this sense, trance is supporting a state of mind in which the individual sees him- or herself as being autonomous and mastering the spirits. Bourguignon considers the phenomenon of trance to be typical of hunter-gatherers and horticulturists, whereas possession is to be found merely in complex societies of agriculturists where people in ASCs submerge to spirits.

Further, Bourguignon claims that "possession" is to a certain extent gender-related and predominantly found in male-centred societies with a highly developed social control of women. She claims that in "possession states" women acquire the ability to escape from this marginal position, so that ASCs perform a compensatory function.⁵ Contrary to that, shamanic trance is considered to be connected with male spirituality and a tendency to hallucinogenic trance (Bourguignon 1976a, Winkelmann 1990). With psychotropic drugs being important, though not necessary, in inducing shamanic trance, their use is claimed to be most widespread

topsycho-logical' factors." Compare Tart 1975, Dittrich *et al.* 1985, Dittrich and Scharfetter 1987, Dittrich *et al.* 1993.

³ Cf. Wright (1989:26), Eliade (1975:15), Düe (1993:27), and Senn (1989:116), who vigorously opposes the idea of shamans being possessed: "Shamans do not allow other more powerful beings to take possession of them." Wautischer (1989:40) also emphasizes the shaman's control of his or her trance: "A vital prerequisite for a successful trance is the ability to interfere actively with awareness and with the mental imagery that accompanies the state of trance."

⁴ According to Bourguignon (1976a:14, 1976b:249), possession states are to be found in 74% out of 488 societies examined worldwide, with a rather unequal regional distribution: the highest density is found in Oceania (88%), the lowest density in the Americas (North: 52%, South: 64%). Also compare Hultkrantz (1992:58): "It is not often that we meet possession by spirits in a true psychological sense in Native American shamanistic trance."

⁵ One example often referred to is the *zar* cult in Ethiopia, Nubia and Egypt, cf. Schneider 1988.

in hunter-gatherer cultures with egalitarian access to hallucinogenic substances (Dobkin De Rios 1993:49:56–58).⁶

In contrast to Bourguignon, many authors consider “possession trance” to be a widespread phenomenon within shamanism and do not agree with her one-sided opinion of spiritual beliefs and practices being determined through underlying social structures. As we shall see, trance is often combined with possession—especially in Siberia, the area of “classical shamanism”. Relating to his experience among the Sherpa and Tamang of Nepal, Peters (1989:119) claims that shamanic states might also be induced by an “embodiment” of gods or spirits, a fact that is not necessarily opposed to the control of shamanic states (117). From an emic point of view, many people in shamanic cultures claim that their religious functionaries are being possessed by gods or spirits.⁷ This “emic definition of trance ... becomes a significant variable affecting the presence or absence of memory” (Bourguignon 1989:11). “Memory loss is not a necessary feature of embodiment (nor of ‘demonic possession’) ... Memory and mastery of visionary trance seem to be crucial definitional elements. It varies from culture to culture as to whether this experience is interpreted as an ‘in-dwelling’ or an ‘out-going’.” (Peters 1989:120, 121).

The above-mentioned assumption that shamanism is characteristic of hunter-gatherer societies with a lack of social stratification corresponds to the view of shamanism as a basic religious trait of mankind.⁸ Contrary to that, European scholars in particular tend to limit the extent of shamanic rituals to Arctic and subarctic regions, including perhaps Central Asia and Native America. For practical reasons I will not go

⁶ Cf. La Barre’s 1970 “New World Narcotic Complex”; Rosenbohm 1991, Schultes and Hofman 1979:30, Furst 1990:211–217, 229 and Wallace 1958.

⁷ Cf. shamanism in Ladakh, among the Magar (Oppitz 1981) or the view of Siberian shamans as “possession priests” (Findeisen 1957, Thiel 1992:117). “In fact, ecstasy, flight, and shamanism are used interchangeably by these authors and others (Bourguignon 1976a, 1976b, Hultkrantz 1978) to describe a state involving visualization in which the shaman ‘sees’ or has visions of ‘ascending’ and ‘descending’ to other worlds, or ‘astral projecting’ on the earthly plane over long distances. Such typical shamanistic experiences are thought to be analogous to out of the body experiences (Irwing 1985, Kalweit 1988).” (Peters 1989:117).

⁸ “Religiöse Grundsicht”. Cf. Lommel 1990, Peters 1989, Dobkin de Rios and Winkelman 1989, who, for example, speak of shamanism among hunting and gatherer societies such as the Australian Aborigines, !Kung-San and Semang.

deeper into the discussion about the age of shamanism, the possible diffusion of the religious phenomena into Siberia from the outside or the origin of the word *shaman*.⁹

I will follow Hultkrantz's definition of shamanism as:

"... a semi-independent segment of an ethnic religion in which all beliefs, rites and epic traditions correspond to each other and make up an integrated field, often with the exclusion of beliefs, rites and traditions which play a role in another segment of the same religion. A nuclear feature of the religious configuration is what social anthropologists call the 'belief system', i.e. the coordinated, interrelated chain of religious beliefs that constitutes the basic motivation of the segmentation ..." (Hultkrantz 1978:10).

"The central idea of shamanism is to establish means of contact with the supernatural world by the ecstatic experience of a professional and inspired intermediary, the shaman. There are thus four important constituents of shamanism: the ideological premise of the supernatural world and the contacts with it; the shaman as the actor on behalf of a human group; the inspiration granted him by his helping spirits; and the extraordinary, ecstatic experience of the shaman." (Hultkrantz 1978:11).¹⁰

With this definition, we can take the existence of shamanic rituals in stratified societies for granted—for instance, in Central Asia, and in a rudimentary form also in Mesoamerica (cf. Köhler 1990) as in central Andean America (cf. Andritzky 1989a, 1989b). Therefore I will limit the scope of my examination to those regions of the world where shamanic traditions have been established beyond doubt, namely North and Central Asia and Aboriginal America.

Following Hultkrantz's definition, one is led to assume that shamanism has to be connected with the induction of trance, magical flight, control of ecstatic states of mind (Lewis 1989), memory of the state of ec-

⁹ Cf. Vajda 1959, Eliade 1957 and Shirokogorov 1935.

¹⁰ Cf. Furst (1990:211–264), Johansen (1987), Lommel (1990 [1965]), Peters (1989:115), Siikala (1978:14), Zinser (1991:18) and Peters and Price-Williams (1980), who also mention "action on behalf of the group" as a central feature of shamanism. Vajda (1959:458–475) defines shamanism through the elements (a) ecstasy, (b) the existence of theriomorphic/zoomorphic helping spirits, (c) the shamanic call, (d) the initiation, (e) the journey to the underworld, (f) a specific shamanic cosmology (tree of the world, the shamanic ladder, different levels of heaven, etc.), (g) the fight between shamans, and (h) the shamanic dress.

stasy (Peters 1989:115), and transic communication interplay. These assumptions will be evaluated in the analysis that follows.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

My survey is based on ethnographic material from the following regions: Northern Eurasia/Siberia; Central Asia; South America (Lowlands and Southern Cordillera); and North and Mesoamerica.¹¹

Northern Eurasia

Relying on Japanese sources, Ohnuki-Tierney (1976) mentions a “semi-ecstasy” or “semi-trance” among the Ainu on the northwestern coast of Karafuto (southern Sakhalin) that is induced by drumming (180). The author mentions “possession of shamans by spirit helpers who are not bona fide deities” (179). These spirit helpers are associated with divine beings and talk to the shaman (*ibid.*). There is only incomplete evidence for magical flight and control of shamanic trance; the shaman might be possessed by malevolent spirits against his will. Shamans who practice witchcraft (black magic) do not exercise any control over their helping spirits and therefore do not bear any responsibility for their deeds (181). No remark is made concerning memory during trance, amnesia or control of action. According to Ohnuki-Tierney, among the Ainu there is a considerable difference between individually performed shamanic rituals and collective group rituals. Shamans are considered to be marginal personalities. No attention is paid to the question whether shamans might also act as ritualists in group ceremonies.

Donner (1926:111ff.) reports on a séance among the Samoyeds in which the shaman enters a deep trance, losing consciousness and moving as if only half awake. The shaman’s songs are repeated by the participants in the séance. The “journey to the spirits” (magical flight) is described as being accompanied by convulsive movements. During this magical journey the shaman visits *lattar-lozi*, the spirit of the deceased. His voice changes as he enters into dialogue with the spirits. When he stabs himself no blood flows. On “waking up” after the séance the

¹¹ With the limitations expressed by Furst (1976:149–157) and Köhler (1990:257–275).

shaman undergoes a definite change of mood. But he is able to repeat the statements made by the spirits—there is no amnesia after they have left his body. Donner also mentions that in the presence of Russians and other foreigners only fake séances are performed (Donner 1926:113).

In her study of Khanty shamanism, Balzer (1987:1089) refers to elements of shamanism which are often overlooked—for instance, the rejection of the shamanic call by novices, social pressures and the distrust of clients. A magical flight is considered to lead through seven layers of heaven.

Completely controlled trance in Siberian shamanism is reported for, among others, the Ostyak and Vogul (Khanty and Mansi, Karjalainen 1927) and the Chukchee (Bogoraz 1904–09:206). Karjalainen (1927:315) described a séance where the shaman was able to converse freely with the participants and take tobacco during the ceremony. Bogoraz (1904–09:206) wrote: “He [the shaman] still recognizes surrounding objects, however, and when talked to is able to answer.”

According to Rosenbohm (1991:26), reports from Siberia of trances induced by fly-agaric do not appear before the seventeenth century. She also claims that the use of fly-agaric was substituted by vodka during colonial times and has been neglected by Soviet scientists during the twentieth century. Proofs of a former distribution of fly-agaric use can be found among the Palaeoasiatic peoples of the Chukchee, Itelmen, Koryak and, most likely, the Yukaghir, as well as among the Uralic peoples of the Khanty, Mansi (formerly Ostyak and Vogul) and Samoyed, where fly-agaric is called *panx* (*ibid.* 33–35). In mythology, the transformation of outstanding persons into fly-agaric is mentioned by Iokhel'son (1905–08:115). Among the Palaeoasiatic peoples the use of fly-agaric was not entirely restricted to shamans. Its use led to three different stages of trance-induction (Bogoraz 1904–09:206, 207, Rosenbohm 1991:47): stimulation, hallucination, and magical flight in a state where the shaman was “unconscious of his surroundings”, followed by a “heavy slumber” (Bogoraz 1904–09:207). Thus, the séance induced by fly-agaric has to be conceived as a full visionary trance with magical flight in the sense of

classical shamanism, often accompanied by visionary sleep and dreams.¹²

According to Bogoraz (1904–09:413–469), three different kinds of shamanism existed among the Chukchee: “communication with spirits”; “looking into”; and the “producing of incantations” (430, 431). Magical flight existed in its full dimension, which might manifest itself as well in a soul journey (205) or may be combined with unconsciousness (55): “The idea of shamanistic ecstasy is expressed by the word *an-ñá’arkin* (‘he sinks’), which refers to the belief that the shaman, during the period of ecstasy, is able to visit other worlds, and especially that underground.” (438). In other cases the shaman actually “sinks”, that is, after some violent singing, and beating the drum, he falls into a kind of trance, during which his body lies on the ground unconscious, while his soul visits “spirits” in their own world, and asks them for advice. Chukchee folklore is full of episodes referring to such shamanic trances: but in real life they happen very rarely, especially in modern times, when shamans are so much less skilful than of old. Even the word *an-ñá’arkin* (“to sink”) from the explanation of modern shamans, has reference simply to the immersion of the performer into the depths of shamanistic ecstasy without its literal fulfilment. (441)

According to Bogoraz, it is usually claimed that trances were “deeper” than at the beginning of our century.¹³ Furthermore, he reports of the Chukchee that trance coincides with possession.¹⁴ Even though, according to Bogoraz, full control of the ecstatic state is maintained by manipu-

¹² For references among the Nenets cf. Lehtisalo 1924:164; among the Khanty and Mansi: Karjalainen 1927:305, 315; and among the Chukchee: Bogoraz 1904–09:205.

¹³ Bogoraz 1904–09:282; compare the description of “sinking” in the quotes in the preceding paragraph.

¹⁴ Cf.: “the ‘spirits’ have entered his body” (413), “to call the ‘spirits’” (423), “I do nothing. The ‘spirits’ make all the exertion.” (433). “The idea that shamans, in case of need, not only send their ‘spirits’ to a destined place, but also may turn themselves into any of their ‘spirits’, and carry out their intentions, appears in many tales.” (437) “... being in the possession of the *k’ele*, she had lost the faculty of human speech” (450). Further proofs of the intimate connection between the Chukchee shaman and his helping or guardian spirits (*k’ele*) are: “transformation takes place on the command of the *k’ele*” (452), and “Shamans often themselves assume a name from one of their favorite spirits.” (467). For references to marriage with the spirit, see Köhler (1990:258).

lation of the spirits, "they make the spirits answer the questions and give the necessary directions." (432).

During the séance the spirits have to beat the drum on behalf of the shaman (437). The memory of ecstatic states is only lost during a very deep trance which is combined with unconsciousness (441, 443). During regular trances the stimulation of the shaman by the participants in a seance is necessary ("to give answering calls", 434).

Somewhat unclear remains the way in which shamanic knowledge is passed to the next generation among the Chukchee. Regular instruction for shaman novices is sometimes denied altogether ("... claimed to have no teachers", 425). Black magic is sometimes abandoned due to unfortunate experiences.¹⁵ According to Bogoraz (1904–09:429), the Chukchee have a surprising awareness of shamanic trickery: drumming and fasting are considered to be the superior method of inducing trances.¹⁶ A special shaman's dress, which is a widespread accoutrement in the rest of Siberia, apparently did not exist among the Chukchee.

Central Asia: Nepal, Ladakh and Tibet

Schenk (1994) reports in her examination of Ladakhi shamanism that trance coincides with possession: the shaman perceives him- or herself as *luyar* (*lus gyar*), a "rented body" for divine beings (229, 230). The shamanic initiation is conducted only after the culturally sanctioned, suggestive ritual of dividing *lha* and *de* (102, 103), during which the novice

¹⁵ Cf. "... he had been a magician employing especially the powers of evil, or practising the black art; and after return of the disease, he abandoned those practices, considering them detrimental to his health and well being" (429).

¹⁶ "The single means used by Chukchee shamans, novice or experienced, for communication with 'spirits', is the beating of the drum and singing" (424). "... dreams are considered by the Chukchee one of the best means of communicating with spirits" (463). "Shaman exercises the most violent activity without scarcely a pause" (425). "... abstention from all fat and rich food" (*ibid.*). "In olden times, shamans used no stimulants [sic!]; but at present they often smoke a pipeful of strong tobacco without admixture of wood, which certainly works like a strong narcotic" (433, 434). Bogoraz considers this trait to originate from Tungus influence and—surprisingly enough—does not mention the use of fly-agaric in this context. Compare as well Rosenbohm (1991:27, 46), who speaks of a "profanization" of the use of fly-agaric apart from the ritual context in the eighteenth century.

experiences complete amnesia.¹⁷ As a sign of this complete transformation of psychological states, the crown of the shaman is removed from his or her head immediately after the séance. Memory appears to be completely lost afterwards: usually, complete amnesia is claimed after the initial washing ritual that preceded the séance (160). Complete amnesia seems to occur after trances and séances as well as after oracle ceremonies (173), whereas the control of action is maintained during trance. Imagination of magical flight is not existent. Since Tibetan Buddhism has been established as the “official” religion in Ladakh, shamanism is regarded as inferior to Buddhism and shamanic rituals therefore have to be sanctioned by Buddhist clerics (cf. Samuel 1993). Thus, the actual call for a novice to become a shaman has to be approved by members of the Buddhist religious hierarchy to be officially accepted by the populace.

To induce shamanic trances, meditation, prayer and incense—in the form of *shugpa* (mountain juniper) and incense sticks—are used (Samuel 1993:144–147; compare the shamanic practices of the neighbouring Dards), as well as ritual washings, hyperventilation, drum and bell.

All in all, Ladakhi shamanism offers one of the few examples of a shaman’s complete amnesia (or claim to complete amnesia?) after trance.¹⁸

Holmberg (1980) distinguishes different kinds of religious practitioners among the Tamang, thus emphasizing that *lambus*—as opposed to the so-called *bonpos*—reach only a limited level of trance (239). Desjarlais (1989), in examining the magical flight of Nepalese shamans,¹⁹ claims that this mystical journey constitutes a journey along well-known geographical landmarks rather than a trip to the upper- or the underworld (290, 296). According to him, the shamanic state among the Gurung, (Kham)-Magar, Tamang, Sherpa and Limbu is connected with

¹⁷ Compare for instance the report by Lhapa Padma on her experiences during the ritual (Schenk 1994:107).

¹⁸ Cf. Peters (1981, 1989) on shamanism among the Sherpa and Tamang in Nepal.

¹⁹ “Nepali shamans journey on magical flights in pursuit of lost souls or in search of medical knowledge concerning their patient” (289).

possession.²⁰ Thus he comes to the same conclusion as Peters (1989: 120) in his study of Sherpa and Tamang shamanism:

“Karlo, a Sherpa shaman, says his consciousness remains in his heart when he is embodied ... Both shamans [Sherpa, Tamang] are conscious and aware they are embodied at the time the embodiment is taking place; i.e. there is dual awareness, as in lucid dreams ... Bhirendra, a Nepalese Tamang shaman, reports visions of spirit familiars and views his body from overhead while being possessed.”

There is precise evidence for magical flight, with even a “ladder of nine heavenly rungs” mentioned by shamans (125) and complete memory of the séances.

North America

In North America shamanic rituals are most widespread in the Arctic, subarctic and on the northwest coast. Vision quest and the search for a guardian spirit (cf. Benedict) are traits of shamanism which are commonly practised by all the male population and are not restricted to specialists in ritual. Classical shamanism with ecstasy and magical flight is practised among the Inuit (Furst 1990:228). A more or less “Siberian model” of shamanism can also be found among the Tlingit, where only the shamans employ helping and guardian spirits (Hultkrantz 1992:54–61).

In the subarctic shaking tent ceremony (among the Cree, Ojibwa and Innu/Naskapi-Montagnais) the shaman is possessed by one or several helping spirits who enter into a dialogue with him or her (Hultkrantz 1992:38, 39). There is only little evidence of magical flight; instead, helping spirits are sent out by the shaman (37). Controlled action during trance is mentioned, and there is no evidence of amnesia. For the Tsistsista (Cheyenne) of the Great Plains, Schlesier rejects the idea of shamans being possessed, referring to the well-articulated speech of the spirits during trance states (1985:37).

²⁰ “The spirits and deities represented in the shaman’s altar—and which possess the shaman ...” (Desjarlais 1989:292).

Kutalek (1995) compares the use of fly-agaric in Siberia—where it is used by the Uralic peoples and the Ket in the west as well as among the northeast Siberian Palaeoasiatic peoples (Rosenbohm 1991)—with that in North America, where it is used among the Ojibwa and Dogrib. She establishes many similarities—for instance, the ambivalent character of the agaric and the loss of consciousness by shamans who employ mushrooms (44). The use of fly-agaric among the Inuit remains doubtful.

Mesoamerica

Whereas the existence of elaborated shamanism in Mesoamerica remains a matter of dispute (cf. Köhler 1990), clear traits of shamanism appear in connection with the use of hallucinogens.²¹

According to Myerhoff (1991), the *mara'akate* of the Huicholes, being a shaman as well as a priest and healer, practices “soul retrieval and magical flight” (86, 94). He does not employ peyote for shamanic purposes, although in other ceremonial contexts the cactus is widely used. It carries a high ritual significance, with the first mythical peyote hunt of the Huichol ancestors leading to the death of the divine deer *káuyumari*, to the creation of corn from its antlers, and peyote rising out of its body (110, Rosenbohm 1991:108).

Peyote is used in connection with shamanic rituals by the Cora, Tepecano and Tarahumara (*ibid.*, 92), Uto-Aztec groups of the North American southwest and not exactly of the Mesoamerican cultural area. For Mesoamerica proper, the use of *Psilocybe* mushrooms—termed *teonanácatl* in Nahuatl (Schultes and Hofman 1979, Rátsch 1993)—not just by shamans but within a wider ritual context is well known. The use of “magic mushrooms” even seems to have spread widely after the ecclesiastic cults performed by the former Native ruling elites of Central American civilizations had been abolished by the Spanish *conquistadores*.

²¹ For example, *ololiuhqui*, cf. Furst (1990:223) speaking of a “pan-mesoamerican mushroom complex”.

Even today, during the nocturnal séances of the Mazatecos (*veladas*²²) *Psilocybe* mushrooms are widely used. A (female) Mazatec shaman conceives herself as a “tool” of the mushrooms (Rosenbohm 1991:73). According to her emic explanation, the hallucinogenic mushrooms appear as persons and are said to originate from drops of blood or sputum of either Christ (compare similar beliefs in Siberia, 81, 82) or the Precolumbian deity *Quetzalcoatl*; sometimes they are even called “Jesus” (84). During her séance the Mazatec shaman encounters *los seres principales* (the “essential beings”). It is not clear whether her transformation involves magical flight (86, 87).

South America

In his account of Yanomamö shamanism Chagnon (1977:99, 116–119) mentions different layers in the structure of the universe and the attempt of shamans to kill children in hostile villages by magical means. He does not say whether magical flight is involved during the séances, which are usually induced by taking *yopo* powder (*ebene*). Baer and Snell (Baer and Snell 1974, Baer 1984) report of the Matsigenka in eastern Peru that the shaman during trance is able to see dwarf-like spirits (*saankaa-rite*) and is possessed by his guardian spirit (*inetsaane*), while at the same time he is travelling to the land of the *saankaa-rite* (74). In this state of a possession trance the body and the soul of the shaman have (according to the emic point of view) vanished. During his journey the shaman climbs and descends the shaman’s ladder, but there is no account of a magical flight.²³ The shaman is said to be “exchanged” for the guardian spirit during trance, but at the same time control of action is maintained. The shaman’s office is voluntarily taken over by the aspiring shaman, with no hesitation shown to submit to the shamanic call (68).²⁴

²² Cf. Rosenbohm 1991:71, Estrada 1981.

²³ Magical flight is reported from the neighbouring Campa (Weiss 1969), though the motive of climbing up the shaman’s ladder is lacking there (78).

²⁴ In marked contrast to Siberia and Central Asia, in South America it is quite common for the candidate shaman to show great eagerness to actually become a shaman and submit to the shamanic call.

The *inetsaane* is conceived as at once the guardian spirit and *alter ego* of the shaman; the shaman's wife plays an important role as his assistant. The shaman is regarded as guardian of the specific local group and feared by neighbouring groups as a black magician (Baer 1984:72).

Luna (1986) describes a very specific form of shamanism in the eastern Peruvian *selva* that emerged within the framework of syncretistic cults among the local mestizo population. The specific feature of this kind of shamanism is the conception of "plant teachers", indicating that the novice has to be chosen by a specific plant and that the helping spirits of the shaman are conceived in the same way.²⁵ The *vegetalista's* (mestizo shaman's) trance is described as a general *ayahuasca*-induced ASCs which is entered willingly, without further details being revealed.

Yajé (= *ayahuasca*) is commonly used by the Tukano of the Colombian Vaupés region. The *payé* (shaman and medicine man) has to negotiate the transfer of souls with the species' spirit of animals (Rosenbohm 1991:122). Collective use of *yajé* (124) and the *payé's* journey to the Milky Way (as a kind of magical flight, 125, 136) are clearly detectable. Although there is a personification of *yajé* (134, 135), no possession phenomena are known among the Tukano. A common feature of *yajé* visions are endogenous patterns of pictures (*felidae* and reptiles as well) and phosphens (Rosenbohm 1991:139). These visionary patterns are widely used in native art.²⁶

Dobkin de Rios (1989:91) regards aspects of shamanic healing as a method of raising the individual's immune competence in the sense of a "biology of hope". Wilbert (1987:233) sees shamanism as one of the oldest religious phenomena of mankind and regards trance induced by hallucinogens as a secondary form. Thus he concludes that the particular form of "tobacco shamanism" performed by the Warao evolved with the development of agriculture in the South American *selva* (231, 232) and that it cannot therefore be more than 5,000 years old. According to him, one of the basic features of shamanism in the South American Lowlands is magical flight (which is clearly detectable in Warao shamanism; 235).

²⁵ Though river dolphins and sirens (*manatis*) are also described as helping spirits.

²⁶ Rosenbohm 1991:135; cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:174.

ETHICS OF SHAMANISM

Information on ethics and the internal control of the "guild" of shamans is rather sparse: according to the famous Mazatec shaman Maria Sabina, there exist different degrees of magic. She regards her own magic as being for benevolent purposes only; malevolent actions would result in supernatural sanctions (for example infertility, injury to the private parts etc.). To initiate novices, the shamans of the northern Magar in Nepal enter into a temporary alliance. Since for much of the rest of the time they act against each other (Oppitz 1981), these alliances are abandoned immediately after the initiations. Among the Huicholes, those who are searching for peyote have to make "confessions" to ensure their ritual purification, and in particular the *maraka'ame* (the shaman-priest leading the ceremony, see above) has to maintain this pure state of mind and body (Myerhoff 1991). Peyote will punish those acting against these ritual regulations.

SUMMARY OF DATA

(1) Siberia ($n = 28$)²⁷

<i>Elements of shamanism</i>	<i>Reported as existing</i>	<i>Not reported as existing</i>	<i>No reference</i>
Trance only	24 (86%)	4 (14%)	—
Possession trance	14 (50%)	14 (50%)	—
Magical flight	24 (86%)	4 (14%)	—
Control of ecstasy	20 (72%)	8 (28%)	—
Amnesia	12 (43%)	12 (43%)	4 (14%)
Control of action in trance	12 (43%)	—	16 (57%)

²⁷ n = number of studies reviewed.

(2) Central Asia ($n = 25$)

<i>Elements of shamanism</i>	<i>Reported as existing</i>	<i>Not reported as existing</i>	<i>No reference</i>
Trance only	25 (100%)	—	—
Possession trance	22 (88%)	—	3 (12%)
Magical flight	14 (56%)	7 (28%)	4 (16%)
Control of ecstasy	8 (32%)	17 (68%)	—
Amnesia	4 (16%)	10 (40%)	11 (44%)
Control of action during trance	4 (16%)	—	21 (84%)

(3) South America ($n = 30$)

<i>Elements of shamanism</i>	<i>Reported as existing</i>	<i>Not reported as existing</i>	<i>No reference</i>
Trance only	25 (83%)	—	5 (17%)
Possession trance	13 (44%)	17 (56%)	—
Magical flight	25 (83%)	—	5 (17%)
Control of ecstasy	13 (44%)	—	17 (56%)
Amnesia	—	4 (12%)	26 (88%)
Control of action during trance	—	—	30 (100%)

(4) North and Mesoamerica ($n = 24$)

<i>Elements of shamanism</i>	<i>Reported as existing</i>	<i>Not reported as existing</i>	<i>No reference</i>
Trance only	16 (66%)	4 (17%)	4 (17%)
Possession trance	10 (42%)	5 (21%)	9 (37%)
Magical flight	8 (33%)	11 (46%)	5 (21%)
Control of ecstasy	8 (33%)	—	16 (67%)
Amnesia	4 (17%)	5 (21%)	15 (63%)
Control of action during trance	10 (42%)	—	14 (58%)

(5) Summary for all four regions ($n = 107$)

<i>Elements of shamanism</i>	<i>Reported as existing</i>	<i>Not reported as existing</i>	<i>No reference</i>
Trance only	90 (84.1%)	8 (7.4%)	9 (8.5%)
Possession trance	59 (55.1%)	39 (33.6%)	12 (11.3%)
Magical flight	71 (66.4%)	22 (20.6%)	14 (13.0%)
Control of ecstasy	49 (45.8%)	25 (23.3%)	33 (30.9%)
Amnesia	20 (18.7%)	31 (28.9%)	56 (52.4%)
Control of action during trance	26 (24.3%)	—	81 (75.7%)

RESULTS

From this intercultural comparison, the following results emerge.

(1) Trance as a basic constituent of shamanism is mentioned in the vast majority of studies (84%).

(2) In almost 60% of the cases reviewed shamanic trance is combined with the phenomenon of so-called "possession" or "embodiment". In perfect concordance with this, in many cultures with shamanic traits members claim that their religious functionaries are actually "possessed by gods or spirits" (cf. Ladakhi or Magar shamanism or "possession priests" in Siberia, Findeisen, Thiel). In an emic way of perception this fact is indicated, for example, by the use of a foreign language or invulnerability against fire.

(3) Magical flight—as the shaman's way of travelling to the upper- or the underworld—can be found in 66% of the cases. Interestingly enough, in 13% of the reviewed studies no special attention is paid to this constituting element of shamanism.

(4) In almost half of the reviewed cases, the shaman is in control of him or herself during trance. This does support Peters (1989) in his view that the "embodiment" of spirits during trance does not necessarily contradict the control of the shamanic state and its later remembrance by the shaman. 30% of the reviewed studies do not pay attention to this phenomenon.

(5) Amnesia of the shaman as a basic element of trance is to be detected in 19% of the studies. 31% of the studies report that the shaman maintains a complete memory of his or her trance state. More than half of the studies, though, do not pay any attention to the question of memory/amnesia during trance.

(6) Control of action during trance is to be found in 24% of the studies. There are no contradictory statements in the reviewed literature, although it has to be mentioned that only about a quarter of the studies in the sample deal with the question of controlled action during the shaman's trance.

Concerning the regional distribution of the above-mentioned basic elements of shamanism, it is striking that possession trance as well as amnesia during shamanic séances are most widespread in Central Asia (88%, compared to 50% of all cases), and that the classic shamanic

magical flight is most frequent in Northern Eurasia (86%) as well as in South America (83%, compared to 66% in the whole sample).

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of the study may be summarized as follows.

(1) Theories claiming a relationship between “pure trance” and the shamanism of hunter-gatherer societies on the one side, and “possession” or “possession trance” and organized collective rituals of complex agricultural societies on the other side cannot be supported. Contrary to a one-sided model of shamanism determined by a social structure (cf. Bourguignon), the available ethnographic data show that especially in the area of “classic shamanism” (Siberia) trance is very often combined with “possession”. As “masters of trance”, shamans are able to arbitrarily suspend the specific ASCs they enter into—irrespective of whether it is pure trance or possession trance. Furthermore, in most cases they are able to remember their actions during trance more or less precisely.

(2) My review of the available studies of shamanism shows that the basic constituting elements of shamanism are treated in a rather unequal manner by the respective authors: the aspects of control of shamanic trance, memory or amnesia and control of action during trance are rather often neglected. This also shows that previous research on shamanism has to a large extent been a product of “mute anthropology”, with much attention paid to the ritual performance, the shamanic call, and the paraphernalia and stimulants used by shamans during their séances. Less attention has been paid to the things shamans themselves mention when talking about their experiences during trance and how they perceive their control and memory of these ASCs.

(3) The view of the shaman as a master of controlled trance and of possession trance indicates as well the control of helping and guardian spirits and indicates the later remembrance of experiences during trance. Therefore, amnesia during shamanic rituals has to be seen as an exception—or possibly as a protective device assumed in response to the curiosity of Western researchers.

APPENDIX

List of studies and ethnic groups which have been the subject of analysis:

(1) *Northern Eurasia*

- Ainu: Onhuki-Tierney 1976
 Chukchee: Bogoraz 1904–09, Rosenbohm 1991
 Karagas: Düe 1993:45
 Khanty and Mansi [Ostyak/Vogul]: Karjalainen 1927, Balzer 1987
 Koryak: Iokhel'son 1905–08
 Nanai: Hoppál 1994:99
 Saamí: Kasten 1991
 Samoyed (Nenets, Nganasan): Donner 1926
 Uralic and Palaeoasiatic groups in general: Rosenbohm 1991, Kutalek 1995
 Yakut: Friedrich and Budruss 1987:139, 140

(2) *Central Asia*

- (Kham)-Magar: Oppitz 1981, 1993
 Dards: Jettmar 1975:276–281, Snoy 1960:3–7, Müller-Stellrecht 1973, Vohra 1989
 Gurung: Desjarlais 1989
 Ladakh: Schenk 1994
 Limbu: Desjarlais 1989
 Rai: Bieri et al. 1988/90
 Raji: Reinhard 1977
 Sherpa: Desjarlais 1989, Peters 1989:120
 Tamang: Desjarlais 1989, Holmberg 1980, Peters 1981, 1989
 Tibet (in general): Samuel 1993

(3) *South America*

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 Mapuche: Böning 1974, 1977, Faron 1968, Titiev 1951
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 Mestizos/*vegetalistas*: Luna 1986, Dobkin de Rios 1989
 Piro: Andritzky 1989a, 1989b
 Secoya: Cipolletti 1990
 Shipibo: Illius 1991, Gebhart-Sayer 1984, 1985, 1988
 Tapirapé: Wagley 1977
 Tukano: Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, Rosenbohm 1991:117–140
 Warao: Wilbert 1987
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 Yanomamö: Chagnon 1977

(4) North and Mesoamerica

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 Cree: Hultkrantz 1992
 Innu (Naskapi-Montagnais): Hultkrantz 1992
 Apache: Boyer et al. 1982, Wolf 1990:419–430
 Tsistista (Cheyenne): Schlesier 1985
 Huichol: Myerhoff 1991, Rosenbohm 1991
 Mazatecos: Estrada 1981, Furst 1990, Schultes and Hofman 1979, Rättsch 1993, Rosenbohm 1991:67–90
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The Dances of Manchu Shamans

SONG HEPING

JILIN

The Manchu shaman performs dances whilst making offerings to the gods. Of these shamanic dance types two warrant special attention: 1) the "high deity offering", alternatively called the "field" or "great deity's dance" and 2) the "family deity offering". It is these types of shamanic dances and in particular the former—during which the shaman attains an altered and heightened state of consciousness—which I intend to discuss in this article. The two dance forms documented in this paper are performed by the shamans of Manchu families residing in rural parts of North-East China and are still practised today.

Although the term "Manchu" occurred in written form for the first time during the late Ming Dynasty (the beginning of 17th century), the Manchu existed as an identifiable group long before this date. This view is clearly supported by several ancient texts originating in China, in which the following Manchu ethnonyms: *Sushen*, *Yilou*, *Wuji*, *Mohe*, *Nüzhen* are recorded. Further, all of these names, not only denote Manchu ancestry, but also correspond to different historical periods. The Manchu people inhabited a wide area, living in the locality of the Changbai Mountains, the Songhuajiang River and in the valleys of the Heilongjiang River. Before the Manchu arrived in Liaoning and Shenyang districts, they were fisherman and hunters, famed for their brilliance both as horsemen and as craftsmen.

It is argued that the term 'shaman' derives from the Manchu-Tungus branch of Altaic languages. In the mid-20th century Xu Mengzi, a Nanjing scholar discussed the first textual occurrences of the term 'shaman' in his work *Sanchao beimen huibian* (volume 3). According to this work, the word: "shaman means 'sorcerer/sorceress' in the Nüzheng (i.e. Jurchen) languages." Also, "because [the shaman] is able to transform him-

self into any one of the deities, only those nobles who hold a rank above that of *Nianban* can compete with him..." Further, according to Xu Mengzi, the word 'shaman' (as found in the very earliest sources) is not only transcribed as 'shaman', but is used in exactly the same way as it is today. Other ancient texts quoted by Xu Mengzi for example, Xi Qing's *Heilongjiang waiji*, Yao Yuanzhi's *Zhuye wan zaji*, also record the use of the word shaman, but these texts vary the transcribed spelling of the term, employing the following variations: *sama*, *chama*, *jama*, *jamo*, *shaman* and *samou*. In the *Da Qing Huidian Shili* ("Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty") the term 'shaman' is also recorded and in this instance is transcribed as *sama*. With reference to all these sources, it is possible to assert that since by-gone times the Manchu people (and their ancestors) have practised shamanism.

DANCE TYPES

During the "high deity offering", all beings which: fly in the sky and inhabit the earth (i.e., dwell in rivers, on mountains etc.) are worshipped. These beings are composed of both animal and plant deities, as well as of Manchu heroes. This being the case, the number of deities worshipped during the "high deity offering" can be anything from ten to one hundred.

All the dances performed by the Manchu shaman during the "high deity offering" are made up of two consecutive phases: first, the shaman performs an invocation or rather, an invocatory dance and second, the shaman attains a heightened state of consciousness, alternatively referred to as the act of "contacting the deity". The act of "contacting the deity" means that the shaman completely identifies with the deity invoked. By performing an invocatory dance, the shaman manifests as hero deity or as animal deity (e.g., the wolf, tiger, hawk, snake, etc.). During the process of invocation the shaman behaves in a manner characteristic of the deity summoned, often emitting animal calls.

The "family deity offering", is an offering performed in the main for ancestor deities or for those deities who are regarded by the Manchu as family gods irrespective of whether they are animals or plants. Unlike the "high deity offering" the dances performed by the shaman during the "family deity offering", are comprised of a single phase: the shaman dances with a one-handled drum beating it and dancing in the prescribed

manner (sometimes turning around in circles). Since the dance that the shaman performs during the “family deity offering” is non-invocatory, quite obviously, the shaman’s state of consciousness remains unaltered i.e., the “deity-contacting” state is absent.

Clearly, the two types of dances performed by Manchu shamans during deity offering activities are entirely different. In the offerings made to “high deities”, the shaman performs the first type of dance which necessarily involves the invocation of each “high deity” concerned. Offerings made to the “high deities” have to be carried out one at a time, i.e., one offering is made per “high deity” invoked, because the shaman can only (self-)identify with any one “high deity” at any one time. On the other hand, the dances involved in the “family deity offering” are non-invocatory in nature, since the gods worshipped are not “high deities” but rather, family or ancestral gods. During the “family deity offering”, the shaman is able to treat the family or ancestral deities as one group, since the shaman does not invoke the family deities with his dance but rather, dances for them. Hence during the “family deity offering” the shaman makes a single offering to all the Manchu family deities.

The dances of the Manchu shaman as described in this paper are those performed by Shi family shamans and other shamans of Manchu families dwelling in Jilin province. The second part of this paper will focus on and expand upon the “high deity offering” as performed by Manchu shamans.

“HIGH DEITY OFFERING”

When offerings are made to the “high deities” the shaman necessarily enters into an altered state of consciousness characterised by the shaman’s total self-identification with the deity invoked. During the “high deity offering” the shaman performs one of the following three dance types: dances of invocation, dances of revelation (preceded by invocation), and combination dances (combining invocation and revelation).

Dances of Invocation

As mentioned above, this type of dance is characterised by the shaman’s ability to behave in the manner characteristic of the high deity invoked. For example, the high deities invoked by Shi family shaman are animal

gods who are divided into three categories, those which: 1. fly, 2. slither or 3. walk (on all fours).

1. The Manchu shaman most commonly makes offerings to eagle or hawk deities and hence it is these deities which are most regularly invoked. Nevertheless, in the *Sacred Book of the Shi Family*¹, offerings made to the following bird deities: water birds, “wind” and “field” birds, gold- and silver-tongued birds, are also documented. An example of an invocatory offering dance performed by the Shi family shaman for the god of hawks proceeds as follows: first of all, the shaman puts on his shamanic costume composed of: a sacred cap, a white shirt, a sacred skirt and bells which are tied around the shaman’s waist.² The cap is decorated with three birds, from which a dozen or more red or green coloured ribbons hang, extending all the way down to the ground. The shaman begins his invocatory dance. Carrying two drums (the so-called “grabbing” and “carrying” drums) the shaman begins the invocation. The shaman beats the drums whilst dancing and shortly thereafter, the shaman achieves an altered state of consciousness. At this point the god of hawks is manifest. The shaman’s assistants remove both drums from the shaman and tie the ribbons extending from his sacred cap to his hands. The shaman then begins to twist from the waist from side to side in order to swing the bells and dances to the rhythm of the drums his assistants are now beating. The shaman extends his arms outwards and flaps them. Occasionally, the shaman turns around with his arms wide open, as the hawk god circles in the sky. By now the shaman has identified himself completely³ with the deity invoked and the hawk deity is completely present. The shaman as hawk god, steps up onto two tall tables, and still flapping his arms prepares to fly. At this point, the assistants sing: “Hawk god with a stone head, gold mouth, silver nose and

¹ The *Sacred Book of the Shi Family* is a Manchu manuscript which records many ceremonies of worship (including the worship of holy spirits), sacrificial offerings and sacred shamanic poems.

² The shaman varies his shamanic dress according to which deity he intends to invoke. For example, the shaman wears both ribbons and bells for an invocatory dance designed to invoke bird gods. However, when the shaman invokes snake deities he neither wears his sacred cap nor his waist bells.

³ Interestingly, during the height of trance, both Yang and Guan family shamans are able to manifest alternately as hawk deity and as hunter feeding or teasing the hawk god.

bronze neck, you spread your wings in order to cover the sky and the earth, and hold up your tail to tuck it up under the moon and the stars.” With this the shaman as hawk god looks pleased.

2. For those animals which slither or crawl, the offerings most commonly performed by the Manchu shaman are those made to snake gods, in particular to the god of pythons. The shaman of the Shi family performs his invocatory dance but before doing so he puts his sacred skirt, his white shirt and a vest made from three pieces of cloth, a red, a yellow and a black piece, which mimic the pattern and tri-colour skin of the python god. When the python god enters the shaman’s body, the shaman falls to the ground, facing upward. He wriggles forwards using his shoulders and the balls of his feet. At the same time, the shaman’s helpers sing: “The god of pythons is eight feet long, and the god of snakes is nine feet long. You live on the peak of the Changbai Mountains, in the golden ditch found in the stone gap on the ninth peak. Crossing the mountains, mounting the clouds and riding the mist, you arrive on the bank of the Nisi River.”

3. The Manchu shaman also makes offerings to animal gods. These gods can be any of the following: wolf, tiger, wild boar, bear, etc. These animal deities behave in a distinctive manner when they are present during a shamanic dance-offering. For example, the bear god always carries a large wheel on his shoulders and the god of wild boars always uses the walls to aid his movements. I once witnessed the invocatory dance of the sleeping-mother-tiger deity. In this case, once the sleeping-mother-tiger goddess was invoked, the shaman immediately adopted a position on all fours and began to roar and walk about. The shaman as sleeping-mother-tiger deity then looked around, searching for something. Eventually, the sleeping-tiger-mother goddess noticed two bundles on the ground which were cloth representations of tiger cubs which she proceeded to pick up, one in each hand, and then put down again on the ground. The sleeping-mother-tiger deity nuzzled the tiger cubs lovingly with her head and kissed them. She then sat lightly on the tiger cubs demonstrating her love for them and fed them with bread from her mouth. By now the sleeping-mother-tiger goddess was completely present. her acts demonstrated the great tiger mother’s love for this world.

Dances of Revelation

The types of dances performed by the Manchu shaman during revelation are in fact, the reenactment of certain heroic deeds performed by Manchu gods. These skills, or heroic acts as represented by the Manchu shamans of the Shi family are divided into four types: 1. martial arts, 2. magic acts, 3. artistic dance acts and 4. acts of technical skill.

1. *The martial art dance* of the high deity is only fully revealed once the shaman has attained the *deity-contacting* state. In the past the Shi family were renowned among the Manchus as great horsemen and hunters and thus the martial arts dance preserves for posterity the martial quality of the Manchu people since the time of the Qing Dynasty. Martial art skills among Manchu families is mainly expressed by the so-called "holy spirits", such as the family holy spirit of "mother *adun*" and "grandfather *cooha*". The names of these spirits suggest that these gods possess outstanding military skills. So, for example, *adun* is a variation of *akdun* and according to the *Collected Statutes of the Qing Dynasty* (i.e., the *Da Qing Huidian Shili*) this word means 'firm,' 'solid,' 'hard' or 'valiant'. In this case, the word mother actually means 'grandmother', hence the literal translation of 'mother *adun*' is 'valiant grandmother'. In a number of Manchu "sacred poems" "mother *adun*" is described as a heroine who rides two horses. Turning to the second deity "grandfather *cooha*," the term *cooha* means 'soldier,' so the literal translation is 'soldier grandfather.' Grandfather *cooha* also figures in the sacred poems of the Manchu where he is portrayed as a warrior on a battlefield. Other great Manchu holy spirits include *buku manni* of the He family in Heilongjiang province, *Huyanqi manni* a deity who uses a three-pronged horse spear who is a deity of the Shi family in Jilin province, *Shulu manni*, literally 'he who handles an iron bar,' and the 'grandfather of the first generation' and the 'grandfather of the fifth generation.' These spirits all perform dances which are revelations of heroic deeds performed by these deities and which demonstrate each spirits' skill of a martial type.

For example, when the shaman of the Shi family invokes the spirit "Grandfather of the First Generation" then this deity performs the deed of "running on fire." This skill is enacted in the following way: A rectangular coal pit ten meters long and five meters wide is built and filled

with thousands of coals. The coals are set alight and are made to blaze strongly. Once the coal has burned down a little, the shaman's helpers pat the coal down with wooden sticks until the surface of the pit becomes flat and hard. At the same time the shaman holds a *gida* (a lance) in his hand. He then leads about a dozen of his helpers, who hold in their hands knives, iron hammers and horse spears, to the pit and together they proceed to run barefoot over the burning coals. Sometimes, with the guidance of the shaman, the helpers follow the rhythms of drums and dance around the pit. The shaman, using the *gida*, makes stabbing gestures with the weapon, attacking invisible enemies and demons. From time to time, the shaman's assistants also run to the fire pit. A legend about the first-generation ancestors recounts that in ancient times, the great shamans of the Shi family and the Ao family had a martial arts competition. The Shi family shaman said: "I can change myself into a fish in order to cross the river." The Ao family shaman said: "I can sit in his holy drum to cross the river." When the competition began, the Ao family shaman sat proudly on the holy drum and floated to the center of the Sungari River. Then suddenly, a large fish appeared and almost capsized the Ao family shaman. The Ao family shaman knew quite well that this was a trick executed by the Shi family shaman, so the Ao family shaman used his three-pronged horse spear to prick the back of the fish and wounded the Shi family shaman. Several days later the shaman of the Shi family died. His coffin was put on the bank of the Sungari River, but it was not buried. The Ao family shaman knew that Shi family shaman was proficient in the "holy skills," so the Ao family shaman set fire to the coffin. The fire lasted for three days and three nights. On the third night a red light flew up from the ashes of the coffin to the Changbai Mountains, where it became a spirit. Later this spirit became the grandfather of the first generation of the Shi family. Hence the first Shi family's shaman's dance is called "running on fire." The reenactment of the deed of first generation grandfather of the Shi family i.e., "running on fire" is an activity often performed by the shaman's of the Shi family. It is a particularly well-known shamanic dance among the Shi family of Jilin province.⁴

⁴ Investigation shows that the fire pit mentioned in the legend does in fact refer to the Sungari River, which used to emit large flames more than a foot in height. At this time it was said that the fire "spirit" or "power" was great. I had the opportu-

2. *Magic acts.* This type of activity is a rare shamanic offering-practice which is seldom performed by Manchu shamans. Nevertheless, I had occasion to attend the magic act of a Shi family shaman manifest as water bird god.⁵ The performance ran as follows: All lights and fires were put out. In the dark, the shaman held a *gida* (a lance), and danced to the beat of a drum whilst vigorously stirring water around in a large vat. Suddenly, the water started heaving, stones started falling from above and the whole house started to make crackling sounds. It was as if many birds were present on a shingle beach. When the light was turned on, stones were scattered throughout the house and water stains were everywhere. At this point, the audience rushed up to the shaman and grabbed any stones which he held in his hands. It is said that a single stone has many magical properties, including the power to vanquish demons and to cure diseases.

3. *Artistic dance acts.* The performance of dance as art refers only to those dances which are performed by those gods who are superior dancers. For example, the god *Maksi Manni* worshipped by both Yang and Shi family of Jilin Province and the "Golden Flower Fire God" worshipped only by the Shi family are highly skilled dancers. In Manchu, *maksi* is the imperative form of the verb *maksimbi* ('to dance') and means 'command to dance.' In other words, among the Manchu *Maksi Manni* is the "God of Dance." This god's dance movements run as follows: the shaman grabs a drum and holds the ribbons extending from his sacred hat in his hands. He dances with two helpers who ring bronze bells. The shaman and his two assistants dance to the beat of the drum. Sometimes they hold one hand up to their foreheads and place the other behind their backs, or they walk in the shape of a "V" and the shape of a "+".

nity in 1987 to witness flames shooting from the shaman's fire pit which were not as strong as those mentioned in the legend. The weakening of the flames is caused by the general weakening in the abilities of shamans and their helpers who had not had the opportunity to practise the deed for many years and were considered less skillful than the shamans of olden times.

⁵ In the *Sacred Book of the Shi Family*, the water bird god is called *Šanyan muke gasha enduri*, where *šanyan* means 'white,' *muke* is 'water,' *gasha* is 'bird' and *enduri* is 'god.' The whole literally translated is 'white water bird god'.

On other occasions the shaman and his two assistants dance in a circle. On these occasions the shaman's assistants sing: "*Maksi Manni*, you live on the ninth peak of the Changbai Mountains and reveal your dances to us!"

In the past the shaman would dance with three or more assistants and formed groups of four or six in order to give a performance. Sometimes there were six persons performing the dance but it was necessary to always have even numbers. Another Manchu deity skilled at dancing is the "Golden Flower Fire God." The Shi family call this deity *aisin tuwa ilha enduri*, where *aisin* is 'golden' and *ilha* is 'flower,' *tuwa* means 'fire' and *enduri* is 'god.' This deity's dance proceeds as follows: the shaman and an assistant hold burning joss-sticks in their hands and make "+" patterns in the air. When everything is ready, all lights are turned off and at that moment the sound of the "grabbing" drum also stops. All that can be seen now are the movements of the burning incense sticks in the air which are accompanied by the jingling sound of the shaman's waist bells. Sometimes the incense sticks are held up high, sometimes they are held down low and sometimes they are brought together.

4. *Acts of technical skill.* Certain techniques such as "climbing the knife-edged mountains" and "swaying the fire chains," are also performed by Manchu shamans when manifest as various high deities. In this paper I will introduce only one such shamanic technique as performed by the "Spotted Leopard Fire God" or *Tuwa yarha jihana* in Manchu. Where *tuwa* is 'fire,' *yarha* is 'leopard' and *jihana* means 'spotted.' Although this god often walks around, its main characteristic is that it roars alot. First of all, the bells on the shaman's waist are wrapped up in the shaman's skirts. When the "Spotted Leopard Fire God" enters the shaman's body, the shaman immediately drops to the ground and begins to walk on all fours. Sometimes he puts his hands in his lap in order to look around, and may roar loudly. The shaman's helpers then hold up some burning coals which the shaman puts in his mouth. At this moment all the lights go off. The shaman's cheeks are burning red and he spits sparks, some of which are over a meter long. Puffing and blowing sounds are heard emanating from the shaman as "Spotted Leopard Fire God." In this way the shaman as "Spotted Leopard Fire God" dances and turns around to the rhythm of the drum.

COMBINATION DANCES

Combination dances are those which are composed of heroic deeds and other types of activity representative of a particular god. Take as an example the *Baturu Manni* god (*baturu* means 'valiant' or 'brave') i.e., the "Valiant God" of the Shi family. On this occasion, the deity's dance is called "walking in formation." Wearing a sacred cap and holding a three-pronged horse spear, the shaman waves the spear and dances to the rhythm of the drum. The shaman is followed by nine helpers who all hold yellow flags. One of these flags is bigger than the others, and on this flag there is a drawing of a winged-tiger in flight. All the other flags are also decorated with drawings of animals respectively a: wolf, tiger, jackal, leopard, snake, python, eagle and hawk. The shaman rushes ahead of his followers shouting and attacks invisible enemies. The shaman's helpers follow him, shouting and fighting too. On other occasions the shaman's helpers walk in the shape of "8" at which point a drum is played very fast. The shaman and his helpers form a circle or a ("V") shape and cross their flags. The shaman and his helpers may vary the formation of the dance from time to time. This dance is representative of a type of close fighting style in which the Manchu engaged during battle.

Although materials and information about the above three dance types are mainly taken from the Shi family in Manchuria (only a few examples are taken from the other families) this paper is comprehensive since only these three types of shamanic dance performance are practised among the Manchu. The main differences which exist among the shamanic dances of the Manchu concerns the style of dance and not the equipment used nor the deities invoked.

As we have mentioned before, there are a many high deities, but each high deity has its own method of being invoked. So, if one would like to invite a certain high deity, one has to dance in the manner to which the deity responds, i.e., there is a dance which is unique to each deity. Then, the shaman invites the high deity in front of the altar set-up for that particular deity, after which point the deity contacting state is achieved.

How can one recognise which deity has been summoned? There are two ways of establishing the deity's identity: firstly, one may ask the deity where he or she lives, and secondly, one observes which type of

weapon the deity uses. For example, the eagle god comes from the white mountain, in the upper air and lives in the "golden house" on the summit of the first mountain. The eagle god does not use any weapons at all, and will throw away the drum the shaman uses to invoke him. Other deities include the god *Batuzeng Manni* who lives in the "golden house" in the Changbai Mountains, travels along the Sungari River and uses the large fork as a weapon. Also, the snake deity resides in the Changbai Mountains and travels along the Nisihai River. The "Golden Flower Fire God" or the *Jinhua huoshen* comes from the Red River. Usually, once the deity has been invoked by the shaman through dance, the shaman's assistant will ask questions pertaining to the deity's identity. The deity replies, telling the assistant where he comes from and which weapon he needs. If the shaman's assistant gives the deity a weapon which he does not want, the deity will discard it immediately. If the weapon is the correct one, the shaman as deity will start to dance to the rhythm of the drum. Every song that is sung during a shamanic performance is sung in Manchu. Manchu deities are only spoken to in Manchu.

All Manchu deities live in and around the Changbai Mountains and thus one can conclude that the Shi family and other Manchu families have been living in this area for a long period of time. Additionally, one can state that shamanism among the Manchu possesses many local features and is a particular kind of shamanism unique to the Changbai Mountains area.

The three shamanic dance forms mentioned above were all observed by Chinese scholars. Altogether 21 shamanic dances were recorded on video tape. I too witnessed these dances in the field. During the time that I was in the field the person who acted as the big shaman was Shi Zhongxuan, who was 64 years old that year and came from Dong village, Jintai county of Jilin province. Shi Zhongxuan had been a shaman ever since he was 10 years old. His nickname was "Small Muddlehead," because when he became a shaman he got the disease "muddlehead." Only after Shi Zhongxuan promised to be a shaman did he become clear-headed again. Shi Zhongxuan kept his nickname until his death in 1990. He performed shamanic dances on many occasions and became a skillful old shaman.

In the Shi family the shaman's assistants are Shi Qingmin, Shi Qingquan, Shi Wenkai and Shi Dianta. These shaman's assistants are fully versed in the process of making ceremonial offerings and help to per-

form offerings to the deities alongside the shaman. The shaman's assistants can also explain all the activities in the *Sacred Book of the Shi Family*. The shaman's assistants are considered an integral part of any deity offering activity and they work closely with the shaman.

The members of the Shi family are found scattered throughout the mainly Han populated villages of Dongar and Xiao, Jintai county, Jilin province. All these families once lived along Sungari River, until they joined the Manchu leader Nurhachi and moved south. In the first year of the reign of emperor Shunzhi of the Qing Dynasty, they received the imperial edict to go to Wula to dive for pearls and to hunt marten. Indeed, the Shi family went to Wula to be servants. The Shi family then belonged to the "Plain Yellow Banner". Because the Shi family lived in a remote and isolated area, they seldom had contact with the outside world and hence retained many ancient customs and practices, the foremost of which is their unique type of shamanism.

Ul'chi Shamans and Storytellers: Field Report, August 1995

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The Ul'chi are one of the Tungus-language peoples of the Amur River region in the Russian Far East. They call themselves Na-ni, or "earth people." Today they number about 2500, most of whom live in villages in the Ul'chi rayon, south of Nikolaevsk-na-Amure. They are descended from local tribes and from the Manchus who moved down river in the seventeenth century as Russians began colonizing the region. Although the Lower Amur region has been settled continuously for 30,000 or more years and artistic motifs show continuity of culture, the region is also characterized by constant movement of peoples. Many Ul'chi have Ainu ancestors, and others have intermarried with Evenk, Chinese and Koreans. In any case, their language has remained closer to that of the Manchus than that of their Nanai neighbors who live geographically closer to Manchuria. The traditional Ul'chi way of life involved fishing, hunting, trade and harvesting plant foods.

In August 1995 I met with Ul'chi shamans and storytellers in the village of Bulava, working in cooperation with Nadezhda Kimonko of Khabarovsk and Mado Dechuli of Bulava. My interest is in the storytelling traditions around shamans, particularly the internal process of becoming a shaman.

Before arriving in Bulava I had heard that Ul'chi shamans are considered the most powerful in the area and have been for some years, at least by their Udegei neighbors.

"My grandparents were both shamans. They were killed in a fight with an Ul'chi shaman. Also my uncle was a shaman, and he killed himself after his soul had been taken away by an Ul'chi shaman." (N. Kimonko)

“Two bears fought in the taiga. Later their bodies were found, both dead. These were two shamans, one Udegei and one Ul’chi, and they killed each other. The Ul’chi shamans are considered the strongest – even today there is one in the village of Mongol who can accompany the dead.” (V. Kialundziga)

Today there are five Ul’chi shamans left, four women and one man (N. Duvan). They are all elderly, some more than ninety years old. Their functions include healing, weather control, divination and accompanying the dead. Another important function of Ul’chi shamans which is very much alive today is that of caring for the souls of young children. Several women told me that there is a special shaman who keeps her children’s soul safe in a place unknown even to the parents (N. Duvan, M. Dechuli). Some say shamans can be dangerous in that they can take people’s souls to themselves to lengthen their own lives (M. Dechuli).

The shamanic call is hereditary and is accompanied by illness. Beyond this, according to artist Kolia U, the first prerequisite for a shaman is a good musical ear, the second – knowledge.

One of the best-known Ul’chi shamans is Sophia Anga of Bulava. People consult her for divination and for healing a variety of ills. She is also good at finding lost objects and people. In a dramatic instance a few years ago, the police consulted Anga about a small boy who had gone missing. Unfortunately the boy was dead when he was found – in precisely the circumstances Anga had described.

Chana Marfan, a woman perhaps twenty years younger than Anga’s 85, described the experience of being healed by Anga, the only shaman she trusts. “Anga is old but has not lost her spirits,” she says.

But first Chana described her earliest memory of a shaman.

“When I was very little, a shaman came from another village to make things better. She walked all the way around the village, gathering people, wearing wood streamers and the shaman’s belt. Many of the most respected people had known she was coming in advance and made the streamers. All gathered and held on, one behind the other. She walked and sometimes ran. I held on to the leather strap at the very end, being small. I was interested. I fell down and then got up and ran again. The shaman knew it. Either someone told her, or she just knew it. They prepared marsh rosemary, cups of water, poured it onto our house. She sat down to shamanize. She was brought there for a special

purpose. She said my spirit had been taken – she breathed it back in at the top of my head. It was a cold feeling, as if my skull opened up. I'll never forget it. It happened long ago, before my first menstruation. I'll never forget it."

When Chana married, the husband's family came and took her away in a boat. She had all her things packed in a trunk, including Chinese silk. She wants parts of that trunk to be included in her grave, in spite of the fact that much of it has rotted.

Chana's oldest daughter Katia sat with us listening. After Katia's birth there followed sixteen years when all Chana's babies died. Shaman Anga said, "You should not call this man papa but uncle." Anga came to the pregnant Chana just before birth. She discovered that the souls of the children had been stolen, and she breathed them back into the mother's head. She flew away to find them. Then the mother had to keep her head covered for several days. After that, five more live children were born. Again Chana described the sensation of the skull opening and the cold feeling as the shaman breathed the souls back in. Although divorce was unusual at that time, Chana later divorced her husband because he drank.

Our next step was to talk with Anga herself. We found her alone at her house. First she divined the answers to some of our personal questions by asking her "god," a wooden figure that looks either like a person with wings or like a bird. Other figures look like snakes and tigers. The figure used for divination is suspended on a leather string and moves in response to questions put by Anga. Before asking the questions she breathed tobacco smoke onto the figure.

After this, she told us about her ancestry.

"Mama was a Yakut. I am a Yakut daughter, not pure Giliak.¹ There were many sheat-fish.² People were killing them. She (my ancestor) was scared. She looked out. 'What is making the noise?' That sheat-fish, waving his tail, came over the threshold. She's scared. There was war with Japan at that time. The men in her family had been killed. She was alone. She has no fire-wood, no water. She wants to eat but is scared to go out. She dozes and then the fish says, 'Don't be scared. I came so that we could be husband and wife.' She's

¹ It is not certain why she uses the term Giliak, which is the old name of the Nivkh people. We later confirmed that her mother was Yakut and her father Ul'chi.

² Sheat-fish (Russian *som*). A large fresh-water catfish, *Silurus glanis*, of Eurasia.

scared. She has no water and wants to eat. All day she went hungry. He was still there, blocking the threshold. 'All right,' he says, 'step over me, bring wood and water, cook and eat.' She dozes again and he says, 'Eat and lie down to sleep. I came so you will be my wife.' She went to sleep and when she woke up a man was there. She gave birth to a son. That fish stayed in the form of a human being. So they lived and lived together. Then one day he said, 'We'll go somewhere far away, along the Amur. We've lived here and we still don't know how people live on the Amur. Let's go and live there. Our children will grow up.' They arrived and gave birth to my mother's mother – and me. I am a Yakut. That's how it is.

My mama told me that story one time. We were little then. Now giving birth is easy. You don't have to go anywhere, (to a special birth hut). My mama couldn't rest. In those days you gave birth and three days later went fishing. Our grandfather was an old man and brought us up. This day we went across the Amur in a boat. We children were crying. There was a sheat-fish there, big and shining. We saw one boat turn over. My grandfather said, 'That's not a boat but a fish-person. They swallow boats.' At that time mama had not told us the story of her ancestor Again, a little later, we saw one of the fish. My sister-in-law was Nanai, she said, 'Is that a motorboat or not?' We were on our way to Mongol village, because my cousin's sister had died. 'Oh, what a boat!' she said. 'No, it's not a boat but a sheat-fish. They swallow boats,' said my grandfather. I ran away. We went to a dry place and sat there waiting. We didn't know what to do. We threw all our cigarettes into the water, until none were left. We sat. He was this big! Then he dove and was gone. We waited. I was pale as pale. Mama said, 'What is the matter? Are you sick?' I told what I had seen and then mama told me the story of how we were born. 'You need to pray to the god,' she said. We arrived safely and mama said, 'Pray to the god'."

Our next visit to Anga followed a lengthy search for a bottle of vodka for her spirits, difficult to find on a rainy Sunday. This time she took out her drum and put on her belt and a headdress made of wood shavings. She drummed and sang a prayer for good weather and for the health and happiness of the children. And so that there will be many shamans in the future. "Let the rain go away a little. How can we feed the children if everything rots in the gardens? Let's have sun." Anga sings right into the back of the drum. She waves the front flaps of her robe to clear the weather. She says it is impossible to drum without singing. She uses two sets of wood shavings, waving them in front of the client, to determine whether or not she will be able to shamanize for them. At the end of her

drumming she takes off the heavy belt and hits herself over the back with it, crossing both shoulders. This is to cleanse herself. Although the belt is very heavy she says it does not hurt. The drum has been passed down from her grandfather to her father to her, but now she is not certain whom to pass it to.

The next day the weather cleared up. Anga then told us how she became a shaman. I had heard this story before, in the summer of 1994 in the US, as told by Anga's neighbor Nadezhda Duvan.

"At the age of nineteen Anga saw several dreams. In them her father taught her to be a shaman. In her childhood she had dreamed several times that she was living with the tiger. She gave birth to three baby tigers but wouldn't agree to raise them and instead gave them to the tiger (father). When she was grown up, again she had the dream of living with the tiger and this time she gave birth to two baby tigers. She kept them with her. During journeys she now rides on the tigers. Her helping spirit is *Duse*, the flying tiger. It (its image) has wings and a person on the back with the face of a bear. She goes through the lower, middle, and upper worlds.

At twenty years of age, she dreamed of flying to the lower world, over the ocean. There were seven mountains with fire burning. The tiger came to her and became her spirit, holding her there. To get free she got help from her grandmother, a shaman, who helped bring her spirit back. After that she stopped getting sick. To get to the upper world she goes through the larch tree, she goes through the clouds. She sees an opening. Around the opening are seven girls with mallets in their hands. There is a huge space and an idol the size of a house. This idol is a Manchu god.

Anga suffered from ages nine to seventeen. She was very sick but had to see it through. She stopped getting sick after her grandmother-shaman helped her to escape. Ever since that time the spirits have forced her to drum."

Listening to Duvan, I had interpreted this story as happening in another reality – as a vision. The story as Anga told it to us in her own home now was much the same but the response was different. Since I had heard the story before I listened with anticipation but without surprise. My partner, on the other hand, was truly astonished, and questioned many points. We were looking at a woolen wall-hanging in the image of the tiger on her wall. Anga explained that the tiger shows her how to make amulets of hay.

NK: Do you dream of the tiger?

A: The tiger helps me when shamanizing. This tiger husband came along the road. Long ago. He was so big. He comes up in front of the door and looks in. He went until he came to a village by Marinsk, to the very end of the village and then up. The tiger came to a house and made his own separate house. "Why don't you go on?" they asked. He went around the house three times and then went on. He came here, but we were all covered with deep snow. That's why he made his house separately in the taiga. He crossed three mountains to come here. There was deep water, like a well. He washed off all the dirt. He washed three times and after the third time he was shining. When I was little the tiger slept with me. He was like a big fur coat! I slept like the dead. I didn't tell mama. My father scared the tiger and he ran away. My father said, "She will be a shaman." He made a wooden tiger, and shamanized. "The tiger scratched you, that's why you cried," he said. I got pregnant. I came to the place where there was nobody, just some old woman I met there. I cursed. Three tiger babies were born. I was mad and threw them right at the tiger. "I don't need these, I need my own." The tiger took them away.

NK: Is this true?

A: Yes. Again I got pregnant. He came at night. I had two tiger babies. One sat on each of my knees and they put their paws on my shoulders. They wanted to suck my breasts – one here and one here. This time I said, "I won't give you these. Go away." He went away.

NK: Where did the tiger babies go?

A: They are alive, they help me.

NK: Are they in the taiga?

A: They are here with me. You don't see them?

NK: No.

A: I see them.

NK: Do you have human children?

A: No, I can't.

NK: Do you have grandchildren?

A: Probably, but you shouldn't ask too much about shaman's business!... Another time I saw a dream. I was hunting and went far away. I came to a place where there were two houses close together. I had to decide which one to go into. I went into one and there dishes were set out, the kind you use for placing food and praying to the god. There was one wooden god there. I looked at her. Then I turned and when I looked back she was crying. A baby tiger was running there.

Conversation continued on the subject of tigers. Anga told this story about her grandfather.

“My mother’s father was out hunting. One day he came back to the hunting tent and found a female tiger there. He was about to shoot but didn’t. He put down his gun. He dozed and then slept. The tiger spoke to him, ‘I am a tiger woman. Lay down with me and sleep. I will live with you. Eat what is in the bowl.’ He ate, gave the bowl back, and slept. They lived as husband and wife. He lived with her for three years. She said, ‘Take all your traps.’ She showed him how to set them near the house. In the morning he cleaned them out and they were always full. He came there in the fall, lived through the winter and in the spring set off to go home. When he left, she told him not to wear a certain pair of boots that had been made for him in his absence. ‘They have a bad smell. If you wear them I will take you away completely,’ she said. He went home, but he forgot what she had said. He put the boots on and died. They found marks on his body that looked like a tiger. The head and tail coming around his waist, like a sore in the shape of a tiger.

My mother’s brothers were heroes. They always filled the house with furs. So I had heroes in the family.”

Anga also told us a legend in which a hero took revenge on his enemies, aided by a woman with two faces, one like the sun and the other like the moon.

That evening we discussed Anga’s stories with Mado Dechuli. Is it possible that a human woman really married a tiger and gave birth to tiger children? Mado thinks it is possible, although it could also be a vision. She tells about another female shaman she knew, who now lives in another village. In her childhood this woman had two sisters who disappeared into the taiga for several months. When they came back they looked completely healthy and well. They got right to work, sewing and embroidering wedding clothes. They said they were leaving for good. The father cried. When they were ready, they took their things and left the house. The little girl watched through a needle hole in the fish skin window as they walked toward the woods. She saw two big tigers come out. The girls got on their backs and disappeared. That little girl grew up to be a powerful shaman – she is the one people consult most often today when something really serious happens.

Marriage with tigers is being entertained as a real possibility, not a vision. It seems all the more possible in Anga’s case because she has no human children. There are also stories of such things happening with bears.

Bulava's other practicing shaman is Misha Duvan. He is in his nineties, from a long line of shamanic ancestry. Some say he is losing contact with his spirits now, but he still enjoys great respect among his people. In 1995 he came to the United States and conducted workshops with his granddaughter Nadezhda Duvan. The previous year Nanai shaman Mingo Geiker made a similar voyage.

Grandfather Misha, as he is known to Americans, performed rituals to fire, to a tree, to the sunrise, to water, while Nadezhda explained details of Ul'chi culture including the bear ceremony, household rituals, reverence for twins and their mother. She also taught dances and musical rhythms. While these events are fascinating for North Americans interested in alternative healing methods, the results for the shamans themselves are questionable. Both shamans got sick and remained ill for some time after returning home. Misha was unable to call his spirits in America because the spirits of the land where the workshops took place did not permit it. Here we must remember that it is thought that Misha is also having a hard time calling his spirits at home owing to his age. He was also evidently distressed over conducting rituals in a way that was not completely correct, far away from home. Although in Washington state, Mingo Geiker said she had called her spirits, people at home said they did not come to her there.

While there is no definite proof that Ul'chi or other shamans cannot call spirits so far from home, the most common opinion I have heard expressed up and down the Amur is that it would be better to send specialists who can acquaint Americans with the culture, rather than to send shamans themselves, especially since most of the shamans are so old and their health is delicate. At this time, when the older shamans are being actively consulted for their stores of cultural knowledge as well as their healing ability, it is not considered wise to take risks with them. This of course comes into conflict with the North American desire to participate, rather than simply learning about things like shamanism.

Shamanic culture in Bulava is alive not only in the practice of shamanism itself but in art, storytelling and daily rituals. Woodcarvers like Kolia U makes amulets, ceremonial dishes and carves traditional designs on new buildings. In 1992 the bear ceremony was celebrated for the first time since 1937. People keep household *sevens*, (amulets or protectors) and teach their children the ritual of leaving food for the spirits when leaving the house. Twins and their mothers are treated with special rever-

ence. Children learn embroidery and carving from their parents and teachers. Most of these customs have survived intact, others have been revived.

Shamans are not the only ones who can divine answers to questions. Almost every elderly woman we visited was willing to find the answers to questions regarding love, family, future success. Most use the pendulum technique – a wooden figure suspended on a leather thong moves in response to the question as put by the diviner. She then interprets the answer to the questioner.

Parallel to Anga's stories there are many tales of tigers in the Amur region, true stories, legends and magic tales. Some Nanai clans trace their ancestry to the tiger. Legends tell of women who married tigers and gave birth to human children who were the creators of new clans. In Bulava I heard a tale often told by the Nivkh and similar to the story of Anga's grandfather. In it a young boy out hunting with his father saves the life of a tiger. The tiger in turn shows him how to be a good hunter, bringing him a wealth of sable skins (N.V. Munina). Thus the tiger is involved not only in the initiation of shamans but also of hunters.

Other Ul'chi tales told in Bulava parallel Anga's story of the sheat-fish. Two brothers married swan-girls who came into their home to help them. Another tale tells of a young man who married a *taimen* (fish) and saved her life (A.A. Kavda). In another variation on the relations between people and fish and animals, a woman throws her sister's child into the river where he is brought up by fish. The mother herself is healed by a goat who then reunites the family (Ycha). Some of these stories are long and episodic, moving from one location to another as if moving along the river. Artist Kolia U thinks this episodic flow also relates to the process of *kamlanie* – the stories move as if following the shaman on the journey. In the past many stories were very long – special respect was accorded those who could tell all night long, in the poetic language of story.

In spite of economic and social difficulties, traditional culture is lively in the Ul'chi rayon. Holidays are celebrated, parties organized to give the older people a chance to take up their drums and play. Last year a wedding was celebrated in the traditional way for the first time in many years. Although the bear ceremony was not a complete success, parts of it will be celebrated again in the future. Great care is taken in the education of children. Ul'chi shamans are vital to the health of their people, not

only in the instances of specific healings, but in their knowledge of the old ways.

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Catherine U. Kóhalmi's Reply to R.A. Miller's
Criticism Concerning her Review of R.A. Miller
and Nelly Naumann's Book, *Altjapanisch
FaFuri*

CATHERINE U. KÓHALMI

BUDAPEST

I reviewed R.A. Miller's and Nelly Naumann's (1991) joint work, *Altjapanisch FaFuri. Zu Priestertum und Schamanismus im vorbuddhistischen Japan*, in the first issue of the new journal *Shaman. Journal of the International Society for Shamanistic Research*. The first author, an old friend and colleague of mine, published a slashing criticism of my review in the same journal (Miller and Naumann 1995). Several deadlines have prevented me from answering in detail sooner. Now, having at last had a chance to get out their book again, which is packed thickly with my marginal notes, I realized immediately that Miller was right in criticizing me at several points—especially concerning the third paragraph of my review. In this passage I wished to summarize briefly what Altaists have written about the presumed words **pabra* < **papra* < **pap*, 'witchcraft, sorcery', together with Miller's supplementary Mongol and Tunguz data, as well as the recommended extension of the etymology with Korean and Japanese correspondences. The list ended with his assumption that the Altaic word can be traced back to the borrowing of the Chinese *fa*, 'law, magic' (12–43). Most regrettably, my inattention and the repeated rewriting and copying of the text (and possibly the mischief of evil hobgoblins) mutilated the sentences, making them meaningless in places. Miller's comments on this passage are perfectly justified. My conduct admits of no excuse, and I apologize.

The rest of the book describes the activity and functions of the old Japanese priestly person of *FaFuri* and offers analogies to the semantic transformation and development of 'law, etc.' > 'magic'. Another mis-

print slipped in at this point: in the third paragraph on page 60 my last two sentences came to be maimed and united.

Having admitted and acknowledged that much, however, I still cannot accept two cardinal statements of Miller–Naumann's work.

1. If there should be an ancient Altaic group of words centring around **pap*, 'sorcery', it still seems unjustified to me to derive it from the Chinese *fa*, 'law'. In my view the semantic analogies are far-fetched, not verifying the evolution of the meanings, e.g. of the Greek *νομος*. The analogies are, thus, not convincing. It also needs to be asked whether, at the time of Altaic linguistic unity, society was so developed as to require a term denoting 'law' and, if it was, why it should have borrowed a word from a region as distant as China was at the time. Quite different is the case of the Manchu *fafun*, 'law' (84–5). The adoption of the Chinese *fa*, 'id.', and its spread in the languages of the southern branch is quite clear and obvious (Tsintsius 1975–77. II:299b), but it could not have taken place before the Jurchen Chin Dynasty at the earliest, i.e. prior to the thirteenth century, since it was at that time—and I share Pelliot's views at this point—that these tribes were united in a state organization with its own laws within the Chinese cultural sphere. However, it is more likely that the borrowing is to be dated to the emergence of Manchu domination, which is also confirmed by the Solon data. The Solons belonged to the Manchu Empire after the seventeenth century. Being an ethnographer and historian, the questions of "where" and "when" are of salient importance to me, unable to observe linguistic facts outside time and space. Another semantic problem is that the words related to shamanic activity are generally connected to the concepts of 'knowledge, narration, memory', or 'singing, dance' in the related and neighbouring languages rather than to magic, the latter mostly concluded by European transcribers in their interpretations.

2. I am not convinced of the shamanic nature of the Japanese priest *FaFuri*. His demonstrated functions characterize not only shamans but more or less all priestly persons from the 'medicine men' of primitive peoples to the charismatic founders of fashionable sects today. The equivalence or alliance of spirits with Siberian shamans, and their being selected and initiated by spirits, seem to be completely missing from the set of information about *FaFuri*. In my view the *FaFuri* was not a shaman. That does not mean to say that it was not a very ancient ritual personage, with possible correspondences among neighbouring or more

remote, linguistically or culturally close peoples. Despite the widely entertained view, there were ritual persons besides shamans, and not every ritual activity counted among the duties of the shaman. The presentation of the sacrifice was also mainly the job of the head of the clan. Offering a sacrifice itself cannot be derived from hunting rituals, from giving a treat to the game.

I am sorry that we hold such widely different views about the ancient culture of Altaic peoples. That I could not receive the authors' work with understanding cannot be attributed to incompetence at reading as my mother tongue is German. The reason must be that their more conservative stance, resting on the data of Shirokogoroff and Harva, reconstructs a world presumed to be typical of the Altaic hunting peoples that is different from the one I have formed from a reading of folklore texts.

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Book Reviews

A.F. ANISIMOV. *Kosmologische Vorstellungen der Völker Nordasiens. Übers. aus dem russischen von Klaus E. Müller. Studia Eurasia. Bd. II. Reinhold Schletzer Verlag. ISBN 3-921539-31-5. Hamburg 1991. 122 p.*

Schletzer of Hamburg is publishing with praiseworthy consistency works devoted to the religious ethnography of Siberian peoples that were first published in the Soviet era and are hence fairly inaccessible for west European scholars. These books comprise a wealth of data collected by expeditions since the 1930s. The data and observations are useful even if they are at times clad in thick ideological attire, and their terminology is also modeled on Soviet patterns of the time. The present volume also epitomizes that—as the translator warns in the preface—Anisimov's work is characterized by an adamantly ideological approach, his valuable data serving as illustration, as it were, to his argumentation verifying the Marxist historical approach.

Let us now see what information can be gained from the work. Although the title mentions the ethnic groups of northern Asia, Anisimov notes in the introduction that he relied chiefly on Evenki (Tunguz) material. The chapters of the books are, essentially, loosely connected essays. The first chapter is entitled *The Cosmological Ideas of the Evenki and Gilyak*. In it, the author discusses the myths concerned with the three layers of the world and the spirits of the sky. He devotes ample space to variants of the myth of the celestial hunt associated with Charles Wain, Ursa Major, to the spirits of ancestors and to the tree of the world. All this he compares to social development.

Chapter two is entitled *Totemism and Shamanism*. Here Anisimov discusses the tree of the world—the tree of shamanic ideas—and the natural tutelary spirits, with emphasis on the spirit of mother earth, as well as the totemic ancestors, the bear and the tiger, related to it. Chapter 3, *Genealogy, Totemism and Cosmology*, continues with the explication of the totemic ancestors, but, on the basis of available data, he recon-

structs a dualistic marriage structure of dual phratry among the Evenki, similar to the Ob-Ugrians and some Samoyed tribes. He embarks upon the world of the dead, which he envisages as matriarchal, in contrast to the patriarchy of the world of the living.

The fourth and last chapter bears the title *Cosmology and Mythology*. Anisimov starts out from the raven myth of the Kamchadal and the Eskimo, but he also presents Aleut and Chukchi sun myths. He regards them as attempts by people of prehistoric society to explain the phenomena of nature.

One cannot praise the translator enough for attaching a bibliography to every chapter. Finally, let it be stated separately that the translation is very good and the text clear and fluid. Regrettably, however, the spelling of ethnic names is not always consistent.

BUDAPEST

CATHERINE U. KÓHALMI

Formen und Funktion mündlicher Tradition. Vorträge eines Akademiesymposiums in Bonn, Juli 1993. Hrsg. Walther Heissig. Abh. der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Bd. 95. Westdeutscher Verl. Opladen 1995. 233 p.

Folk poetry has always been an important source for research into shamanism. The volume under review also has several implications that will be pointed out below. The illustrious professor emeritus of the *Zentralasiatisches Institut* of the University of Bonn, Walther Heissig, has organized several interesting meetings for the discussion of the epic tradition or, as most recently, of the epic works in orally disseminated folklore. These conferences always approach the material very widely, in terms ranging from the oldest classical historical tradition to today's world dominated by electronic media. The conference, supported by the Academy of Rhine-Westphalia, was held in 1993. The volume considered here contains the papers presented at that meeting.

A.Th. Hatto (*Ethnopoetik: Traum oder Möglichkeit*) tackles on a broad basis the difficulties of defining the genres of oral poetry, offering criteria for an easier classification. Lauri Honko (*Problems of Oral and Semi-Literary Epics*) attempts to define the importance of epic in the cultural identity of the people, together with the ritualness of epic works and the specificities of ritual texts. He also considers the significance of the tunes associated with ritual texts. He describes experiments with epic singers, and finally embarks on the interaction of literary and oral texts, with special regard to the great epic poems of world literature. His argument also applies to the problems of shamanistic texts in general. Ch. Seydou (*Epopées et africaines: formes et fonction*) acquaints the reader with the living tradition of epic singing in Africa, together with its territorial spread, music, structure, manner of performance, forms and external influences. S. Steinbrich (*Erzählungen und Mythen in Afrika*) discusses the social importance of epic and mythical texts, together with their multiple semantic fields and the migration of episodes across ethnic and cultural frontiers. Epic poems offer an outlet for social tensions as they express in a poetic form the vital problems of the given ethnicity. She also examines the rituality of texts and the correlation of sacred and profane wordings. R. Schott (*Formen und Funktionen mündlicher Tradition bei den Bulsa in Nordghana*) presents a detailed picture of the genres, forms, functions and themes in the studied area. J. Untermann (*Linguistische Bemerkungen zu epischer Dichtung im alten Europa und Indien*) addresses the characteristics of poetic language in ancient Greek and Indian epic poems. C. Vogel (*Bonner Vorarbeiten zur indischen*

Epik) gives a brief preview of planned researches. Aditya Malik (*Mündliche Epen und Volkskulte in Rajasthan: Tod der Helden—Geburt der Götter*) explicates the forms, contents and performing style of epic poems in Rajasthan, as well as their embeddedness in the world of folk beliefs and the cults of local deities. K. Sagaster (*Mündliche epische Tradition in Westtibet [Baltistan]*) introduces the epic literature of this highly intriguing cultural and religious border area where Moslem and Buddhist cultures and Arabic and Tibetan literacy clash directly. By way of an example, he presents the local variants of the Keshar epic. H.-J. Klimkeit (*Wanderwege iranisch und türkisch vermittelter Erzählmotive in Zentralasien*) traces the role of Nestorianism, Manichaeism, Buddhism and Islam in the migration of certain epic and mythic motives throughout Eurasia. E. Taube (*Formen und Funktionen mündlicher Traditionen bei den Tuwinern im Altai*) summarizes the epic genres of the Tuvan minority in Mongolia and their relations with Mongol and Kazakh oral poetry. K. Reichl (*Epos als Ereignis: Bemerkungen zum Vortrag der zentralasiatischen Turkepen*) analyses the living performance of epic works, including the interplay between performer and audience, the suggestiveness of the performance, the typical modes of performance and tunes among Turkic peoples and the interrelations between songs, shamanic songs and magic tunes. W. Heissig (*Neue Epic: Rückkehr zum Prosimetrum in der semi-orale mongolischen Volksliteratur*) directs attention to the spread of prosimetric performance among present-day and ancient Mongolians, also touching on the influence of the Chinese novel. J. Bäcker (*Mündliche Überlieferung schamaischer Mythen—die Weltschöpfungsmythe der Mandschu*) deals with the interrelation between sacrificial rites, tribal sites of sacrifice and myths among the Manchu, examining their historical background and myths as stories of the genesis of gods. He also details the circumstances of recording the myth of creation. H. Fischer (*Oralität in der totalen Mediengesellschaft*) demonstrates the forms of orality and literacy in our present-day society, the narrative customs of children and adults, anecdotes and jokes.

The volume's variety and richness of thought and contents will certainly provoke scores of new ideas—thanks for its publication.

BUDAPEST

CATHERINE U. KÖHALMI

MIHÁLY HOPPÁL. *Schamanen und Schamanismus*. 1994. Augsburg: Pattloch. 187 p. with 235 illustrations.

Eureka—here is the book on shamanism that I have always wished to possess. It is probably no surprise that its author should be the well-known President of the International Society for Shamanistic Research, Mihály Hoppál. No other scholar can match the range of his knowledge of shamans and shamanism, and—not to forget archival sources—of records, pictures and photographs from the earliest studies to modern times.

Schamanen und Schamanismus is a magnificent picturebook of shamans in action, of shamanic drums, and of symbolic elements such as drum paintings, dress ornaments, shamanic trees and sculptures of guardian spirits. No less valuable are the wonderful pictures from the first centuries of European artistic interest in shamanism (although, strangely, the chapter title “Pictures from the 18th and 19th Centuries” overlooks the fine reproductions of 17th century illustrations).

This is the first book to be published that draws on the rich pictorial record of shamanism, and it has already become a desirable standard work. The illustrations are well reproduced, the paper is of the highest quality and the text is most informative. In his foreword, Bernhard Meuser rightly praises the author’s achievement. Hoppál’s recording activities demanded not only extensive journeys among shamanic tribes of Northern Eurasia but also literary research, in winter clothes, in the freezing temperatures of the archives of Russian ethnographic institutes!

Hoppál’s introduction provides a useful survey of shamanism for all, not least for the general reader who wishes to delve deeper into the subject. The main phenomena of shamanism are here pedagogically defined—with the author’s reservation that there is no universally accepted definition of shamanism. Hoppál emphasises that all the illustrative material relates to the northern and central parts of Eurasia since this is the classical area of shamanism. As we know, this judgment is quite correct, for nowhere else does shamanism dominate religion to the same extent. Hoppál also draws a boundary-line at modern urban shamanism, which, as he states, is worth a picturebook of its own.

Our main attention must, of course, be given to the great picture gallery presented in the book. All the famous and classical pictures appear here. It is apparent that the author is very familiar with the pictures, the photographers and the context of the photographs. My only reservations arise from the presentation of some of this material. By some unfortunate oversight the figure captions are numbered but the figures

themselves are not. This occasionally causes difficulties for the reader. On page 132, for instance, it is not easy to determine which drum is described in which caption. In fact it appears that the drums depicted on this page have been inverted. On page 27, the picture of the road to the other world does not include the figures 35 and 36 which are mentioned in the text. In this connection I should also point out that the drum on page 143, number 194 A, appears to be not Euroasiatic but South American, from the Mapuche tribe (Schindler 1988:64).

These shortcomings are the exception, however, and do not diminish the value of this interesting work. The author offers many instructive ideas concerning shamanic equipment. The fantastic footgear of the Tungusian shaman in Nicolaus Witsen's 17th century drawing is thus seen as testimony to the theriomorphic experience of a contemporary Western observer of shamanism—a most probable suggestion. Hoppál furthermore points to a connection between East Asiatic sacred kingship and the shaman whose crown reminds us of those of the Manchu and Korean sacred kings (Figs. 128, 173 f.). Other pictures point in the same direction, for example Figs. 13, 88, 151, 152 (cf. also Fig. 175). Here it could also be mentioned that the bird shamans enjoy the privilege of wearing feathers on top of the head (Figs. 84 and 85, 153, 154 and 155) and leather fringes on their shirts (Figs. 130, 131, 133). This custom of dressing recurs in the Americas among Red Indians, in particular among individuals who have been blessed with visions of guardian spirits. Hoppál also convincingly demonstrates the prominent place of Uranian symbols on the shaman's drums (cf., for example, Fig. 133).

This is an indispensable book for every shamanologist and for all those interested in shamanic art. I recommend it highly, and consider that it should be published in other languages as well—English, French and Russian, and why not Chinese and Japanese? When a new edition is prepared one hopes that some errors will be corrected, such as the missing note 24 of the first chapter and the reference to Finsch, the outstanding traveller of the end of the last century, as 'Fisch' (page 55).

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ROY ANDREW MILLER und NELLY NAUMANN. *Altaische schamanistische Termini im Japanischen*. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e. V. MOAG. Vol. 121. ISBN 3-928463-56-X. Hamburg. 1994. 195 p.

Four well-known key-words of Turkic and Mongolian shamanism and their affinities are discussed in this handy book. The four sacred terms are Mongolian *iduyan*, mainly ‘shamaness’, Turkic *qut* ‘happiness, bliss; soul’ (with Mongolian *qutuy* ‘bliss’, Evenki ‘happiness, prosperity; soul’), Mongolian *böge* ‘shaman’ (with Turkic *bögü* ‘wise’), and Turkic *qām* ‘shaman’. The authors compare these words and their available and possible cognates in all the “continental” Altaic languages (including here Korean) with four Old Japanese terms: *ita-* (New Japanese *itakolitiko*, Ryūkyū *yuta*) ‘shamaness’, *-kötö* ‘*soul, vigour’, and **wükä* < *ukë* ‘*shaman’ (reconstructed form Old Japanese *ukë-F-* ‘to await the manifestation of an event/thing as a divine revelation’) and *kami* ‘god, deity’, respectively. They find these four comparisons show genetic relationship and hold that Old Japanese had all these key-words that are only partially preserved in the other languages concerned.

The book contains an Introduction (11–24); four sections, each focusing on one term: Old Japanese *ita-* (25–63), *-kötö* (63–121), *ukë-F-* (122–134), and *kami* (134–147); a Summary (148–157), an ample Bibliography (158–173), a Vocabulary of the words discussed and the Index of names and notions (174–195).

Although the book is built of hypotheses, conjectures and courageous proposals inspired by the authors’ ardent belief in the genetic relationship of the “inner and outer” Altaic languages, it is rich in valuable details and challenging ideas.

0.12–0.17: discussing the alleged origin the Tunguz *samân* ‘shaman’ connected with Sanskrit *śramaṇa* ‘ascetic; mendicant or itinerant monk’ (Mongolian *šabi* ‘disciple’ < Uyghur < Middle Chinese << Sanskrit), the authors refuse Juha Janhunen’s critique of this brave etymology revived by Karl Menges. They also reject what they call Janhunen’s “absurd postulation” in which Japanese *itako* appears as a Mongolian loanword.

From 1.07 on, Miller and Naumann state that *ita* is the older form as attested in the medieval expressions *kamuyori’ ita* in a Man’yōshū song, *kamiyori’ ita* in one of Fujiwara Motoshi’s poems, *kami.no yori’ ita* in

another by Minamoto Michichika, and *ita.no* in Saigyô's verses as well as passages in Jien's *Gukanshō* (about *miko*, a temple maiden, *Yoka.no ita*), and in the 12th century *Hōgen monogatari* with further names containing the term *ita* (otherwise a case of paronomasia, as the word also means 'a (cedar) board'). The context suggests that the term refers to a human being, despite some later Japanese opinions commenting *ita* as a cedar board used as a musical instrument. Possible connection with Korean *it-* 'good; excellent, wonderful, strange' (1.29) and with Old Turkic *ïduq* 'sacred' < 'sent, i.e. dedicated, to God' (1.30), a term also used in the ancient custom of consecrating domesticated animals, setting them free by a vow (quoting Clauson 1972 on this custom, cf. also 1.45 [for the same notion, at least from the late 16th century on, the Mongols have been using *seter* < Tibetan *tshe-thar*]). Now Japanese *itu* 'majestic, holy, etc.' (1.32–) brings nearer *ita* to the Turkic word. "Lyman's Law" explains how *t* replaced intervocalic **d* (1.43). Here S.A. Starostin, another Japano-Altaicist, also receives due critique (52–53, notes 38–40). Quoted are Proto-Altaic **baga* 'young' and Old Japanese *waka* 'id.' (Mongolian has *baya* 'little', cf. Kitan *b.q.* 'son'), see again 3.05; Proto-Altaic **gädä* 'rear', Old Japanese *kita* 'north' and New Japanese *ketu* 'buttocks' (cf. Mongolian *gedergü* 'back' and Turkic *köte* 'buttocks', historically not necessarily compatible words) etc. with Proto-Altaic **gu.gun* '3x3' (actually this witty idea, modelled after Mongolian *ᠵᠢᠷᠠᠨ* 'six', *ᠵᠢᠷᠢᠨ* 'two' and *ᠶᠤᠷᠪᠠᠨ* 'three', deserves more than one asterisk; see also 2.07, 73, *kökō-nō*-) and Old Japanese *kökō*- 'nine', vs. Starostin's reconstruction **k'ekV*. The authors refuse the Chinese etymology of Korean *mudang* 'shaman' (though Chinese *tang* 'hall' also appears in Sino-Korean compounds as a honorific element; they do not deny, however, the possibility of Haguenaer's "bilingual" explanation from Chinese **mīu* and "Altaic" *udayan*, while they seem to prefer Shiratori's idea to see this word as a deverbal noun, *mūt-/mûl-* 'to ask/inquire' + *-ang*, cf. *nolang* 'yellow paint' < *nolū-* 'to be yellow'. They rightly admit that hitherto no *nomen actoris* of his kind is registered (59). The rest of section 1 deals with the "inner" Altaic forms of **iduyan*, quoting Albert Dien's 8th-century Kitan **ituyan* (perhaps *itoyan*) and Tabgach **iduyan* (I wonder if it is not **etügen*), etc. Early Russian records of Buryat *-t-* have less value than that of an Arabic written source, as a Buryat semivoiced stop is often perceived by Russian ears as a non-aspirated voiceless one. Johannes de Plano Carpi-

ni's famous *Itoga* may be due to a confusion of *etügen/ötügen* (cf. also *načiyai*) 'mother earth' and *iduğan* 'shamaness' (there is no great chance here to have the meaning 'male shaman' which is only known for Daur *yadağan*). Ibn Muhannā's *yth'n* = *yatahan* (?) 'magician' (normally *yilvičin/yelvičin* > *ilbičin*; here the *y*-form is older) seems to be an aberrant *hapax* (cf. some other errors in Ibn Muhennā: *b'ry* for 'ys'ry = *iseri* 'chair', or *ārḥāya'dur*, read *ör čaiqudu* 'at dawn'); there is no cognate word in the *Muqaddimat al-'adab*. Otherwise we badly need a new edition of these sources, possibly with a facsimile. The authors rightly decline two other etymologies: one that tried to connect *uduğan* with Turkic *öt* 'fire', and another attempt identifying *iduğan* with *etügen* 'mother earth' (once this latter word has also been compared with Mongolian *ütügen* 'vulva', though its Middle Mongolian initial *h-* is only one of the difficulties of the idea). It remains unsolved if the Mongol word is a loan from Turkic *ıduq* (like Mongolian *eljigen* and Turkic *ešek* 'donkey', or a diminutive *ıduq* + *qan* > *ıduqan* > *ıduğan*, cf. in *sayıqan, keüken*, but it would be a forced move to quote dialectal parallels where this *-k-* became voiced) or it is a deverbal noun.

Similar passionate search for common Altaic origins and complex approach involving phonetic, literary and cultural history characterize the other three sections of the book.

Section 2 concentrates on the phonetical history of Middle Korean *kut/kus* (its alternating final), and the semantics of Old Japanese *-kötö* in *mī-kötö* and in (*mī*)*kötö-nöri*. The last mentioned element is identified with Tunguz **türê-* 'to speak'. Here the authors also revisit the ancient riddle of the Sino-Xiongnu sentence and vote for reading **kutu* || Turkic (*tengri*) *qut*.

2.34(2) 96, note 55, on common Altaic numerals 2–4 in the terminology of the Korean *yuč*, a kind of astragalus-game (cf. Mongolian *siyai*): *kai, köl, yuč* are compared here with Mongolian *qoyar, yurban, dörben* Proto-Altaic **dör* (with long vowel), Middle Korean *nöi(s)nök/töi* (**d* > *n*) before *r*). This requires as much painful exercises as linking Mongolian **daluyan* > *doluyan* 'seven' with Tunguz *nadan* through metathesis and *l/n* alternation (as proposed by Omeljan Pritsak in the *Ikegami Festschrift*). Evenki *hurugun* etc. 'thumb, finger' is rather a cognate to Mongolian *quruyun* 'finger' than to Middle Mongolian *heregei, Mongolian erekei* 'thumb' (2.46).

There is certainly some danger in using subjective labels in our attempts to define the affinity or the phonological features of scarcely documented dead languages (see 2.58, 115). But labels (e.g. "agglutinative", "Altaic", etc.) can be useful if used with caution. If someone knows the relevant facts about Kitan, one may rightly understand Paul Pelliot's label "strongly palatalized Mongol". It seems that the available data suggest a vowel system with secondary front vowels (like in Oirat in the west and in Khorchin in the east), and secondary $\check{s} < s$ before $*i$. Now Mongol means here a sort of Ancient Mongolic, an agglutinative language that has some clearly Mongolic words with *taul* 'hare' (Turkic *tabišyan*) – and a good many unidentified morphemes beyond some identifiable Tunguz elements. And probably this "Xianbei" (a polysemantic Chinese label!) Kitan language was the main source of the pre-13th century Mongolic elements in Jurchin.

In section 3 on Proto-Altaic $*b\ddot{u}ge$ 'shaman' and its connection with Old Japanese *ukë-F-* 'to perceive an event as divine revelation', the comparison Mongolian *baγa* || Old Japanese *waka* is quoted again. As to Mongolian *böge* and *baγa*, their intervocalic consonant is not quite the same: 'shaman' had a spirant to disappear, while the other word still has its old stop or its fricative reflex. Thus the two sounds have a different history, at least on the level of Middle Mongolian, though they might have been identical in Proto-Mongolian.

As for Turkic *qām* 'shaman', Ramstedt's Sino-Korean comparison is obsolete indeed. But it is also difficult to accept the authors's ingenious conjecture that the first element of the isolated Olcha compound *kamsami gasa* 'a bird figure for magic use' is a "macaronic" (or heterogeneous) compound of Altaic *kām* and "Serindian" *sami* (Sino-Japanese *sami*, Old Uyghur *šabi*, etc.) The semantical difference of Turkic *qām* 'shaman' and Japanese *kami/kamu* 'god, deity' is not insurmountable even without Johannes de Plano Carpini's ambiguous information. Turk. *tengri* and *tengrim* was often applied to rulers, not only to *tengri tengrisi burxan*, and even Temüjin had some trouble with his "high priest" Teb Tenggeri.

The reviewer admires both the enthusiasm and the erudition of the authors, nevertheless he feels that our (not only his) knowledge is not yet enough to give the final answer to many of the problems discussed in this book.

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BUDAPEST/BLOOMINGTON

GYÖRGY KARA

A.A. Popov. *Materialen zur Bibliographie der russischen Literatur über das Schamanentum der Völker Nordasiens*. Reinhold Schletzer Verlag. ISBN 3-921539-50-1. Berlin 1990. 130 p.

The Russian original of the bibliography dates from 1931. Its editor stressed in the foreword that no work of the kind had been available before and that there were no reference lists on the shamanism of certain ethnic groups and certain questions of shamanism. The time of the work's publication is also noteworthy: in the early 1930s the bases of the anthropological and philological sciences were still firm and even improving, especially in Petersburg. The teaching staff of the College of Nordic Peoples included some would-be school-founders in Manchu-Tunguz and Uralic studies, and several students coming from minority Nordic peoples were to become noted practitioners of these cultures and languages. These were the years in which—with idealistic zeal—the standard language was elaborated for several non-literate languages and when impatient ideologization did not go so far as to annihilate the ancient beliefs or prosecute the shamans.

That said, let us now turn to the contents of the bibliography. Obviously, it refers to works published by Russians or authors in Russia. Not only books devoted entirely to shamanism are listed—these would not number too many—but works that contain passages or chapters of various lengths on shamanism are also presented, with all bibliographical data. In the brief preface the compiler lists the national and Siberian periodicals, series and former bibliographies he had elaborated. This is followed by a list of abbreviations. The first chapter contains the programme-setting works of research on shamanism; this is followed, in the second chapter, by those discussing general questions and applying to several peoples. The next chapters divide the works by ethnic groups: the third covers the Nordic and Finnish peoples, notably the Lapps; the fourth the Ob-Ugrians; and the fifth the Samoyed groups, Nenets, Yurak, Selkup/Ostyak Samoyed and Nganasan/Tavgi. The sixth chapter covers the northern branch of the Manchu-Tunguz peoples, the Tunguz/Evenki, and the seventh touches on ethnic groups belonging to the southern, Manchu branch: the Manchu, Nanai/Goldi, Oroch, Orochi and Udeghe. Chapter 8 is devoted to Siberian Turkic shamanism, including the Tatars of Minusinsk, the Altay Turks, Soyot, Karagass and Yakut. The Mongol and Buryat are discussed in chapter 9. Chapter 10 lists lit-

erature on the minority palaeo-Asian peoples: the Ket, Gilyak, Yukagir, Chukchee, Koryak and Itelmen/Kamchadal. The Ainu people are the sole subject of chapter 11. Chapter 12 extends the scope to North America, dealing with the Aleut, the Eskimo and the Tlingit Indians. A supplementary chapter presents material on some Central Asian Turkic peoples bordering on Siberia: the Kazakh, Kirghiz, Uzbek, Uyghur, Taranchi, Turkmen and, finally, the Chinese. The bibliography contains 712 items in all. Many are practically inaccessible, published only in remote Siberian journals. But at least they are known to exist.

The bibliography is a highly useful aid for all those engaged in researching shamanism. Had the editors added an index of authors their work would have been even more useful.

BUDAPEST

CATHERINE U. KÓHALMI

L. Qurčabaγatur and Č. Üjüm-e. *Mongγol-un böge mörgöl-ün tayily-a takily-a-yin soyul* [Offerings and Rituals of Mongolian Shamanism]. Öbör Mongγol-un soyul-un keblel-ün qoriy-a. Kökeqota 1991. Illstr. 427 p. 8 yuan.

It is a great pleasure for me to review the excellent monograph of the two distinguished Inner Mongolian authors, who are experts of their own native culture.

Under the title "Offerings and Rituals of Mongolian Shamanism", shamanistic and probably pre-shamanistic beliefs and practices are discussed. Some of the cults mentioned have a close connection with everyday life, such as the cult and practices on the occasion of the dropping of the young, of calving, foaling and the rituals of hunting and the magical practices against calamities and diseases.

The description of the little known custom *Ančidiin untuu tawix* "To disengage hunters from misfortune" is remarkable. For purifying the hunter, and his dog from bad luck before starting for a hunt some salt is burnt, the hunter goes through two fires and his dog is beaten with branches according to the ancient traditions. The authors, in dealing with this ritual, translated the expression in the addenda of their book as follows: "Das Ritual des Ärgers vor der Jagd *Ontuu* (sic!) *talbiqu*." However, these data show that the old Mongolian expression *untuu* means besides 'anger' also 'misfortune' even nowadays.¹

Sampildendew (1987:72) published a similar text, mentioned in the book, in the monograph about the Mongolian ritual folklore:

*Borwoon nuuriin dawsiig šataaj örgööd
örgöst altan xarganaar
awgai xüüxdeeree untuugaa garguulj
xormoi uruugaa šawxruulaad
odoo mordloo.*

"Offering the burnt salt of *Borwoon* lake,
the misfortune will be sent away by
golden Caragana branches and the children and the wife.
Squeezing out the flap of (garment)
I go away now."

¹ Cf. Sárközi 1992:22 and Birtalan's review on this book (in print).

The cult of the *Sülde*-banner has still living customs in the territory of Ordos and the authors devoted a detailed description to the origin, and history of erecting the *Sülde*-banner. The *Sülde* is a difficult phenomenon in Mongolian mythology and folklore. The main, and probably the original meaning of it is the warrior genius of the nomadic peoples, nomadic states. In the book under review the authors offer several invocations to the black, white and coloured *Sülde*. This chapter is a very valuable source even for experts of Mongolian medieval history.

To the chapter of traditional Mongolian divination, I would add at least one more, "divination with 41 pebbles" or instead of pebbles, with 41 pieces of sheep dropping.

I find it useful to translate the contents for scholars of other fields, because this monograph contains useful materials for comparative studies.

The contents of the book under reviews is as follows:

Introduction

I. The Cult of Fire.

1. The Origin of the Fire Cult.
2. The Fire and the Hearth.
3. Taboos of the Fire.
4. Purification with Fire.
5. The Fire Ritual.
 1. The Time of the fire Ritual.
 2. The Shape of the Fire-God.
 3. Preparing for the Fire Ritual.
 4. The Process of the Fire Ritual.

II. The Ritual of the *Sülde*-Banner.

1. The Origin of the *Sülde*-Banner Ritual.
2. The Cult of the Great Black *Sülde*-Banner of Činggis Khan.
 1. The Origin of the Black *Sülde*-Banner.
 2. The Meaning of the Four-Legged Black *Sülde*-Banner.
 3. The Shape of the Black *Sülde*-Banner.
 4. "Enraging" the *Sülde*-Banner.
 5. The Simple Worship.
 6. Ritual against Evil Forces.
 7. Libation to *Sülde*-Banner.
 8. "Enraging" the *Sülde*-Banner with the Help of a Sheep Head.
3. The Cult of the very Merciful Nine-Legged White Banner.
 1. The Origin of the Nine-Legged White Banner.
 2. The Shape of the White Banner and the Time of its Offering.

3. The Worship of the White Banner.
 4. The Cult of the Coloured *Sülde*-Banner.
 1. The Origin of the Coloured *Sülde*-Banner.
 2. The Taboos of the Coloured *Sülde*-Banner.
 3. The Shape of the Coloured *Sülde*-Banner.
 4. The Offerings and "Enraging" the Coloured *Sülde*-Banner.
 5. The Cult of the Wind-Horse (*keyimori*) in Ordos.
 1. The Origin of the Wind-Horse.
 2. The Shape of the Wind-Horse.
 3. The Tradition of Erecting Wind-Horse.
 4. The Colour of the Wind-Horse.
 5. The Printing Blocks of the Wind-Horse.
 6. The Offerings to the Wind-Horse.
- III. The Cult of the Ancestors.
1. The Origin of the Cult of the Ancestors.
 2. The Funeral Ceremonies of the Mongols.
 3. The Taboos of the Corpse.
 4. The Traditions of the Cult of the Ancestors.
 1. Worship of the *Ongons*.
 2. The Cult of Činggis Khan.
 3. The Cult of the *Ongon* of *Quytutai sečen qung tayiji*.
 4. The Cult of *Sayang sečen qung tayiji*.
- IV. The Cult of the Hunting God *Manaqan tengri*.
1. The Origin of the Cult of the Hunting Protector Deity.
 2. The Preparation for Hunting – An Ointment.
 1. An Ointment of the Arrow and Bow.
 2. An Ointment of the Gun and the Ball.
 3. An Ointment of Hunting Dog and Hunting Falcon.
 4. An Ointment of the Saddlepad.
 3. The Ritual of the Purification Before Starting to Hunt *Untayu talbiqu*.
 1. The Tradition of Purification from Misfortune.
 2. Libation to *Manaqan tengri* on the First Halt During Hunting.
 4. Praying during Hunting.
 1. The Taboos.
 2. The Tradition of Deer Hunting.
 3. The Tradition of Bear Hunting.
 4. The Tradition of Offerings to the Lords of *Qangyai* Territory.
 5. Rituals at the End of Hunting.
- V. Libation on the Occasion of the Dropping of the Young.
1. Libation for the Sheep.
 2. Tradition for the Dropping of the Young.

3. Libation on the Occasion of Calving.
 1. The Origin of the Libation on the Occasion of Calving.
 2. The Tradition of the Libation on the Occasion of Calving.
- VI. Cult of the Sun, Moon and the Stars.
 1. Cult of the Sun and the Moon.
 1. Data from the *Secret History of the Mongols*.
 2. The Symbolical Meaning of the Sun and the Moon.
 3. The Relation between the Sun and the Moon.
 4. Taboos and Magical Practices Connected with the Sun and the Moon.
 5. Offerings to the Sun and the Moon.
 2. Offerings to the Stars.
 1. The Origin of the Cult of the "Seven Old Men" (Ursa Major).
 2. The Time of the Offerings to the "Seven Old Men" (Ursa Major).
 3. Prayers to the "Seven Old Men" (Ursa Major).
- VII. Cult of the Waters and the Mountains.
 1. The Origin of the Cult of the Waters and the Mountains.
 2. The Transformation of the Cult of the Waters and the Mountains.
 1. The Belief in the Numerous Gods of Secluded Mountain or Waters.
 2. Lamaist Offerings.
 3. The Tradition of Offerings to the Mountains and Waters during the "Great Mongolian Offerings".
 4. The Cult of the Mountains and Waters, in the Vicinity of which Shamans Live.
- VIII. Cult of the *Oboo* "Stonecairns".
 1. The Origin of the Cult of *Oboo*.
 2. Transformation of the *Oboo*.
 1. *Oboos* Concerning Shamanic Rituals.
 2. *Oboos* Concerning the Ritual of the Yellow Faith.
 3. The Shape and Number of the *Oboos*.
 4. The Tradition of the Cult of *Oboo*.
 1. The Tradition of the *Oboo* Cult of Noblemen and who Belong to a Banner.
 2. The Tradition of the *Oboo* Cult of Holy Lamas.
 3. The Tradition of the *Oboo* Cult of the Common People.
- IX. Cult of the Sacred Trees.
 1. The Origin of the Cult of Sacred Trees.
 2. The Meaning of the Cult of Sacred Trees.
 1. The Meaning of the Story "Mother Willow Tree and Father Owl".
 2. The Tradition of the Khan's Election under the "Bushy tree".
 3. The Tradition of Coming Together (Forming a Circle) under the "Bushy Tree".

4. The Tradition of Taking Oath under the "Bushy Tree".
5. The Tradition of Funeral Ceremonies under the "Bushy Tree".
6. The Tradition of Enraging the *Sülde*-Banner under the "Bushy Tree".

X. Cult of the Threshing Floor.

1. General Information.
2. The Tradition of the Cult of the Threshing Floor.

XI. Other Cults and Beliefs.

1. The Cult of the White Old Man.
2. The Cult of Holy *Geser*.
3. The Cult of Singers.
4. The Offerings for Rain.
5. The Cult of *Teyireng* Spirit.

XII. Magic Formulas and Cures.

1. Magical Practices and Cures for Human Beings.
 1. Magical Practices and Cures against Human Diseases.
 2. Magical Practices Connected with Dreams.
 3. Other Magical Practices for Human Beings.
2. Magical Practices and Cures for the Five Kinds of Cattle.
 1. Magical Practices against the Diseases of Cattle.
 2. Magical Practice Closely Connected with the Five Kinds of Cattle.
 3. Magical Practice, Not Closely Connected with the Five Kinds of Cattle.
3. Magical Practice Connected with Wild Animals.
4. Other Magical Practices.

XIII. The Traditional Mongolian Divination.

1. Scapulimancy.²
2. Divination with Horsehair.
3. Divination with Sheep Liver.
4. Divination with Coins.

Acknowledgments.

Each chapter is followed by notes (unfortunately sometimes without the data of the place and year of publication and the page numbers).

The book is illustrated with several new and some already published illustrations. The drawings are especially interesting, for example illustration No 16. The wind-horse and banner offerings from *Ejen qoruy-a*, or No. 55. The shapes of the "circles" of divination with horse hair.

² On the recent practice of scapulimancy cf. Birtalan 1993.

I warmly recommend this rich material to all the Mongolists and also to those who will find data for comparison with the hope that a good translation, with enlarged annotation will make it accessible even to those who can not read Mongolian.

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BUDAPEST

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