

THE RITE TECHNIQUE OF THE
SIBERIAN SHAMAN

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THE RITE TECHNIQUE OF THE
SIBERIAN SHAMAN

BY

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HELSINGIN LIIKEKIRJAPAINO OY

FOREWORD

Siberian shamanism has been a remarkably popular subject of accounts and research ever since the 18th century. A valuable contribution to the collection of material and also research has been made not only by Russian and Soviet researchers but also by scholars on the tracks of Finno-Ugrian language connections. M. A. Castrén, a pioneer in his field, was succeeded by numerous visitors to Siberia, the results of whose work have been accounts of journeys, collections of material, and also studies of the religious tradition of the original peoples. Thus the present work can be claimed an organic continuation of the Finnish research tradition concentrating on shamanism and its related phenomena.

My research was inspired by the desire to examine, within the framework of shamanism, the models provided by various primitive cultures to resolve crises threatening the life of the individual and the community. Its goal became concretized in the analysis of the social status of the shaman, his modes of action, which are by nature ecstatic, and the psycho-physical mechanisms of this action. As the research progressed it became clear that shamanism is not — as is often suggested by general reports — a monolithic, uniform phenomenon: it in fact takes in even highly differing practices. Thus my approach is intracultural in the sense that I aim at generalizations only through analysis of individual cases representing different ethnic groups. The explanations for the variation in shamanic phenomena are in fact to be found in precisely the socio-economic and thus cultural conditions providing the substance on which these phenomena are based.

Since the research covers a wide geographical area and deals with material collected at different periods in time the sources are linguistically diverse. I have thus been forced to accept certain standardization principles. In speaking of Siberian peoples and various ethnic units I have used the Soviet terms established over the past few decades. The English names therefore conform with those appearing in the work "The Peoples of Siberia". This work, edited by M. G. Levin and L. P. Potapov and originally published in Moscow in 1956 as *Narody Sibiri*, has in other senses, too, served as something of a standard guide to Siberia. The value of the work is reinforced by the eminent team of experts on the culture and societal life of different peoples who took part in compiling it. In general I have tried to write the names of the Russian-language researchers appearing in the text according to English transliteration practice. However, as transliteration practices have not been logically established in use I have had to rely on the ISO (R9) international transliteration system in the actual list of references. Exceptions to this principle are words referring to e.g. the belief tradition in various Siberian languages, whose original form, dialect group, etc., it is impossible to verify, and also certain researchers whose names have an established form in English literature, such as Bogoras and Shirokogoroff. In such cases I have observed the forms given in the list of references. The material quotations

have been translated into English only if this was considered absolutely necessary, for example publications originally in Finnish.

My research could not have been completed without the support of the Emil Aaltonen Foundation, the Finnish Cultural Foundation and the Finnish Academy. For the publication of this work I am grateful to the Finnish Academy of Science and Letters. As a working environment the Department of Folklore at Helsinki University headed by Professor Matti Kuusi was extremely inspiring; the stimulus provided by the head of the department and the other researchers, particularly Dr. Leena Virtanen and Professor Pentti Leino, was beneficial to my work. The Karelian Institute attached to the University of Joensuu guaranteed me undisturbed peace in which to complete my work.

In 1974 and 1975 I was able to study research into the peoples of Siberia in Leningrad and Moscow as the guest of the USSR Academy of Science. My discussions with my Soviet colleagues both on shamanism and the social organizations of small northerly peoples were invaluable to me in opening up new outlooks. I do not know whom to thank most, as I was given assistance and information by among others Dr. J. S. Gurvich, Dr. S. V. Ivanov, Academician L. P. Potapov, Dr. I. S. Vdovin and the following specialists on Siberian culture: V. V. Antropova, G. I. Gracheva, L. V. Khomich, A. V. Smolyak, Z. P. Sokolova and S. I. Vaynshteyn. I am also grateful to Academician Kustaa Vilkuna, who made my journeys possible.

With the kind cooperation of Academician Gyula Ortutay I was able to investigate the literary remains of the former researcher into shamanism Vilmos Diószegi. Thanks for the success of the journey are also due to Professor Tekla Dömötör, Dr. Péter Kovács and Dr. Vilmos Voigt, likewise to the Chancellor's Fund of Helsinki University for assuring the material side.

I am particularly indebted to the people directly influencing the completion of my research. At all stages of the work my support and instructor on points of comparative religion was Professor Lauri Honko. My talks with him had a decisive influence on the shaping of the research. The judgement of Professor Matti Sarmela and discussions with late Academician Martti Haavio, Professor Juha Pentikäinen and Dr. Bo Lönnqvist likewise directed my opinions. The translator, Susan Sinisalo, undertook a task of more than normal dimensions in handling the unusual problems presented by a remote subject. The expert on transliterating words of Russian origin was Lic. Ph. Martti Kahla from the Institute for Cultural Relations between Finland and the USSR. Helsinki University Library and the Ethnological Library of the Finnish Literature Society satisfied my requests for books patiently and expertly. At the Finnish Literature Society I should above all like to thank Anna Laasola and Terttu Kaivola, whose skill and obligingness helped my work considerably.

The interest and concrete assistance of my husband Jukka Siikala have been invaluable. I am, however, most grateful for his criticism of my theoretical premises; though severe at times, it provided substance to my work.

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Anna-Leena Siikala

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A. SHAMANISM AS AN OBJECT FOR RESEARCH

1. SHAMANISM — WHAT IS IT?

1.1. *Limitation of the phenomenon in earlier research.* Although the describing and explaining of the phenomenal complex going under the name of shamanism has been one of the central themes of research into ethnology, comparative religion and anthropology, ethnomedicine and folklore, no consistent answer has been found to the question 'What is shamanism?'. In outlining the limits confining the definitions of the term 'shamanism' we may proceed from the concepts 'occupant of a religious role', 'magician' or 'native healer'. Differences of opinion nevertheless arise over the question of how the shaman differs from other occupants of a religious role, 'magicians' or specialists in folk healing, and the characteristic features of the shaman and shamanism.

The approaches to the examination of shamanism and the attempts to define the phenomenon vary greatly. Studies have been made of the relationship between shamanism and religion, and the areas over which shamanism has spread, attempts have been made to select some element of the phenomenal complex as a common denominator, or shamanism has been called one form of pathological behaviour. Although these views and theories are sometimes directly misleading in their narrow approach, they usually have some pertinent observation on the extent of the shamanic complex at base. An account of a few of the most common approaches will thus serve well as a preliminary description of the field to be studied.

1.1.1. *Shamanism and religion.* The question of how and in what respect shamanism can be regarded as a religious phenomenon has presented a constant problem to researchers. Uno Harva says: "The primitive religion of the Siberian peoples is commonly known as *shamanism*, the reason being that the *shaman*, a kind of witch, plays a very considerable role in it."¹ The view that shamanism represents the old ethnic religion of the Siberian peoples has been carried on by not only Harva but also those belonging to the earlier research tradition and studying shamanism in the field from Gottlieb Georgi onwards.² Even such modern researchers as Hans Findeisen and Vilmos Diószegi have seen in shamanism a form of religion.³ On the other hand researchers primarily interested in the ecstatic nature of the shaman's rite technique or the most important of his activities, healing, have completely overlooked the religious aspects of shamanism and speak of the shaman

as a psychopath, a healer and a fraud. B. K. M. Rychkov, among others, stresses that shamanism is specifically a psychopathological phenomenon related to hysteria and epilepsy.⁴ Most researchers do, however, agree that although the practice of shamanism does demand special mental and nervous properties it is nevertheless first and foremost a phenomenon in the realm of religion and magic. It has been described as e.g. one form of a religious cult.⁵

Without going into the views that have been put forward on the relationship between shamanism and religion in any more detail let us say that the problems of clarifying this relationship often stem from the fact that the one concept component, religion, is viewed in different ways. Let us take the classical Durkheim definition⁶, for example, which equates the essence of religion with the concept 'sacred', and place it beside the definitions of the religion psychologist Clark, the religion anthropologist Spiro or the representative of the symbolist school Geertz. We see that they each approach the area to be defined from their own viewpoint, from the angle of the individual or from the cognitive level of a religion expressed in symbols. If we examine shamanism through Clark's definition stressing the religious experience of the individual, "religion can be most characteristically described as the inner experience of the individual when he senses a Beyond, especially as evidenced by the effect of his experience on his behavior when he actively attempts to harmonize his life with the Beyond,"⁷ we see that shamanism is a religion to those practising it, but it remains beyond those members of the community who do not experience the mystery. Melfor Spiro's functionalist and, in its clear simplicity relevant definition by which religion is an "institution consisting of a culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings"⁸ also in its broad terms covers shamanism, though it does not bring out its special nature. Clifford Geertz, who like Spiro had an anthropological background, claims that religion is "(1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such a general aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic".⁹ The definition well covers the shamanic religious complex. It must, however, be remembered that beside the fixed religious systems of the written cultures the religious systems of the ethnic religions are heterogeneous, in place of one system we find multi-level, parallel and overlapping traditions, parallel concept systems covering different spheres of religion. On this basis we find an explanation for the attaching of shamanism to religious systems differing in content, and it is on this basis that Åke Hultkrantz aptly describes the position of shamanic practices as component elements of various ethnic religions: "Shamanism, of course, is the complex of beliefs, rites and tra-

ditions clustered around the shaman and his activities. All these traits constitute a well-organized net of interrelationships, a religious configuration within the religion."¹⁰ Hultkrantz's view of the autonomous position of the shamanic complex as a segment of various religions does, however, seem exaggerated. Although only certain elements of a religious tradition are fundamental as regards the shamanic ideology, the best shamans attempt to rule the whole religious tradition of their tribes¹¹ and to regard it as a frame of reference for their own activities. The shamanic complex may thus be regarded as being an organic part of the religious field of a tribe and one that has taken in a highly differing tradition.

1.1.2. Phenomenological similarities as definiens of shamanism. The earlier definitions of shamanism are based precisely on the observation of phenomenological similarities. It is typical that in the absence of thorough comparative analyses one, maybe vital feature, has overshadowed all others in the examination and been taken as the key to the entire complex phenomenon of shamanism. For example, stressing what is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of the shamanic rite technique, the pursuit of ecstasy and the accomplishment of ecstasy, trance, during the ritual process, leads to difficult situations bordering on other magico-religious phenomena of ecstasy.¹² In his extensive work Mircea Eliade studies the phenomenology of shamanism feature by feature. After observing the technique of ecstasy as the basis of shamanic ritual behaviour he states: "A first definition of this complex phenomenon, and perhaps the least hazardous, will be: shamanism = technique of ecstasy".¹³ He thus tries to avoid the danger by regarding as the distinctive features of shamanism not only ecstasy but also its evolvment round the concepts of the flight of the soul: "Hence any ecstatic cannot be considered a shaman; the shaman specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld".¹⁴ While in some cultures the idea of the 'shaman's journey' is accompanied by traditional forms according to which the shaman is able to contact the spirits without leaving the body, it must be noted, as e.g. Åke Hultkrantz quite rightly does¹⁵, that the journey-element alone is not sufficient as the nucleus of the shamanic ideology. The journey of the shaman and possession, the entering of the spirit into the shaman's body, which Eliade rejects and Hans Findeisen emphasizes¹⁶ as one of the basic characteristics of shamanism, are simply functional alternatives describing the communication between the shaman and the other world. Naming one traditional element of shamanism as the support of the whole complex often links up with the theory developed by a given scholar and explaining the origin of shamanism and the conditions for its existence.

1.1.3. *The regional distribution of shamanism.* The term 'shaman' refers to a clear cultural-geographical area and has come down via Russian sources from the Evenk word *šaman*. From etymologizing the word a theory was put forward as long ago as the 19th century that shamanism is a phenomenon that grew up in the area of Eastern religions and from there spread northwards; this was because the name was thought to be derived from the Pali *samana* (Sanskrit *śramaṇa*) via Chinese *sha-men* down to the Evenks. The theory has been refuted by such scholars as J. Németh¹⁷ and B. Laufer¹⁸; the latter suggested that the Evenk *saman*, *šaman*, *xaman*, etc., Mongol *šaman*, Turkish *kam* and *xam*, are close and inseparable allies grown and nourished on the soil of northern Asia.¹⁹ On the other hand Vilmos Diószegi has referred to the possibility that the Evenk *šaman* may come from the Tunguso-Manchurian verb *ša* or *sa* meaning 'to know'.²⁰ Thinking of the sphere of the shaman this derivative appears logically possible, and in many cultures the rulers of a secret magico-religious tradition are called by names indicating knowledge or wisdom. The nomenclature etymologies have not, however, thrown any specific light on the inherent nature of the shamanic complex. Even if the *kam* of the Turko-Tatar languages does have the same root as the Evenk *saman*, they still refer to the phenomena of only a narrow area. The corresponding names for the shaman among e.g. the Paleoasian peoples, the Samoyeds or the Yakuts differ greatly in origin and phonetic structure. Similarly one tribe may have several words indicating the practice of shamanic functions. The shaman word of the Evenks can, however, be fully accepted as a terminus technicus, for although the magico-religious rite complexes and their associated concept systems in Siberia and Central Asia are not completely uniform in their phenomenology, due to natural reasons of culture, geography, history and social economy, these phenomenal complexes do still contain a considerable number of common elements of a fundamental nature.

As such phenomena as possession, the concept of the journey of the soul to the other world, or ritual behaviour of an ecstatic nature are found among primitive cultures the world over, the question of the geographical confines of shamanism has been open to dispute. In particular the phenomenologists who have examined some of these features have looked on shamanism as universal. The opposite stand has been taken by those who, appealing to e.g. the unique nature of the ritual objects, means of ecstasy and the overall content of the religious systems of concepts, have regarded shamanism as being indigenous to northern Eurasia and Siberia in particular. The broader the application of the term shamanism and the more varied the systems of rites concerned, the more blurred the conceptual content becomes. I therefore consider it useful to use the term *shamanism* for the real, "classical"

shamanism of Central Asia, Northern Siberia and other arctic regions, in which the similarities of rite technique and belief system amount to more than a few basic features. Shamanic features, elements and ideas are, on the other hand, found in different parts of the world.

1.2. *The duties of the shaman.* A good picture of the diversity of the shaman's field of operation is given by Anuchin's description of these fields among the Kets or the Yenisey Ostyaks: "There are about fifteen 'full' shamans in all the Ket groups jointly, who have the additional tasks of curing, prophesying, making birth easier, giving hunting regions and finding game, directing the ordeals to settle disputes, and shamanizing for amusement."²¹ Uno Harva reports that the Evenks from the Turukhansk area informed him that help is sought from the shaman mainly for the following reasons: when a dead man's soul still believed to be residing in its old home a year after the man's death has to be accompanied into the other world; when some homeless spirit has to be possessed in the idol; when for some reason hunting is unsuccessful, usually also when the men first go out into the forests in autumn; and especially when a serious illness befalls a member of an Evenk family.²² The tasks of the shaman vary from one people to another. For example, among the western Evenks the job of the shaman is above all to protect the areas inhabited by the tribe from danger in the form of hostile spirits sent by the shamans of foreign tribes²³, and the shamans of the Altaic Turkish peoples not only heal and prophesy but also conduct sacrificial ceremonies.²⁴ Remembering that a shaman acting as a sacrificing priest is the exception rather than the rule, the central task of the shaman remains above all the handling of crises threatening the normal life of the tribe, i.e. the shaman is the prophet and remover of danger threatening the life of the individual and the community. One feature typical of the religious systems of shamanic cultures is that a crisis is regarded as being caused by representatives of the Beyond, various spirits, supernatural beings and demons. Maintaining the status quo calls for a command of the world of the spirits, or at least an understanding of the possible means of appeasement, sacrifices, etc. To be able to influence the Beyond above and beyond the normal system of worship as quickly and effectively as possible it is necessary for the community to have a representative who can gain contact immediately a crisis arises. Robert H. Lowie cleverly brings out the functional difference between the shaman and the priest: "Whereas a shaman by definition acquires his status through a personal communication by supernatural beings, the priest need not have this face-to-face relationship with the spirit world but must have competence in conducting ritual."²⁵ From the point of view of the community the shaman is thus primarily a medium capable of communi-

cation with the supranormal. A sacrificing priest also acts as a medium between this world and the one beyond but he falls within the sphere of normal contact maintained regularly by the community with the Beyond, whereas the community turns to the shaman mainly under exceptional circumstances, in times of crisis. It is true that the shaman may conduct rites that are among the regular practices of the cult during annual festivals, for example, but as was stated before, such practices are not common to all the types of shamanism found in Siberia and Central Asia, and they can be regarded as special phenomena dependent on the ethnic religion in question.

1.3. *Performance technique.* It must be remembered that not even in times of crisis is the basic idea: the shaman is a medium, a bridge to the other side, characteristic purely of shamanism. To promote stability in the normal course of life all manner of protective mechanisms parallel to the shamanic system have been created in various cultures. Shamanism according to the scheme 'prophesying and removing instability caused by the supranormal in the normal world by direct communication' is a variation all of its own that differs from other alternative models on the basis of the manifestation of the communication and the concept system explaining the need for and nature of communication. The key to answering the question of how contact is made with the Beyond lies in the ecstatic rite technique of the shaman and the concept category 'helping spirits' that is part of the ideological picture of the shaman. Through the technique of ecstasy the shaman makes contact with his spirit-helpers, the representatives of the Beyond, when he wishes, and he can also make them act as he wishes. The relationship is nevertheless reciprocal, easily upset, and requires constant measures by the shaman to maintain it. He tends his contacts with the spirits by shamanizing regularly, entertaining them, etc. The dispute concerning the relationship between the shaman and his spirit-helpers — is the shaman lord of the spirits or do the spirits rule the shaman²⁶ — is explained as an illusion that has arisen in contrasting the functionalism debating the social-psychological conditions for shamanism with the phenomenology examining the belief tradition. Although the shaman is useful to his community for the very reason that in times of crisis he is able to contact his spirit-helpers and thus by influencing the Beyond to satisfy whatever demands are being made, it is, according to shamanic ideology, always a question of the relationship between this world and the supra-normal world. In other words the spirit-helpers select their recruit, teach him the ways of making contact and promise him their continual help.

The concepts as to how and where the shaman meets his spirit-helpers and other representatives of the supranormal, of whether it is possession or

soulflight, vary depending on the background of tradition in each manifestation of shamanism, i.e. the forms of communication are expressed as culturally bound alternatives. On the other hand the technique of communication, the termination in ecstasy or altered state of consciousness, is, despite variation, common to all manifestations of shamanism and places shamanism in a class apart from other corresponding complexes in demanding a certain nervous and psychic susceptibility in those chosen as its representatives. The forms of communication reflect the multiplicity of the belief system, and in the Central Asian and Southern Siberian areas in particular this has become highly chequered under the pressure of tradition from the high religions of the south. It can, however, be observed that the ideological basis of shamanism throughout North Asia and Siberia contains similar basic structures and forms of tradition. The idea of the 'shaman's journey', likewise the flight of the soul from the body, as a model for explaining sickness require as their background a very special concept of the soul. Great similarities are likewise found in concepts of the cosmos and its structure: the three-plane cosmos, the tree, column or mountain of the world combining the parts, the roads and paths of the Beyond or the stream of the world as the way of the shaman. Even though an animistic way of thinking has been regarded as typical of shamanic cultures, or reference has been made to the cults of the dead appearing in it, division of the categories of the supranormal indigenous to shamanism is difficult; due to historical changes and various cultural influences the spirit systems of various peoples have become unique and varied in form. They do, however, all share the existence of a helping spirit system, the idea of a mutual union of man and spirit that is the cornerstone of shamanism. As research into the phenomenology of the tradition upholding shamanism has shown, not all the tradition phenomena to do with the complex are distinctive features purely of shamanism, and they may appear in extensive non-shamanic areas. For example, the death and resurrection experienced in the initiate's vision is a traditional pattern approved by Mircea Eliade as being repeated in different parts of the world as part of many different systems of beliefs.²⁷ In being linked with the shamanic tradition complex traditional elements of different origin have become moulded in accordance with the basic ideology upholding shamanism and have gained shamanic significance.

1.4. *Tentative definitions.* In referring to the most important factors to be noted in defining shamanism — the community, the supranormal world and the shaman as their medium, and the ecstatic nature of communication — the most relevant views have been put forward by Åke Hultkrantz, Dominik Schröder and Ursula Knoll-Greiling. Hultkrantz says: "We may now define

the shaman as a social functionary who, with the help of guardian spirits, attains ecstasy in order to create a rapport with the supernatural world on behalf of his group members"²⁸, bringing out the role of the guardian spirits as a medium. Dominik Schröder's more abstract definition emphasizes the institutionalized and schematic nature of shamanism: "shamanism is an institutionalized and formalized ecstatic contact between man and the other world in the service of the community".²⁹ Ursula Knoll-Greiling examines shamanism more from the direction of the community, stressing its social-psychological significance: "The shaman is a person who, thanks to a specific predisposition, is capable of creating an exceptional situation (ecstasy, i.e. an altered state of consciousness), of making predictions on clan affairs (illness, hunting, war, etc.) in collaboration with the transcendental powers ('spirits'), and of exerting a religious-therapeutic influence on the community, this influence being bound by the cultural framework of the clan and fulfilling a necessary social-psychological function within it."³⁰ Let these opinions suffice as working definitions, for in the following I shall be attempting to clarify some of these thoughts, and to examine the functional mechanism referred to in Hultkrantz's statement "with the help of guardian spirits, attains ecstasy", or the nature of the "institutionalized and formalized ecstatic contact" mentioned by Schröder.

2. PROBLEMS AND THEORETICAL ASPECTS — A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH

2.1. *Study of the history of shamanism.* Most of the vast literature on Siberian shamanism¹ is marked by a predominance of material and restraint in the description of concrete phenomena observed in the field. On the other hand from the last few decades of the 19th century onwards the publication of accounts perhaps more rewarding to subsequent generations was supplemented by strivings towards broader general presentations or theoretical views explaining the history of the development of the phenomenon and the conditions for its existence. Many Russian scholars from the turn of the century onwards had a sound insight into their material provided by field work, so that articles of a theoretical nature naturally appeared side by side with publications of material or texts aiming at pure description. General works, chiefly phenomenological analyses, increased in number, especially from the 1930s onwards, as more and more publications of material appeared to provide a sounder basis for comparison (c.g. Mikhaylovskiy 1892 (English 1895), Stadling 1912, Czaplicka 1914, Tschubinov 1914, Nioradze 1925, Schmidt 1912—1955, Harva 1933 (1938), Ohlmarks 1939,

Bouteiller 1950, Eliade 1951 (2nd edition in English 1962), Findeisen 1957a, Lommel 1965, Hermanns 1970). Of note is the fact that the researchers venturing on these summary reviews have most often been precisely those outside the Russian-speaking area: researchers with no thorough insight into the material of some small area behind them but who also occasionally lack all personal contact with the phenomena in question.

In his article "Shamanism as a Research Subject" Gustav Ränk writes "a great number of Russian scholars who have devoted themselves to North-Eurasian shamanism have been oriented along evolutionistic lines, and were therefore inclined to draw broad general conclusions from phenomena limited to different localities. This tendency appears even among such reliable fieldworkers as, for example, Bogoras, Jochelson and Shternberg."² One of the chief trends in the problems surrounding research did in fact become crystallized at the very beginning of the century when research really got down to outlining the history of the development of shamanism and the stages by which it came into being on a more extensive scale. Although the religio-phenomenological, psychological and sociological aspects that have arisen alongside evolutionistic thinking have gained increasing ground in recent research, the historical perspective has retained its vitality among Soviet scholars in the form of Marxist historical materialism, and inspired in the west by, among other things, archaeological research. As more extensive research material has become available, it has to an increasing extent been possible to avoid the basing of far-reaching conclusions on deficient knowledge criticised by Ränk. On the other hand Soviet research, for example, has tried to deal with historical questions regionally and nationally as such restricted units that it has been possible to maintain a critical grasp.

2.1.1. The problem of the ideological basis. The object of research in study of the history of shamanism has to a considerable degree been the origin of its ideology, aiming at discovering the basic features of the ideological ground that have promoted the birth and evolution of shamanic practices. The problem is firmly associated with debate on the relationship between shamanism and religion. For example, a Russian evolutionist at the beginning of the century, W. G. Bogoras, repeatedly urged scholars to study shamanism as a religion³, and believed that it represents a certain degree of development of a religion.⁴ Bogoras nevertheless placed shamanism in a very special cultural-geographical framework; whereas e.g. Mikhaylovskiy⁵ saw in shamanism a universal form of a primitive religion, Bogoras, like Jochelson⁶, regards it chiefly as the expression of a North-Asian religious cult. The evolutionists placed special emphasis on the part played by animism as the ideological basis of shamanism. For example, one of the first compilers of comparative

general works, the Swede J. Stadling, who also had first-hand experience of shamanic phenomena⁷, thought that shamanism reflected the most primitive religious thinking of mankind, an animistic conception of the world.⁸ An evolutionist in his attitude as a researcher, Stadling also tried to outline the stages in the development of shamanism on the basis of various existing forms of tradition and explained that the Paleoasian peoples represented the most primitive, lowest form of shamanism while the Ural-Altaic peoples reached a higher level.⁹ The observation on the considerable difference between shamanism in northern and central Asia is in itself correct, though regarding the Chukchi or Yukagir tradition as the prototype of development is in fact too simplified a claim. The concept of the association of shamanism with an animistic way of thinking is not unfounded, and references to the animistic associations of shamanism are also made in recent research.¹⁰

Animistic concepts are, however, abundant, also in areas of the world where shamanism is unknown. It is thus clear that this alone is not sufficient as the basis for the growth of the shamanic complex. The argument does in fact become more tenable when seeking the ideological basis to shamanism in the nature of the soul concepts of the area in question. Åke Hultkrantz¹¹ and Ivar Paulson¹² have shown that a dualistic soul concept is typical in the nucleus areas of shamanism. Åke Hultkrantz notes: "Ralph Linton, the well-known anthropologist, once suggested to me that soul dualism was a creation of shamans; however, this is difficult to prove. All we can say is that the dualism of souls was more clearly conceived in shamanistic areas because of the functional relations between this soul belief and shamanistic activities".¹³ As is seen from Paulson's sizeable study "*Die primitiven Seelenvorstellungen der nordeurasischen Völker*", the soul concepts of various peoples differ considerably as regards the number and function of souls; in many cases one could speak of the multiplicity of souls rather than the dualism of souls, as e.g. Jochelson does.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the underlying thought that in addition to a fixed soul element maintaining his vitality man also has a soul capable of leaving the body during sleep or a trance is by nature dualistic and a vital condition for visions of the journey of the shaman to the Beyond, and likewise for explanations of sickness based on loss of the soul.

2.1.2. Questions of the cultural-historical background. The cultural-historical background and native areas of shamanism have been the subject of extensive debate. The cradle of shamanism has been sought equally often in the northern Arctic regions as among the high religions of the south. Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, who in his broad and many-volumed work "*Ursprung der Gottesidee*"¹⁵ examines, among other things, the phenomenology and history of shamanism throughout Siberia and Central Asia, concludes in his treatises

on the religion of the nomadic peoples of Inner Asia that shamanism was originally the product of a matriarchal agrarian community. He bases his views on evidence from both mythology and practical cult life of the strong position of women, a fact that in a nomadic culture otherwise dominated by men is in his view significant.¹⁶ Schmidt's theories as to the southern origin of shamanism were developed at the initial stage of his work¹⁷, joining mainly with the theory of his pupil Alexander Gahs, according to whom the matriarchal mixed culture of the Amur and Bering region influenced the primitive arctic culture that has remained in pure form among the Lapps, the Samoyeds, the Ainu and the Central Eskimos. According to Gahs the Northern Asians assimilated shamanism from Tibet or China, the Samoyeds and the Ugrians in turn from the Tatars and the Yeniseys.¹⁸

One of Pater Schmidt's chief theories concerned the different status of so-called white and black shamanism in the history of the development of shamanism in Central Asia. He thought that white shamanism with its celestial cult could not fit in with the original shamanic view of the world and more closely represented a sort of higher religiosity of the nomadic peoples.¹⁹ In speaking of shamanism he thus refers only to phenomena of 'black' shamanism. It is interesting to note that Mircea Eliade comes to precisely the opposite conclusion and explains, for example, that the journey to the celestial Supreme Being belongs exclusively to classical shamanism.²⁰

A student of the shamanic complex of the Eastern Evenks, Shirokogoroff, noted in it numerous features descended from Buddhism or Lamaism. For example, most of the names of the spirits known to the Evenks are loans from the Mongols or the Manchus, the latter having assimilated them from Lamaist sources.²¹ In his great work "Psychomental Complex of the Tungus" he reaches the form "shamanism stimulated by Buddhism"²², and Mircea Eliade, among others, emphasizes that the concept is right — southern influences really did modify and enrich the shamanic system of the Evenks — when we remember that the latter is not the creation of Buddhism.²³ Eliade, who stresses the shaman's ascent to the sky as a fundamental element of shamanism, regards the shamanic complex of the Evenks, in which possession plays an important part, as a hybrid form of ancient North-Asiatic shamanism that can thus not represent classic practice.²⁴ He further points out that the Indian tradition which, in the form of Buddhism and Lamaism, influenced the development of shamanism among not only the Evenks but also the Mongols and the Buryats, is by no means the only loan source. The ancient Near East influenced all the cultures of Central Asia and Siberia.²⁵

Eliade's own view of the background to the birth of shamanism is crystallized as follows: "Shamanism in its structure and as a whole cannot be considered a creation of these southern contributions. The documents that

we have collected and interpreted in the present volume show that the ideology and the characteristic techniques of shamanism are attested in archaic cultures, where it would be difficult to admit the presence of Paleo-Oriental influences. It is enough to remember, on the one hand, that Central Asian shamanism is part and parcel of the prehistoric culture of the Siberian hunters, and, on the other, that shamanic ideologies and techniques are documented among the primitive peoples of Australia, the Malay Archipelago, South America, North America, and other regions."²⁶

The theory that the birth of shamanism can be traced among the hunter cultures of the northern parts of ancient Eurasia has in fact gained very wide support.²⁷ Anders Lommel, for example, attempts to determine the concept of life of the Stone Age hunter, and on the basis of it to explain the history of the birth of both shamanism and the initial forms of the art. The heart of this concept of the world is, in his opinion, formed from the idea that every living being is made up of both physical and spiritual substance. The spiritual substance, the soul, which may be bound to certain parts of the body, bones, fur, horns, has the power of resurrection. Within the framework of this outlook, according to Lommel, a psychic technique developed for expressing the soul's departure from the body. The shaman liberates his soul from his body to send it on its journey and to allow it to return, just as we may imagine the soul of a slain animal leaving its body and returning later to inhabit its picture or another animal.²⁸ Also the repeating theme of the initiation visions of the shaman, in which the spirits bring about the death of the candidate, cut the flesh from his bones, for example, following which a new type of person, a shaman, is born of these bones,²⁹ has likewise been interpreted as the foundation of hunter cultures. The idea has been regarded as reminiscent of a thought construction to which Lommel also refers: a new game animal is born out of the bones of a former animal caught in the hunt.³⁰ On the other hand reference is also made by Zhukovskaya to the complex of skeleton rites and concepts as representing a tradition element developed within Buddhism and shamanism, i.e. with its initiatory visions it shows that it may also have southern roots.³¹ Findeisen places the hunter culture that gave rise to shamanic practices in the palaeolithic era of North Asia³², and his train of thought has been supported by many of the scholars of the cave drawings of this period, such as Horst Kirchner³³ and Joseph Campbell³⁴. It is undeniable that the cave drawings of the palaeolithic era, for example the witch figure at Lascaux in France, are indeed reminiscent of forms of expression in shamanism.

The most radical view of the location of the original home of shamanism is held by Åke Ohlmarks; he places it in the arctic region, claiming that only among the arctic peoples are there traces of true shamanizing ending

in a trance, so-called great shamanism, whereas in the séances of the sub-arctic regions the shaman only feigns a state of trance or achieves it only with the aid of narcotics. Shamanism, according to him, thus spread from north to south. He argues his view by referring to the neurotic disturbances in the arctic areas, 'arctic hysteria', and the points of contact of features of shamanism.³⁵ Since we know that cultural trends in the Siberian region moved chiefly from south to north, the claim would not appear correct, especially when we remember that the shamanic belief system constitutes a highly diversified complex.

One of the most interesting views of the origin and history of shamanism was presented by László Vajda in his article "Zur phaseologischen Stellung des Schamanismus"³⁶, in which he works towards his goal by means of regional and phenomenological analysis. According to Vajda Siberian shamanism came into being as the fusion of concepts and religious techniques assimilated from various directions. The tracing of the roots of shamanism among such differing sources as the hunter culture of the paleolithic era, the high cultures of the ancient Oriental and southern Asians or agrarian cultures is for this very reason, he claims, not remarkable.

2.1.3. The historical-materialistic approach. The Soviet school following the Marxist method of historical materialism has, in investigating the history and development of shamanism, formulated the questions in slightly different terms from western scholars. The trend was perhaps best characterized by a statement by I. S. Vdovin, according to whom shamanism is "a concrete historical phenomenon with features peculiar to a given people; these features depend not so much on historico-cultural factors as on the social and economic development of the given people".³⁷ Vdovin mentions that attempts were made as long ago as the 1930s to study shamanism as one form of a religious ideology of a preclass society³⁸, but because the methods of Soviet ethnological research were only just being developed the results were not always reliable. Shamanism was treated as an individual, separate phenomenon, and no attention was paid to its relation with the economic and social state of the community.³⁹ In his article "Sovjetwissenschaftliche Thesen über das Schamanentum"⁴⁰ Hans Findeisen criticized the description of Siberian shamanism presented by the Soviet ethnographer S. Tokarev in the form of fourteen theses. In stressing as the basic features of the shamanic complex the status of the shaman in his community, his social functions, his neuro-psychological peculiarity and specific ritual behaviour as a manifestation of the shamanic complex, Tokarev represents the view broadly accepted by Soviet scholars, whereas Findeisen, in maintaining his emphasis on the mediumistic-spiritual experience of the shaman as the supporting

feature of the phenomenal complex, joins with the western line of interpretation centring around ecstasy.

Gustav Ränk has in fact pointed out that the Russian scholars, primarily Dmitriy Zelenin, regard shamanism as having a long history in which neither ecstasy nor spirits have as yet played any notable part. Ecstasy and the helping spirit system both belong to a later stage in the long history of shamanism.⁴¹ Zelenin links the development of shamanism with changes in the structure of the community and considers that in the earlier stage, which may be described as a primitive communism, the shaman was only a nature healer who by using certain techniques, such as sucking, tried to drive sicknesses from a patient's body. At the second stage, which in the social sense coincides with the birth of feudalism, the above practices were supplemented by the idea of spirits capable of seizing a patient's soul, and the idea of a shaman capable of resisting the evil forces by means of his deeds in the world beyond and his helping spirits. Only at this stage did ecstasy begin to gain any considerable status in Siberian shamanism, since only through trance was the shaman able to rise to the same plane as the supranormal forces. Zelenin also regards the ecstatic behaviour of the shaman chiefly as a pathological sign and regards it as a natural gift rather than a product of culture.⁴² As was clear from Vdovin's statement, Zelenin's theories have been received with reservations even in Soviet research. Vdovin's criticism is, however, levelled mainly at the methodological weaknesses of earlier research, including that of Zelenin. Zelenin's main theory of the linking of shamanism with changes in the structure of the community is also repeated in his theses: shamanism is a form of religious consciousness which was found everywhere among the people of ancient Siberia and the North and which stood at different stages of the dissolution of the primitive communal system and transition to class society. He stresses that "like all other forms of ideology, shamanism did not stand still; it was not an unchanging or fixed phenomenon, but developed and altered together with the social, economic and cultural development of the given people".⁴³ In Vdovin's opinion, A. A. Anisimov has been most successful in realising the demands of modern Soviet research into shamanism. Before Anisimov began to study the development of shamanism among the Western Evenks he delved deep into the history of their clan community⁴⁴ and also conducted thorough fieldwork in the region. Thus he had an above-average chance of understanding the social implications of the religious thought of the Evenks, particularly as he also possessed a thorough knowledge of the religious systems of other Siberian peoples.

Many of the younger generation Soviet students of shamanism themselves come from the people whose tradition they are studying. With their command of the language and culture of the given nation they are in a far better

position than the older researchers to understand the implications and special features of the religious cults. Such scholars are N. A. Alekseyev⁴⁵, T. M. Mikhaylov⁴⁶, and C. M. Taksami⁴⁷. Interesting from the point of view of folklore is the attempt at classification of the oral tradition attached to shamanism by the expert on Buryat shamanism T. M. Mikhaylov, especially since, being ethnologists shaman scholars have paid almost no attention to the folkloric side of the phenomenon.⁴⁸ In collaboration with P. P. Khoro-shikh, Mikhaylov has also compiled a bibliography on Buryat shamanism⁴⁹ containing some five hundred entries and showing the extent of interest in shamanism among Russian and Soviet researchers.

Apart from investigating the history of the development of the shamanic phenomenological complex the Soviet scholars have made use of analysis of the elements of religion in throwing light on the ethnogenetic ties between the Siberian peoples.⁵⁰ For example, N. A. Alekseyev, noting that the religious terminology of the Yakuts contains references to the fauna of regions to their south, concludes that they moved to their present habitations from the south. Further, since their tradition shows no signs of a knowledge of Genghis Khan, that the migration came before the 13th century.⁵¹

2.2. *Phenomenological approaches.* Beside historical aspects the phenomenological approach has been most widely represented in the shamanic research tradition. Features typical of such research are the division of the shamanic complex into its components, examination of the ecstatic behaviour of the shaman, the spirit-helper system, initiatory visions, the journey of the soul to the Beyond or the characteristics of the shamanic cosmology, followed by an attempt to indicate the cultural-historical or geographical ties between these components. The chief problems have often concerned the question as to which of the features of shamanism is most fundamental or vital to the entire phenomenon. Thus although the phenomenologists have abandoned the study of the history of shamanism they resemble historically-oriented researchers in their search for the heart of shamanism, and thus often its most original features. In fact the phenomenological and historical attempts at explanation often overlap, and phenomenological evaluation is often followed by placing the phenomenon in a historical framework. It is typical that Åke Hultkrantz, for example, who declared himself a phenomenologist and functionalist⁵², in his article concentrating on the definition of shamanism seizes on questions concerning the cultural-historical background to the phenomenon before he comes to the last page, placing shamanism in "basically individualistic, predominantly bilateral hunting societies", these being precisely the oldest known cultures of prehistoric man.⁵³

One of the biggest arguments in phenomenological research concerns

the role of ecstasy as the most characteristic feature of shamanism. Mircea Eliade, a religious historian and phenomenologist, in fact calls shamanism simply a technique of ecstasy.⁵⁴ The fundamental nature of ecstasy as the supporter of the shamanic rite technique cannot be denied, and its central position among the functions of the shaman has been examined by e.g. M. Hermanns⁵⁵, I. M. Lewis⁵⁶, R. Th. Christiansen⁵⁷ and A. Closs⁵⁸, in addition to Eliade. On the other hand Eliade's view has also attracted criticism; ecstasy is extensive as a religious phenomenon and is not sufficient as a factor explaining Siberian shamanism in its entirety, not even when — as Eliade proposes — it receives ideological content from the concepts of the shaman's ascent to the sky.⁵⁹ In stressing the ascent-to-the-sky element Eliade concludes that possession, the entering of the spirit into the shaman's body, is a non-shamanic feature.⁶⁰ He overlooks the fact that possession, as a technical feat, also requires a state of ecstasy as its basis. Many scholars have expressed an opinion on this contraversial issue. Dominik Schröder, for example, claims that it is only a question of the difference characterizing two types of shaman.⁶¹ László Vajda likewise holds reservations over the stressing of the ascent to the sky as the idea supporting the entire complex. He concentrates his criticism in the following thoughts: the shaman also has functions in which the ecstatic ascent to the sky plays no part; although the ascent to the sky does constitute one typical component of shamanism, it cannot explain all the other components; there is no cult myth combining the shaman's ascent to the sky with the events of ancient times.⁶² A view opposing that of Eliade on the question of possession is held by Hans Findeisen, in whose extensive output⁶³ the supporting theory is the indication of the shaman's spiritual-mediumistic connections. In treating the shaman as a religious specialist, a priest, operating only through possession, Findeisen is guilty of a one-sidedness similar to that of Eliade. Not all the phenomena of the shamanic complex can be explained along the possession-priest line⁶⁴. Without going any further into the other themes for debate in shamanic phenomenology (such as the erotic dependence of the shaman on the world of spirits⁶⁵, the shamanic transvestition⁶⁶, the mystic death of the candidate⁶⁷) it must be noted that the biggest gap in historical-phenomenological research has been the division of the shamanic complex into its components. In outlining the nature or history of the entire institution on the basis of one feature, even valuable observations have easily led to one-sided emphases and hindered the clarification of the overall picture.

2.3. *Psychological and social-psychological explanations.* The vital prerequisite for the shaman's ecstatic behaviour, nervous sensitivity, which comes out particularly during the initiation period as the shaman's illness, has led to

questions on the psychophysical prerequisites of an elected shaman. The mental divergence noted by eye-witnesses has been explained as hysteria, or epilepsy, psychosis or schizophrenia.⁶⁸ Representing the earlier psychological aspect were Bogoras⁶⁹, Czaplicka⁷⁰, and Georg Tschubinow⁷¹, the last of these basing his research approach on Wilhelm Wundt's development psychology model. Czaplicka regards the basis of shamanism as 'arctic hysteria', but points out the shaman's ability to control his fits himself.⁷² The involuntary sickness of the inspiration stage, visions, hallucinations and fits of torment, even intermittent insanity, all of which can be cured only by shamanizing, and full control of the technique of ecstasy at the shaman stage, the mastery of the neurophysiological processes of one's own body, have in their apparent contradiction given rise to the most highly disputed question in shamanic research: the mental sickness and health of the shaman. In addition to Czaplicka Bogoras and Jochelson also placed the tendencies of the shaman under the heading arctic hysteria.⁷³ The shaman's sickness is in fact very close to many known states of hysteria in Siberia, e.g. among the Yakuts there from time to time appears a form of hysteria in the nature of an epidemic, called a *menerik*⁷⁴, and often referred to in speaking of the loss of equilibrium of the shaman. Troshchanskiy, among others, points out this similarity. According to him shamans reach a state similar to a *menerik* fit in the course of a *séance*. *Meneriks*, or according to Troshchanskiy epileptics, nevertheless differ from shamans in that they are unable to attain a state of ecstasy through their own will.⁷⁵ Åke Ohlmarks, who claims that the basis of shamanism is precisely the psychopathological tendency of the shaman, also speaks of arctic hysteria, explaining that above all this is caused by vitamin deficiencies in the arctic region, and that at root it is thus dependent on natural conditions.⁷⁶ The scholars that have linked shamanism with arctic hysteria have not made allowance for the ecstatic cult systems of, for example, South America or Africa. How can the visions of the North-American Indians, for example, which to a great extent parallel the initiatory visions of the Siberian shaman, be explained by this view stressing arctic hysteria? It is, however, clear that shamans differ from normal people to some extent in their psychophysical make-up, whether this divergence is expressed as a hysterical tendency or merely as an extra-sensitive ability to enter into different situations, adapt to the demands of various roles — and debate on the nature and degree of the deviation of the shaman has remained lively until very recent times.⁷⁷ In particular those American scholars who have been able to do field work among the North-American Indians and Eskimos have conducted psychological tests on shamans, the results of which have, surprisingly enough, been highly conflicting.⁷⁸

More rewarding than the analysis of the individual psychological pre-

requisites of the shaman have been the research methods in which reactions at the psychological level have been approached through the needs and demands made by the social milieu.⁷⁹ It must, however, be noted that unfortunately the relation between the shaman and the community, the social-psychological aspects of shamanism, have not, with a few exceptions (primarily S. M. Shirokogoroff) been of much interest to those still able to examine Siberian shamanism in a living context. There are numerous questions that will never be answered, and the works of those forced to rely on the material available easily taste of reconstruction.

3. THE SHAMAN'S ROLE-TAKING TECHNIQUE AS A RESEARCH PROBLEM — THE BASIC POINT OF DEPARTURE

The shamanizing séance, the ritual performance embodying the shaman's public activity, is the key to understanding the whole ideology behind shamanism. The shaman encounters spirits, practises drumming and singing technique in solitude even (during the study stage this is essential), but his fundamental task as mediator between this and the other world can only be actualized in situations led up to by an acute need within the community and in which the shaman's principals are present as the other pole to the bridge between this world and the other one. Represented in the séance are all the basic elements of shamanism; the ritual objects and above all the shaman's requisites symbolically bring out aspects of the shamanic view of the world, and it is attended by representatives of the community and the supranormal world and the channel of communication between them, the shaman and his assistants. As the essence of the séance is the acquiring and passing on of information, it is clear that the shamanic rite technique is primarily a technique of communication. The séance constitutes a traditional and schematic state of interaction in which agents or role-occupants following learnt behavioural models always represent three basic groups, though the inner strength of these groups may vary in both number and nature. It is the duty of the shaman to create a state of interaction, to bring out both his own task as mediator and also the role of the supranormal figures in the ritual performance. The working hypothesis or basic premise of this research could be crystallized in the following statement: the technique of communication used by the shaman as a creator of a state of interaction between this world and the other world is fundamentally an ecstatic role-taking technique. The idea is not in itself new. Dominik Schröder has tried to describe the action of the shaman in this state of interaction,

saying that "shamanism as the art of ecstasy is fundamentally the art of transformation".¹ In his article "Role-taking of the Shaman" Lauri Honko, with the aid of social-psychological terminology, clarifies the vague idea sought by Schröder. He says that the art of transformation mentioned by Schröder is fundamentally the art of social role-changing.² But what is the art of ecstatic transformation or the art of social role-changing? The claim that the shamanic rite technique is communicative and ecstatic only covers the nature of the shaman's action visible at first sight. What does ecstaticism mean in the shaman's performance? How do role changes or the shaman's role-taking technique link up with his ecstatic behaviour? Do these factors lend structure to the course of the shamanic séance, or does the séance as an entity take shape on completely different bases? What is the state of interaction between this world and the other world created by the shaman, and why is it accomplished? Whom does the shaman represent, and what does he do for their benefit? Or does he perhaps act only for his own good? Ultimately: what is shamanism? This chain of questions could be continued even further. We find a phenomenon dealing with one form of ecstatic encounter with the supranormal of global proportions on the one hand and specific, strictly culturally-bound systems of beliefs and ritual practices on the other. As the "working hypothesis" presented above showed, this research concentrates above all on determining the basic features of the shaman's ecstatic rite technique. Since rite technique cannot as such be detached from its organic context, the research also has to throw light on the basic question: what does shamanism signify as a community phenomenon? As shamanism is no longer a living tradition in its classic home in Siberia and Central Asia it is of use to approach the problem from two directions: a) first to examine the shamanic technique of ecstasy as a culturally-bound ASC phenomenon³ and try to throw light on it on the basis of the results provided by experimental research into the psycho-physical mechanisms of trance technique, and 2) to try to analyse shamanism and the forms of activity carried out by the shaman on the basis of observations and factual material collected among certain ethnic groups in Siberia and Central Asia. The problem then breaks down into the following interdependent components:

a) *Shamanism as a community phenomenon.* What is the status and role of the shaman in his community?⁴ Is it even possible to find common criteria for defining the position of the shaman among different ethnic groups? What do the shaman's duties comprise in different communities? On what basis are these duties determined? What is the nature of the shaman's "community", the band of supporters he represents? What is his relation towards this band of supporters; what are his rights and what are his obligations towards other members of the community? What are the factors influencing

the existence and maintaining of shamanic practices among different forms of communities? How does the social and economic structure of the community or its ecological adaptability effect the shaman's position or the form which shamanism takes?

b) *Shamanism as an institutionalized mode of behaviour.* Are shamanic practices so established, continuous and controlled by specific supporters of tradition that we can speak of shamanism the institution? Does the degree of institutionalism of the shamanic complex vary? If it does, then why? How is the position of shaman attained? What is the initiation stage like? How is the tradition passed on? What are the conditions for being elected shaman and how is the initiation stage controlled?

c) *Shamanism as a belief tradition.* What sorts of elements are peculiar to shamanic belief systems or a shamanic outlook on the world? In what sort of oral or objectual tradition is the substance of belief embodied? In what form is the tradition passed on? How does the shamanic belief tradition link up with other forms of religious thinking in each band of supporters? What elements of the shamanic belief complex hold the key position as regards the shaping of the shaman's ritual behaviour?

d) *Shamanism as a ritual system of action.* What are the aims of the shaman's ritual action and on what basis are they determined? What methods are employed in aspiring towards these aims? What is the structure of the shamanizing séance and what sort of factors effect the form it takes? What are the basic psycho-physical mechanisms of the shaman's technique of ecstasy? What part does the manifestation of supranormal counter-roles play in the shaman's technique of ecstasy? How does the shaman's ecstatic role-taking technique structure the course of the séance? What part does the audience play in determining the séance as an entity?

B. THE THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE AND RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

4. CULTURALLY PATTERNED ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS

4.1. *Altered states of consciousness.* The shaman's technique of ecstasy, regarded at times as a symptom of a pathological state and at times as "cold-blooded" playacting, is one link in a series of extensive phenomena highly varied in form. Although the research tradition concerned with ecstatic behaviour¹ is already becoming established and has in recent years in particular come to the fore along with such western sub-cultures as the hippie movement revolving around mysticism and drugs, researchers still lack a common language and theory. Phenomena in this sphere are referred to by such names as trance, possession, ecstasy, fugue states, vision, dream, hysteria, hallucinations, catalepsy, epilepsy, hypnosis, somnambulism, etc.², which find themselves on widely differing conceptual planes, some referring to physical-psychic changes that can be objectively observed, others being based on theories explaining phenomena within the cultures being studied. The situation is most vexatious when one name is used for phenomena clearly of differing types. For example, Erika Bourguignon points out that ethnographic literature very often uses the term 'trance' for hallucinatory or visionary states in cases where these states have been induced by drugs.³ The confusion of concepts springs from two easily understandable factors: firstly, scholars who have approached the sphere have come from very different academic backgrounds and branches of learning, such as ethnology, anthropology, comparative religion; psychology or psychiatry. Secondly, the field observations made by ethnologists on ecstatic behaviour are so incomplete that using them it is difficult to name the phenomenon by means of exact psychological terminology. The latter problem is familiar to every student of Siberian shamanism and also appears frequently in the present research. Since the investigator of shamanism cannot avoid the subject and since the central concept of the research, 'role-taking' in the case of shamanism, is connected specifically with behaviour aiming at ecstasy, so that instead of the role-taking of the shaman it would be better to speak of the ecstatic role-taking of the shaman, I shall attempt to disclose the nature of culturally-bound ecstatic behaviour and to show the conceptual limits resorted to in this research.

Recent research has adopted the general term *altered states of consciousness*, ASC's, to express this sphere. This has been defined by Arnold Ludwig,

a researcher in the neurophysiological processes leading to the states in question as follows: "I shall regard 'altered states of consciousness' (hereafter referred to as 'ASC's') as those mental states, induced by various physiological, psychological, or pharmacological maneuvers or agents, which can be recognized subjectively by the individual himself (or by an objective observer of the individual) as representing a sufficient deviation, in terms of subjective experience or psychological functioning, from certain general norms as determined by the subjective experience and psychological functioning of that individual during alert, waking consciousness. This sufficient deviation may be represented by a greater preoccupation with internal sensations or mental processes than is usual, by changes in the formal characteristics of thought, and by impairment of reality-testing to various degrees."⁴ The concept thus covers all states of consciousness outside the normal waking state. Ludwig himself, for example, includes day dreams, sleep and dream states, hypnosis, sensory deprivation, hysterical states of dissociation and depersonalization, and pharmacologically-induced mental aberrations.⁵

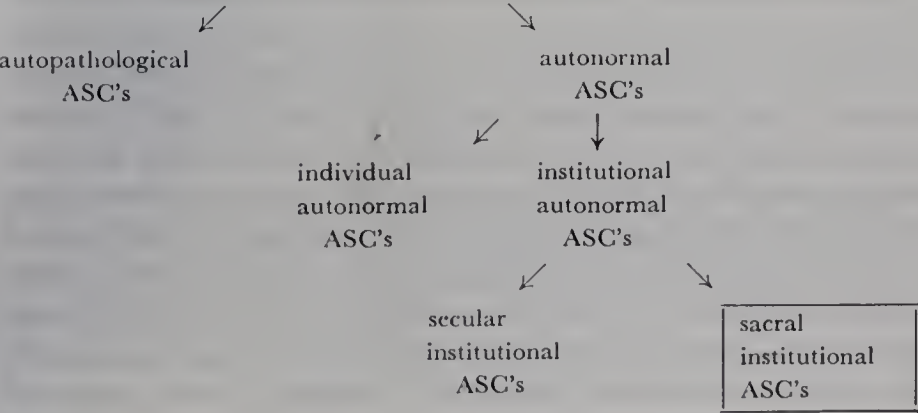
If we approach this group of phenomena from an anthropological perspective the first and most important observation is that although some ASC's are perceived as deviations and sick behaviour, very many of them are normal in their own cultures and are even modes of behaviour worth aspiring towards. They are not only socially accepted but specially sought after. Jackson Steward Lincoln draws the reader's attention to the functional bipartition occurring in the realm of dreams and visions. He says that among the so-called primitive people dreams always fall into two very different categories. In the first category are spontaneous dreams during sleep — dreams that are thus unsought and which he calls individual dreams. The second category comprises the sought or induced 'culture pattern' dreams of special tribal significance that are called traditional dreams.⁶ One could comment on the statement by recalling that e.g. the shaman's initiatory visions are usually interpreted as unsought. On the other hand they are, nevertheless, precisely the culturally patterned dreams mentioned by Lincoln. The question of involuntariness is difficult in the sense that the motivation for dreams, which in the case of such culturally patterned dreams is sure to exist, may be deep in the subconscious. In other words, the dreamer does not acknowledge his motivation in any way. In principle Lincoln's distinction between the sought and the unsought acts as a notable distinguishing factor in the case of other ASC's also. In primitive communities the seeking of ACS's may serve as a means purely of random pleasure or entertainment; among the Paleoasian peoples, for example, the use of amanita mushrooms as a substitute for alcohol has been known.⁷ In most cases it is, however, a question of an institutionalized action of fixed form and important to the

community, generally with religious connections.⁸

Do such institutionalized ecstatic phenomena existing in primitive communities represent modes of behaviour that can be regarded as normal or as pathological? This is a question on which psychological anthropology has taken conflicting stands.⁹ It is understandable that researchers in whose own cultures the given phenomena are only pathological deviations have met with dispute over interpretation. The questions are difficult, the symptoms of states of ecstasy even in institutionalized systems border on easily defined pathological states. On the other hand it has been noted that the difference between pathological, i.e. abnormal, and normal, i.e. institutionalized, sacred behaviour can also be seen clearly within the given communities. For example, in shamanic cultures incidental attacks of hysteria may be looked on as a state of sickness caused by the spirits and calling for healing measures. Erwin H. Ackerknecht, in agreement with Ruth Benedict¹⁰ and A. L. Kroeber¹¹, emphasizes the view that normality within a very wide range is culturally defined.¹² He uses the terms *autonormal* and *autopathological* for states whose normality or abnormality is determined by the community itself. This is also the only true definition of normality that he will accept. States that are defined as normal or pathological according to the scale in our community, i.e. on western medical grounds, he calls *heteronormal* or *heteropathological*.¹³ The distinction is important and transfers the problem of debating the normality or pathologicalness of the phenomena to consideration of their community significance.

Various ASC's have very different functions in different communities and cultures. Likewise the same forms of ecstatic behaviour take on different functions according to cultural variation. The following scheme based on several distinctions aims to show the ASC's from various fields in which the anthropology and in particular the comparative religion is interested:

ALTERED STATES OF CONSCIOUSNESS = ASC's



Autopathological ASC's naturally comprise all states regarded in their cultures as pathological. In primitive communities no distinction is necessarily made between physical and mental illness. Disturbed mental balance can be explained just as well as e.g. internal disease along the same scheme: a demon of disease has entered the man, he has been bewitched, etc. The vital point is not how a person is said to be ill or abnormal but that he is found to be in need of care. The shaman's initiatory illness, for example, with its visions and states of torment, is often one of these autopathological states. Not until after the shamanizing therapy of his initiatory period does he reach a stage considered in his community as normal. Witness of this are countless stories of shamans in which the pattern 'I fell ill — I began to shamanize — I was healed' is repeated. As examples of ASC's regarded by their community as normal but concerning an individual, i.e. random states, we may mention the trances in western cultures induced by hypnosis or drugs. Secular but nevertheless patterned trance behaviour bound to community institutions may also be taken to include, e.g. 'experimentary sensory deprivation states' and 'brainwashing states'.¹⁴ Almost all the information on institutionalized ecstatic behaviour among primitive peoples refers to sacral connections.¹⁵ One example are the states of ecstasy of the youths of the Samburu tribe, a relation of the East African Masais, which have no religious associations and which are explained as being caused by prolonged frustration in youth.¹⁶ We may indeed note that one feature of the autonormal ASC's appearing in primitive cultures is that they are connected with man's striving to gain contact with the supranormal, the Beyond, and that they are culturally patterned, institutionalized phenomena.

4.2. *Features of altered states of consciousness.* In order to be able to understand or interpret the incomplete reports of ecstasy and possession based on the momentary impressions of eyewitnesses appearing in ethnographic literature correctly, the reader must be familiar with the features characteristic of altered states of consciousness. The matter cannot be approached completely objectively. The scale describing the outward behaviour of the ecstatic, likewise his feelings or observations, is very wide. The same external stimulation may also, in the case of various individuals, lead to ASC's differing from one another. As I shall attempt to show later in dealing with the technique of ecstasy, the factors leading to personal ASC experiences lie at many levels and are always weighted according to the demands of the situation and the motivations and hopes of each individual.¹⁷ The subjective content of experiences is influenced by the culturally-dependent, e.g. belief, frames of reference the ecstatic has learnt to associate with ASC's, i.e. during his trance the shaman meets his spirit-helper, a Christian, possibly Christ or

the Virgin Mary. Differences in the nervous systems of individuals also affect their response to various stimuli and thus shape the nature and degree of the alteration of consciousness. The phenomena classified as altered states of consciousness do, however, have certain common features according to which their close relationship can be shown. Arnold Ludwig has tried to define these natural properties, though pointing out that some are more, some less typical of different individual cases:¹⁸

1. Alteration in thinking
 - inward shift in direction of attention; disturbed memory, concentration, judgement.
2. Disturbed time sense.
3. Loss of control
 - may gain greater control or truth through loss of conscious control, e.g., identity with source of greater power.
4. Change in emotional expression
 - less control, inhibition; more primitive, extreme emotions; may be detached.
5. Body image changes
 - depersonalization, body-mind schism, dissolution of boundaries between self and others or universe, feeling of oneness or transcendence.
6. Perceptual distortions — hallucinations and pseudohallucinations
 - content of perceptual aberrations determined by culture, group, individual, (and)/or neurophysiological factors. May represent wish fulfillment, expression of basic fears or conflicts, or phenomena of little dynamic importance.
7. Change in meaning or significance
 - attach increased meaning or significance to subjective experiences, ideas, perceptions in such state; often feelings of profound truth, insight, illumination. This feeling of increased significance or importance is one of most important features of religious or mystical consciousness, and is probably a major feature in stabilizing many religious groups.
8. Sense of ineffable
 - because unique, subjective experience, hard to communicate nature or essence to one who has not undergone it; tendency not to remember.
9. Feelings of rejuvenation, renewed hope.
10. Hypersuggestibility
 - increased propensity of person to accept and/or automatically respond to specific statements, i.e., commands or instructions of leader, or to non-specific cues as cultural group expectations. The distinguishing feature of these states is the hypnotized subject's emotional conviction that the world is as suggested by the hypnotist rather than a pseudo-perception based on this suggestion. There is also a reduction of the effective range of the critical faculties with an attendant decrease in the capacity for reality testing, i.e., an inability to distinguish between subjective and objective reality. This situation creates a compensatory need to bolster such faculties by seeking props and guidance in an effort to relieve the anxiety usually associated with such a loss of control. There is increased reliance on an authority who is seen as omnipotent.

With the 'dissolution of self boundaries', an important feature of ASC's, the subject has a tendency to identify with an authority (in possession this would be

the god or spirit, priest, and total community) whose wishes and commands are seen as the individual's own. As a result of all these factors there occurs a mono-motivational or supramotivational state in which the person strives to realize in concrete behavior, the thoughts or ideas he experiences as subjective reality. This subjective reality is determined by the expectations of the authority figure or group as well as by the individual's own wishes and fears. In an altered state of consciousness in which external direction and structure are ambiguous or ill-defined (e.g., panic, acute psychosis) the person's internal mental productions are his major guide in the perception of reality, and thus have a large role in determining his behavior. In this case the subject is more susceptible to the dictates of his emotions and the fantasies and thoughts associated with them than to the directions given by the other people.

Examining shamanic phenomena in the light of Ludwig's list of features, we see that most of the properties he mentions well describe the state reached by the shaman during his ritual activity. Changes in the field of observation and body image, loss of grip on reality and self-control, which may lead to identification with authority, in the case of the shaman with supranormal powers, are all typical marks of identification of shamanic ecstasy. It also appears that some of the basic elements of the shamanic tradition can be explained on the basis of typical marks of identification of altered states of consciousness. A sense of depersonalization and transcendence may in itself act as an impetus to cosmic journey fantasies. Without doubt such feelings are at the very bottom of the tradition containing the schism between mind and body. Also of interest are Ludwig's observations on the feeling of rejuvenation which, he mentions, are sometimes so deep that one may speak of a feeling of being reborn.¹⁹ The feeling of the death of the old self and the birth of a new self is one of the basic elements of shamanic and of many other initiatory experiences. The fact that the initiatory visions are experienced as really important and revolutionary is most probably influenced by a feeling of great importance mentioned by Ludwig as being part of transitional visions. Ludwig himself says that during an LSD test in which he was the test person a notice attached to the wall of the washroom absorbed his attention to such an extent that he felt he had found a universal and fundamental truth.²⁰ William James already drew people's attention to the feeling of being close to fundamental truths that can be brought about by drugs.²¹ This experience, which is also typical of ASC's other than those induced by drugs, is without doubt one of the most important factors e.g. in recognising visions as being of religious significance and assimilating its message as one giving direction to life as a whole. Ludwig's 'hypersuggestibility' and 'loss of control' point to the psychic mechanisms that are among the most obvious models for explaining the trance technique of those resorting to drugs. I shall return to these concepts outlining the neurophysiological

and psychic processes leading to ecstasy.

4.3. *Concepts referring to altered consciousness.* Examination of the sets of concepts concerning altered states of consciousness shows that they are very unsystematical. With the exception of Erika Bourguignon no one has, for example, attempted to make a clear type classification of ASC phenomena.²² Before proceeding to terminological definitions it is useful to decide the bases on which concepts established through practice have been formed. We may ask whether the starting point for the term is 1) a culturally-bound complex of concepts, i.e. a native explanation accepted into scientific language, or 2) a scientific view attempting to express psychophysical phenomena. In the latter case it is further necessary to be aware of a) whether the term refers to some manifestation of an altered state of consciousness or b) whether its basis is the process by which the given state is reached. Analysis of the terms is extremely important when studying culturally patterned and institutionalized ASC's for the simple reason that the field has been approached from very different scientific frames of reference and the language used has naturally enough become highly chequered.

The anthropological literature uses the words *trance*, *ecstasy* and *possession* as general terms for given states. The last of these, sometimes wrongly used as a synonym for the first two, springs from culturally-bound concepts. It is based on native theory according to which a supranormal being may enter a person's body and take command. The behaviour of the person is then regarded as being caused by the spirit in whose power he finds himself. As a term *possession* thus refers only to the concept of the presence of a supranormal being in the human body. It is significant that the possession theory is very often used to explain phenomena falling specifically within the field of altered states of consciousness. Anthony F. C. Wallace interprets three types of ASC's using the concept of possession: "Now the possession theory happens to be frequently applied, in folk beliefs, to three very different classes of phenomena, for each of which other terms exist. One of these is hallucination; the second is hysterical dissociation (including multiple personality, fugues, somnambulism, conversion hysterias, and hypnotic states); the third is obsessive ideation and compulsive action. Clinically, these are distinguishable phenomena. But any one, or group of them can be, in folk theory, explained by the mechanism of possession."²³ Since the possession belief also appears in contexts other than those requiring an altered state of consciousness, Erika Bourguignon proposes the expression *possession trance* for ecstatic states interpreted by the concept of possession.²⁴ General adoption of the term would signify healthy linguistic precision, though it is serviceable primarily to the anthropologists in showing that abnormal psychophysical

behaviour is, in a given case, explained by the concept of possession. The psychologist or neurologist would ask what sorts of psychophysical changes a possession trance represents and whether its inherent ASC features can be defined. Some scholars have interpreted the possession trance as a hypnotic state.²⁵ This theory is better suited to explaining the psychic process leading to an altered state of consciousness rather than indicating the symptoms by which trance itself is expressed. However much opinion may vary as to its basic nature²⁶, *hypnosis* refers primarily to a specific means of inducing a trance. Although western use of hypnosis for scientific or medical purposes is firmly established, so that it can most commonly be described as "a sleep-like state and a relationship to the hypnotist wherein the subject will automatically and uncritically follow his dictates"²⁷, its forms can be regarded as having changed considerably since its breakthrough, the days of Mesmer. Van der Walde sees this change as proving that hypnosis as a phenomenon is very much a product of the cultural environment in which it appears.²⁸

The above quotation from Wallace shows the types of phenomena he considers to be covered by the possession trance. However, the states he mentions also appear in many other cultural contexts. As regards hallucinatory experiences in particular, a) they are distinct forms of religious experience covering an immense scale, but b) they are not clearly typical just in possession cases. Erika Bourguignon states outright that hallucinations do not fall within the sphere of possession behaviour.²⁹ Thus according to her possession trance should be distinguishable as a type of trance of its own also on the basis of behaviour and the psychophysical reactions regulating it.

The term *trance* is used relatively loosely as a name for an altered state of consciousness. Despite the fact that the concept is already fully established and its approximate meaning can be conceived with ease, few have embarked on a precise definition. Statements like this one by Jeannette H. Henney are typical: "trance' refers to behavior that may be manifested in a variety of ways — hallucinations, compulsive actions, and the like"³⁰, which refer in summary fashion only to the phenomena in question. Van der Walde, who employs cross-cultural comparison in an attempt to determine the basic nature of states of trance, says: "trance states are a class of ego mechanisms designed to allow for the discharge of basic drives in a goal-oriented manner."³¹ The statement chiefly determines the mechanism of preparation for trance and does not indicate the symptoms by which such states can be recognised. In other words it is of no use in contending with ethnographic trance-descriptions. On the other hand in emphasizing that, as a culturally-bound phenomena also influenced by many personal psychological and situational factors, trance behaviour varies from case to case, van der Walde comes to the heart of the problem of definition.³² The psycho-biological

signs of trance are so diverse that it is pointless to aim at anything but a loose definition. We may say that trance is a form of behaviour deviating from the normal in wakeful state and possessing a specific cultural significance, typical features being a changing of the grip of reality and the self-concept, with the intensity of change varying from slight cases to complete loss of consciousness. As a psychophysical phenomenon trance is thus an altered state of consciousness and its characteristic features can be found from the above list of ASC phenomena by Arnold Ludwig. These two concepts should, however, be kept separate, since ASC's have also been taken to include normal REM sleep in addition to trance behaviour.³³ On the other hand, even if states of sleep were not included among ASC's proper, the concepts have a different reference background in the sense that in speaking of ASC's we are operating specifically at psychophysical reaction level, whereas in speaking of trance we may also take into consideration the cultural significance and context of the phenomenon. The term 'trance' can be used to cover precisely the institutionalized and sacral ASC's dictated by culturally patterned behaviour.

Another term used especially in literature on religious phenomena for the deep experiences involved in an ASC is the concept of *ecstasy*. Ernst Arbman outlines the traditional context of the concept in very clear terms: "In all its forms and manifestations . . . the ecstasy shows itself unmistakably as a state of mind in which the consciousness of the believer has been involuntarily absorbed in the religious complex which in the state by which it was preceded constituted its sole exclusively dominating content or object, and in such a way that it has in its entirety been drawn under the more or less untrammelled automatic control of the latter . . . I have in several passages in the foregoing chosen to designate and describe the ecstasy of the religious trance as a state of suggestive absorption."³⁴ I would like to change the word 'involuntarily' in Arbman's statement, for it excludes ecstatic phenomena appearing in ritual connections and shows that in shaping his definition the writer had in mind primarily the mystic tradition of western highly developed religions. In defining ecstasy as "a state of suggestive absorption" Arbman hints at the psychological mechanism for achieving ecstasy. As terms 'trance' and 'ecstasy' do not differ from one another, except that the former is favoured primarily by anthropologists, the latter by students of comparative religion.

Typical of ASC's are changes of perception. Events in perception processes without the stimulus normally causing perception are called *hallucinations*. Wallace calls hallucinatory phenomena pseudo-perceptions: "'hallucination' will be defined, very broadly, as pseudoperception, without relevant stimu-

lation of external or internal sensory receptors, but with subjective vividness equal to that aroused by stimulation. Included in its extension, therefore, are dreams, the waking 'hallucinations' of psychiatric terminology, and hypnogogic imagery; excluded is the fainter audiovisual imagery of reflective thought."³⁵ Wallace thus extends the concept of hallucination to cover dreams and not only waking experiences, which to some extent makes it non-operational. On the other hand the ethnographic reports of supranormal experiences do not often clearly state whether the experiences took place during waking or sleeping. It is difficult to decide, e.g. from the reports of shamanic initiatory visions, the psychophysical state of the shaman at the time. The most vital point about initiatory visions is in fact the recognition of its importance, experienced content, and not so much the nature of the event procedure. In place of hallucination, illusion³⁶ and other psychologically weighted terminology I shall use the term *vision*, a term used in comparative religion for the pseudopereceptions within shamanism.³⁷

5. THE TECHNIQUE OF ECSTASY IN THE LIGHT OF NEUROPHYSIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

5.1. *Factors leading to an altered state of consciousness.* The reason why shamanic ecstasy has been described with so many different name tags pointing to a psychopathological state lies chiefly in the fact that opinion on the psychophysical mechanism constituting the framework of the shaman's ecstatic technique has varied. The religious meaning or social functions of trance behaviour are indeed many times easier to unearth than the process of change at physical and psychic level creating the basis for this behaviour. Due to the nature of the phenomenon experimental research is difficult, even outright impossible, and the traditional forms of, in particular, Siberian shamanism are inaccessible by this route since they have almost disappeared. Conclusions have to be drawn from eyewitness accounts and the statements by the few psychologically oriented researchers who have happened to be in the field. On the other hand phenomena related to the Siberian shamanic trance, either possession among such cults as the voodoo ceremonies of Haiti or in the religious institutions of the North and South American Indians have been studied in their true contexts, using the approaches and methods of modern psychology. There is also already a considerable amount of experimental data on trances induced by drugs, hypnotism or sensory deprivation. By placing the shamanic technique of ecstasy beside parallel modes of behaviour, possibly of different cultural background, we find the guidelines for analysing its basic psychophysical properties.

The ways in which people have pursued trance or an altered state of consciousness, or found themselves in such a state, are generally speaking highly varied, ranging from mechanical stimuli of the nervous system to chains of effect of such psychic factors as states of mind and motivations. We may, however, mention four regions of the human organism the disturbance of whose balance, in one way or another, leads to altered consciousness. These are a) the normal inflow of sensory stimuli, b) the normal outflow of motor impulses, c) the normal 'emotional tone', or d) the normal flow and organization of cognitive processes.¹ Arnold Ludwig, who states these four regions in debating the factors leading to an altered state of consciousness, points out that normal waking consciousness seems to demand an optimal number of external stimuli in order to be retained. Going both above and below this optimal number produces phenomena within the sphere of ASC's. Numerous studies of sensory deprivation or correspondingly observations of sensory overloading support this conclusion. R. Fisher asks what happens to a man whose voluntary motor performance is obstructed. He says that hallucinatory experiences are often the result of motor deprivation rather than sensory deprivation.² Motor deprivation induced by, e.g., hallucinogens, means an inability to control space and time dimensions. As the ability to control fails and sensory information increases, man sinks deeper and deeper into a sensory-mental realm, i.e. experiences hallucinations which Fisher, logically faithful to his theory, prefers not to call, as is customary, "perceptions without an object" but "sensations without actions".³ The part played by emotion as a factor leading to ecstatic behaviour has attracted the attention of, above all, the students of mysticism and deep religious experiences.⁴ Orlo Strunk links the arousal of emotion with the process of perception and finds himself on the tracks of one fundamental fact in saying that the closer perceived aspects (concerning religion) come to the self concept, the greater the emotional experience becomes.⁵ Strunk thus attempts to explain religious experience from a perceptual — psychological aspect. The concentrated penetration into matters felt to be important, a feature of religious life, leads to a change in the process of perception and thus to ecstatic experiences in that the religious world that is the object of penetration changes, in being internalized, into a frame of reference for perception.⁶

Ludwig presents an extensive list of the methods used in the pursuit of an altered state of consciousness. He divides these methods into five groups, according to the nature of the technique, and points out that various means may overlap:⁷

1. Reduction of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity

— result of absolute reduction of sensory input, changes in pattern of sensory data,

- or constant exposure to repetitive, monotonous stimuli.
 - includes hypnotic trance; ASC's from prolonged social isolation, e.g. mystics, ascetics.
 - (lethargy of initiation period).
2. Increase of exteroceptive stimulation and/or motor activity and/or emotion
 - excitatory mental states resulting mainly from sensory overloading or bombardment, which may or may not be accompanied by strenuous physical activity or exertion. Profound emotional arousal and mental fatigue may be major contributing factors.
 - dance and music trance in response to rhythmic drumming; hyperkinetic trance states associated with emotional mental contagion, often in group or mob setting; religious conversion and healing trance experiences during revivalistic meetings; mental aberrations associated with certain rites of passage; spirit possession states; shamanistic, divinatory, prophetic and ecstatic trances.
 3. Increased alertness or mental involvement
 - results from focused or selective hyperalertness and results of peripheral hyperalertness for prolonged periods.
 - fervent praying; total involvement in listening to dynamic speaker; trance resulting from watching a revolving object.
 4. Decreased alertness or relaxation of critical faculties
 - passive state of mind with minimum of active, goal-directed thinking.
 5. Presence of somatopsychological factors
 - results from alterations in body chemistry or neurophysiology which are deliberate or because of situation over which the individual has no control.
 - drowsiness; dehydration; hypoglycemia from fasting; (hyperventilation); hormone disturbance; sleep deprivation.

It is interesting to note that the ASC technique appearing in religious connections cover all five of Ludwig's classes. For example, the pursuit of trance through meditation comes under classes 1 and 4, the mass frenzies brought on by charismatic preachers under class 3. Ludwig places shamanism in the group 'Increase of Exteroceptive Stimulation and/or Motor Activity and/or Emotion', but it is clear that the use of hallucinogens he places in class 5 also serves as a characterization of the shamanic technique of ecstasy.⁸ It appears from some of the reports of shamanizing that the séance is preceded by a period of concentration, a type of meditation⁹, which is in marked opposition to the strongly motor behaviour of the séance itself. An investigation should be made into the types of combinations that appear among the forms of shamanism representing different cultures. The most common Siberian hallucinogen, for example, — *amanita* — is not used everywhere. In some areas it is among the normal, revered tools of the shaman, in others it marks out the user as belonging to a class of poorer or less skilled shamans. From the reports of séances we can also observe clear regional differences in the motor behaviour of the shaman. Thus Ludwig is right in referring to the possibility that the means of ecstasy he classifies may overlap. The technique of ecstasy, especially in ritual connections, seems to constitute a cumulative

process in which factors aiming at the same result but operating at various levels of man's psychophysical mechanism act as reinforcements of one another. These component processes may also come in succession. Sheila S. Walker notes that the initial stages of possession trance may be due to one factor and later stages to another.¹⁰ Thus the shamanic séance, like many other enactments of a cult, begins as a stream given momentum by rhythmic music, dance and song. We may then think of a gradual alteration of consciousness induced by sensory stimulation as opening the gates to mechanisms at psychological level.

Changes in states of consciousness are moulded by many factors: external stimuli, personal expectations and motives, social, cultural and situational demands, even properties connected with the inherited psychophysical make-up of the aspirant. In the most highly patterned connections even the combination of so many variables leads to individual differences. On the other hand when studying a phenomenon such as shamanism, in which the method of the pursuit of trance is marked by the occurrence of certain common features and whose culturally-bound meaning and social function is, loosely speaking, uniform, we may assume that despite individual variation the basic mechanism of the technique of ecstasy can be sketched. What, then, is the ideal process of the shamanic trance technique? What factors exert particular pressure in the behaviour of the shaman? On the basis of Ludwig's classification we can already conclude that some of these factors have 'mechanical' influence at neurophysiological level, while others are among more complicated brain functions, i.e. are formed from processes of a psychic nature.

5.2. *Neurophysiological changes.* In his article "Can the EEG be used in the study of possession states?" Raymond Prince states that the broader group to which possession (trances) belongs (other phenomena e.g. psychomotor epilepsy, hysterical fugue states, sleepwalking, hypnotically induced somnambulistic states, and some forms of multiple personality)¹¹ and which is characterized by three points: 1) an altered state of consciousness, 2) elaborate motor behaviour, and 3) subsequent amnesia for the duration of the altered states of consciousness, comprises two groups differing from one another as regards the physical functioning of the brain. Whereas certain states involve major neurophysiological changes that can be demonstrated by EEG, certain others display no EEG changes of note.¹² The latter group includes hysterical and hypnotically induced states of trance. The observation is significant, since both hysteria and suggestion are explanations mentioned in connection with shamanism. Since it has not been possible to study possession trance by means of EEG, Prince debates whether some other means should be employed to determine whether there are any symptoms of neuro-

physiological changes connected with these states, some features of which are reminiscent of hysterical fugue state or hypnotically induced trance. On the basis of accounts of possession he found in the literature he outlines the features connected with these states in different cultural regions. Many of them are in no way connected with hysterical phenomena. I shall quote his list of features, for in its essential points indicating neurophysiological changes it is also suitable for describing the trance behaviour of the Siberian shaman:

- 1) Induction of the state is frequently achieved through dancing to music which features a pronounced and rapid beat.
- 2) Induction frequently occurs following a period of starvation and/or a period of overbreathing.
- 3) The onset of possession is marked by a brief period of inhibition or collapse.
- 4) In the neophyte, collapse may be followed by a period of hyperactivity; once experience is acquired, a controlled, deity-specific behavior pattern emerges.
- 5) During the state of possession there is frequently a fine tremor of head and limbs; sometimes grosser, convulsive jerks occur. A diminution of sensory acuity may be evident.
- 6) Return to normal consciousness is followed by a sleep of exhaustion, from which subject awakens in a state of mild euphoria.¹³

Of these hypoglycaemia and overbreathing, the initial state of collapse, muscular jerks, and fine tremors of the head and limbs involve neurophysiological changes discernible by EEG¹⁴. The shamanic séance may be preceded by a period of starvation, and examples of changes in breathing have likewise been recorded. Loss of consciousness, which has sometimes been regarded as a sign of pure, original shamanism¹⁵ and during which, according to shamanic theory, the soul of the shaman leaves the body, is a feature often connected with séances but one that does not necessarily occur. Perhaps the most important sign of neurophysiological changes in the behaviour of shaman is a specific tremor of the head and limbs and the occurrence of muscle jerks. They are also properties that reporters of séances have observed and noted down in flowing terms. The noting of the features presented above in conjunction with accounts of séances is important in that by using them we can to some extent indicate whether the trance in question is real or imitation.¹⁶

5.3. *The effect of rhythmical stimulus on the central nervous system.* What, then, are the reasons for the neurophysiological changes in the rite behaviour of the shaman? The starvation and control of breathing technique mentioned above are found to some extent, but they in no way constitute central factors. One form of séance technique common to shamanism throughout Siberia and Central Asia is rhythmic drumming, singing and dancing. There are even some drumless shamans in certain regions, but they are exceptions

rather than the rule. The drum may be claimed to be the central symbol of shamanism, and without it a shaman is not a shaman. In his article "A physiological explanation of unusual behavior in ceremonies involving drums"¹⁷ Andrew Neher tries to prove that the ceremonial trance behaviour observed by anthropologists is for the main part the consequence of rhythmic drumming on the central nervous system. He took as his starting point the observation that rhythmic stimulation created in laboratory conditions produced the same responses as could be expected on the basis of field experiences. It was possible to prove experimentally that rhythmic drumming caused a) changes in the electric activity of the brain, b) unusual observations, as quoted by the test persons, and c) muscle jerks in some of the test persons.¹⁸ The physical mechanism producing the reactions is explained by Neher as follows: "1) A single beat of a drum contains many frequencies. Different sound frequencies are transmitted along different nerve pathways in the brain. Therefore, the sound of a drum should stimulate a larger area in the brain than a sound of a single frequency. 2) A drum beat contains mainly low frequencies. The low frequency receptors of the ear are more resistant to damage than the delicate high frequency receptors and can withstand higher amplitudes of sound before pain is felt. Therefore, it should be possible to transmit more energy to the brain with a drum than with a stimulus of higher frequency."¹⁹ It is a question precisely of the effect of rhythmic stimulation. It has been found that another means of producing the same effect as rhythmic sound stimulation, 'sonic driving', is rhythmic light stimulation, 'photic driving'; the latter has been analysed in a number of experimental studies.²⁰ Although the frequency of the basic brain wave does vary from one individual to another, it remains more or less constant in a given individual throughout his life. Similarly the response to a given stimulus remains constant²¹ and is tied to the psychophysical make-up of the individual. Thus we can assume that one vital aspect of the shaman's study of drumming technique is the finding of just the right rhythm, or rather the finding of a suitable rhythm method. When we observe that a given response holds affinity with the genetics of the individual, the controversial question of the passing down of shamanism within one family is placed in a new light. In those cases where family shamanism proper is not part of the structure of the particular type of shamanism, we may imagine that members of particular families aspire to the position on the basis of "natural selection". This would explain many conflicting regional data on the occurrence of hereditary shamanism. It has also been proved that response to rhythmic stimulation among epileptics, persons tending to hysteria²² and persons with neurophysiological disturbances in their families²³ is greater than normal. The second observation of significance is that susceptibility to rhythmic stimulation

can be raised considerably, effecting several of the senses simultaneously. If the drumming is also accompanied by dance movements, not only the auditory but also the tactual and kinesthetic senses are the receptors of signals. The exhaustion and agitation connected with frenzied dancing, which reduces the glucose content of the blood and increases the production of adrenaline, further promotes susceptibility to stimulation.²⁴

The most important issue in the research results presented in examining the behaviour of the shaman is the observation that using purely external stimulation it is possible to clinically create ASC experiences in completely healthy individuals. A person with a normal nervous system is thus capable of being a shaman. It must, however, be noted that people with a certain nervous susceptibility have a greater "leaning" for this vocation than others, and that as regards nervous frenzy such exceptional people as hysterics have exceptionally good prerequisites, providing the abnormality is not so great that it prevents them from abiding by the ordered and patterned behaviour demanded by shamanism.

The neurophysiological effects of hallucinogens and other psychotropic drugs or plants have been the object of intensive study²⁵, and they are so familiar that they need not be dealt with here. In providing a quick and easy way to visionary experiences use of them has become part of the religious rite behaviour over wide areas. The best-known example is probably the peyote cult of the Navahos, on which subject alone there is extensive literature. The most notable medium of the Siberian shaman in this sphere is a psychoactive mushroom, fly-agaric (*Amanita muscaria*). This is known to contain muscarine and muscimol, both of which possess hallucinogenic properties.²⁶

5.4. *The psychic mechanisms of the technique of ecstasy.* Examination of neurophysiological symptoms alone does not, however, explain why, among the Evenks, the shaman, on gaining his trance, meets his chief spirit-helper and travels with him to the underworld, or why the Bali child dancer changes in the course of the ritual performance into a god. By means of stimulation directed at the central nervous system man can be brought to an altered state of consciousness, but the form and content of this state are determined by the mechanisms at psychic level. Researchers representing Western civilization have compared the trance behaviour of primitive religions to two phenomena appearing in their own culture and thus familiar: an attack of hysteria and a state of trance induced by hypnotism. Neurotic disorders have been hinted at in connection with shamanism, and Czaplicka²⁷ and Ohlmarks²⁸, for example, explain it as a form of hysteria. Although the view has been criticized it does turn up even in recent research. Ernst Arbman says:

“For my own part I have been unable — and here we approach an extremely subtle and delicate problem — to free myself from the impression that possession, in the same way as the shamanistic ecstasy, whether of hysteric origin or not, simply on the grounds of the nature of the suggestion which holds sole sway in these states, not infrequently has a tendency, in itself and as such, to assume the form of the convulsive hysteric attack.”²⁹ Arbman argues his theory through broad study of the symptoms of hysteria and forms of mass hysteria explained e.g. by possession.³⁰ He claims that the “demonic nature”, of the shamanic séance, its masochistic and terrifying tendencies, i.e. abnormal features, justify the view that they are conditioned by an hysteric frame of mind or disposition.³¹ The hysteria theory cannot be regarded as correct for two reasons stemming from the professional status of the shaman. Firstly, a hysteric, unlike a shaman, cannot control his attacks or act as need demands. Secondly, even though we were to assume, as Arbman does, that the hysteric can if he wishes suggest himself into a trance, he would not be able to satisfy the expectations and social obligations attached to the shaman’s position. One feature inherent in the hysterical trance is the welling forth of the patient’s private hopes and motives; the situation is chaotic, beyond the patient’s control. This does not, however, mean that a hysteric may not, through suitable therapy, learn to control his ego-mechanisms and, when cured, act as society requires — a point worth attention.

Arbman’s reference to ‘suggestion’ leads us on to hypnotic phenomena, a sphere acting as a stepping stone to assessments of the nature of shamanism more tenable than the hysteria theory. The possession trance scholars have already regarded hypnosis as one factor explaining trance technique. T. K. Oesterrich pointed out the similarity between states of possession, somnambulic and hypnotic states.³² William Sargant³³ and Sheila S. Walker³⁴ likewise stress that possession (trance) is induced by the same mental mechanism as hypnotic states.

In setting out to seek a basic psychic mechanism for the shaman’s technique of ecstasy through knowledge of western hypnosis I wish at the very start to emphasize that it is impossible to place direct equation marks between these phenomena. Differences in cultural environment, cognitive system and functional context alone fashion them in different directions. Also of weighty importance is the fact that the western hypnotic trance does not involve any of the neurophysiological changes discernible by EEG that are most clearly characteristic of shamanic ecstasy. Thus although the shaman’s technique of ecstasy does consist of many of the factors influencing at neurophysiological level that do not appear in western hypnosis — the use of hallucinogens alone is already sufficient as one such factor — I consider that the basic psychic process by which the shamanic trance is channelled

into a specific form and content is the same as that of influence in hypnosis. I shall now substantiate my view of how scholars have tried to explain the phenomena of hypnosis and how, on the basis of these theories, we may get to the root of the shamanic technique of ecstasy.

Merton M. Gill and Margaret Brenman approach the subject of hypnosis in their work "Hypnosis and Related States: Psychoanalytic Studies in Regression" (1959) chiefly from the point of view of ego-dynamics. In simplified form their dominant train of thought could be expressed as follows: Man's instincts and unconscious motives sometimes conflict with the demands of the superego. If the ego, the part of the personality that shapes the instinctive demands into a form that satisfies the superego, is unable to resolve the conflict, it may as a defence mechanism use regression; personality then regresses to a level at which the given instinctive demand is permissible. In healthy people the regression may remain in the control of the ego in such a way that the personality can if necessary return to its normal state. Beneficial regression is called regression in the service of ego³⁵, and Gill and Brenman explain that hypnosis is, in its vital elements, just such an event. Built on the ego is then a regressed sub-system which is in the service of the over-all ego and to which the ego may temporarily surrender control of the body. The subsystem is in turn in the control of the hypnotist, and through it he can influence the actions of his subject. The over-all ego retains reality-based non-hypnotic contact with the hypnotist the whole time. The hypnotist's grasp is not *de facto* evident; the ego surrenders the subsystem to him only temporarily and can withdraw it at any moment.

Sheila S. Walker, who bases her concepts of possession trance on this theory, regards possession cults as providing a sound framework for regression in the service of ego. According to her during the induction phase the motives and external pressure of the individual adjust to one whole in such a way that a subsystem is formed in the ego. This ego subsystem is analogous to the personality of the deity in possession.³⁶ Walker's most important observation is that the hypnotist need not be a person (as is the case in western hypnotic trance). Van der Walde stresses that the hypnotist is necessary in the phase leading to trance only as a figure to whom the person entering the trance transfers responsibility for his behaviour, i.e. as the object of transference. He says: "The subject's response to the hypnotic induction procedure, therefore, is related more to the subject's own preconceived notion of what a hypnotist should be than it is to what a hypnotist really is. The hypnotist, in effect, is a culturally approved authority or sanctioning figure upon whom many fantasies involving omnipotence are projected."³⁷ We may imagine that in a shamanic séance the suggestive element, i.e. the element fulfilling the role of hypnotist, may be a fusion of very many factors in which role

figures belonging to the religious concept complex play a significant part.

In explaining hypnosis as controlled regression the starting point for the induction process has primarily been regarded as the individual's unconscious motives. Since a person in a hypnotic trance is not himself responsible for his behaviour, he may freely fulfill his conscious and unconscious hopes, i.e. behave e.g. in a way that in normal state would be improper (nevertheless so that allowance is also made for the hypnotist). A motivation basis such as this, which may explain much of e.g. the Haiti voodoo ceremony, can on no account be strongest in the ritual functioning of the shaman. From the shaman's point of view the séance is a social activity, and within it he tries to live up to the expectations made of him as the holder of a particular social position. There is no denying that the séance also provides a means of releasing individual fears and worries, an emotional charge in general, but these tendencies, which are typical during the apprentice period of a young shaman, may not be emphasized in the activities of a full shaman without shaking his professional position.

The regression theory is particularly suitable for explaining the process of recovery of the initiatory stage. It has been proved that although neurotics are not generally easy to hypnotize there are exceptions — hypnosis has been used with success in the treatment of hysteria.³⁸ Since so many of the observers of the initiatory sickness of the shaman have hinted at hysteria, we may presume that hysterical regression proper during the initiatory stage changes into regression in the service of ego. In this the older shaman acting as the master to the young candidate would be something of a therapist showing the beginner how to organize and control his ego-functions.

The induction phase of hypnotic trance has been analysed best by those researchers who have stressed the nature of the phenomenon as *goal-directed striving* or *social interaction*. Mention should in this sense be made above all of two theorists with complementary views opening up the way to an understanding of the shaman's technique of ecstasy: Ronald E. Shor and Theodor Sarbin. Both set out to develop the theories of Robert W. White with his stress on the importance of motivation as a basic element of hypnotic behaviour and which are crystallized in the following definition: "hypnotic behaviour is meaningful, goal-directed striving, its most general goal being to behave like a hypnotized person as this is continuously defined by the operator and understood by the subject."³⁹

Ronald E. Shor's article "Hypnosis and the concept of the generalized reality-orientation" is significant in the sense that he tries to show how an alteration in consciousness comes about as a result of this goal-oriented striving. He sets out from the theory that a normal state of consciousness is characterized by the mobilization of a structured frame of reference in

the background of attention which supports, interprets and gives meaning to all experience. This frame of reference he calls the usual *generalized reality-orientation*.⁴⁰ Generalized reality-orientation develops slowly during life and remains a superstructure of consciousness only by means of active mental striving, which in fact is not usually conscious. The following resumé of theses of Shor illustrates the induction process and its consequences:

1. Whenever its supportive energy diminishes, the generalized reality-orientation fades into the more distant background of attention and becomes relatively nonfunctional.
2. (a) In normal waking life, even where special aspects of the generalized reality-orientation are in central focus, the rest of it is in close communication at all times. When close communication is lost, the resultant state of mind may be designated as trance. (b) Any state in which the generalized reality-orientation has faded to relatively non-functional unawareness may be termed a trance state.
3. Hypnosis is a complex of two fundamental processes. The first is the construction of a special, temporary orientation to a small range of preoccupations and the second is the relative fading of the generalized reality-orientation into nonfunctional unawareness.
4. The generalized reality-orientation does not fade away completely either in deepest trance or deepest sleep.
5. When the generalized reality-orientation fades (a) experiences cannot have their usual meanings; (b) experiences may have special meanings which result from their isolation from the totality of general experiences; and (c) special orientations or special tasks can function temporarily as the only possible reality for the subject in his phenomenal awareness as a result of their isolation from the totality of general experience.
6. When the generalized reality-orientation fades, special orientations or special tasks can be made to persist beyond the bounds of awareness and/or remain nonconsciously directive of further activities, even when the generalized reality-orientation is again mobilized.
7. When the generalized reality-orientation fades (a) various mental contents excluded before can now flow more freely into phenomenal awareness, and (b) primary process modes of thought may flow into the background of awareness to orient experiences.
8. A good hypnotic subject may be defined as a person who has the ability to give up voluntarily his usual reality-orientation to a considerable extent, and who can concurrently build up a new special orientation to reality which temporarily becomes the only possible reality for him in his phenomenal awareness.⁴¹

This basic process of the altering of awareness, or actually the two fundamental processes, as Shor says (2), illustrates in excellently clear terms the psychic mechanism by which the shaman attains a state of trance. To the shaman preparing for a séance his generalized reality-orientation remains of no significance. He directs all his energy (1) at active doing, by means of which he recalls the other reality to which only he has access, the shamanic world. His special temporary orientation is directed at shamanic knowledge. In becoming engrossed in these by means of séance requisites and above all

his store of verbal tradition, the generalized reality-orientation becomes insignificant and vanishes. Or rather, we could say that it is obliterated by the sensory bombardment achieved by drumming, chanting and dancing. This activity in itself already leads to a change in the observation processes, which partly originate from the fact that experiences become related only to the sphere of special orientation (5b), i.e. the shamanic world, which now becomes the only possible reality (5c).⁴² It should be pointed out that Shor's conclusion as to the mental process conforms with Fisher's theory operating at neuro-physiological level and stressing motor deprivation: when the ability to test reality by the normal motor route is prevented, the result is hallucinations and other such changes concerning observations. Shor's hypothesis could also be translated into the language of personality dynamics. The ascertainment that generalized reality-orientation does not vanish even during the most complete trance only means that the ego-functions are partly directed at maintaining contact also with reality. Variation in the intensity of the shamanic trance; the fact that during the séance the shaman also temporarily turns his attention on the spectators — this is a question I intend to leave until later. As regards the behaviour of the shaman, this matter is not problematic; if it is described as being goal-oriented striving, the primary goal is the proper conducting of the séance as an entity. An experienced shaman has a predetermined picture⁴³ of the séance sequence, which acts as an 'alarm clock' at particular stages, just as a person learns to wake even from deep sleep at a given time if necessary. Furthermore there is always a special person present at a séance whose task is to see that the shaman recovers from his state of trance.

We could deliberate Shor's thoughts further; the reference in his seventh thesis to the flowing of mental contents excluded before or improper to the logical confines of the waking awareness directs the attention at regression, creative imagination or hypermnnesia. In particular the increase in the capacity of the memory included in trance is of special interest as regards the function of the shaman and explains e.g. speeches by spirits in foreign languages that the shaman is unable to repeat in waking state.

Shor himself points out that his basic mechanism of hypnotic trance was in fact described earlier, only with the emphasis on slightly different aspects: "While the concept of new, special orientation is defined from the standpoint of cognition, it is identical with what White has called goal-directed striving from the standpoint of motivation or what Sarbin has called role-taking from the standpoint of social psychology."⁴⁴

The supranormal shamanic world is personified in separate supernatural beings which, being capable of communication, are social beings. Correspondingly the shamanic séance as a forum for communication between

this world and the next is a social occasion at which the shaman, as medium, holds reciprocal relationships with both sides. If we assume that the basic psychic mechanism of the shaman's technique of ecstasy is the same as that in western hypnotic practices or, on an even wider scale, in all trance behaviour⁴⁵, Theodore Sarbin's social-psychological formulation "hypnosis is one form of a more general kind of social psychological behavior known as role-taking"⁴⁶ then provides the analytically most fertile point of departure for studying this mechanism. The view does not contradict the explanation starting from a personality psychology basis, according to which controlled trance phenomena can be explained as regression in the service of ego. According to Sarbin and Allen role-taking concerns the entire psychophysical make-up of the individual and the intensity of role-taking reflects precisely the degree of identification of self and role.⁴⁷ The reason why, in examining shamanism, the social-psychological aspect takes precedence over the personality-psychological is simply a result of the fact that the former provides a better terminological and conceptual frame of reference for the sounding of the social dimensions of an institutionalized phenomenon.

6. THE GROUNDS FOR ROLE ANALYSIS

6.1. *The fields of application of role theory.* If we start from the view that the basic psychic mechanism of the shaman's technique of ecstasy is a role-taking process, we must then examine how the role concept and its derivatives can be exploited in the examination of shamanism and what role-taking is when specifically defined. The research approach going under the name of role-theory has concentrated on describing social systems and the interaction taking place within them — human behaviour. The 'theory' component of the term is perhaps misleading, for we are dealing more with a systematic order of concepts that has been used as a working medium for theoretical views in psychology, sociology, social psychology and anthropology. When we remember that it is a basic feature of religious thinking that social activity is not regarded as being part of the visible, human world but extends equally well to the supranormal, this concept apparatus can also be added to the arsenal of the student of religion. Hjalmar Sundén and Lauri Honko have in fact mapped out the potential of role theory specifically as an explanation for the psychological prerequisites of the encounter between man and the supranormal.¹

A look at the history of the formation of role theory concepts roughly speaking shows us two main lines derived from the thoughts of the first theoreticians: the trend aiming at examining the cultural models directing the

socio-anthropological community structure and the social activity taking place within it, and the social-psychological school concerned with the analysis of the interaction of 'self — other'. Although the term 'role' does briefly appear in earlier literature², the former trend can be dated back to 1936, when in his work "The Study of Man" the anthropologist Ralph Linton introduced the basic concepts of role theory: *status*, referring to the static unit of the social structure and *role*, the concept depicting its dynamic side.³

The impulse for the development of the latter trend, which may be called symbolic interactionism, was provided by George Herbert Mead in his work "Mind, Self and Society" of 1934. In dealing with social interaction and the socializing process Mead outlines one of the most important tools of role analysis, the concept of *role-taking*. By this he meant the symbolic process by which a man may momentarily imagine himself as another person, projecting himself into the perceptual field of the other, i.e. he "puts himself in the other's place".

These concepts provided substance for wide debate⁴ that has continued to this day, and the main themes of which have been the problems of defining concepts, the creation of auxiliary and derivative concepts and the search for means of analytical application. The wealth of parallel concepts (e.g. role behaviour, role performance, role play, role enactment) shows that the role-theory developers have spoken over just as often as to one another. Bearing in mind the differences in school over the definition of concepts, we may, however, note that the difference has perhaps been more one of the emphasis in examination than one of view. The basic idea behind role theory, which appears in some form in the writings of all authors, can be described as follows: the basis of social interaction is a) man's ability to locate himself and the individuals he meets in the social system and b) to behave c) both in accordance with the expectations made of this location and d) so as to make allowance for the hopes, behaviour, etc. of those occupying different positions in the reciprocal relationship.

Although there is no reason to take up the lines of role theory or disagreements over concepts in this connection — especially since clear histories and analyses exist elsewhere⁵ — certain terms must be selected to avoid linguistic ambiguity, and the bases for their selection must be explained. In place of a concept analysis proper I shall try to examine how the existing term apparatus can be adapted to the study of religious institutions and ritual behaviour, in the final case shamanism. In other words I shall, in my definitions, aim to modify concepts to meet the requirements of the present research, in which case many aspects concerning the other fields of application of role theory will not be touched on.

Roughly speaking the fields of application of role theory in the study of

religion can be characterized as covering the description of the social structures, institutions, groups, etc. supporting religious life, the normative concepts regulating their functional relations and the nature of activity and the factual interaction taking place within them, also on the supranormal — normal axis. In the case of shamanism this means that 1) shamanism can be examined as a status and role system (i.e. as a special kind of social institution), 2) as a complex of role-expectations influencing at cognitive level (i.e. as a belief system) and 3) as a framework to interaction (i.e. as a ritual drama).

6.2. *Status and role.* In analysing the structure of religious institutions the unit is thus *status* or *position*⁶; the most common definition of these terms has been simply a “unit of social structure”.⁷ According to the view held by classical sociology statuses as a structure constitute a framework for social interaction⁸, in which case every status includes a system of operating rules. Linton did in fact call status simply a collection of rights and duties.⁹ It must, however, be noted that the rights and duties connected with a status determine above all the behaviour of the occupant of the status. The *role* was named by Linton as the dynamic aspect of status. Here it is a matter of the rights and duties of the occupant of a status in relation to the incumbents of other statuses. As these normative rules are realised in connection with interaction, role behaviour, they take shape as the expectations, *role expectations* aimed at the occupant of the status. Since role expectations are directed at the behaviour of the occupant of the status, it is possible to use them to form a picture of how the occupant should act, or the normative role of the holder of the status. Role may thus be regarded simply as a behavioural model connected with a given social position, or to be more precise, a complex of behaviour models. In order to know the nature of this behaviour model or role in each case, one must examine the expectations made of it, i.e. precisely role is the same as the cognitive system of role expectations. This is what Ralph Turner was getting at with his statement “a role is a set of norms”¹⁰, and Gross, Mason and McEachern with their formulation “a role is a set of expectations applied to an incumbent of a position”.¹¹ Since in reality behaviour does not always observe the ideal patterns, the abstract role — set of norms — at cognitive level must be distinguished from the role or *role performance* displayed in a factual situation. This distinction has also been made by using the concepts prescribed role and role behaviour.¹² But if role is conceived as being an abstraction of an ideal type, the concept prescribed role is not needed.

These basic concepts can be defined differently. The psychologist does not examine role behaviour in relation to a social structure or set of norms: he looks at the significance of roles in an interaction situation. He may ask,

like McCall and Simmons, how and why a given person distributes his interactional resources as he does.¹³ S. Stansfeld Sargent sees role as taking shape on the basis of the evaluation of a given behaviour situation. He says "a person's role is a pattern or type of social behavior which seems situationally appropriate to him in terms of the demands and expectations of those in his group."¹⁴ He takes as his starting point the idea that roles have ingredients of cultural, of personal, and of situational determination. Yet a role is never wholly cultural, wholly personal or wholly situational.¹⁵ According to the view I have selected Sargent, in speaking of role, in fact defines role behaviour, *role performance*, in which case cultural ingredients refer to the concepts concerning the normative role. The psychologists have criticized sociological role theory as being too mechanical, and it does without doubt remain somewhat crude, e.g. in analysing interaction situations in everyday life. I quote one critical statement that is significant in the sense that it reveals why the concepts of traditional role theory are suitable as the framework for examining ritual behaviour: "Although the concept of social role occupies an important place in our framework, our approach is certainly not that of role theory. To theorists like Parsons, Merton, and Gross, a role is a set of expectations held toward the occupant of a particular social status or position in a social system. Role-performance then consists of conforming behaviorally to those expectations, with the goal of attaining positive sanctions from those holding the expectations or of avoiding their negative sanctions. In our opinion, this sort of mechanistic conformity to a role script is observed only in unusual circumstances, as in fairly tightly structured organizations in which roles in this sense are formally defined . . . To the role theorist, the archetypal role is that seen in ritual or classic drama, in which every line and every gesture of each actor is rigidly specified in the sacred script."¹⁶ Religious rite behaviour is just one such "unusual" or tightly controlled activity. In applying traditional sociological role theory concepts the methodical competence of the analysis depends on the nature of the role system to be examined, and ultimately — since role is defined from role expectations — the nature of the role expectations.

Role expectations (the terms *norms* and *role prescriptions* have also been used with the same meaning) are by nature normative and evaluative.¹⁷ They indicate how the occupant of a given status should or ought to behave or respond to the occupants of other positions¹⁸, i.e. they mark out the acceptable behaviour of the incumbent of this position. As Sarbin and Allen say, role expectations are specifications for adherence to group norms.¹⁹ They show what rights and duties the occupant of a given status has in relation to the incumbents of counter statuses. Although role expectations are of primary importance as regulators of role behaviour, they do not constitute a clear

or unquestionable system. The nature of the expectations directed at some role may vary greatly among the incumbents of counter-roles. They may be very vague and unclear ideas of the most fitting behaviour in a certain situation. Gross, Mason and McEachern, who define the concept as "an expectation is an evaluative standard applied to an incumbent of a position"²⁰ stress that in the case of an individual role expectation we may keep a watch on two dimensions: direction and intensity. First of all this means that every expectation can be transformed into an assertion for or against something, and secondly that every expectation can be placed in an extension that ranges from complete permissiveness to the strictly defined.²¹ By examining the latter factor roles can thus be placed in the extension *informal* — *formal*. In some cases the behaviour of the incumbent of a position is controlled by strict norms, his role is formal; in other cases the occupant of the position is given freedom to choose his modes of behaviour to a great extent according to his own personal inclinations, his role is informal. The degree of consensus over role expectations can be assumed as great, especially in ritual activity such as shamanism, where behaviour is guided by a normative belief system. The shamanic complex may thus be regarded as a formal role system. On the other hand the shamanic séance as an interaction situation is to some extent predisposed to the influence of intervention, unlike, say, the sacrificial ceremony in which every word follows a set pattern or even divine worship in the Evangelical-Lutheran church. In analysing the activity of the shaman it is necessary to determine in what way and to what extent the shaman can or has to resort to improvisation.

Successful social intercourse requires that a person knows not only his own role but also the *counter-roles* with which he comes into contact within the framework of his own role. Robert K. Merton's term *role-set* covers this group of roles; he defined his new term as follows: "role-set, by which I mean that complement of role relationships which persons have by virtue of occupying a particular social status".²² The concept does not mean the sum of the different roles of one person that has sometimes been referred to in speaking of "multiple roles".²³ The number of statuses commanded by an individual, all of which have their own role-set, Merton calls the *status-set*. For statuses following one from the other Merton uses the term *status-sequence*.²⁴ Since the road to the status of shaman proceeds in stages through various periods of apprenticeship it would be interesting to look into the nature of the status sequence of the shaman initiate and to decide whether we can in general speak of such a sequence.

6.3. *Interaction and role-taking.* Roles are actualized in interactional situations, in which case the role performance is affected by any idiosyncrasies of the

performers' personality, the social perception of the performers, as well as the external stimuli in any situation. The representatives of symbolic interactionism have stressed that every interaction situation is in some way unique, and that the self-role — counter-role²⁵ set-up always includes improvisation.²⁶ McCall and Simmons formulate the idea as follows: "As we have argued earlier, the actual role-performance (or, as we shall call it here, the *interactive* role, as opposed to the *social* role) is not specified by the culture but is *improvised* to deal in some variable fashion with the broad demands of one's social position and one's character. Social position alone is not sufficient to specify role-behavior, for the demands of such a position are filtered through one's character or self-conception and are modified to blend with it."²⁷ On the other hand Ralph H. Turner stresses that in formal organizations, in which behaviour is regulated by clear role prescriptions, the activity of the individual is less dependent on his conception of the roles of relevant others than in free-form social intercourse.²⁸ In such cases the limits of improvisation are also more tightly controlled and confined than in the latter cases. Although the activity of the shaman, especially in his relationship with the supranormal, is bound by tradition and is thus highly normative, the séance, as a communication event taking in the shaman and the others present, is always a unique situation open to deviation. Since the séance, in which the role relationships of shamanism are manifest in the form of concrete activity, is primarily a communication event, it can be examined as a social interaction situation. Due to its religious and culturally-bound connections it is, however, quite special as an interaction situation. Thus it is not a question of just any social interaction, but of "ritual interaction" regulated by a system of beliefs in the form of drama. In setting out to analyse séances on this basis we are forced to come to terms with factors influencing the moulding of role behaviour.

Theodore Sarbin points out, in speaking of role performance, that the role behaviour of the individual can be compared to the task entrusted to him. How well he manages this task depends on his role skills.²⁹ According to him a skill can be defined as a physical or mental readiness in carrying out some task demanding a specific competence. "Role skills, then, refer to those characteristics possessed by the individual which result in effective and convincing role enactment: aptitude, appropriate experience, and specific training."³⁰ According to Sarbin and Allen the main components of role performance skill are the general perceptual-cognitive and the motoric skills. The special nature of the shaman's role makes greater demands than normal of the role skills of the shaman elcct. Analysis of the skills required for a role performance can be approached by detaching the social act, i.e. the self-other interaction situation, as the succession of the stages appearing

it in. The stages would then be: a) locating the role of the other in the social field, which is followed by the actualization of the expectations associated with this position; b) locating the role of the other reciprocally locates the role of the self and activates the corresponding role-expectations; c) these earlier stages are then followed by forms of visible behaviour: the individual's role performance.³¹ The locating of the roles, which can be regarded simply as a sketching of the situation, takes place at cognitive level. The examination and analysis of cognitive role skills has in fact been one of the central themes of interaction theory. The field has been approached via such concepts as *role-taking*, *empathy*, *social sensitivity*, *identification* and *social perception*³², which generally speaking point to the cognitive and affective responses incurred in the examination of another person as a social object. The most important and analytically serviceable of these concepts is the concept of role-taking presented by G. H. Mead. The taking of the role of the other is a covert cognitive process that denotes the ability to place oneself symbolically in the place of another. Since the observation and evaluation of the behaviour of another is the basis for the individual's own behaviour, role-taking skill is a factor facilitating normal social interaction.

Walter Coutu, in his article "Role-playing vs. role-taking: an appeal for clarification" brings out the concept of role-taking in very clear terms. "In the first place *role-playing* is a strictly sociological concept with a long history. *Role-taking*, however, is a strictly psychological concept, also with a long history. The symbolic process gives the human being a remarkable power; it enables him to pretend momentarily that he is another person. While he is 'being' that person, i.e. acting like him verbally or empathically, or both, he gets an insight into how that person probably views a given situation. He rehearses what he believes to be the other person's attitude, point of view, perspective, perceptual field, or 'role', so that when, a moment later, he returns to 'being' himself, he has a good idea of how this other person will probably act in that situation, since he himself would probably have acted that way if he had continued to 'be' that other person. With this new knowledge he can now sympathize with, feel with and as, the other person, and can thus anticipate what the other person will probably think and do, and he himself can act accordingly."³³ Although Coutu's theory of "being" another person by way of identification, in which empathic ability plays a large part³⁴, cannot be taken unreservedly as covering the entire role-taking concept, it is an extremely apt basis for examining the shaman's role-taking directed at spirit roles. If, on the other hand, we think of the shaman's relationship with the observers and persons in need gathered at the séance, empathic attitude or identification is not essential as a basis for interaction. Thinking of the varied situations in social intercourse, the potential

for variation in the self-other interaction situation, we cannot even assume that the taking of the role of another at cognitive and affective level will always be according to one and the same pattern. The most fruitful applications of the role-taking concept regarded analytically are reached only when the factors influencing the shaping of the role-taking event and through it various role-taking habits have been determined. Ralph H. Turner, in his article "Role-taking, role-standpoint, and reference-group behavior", makes an unusually deep analysis of the concept.³⁵ As his point of departure Turner accepts Coutu's view, in which a distinction is made between the imaginative construction of the role of another (role-taking) and overt behaviour, which covers role-performance in a given situation (role-playing). In the covert cognitive process of role-taking it is, according to him, first necessary to distinguish two factors: a) the means by which conclusions are drawn on the role of the other and b) the way by which this inferred role of the other influences behaviour.³⁶ In the first case we are dealing with social perception, precisely the role location that is, according to e.g. Sarbin, the basis of the social act. The deduction as to what the role of the other is may be made purely by observing the other's behaviour on the basis of indications obtained, or it may be formed on the basis of knowledge of the situation or assumed position of the individual. It may here be pointed out that although the supranormal roles of a certain cult drama are imaginary constructions, their manifestation is directed by tradition. This means that the occupant of the supranormal role can also be recognised on the basis of his behavioural features.³⁷ The way in which the role of the other is inferred or located is not nearly so important in moulding role-taking as the way in which this other role is experienced in relation to the individual's own role. Two persons may identify and in their minds form a picture of the role of the relevant other, and yet act in different ways.³⁸ The most significant merit of Turner's article lies in his attempt to determine the alternative attitudes of the self-role to the other-role shaping the role-taking process. In his analysis, which is based on distinctions made from the standpoint chosen in a role-taking situation and the reflexiveness/non-reflexiveness of role-taking, he outlines six types of role-taking.

Standpoint in role-taking indicates the party to the role relationship whose attitudes orientate role behaviour. The taking of an other-role may include the adopting of the standpoint of this other, assimilation of his inferred attitudes the factor controlling the role-taker's behaviour. On the other hand the other-role may for the performer remain only an object, so that he understands and interprets it without letting it direct his own behaviour. The former case is concerned with a momentary identification with the role of another, the latter with the outward shaping of the role of another. According to Turner

an individual who places himself in the role of another or by illusion constructs another role can do so from three standpoints:

- 1) First, he may adopt the other's standpoint as his own, in which case he is identifying with the other-role and allowing it to become an automatic guide to his own behavior.
- 2) Second, the role of the other may remain an object viewed from the standpoint of some personalized third party or depersonalized norm, in which case the role of the relevant other becomes a datum necessary in implementing the third-party directive.
- 3) Third, the role of the relevant other may be viewed from the standpoint of its effect in interaction with potential self-behavior, as contributing toward some individual or shared purpose.³⁹

He further emphasizes that the standpoint may change in the course of a single act; the individual may come up against conflicting situations in choosing his standpoint in a case where the role-taking is directed at several counter-roles simultaneously. Even so the way in which the imagined other-role influences the performer's behaviour is different with each standpoint.⁴⁰

The second significant factor in shaping role-taking is, according to Turner, the reflexiveness of role-taking. He borrows the term from George Herbert Mead, who used it to refer to the "characteristic of the self as an object to itself".⁴¹ Since the role-taker's attention is concentrated on the way in which he appears in the eyes of the other, role-taking is reflexive. The idea is closely linked with the concept of self-consciousness. When role-taking is reflexive a person does not simply assess the effect of his actions on the basis of some norm or standard but examines himself as the object of the other's assessment. It is useful to bear both the reflexiveness and the standpoint criteria in mind in examining the variation in the shaman's role-taking methods during a séance.

Once ways of role-taking are seen as an alternative attitude of self to other, the pin-pointing and classification of other-roles becomes a prerequisite for analysis. If, in a shamanic séance, the shaman is thought to represent a self-role, we cannot determine his role-taking ways until we know what his counter-roles, the others, are and what these counter-roles signify from the point of view of the shaman and of the carrying through of the whole séance. Since the shaman acts as a mediator between this world and the other world the representatives of these worlds are most often present at the séance: the spirits as manifest by the shaman, and the audience in need of help as the party following the séance or from time to time actively participating in it. The normal and supranormal roles taken by the shaman naturally differ greatly by nature.

The structural role relations of the séance thus constitute a triad (the representatives of the normal world, the audience — the mediator — the

representatives of the supranormal world, the spirits). Sarbin and Allen point out that although the dyad — role and its counter-role — is usually regarded as the basis for role analysis, more detailed analysis demands the perception of the role relationship as a triad. Thus the triad to focus on in analysing a role performance would be (1) the role-performer, (2) the person in the complementary role and (3) a third member who observes the process of social interaction = the audience.⁴² In the dyadic role relationship between the role-performer and the incumbent of the counter-role the latter may be regarded as acting as the audience.⁴³

It can be assumed that the audience's reactions⁴⁴ influence the shaping of the shamanic séance and the shaman's role performance to the utmost degree. In studying the shaman's technique of ecstasy it is of primary importance to examine not only the shaman's behaviour but also his relationship towards his audience. Similarly we could examine the extent to which the audience participates in the conducting of the séance by acting e.g. in the duties of assistant demanding a given competence, c.f. choruses, and the extent to which part of its role is the raising of the shaman's ecstatic condition by more passive means.

6.4. *Role-taking and the technique of ecstasy.* In setting out to explain by role-taking the mental process that transfers the shaman from waking state to an altered state of consciousness, we must further examine a few issues connected with the role-taking process and role performance. In normal cases of social interaction of an informal nature, such as have been the primary object of concern of the interactionism theorists, the chief function of the taking of the role of the other is the furthering of interaction so that it is as undisturbed as possible. As Turner demonstrated, the ways of role-taking vary. As a factor guiding behaviour in social intercourse role-taking is mostly of short duration, momentary, and its experience level is superficial. On the other hand in some cases role-taking may constitute a true penetration into the other-role. Theodore Sarbin, who has studied the connections between role-taking and changes in man's psycho-physical state, has observed the nature of intensive role-taking of long duration in the light of, among others, hypnotism and the work of the actor.⁴⁵ When role-taking becomes a concentrated identification with the other-role it may in its most complete form lead to role-change. In this case the identification is also visible in the individual's behaviour, which is formulated from the expectations of the new role. Other-role taking to the point of identification, *role-identification*, is one of the most common means of trying to create contacts with the other world. Shamanism in this respect displays numerous parallel phenomena. Being affectively significant and concerning the basic issues of existence a

religious tradition has the prerequisites for creating the grounds for role-taking events that are more intensive than normal. On the other hand even a cursory glance at the various forms of ritual behaviour shows that, for example, identification with supranormal roles or the manifestation of a supranormal role varies, among other things as regards the extent to which the individual is aware of the identification. It is clear that the illusionary taking of some role, its construction at cognitive level and identification with it, i.e. "being" this role, varies in intensity. Sarbin's and Allen's observations on the nature of role-taking and the intensity of role performance are in this respect of special interest. They start from the idea that self and role are in fact generally closely bound to one another: "Social roles are perceived and enacted against the background of the self . . . As a central concept in role theory, the self must be taken into account as a factor in determining the quality of role enactment. The term 'self' refers to the inferences the person makes about the referent for 'I'. It is a cognitive structure and derives from past experience with other persons and with objects. We define the *self* as the experience of identity arising from a person's interbehaving with things, body parts, and other persons."⁴⁶ In his article "The concept of role-taking"⁴⁷ he presents several observations on role-taking of importance in determining the processes leading to the altered consciousness characteristic of ecstatic religious behaviour. He emphasizes first of all that role-taking depends on previous experiences. It is impossible to take a role for which a person has no model, in other words roles have to be learned.⁴⁸ In terms of religious behaviour this learning takes place through observation and gradual participation in rite behaviour, and also to a great extent through the medium of verbal tradition. Religious tales, myths, legends, prayers, incantations, etc., provide models for e.g. the constructing of supranormal roles.⁴⁹ Sarbin himself noted the importance of previous experiences in the role-taking event in his experiments with hypnotic susceptibility. If a person had experienced visions or trance states he was more likely to be able to take the role of a good hypnotic subject than a person with no such experiences.⁵⁰

The key to the understanding of ecstatic role-taking technique lies in Sarbin's observation by which 1) role-taking and role performance involve the individual's entire psycho-physical organism, and 2) role-taking may take place at different levels of "consciousness". In support of his premise "role-taking is organismic" he refers to the test he made with J. H. Lewis in which hypnotized persons whose gastric hunger contractions were being recorded were told that they were eating certain types of food. The imaginary eating aroused spontaneous pleasure in the test persons. Of greatest significance was the observation that with deeply hypnotized test persons, i.e. the best role-takers, the stomach contractions stopped as if actual food had been

ingested.⁵¹ Sarbin also mentions the studies made by Devereux⁵², Alexander⁵³ and Rivers⁵⁴, which prove that a person can assume a role predestined to death so totally that death really does ensue even though there are no somatic pathology signs. In anthropological literature we relatively often come across cases in which death follows a fatal breaking of a taboo or if a man knows he is bewitched. Rivers writes of the Papuans and Melanesians: "Men who have offended one whom they believe to have magical powers sicken and even die, as the direct result of their belief; and if the process has not gone too far they will recover if they can be convinced that the spell has been removed."⁵⁵

Consciousness in role-taking is connected with a man's ability to examine himself as an object in a social situation, and in this sense this links up with Turner's criterion: the reflexiveness of role-taking. Sarbin adapts his idea to the behaviour of the actor. He refers to a type of actor who lives his part so fully that he completely forgets the audience watching the performance, and also to a type who constructs his role in full consciousness of the role performances of others and the audience's status of observer.⁵⁶ Most significant is the observation that the degree to which a person is conscious of his role-taking (which is thus inversely proportional to the living of the other-role) varies according to situations and performers.

In his article "Role Theory" Sarbin deals more extensively with the organismic involvement dimension of roles. He starts from the observation that various roles in themselves require a different intensity of organic involvement in the performance. If roles are placed in an extension according to the intensity of performance they demand, at the bottom of the scale come roles demanding only minimal degrees of effort and visceral participation.⁵⁷ In such cases the involvement of self is also minimal. At the other end of the scale we find role performances that "involve great degrees of effort, that is, muscular exertion or participation of the viscera through automatic nervous system activation, or both".⁵⁸ Sarbin stresses that everyday roles usually demand a minimal degree of organismic involvement. All cultures are so constructed that they have only few roles demanding maximal organismic involvement. Sarbin outlines a seven-point scale⁵⁹ for measuring the organismic involvement dimension of a role performance. This scale is interesting in the sense that precisely ASC's are characteristic of the roles at the top of the scale. In such cases role and self are undifferentiated and the organismic involvement is maximal. Thus we can say that the psycho-physical process leading to an altered state of consciousness is connected with the intensity of role-taking and role performance: it is a question of how much effort is put into the role performance. To borrow the terminology of Ronald E. Shor a role performance demanding a person's total effort is precisely 'special,

temporary orientation', and concentrating on this effaces his 'generalized reality-orientation'. Consciousness changes as reality takes shape according to the new role. Sarbin stresses that the role-expectations of every role determine a suitable organismic involvement.⁶⁰ The shamanic rite demands such intensity of performance that it leads to an altered state of consciousness.

7. ON THE ANALYSIS OF THE SHAMANIC RITE PROCESS

7.1. *The nature of ritual action.* In shaping the conceptual entities of a system of beliefs in the form of open, dynamic action, ritual behaviour concretizes and at the same time as it were recreates, reinforces the elements in question. Thus rites act as a direct path to the understanding of the foundations for the existence and permanence of religious institutions, i.e. their socio-cultural meanings and tasks. They build up a tension between two poles — human life and the suprahuman felt to be influencing its harmony and balance — and provide a channel for the active pursuit of this balance. Since rites deal with issues concerning the basic conditions for the life of the individual and the community, the intensity of participation and activity becomes high. Thus the repercussions of a rite extend beyond a narrowly viewed 'religiosity'; rites satisfy needs at social and psychological level covering a wide scale. The vast dimensions of ritual behaviour are reflected in the history of its research: certain inherent features are stressed in the perspective of each researcher, so that the student seeking an overall view easily becomes perplexed in the face of apparent contradictions. The differences in emphasis of views are obvious even from a couple of definition examples. In her article "Symbolism in a Ritual Context: Aspects of Symbolic Action"¹ Nancy D. Munn characterizes the rite "as a generalized medium of social interaction in which the vehicles for constructing messages are iconic symbols (acts, words, or things) that convert the load of significance or complex socio-cultural meanings embedded in and generated by the ongoing processes of social existence into a communication currency. In other words, shared socio-cultural meanings constitute the utilities that are symbolically transacted through the medium of ritual action."² In her definition Munn stresses the symbolic nature of ritual action, which is indeed one of its basic criteria. The statement is, however, uneconomical in its looseness. As Max Gluckman points out, many of the roles of a tribal community, for example, and the relations between them have considerable ceremonial attached to them in the form of various rules concerning behaviour. Gluckman himself tries to distinguish between the concept 'ritual', 'ceremonial' and the concept 'ceremonious', so that although action within the sphere of the former is in many

respects reminiscent of the latter, it always includes 'mystical notions'.³ Then "ritual . . . is associated with notions that its performance in some mysterious way, by processes out of sensory control, affects the well-being of the participants: it is believed to protect them or in other ways achieve their well-being."⁴ Gluckman's statement stresses ritual behaviour as possessing recognised functions, i.e. goal-oriented action. The idea of 'mystical notions' is the same as that already presented by Durkheim in debating the factors to be taken into consideration in defining 'rite': a rite can be distinguished from other human action only as regards its object.⁵ The necessity of a super-human object or rather human-superhuman polarity as one of the basic criteria of the rite is brought out in the definitions along the same lines by Victor Turner and Lauri Honko. The former says: "By 'ritual' I mean prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in mystical beings or powers"⁶, and the latter in slightly more simplified form: "a ritual is thus traditional prescribed communication with the sacred."⁷ If we accept the last two definitions, relevant in their simplicity, as our point of departure, ritual can be described as a situation in which members or a member of a religious institution to a certain end make contact with the superhuman or sacred by means of a traditional code system of symbolic nature. Durkheim is right in emphasizing the significance of "object", though "object" is not necessarily the most apt word. For ritual action comprises not only one-way appealing to the supranormal powers in the form of a sacrifice or a prayer, but also modes of communication imagined as being reciprocal. He points out that because the special nature of the "object" is manifest in the beliefs, ritual must be approached by way of them.⁸

The relationship between rites and the myths associated with them has in fact been one of the central themes of research into ritual.⁹ However, in place of myth I would prefer to speak of the system of beliefs supporting the ritual. Although the central idea of the belief complex behind ritual is often crystallized in the form of a myth, this is not inevitable. Even when its basis is determined by a myth, a rite often reflects elements of a system of beliefs not contained in this confined narrative, e.g. not all the symbolic "signs" of a rite are necessarily explained by the myth in question, and they take on meaning only against a wider background. In interpreting a rite the system of beliefs supporting it occupies the key position. It both determines the fixed supranormal points of the rite and also for what purpose and in what way contact with the supranormal can be arranged, i.e. it determines the scale and potential application of the codes of communication available.

Apart from cognitive background the main objects of research so far have been precisely the social connections and influences of ritual behaviour, and

its symbolic language. The germs of both these latter aspects are found in Emil Durkheim's highly influential work "The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life". In dealing with the religion of the Australian aborigines Durkheim came to the conclusion that rites in which the members of a community participate in large numbers function as a guarantee of the community's inner integrity and outer identity. His ideas have been repeated in numerous forms in subsequent literature, especially as developed by scholars representing the functionalist trend. True, another of the forces behind functionalism, Bronislaw Malinowski, did set himself up as a strong opponent of Durkheim in his psychologizing view centring on the individual.¹⁰ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, on the other hand, developed and passed on Durkheim's sociological aspects. Both were of considerable significance as educators of the British generation of anthropologists, and both took their ritual research in a functionalist direction. The former possibly exerted greatest influence as a developer of field work methods and the latter above all as an advocate of structural functionalism concentrating on the social relationships of the community.

In the manner of Radcliffe-Brown the primary functions of ritual were sought in the influences maintaining the community structure. This directed attention away from the recognised functions of rites to the unrecognised relationships and consequences. Numerous questions concerning religious behaviour were completely overlooked, e.g. the position of a religious system as a means of satisfying man's thirst for knowledge, i.e. as an explanation of the universe, or as an interpreter of experiences felt to be unique and important. The biased emphasis on social systems called forth criticism and towards the end of the 1950's the trend in research that began to gain dominance was one in which the symbolic code system of the rite was used as a means of examining its cultural significance.¹¹ The symbolistic trend that became established in the 1960's and whose representatives include Victor Turner¹², Mary Douglas¹³ and T. O. Beidelman¹⁴ can in a way be traced back to the same sources as that emphasizing social aspects. In his Andaman study Radcliffe-Brown already presented a method for semantic analysis.¹⁵

7.2. *Types of rite.* Before attacking the central issues of the shaman's ritual behaviour I should further stress one point always vital in the examination of ritual action. In discussion and argument concerning the functions of ritual, e.g. in speaking of the function of integrating and preserving the community, the term ritual/rite is used loosely as a general epithet almost as if it were an unambiguous and monolithic concept. This it is not, however — especially as regards its functional properties. Two points must be

noted: (a) the functional range of one and the same rite is broad. As a social action every rite necessarily reflects its socio-cultural connections. Correspondingly the participation of every actor in the rite means something at emotional, cognitive and social level. (b) The extent to which various sides, such as the part played by emotion or the community-balancing effects of the rite, are stressed in various ritual practices basically depends not only on situational factors but also on the goal according to which it takes shape. Thus we should not speak of the interpretation of a rite; instead we should individualize claims at least to cover certain types of rite. The types of rite are in turn disclosed on the basis of the recognised tasks, the obvious functions of ritual action. Without going any further into the special problems of classifying rites I wish to present a serviceable though rough division the grounds of which correspond to the established tripartite division put forward by Lauri Honko.¹⁶

1) *Rites of passage*. The name given by van Gennep¹⁷ to a group of rites comprising rites organized by the community in which the individual transfers from one status to another. Examples are the ritual practices that have sprung up around birth, marriage, death, and the acquiring of various group memberships. The tripartite division of van Gennep's rites of passage, *rites of separation*, *transition rites* and *rites of incorporation*, which he also presents with the aid of the concept of liminality, becomes analytically serviceable in investigating initiation rites when it is combined with the concepts of role and status.¹⁸ It is the changing of these that we are dealing with. If the word "world" is replaced by the concept "status" the following crystallization of van Gennep's tripartite division of rites of passage also gains weight with an eye to the stages in the initiation of the shaman: "I propose to call the rites of separation from a previous world *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage *liminal (or threshold rites)*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world *postliminal rites*."¹⁹ The concept of liminality has further been debated by Victor Turner, who sees the transition stage as something of a statusless state. He points out that if the structure of positions is taken as the basic model of the community, then marginal or liminal time must be regarded as an interstructural situation.²⁰ The symbolic language of the rites of passage expresses precisely this statusless or 'in between' state: "Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or moon."²¹ Lauri Honko has described the rites of passage as individual-oriented, since they are based on a change taking place in the living state of the individual, non-recurrent, since they are experienced only once in life, and anticipated, since their actualization can be prepared for.²²

2) *Periodical rites*. Regular rites recurring periodically constitute the central

mode of action of religious institutions. Regularly maintained ritual action takes in practices with very different objectives. One distinct sub-group are the calendrical rites, to which belong various ceremonies carried out according to periods in the life of the community. The intensification rite concept was proposed by E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon to correspond primarily to the calendrical rite term.²³ Periodical rite is better suited than the intensification or the calendrical rite concept to covering not only major periodical ceremonies in the community but also ritual behaviour taking place monthly, weekly or daily, and which provides "the framework within which the interaction of the institution is to a large extent ordered and controlled".²⁴ Lauri Honko points out that calendrical rites give social life rhythm. They clearly bring out the collective and established values of the community "by demonstrating what the currently foremost aims are, what systems of norms are in operation, what possibilities exist, and what rules govern competition".²⁵ Thus they are group-oriented, recurrent and anticipated.²⁶

3) *Crisis rites*. The *crisis rites*²⁷ proposed by Lauri Honko and Victor Turner's *rituals of affliction*²⁸ come very close to one another in content. Both denote rites that are arranged when the normal order of life of an individual or community becomes threatened. Turner nevertheless outlines his group of rites via explanation models belonging to the religious outlook of the Ndembu. "Now what is meant by 'rituals of affliction'? The answer to this question points out the major theme of Ndembu religious life. For some reason, Ndembu have come to associate misfortune in hunting, women's reproductive disorders, and various forms of illness with the action of the spirits of the dead. Furthermore, whenever an individual has been divined to have been 'caught' by such a spirit, he or she becomes the subject of an elaborate ritual, which many people from far and near attend, devised at once to propitiate and to get rid of the spirit that is thought to be causing the trouble."²⁹ The Ndembu explanation model is perhaps one of the most common put forward in conjunction with crises, yet it is only one of many possibilities. Bound to one culture, Turner's rite classification lacks wider applicability. Yet random, unexpected crises, ritual action taken to solve them, are common everywhere. The action of the shaman, for example, concentrates particularly on crises. Honko points out that the scale of rites organized to channel the unease and uncertainty caused by such crises varies considerably between simple but quick reactive rites and more extensive collective rituals in which the whole group under threat takes part. Included among crisis rites are e.g. healing acts carried out in connection with illnesses, rain-bringing ceremonies, and ritual acts used in seeking protection against witchcraft, theft, envy or malevolence.³⁰ Crisis rites are individual- and/or group-oriented, non-recurrent, unanticipated.³¹

The roughness of this division into three types of rite makes it unsatisfactory in many respects; it could be made more precise by introducing various sub-classifications. On the other hand there are forms of ritual behaviour that do not seem to fit well under the three headings mentioned. Examples are the regular but private seeking of contact with the supranormal in the form of prayer, which chiefly resembles the periodical rites but differs from them in its individual-orientation, or omen rites seeking to find out about the future and in particular the difficulties it is to bring. The latter group falls on the borderline of the crisis rites, for the model for resolving the crisis often includes actions similar to those employed in trying to find out the cause of a misfortune already occurred. It must also be noted that individual rite-performances may contain elements from different categories.

The above division is based chiefly on observation of the actualization context of the rite and through it the functional dimension of the ritual action. We would do well to parallel it with the four-point division based purely on examination of the aims of rites as described by Melford E. Spiro in his work "Buddhism and Society". He brings out four concepts characteristic of the aim of the rite, which are the basis of the division: instrumental, commemorative, expressive and expiatory.³² "Commemorative ritual" is carried out in memory of some event belonging to the religious tradition; "expressive ritual" serves as a medium for expressing emotions, attitudes, and sentiments felt toward the religious sacra.³³ "Expiatory ritual" is carried out to atone for sins.³⁴ More complex than these is "instrumental ritual", which is brought into play to achieve a certain goal or end. This goal may be some outward aim, e.g. physical (health, beauty, etc.), social (wealth, honour, fame, power, etc.), natural (rainfall, plentiful crops, etc.) sought in this life or the next.³⁵ The question of the expressiveness or instrumentality of ritual action has been debated before³⁶, and the value of Spiro's classification is reduced precisely by the overlapping of the factors in question in actual ritual action. A shamanic rite, for example, may by nature be both instrumental and expressive, i.e. in striving towards some specific concrete goal emotional factors may at the same time be expressed by means of ritual behaviour. The classification becomes workable when we add 'primarily' to its criteria: some rites are primarily instrumental or expiatory, although they may be used to unload emotional burdens, while others serve primarily as channels for manifesting a relationship with the sacred.

Although we cannot begin to determine the types of rite falling within the sphere of shamanism until we have analysed the functional field revealed in the shaman's roles, we can, even on the basis of a general study of accounts of séances, draw some preliminary conclusions. Thus the shamanic séance proper is by nature always instrumental. A séance is not readily arranged

without some specific and clearly determined external reason; even in the events in the nature of demonstrations, when shamanizing was commenced at the initiative of e.g. the observer, the observer is asked to invent some suitable reason. On the other hand the shaman's private contacting of the spirit world, which he must practise to remain capable of his task, can be counted as expressive behaviour. As regards the conditions for the existence of shamanism itself, the latter does not, however, bear any notable significance. The use of the shaman to the community is decided at public séances. The essence of shamanism may then be seen precisely in his powers of contacting the representatives of the supranormal, and with their aid of carrying out various tasks. Thus we may say that the shamanic rite is a system of action aiming at achieving certain goals. I shall take this as my starting point in trying to reveal the arguments for process analysis of the shamanic séance.

7.3. Rite process analysis. The process analysis approach to ritual behaviour simply means that attention is directed at the dynamic side of the rite, and that the rite is examined as an extension to actions aiming at a specific goal. This view is not in itself new — van Gennep's tripartite division of rites of passage was already a certain detachment of diachronic periods from the whole. Victor Turner recently drew on processual classification in trying to determine the meanings latent in ritual symbols.³⁷ In concentrating on ritual symbolism Turner does, however, use study of the processual side merely as an auxiliary means, leaving it as a relatively general isolation of periods of action. The bias in Turner's interest is understandable, both in view of the ground gained by the symbolic line of research in the 1960's and also on the basis of his studies of African ritual practices. Their wealth of objects, drugs, etc., with all their inferences certainly tempt the researcher into deciphering the codes of symbol language. It is natural to study the shamanizing séance from precisely the processual aspect for the simple reason that its most characteristic feature is the psychophysical process leading to ecstasy. If the séance is regarded as a system of action aiming at a certain goal, this system can be defined as communicative and ecstatic. This means that the emphasis in action lies in the interaction between various roles, partly manifest through ecstasy, i.e. various role performances take the lead in recording the events of the rite. In tracing the basic features of the shaman's technique of ecstasy and the structural models of the ritual processes we should, however, make an analytic distinction between the following three connected levels: the séance 1) as a system of action possessing a culture-bound significance, 2) as an interaction situation and 3) as the framework for the psychophysical process leading to the shaman's altered consciousness.

The structure of the rite process can be outlined by dividing action into

units of independent status both in relation to one another and to the overall goal. Isolating the operating units of significance to the structure of the rite is possible by way of the following sequence of questions: 1) what happens, 2) what does the event signify and 3) what are the purposes of the event from the point of view of the rite performance as a whole or its participants? We are thus dealing with the recognition and isolation of the three overlapping levels of the rite, namely *manifestation*, *meaning* and *function*. Analysis thus starts with observation, but not until observations have been placed in the context of the religious outlook and concepts of the community can ritual events be explained, and only then can we gain some idea of what those present see as happening during the rite. As concepts both meaning and function have become worn through excessive and ambiguous use. It is therefore necessary to examine what is meant in this research by the three levels quoted.

A. *Manifestation*. Manifestation is the observable level of a rite: what is seen and heard as expressed in movement, sound or objects. As I have stressed before, depicting the manifestation level only is problematic in the case of Siberian shamanism. The descriptions available emphasize different elements in different ways, and they are often highly deficient. The observers further have a tendency to add a host of their own interpretations which, though interesting and productive as such, easily confuse the logical reporting of actual events.

B. *Meaning*. Ritual action is symbolic. It "means" something to both participants in the active rite performance and passive observers. Deciding the meaning of ritual symbolism is not, however, simple. The researcher must decide whether to examine the recognised meanings known to the participants or whether to try to get to the root of the "message" of the rite, to decipher its "cultural code" as Victor Turner puts it. The latter way of approaching the meaning of a rite is referred to by Robert A. LeVine, who notes that despite their sceptical attitude to Freudian explanations to religious patterns the anthropologists have repeatedly returned to the concepts and theory of psychoanalysis in figuring out the symbolic language of religion.³⁸ In fact LeVine, in naming those who have experimented with the application of a psychoanalytic approach to ethnographic material, mentions a number of the major studies of symbolic ritual interpretation (Beidelman 1964, 1966, Bellah 1965, Richards 1956, Spiro 1967, Turner 1967, 1968, 1969, and Wilson 1971). Their biggest problem has, according to LeVine, been in the comprehension of the psychological significance of a religious symbol, namely the unexpressed or inexpressible meaning that links the symbol as part of a cultural system to the emotion it arouses in man. LeVine's statement must in this respect be regarded only as indicative, so that e.g. Victor Turner takes

a guarded attitude to psychoanalytic explanations and regards them as remaining beyond the scope of the anthropologist.³⁹ Instead he has tried to develop an "anthropological" method for revealing the meaning of the symbolic language of the rite. His basic premise is that the semantic structure of the ritual symbol is articulated by culturally standardized ends and means.⁴⁰ "In any given instance of a symbol's use, we have to take into account at least three orders of reference: 1) its *manifest* sense, of which the subject is fully conscious, and which is related to the explicit aims of the ritual . . . ; 2) its *latent* sense, of which the subject is only marginally aware but could become fully aware, and which is related to other ritual and pragmatic contexts of social action . . . ; 3) its *hidden* sense, of which the subject is completely unconscious, and which is related to infantile (and possibly pre-natal) experiences shared with most other members of society, and perhaps with most other human beings . . ."⁴¹ The various spheres of reference of the symbol can be traced by using "levels of meaning" as the foundation for analysis, these levels being 1) exegetical, 2) operational and 3) positional or contextual. The first of these refers to the cognitive basis of the rite and correlates directly with the recognised context of the symbol. The operational level refers to the use of the symbol, and the positional or contextual level to its position and context in the overall structure of the rite. Turner looks especially at the complexity of the context of a symbol — its multivocality as he himself expresses it. There is no doubt that examination of the operating context of a symbol, along with exegesis, opens up the way to uncovering precisely the unconscious association of ideas represented by the symbol. However, his hidden sense of a symbol, with its associations with the infantile or even pre-natal (?) experiences shared by the community, remains problematic. In tracing the "meaning" of symbolic action we should remember that all recognised explanations other than those of supporters of the tradition, in other words the manifest sense, to quote Turner, are the interpretation of the researcher and as such dependent on his scientific frame of reference. There is nothing to prevent the scholar from tracing the unconscious meanings of a symbol so long as the principles on which he operates in his analysis are made clear.

In my analysis of the shamanic rite process I examine the meaning of ritual behaviour, individual acts, from two aspects, which could be called the "native explanation" and the "scientific explanation". Then the concept proper of meaning covers the culturally clustered ideas guiding behaviour.⁴² Since I shall be attempting to account for the shaman's technique of ecstasy from standpoints of role theory, the basis for analysis becomes the assessment of the meaning of ritual elements specifically from the point of view of role relationships and behaviour. This role-analytical interpretation, which as

a pure research construction has nothing to do with the unconscious meanings of action, is made easier by Turner's frame for analysis presented above. Familiarity with exegesis is vital to the interpretation of action; on the other hand estimation of the nature of ritual elements is also helped by observation of their contexts and any ways of using them.

In debating the traditional meaning of ritual action we must bear one more point in mind. This meaning is not necessarily clear and identical to all those taking part in the rite. For example, the expert on the shamanic ritual technique is a shaman, and only a shaman who has absorbed the necessary knowledge during his long period of training. Similarly, the person acting as the shaman's assistant must possess more knowledge of the events of the rite than the normal onlookers. In order to weigh up the source value of information concerning ritual behaviour it is useful to divide all possible informants into 1) specialists on the ritual organization, 2) other participants and 3) members of the community remaining outside the ritual action.

C. Function. Historically, functional analysis is a modification of teleological explanation. This means explanation that is not given in relation to the causes of an event but in relation to the goals determining its course. Carl G. Hempel, in his article "The Logic of Functional Analysis", describes the phenomena that functional analysis has sought to explain, most typically as the recurrent actions or behaviour models of an individual or group. The primary aim of analysis is usually to reveal the way in which the behaviour model in question helps to preserve or develop the individual or group.⁴³ According to the Malinowski view human institutions, like the actions contained in them, are based on an attempt to satisfy biological and cultural needs. According to him, therefore, function always means the satisfaction of a need.⁴⁴ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in turn considered that every custom and belief of a primitive community plays a specific part in the social life of the community, just as every organ in a living body plays some part aiming at preserving the body. He used his "physiological" function concept to refer to the interconnection between the social structure and the process of social life.⁴⁵ As was mentioned before, this led the students of ritual to seek explanatory factors in precisely the social structure of the community. Individual psychological factors were then overlooked in the search for a basis for placing function in its right perspective. Radcliffe-Brown's parallel between the community and a living organism has in itself aroused criticism, and when Robert K. Merton further developed his concepts of functional analysis⁴⁶ he finally discarded the mode of thinking according to which all features of culture have positive social functions. Function as a term is, despite extensive debate, still a matter of controversy, and its chief spheres of meaning have been described e.g. as follows: "(1) *teleological*, where one asks about

the goals or ends something serves; (2) *configurational*, where one speaks of the interdependence of a set of elements within a system, and asks what contribution each makes to the whole; and (3) *mathematical*, where one refers to the covariation of a set of variables.”⁴⁷ In this research the concept of function is used in precisely its teleological sense; the primary meaning of the term is then “purpose”. In the functional analysis of a rite it is essential to define the purpose of what feature in relation to what matter is being examined. Are we examining the social or psychological effects of a rite, or possibly the functions of a ritual element as regards the overall performance of the rite? In analysing the rite process the functional or “telic structure”⁴⁸ of the rite holds a vital position, this meaning the rite as a system of goals and ends. If we think of the shamanic rite as a system of action we can say that every stage in a rite has a specific, clearly defined purpose aiming at the proper conducting of the rite and/or realising its ultimate goal. We are naturally dealing with the manifest function of the rite. The social and psychological inferences of ritual action not recognised by those taking part remain in the domain of latent functions.⁴⁹

In my study of the processual structure of shamanizing séances the approach is functional in the sense that I try to mark out the position and purposes of structural units within the rite, as factors carrying the process forward, and also as elements shedding light on shamanism as a whole. The shamanic rite is built up of action units, *actemes*, which, as was stated before, have a status independent of one another and the goal of the rite, and they can be recognised with regard to their characteristics at meaning and function level. The realisation of the acteme in the ritual performance itself is the *act*. The unit at structural level, the acteme, is then an invariant, the variants of which are its real implementations, acts. Alternative acts corresponding to one acteme are called *alloacts*. The actemes are the theme of the performance, the units carrying it forward. Thus they are functional from the point of view of the inner dynamics of the rite process rather than its manifestation. This means that the same acteme may in practice be expressed in words just as well as in movements. The actemes follow one another in an order logical to the overall course of the séance. They are grouped according to their functional context into longer periods, *sequences*, while combinations of sequences make up the basic structure of the rite.

The nature of actemes becomes evident from the following example: At the beginning of a séance a shaman from Southwest Siberia imitates the sound of a snipe (manifestation). This is clearly an act distinct in the ritual procedure as an entity in itself, and its meanings and functions may be described as follows:

I *meaning*,

- a) shamanic explanation: The shaman is calling a spirit-helper in the form of a snipe.
- b) role-analytical explanation: The shaman is actualizing one of his supranormal counter-roles.

II *function*,

- a) manifest function: preparation for the crucial events of the rite (i.e. the making of subsequent events possible), in which the snipe spirit-helper plays an important part.
- b) latent function: thinking of e.g. the process leading to the shaman's altered consciousness at psychophysical level the function of the act is to get "started up". It is part of the stage of becoming frenzied. Latent functions could also be sought at social-psychological level: the atmosphere becomes charged, any patient there may be gets himself into a state of mind appropriate to the healing act, etc.

The act just described corresponds to the acteme "preliminary singing", marked by signum D. Its alloacts are e.g. preliminary singing comprising a few invocatory cries or soft, preparatory drumming. 27 actemes are named; they vary both in their prevalence and in the extent of their content. This is partly a consequence of the attempt to reveal precisely the functional structure of the séance. In some cases some goal vital to the carrying out of the rite may be aimed at through a wide and intricate series of actions, such as prolonged singing and dancing. Sometimes, however, the goal is achieved by means of a brief ritual action or a concise verbal expression. In estimating the mutual emphasis given to various actemes we must also remember that the written accounts, which by force of circumstances have had to serve as the material for this research, restrict analysis and sometimes give a false perspective. This is a problem of source criticism that has, where possible, been solved by examination of parallel accounts of séances. Since the emphasis of the research lies in the examination of the shaman's ecstatic role-taking technique and in the observation of structural differences revealed precisely at sequence level, any questions that may remain open at acteme level will not have any notable effect on the final result. It must also be noted that the emphasis varies greatly in various actemes as manifest by individual shamans, if only due to random circumstances affecting the shaman's skill at ecstatic technique. Below is a list of actemes by signum; the content is referred to only briefly, for the meaning and functional aspects are raised repeatedly in connection with the case analyses. (Note that acteme T contains a group of relatively rare ritual actions of secondary importance to the normal conducting of a shamanic séance.)

Actemes

- A preparation of the audience
- B preparation of the assistant
- C preparation of the shaman
- D preliminary singing
- E invocatory songs
- F addressing the spirit-helper (does not lead to dialogue)
- G arrival of the spirit-helper
- H discussion with the spirit-helper
- I deactualization of the spirit-helper
- J addressing the sickness demon (does not lead to dialogue)
- K arrival of the sickness demon
- L discussion with the sickness demon
- M fighting the sickness demon
- N deactualization of the sickness demon
- O addressing or conversation with some other supranormal being
- P the shaman's journey⁵⁰
- Q the shaman's return
- R return of the soul (human or animal)
- S informing the audience
- T ritual action
- U forecasting
- V sacrifice
- X slashing the body
- Z rest
- Y the shaman relinquishes his task
- Ä the assistant relinquishes his task⁵¹

In function and meaning the groups of actemes make up sequences, the normal scheme of shamanizing containing seven. In addition to these shamanizings may include various more extensive ritual practices not necessarily requiring a shaman. Such actions have been made into a sequence of their own called 'other measures'. The possible sequences of the shamanic séance are:

- 1) Preparatory stage
- 2) Actualizing the spirit-helpers
- 3) Meeting the spirit-helpers
- 4) Meeting the sickness demon
- 5) The shaman's journey
- 6) Deactualization of the spirit-helpers
- 7) Other measures
- 8) The termination of shamanizing

The sequences carry different weight in that some of them, such as 'actualizing the spirit-helpers', are an essential part of every séance, whereas others are alternatives. If shamanism is described as a communicative system of action

that is by nature ecstatic, and in its relationship with the supranormal based on belief, then the alternative forms of this system of action are manifest precisely at sequence level.

The case analyses constituting the main part of the phenomenological examination, together with some background information, comprise an account of ritual divided up by acteme and a commentary section proceeding by sequence.

8. THE RESEARCH MATERIAL

8.1. *Source material on Siberian shamanism.* In 1253—1255 the Franciscan monk Vilhelm av Ruysbroeck was sent by King Louis IX of France to the court of Mongolia. He describes what he saw as follows: "Some of them appeal to devils and gather together by night those seeking an oracular answer from an evil spirit at their home, where they place boiled meat in the middle of the house. The oracle (cham) intending to invoke the spirits begins his sorcery and frenziedly beats the ground with a drum. At last he begins to get wild and lets himself be bound. Then the evil spirit comes in the dark, he gives it meat to eat, and it utters the oracular answer."¹ The account includes one of the first descriptions of a shamanic séance, and it is of great significance in that it proves that the séance has in the main remained almost unchanged from one century to the next. Hundreds of similar eyewitness reports of Siberian and Central Asian shamanism have subsequently accumulated. The bibliography of A. A. Popov, for example, which appeared in 1932 and covers literature in Russian only, contains some seven hundred entries.² The chequered background of portrayers (apart from ethnologists the observers of shamanism have included men condemned to forced labour in Siberia, missionaries or travellers in search of adventure) and their varying understanding of conditions and dialects in the area have meant that while extensive, the material available is in many places deficient and unreliable. To help anyone who may later be trying to make his way through this tangle of material I shall attempt to give an account of the stages in compiling this material in the form of a kind of critical bibliography. The account is in no way perfect; in placing the most important publications in their temporal and local context and drawing the line between amateur and professional ethnologists I hope to defend the necessity for the present study.

8.1.1. *The earliest reports.* The Europeans showed relatively little interest in Siberia in the Middle Ages, and not until the 17th and 18th centuries, with the spread of settlement across the Ural Mountains, did a knowledge

of shamanism quickly begin to grow up. Apart from mission workers and research travellers who expressly went to Siberia, the new Russian settlers were important sources of information. The travellers recorded their tales, and by thus passing on second-hand observations not only brought out relevant information but also paved the way for many false concepts. For example, Nicolaes Witsen's "Noord- en Oost-Tartarye", a work containing a detailed account of a shamanic séance that appeared in 1672, is based on precisely such eye-witness reports. Witsen did, however, take an unusually critical view of his information and tried to distinguish the legendary and imaginary additions from the factual truth.³ An important source of information from the early 18th century are Swedish prisoners-of-war who got sent to Siberia — Johan Bernhard Müller, for example, ended up in Tobolsk and there followed conversion work. In 1720 he published a work entitled "Leben und Gewohnheiten der Ostjaken" describing the life of the Khants. The work is to a great extent based on the description of the Khants by G. Novitskiy, which although written in 1715 was not published until 1884. Better known than Müller, however, is another Swedish officer, Ph. J. Strahlenberg, whose "Der Nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia" appeared in Stockholm in 1730. Apart from a general account of conditions it contains only a few isolated facts of interest to the student of religion.

The first travel reports of any broader significance to the study of shamanism appeared in the second half of the century and were written by Johan Georg Gmelin, Johann Gottlieb Georgi and P. S. Pallas. The work in four volumes "Reise durch Sibirien von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743" by Gmelin, sent by the Empress Elizabeth on a scientific expedition to Siberia, contains numerous descriptions of shamanism and information on shamanism collected from many tribes, and great use is made of it as source material. Gmelin's attitude to the representatives of shamanism is, however, marked by a clear trend: he tries to depict the shaman as a deceiver playing on the gullibility of his fellow tribesmen. For the reader making allowance for the lack of objectivity Gmelin's accounts are, in their age alone, valuable material. Johan Gottlieb Georgi's work "Beschreibung aller Nationen Russischen Reichs" (1776—1780) has been called the foundation of Russian ethnology. Georgi's information on the peoples of Siberia is based on personal observations made during journeys in 1772—1774, which he also published in his "Bemerkungen einer Reise im Russischen Reich im Jahre 1772" (1775) and "Bemerkungen auf einer Reise im Russischen Reiche in den Jahren 1773 und 1774" (1775). The reports include a section on Evenk and Buryat shamanism that also appeared as a separate edition entitled "Merkwürdigkeiten verschiedener unbekannten Völker des Russischen Reichs" (1777). Beside later accounts Georgi's reports are poor, e.g. in their accounts of the Evenks.⁴ P. S. Pallas'

well-known and much used work "Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1768—1773" (1771—1776) has been shown to contain much information based on earlier reports. Karjalainen, for example, points out that Pallas drew on the material collected by J. B. Müller.⁵ The typical passing of fragments of information on Siberia from one work to another is again indicated by the fact that Pallas was in turn drawn on by Georgi.⁶ Just as with Georgi's work, a special edition of the third volume of Pallas' book was issued in Germany in 1777 entitled "Merkwürdigkeiten der obischen Ostjaken, Samojeden, daurischen Tungusen, udinskischen Bergtataren". While the above authors concentrated primarily on the western and central part of Siberia in their extensive travels, information on conditions in Eastern Siberia was provided by Georg Wilhelm Steller, a contemporary of theirs whose travel account "Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka dessen Einwohnern, deren Sitten, Nahmen, Lebensart und verschiedenen Gewohnheiten" (1774) was strongly criticized by Waldemar Jochelson, who regarded it as an excellent example of the primitive nature of ethnological field work in the 18th century.⁷ Fifty years later Northeast Siberia was also to be the destination of A. v. Middendorff, who published an account of his journey in the work "Reise in den äusserste Norden und Osten Sibiriens während der Jahre 1843 und 1844", and of C. v. Dittmar, who collected information on the Koryaks and the Chukchi in particular. Dittmar was a mining engineer sent by his government to do geographical and geological research. However, he also collected a certain amount of ethnological material and published details of the religious life of the Koryaks in his article "Über die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen".⁸

The same criticism as was aimed at the travel authors of the 18th century may be levelled at those of the early 19th century. The facts about shamanism were still disconnected, loose, and collected at random in the course of other observations. In his account "Reise nach dem Nordosten des europäischen Russlands durch die Tundren der Samojeden zum Arkt'schen Uralgebirge" A. G. Schrenk, for example, published a considerable amount of information on the religion of the Samoyeds, but another expert on the region, Matias Aleksanteri Castrén, accuses him of unreliability and superficiality and presumes that Schrenk did not manage to look sufficiently into the deeper spiritual life of the Samoyeds.⁹

Castrén was himself an exception to the collectors of field ethnographical material of his time; his notes on shamanism have retained their value and withstood comparison against later systematic collection. When sent off on his journeys Castrén was issued by the Russian Academy of Science with a detailed set of instructions compiled by Sjögren according to which his

chief task was to find out the extent of the area settled by the Samoyeds and to study the life and conditions of the Samoyeds and the neighbouring Ostyaks and Yenisey Ostyaks.¹⁰ Castrén's success as an ethnographical reporter was influenced not only by his own zeal but, most obviously, his linguistics training and his research work on the spot; by studying the local languages it was possible for him to avoid the problems of interpretation that were to be the fate of his linguistically unskilled colleagues. Castrén's uncertain health did not withstand the rigours of the Siberian journey, and due to his early death his travel accounts "Reiseerinnerungen aus den Jahren 1838—1844" (1853) and "Reisen im Norden in den Jahren 1838—1844" (1853) were published with the assistance of A. Schiefner.

The works by the three most notable describers of shamanism in the 1860s and 1870s, S. Shashkov, P. I. Tret'yakov and V. Verbitskiy, have only appeared in Russian. Tret'yakov's book describing conditions in the Turukhansk region (1871) contains an extensive chapter on shamanism, the facts of which occur again and again in later studies, so that some of his observations, such as his outline of the personality of the Evenk shaman, can already be regarded as classical. Verbitskiy was an Orthodox mission worker, and over the many years he spent among the Altaic peoples he gained a thorough insight into the conditions and tradition of the region. His works appeared in 1870 and 1893, the latter giving a detailed account of the shamanic tradition of the Altaic Tatars.

8.1.2. Systematic collection of material. By the 1880s interest in shamanism had become lively, and the last two decades of the century bequeathed us with plenty of reliable source material. One could say that in the 1880s researchers at last got down to systematic field work, lent impetus by the first published programmes for the collection of information on shamanism (Potanin 1880 and Agapitov 1883). The emphasis in these programmes was still on description of the outer manifestations of shamanism and a cry for information on the séance procedure or the shaman's paraphernalia. No questions on the ideological content or verbal tradition of shamanism foreign to concrete ethnographical research were asked, a fact that was for a long time to hamper the handling of shamanism as a religious phenomenon.¹¹ Beside the random accounts of journeys the systematic collection of facts, in organising which the Russian Academy of Science played a leading part, meant an increase in the reliability of the results. The collectors were still not necessarily trained ethnologists; of great importance in the collection of ethnographical material on Siberia were, in particular, the political exiles who, during their long terms in exile, became experts on local conditions. Gradually the Siberians themselves came to study and to view their native

culture through new eyes, and with their inner insight were able to assist with collection work. The student of Buryat shamanism M. N. Khangalov was a native Buryat who graduated from the Irkutsk Teachers' College; in addition to his work as a teacher he prepared publications of material with Russian scholars, chiefly N. N. Agapitov (Agapitov-Khangalov 1883, Khangalov 1890). L. Stieda's article in *Globus* entitled "Das Schamentum unter den Burjaten" is based on material collected by Agapitov and Khangalov among the Buryats in the province of Irkutsk.

The influence of another native Buryat, D. Banzarov, on shamanic research was even more significant; his work "Black religion or shamanism among the Mongols"¹² was one of the first broad accounts concentrating exclusively on shamanism. Shamanism in Mongolia was also described at the end of the century by G. N. Potanin, whose four-part work (Potanin 1881—1883) remained one of the most used sources right up to very recent times.

Writings on shamanism among the most expansive people of Central Siberia, the Yakuts, appeared in abundance around the turn of the century by such writers as Priklonskiy (1886, 1887, 1891), Pripuzov (1884), Khudyakov (1890), Vitashevskiy (1890, cf. also 1918) and Seroshevskiy (1896, 1900). The last of these works has become famous as "12 lat w kraju Jakutow", published in Warsaw, and the extensive work "Jakuty", published in St. Petersburg. The former appeared in French¹³ and the latter partly in English translation.¹⁴ His detailed account of a séance, which appeared in English in Czaplicka's book "Aboriginal Siberia" in 1914, has been quoted one of the most, and in being lifted from one book to another has become the model example of a séance. Seroshevskiy cannot, however, be regarded as completely free of guilt as a field worker, for despite his long sojourn he did not have a full command of the language of the Yakuts and he tended to record his observations in general terms, without paying any attention to such things as localization. Pater Wilhelm Schmidt made a brilliant analysis of the contradictions in the source material presented by Seroshevskiy and Priklonskiy that raise doubt as to the reliability of both authors. He also proves that Priklonskiy, who in fact spent three years among the Yakuts, to a great extent relies on articles by such writers as N. Pripuzov and F. Solov'yev.¹⁵ The collections of material left behind by the political prisoner Khudyakov are some of the most valuable and were not published until 1969.¹⁶ Khudyakov, who as a result of his extremely long and difficult work died in Siberia, could speak the language of the Yakuts and made parallel notes on the oral tradition of the shaman in both the Yakut and the Russian languages.

Following in the footsteps of Verbitskiy as a reporter of the Altaic region was the philologist Wilhelm Radloff, whose travel diary in two parts, "Aus

Sibirien" (1884), contains diverse information on settlement and culture in the region. Radloff has been regarded as one of the most reliable analysers of shamanism,¹⁷ and his journeys, which he made between 1859 and 1870, covered a large part of Western Siberia and in particular the areas inhabited by various Tatar tribes. The general account of the religion of the Altaic Tatars, which comes in the second part of his diary and which has also been published as an offprint "Das Schamanentum und sein Kultus" (1885), contains one of the most important and best-known documents on shamanism, a thirty-page description of a sacrificial ceremony dedicated to Bai Ülğan.

The scientifically-oriented reporters of life and with it religion at the end of the 19th century also include A. Ahlqvist, S. Patkanov and P. P. Shimkevich. Ahlqvist's "Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken" (1883) and Patkanov's "Die Irtysh-Ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie" (1897) were both the result of research expeditions among the Finno-Ugrian peoples of Siberia. Of greater significance to the study of shamanism than these writers was, however, P. P. Shimkevich, who aimed his journeys at the Amur Nanays (Goldies), and inspired by Mikhaylovskiy's "Shamanism"¹⁸ in particular set out to record their systems of beliefs and their cult life. Parts of his publication of material on the shamanism of the Nanays (Shimkevich 1896), the facts of which appear very reliable in the light of subsequent research, have been reported by W. Grube in *Globus*.

8.1.3. Collection by trained ethnographers in the 20th century. Since the turn of the century the collection of material on shamanism has to an increasing extent been in the hands of trained ethnographers. Apart from private researchers, the most notable of which, apart from the Russians, have been Finns and Hungarians interested in their related tribes on the other side of the Ural Mountains, the biggest resources have been invested in study of Siberia by the ethnography, linguistics and archaeological sections of the Russian, later the Soviet Academy of Science. The tremendous cultural change that has taken place this century, the seeds of which had already been sown and which gained impetus under the influence of the post-revolutionary political-societal reforms, crushed shamanism. A tradition no longer with any meaning is vanishing, and the field work that could in the first three decades of the century be done in living and, from the point of view of the community, functional contexts has become the recording of the last fragments of information on a dying cultural tradition.

Not long after the above scholars of Yakut shamanism came the research work of Troshchanskiy, the results of which are crystallized in the work "Development of the Black Religion among the Yakuts" (1902). As a source

book this treatise, with its associations with the evolutionist research tradition, has nevertheless become better known, perhaps above all for its wide scope and its information on the spirit system of the Yakuts. Stadling assesses Troshchanskiy's "Development of the Black Religion" as interesting, but at the same time regrets that in concentrating on the Yakuts the author enlightens us only on the religious-cultural connections of the Yakuts and the Mongol-Tatars and pays no attention at all to influences from the Evenks.¹⁹ This is understandable when we remember that around the turn of the century there was still not much reliable information on Evenk shamanism available. Further Yakut experts deserving mention are Pekarskiy and Vasil'yev, who specialized in describing the garb and paraphernalia of the shaman (Pekarskiy-Vasil'yev 1910 and Vasil'yev 1910)²⁰, A. A. Popov (Popov 1949), and the collector and translator of the oral tradition connected with shamanism G. V. Ksenofontov. Ksenofontov's collections "Legends and tales of shamans among the Yakuts, Buryats and Evenks", which appeared in Moscow in 1930 and the first part of which had been published in Irkutsk in 1928 under the name "Legends of the shamans", constitutes a unique source when studying the shamanic outlook on life and the initiation period of the shaman among the Yakuts, but also among the Buryats and the Evenks.²¹ The work was also made available to western researchers in a German edition with comments by Adolf Friedrich and Georg Buddruss published in 1955 as "Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien", which further contains extracts from A. A. Popov's collection of Yakut folklore (1936).

Valuable descriptive material is also contained in Ksenofontov's second work "Hrcstes" (1920); in addition to the remarkable deeds of the shaman and his initiation the author discusses the tradition connected with the shamanic cult of the dead. An excellent overall picture of material collected over the years and throwing light on the religious life of the Yakuts is obtained from N. A. Alckseyev's study (1975) in which the author has, in tabulating the information on, for example, the names used for the spirits by different collectors, provided a work of significance in source criticism.

Knowledge of the Paleoasian peoples was for a long time scant, until the results of far-reaching field observations made by two notable ethnologists, W. G. Bogoras and Waldemar Jochelson, around the turn of the century, were published in both Russian and English. Both began their study of Siberian conditions as political prisoners; D. M. A. Klementz, known among other things for his valuable archaeological finds in the Minusa area, namely organized a systematic ethnographic research programme that was put into practice by men deported to various regions for political reasons, such as Bogoras, Jochelson and Vitashchyskiy.²² Later (in 1900—1902) both Bogoras and Jochelson took part in the work of the American Yesup North Pacific

research team and the results of their research were published in the expedition's publications series. W. G. Bogoras was forced to spend his period of exile, the years 1889—1898, in Northeast Siberia, among the Chukchi in the Kolyma region, and during this period he gained a deep insight into their customs and culture. Bogoras' field work periods fell in the years 1894—1896 and 1900—1902, and in addition to the Chukchi material he collected material on the Evens and the Siberian Eskimos. Bogoras paid special attention to phenomena within the sphere of shamanism, and e.g. his work "The Chukchee" (1904—1909) contains not only descriptions of séances but also interesting observations on the status of the shaman and the process of initiation. In the nature of sister publications to Bogoras' monumental account of Chukchi life are Jochelson's works on the Koryaks and the Yukagirs entitled "The Koryak" (1905 and 1908) and "The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus" (1926). The account of Koryak shamanism, for example, dovetails with Bogoras' text, paying attention only to phenomena differing from Chukchi customs. It was as a political prisoner that a third great Russian scholar of religion at the beginning of the century, L. Shternberg, began his career as an ethnographer. As a young student he was banished to Sakhalin for seven years.²³ Shternberg's extensive output, a bibliography of which is contained in e.g. N. I. Gagen-Torn's biography (1975), shows that in addition to the Nivkhi (Gilyaks) he met on Sakhalin Shternberg also made a study of the language and cultures of the Amur region. The large general account that appeared in Khabarovsk in 1933 provides material on the life of the community and also an abundance of information on the religion and oral tradition of these peoples.²⁴ Shternberg's notable collections of material published in English and German include "The tribes of the Amur River" appearing in the series of the Yesup North Pacific Expedition in 1900 and the large paper "Die Religion der Giljaken" published in the "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft" series, though better known are his shortish articles, such as "Der Adlerkult bei den Völkern Sibiriens" (1930) and "Die Auserwählung im sibirischen Schamanismus" (1935). Shternberg has been regarded above all as the pioneer of social ethnography, and the so-called 'developer of the Leningrad school of ethnography'.²⁵ As director of the Ethnographic Museum and a lecturer at the University he did in fact have a chance to exert an inspiring influence on a large rising generation of researchers. The religious life of the Amur region has been admirably recorded by Ivan A. Lopatin also, who made a special study of the conditions of the Nanays (Goldies) and the Orochi.²⁶

The Finno-Ugrian peoples of Western Siberia, the Mansi and the Khants (Voguls, Ostyaks), have been an object of interest to Finnish and Hungarian scholars in particular, and especially around the turn of the century numerous

study visits were made to the areas inhabited by these peoples, the primary aim often being to collect linguistic material, but they also produced information on popular belief. The reports of journeys by Finns Artturi Kannisto, U. T. Sirelius and K. F. Karjalainen were published in the journals of the Finnish-Ugrian Society between 1900 and 1908, in other words immediately, whereas their publications of material sometimes had to wait decades before coming to light. Thus, for example, Artturi Kannisto's six-volume work "*Wogulische Volksdichtung*", which also contains texts on shamanism and the cults of the Voguls, was edited by Matti Liimola and published between the years 1951 and 1963. Likewise Kannisto's material on Vogul mythology did not appear until 1958, edited by E. A. Virtanen and Matti Liimola. K. F. Karjalainen drew on his own observations and collections of material in writing his extensive study of the religious life of the Mansi and the Khants (Karjalainen 1918). Due to the shortcomings of the note apparatus it is, however, difficult to say which facts are based on his own observations and which have been passed down from earlier travel reports — a problem of source criticism that places the reader in search of reliable information on his guard in glancing through this otherwise commendable work. Among the Hungarian scholars mention must above all be made of Bernát Munkácsi, whose publications (Munkácsi 1892—1921, 1899 and 1900) present information collected not only by himself but also by the great Hungarian Finno-Ugrist working among the Ugrian peoples in the first half of the 19th century, Antal Reguly.

Shamanism among the neighbours of the Ugrians, the Yenisey Ostyaks or Kets, is dealt with by V. J. Anuchin in his work appearing in 1914, the background and reliability of which are pictured by Pater Wilhelm Schmidt as follows: "Anuchin carried out his research among the Yeniseys by order of the Russian Committee for the Exploration of Central and East Asia in the years 1905—1908. Before, during and even after the expedition he was constantly supported and guided by the advice of such eminent researchers as W. Radloff and L. J. Shternberg, likewise in the present account of his research results, as Anuchin himself acknowledges in the foreword. Thus this presentation can surely be taken as reliable, and it is made even more valuable by the fact that it is the first account of the religion — for at that time this was understood by the word 'shamanism' — of the Yeniseys."²⁷ Kai Donner, who during his travels in Siberia²⁸ studied not only the Samoyeds but also the Kets, took a different view of Anuchin's reliability. He states that a Ket authority on language who was not himself a shaman was able to give him broader and more detailed answers to his questions about shamanism than are contained in Anuchin's book. Donner also accuses Anuchin of false interpretations and misunderstandings as a

consequence of his poor command of the language, both in orthography and the way matters are presented.²⁹

Following in M. A. Castrén's tracks as scholars investigating the Samoyed tribes were the Finnish researchers Kai Donner and T. V. Lehtisalo, who edited, among other things, Castrén's anthologies of shamanic songs "Samojedische Volksdichtung" (1940) and "Samojedische Sprachmaterialien gesammelt von M. A. Castrén und T. Lehtisalo" (1960). Lehtisalo, whose major sources for his extensive output on the Nentsy (Yurak Samoyeds) and their oral tradition and religion were "Entwurf einer Mythologie der Jurak-Samojeden" (1924) and "Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung" (1947), gives a versatile account of the rite technique of the shaman, songs and also mythology. Kai Donner concentrated on the Selkup Samoyeds in particular and in his travel books (1915 and 1933) also makes a broad examination of the phenomena embraced by shamanism. Some of the most interesting documents on shamanism are by A. A. Popov, who also studied Yakut shamanism and edited a bibliography of shamanic research anthologies compiled among the Nganasans or the Tavgis. Popov carefully interviewed the shamans of this Samoyed group, who adhered more strictly to the old tradition than the Nentsy, and made detailed notes on, for example, their initiation visions (Popov 1936, 1968). Apart from Popov the later generation of Soviet scholars is represented by the couple G. N. Prokof'yev and E. D. Prokof'yeva, who have published material on the Selkups (Prokof'yev 1930 and Prokof'yeva 1949) and the Entsya (Prokof'yeva 1953 and 1955). Prokof'yeva has become known chiefly for her studies of the shaman's garb and paraphernalia,³⁰ and a description of the Entsya shaman's garb has also been published in English (Prokof'yeva 1963).

Research into the shamanism of the Turkish-related peoples in the Altaic region, already relatively well known thanks to Verbitskiy and Radloff, was continued by a pupil of Radloff's, A. V. Anokhin. His field journey fell in the years 1910–1912. Publication of the results was, however, somewhat slow due to the war³¹, and not until 1924 did his main work, on Altaic shamanism, come to light.³² Anokhin's best-known contemporary as a student of the shamanism of the Turkish peoples was S. E. Malov, whose articles were published in *Zhivaya Starina* (Malov 1909) and *Etnografiya*, the journal of the Anthropological Museum (Malov 1918). In the 1930s and 1940s Altaic investigation was continued by the younger generation of Soviet scholars and for example N. P. Dyrenkova produces interesting information on the initiation period and the making of a shaman in two articles (Dyrenkova 1930 and 1949). As the arranger of numerous research expeditions L. P. Potapov specialized in studies of the shaman's equipment, particularly the forms of drums (Potapov 1934, 1947, 1949).

The shamanism practised by the widely spread Evenk tribes, of which relatively little was known for a long time, became known through the far-reaching studies of two notable ethnologists, S. M. Shirokogoroff and A. F. Anisimov. Shirokogoroff's chief work "Psychomental Complex of the Tungus" appeared in 1935 and its rich and diverse ethnological material was collected among the eastern Evenks and Manchus. The author paid special attention to shamanism and the work in fact includes numerous descriptions of séances. Anisimov, on the other hand, operated chiefly in the Podkamennaya Tunguska area among the western Evenks. In addition to his numerous articles he entered his observations in his more extensive work dealing with the religion of the Evenks and its development (Anisimov 1958). Appearing in English are Anisimov's articles "The Shaman's Tent of the Evenks and the Origin of the Shamanistic Rite" and "The Cosmological Concepts of the Peoples of the North", both in collections "Studies in Siberian Shamanism" (1963, cf. also 1959) edited by Henry N. Michael.

8.2. *Choice of research material and its application to the theoretical goals of the research.* Typical of the earlier general treatises on Siberian shamanism was their comparative approach, in the course of which some part or parts of the phenomenal complex were singled out for examination. In particular the phenomenologists have had a tendency to take elements of a belief complex out of context for regional or supracultural comparisons. The examination of forms and structures, the shaping of ideal types, etc. likewise typical of phenomenological research has diverted attention away from the processual side of ritual behaviour to the registration of its static features. In analysing the extent of various features over wide areas no attention has been paid to placing them in their ethnohistorical context, i.e. the shamanic complex has been examined in isolation from its cultural and social background. Similarly, in studies of some small area in which shamanism has been examined as part of the culture of a specific ethnic group researchers have most often been satisfied with looking into the various manifestations of some sub-element of the phenomenal complex.

8.2.1. *Research method determining the choice of material.* Thinking of the position of the shaman as a means of communication between the normal and the supranormal it is clear that our interest turns to the realisation of this role of medium in actual living situations. The technical execution of the shaman's task of mediator, as an ecstatic picking of roles, the internalization of these roles and finally the relinquishing of them, can be studied only by observing real performances. Likewise the reactions of the shaman's principals, i.e. the representatives of the community, only come out in their actualization

context. The central objects of research are thus the shamanic séances, the rite performances. Since these rites are a concrete manifestation of shamanism, this is one way of examining not only the shaman's technique of ecstasy but also the construction of the rite on the basis of the belief system of the ethnic group in question, and in the final analysis — as belief systems constitute an organic part of the culture of the given ethnic groups — the factors that have influenced the existence of the shamanic complex.

This being the case, the analysis cannot be approached in the manner of the phenomenologists from a transecultural perspective; instead, the shamanic complex, its inner dynamics and implications, must be viewed within specific cultural frames of reference. By investigating individual rite performances as manifestations of the shamanic complex of the given group we can at the same time throw light on both the psychophysical process of the shaman's technique of ecstasy and the special and typical features of the shamanic system. Similarly the gaining of the status of shaman, the internalization of the tradition, and in particular the experiences and ritual functions acting as the milestones to the initiation period, are best localized through examination of the experiences of individual shamans on the basis of the overall structure of the shamanic complex peculiar to the ethnic group in question.

A method a) examining individual rite situations or supranormal experiences b) placed in time and place, i.e. their cultural contexts, c) as entities manifesting the shamanic complex is employed to aim at a synthetic view by way of analysis. The method of analysis could be described as intracultural; in this case the mode of examination should be comprehensive and, despite its systematic nature, as flexible and unmechanical as possible. Intraculturalism should not, however, be interpreted as particularism: the observation of conformities and the use of a systematic analysis apparatus also permit intercultural comparison. Due to its nature the method of analysis permits the examination of the qualitative differences between the shamanic systems of various cultures, in place of quantitative comparison.

8.2.2. Choice of items for analysis. The practical application of the above principles is not entirely free of problems when the object for research is a traditional phenomenon now extinct. Although few forms of tradition have been recorded with such enthusiasm as Siberian shamanism, the factual material available is nevertheless fragmentary and deficient. On first making acquaintance with the material I above all looked out for documents and ethnographic descriptions that were as broad and diverse as possible, and that were compiled by trained eye-witnesses. The factual information on shamanism falls into three classes that are first of all interesting from the

point of view of the research set-up; secondly they are suitable as a basis for research as regards their collecting activity and the intensity of their note entries. These are: 1) *accounts of shamanic séances*, 2) *personal accounts by shamans of visions during their initiation period* and 3) *the songs sung during a shamanic séance*. Since I wish in this study to throw light on the functioning of shamanism in its community, the status of the shaman, roles, his ecstatic role-taking technique and the outlining of the structure of the séance on the basis of this role-taking technique, along with the process leading to the attaining of the status of shaman, I decided to seek the central objects of my analyses, *nucleus accounts*, among the first two classes of material. These nucleus accounts were to be reliable and detailed. This latter factor would guarantee that as many factors as possible important to the study would be covered.

The shamanic initiatory vision, however well it may illuminate the process of assimilating the tradition, does not say everything about becoming a shaman, nor does a séance, however well it may be suited to the determination of the shaman's ecstatic role-taking technique, say everything about the cognitive system or social significance of the shamanism in question. It was clear that an understanding and interpretation of the situations described would be successful only if plenty of background information on the manifestations of shamanism in the culture in question were available. The choice of nucleus accounts was thus guided by keeping a watch on three factors: 1) the *internal representativeness* of the material, 2) the *contextual representativeness* of the material and 3) the *regional-cultural representativeness* of the material. The internal representativeness of the material refers above all to the features of the nucleus accounts but naturally also to the other data exploited in the research: authenticity, reliability, etc. The contextual representativeness in turn requires that in addition to the nucleus account there must be background information available on the shamanic practices of the culture in question, for use as a basis in constructing a context round the nucleus account, thus permitting a comprehensive approach. In other words the quantity and nature of the information obtainable had to be such that it would permit analysis functional from the point of view of the research set-up. The ethnographic and folkloristic material collections gradually accumulated seem to display one unavoidable property standing in the way of or even harmful to more extensive analyses: a lack of systematicism. Thus in placing myself at the mercy of the material in constructing cases I decided that the demand for contextual representativeness would be satisfied if the material available were sufficient to illustrate at least some of the points important to the research. Working thus within the confines of the material the various component problems of the research are weighted differently in the analyses of various cases. The demand for regional-cultural representativeness of the material

refers to the attempt to choose the cases for analysis so that their regional and cultural distribution would cover as much of Siberian shamanism as possible. Due to the lack of suitable material it was in this case impossible to reach a perfect situation. In the final comparisons I have had to rely on general information provided by former research in the case of those cultures for which there are no precise analyses.

Van Velsen has pointed out that the publicizing of case material illustrates studies and also increases the reader's chances of assessing the reliability of the research results.³³ Thus the central material, the nucleus accounts, chosen as the basis for the research is presented as it is in the source literature,³⁴ provided with analysis signa. Where necessary any supplementary material is presented in the *commentaries* aiming at the analysis of details. *The criteria* used in assessing the *representativeness of these nucleus accounts* are as follows:

1) *internal representativeness*

- a) authenticity of an event:
reason for event, time, place and background to those taking part must be clear
- b) authenticity of description:
description by an eye-witness, preferably an observer with a training in ethnography, or personal report by a shaman
- c) detail of description:
description must include observations illustrating all levels of the ritual performance (verbal, motor, material, etc.)
- d) accuracy of description:
ability of reporter to distinguish and record changes in voice production and movements in the course of the shaman's operations, audience's reactions, etc.

2) *contextual representativeness*

- a) possibility of obtaining additional information:
must be sufficient relevant material available on the shamanic phenomena of the culture in question
- b) possibility of checking how typical facts are:
using parallel descriptions it should be possible to decide whether or not a description is typical
- c) possibility of checking the reliability of facts:
should be data collected by more than one person on the shamanic phenomena of the culture in question

3) *regional-cultural representativeness*³⁵

- a) cases chosen so that the major ethnic groups in Siberia are at least represented
- b) cases chosen so that community and cultural forms are represented
- c) allowance also made for regional-ecological distribution

8.2.3. *Applicability of the material to the theoretical goals of the research.* The student forced to rely on material other than that collected for his own purposes has to a very great extent to take the limitations placed by the material into consideration. This in fact applies to all study of traditions based on archives and literature. The problem becomes not — as in work based on field study — how to find the right answers to one's questions, but rather to find the right questions to which just this material will provide an answer. Matti Sarmela has debated the problems facing the social and cultural anthropologist basing his research on archive material. He stresses that in assessing the problems of validity resulting from archives and literary-based material the starting point must be the suitability of the material for the general theoretical goals of the research. This is possible only by recognizing the aims according to which collection is organized.³⁶ This point is especially important in deliberating the nature of the material on Siberian shamanism. The trained collectors have been predominantly ethnologists whose interest has naturally been primarily in the material manifestations of shamanism. The biggest shortcoming from the point of view of this research has, in gathering material on shamanism, been the scarceness of observers above all social-psychologically or psychologically oriented. An exception such as S. M. Shirokogoroff's work "The Psychomental Complex of the Tungus" shows what results could have been reached along this road.

In assessing the empirical validity of the research material it must be remembered that the functioning of shamanic institutions is approached from two completely different levels. The microlevel comprising intracultural analyses is used as a basis for aiming at broader comparisons, i.e. a sort of macrolevel analysis. Thinking of the empirical validity of material this leads to two quite separate problem fields: 1) what is the value of the material selected for rite process analysis with an eye to the goals of the research and 2) in what way and supplemented by what do these microlevel analyses provide a basis for broader conclusions? The first question is felt most acutely in the goals of research demanding assessment of the measurement of the role-taking of the shaman, and in general the physical behaviour of the shaman. It must without fail be pointed out that the research material is not the best possible for the purpose in question. The ideal situation would naturally be an observation situation in the field in which a group of several observers could, using various technical aids, such as films, photographs and sound tapes, record forms of ritual behaviour. Jane Belo's accounts of the Bali trance technique, for example, show the accuracy that can be achieved in this way.³⁷ But the student of Siberian shamanism has only two possibilities: either he tries to exploit the potential of the material available or he gives up altogether. However, the descriptions of shamanizing séances

do not leave the student of the shaman's role-taking technique completely helpless. Since communication with the spirits is the central theme of a séance, describing it has also been the object of most interest among reporters. I have attempted to avoid the hurdles caused by the shortcomings of the material firstly by devising an analysis system starting from role theory and making allowance for the limitations of descriptions, and secondly by paying special attention to the internal and contextual representativeness of the material chosen for analysis. The second question, concerning comparison, may be answered by saying that the observation of an individual ritual event as a manifestation of the shamanic complex of a given ethnic group implies drawing on the knowledge of shamanism of the whole group in question. Thus in practical research the representativeness of the material does not present a problem. Here we are specifically concerned with qualitative comparison of the shamanic complexes of different cultures. The difficulties again lie in the shortcomings of the material, and where they are insuperable all that remains is the presentation of probabilities.

The construction of cases using material from various sources and the application of the above criteria for representativeness demand particularly careful scrutiny of the *source criticism*. Since we are dealing with a matter the thorough study of which would lead to extensive debate I shall condense the source criticism aspects important as regards this research into the following reference list:

- A. *Why have the forms of shamanism been observed and to what purpose has the material subsequently been published?* The material on Siberian shamanism is extremely heterogeneous, comprising the observations of chance travellers, missionaries, political prisoners, new settlers and finally research-oriented reporters. The recording of shamanism for research purposes has been primarily in the interests of ethnologists, but students of religion and folklore have also helped to collect material.
- B. *Background of the collector:* In debating the source criticism value of the material the decisive factors are the nature or lack of training of the collector, his knowledge of the languages and cultures in the area, his recognition of his main objects and any theoretical views he may have influencing the selection and presentation of the material.
- C. *Working methods and means of publication of material by the collector:* The source value of the description rises if we know the external conditions of the field work, the collector's working methods and principles for publishing his material, e.g. the sorts of facts on which the collector bases his generalizing claims, where the information published is based on the collector's own observations, the use of key informers (cf. language guides), etc. In the case of trained ethnographers, such as W. Bogoras and W. Jochelson, facts such as these often come out indirectly in the material publications themselves, unless they have been clearly stated at the very start,

as with e.g. S. M. Shirokogoroff. Travel diaries or field reports are also useful aids in settling these questions.

- D. *The problem of missing facts*: The biggest problem of non-systematic collection work concerns the gaps in information. The fact that there is no knowledge of the existence of a certain phenomenon in a specific area does not prove that the phenomenon does not in practice exist. The person dealing with a phenomenal complex such as shamanism can to some extent make deductions placing him on the tracks of a fact, namely by observing 1) the existence of functional alternatives and 2) the existence of phenomena in functional relationship to the missing phenomenon.
- E. *The comparability of various sources*: It is typical of the source material on Siberian shamanism that the sources analysing the practices in a specific area fall in different decades or even different centuries. In discovering the typical forms of shamanism of some ethnic group it must be remembered that the period when information on shamanism was collected coincided with accelerating socio-cultural changes, and that these changes very obviously affected the development of shamanism among the given groups. Comparisons are further made difficult by the indefinite references to regional or ethnic units appearing in the older sources in particular. One of the chief aims of source criticism is precisely the elimination of such misleading historical-geographical factors.
- F. *Lifting of facts from one source to another*: Mutual borrowing and the uncritical use of older texts makes the use of, in particular, source literature with a deficient reference system difficult. The wandering of unreliable and even false facts from one work to another is by no means rare in situations such as this.

C. EXAMINATION OF SHAMANIZING SÉANCES AND INITIATORY VISIONS

9. SHAMANIZING AMONG THE KORKODON YUKAGIRS

9.1. *Background.* The Yukagirs, one of the Paleo-Asian peoples, fall into two groups linguistically, geographically and ethnographically: the nomadic reindeer-herders living between the Indigirka and the Kolyma, and the hunters and fishermen living around the Upper Kolyma and its tributaries. At the beginning of this century the Yukagirs did not constitute a united community. Those of the Upper Kolyma lived alongside Yakuts, while the tundra Yukagirs had as their neighbours the Lamuts, Chukchi, Yakuts and Russian settlers. At the census of 1926—1927 there were 443 Yukagirs. This people, formerly covering a wider area, had dwindled to only a few members under pressure from the Evenks and Yakuts and been forced to withdraw to the east from its homeland, formerly extending as far as Lena.¹ In the 19th century the population was further reduced by repeated epidemics and continual hunger following the disappearance of game.² Hunting wild deer was the Yukagirs' chief economic activity, and joint hunts were held at the time of the deer's annual migration. Reindeer-breeding was a late loan assimilated from the Evenks and never took on major proportions. For example, the Yukagirs of the Upper Kolyma in the last decade of the 19th century, when most of the material on Yukagir shamanism was collected, were nomadic hunters and fishermen.³ As the deer vanished the hunting of animals with furs that could be traded gained in significance and maintained a mobile way of life. The population of about 180 comprised people remaining from former larger clans and Even clans that had merged with the Yukagirs. The basic social unit was usually a camp or village of related families that displayed many survivals of primitive-communal relations⁴, such as the division of the catch among all the inhabitants of the village. This collective element remained particularly in the case of hunting, whereas in fishing it was not so evident. Every family fished in the area allotted to it.⁵

Waldemar Jochelson undertook expeditions among the Yukagirs in 1895—1896 and 1901—1902 and published a large amount of material on such aspects as religion. He described the ethnic religion of the Yukagirs at the time of his study as follows: "The modern religious concepts of the Yukaghir which I am about to describe here are no more than a vague shadow or a faded image of their ancient religion. Russian influence has transformed the religious life of the Yukaghir to such an extent that their primitive religion

in its entirety is irretrievably lost to us. Some aspects of their religious conceptions were to a degree influenced by the Yakut and the Tungus.”⁶ In addition to other aspects of religious life Yukagir shamanism has, under pressure from neighbouring peoples, lost its former characteristics and been influenced in particular by the Evenks and the Yakuts. Even more injurious to the shamanic tradition was the missionary work conducted by the Orthodox church, as a result of which the shamanic spirits were degraded to the level of devils.⁷ Shamanic practice was not, however, completely dead at the beginning of this century, and in cases of emergency the new Russian settlers would turn to the shaman for help.

Jochelson mentions that the shaman, in the language of the Yukagirs *a'lma* (derived from the verb 'to do') or *i'rkeye* (derived from the verb 'to tremble') occupied a special position in the Yukagir social system. He was the protector and priest of the clan or a given family circle. Of the three leading figures in the clan — the “old man” being the real head of the clan, the “strong man” the worldly and the shaman the spiritual advocate, the shaman was the second and most respected after the “old man”.⁸ Jochelson describes the status of the Yukagir shaman as follows: “The shaman had to be of one blood with the original group of the clan, and his duties consisted in protecting the clan from evils and calamities, with the assistance of his spirits and of magical performances; he also acted as intermediary between the dead and the living members of the clan. Before any important event, — as, for instance, the starting of a journey, — the old man invited the shaman to perform his incantations for the happy outcome of the undertaking, or to conduct divinatory rites to foretell the results of the chase or the war.”⁹ The Yukagir shaman had a fixed relationship with his group of supporters, the clan or a certain circle of relatives, so he was not a professional shaman in the modern sense. His tasks included healing the sick, guaranteeing success in hunting and other sources of livelihood, and the foretelling and prevention of misfortunes in general. With his ability to communicate with the dead he was sometimes able to help in cases of childlessness by forcing the dead to send the necessary soul to the infertile wife. The importance of the shaman is illustrated in the fact that every clan considered itself descended from some shaman. The status and duties of the shaman were handed down within a family. On the death of the shaman his spirits were passed on to one of the sons, usually the eldest. While still living the father had initiated his successor in the mysteries of which he had command.¹⁰

Yukagir shamanism appears to have been firmly linked with the cult of the dead. Even after his death the shaman remained the protector of the clan and he became an object of worship. Jochelson surmises that “from merging of the ancestor and the shaman in one person there developed the

cult of the shaman-ancestor".¹¹ The continual role of the shaman as protector was concretized and confirmed in the burial rites of the shaman. In a tent specially reserved for the purpose the flesh and bones of the body were separated. The flesh was dried and later distributed to the relatives as amulets. The drying had to be done carefully, for if the shaman's flesh were to putrefy the relatives would fall ill. The shaman's skull came in for special treatment. It was dried, given a wooden body, and the resulting dummy was clad and placed in the house of the deceased's children, in an outside corner. The dummy was worshipped, it was carried on journeys in a special box, and at meals it was fed by throwing a piece of meat into the fire and holding the dummy in the smoke. It was addressed as *xoil'*, a name inherited after conversion by the god, icons and saints of the Christian faith.¹² The other bones were divided up among the relatives, they were kept "in embroidered covers", and they too were worshipped. The bones of the dead shaman were used, e.g. as a means of prophesying. According to one report the first news of the coming of the Russians in the region was obtained via shaman's bones.¹³

Some of the shamanic tales of the Yukagirs describe a battle between a Yukagir and a representative of a foreign people, but even among the Yukagirs there appear to have been shamans of varying skill.¹⁴ In addition to the *a'lma*, the clan shaman, the Yukagirs also recognise a harmful witch known as *antaja'ye*, the "one who pronounces incantations".¹⁵ The *a'lma* is also able to cause harm, e.g. to competing shamans or persons trying to bring misfortune on himself or relatives under his protection.

Jochelson travelled among the Korkodon Yukagirs for the first time in October 1896. He stayed with old Samsonov. On enquiring after the shaman of the Korkodon region Samsonov, also known as Nelbosh, replied that they no longer had any shamans. If necessary they turned to the Evenk shamans, one of whom was his son-in-law, the Evenk Athanassy. The last Yukagir shaman on the Korkodon had been Nelbosh's eldest son. Nelbosh promised to reproduce the healing rite practised by his son. On his return to the Korkodon in 1901 Jochelson learnt that Nelbosh himself had been the shaman of his clan, but for fear that Jochelson would speak to the priest he had not dared to reveal the true state of affairs. Jochelson points out that this account cannot be regarded as complete. Nevertheless it contains the fundamental elements of Yukagir shamanizing: "such as the part of assistant played by the spirit of the shaman's ancestors; the removal of the soul, as a cause of sickness; and the conception of a subterranean world in which the shadows or souls of the deceased live surrounded by groups of relatives, as they did on earth."¹⁶

9.2. *Description of the rite process*¹⁷

1C: From the ku'ruł', that is, a storage-house on high poles a drum was produced. He made the hat with fringe out of reindeer hide which I gave to him. He had no special shamanistic coat. He put on a woman's coat with a fringe and metallic decorations. We have noted before that among the Yakut also there were shamans who wore at shamanistic performances ordinary women's coats, instead of the special shaman's coat. The drum was an old one, of the Koryak type, without a metallic cross inside.

Samsonov let his long hair fly loose, put on the fringed hat, sat down on the floor on a reindeer skin

2D: and began quietly to beat the drum. Then he began to emit sounds imitative of animals and birds thus conjuring the spirits of these animals, his protectors.

2E: Then he sang:

"(Of) my tree-root, (my) ancestors near place yourselves, of help being from my side get up, my spirit-girls xa'n.badaxěe ye'ñečuope here lead." In free translation, this will read: "My fore-father, my ancestors, stand near by me. In order to help me, stand near me, my girl-spirits, xa'n.badaxěe and ye'ñečuope, bring here."

After this the shaman again began to beat the drum.

3G: Then, with the assistance of his helper, he stood up and, approaching the door, opened it and began to take deep breaths, thus breathing in the souls of ancestors and other spirits he had conjured.

3H: Then he returned to his place, again squatted down on the skin, shook the drum and said:

"My children, (my) descendants, why us you torture?"

Thus the spirit of his fore-fathers spoke through the shaman. Then the relatives of the patient, who were present, said:

"Man in (a) pool (of) water drowns, in order to see you they have placed."

D[T]o this the shaman replied:

"Soul his (of) Kingdom of Shadows on the way his went it appears." In free translation this reads: "The soul of the patient, it seems, has travelled along the road to the Kingdom of Shadows." Thus spoke through the shaman the spirit of the ancestors. The relatives of the patient, that is, the people present, answered to this:

"Be strong, strength do not spare!"

5P: Then the shaman stopped beating the drum, put it down near by, and remained motionless, lying on his stomach on the reindeer skin. This meant that the soul of the shaman had left his body and through the drum as through a lake, had descended into the Kingdom of Shadows. The shaman lay motionless for a long time, and those present were waiting for his awakening. As to what becomes of the soul after it leaves his body, Samsonov, after the performance, told me the following:

The soul of the shaman accompanied by spirits followed the road which leads to the Kingdom of Shadows. It reached a little house in front of which was a dog which barked at the shaman. Then an old woman, who guards the road to the Kingdom of Shadows, came out of the house and holding in her hand a scraper for dressing skins, asked the shaman: "Did you come forever or for a time?" The shaman did not answer the old woman, but said to the spirit protectors who were accompanying him: "Do not listen to the old woman's words, walk on, without stopping." They reached a river. On the bank there was a boat. The shaman looked at the opposite bank and saw tents standing there. Their hide covers seemed white in the sunlight, the inhabitants walked about in the yard. The ornaments on their garments made a tinkling noise. The shaman accompanied by his spirit helpers sat down in the boat and crossed to the other bank. He left the boat and ascended the bank. The spirits of the deceased relatives of the shaman were among the other shadows. The soul of the shaman entered their tent and there it saw the soul of the sick man. The shaman began to ask the relatives of the soul to give it up, saying:

"With you which finds itself (of) man soul to take came (I)."

The relatives did not want to give it up, were sorry for it. Then the shaman with the help of his spirits, took it by force. In order to return, the shaman inhaled the soul of the sick man, and stuffed up his ear, to prevent it from escaping.

5Q: When the shaman's soul came back to earth, to the body, which was still lying on the ground he began to move and sang:

"(Of) my sun rays me drag out."

But the shaman's legs had become stiff, they would not bend, and two virgin girls who were present began to rub the joints of the shaman's legs, to make them regain their former pliability.

5S: After this the shaman, beating the drum and jumping, moved towards the patient and said:

"(Of) Kingdom of Shadows on its way here up (I) came."

5T: The shaman approached the patient, began to feel about the sick place, and returned to the patient his soul that had escaped.

6F: Then he sang turning to his spirits:

"Guard soul his, not to leave."

6I: Then he began to beat the drum joyously, walked from the patient towards the door and said:

"Spirits, in the yard do that you should be (that is, go away)."

9.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The change to the status of shaman takes place along with the gathering of the articles required in the séance, the coat, the hat and the drum (1C). The shaman's most

important attribute, the drum, is brought from the storehouse. The Yukagir name for the drum is *ya'lgil'*, 'lake', and via this lake the shaman was thought to descend to the underworld.¹⁸ The drum was thus a gate, a road to the world of spirits (cf. act 5P), and its position in the shamanizing event is illustrated by the derivative *yalgi'n.e*, which means both 'to have a drum' and 'to act as a shaman'.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Nelbosh begins to actualize the roles of his spirit-helpers, in the form of animals and birds, by imitating their sounds (2D). This brief report does not state which species the spirits represent, and since all the spirit-helpers Nelbosh later calls forth are in human form, the call remains cliché-like. On the other hand when we remember that the spirit-helpers of e.g. the Koryak shaman appeared sometimes as people and sometimes as animals, an illogicality such as this may be only ostensible. In his brief invocatory song (2E) the shaman turns to his ancestors. Nelbosh was the elan's shaman¹⁹ and his son, who was already dead, had also been a shaman. Since among the Yukagirs the status of shaman is inherited within a family, it is obvious that Nelbosh calls specifically the ancestor shaman. The soul of the ancestor shaman was in fact regarded as the Yukagir shaman's most powerful helper.²⁰ The final task in the assembling of the spirits is the actualization of the mightiest spirit-helper, the ancestor shaman, and through him the roles of two girl spirits. The origin of the shaman's female favourite spirits, called *xa'n badavče* and *ye'ñečuope*, which Nelbosh cannot in fact fully explain, bears witness to the spreading of north-west Siberian shamanism across national borders. The former was probably a Yakut spirit in origin and the latter a spirit-helper of a Yukagir elan. The spirit-helpers were passed on, inherited or bought from one shaman to another and retained their characteristic features. This could lead to awkward situations. For example, the spirit-helpers of Nelbosh's Evenk son-in-law Athanassy (also called Ma'shka²¹) spoke Koryak, i.e. he shamanized in the Koryak language even though he did not normally understand a word of this language. One phenomenon associated with altered states of consciousness is indeed hypermnesia, in which state a person is able to draw on his capacity for memory better than normal. Athanassy's master, from whom he had assimilated long dialogues and chants and from whom he had inherited his spirits, had thus presumably been a Koryak, or he did at least have a command of the traditional expressions of the Koryak shaman.

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): Nelbosh does not manifest the arrival of the spirit-helpers by any special sounds or movements. On completing his invocatory song he knows they have arrived and moves

to the door. Possession takes place, and with it the first role change. Nelbosh breathes in the spirits, after which the spirit speaks through his mouth (3G). At this stage the role of Nelbosh's assistant proper is activated for the only time as he accompanies the shaman to the door. In fact all those present act as the shaman's assistant, participating in the course of the performance. It is of note that although Nelbosh takes in all the spirits, he manifests only one of these counter-roles during the conversation, and that is his principal spirit, the ancestor shaman. Nelbosh's role-taking is so intensive that we may speak of role identification. During the conversation the spirit speaks through him: he is the spirit. The collective, the relatives of the sick man, on whose behalf Nelbosh had called the spirit, explains that the patient needs help, i.e. converses with the spirit. Since communication with supranormal beings is a task specifically of the shaman, we may imagine the onlookers as having taken over the place vacated by the shaman, the role of shaman. The function of the conversation is to determine the reason for the illness. We find the model explanation 'the soul has left the body'. The chief spirit finds out that the reason for the illness is the straying of the patient's soul on the road to the Kingdom of Shadows, where it has thus fallen into the hands of the dead relatives.

The shaman's journey (5): Having determined the reason for the sickness Nelbosh again transfers to the role of shaman and approaches the climax of his ecstatic frenzy, loss of consciousness (5P). His movements were soft and rhythmic and he beat his drum regularly in the centre, varying only the tempo. Although he does attain complete ecstasy he has control of his movements all the time, he for example places the drum beside him on the ground and then lies motionless. According to Jochelson loss of consciousness came about half way through the séance.

The most fundamental event in the shamanizing is in fact the journey in search of the soul made in a state of trance. The Yukagir concepts of the soul were explained to Jochelson by old Tulya'eh, himself a shaman, as follows. "There are three souls, a'ibi. One of the a'ibi dwells in the head, the second in the heart, the third pervades the entire body. A man falls sick, when the head-a'ibi itself departs for the Kingdom of Shadows, aibi'ji, or escapes to the subterranean world to its relatives, frightened by the entrance into the body of an evil spirit of the ku'kul or yo'ibe category. In such cases, however, death does not follow, and the shaman may still descend to the Kingdom of Shadows and bring back the soul. The soul of man significant for life is the second one, the heart a'ibi. The third soul throws the shadow on the ground. The dead have no shadows. When a person dies, the head-a'ibi leaves for the Kingdom of Shadows, as to what becomes of the two

other souls, Tulya'eh could not say."²² Tulya'eh's account contains an interesting combination of two diagnostic models: the demon enters the person and frightens the head soul into escaping to the Kingdom of Shadows. It is logical to assume that in order to cure the patient operations both to banish the demon and return the soul are necessary.

Nelbosh's account of the journey in search of the soul, which he did not give until after the shamanizing was over, is interesting both in itself and for the light it throws on the séance in illustrating the inner experience of the shaman. During the séance the shaman again assembles his knowledge of the other world, actualizes the supranormal roles known to him and once again makes a dangerous journey to the underworld. The shaman may describe his journey during the séance but, as in this case, it may remain solely as the shaman's own experience, about which the onlookers receive only snatches of information during the séance. The onlookers and the patient are regularly informed only of the success or failure of the journey. Nelbosh's report of the journey brings out extremely clearly the special position, demanding skill and courage, of the shaman in operating in the spirit world. Although the spirit-helpers do accompany Nelbosh, he is the party directing and executing the journey. He gives his assistant spirits directions and himself snatches the soul. The account of the journey contains traditional elements with a broad international background, such as the guardian of the threshold of the underworld and the crossing the stream to get there.²³ In his visions of the approach to the underworld the shaman actualizes a large number of other supranormal roles, such as dead relatives in whose tent the soul of the patient is hiding. He enters on negotiations for the return of the soul, but in the end has to resort to violence, and to snatch the soul. The means of snatching it, or rather the means of retaining the soul, is reminiscent of the taking in of the spirit-helpers: he breathes in the soul. A possible escape route, his ear, is carefully stopped up. The snatching of the soul as a functional model of the shaman is also found in the cure for childlessness. The close relationship between the Yukagir community and the dead relatives living in the Kingdom of Shadows is namely reflected in the belief that long before birth even, the soul of some dead relative enters the new member of the community. The dead could, however, refuse to send the soul if they noticed any omissions in the way they were treated. The shaman's properties as mediator were then required. He began to shamanize, begging the dead relatives to send a soul to the childless parents, or, in an extreme case, he finally made a journey in search of a soul.²⁵ Nelbosh's account does not give a full picture of how he conceived the patient's soul, in this case presumably the head-soul. During the journey the shaman's soul functions in human form, but the patient's soul is so small that the sha-

man's soul can breathe it in. The Yukagirs' neighbours, the Chukchi, depict the soul in the form of e.g. a black beetle or insect.²⁶ Some such concept was probably behind Nelbosh's account.

Once the soul has returned to the body on earth the shaman begins to move and sings: "(Of) my sun rays me drag out" (5Q). The myths and prayers of the Yukagirs show that the sun was regarded as a benevolent being, a helper of the oppressed and the guardian of justice and morals.²⁷ As he sings the shaman actualizes the role of his mighty protector, repeating its chief task, that of helping the shaman back to earth. The sun's rays were interpreted as bands hanging from his coat. According to Bogoras the Chukchi shaman sometimes used a ray of sunshine as his path in setting off for the upper world.²⁸

The real function of the two virgins assisting the shaman and charming the spirits at the shamanizing event brings out the erotic aspect of the relations between the supranormal and normal worlds. One feature occurring rather frequently in Siberian shamanism is the erotically-tinged relationship between the shaman and a female spirit. This relationship could be so firmly established that in addition to a mortal wife the shaman was regarded as also having a wife in the spirit world.²⁹ Nelbosh's petition to the ancestral shaman, in which he expressed the hope that he would bring with him two of his favourite female spirits, may also point at this same tradition.

The return of the shaman is followed by a change in the direction of role-taking (5S, 5T). He informs the patient of his return and conducts the soul-returning operation. Jochelson does not describe the event in any detail, but because the shaman has breathed the soul in he presumably acts in the same way as the Chukchi shaman described by Bogoras: "Then he will pretend that he is blowing the soul into the body of the patient through the breast, or through the ear, or through the crown of the head."³⁰

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6): In deactualizing the roles of his spirit-helpers the shaman first begs protection for the patient and then accompanies the spirits back to the door (6F, 6I).

10. SHAMANIZING TO SECURE SUCCESS IN HUNTING

10.1. *Background.* In early times the chief animals hunted by the Yukagirs were wild deer and elks, and hunting these animals was in fact subject to numerous rites and taboos.¹ During the annual deer migrations communal hunts were held, and their importance did not fade until around the middle of the 19th century.² In the case of hunting the collective features of a small

community were retained for a long time. On the Upper Kolyma, for example, the meat of the game animal was divided up exactly among all the inhabitants of the camp, so that in addition to his own share the hunter himself got only the hide.³ The part played by the clan shaman in preparing for communal hunts was important: it was his task to act as an intermediary between the hunters and the deities who control the animal hunted. The position of the shaman as the performer of hunting rites seems to have been common in the hunting cultures of northern Siberia. Anisimov, for example, mentions that one of the most primitive and important tasks of the clan shaman of the western Evenks was precisely the securing of success in hunting.⁴

Among the Yukagirs the ritual ceremonies held in summer and at the start of the hunting season included shamanizing events during which the shaman journeyed to the Owners of the Mountains, Earth, Rivers and Lakes and the keepers of various species of animal, begging for a plentiful catch. By the end of the 19th century the rites had already become widely extinct. But they had not disappeared entirely, and shaman Nelbosh on the Korkodon river did describe to Jochelson a shamanic event held to achieve success in hunting. As the previous account shows, Nelbosh was the shaman of his clan, the community had presumably turned to him before to guarantee a good catch. Thus it can be assumed that in this report Nelbosh is recalling his own previous performances, and that in this respect the account is authentic.

10.2. *Description of the rite process*⁵

Acts 1—3 same as in description 9. Even now these rituals have not completely disappeared. Thus the shaman Nelbosh from the Korkodon, described to me the shamanistic performance before a hunt in the following terms. The performance starts in the same way as does the ritual for the curing of the sick.

5P: Towards the middle of the performance the shaman falls down unconscious. His soul does not go to the Kingdom of Shadows but to one or another of the deities who control the game. For instance, he described to me a visit of his soul to the Owner of the Earth, as follows:

"The soul of the shaman, having approached the house of the Owner of the Earth, half-opens the door, but does not enter, fearing to insult the Owner of the Earth by its persistence. The shaman is herein supported by his guardian spirits." The shaman, that is, his soul, says through the open door:

"Earth-Owner! your children me to you sent for some food for the future."⁶ If the Owner of the Earth loves the shaman, he gives the soul of a reindeer doe, if he does not love (e'rietem) him, he gives the shadow of a bull.

"Shaman will take that (reindeer); having taken will bring (home)."

5Q: That is, the shaman then comes to, rises to his feet, beats his drum and dances with joy.

6F: Then he sings to his spirit-protectors (e'iji), who helped him in his journey to the Owner of the Earth.

"Me well lead, from evil protect, (else) me will kill (evil spirits)."

5T: Then the shaman approaches the head hunter and hands him the soul of the reindeer. The hunter does not, of course, see the soul, for only shamans can see it. The shaman places it on the head of the hunter, and tying it with an invisible bandage, says:

5S: "River will stand, river when will stand (there) on the right bank of it go, there you will find (that is, the reindeer)."

T: (ritual acts outside the shamanizing): The next day, in the morning, the head hunter will go to the river and there, on the right shore, a reindeer will come to meet him. He will shoot and kill it. If the Owner of the Earth gave a shadow of a doe the hunter will kill a doe, for this will be the same reindeer whose soul was brought by the shaman. Then throughout the entire hunting season the hunters will have luck in following the reindeer. If, on the other hand, the Owner of the Earth gave a bull, the hunter will only kill that bull, and there will be no more game. This happens when the Owner of the Earth does not like the shaman.

If the shaman, without asking the Owner of the Earth, himself takes the souls of animals, with the assistance of his spirits, then, if that shaman should come to the house of the Owner of the Earth, the latter will give him nothing. This fact was rendered by Nelbosh in the following sentence:

"A bad shaman, to the Earth Owner if he comes, (then) him happens does not like not gives because steals (souls) (that is why he) does not like."

The Owner of the Earth punishes also in other ways the shaman who steals souls of animals. He kills his child or some other of his relatives. At times he kills the thief himself. On the Yassachnaya river there lived a shaman, who stole the shadows of animals from the Owner of the Earth. In retaliation, the latter would kill the shaman's children. Only one of his daughters remained alive, who, when she married, had no children.

10.3. *Commentary.* The shaman's journey (5): The rite performance is built up of 11 acts, if we assume, on the basis of Nelbosh's statement, that it follows the scheme of his normal healing séance. Thus acts 1C, 2D, 2E, 3G and 3H would precede the shaman's journey sequence.

Although Nelbosh's role-taking technique does observe the forms of the healing rite presented above, his supranormal frame of reference is in parts different, according to the function of the séance. In place of the roles connected with the underworld he has to actualize not only his spirit-helpers but also the supranormal roles guaranteeing a good catch. The shaman is an expert in this sphere, too. He knows the way to the supreme deity controlling the success of hunting, the Owner of the Earth. Among the Yukagirs the guardian beings constitute a multi-form, hierarchical order. Every animal

has not only a soul or shadow but also a guardian spirit (*pe'jul'*), whose benevolence to the hunter determines whether he is able to kill the animal. *Pe'jul'* has also been taken as a synonym for "success" or "luck". Jochelson says: "When a man has a *pe'jul'* it does not mean that he himself has it as guardian but that he is a privileged individual with reference to the guardian-protector of some animal. This double part played by the *pe'jul'* as protector of, as well as a traitor to the animal, is a logical situation from the point of view of a hunting tribe's psychology. Their life depends on the hunter's luck and this must become the concern of the spirits who protect the animals as well as of the animals themselves; for, in the opinion of the Yukaghir, a lucky hunt depends on the good-will of the animal's guardian-spirit but also on that of the animal itself."⁷ The *pe'jul'* thus acts both as the guardian-spirit of the animal and as the hunter's aid. In his work "Schutzgeister und Gottheiten des Wildes" Ivar Paulson debated the Yukagir *pe'jul'* concept and paralleled it with the guardian soul (free soul) of the animal met with among other Siberian peoples.⁸ Now according to Jochelson both the *pe'jul'*s and souls of animals abide with the three Owners of the Earth.⁹ These Owners (*Pogi'lpe*) are spirits or rather beings that control various spheres of visible nature. Subordinate to the three chief owners, the Owner of the Earth (*Lebie'-po'gil'*), the Owner of the Fresh Waters (*O'jin-po'gil'*) and the Owner of the Sea (*Cobun-po'gil'*) are various keepers of smaller spheres. Every tundra, forest, mountain, etc., has its owner, subordinate to the Owner of the Earth. Similarly the owners of every lake and stream are subordinate to the Owner of fresh Waters. The owners are of different sexes and are envisaged as leading a normal family life, as being married and as having children. The term of address of one and the same owner may be both 'father' and 'mother', e.g. Earth-Mother and Earth-Father. Jochelson explains that in cases such as this married couples may be referred to as the owner and his wife.¹⁰ On the other hand one may claim that father, mother, grandfather and grandmother are terms of address used relatively freely and that concepts of the owners' sex are not completely established. Likewise there are spirits of various animal species above the guardian spirits of individual animals, all subordinate to the three chief owners.

The holding of shamanizing events in conjunction with rites guaranteeing luck in hunting is relatively common among other Siberian peoples, too.¹¹ There are records from peoples of the Arctic regions — also outside Siberia — of a shaman's journey to the deities ruling various species of game. For example, according to a description obtained from the Eskimos the shaman, under threat of hunger, journeys to the dwelling of the goddess of the sea and begs her to free the game locked in her house.¹² There is also a similar account of such a journey in search of a soul from the Samoyeds.¹³ Behind

the rites is, according to Paulson, the same dualistic view that marks concepts of the human soul.¹⁴

The shaman expresses his return from the supranormal to the normal world and the success of his journey by a joyous dance (5Q). The shaman's role-taking is directed at the onlookers, or rather at the chief hunter representing the community in hunting (5T, 5S). Having been successful in his journey the shaman is now able to meet the expectations of the community in him. In presenting the chief hunter with the soul of a doe and advising him as to a suitable hunting ground he assures continued luck at hunting. The handing over of the soul is a variation of the healing act scheme. Since it is not a question of the hunter's own soul, the shaman does not conduct it into himself, but places it over the hunter's head, preventing it from escaping with an invisible bandage.

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6): In deactualizing his spirit-helpers the shaman at the same time tries to guarantee their constant favour. He asks them to go on protecting him against attacks from evil spirits.

11. SHAMANIZING SÉANCE ON THE YASACHNAYA RIVER

11.1. *Background.* A shamanizing séance on the Yasachnaya¹ river was described to Jochelson by the old Spiridonov, also known as Tulya'ch, which means woolly. The account is thus not based on Jochelson's own observations. One favourable aspect of the account are, however, the songs repeated by Tulya'ch, these usually being difficult for those present at séances to record. Shortly before Jochelson's visit Tulya'ch had married the widow of shaman Kere'ke-po'lut' (kere'ke-po'lut' = an old Koryak man). He himself was a Koryak, but on marrying a Yukagir he had settled among the Yasachnaya Yukagirs. Kere'ke-po'lut's case clearly brings out the tendency of north Siberian shamanism to transcend national borders. His chief spirit was namely a Yakut and spoke the language of the Yakuts through the shaman. Tulya'ch had often been Kere'ke-po'lut's assistant in shamanizing. Jochelson had also heard people say that Tulya'ch had inherited the spirits of the old shaman on his death. This indicates that Tulya'ch himself was also a shaman. As was seen from the case of Korkodon Nelbosh, Yukagir shamans were, during Jochelson's visit, no longer very willing to reveal their skills as a result of the established influence of the Orthodox Church.² Judging from some of Jochelson's references Tulya'ch also acted as his informer on questions of Yukagir mythology.³

11.2. *Description of the rite process*⁴

1A: The one who invited Kere'ke-po'lut' had to bring his drum. It was oval in shape and covered with the hide of a two-year old reindeer. Inside the drum a wooden disk with a cross of reindeer sinew, served as handle. Before the arrival of the shaman the relatives in the home of the patient heated the drum.

1C: After his arrival, his assistant (no'gdiye) handed him his coat, hat and drum. After holding the drum for a while,

2D: he began to beat it and to emit sounds in imitation of the hare, cuckoo, stork, owl, diver, wolf, bear, and dog, who all belonged to his spirits.

2E: Then he began to sing:

"Fire-mother, (by) your warmth strong will be!

(of) House-mother, (by) your strong custom evil not endure."

The shaman stops drumming for a while, rises to his feet, turns his back to the door, walks to the centre of the house, and sings:

"(Of) Woods-mothers, (of) Earth-mother, all protection in order to be stand up."

2J: The shaman turns to the patient and says:

"You are our mother (on) me have pity, (to) your place go away."

This the shaman says to the evil spirit that has entered the patient. If the sickness is infectious like smallpox or measles, which were introduced by Russians, the shaman says:

"(Of) Russian country from the side who has come mother, of me have pity! Our clan with such custom became reconciled, on me have pity, my words on ground not throw (that is, listen)."

3G: Then the shaman again turns to the door and says:

"My protectors, near appear!"

The shaman half opens the door and inhales his spirits (e'ije) in deep and noisy breaths. Then he turns to the interior of the house, holds his hands like claws, rolls his eyes upwards, so that only the whites are seen, sticks out his tongue, curling it under the chin, and, without uttering a word, walks to the centre of the house and sits down on the ground.

3H: Having sat down, he straightens his hands and pulls his tongue in. With his eyes still turned upwards and a blown up belly he sits there, and already one of the spirits speaks through him:

"Shaman, what for me did you call?"

The shaman's assistant answers:

"Great-grandmother, to us to help to force (you) in order, called (we), this our man who so tortures perhaps will see, will hear (the conjured spirit), this saying, called (we)."

The spirit through the shaman answers:

"The lower one invisible who came out tortures, I see now."

The shaman's assistant says:

"Great-grandmother, liberate, have pity!"

The spirit answers:

"To me in recompense with good incense me treat, with stupefying Russian grass (tobacco) feed."

3*T*: The assistant places incense on the coals, blows on them, and places them on something near the shaman, who with wide open mouth inhales the smoke of the incense. Then the assistant throws the incense into the fire and hands the shaman his pipe. The latter takes it into his mouth. The assistant brings the burning fish-oil lamp and closing with the hand the shaman's eyes, — for the latter must not look at fire, — lights his pipe.

4*M*: Having smoked, the shaman rises, approaches the patient and begins to seize the sick part with his teeth, thus trying to produce the evil spirit who causes the sickness. The latter is obdurate, he protests, but the shaman being held from behind by the clothing by the assistant, and with the help of his spirits, after a desperate struggle, extracts the evil spirit. The shaman falls backwards into the arms of the assistant, shakes and trembles, and finally sits down on the ground.

4*L*: Through the shaman speaks the evil spirit (ku'kul') extracted from the patient:

"Well, shaman, me five rouble white bitter water (that is, whiskey) treat. If you treat this man (I) shall leave. On chest its sun having (that is, with the white spot black fox give perspiration in order to wipe give. Then man I shall leave."

The assistant and the relatives of the patient answer together:

Ku'kul' answers (through the shaman):

"Third month when will be over (to) me black fox if you give, this man (I) shall leave."

The people and the assistant say:

"Oh, Great-grandmother, have pity! Your heart artery let hurt, your liver let melt! We shall give, we shall give!"

4*N*: Then the shaman rises, goes to the door, puts his head outside the house, exhaling loudly emits the evil spirit (ku'kul'), and faints in the arms of the assistant. The assistant (no'gdiye) grabs the shaman by nose, and he comes to. The assistant again gives him the drum.

4*J*: Turning to the door, the shaman beats the drum and sings:

"Mother, father, do not return, your road find, your country find, have pity."

4*T*: Turning again, the shaman approaches the patient, blows on him, and massages the afflicted part.

6*I*, 6*F*: Then, leading his spirit protectors (a'ibipul', ei'jcpul') to the door he quietly beats the drum and sings: "Of this evil spirit road close not that he should return. Be strong."

8T: The shaman sits down on the ground, his face turned towards the entrance and quietly beats the drum, thus taking leave of his spirits. Then he seizes the drum-stick and with the left hand throws it behind him, over the head, to the ground, while with the right hand he takes off his hat and also throws it behind him. The assistant carries them away. Then the shaman begins to dig the right eye with the index of his right hand, and, pretending to throw the eye on the ground (as if he had dug it out), he says:

"From lower side watch!"

Then he digs at his left eye and as if throwing it upward, says:

"From upper side watch!"

Then still sitting on the ground on the skin, the shaman screams like a diver. Water is handed to him, he drinks, and sprinkles it about himself. Thus the performance ends.

11.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The onlookers prepare for the séance even before the shaman arrives (1A). It is of note that the patient's relatives heat the drum ready for use. To Kere'ke-po'lut' a careful preparatory stage signifies the transfer to the role of shaman. His assistant gives him his coat, hat and drum. He is as thorough as a man setting off on a journey, he smokes, and finally puts his shaman's hat on.⁵ He then receives his first contact with the supranormal world, for the shaman's dress is in itself regarded as a source of strength and an aid in operating in the spirit world. The nature of the shaman's dress does not appear from the account. Jochelson describes a few of the dresses belonging to Yukagir shamans and says in general: "What the dress of the ancient Yukaghir shaman was cannot be ascertained with accuracy. According to the old men of the Yukaghir, the dress of the ancient shaman differed from ordinary dress only by more embroidery and leather tassels, such as occur on women's dresses. The cut of the dress of the modern Yukaghir shaman, as well as that of modern Yukaghir dress in general, is borrowed from the Tungus . . . The metallic parts and the pendants of the shaman's dress have been borrowed mainly from the Yakut."⁶ The significance of the dress is illustrated by one case that happened to Jochelson. After he had bought a dress from the shaman of the Alaseya clan the shaman, under pressure from the head of the clan, left the tent where the deal had been made crying because he had been deprived of an inherited dress, which he looked on as the chief source of his shamanic power.⁷

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): The shaman begins the séance by actualizing his most important supranormal counter-roles, his spirit-helpers, imitating their cries (2D). Kere'ke-po'lut' had a wide selection of spirit-helpers. Although his position as representative of Yukagir

shamanism is unusual (Kere'ke-po'lut' was himself a Koryak while his chief spirit spoke Yakut) the guises of his spirit-helpers correspond greatly to those of the tundra Yukagir Tret'yakov (cf. p. 115). In his songs (2E) the shaman no longer appeals to his spirit-helpers. Instead he actualizes the roles of the patient's family, the guardians of the house, and of their own mighty helpers, the Owners of the Earth and the Forest. He first turns to the fire-mother. The term *Yegi'led-me'i'* used in the Yukagir text shows that this was the spirit of the fireplace and not the fire deity in heaven.⁸ The kindling and tending of the fire, often the only source of light at a shamanizing session, in the fireplace is one of the fixed elements of Siberian shamanizing séances. Appealing to this local owner with prayers and sacrifices is likewise common. The description of the tundra Yukagir shamanizing, for example, states that the assistant heating the drum sacrifices a few tobacco leaves to the spirit of the fire (see p. 115). Joehelson quotes the Yukagirs' concepts of the owner of the fire as follows. "The Owner of the Fire, *lo'čin-po'gil'*, or the Man of the Fire, *lo'čin-coro'mo*, is the guardian of the family hearth, who lives on the hearth and migrates together with the family. He makes the fuel burn and is, when this happens, in the flame. Without him the fuel would not burn. His appearance is that of an exceedingly small and naked baby girl, for that Owner is addressed with the words *ločid-emei'*, that is, Fire-mother."⁹ The owner of the fire sees to the family's well-being by warning in a creaking voice of coming misfortunes or hunger.¹⁰ The shaman also appeals to another maintainer of the family's well-being, the Owner of the House, saying "(by) your strong custom evil not endure". The statement refers to the special task of the Owner of the House, that of protecting the house against visits from malevolent spirits.¹¹

The actualization of the sickness demon (2J) already comes at the end of the song sequence, as the shaman respectfully asks it to leave the patient. He uses a cliché, calling e.g. the infectious disease introduced from Russia "from the side Russian country who has come mother". In other contexts these foreign spirits are called *yo'ibe*, a name previously reserved for a larger group of spirits causing sickness.¹²

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The first role changes take place during sequence 3 as the shaman inhales the spirit-helpers. He manifests the change by his outward appearance, he holds his hands like a bird's claws, turns his eyes upwards and sticks out his tongue (3G). One of the spirits, which judging from the shaman's imitation is a bird figure and which is called great-grandmother, speaks through the shaman. Possession has taken place, the shaman has become a spirit-helper, i.e. he has fully identified with the role of spirit-helper. One interesting point arising from

the account is that although the shaman inhales all his spirits and also addresses his words before the role change to them all, only one of the spirits speaks through his mouth. The natural interpretation would be that the spirit that is the object of the role-identification is precisely the shaman's chief spirit. The name 'great-grandmother' is a term of address also used in speaking of the sickness demon (4L). The shaman's role change is followed by the assistant's role change as he takes over the role of mediator vacated by the shaman. The function of the discussion act (when the shaman = the spirit-helper and the assistant = the shaman) is the determination of the cause of the sickness.

Towards the end of the sequence is an interesting feature connected with fire: the assistant closes the shaman's eyes as he entertains the spirit-helper possessing the shaman's body. The only explanation given is that the shaman must not look at fire. Presumably this is, however, to protect not the shaman but the spirit-helper operating through his body. The darkness or absence of light at the shamanizing site is a feature repeated throughout Siberia. According to e.g. Bogoras the spirits are timid and ready to flee should conditions not be to their liking. "The shamanistic 'spirits' are described as very small, and timid in the presence of unfamiliar objects and surroundings. They belong to the houseless world, say the Chukchee, just as do wild animals. It is no easy matter to allure them to human houses and to tame them, even partially. They approach warily, and are ready to run away at any moment. They come only in the darkness."¹³

The external means used by Kere'ke-po'lut' to attain ecstasy are drumming, singing and smoking. Yukagir mythology also contains references to the use of amanita for purposes of intoxication, but this is not known to have been used as a regular shamanic means.¹⁴ Smoking was thought to be agreeable to the spirits, and it was thus used as a means of entertaining them. With its intoxicating effect on the shaman it at the same time "brings the spirits nearer".

Meeting the sickness demon (4): Sequence 4 regularly appears in shamanizings in which the explanation for the sickness is the entry of the demon into the patient. The most common spirit tormenting man among the Yukagirs is the *ku'kul* corresponding to the Koryak *kele* or the Chukchi *ka'la*, which is also called the Invisible One. These spirits enter the human body and cause a number of sicknesses by eating the organs. They live in the lower part of the underworld. For the underworld is divided into two parts. In the upper one, the land of the souls (*ai'biĵi-lebie*), live the souls of the dead; in the lower one, called "the Land of the grand-father with the Pointed Head", live the *ku'kul* spirits (plur. *kuku'pe*). The "grand-

father with the Pointed Head" is the ruler of the region and the most hideous of the demons. His realm is eternally cold and dark; only the most powerful shamans of all dare to descend that far.¹⁵ The general name for the evil spirits living on earth is *yu'oye*. They are invisible and cause people all manner of trouble. Many of them have a special name of their own.¹⁶

For the shaman smoking means a rest, while returning the role situation to normal (4M). With his assistant and spirit-helpers the shaman begins the fight to expell the sickness demon hiding in the patient. In fact the actions of various role figures are, on the basis of the account, difficult to interpret. Is it the chief spirit or the shaman who attacks the sickness demon? Since it is, however, the shaman who is expressly said to operate with the help of his spirits, and since the assistant has returned to his normal task, the shaman would appear to manifest both his own role and the roles of his spirit-helpers simultaneously. The identification with the spirit role has been resolved, even though the assisting spirits are still in the shaman's body. To conclude the act Kere'ke-po'lut' swallows the sickness demon and falls unconscious on the arm of his assistant. The battle act constitutes one of the ecstatic climaxes of the séance, and its termination in unconsciousness means that the shaman — as his factual swallowing movement reveals — assimilates the role of the sickness demon. With the demon in the shaman's body a role change has again taken place. The shaman has become the sickness demon, he has identified with the role of the sickness demon (4L). Taking over the role of shaman are now the assistant and also the spectators. The fact that they really do function in the role of shaman is clear from the address used by the demon called the *ku'kul* spirit: "Well, shaman, me five . . .". One significant feature of the séance is that the complete role changes permit direct communication between the spectators and the representatives of the supranormal. The shaman's information acts are not required.

The deactualization of the sickness demon corresponds to the way it was taken in. Instead of inhaling, the shaman merely blows the spirit out forcefully, thereafter fainting in the arms of the assistant. The loss of consciousness again means a role change. The shaman returns to his own role and begs the sickness demon to return to its own country (4J). To complete the healing operation the shaman now directs his attention at the patient now freed of the demon and massages the afflicted part (4T).

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6) and the termination of shamanizing (8): Kere'ke-po'lut' deactualizes the roles of his spirit-helpers in accompanying them to the door and begging them to prevent the sickness demon from returning (6I and 6F). He divests himself of the shaman's role by taking off his garments one

by one and throwing them over his shoulder for the assistant to carry away. The rite terminates with the shaman's stretching (eyes to guard) and cleansing (spitting of water). His final spirit-helper, in the form of a diver, is not de-actualized until he has relinquished his dress, by imitating its cry.

12. SHAMANIZING SÉANCE ON THE KOLYMA TUNDRA

12.1. *Background.* Towards the end of the 19th century the Yukagirs, few in number, were usually bilingual. The Tundra Yukagirs, who did not understand the Yukagir dialects of the Upper Kolyma, spoke Even, and often also Chukehi and Yakut in addition to their own language.¹ In their way of life and culture the Tundra Yukagirs resembled the neighbouring Evenks and Evens (also known by the name of Lamuts, an ethnic group formed through the merging of the northern Tungus-speaking tribes and the ancient Yukagirs) to such an extent that the Russian settlers in the Kolyma called them Tungus.² The nomadic way of life and bilingualism and multilingualism common among the small northern peoples are reflected in e.g. the borrowing of shamanic features. This did not, however, mean the basic elements of the shamanic complex. For example, although the material culture and art of the Yukagirs are closely tied up with those of the Evens, their religion and folklore retained their own unique features for a long time. Such features were the position of the shaman in guaranteeing the welfare of the clan, based on the Yukagir social system, and the cult of dead shamans connected with clan shamanism.³ The influence of neighbouring peoples of Tungus relationship was evident above all in the development of the shaman's requisites, dress, drum and other attributes, which came to resemble those of the Tungus.⁴

Within a belief system beliefs concerning individual spirits or supranormal beings were easily borrowed. The novice, after all, inherited the spirit-helpers of his master, just as the Yukagir shaman in the previous chapter inherited a Yakut spirit from a Koryak shaman. This makes it easy for us to understand the strong Yakut stamp in the next account, evident in e.g. the poetic language of the shaman. The shaman also appeals to a higher Yakut deity, the Light Creator. The appearance of higher deities peculiar to Yakut shamanism alongside lower ones, i.e. the hierarchical system of deities, differs radically from Evenk-type shamanism and likewise from original Yukagir concepts. Similar hierarchical systems have been encountered further south, e.g. among the Altay-Sayan peoples, and this feature has been regarded as a late development in shamanism.⁵ One difference, evident in the belief system and also in the community status of the shaman, is that the Yakuts

did not have a clan shaman, and he acted as a "professional attendant of the spirits"⁶ for a fee; this difference has a natural explanation in the different economic and social structures of these peoples. Although the northern Yakuts, like the Evenks and the Yukagirs, were reindeer herders and hunters, most of the Yakuts were pastoralists breeding horses or cattle. Their way of life was to some extent nomadic, including the annual migrations from the summer and winter grazing grounds, but it cannot be compared to the more extensive migrations of nomads proper. Although the social system of the Yakuts had retained certain archaic forms, such as joint fishing with nets and the custom of exchanging gifts⁷, the community was highly stratified, with concrete evidence in e.g. land use rights.⁸ The importance of the original military aristocracy — the *toyons* — increased as a consequence of tsarist policy from the 17th century onwards, and thus the older communal-clan system of the Yakuts rapidly turned into a purely administrative organization whose similarities with the old clan system were nothing more than terminological.⁹

Jochelson observed a tundra Yukagir *séance* and recorded it in the tent of the chief of the Alayi Yukagirs near the Menakhtakh Yakut settlement. The event took place in January 1902 and the shaman was called Tret'yakov. The interest of the brief account is heightened by two facts: firstly Jochelson noted down the songs used by Tret'yakov and secondly he bought the dress worn by him while shamanizing and used it as an example in describing the shaman's dress. The *séance* witnessed by Jochelson was in fact the last occasion on which Tret'yakov wore the dress. Referring to this Jochelson mentions: "He wore it for the last time, was very excited and went through the performance with exceptional passion."¹⁰ The shamanizing was arranged to heal a sick patient.

12.2. *Description of the rite process*¹¹

1A: The ritual took the following course. It consisted in the curing of a patient. In the centre of an enormous cylindrical tent the fire-wood was smouldering on the hearth. The inmates of the tent and the guests were sitting on their haunches around the hearth. The sleeping tents on the edge of the large tent were barely visible in the darkness. The breath of men, the steam of tea-pots and kettles, which stood near the fire, and the smoke of the pipes, threw a thick veil over the weak light from the hearth.

1B: The assistant of the shaman came with the drum. A place near the hearth was assigned to him. He sat down. The owner of the tent went to the shrine on the front wall of the tent and turned the ikons of the saints of the Greek-Catholic church with their faces towards the wall. The assistant of the shaman handed to the host the empty tobacco-pouch of the shaman.

The owner of the tent filled it with tobacco and returned it to the shaman's assistant. The latter took a tobacco leaf out of the pouch and threw it into the fire as an offering to the Owner of the Hearth. Then he extracted from the bag the drum and began to dry it over the fire, in order to stretch its head, and try out the sound of the drum.

1C: The shaman appeared and, without saying anything, sat down near the hearth. The assistant gave him his own place and handed him the tobacco-pouch. The shaman, with sombre mien, began to smoke. This lasted rather long. Having finished smoking, he took off the copper cross, which he was wearing on his breast, as a Christian, and passed it over to his assistant. The latter walked to the ikons which had been turned towards the wall, and suspended the cross under them. There also were hanging the crosses of girls and women who were having their menses. These women, while the shamanistic performance was going on, removed to the next tent. The shaman rose and the assistant helped him to put on his coat, apron and hat. The shaman tied all the straps on his coat, apron and foot-wear like a man preparing for a long journey.

2D: The assistant handed to him the tuned drum. He sat down with his legs crossed on the reindeer skin, his face towards the entrance, and began to beat the drum, first slowly and quietly, then stronger and more rapidly. Then he began to conjure the spirits of animals by clever imitations of sounds. I shall reproduce here in as nearly phonetic spelling as possible these sounds in the order in which he made them, indicating the birds or animals, conjured by the sounds.

1. ga, ga, ga, ga . . . imitation of diver (ca'lgen).
2. čok', čok', čok' . . . imitation of snipe.
3. turri, turri, turri . . . imitation of another variety of snipe (in Yukaghir čirmi'die)
4. kurrr, kurrr, kurrr . . . imitation of another kind of čirmi'die.
5. ku'ku, ku'ku, ku'ku . . . imitation of cuckoo (kukuno'do).
6. pil', pil', pil', . . . imitation of eagle (xa'nil').
7. ki'ñirik, ki'ñirik, ki'ñirik . . . imitation of stork (u'dil').
8. ō — ō — ō — ō . . . imitation of wolf (eu'rye-ru—kun).
9. gōō — gōō — gōō . . . imitation of bear (xa'ičitege).

2E: Then he again beat the drum more quietly and, turning towards the hearth, sang:

"Eight winds as winds having (of) my place owner, help!"

This is an address of the shaman to the Owner, Kiyi' — je, of the given place. In free translation, this will read: that is, "Owner of my country, having eight corners of the world, help." Winds and the cardinal directions are synonymous in Yukaghir. Then he continued to sing:

"(Of) decorated grasses (and) trees owner, help! Seamother seven snow-mounds as covers having, eight ice-sheets (ices) as beds having, black foxes as collar having, arctic foxes as foam having, eub foxes as waves having, Sea-mother-Owner help! Light-Creator-grandfather, three bridles having, help, liberate, the invisible one offends. Light-Creator-grandfather, help!

Grandfather, (of) Fire Owner, your inner warmth (from) that invisible-one (by your) inner warmth help! Of my house around lower poles if tempest will be, firm stand, my fundamental tent-poles firm stand, me a shaman having made (spirits), help!

27: That invisible-one! my scream hear my words listen. This man this patient man leave! invisible, your place calls (you).

2E: Light-Creator-grandfather below loose let him drown (the evil spirit)! Decorated grasses (and) trees owner, help. Light-Creator-grandfather, my incantation comes to an end, this invisible one (with) you light breath back out throw! Creator grandfather this invisible one breath his back out lead, of this man breath lengthen."

12.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The inmates of the tent and guests prepare for the séance by smoking (1A). The drum is brought in and got ready for use by the shaman's assistant (1B). Before drying it he sacrifices a few leaves of tobacco to the Owner of the Hearth (cf. p. 110). The drum was brought in in a sack. According to information provided by the Koryaks the drum must not be carried outside without a cover. Disregard for this taboo might cause a thunder storm.¹² This claim is probably based on the belief in the secret powers of the drum. Jochelson says, in describing the Koryak drum: "the sound of the drum, just like the human voice or song, is in itself considered as something living, capable of influencing the invisible spirits."¹³ Connected with the preparatory stage is an interesting feature telling of the alternate actualization of two religions. When it was expedient to resort to the practices of the old religion the influence of the new religion was eliminated by turning its representatives, the icons, towards the wall, i.e. the eyes of the spirits belonging to the new religion were covered. Similarly in preparing for the séance the shaman (1C) takes off the cross, belonging to a Christian context, and only then does he, with the help of his assistant, prepare for his journey. The ritual dressing order is: coat, apron, hat, and only then the drum.

Examination of the symbolic trinkets and pendants on Tret'yakov's dress¹⁴ opens up the way to Yukagir mythology, the shaman's knowledge of the other world and his means of communicating with its representatives. Attached to the front of his apron are seven metal pendants. They represent the part of the spirit world favourable to the shaman, his spirit-helpers. The top one is a copper man, *wo'lman-o'no'*, the soul or shadow of the dead ancestral shaman, regarded as the strongest of the shaman's guardians. Next comes an iron heart symbolizing the shaman's courage and daring. Below the heart are three bird figures one below the other: a two-headed eagle, another eagle variation, and the image of a diver. According to Tret'yakov these were

his most important spirit-helpers. Attached to the bottom of the apron are two metal discs, *wo'lman ni'ñiye*, "the shamanistic supporter of the stomach". Discs such as these, usually engraved with human faces, also appeared on women's aprons, and they were thought to protect their wearer against diseases of the stomach. Another amulet common to the dresses of both the women and the shaman was a metal badge in the form of a swan, which was worn near the neck and was thought to provide protection against sore throats and chills. The metal badges attached to the back of Tret'yakov's coat were called the shaman's sun, the shaman's moon and the shaman's star. These heavenly bodies were thought to light the path of the shaman as he descended into the underworld.¹⁵ The bands attached to the arms of the cloak were called "wing feathers". In describing the dress of another tundra Yukagir shaman Jochelson examines the wings of the dress and says: "I have said before that the shaman's coat represents a bird's skin with the help of which the shaman can fly, transforming himself into a bird. This idea is in perfect account with the mythological accounts of the Chukchee, Koryak, Kamchadal, Aleut, and Indians of the northwest coast of America, which speak of heroes who put on bird-skin coats and are transformed into birds".¹⁶ There is a Yukagir myth telling of the shaman of a goose clan who flew among the birds:

"When he was getting ready to fly with the storks, he first of all took out his human ventricle and intestines and gave them to his wife for safe keeping. Then he put on his best, that is, shamanistic gown, went out into the yard, shook himself, rose into the air, joined the storks and himself became a stork. The following spring he came flying back home in the form of an eagle, but he could not take off his bird-coat, which was sticking to his body. His men, becoming aware of him, said, 'Here is our shaman who has come back.' He shouted to them, 'Make a fire in the yard.' The people made a fire. The shaman burned his feathers off over the fire, and became a man again. It transpired that his wife during his absence had lived with another youth, and had torn the shaman's stomach. When the shaman heard of this, he ordered a reindeer to be killed, and put the reindeer's stomach in place of his own."

Towards the end of the myth we are told how the shaman found the reindeer's stomach unsuitable, tried a dog's stomach and found that, too, painful. The shaman died, but the next morning the unfaithful wife and her lover were also found dead. They had met their just reward.¹⁷ Tret'yakov's dress also has iron clips resembling parts of a skeleton. They are, according to Jochelson, a sign of the Yakut influence. The question as to whether they represent the skeleton of a bird or a human only becomes clear after more detailed

study of the Yakut shaman's dress.¹⁸ Tret'yakov's hat was decorated with fur and bands, these too possibly referring to a bird's feathers. Of greater interest is Jochelson's description of another tundra Yukagir shaman's head-dress with protruding antlers both bearing pictures of human faces. The pictures depict *wo'man-o'no'*, the soul of the dead ancestral shaman, which with Tret'yakov was in the upper badge on the apron. Similar antlers are found on the hats of the Evenk shamans.

In putting on his shamanic dress Tret'yakov gains initial contact with his spirit-helpers, the soul of the ancestral shaman and his three bird-like spirit-helpers, which are his chief *e'iji*, his most important assistants. He arms himself against attacks from demons with amulets and guarantees sufficient light on the dark road to the underworld. The shaman's dress and drum also assure him the chance to move about freely in the world of the spirits. By virtue of his bird skin he can fly to heaven, and the drum is a lake by which he can descend to the underworld (cf. p. 99). Having dressed, Tret'yakov is capable of a task of mortal danger to the ordinary man: contacting the spirit world.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Tret'yakov actualizes his zoomorphic spirit-helpers in turn by imitating their sounds (2D). Note that the drumming — at first slow and quiet, then growing faster and louder — has already begun before this. Turning to the hearth he continues with a praying act (2E), where he appeals to various Owners and the Light-Creator grandfather. His address to the Owner of the Earth is in symbolic language displaying Yakut influence, for according to the song it has eight cardinal sides, as in the Yakut yurt. The modern tundra Yukagir tent is round, like that of the Evenks.¹⁹ The later appeal "Of my house around lower poles . . ." nevertheless points to a Yukagir tent construction. The shaman also turns to the Owner of the Grass and Trees, which in Yukagir mythology is subordinate to the Owner of the Earth, and to the Sea Owner, the Sea-mother, of equal status to the Owner of the Earth. The language of the chant is poetic, which is attributed by Jochelson to Yakut influences. The Owner of the Hearth, in this song called grandfather, is the guardian of the family living in the tent (cf. p. 110). During the preparations for the séance the assistant made a sacrifice to precisely this guardian (1B). The Light Creator is a Yakut deity (Urun-Aiy-Toyon), said to be responsible for the creation of earth and man. Judging from his epithets 'white' and 'light' Troshchanskiy claims he was originally the sun god, and combines him with Art-Toyon-Aga, the Omnipotent Ruler.²⁰ Seroshevskiy and Priklonskiy in turn regard the latter, living in the ninth heaven, as being the chief god of the Yakuts, only followed in the next scale down by the Light Creator

of the third heaven.²¹ In any case the Light Creator was a deity in heaven responsible for the well-being of man. The disease demon (2J) is called the Invisible One, which is a metaphorical expression used for many different species of demon.

The séance reported is built up of seven acts and comprises two sequences. It appears to be a torso, for it completely lacks the banishing of the demon or the journey in search of the soul following the loss of the soul, and also the deactualization of the spirits. Jochelson likewise noted this special feature and says: "This Yukaghir performance for the cure of a patient has the peculiarity, that the shaman does not descend to the Kingdom of Shadows, as is the case in the preceding performance."²² As a consequence of the structural peculiarity of the séance no role changes take place. The shaman's role-taking is directed primarily at the supranormal world, and e.g. the patient's role is not included in the account. An interesting feature of his choice of counter-roles is that during the prayer act (2E) he simultaneously actualizes the helping powers' and the disease demon's role. In his account Jochelson pays only little attention to the shaman's ecstatic behaviour, and he mentions as one surprising feature the omission of loss of consciousness.

13. SHAMANIZING SÉANCE AMONG THE COASTAL CHUKCHI

13.1. *Background.* The Chukchi belong to a northeast Paleo-Asian ethnic group comprising the Chukchi, the Koryaks and the Itel'mens (Kamchadals). Like their closest neighbours the Koryaks, the Chukchi were divided into two groups of different economies but in firm contact with one another through family ties and trade: nomadic reindeer-herders and sedentary sea-mammal hunters living on the coast. It is in fact of note that as regards both their economy and their culture there were more similarities between the tundra Chukchi and Koryaks, for example, than between these two groups of Chukchi. Similarly the coastal Chukchi and Koryaks resembled one another in their way of life. In the census of 1926—1927 there were 12,364 Chukchi, 70 % of whom were nomads and 30 % permanent settlers. Their closest neighbours were the Eskimos on the Bering Sea, in the south Koryaks, and west of the Kolyma river Yakuts and some Yukagir families. Similarly they bordered on the Evens around the Kolyma and the Anadyr.¹

Of all the small peoples in Northeast Siberia the Chukchi were numerically the largest; their folklore contains numerous stories of military confrontations with the Eskimos and the Koryaks.² Unlike e.g. their neighbours the Yukagirs, the Chukchi for a long time remained relatively independent of Russian rule. Among the Yukagirs a lasting tax system was quickly created on the basis

of the old clan organization.³ In the case of the Chukchi this did not succeed, even though the first contacts were made with them as early as the mid 17th century. Thus the Russian government displayed caution in building up relations through trade and thus a transfer to voluntary taxation.⁴

In the last years of the 19th century, when most of the material on shamanism was collected, the social structure of the Chukchi was marked by a) the lack of a clear clan system and b) relics of the existence of primitive-communal relations and c) property and social differentiation.⁵ The basic socio-economic unit of the coastal Chukchi was the so-called baydar party, comprising 3—5 families, chiefly relatives but also neighbours. The members of the group, whose head was the owner of a boat, hunted together and divided up the catch according to set rules. The broader social unit was the village, which was a territorial association of related and unrelated families. Here too the members of a baydar party were grouped round certain parts of the village.⁶ The economic combine of the reindeer Chukchi was the encampment, which was made up of 4—5 families herding their reindeer in common. Although the encampment for the main part comprised families mutually related, this was not essential. The Chukchi did not have a clan system proper, but the families on the father's side formed groups with certain common obligations, such as the custom of vendetta, and common ceremonies.⁷ The special socio-economic situation prevailing among the Chukchi, with primitive features such as common hunting, overlapped with an economically and socially stratified form of community, was a consequence of changes in the primitive community brought about by trade begun with Russians and Americans (at the end of the 18th century and especially the beginning of the 19th) and bringing more profitable reindeer-herding, hunting and fishing: "The process of property and social differentiation was hastened under the impact of trade with Russians and Americans, which resulted in the appearance of new means of production (firearms, European whaleboats etc.) and increased commodity value of the products of hunting and fishing (walrus skins and tusks, whalebone, etc.). In social and economic relations, this trade led to the appearance of middlemen, large-scale reindeer-breeders and reindeerless herdsman, owners of baydars and baydar-less hunters. The herdsman were compelled to herd the reindeer of the large-scale breeders, the hunters — to hunt in another's baydars. The herdsman were most often relatives; the master fed the herder and his family, in return for which the latter watched his herd and performed all the heavy labor."⁸ Property and social differences are evident in e.g. the make-up of the Chukchi encampment. The tents, numbering from two to ten, were placed in a row running in an east-west direction so that the owner of the encampment dwelt in the first tent on the eastern side of the encampment and the poorest member of the

group the last one on the western side.⁹

The decisive situation as regards the status of the Chukchi shaman was one in which socio-economic differentiation was coupled with forms of a primitive kinship system and family life. The heart of the religious life of the Chukchi were the sacrificial festivals connected with their livelihood. These were festivals for the family or community unit, and connected with these annual events is the phenomenon known as family shamanism.¹⁰ Every family possessed a drum, which members of the family could beat freely in the course of festivals, attempting to behave like proper shamans. This free use of the drum during the daytime did not, however, correspond to a real shamanizing séance. Proper shamans, according to the Chukchi "those with spirits", worked at night and in complete darkness in the inner sleeping tent. For the shamanic spirits were said to shun light. The name 'family shamanism' is particularly misleading in that the phenomena inherent in the concept remained beyond the confines of shamanism proper, and further meant that communication with the supranormal by the family or circle of relations did not as a rule require a proper shaman. In other words, shamanism proper was not bound to any clear group of supporters determined on the basis of e.g. relationship; the Chukchi had no clan system.

Becoming a shaman was in no way tied to sex. There were if anything more female shamans than male, but the latter were often regarded as more powerful, for giving birth and motherhood detracted from the shamanic strength. Following a birth it could be many years before a female shaman was able to shamanize fully. Likewise the period of preparation for a woman shaman was not as long and painful as that for a man. A woman shaman could, however, acquire as great a skill as a man in everything but the skill of ventriloquism.¹¹

Shamanic vocation most often appeared in youth, and parents reacted to it in different ways. In families with only one child in particular there could be opposition, but if the family was large and rich it was only to be hoped that the family would get its own shaman, "a special solicitor before the spirits", and a caretaker in all extraordinary casualties of life.¹² The aspirant had nevertheless to obtain the approval of the community for his position. This was not always successful, e.g. when the reindeer Chukchi Ñiro'n manifested his shamanic vocation he "was generally ridiculed by his neighbours on account of his character. He was a spendthrift, much given to cardplaying, and cared little for his herd and home, and the Chukchee refused to believe that such a good-for-nothing could amount to much in the eyes of the 'spirits'."¹³ According to Bogoras poor young Chukchi tried to become rich and win a better status in society by beginning to shamanize. Many Chukchi tales contain references to a rise such as this.¹⁴ Bogoras did

not, however, meet a single man living entirely off shamanizing; shamanizing only brought in a good additional income.¹⁵

The Chukchi divided the skills of the shaman into three categories, though the borders between them were not particularly sharp. The first category took in "communication with the spirits". The category comprised such intercourse with the spirits as was also obvious to the audience: ventriloquism, spirits speaking through the shaman, tricks, etc. The second class was called "looking into", and it was the most highly respected skill. The shaman was then able to foresee the dangers and favourable events awaiting people, and how to avoid misfortune. The directions were most often ritual, and advised the subject to conduct a certain type of ceremony. The third class of shamanic skills comprised the producing of incantations.¹⁶ Incantations in fact played a major part in Chukchi magic. Various shamans combined these skills in many ways¹⁷, so that it is difficult to speak of a division proper of shamans into classes.

The Chukchi shaman was something of a "private entrepreneur" whose duties chiefly included healing the sick and warding off other such crises, and forecasting. In the séance described by Bogoras, for example, the shaman tried to quell a snow storm.¹⁸ Since the shaman did not have an established relationship with a specific band of supporters, his success rested primarily on the skill he displayed in his actions. This might explain several special features of Chukchi shamanism, such as the highly developed and much practised use of tricks and ventriloquism, which was a mode of behaviour particularly respected by the audience. It is also worth mentioning here that the Chukchi shaman did not have a shaman's dress proper; among Northern peoples it was usually the band of supporters who saw to the shaman's equipment. Basing his views on information provided by Litke, Mikhaylovskiy, for example, places the Chukchi shaman in a special position as regards the esteem he enjoyed: "In fact, the shaman, with but few exceptions, occupies a position of special importance among his fellow countrymen. Only among the Chukchis, according to Litke, are shamans not respected, and their functions are limited to healing diseases and performing tricks."¹⁹ However reliable this information may be, it is clear that the position of the Chukchi shaman and the respect he enjoyed cannot be compared to e.g. the established and stabilized status of the clan shaman. On this basis it is also possible to explain the free form and ceremonial poverty of the initiation — the main emphasis lies in the inner experiences and psychic tendencies of the shaman — and the limited outward requisites in the shaman's operations.

Waldemar Bogoras spent the years 1890–1898 in the Kolyma region, and in 1900–1901 made a journey to Kamchatka, Anadyr and the Chukchi

Peninsula. During the ten years he spent among the Chuhehi Bogoras attended many shamanizing séances. Two of his long and detailed descriptions of séances have been published by Hans Findeisen in German. From the point of view of source criticism it is a pity that Bogoras is the only author to have given a thorough account of Chukchi shamanizing, but on the other hand the two accounts published by Findeisen are unusually detailed, and contain, for example, the words spoken by the spirit-helpers. Bogoras named his account of a shamanizing séance among the coastal Chukchi "On the rocky headland", and the scene of the event is a settlement of only two tents. A crowd of people have gathered in the inner part (Polog) of one of the tents to await the abating of a mighty storm. At last one of those present, the shaman Ukwun, tries to begin to subdue the storm by shamanizing (part I). His attempt is abortive, and the shamanizing is suddenly taken over by the younger shaman Nuwat (part II). The account of the séance thus in a way comprises two shamanizing performances. Findeisen gives the following information on Ukwun: "An old Chukchi of the neighbourhood, who with his two wives was financially dependent on the old merchant Kitelkut, in whose tent the ceremony was held."²⁰ Nuwat was Kitelkut's son, and despite his youth was a good hunter. During the past year he had nevertheless received an inner calling to become a shaman.²¹

13.2. *Description of the rite process*²²

Part I

1C: Die Trommel lag unter dem Zeltdach auf einem hölzernen Brett. Ukwun nahm sie herunter, versuchte mit einem Fischbeinschlegel, ob sie straff gespannt sei und traf nun die nötigen Vorbereitungen für die heilige Handlung. —

2D: Die Zeremonie war nun in vollem Gange. Beide Lampen waren ausgelöscht worden, und im Polog herrschte jetzt ein Grabesdunkel. Diese Finsternis aber war gleichsam von Leben erfüllt und voll der verschiedenartigsten Laute. Der rasche und von kurzen Pausen unterbrochene Ton der Trommel erinnerte an militärischen Alarm.

Ukwun barst fast vor Eifer, und aus seiner Kehle drangen die seltsamsten und kompliziertesten Gesänge. Er ahmte das Schnarchen eines Walrosses und das Geschrei eines Adlers nach, brüllte wie ein Bär, schnatterte wie eine Taucherente und heulte im Unisono mit dem draussen wütenden Sturme. Aber die Zuhörer schrien vergeblich: "Hytsch, hytsch! Recht so!" um ihn anzufeuern und seine Macht vor den herangerufenen Geistern in ein möglichst vorteilhaftes Licht zu stellen. Die Geister des vorbeirasenden Sturmes schenken aber seinem Rufen anscheinend keine Beachtung und hatten keine Lust, auch noch einen Augenblick innezuhalten und Antwort zu geben. Vielleicht

wollten sie sich noch über der schutzlosen Tundra austoben und missbilligten Ukwuns Vorhaben, das ihre Beschwichtigung zum Ziele hatte.

— He-he-he-he-he! He, he! — rief Ukwun zuletzt mit gedehnter Stimme, — He, he! Ich bin ein Mensch, ich bin ein Suchender, ich bin ein Rufender! . . .

2E: Er beschloss nun, von den einfachen Gesängen zu den Beschwörungen überzugehen, die für weit wirksamer gehalten werden.

I 1) — Kleines Fischehen Wäkan! — begann er in einem lauten und gedehnten Rezitativ zu singen. — He, he! Es wuchs heran, es wurde grösser als ein Walfisch. He! Es liegt inmitten des offenen Meeres. Sein Hals wurde gleichsam zu einer Insel, sein Rücken dehnte sich wie das Festland aus. He, he, he! 2) Wenn du beim Vorbeifliegen mit deiner Flügelspitze an das Land Ljuren stösst, gib Antwort!

Aber der Sturm fegte wieder vorbei, ohne auf den Zuruf zu achten.

II 1) — Über der Quelle des laufenden Wassers, auf der Spitze des weissen Gebirgskammes, beim krachenden Gletscher lebt der Blitz, 2) die Mutter des Bergechos. 3) Sie fliegt am Himmel entlang und donnert mit ihren eisernen Flügeln. Unter ihren Füßen sprüht hellrotes Feuer hervor . . . 4) Solltest du aus diesen engen Klüften gekommen sein, so gib Antwort!

Aber auch dieser Ruf blieb ohne Erwiderung.

III 1) — Hinter den Grenzen der durch die Sonne beschienenen Erde, 2) hinter dem Gestade des traurigen Landes des Abends liegt das Gebiet der ewigen Finsternis. 3) Das Gespenst des Mondes ersetzt dort die Sonne. 4) Dieses Gebiet ist zugedeckt wie ein riesiges Zelt. 5) Drinnen vollziehen die Geister ihre Zeremonien . . . 6) Wenn du aus dem schwarzen Zelte der Geister dich losgerissen, alle Hindernisse gesprengt hast und in rasendem Laufe über die weite Tundra gejagt bist, um in vollem Schwunge über die Mündung des grossen Flusses zu setzen, so gib Antwort!

IV 1) — An dem vorgeschobenen Kap, wo die Erdteile sich treffen, wendet sich die Strömung des Meeres wieder zurück. Und hier, auf den Gewässern zwischen den beiden Kontinenten, kreuzen sich die Wege der umwohnenden Völker . . . 2) Zwischen den zusammenschlagenden Felsen liegt der Berg der Vögel . . . 3) Wenn es dir auf deinem Fluge durch die Kiefer der steinernen Falle, welche soviel fliegenden Scharen totschiägt, gelungen sein sollte, die grauen Federn auseinander zu wehen, so gib Antwort!

V 1) — Sprich, rede, rede! 2) Wer sehardt mit der riesigen Schaufel den Schnee am Rande der Eiswüste auseinander, um die Augen jedes lebenden Geschöpfes zu blenden? . . . 3) Gib Antwort!

3G: Der eben vorbeijagende Windstoss drehte sich plötzlich gleichsam um die Zeltspitze. Nach einigem Zaudern veränderte er seine Richtung und begann nach unten zu drängen, indem er durch die dicke äussere Hülle fuhr und sich dem Polog näherte. Die Geister hatten sich entschlossen, den beharrlichen Beschwörungen des Zauberers nicht länger Widerstand zu leisten und waren nunmehr zur Antwort bereit. Die im Polog sitzenden Leute vernahmen immer deutlicher die dem Zischen ungeheurer Blasbälge gleichenden Scufzer des Windes. Einen Augenblick danach stürzte er in den Polog, durchfuhr ihn vom oberen linken Winkel zum unteren rechten, drang zum zweiten Male durch die dicke Pelzhülle und verschwand zuletzt in den

innersten Tiefen der Erde.

Die im Polog Sitzenden spürten jedoch nicht den geringsten Hauch echter, von draussen kommender Schneeluft. Der wirkliche Wind war draussen geblieben, und im Polog war nur sein Uwyryt erschienen, der sich ganz in Geräuschen erschöpfte. Der durch den Polog fegende Windstoss war ein Strom winselnden Geheuls und keuchenden Gewimmers, der, nachdem er vorbeigejagt war, irgendwohin in die Tiefe fuhr und so schnell verschwand, wie er aufgetreten war.

3S: — Ehe! He, he, he, he! — rief Ukwun wieder mit gedehnter Stimme. — Er spricht, dass er von Norden gekommen sei.

Anscheinend hatte das durch das Zelt jagende Geräusch für ihn einen deutlicheren Sinngehalt als für alle übrigen.

Jajak schnaubte ungeduldig. Die Geister machten sich anscheinend über Ukwun lustig, denn ihre Äusserungen waren allen Anwesenden auch ohne jede übernatürliche Hilfe verständlich.

2E: VI 1) — Sonne, erhebe deine Arme, — begann Ukwun von neuem, — zeige dem Monde deine Fausthandschuhe . . . ! An deinem Arme krieche ich nach oben, 2) erreiche den schwankenden Schoss der Wolken. 3) Von den Wolken steige ich zum durchsichtigen Himmel empor. 4) Am Firmament entlang gehend, gelange ich bis zur Öffnung des Himmels . . . Durch die Spalte erreiche ich den Stern des hineingesteckten Baumes, den Polarstern . . . 5) Bewohner der Dämmerung, helft mir! 6) Bewohner der Morgenröte, helft mir! 7) Bewohner des Ostens, helft mir! 8) Bewohner des Morgens, helft mir! . . . 9) Zur Morgenröte kommt die Abendröte auf Besuch: sie schwimmt auf dem sandigen Flusse der Milchstrasse nach unten 10) Der Morgenstern wandert dahin in Gestalt eines Nomadenzuges . . . 11) Bei den Elentierjägern, dem Doppelsternbild des Luchses, nehme ich eine dreifach geflochtene Fangschlinge, bei dem glänzenden Stern der Venus ergreife ich eiserne Fesseln . . . 12) Scheitel des Himmels, gib deine Scheren her, um seine Schwungfedern zu beschneiden und auszuzupfen . . . 13) Ich werfe auf ihn das dreifach geflochtene Lasso, umwinde ihn mit den eisernen Fesseln und binde ihm die eiserne Kette um den Leib.

Jeden Satz seiner Beschwörungen wiederholte Ukwun dreimal, wobei er ihn mit den mannigfaltigsten Tönen begleitete, wie sie seine Stimme nur immer hervorbringen konnte. Der Schlegel dröhnte mit solcher Wucht auf das angespannte Trommelfell, dass man sich wundern musste, wie diese dünne Bespannung unter solchen Schlägen nicht einfach zerriss.

VII 1) — Von der Windseite her erschien bei meinem Zelte ein Rentierbulle mit einem siebenendigen Geweih, — fuhr Ukwun fort. — Er wittert den bitteren Duft meines Rauches, er atmet den Geruch meines Lagers ein . . . 2) Lass mich auf dir Platz nehmen für eine lange Reise: Alle Länder werde ich durchheilen, die Tundren und die Gebirge werde ich durchforschen, 3) um das von seiner Frau errichtete Zelt zu entdecken . . .

VIII 1) — Ein altes Walross schlief allein auf einer Eisscholle ein, wobei es sich mit seinen Stosszähnen am Rande der Scholle festhielt . . . 2) Trage mich über das weite Meer! Ich werde in allen Buchten und Flussmündungen Umschau halten, 3) um den von seiner Frau verfertigten Polog zu finden.

IX 1) — Eine graue Eule mit breiten Flügeln sucht in den Eisspalten nach Nahrung! 2) — Auf ihren Flügeln fliege ich auf die Suche; ich werde neun Himmel und neun verschiedene Welten durchforschen, 3) um das von seiner Frau angezündete Herdfeuer zu finden.

X 1) — Wo bist du? Wo bist du? — heulte Ukwun mit wütender Stimme. Erscheine, erscheine, erscheine! . . .

3G: Auf der Ukwun gegenüberliegenden Seite des Pologs war plötzlich ein ungewöhnlicher Laut zu vernehmen, der einem hysterischen Schluchzen glich.

Janta schauderte zusammen und schmiegte sich fester an ihren Bräutigam an, da dieser Laut gerade über ihrem Haupte ertönte.

3H: Gleich nach dem ersten Laute ertönte ein zweiter, und sofort nach diesem vernahm man ein solch betäubendes Schnauben, dass es sogar das Schlagen von Ukwuns Schlegel übertönte, der in der gegenüberliegenden Ecke wütend auf dem Trommelfell herumtanzte. Der Geist des frischen Windes fühlte sich in der stickigen Luft des Pologs anscheinend nicht besonders wohl. Als das Schnauben endlich aufhörte, ergoss sich über den Köpfen der Leute eine abgebrochene Reihe von sonderbaren, bebenden, keuchenden, fast krampfhaften Lauten, welche versuchten, sich zu kurzen und unverständlichen Wörtern zusammenzufinden.

— Koterō, terō, muro, koro, poro! — bemühte sich der Geist in irgendeiner unbekannten Sprache zu reden.

Ukwun stellte das Trommel auf eine kurze Weile ein.

— Wie? — sagte er zu dem unbekannten Wesen, das im Dunklen sprach.

— Poro! sagte der Geist.

— Ko! (= ich verstehe nicht) — antwortete Ukwun.

— Poro, poro! — fuhr der Geist mit einer Nuance von Ungeduld fort. Er legte anscheinend[d] einen besonderen Nachdruck auf dieses Wort.

— Seit meiner Geburt bin ich dumm, — sagte Ukwun kläglich.

— Wenn Geister sprechen, sind meine Ohren wie verstopft. Wenn ihr doch in verständlichen Worten reden würdet!

— Poro! — antwortete der Geist eigensinnig. Er wollte offenbar kein anderes Wort aussprechen.

— Ach! — sagte Ukwun verzweifelt. — Mein Geist ist zu grob dazu, um dies zu verstehen. Wenn man einen Dolmetscher herbeischaffen könnte, so würde seine Weisheit hier bestimmt von Nutzen sein.

Der Sitte der Schmanen gemäss bat er die Geister, einen Dolmetscher herbeizurufen, um die Sprache der himmlischen Sphären in gewöhnliche menschliche Worte zu übertragen.

3G: Wieder fegte ein Windstoss durch den Polog. Diesmal jedoch fuhr er nicht wieder hinaus, sondern verweilte bei der Wand, wo eben die Stimme des Geistes erklingen war.

— Nun, da bin ich! — ertönte eine neue Stimme. Ich bin da! Ich bin gekommen. Jawohl! Sprecht jetzt nur, was ihr wollt? Ich will mich beeilen!

3HS: Der neue Besucher redete in der Sprache der Tschuktschen, aber seine Stimme war im Klang auffallend der Stimme des Geistes ähnlich,

der vorher gesprochen hatte. Es war dasselbe dumpfe, keuchende Flüstern, das mühsam aus der unbekannten Kehle drang und das immer nur die erste Hälfte eines Wortes auszusprechen vermochte. Die zweite Hälfte verlor sich in Schnauben und Schnarchen, und dem Zuhörer blieb nichts anderes übrig, als den genauen Sinn der Rede selbst zu erraten.

— Koteró, teró, poró! — fing der erste Geist wieder an, der indessen seinen Platz gewechselt hatte und sich nun links über dem Haupte Jajaks aufhielt.

— Er spricht: Ich bin der Geist der Barmherzigkeit, — sagte der Dolmetscher mit gepresster und erstickter S[t]imme. — Lebt ruhig, fangt keinen Streit an!

Kitelkut, der unweit von Ukwun sass, rückte geräuschvoll auf seinem Platze. In den Worten des geheimnisvollen Gastes war eine unbestimmte Anspielung auf seinen Streit mit Jajak enthalten.

— Manyra kuli, retyk, potero, teró! — begann der erste Geist wieder.

— Er sagt, — erklärte der Dolmetscher, — ich bin der Geist der Barmherzigkeit. Wenn ihr kein Verständnis für eure gegenseitige Lage habt, zu was dienen euch dann Jagd und Fischfang?

Jetzt spielten die Geister anscheinend auf die ungleiche Fettverteilung an. Wie es bei solchen Gelegenheiten immer der Fall zu sein pflegt, wollten sie sich als Beschützer des Mannes zeigen, der als ihr Vermittler auftrat. Trotz ihrer Unbestimmtheit waren die Anspielungen der Geister allen Zuhörern so gut verständlich, als wenn sie in den deutlichsten Worten ausgesprochen worden wären.

— Blödsinn! — sagte plötzlich Kitelkut. — Das ist ein Geist der Kerek, nicht der Tschuktschen.

In seiner Stimme äusserte sich unbeugsamer Eigensinn. Der alte Händler hielt die im Polog sprechenden Geister genau so für wirkliche Wesen wie die Leute, mit denen er in den benachbarten Siedlungen zu tun hatte, verhielt sich aber dafür ihnen gegenüber fast ebenso ungezwungen wie im Verkehr mit den Menschen. Die zahllosen Gebräuche, die von den Ahnen auf ihn übergegangen waren, beobachtete er mit derselben Sorgfalt wie das seiner Familie anheimgefallene Erbgut. Er zündete die heiligen Feuer an, sammelte die Speisereste und vernichtete sie, vollbrachte die Libationen von Blut, bestrich die Amulette mit Fett und opferte Hunde bei den religiösen Zeremonien. Er hatte jedoch nicht die geringste Lust, seine Lebensweise den Befehlen von oben gemäss zu ändern, zumal solche Befehle bei den Tschuktschen zu häufig sind, als dass man ihnen eine besonders ernsthafte Bedeutung beizumessen pflegt. Im Hinblick auf die Götter und die Geister hatte sich Kitelkut eine eigene Theorie zurecht gelegt, die ihm zwar nur dunkel bewusst war, nichtsdestoweniger aber tief in seiner Seele Wurzel gefasst hatte. Nach dieser Theorie waren die Götter, wenn sie einmal den ihnen gebührenden Tribut von ihm erhalten hatten, nicht mehr berechtigt, sich in seine Beziehungen zu den anderen Menschen und in sein Leben überhaupt einzumischen. Obendrein ergriffen die von Ukwun herbeizitierten Geister ganz offen Partei für die Interessen des hinteren Zeltes, und Kitelkut war vollkommen überzeugt, dass dies keine wirklichen Geister waren, sondern aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach nur die Hausgötter Anjekas, welche diese aus ihrer Heimat mitgebracht hatte.

Ukwun jedoch kamen die Worte des alten Händlers wie eine Lästerung vor.

— Das ist ja Sünde! — rief er sogleich in seinem Winkel. Rede nicht! Du bringst mich nur in Verlegenheit! Du leistest den Geistern Widerstand, und diese können sich dann vielleicht an mir dafür rächen.

In seiner Stimme äusserte sich Fureht. Die mit dem Betragen der Zuhörer unzufriedenen Geister der Tschuktsehen pflegen nämlich ihren Grimm an den Schamanen auszulassen.

— Was verlangt er denn? — fragte Kitelkut schroff.

Er war bereit, den Geistern einen gewissen Tribut zu gewähren, damit sie sich nicht länger in seine Angelegenheiten einmischten.

2E: Ukwun setzte den Schlegel und die Trommel wieder in Gang. Er sang und trommelte mit verdoppeltem Eifer und wollte anseheinend die unangenehmen Worte des Hausherrn wieder gutmachen. Die Geister aber waren, wie es schien, wegen Kitelkuts Bemerkung beleidigt und hatten beschlossen, mürrisches Stillschweigen zu wahren. Alle Anstrengungen Ukwuns, sie wieder zum Sprechen zu bringen, waren vergebens. Dies dauerte ungefähr eine Viertelstunde.

Part II

2D: Plötzlich fuhren alle Anwesenden, die den ergebnislosen Gesängen Ukwuns zuhörten, zusammen. Als Antwort auf die Lieder des Alten ertönte im gegenüberliegenden Winkel des Pologs eine andere Stimme, die ebenfalls Beschwörungen sang, die der Herbeizitierung überirdischer Kräfte dienten. Es war dies nicht eine Geisterstimme, denn dafür war sie zu deutlich und zu laut. Sie drang aus der Brust mit einer Fülle und einer Leichtigkeit, welche vor allem eine kräftige Lunge und gut entwickelte Stimmbänder verriet und jedenfalls mit dem Röcheln der Gäste Ukwuns gar nicht zu vergleichen war. Die Töne dieser Stimme erfüllten den Polog, ergossen sich über seine Wände und Ecken, drängten hinaus und fluteten, da sie keinen Ausgang fanden, vorwärts und rückwärts. Sie bebten wie eine gefangene Schwalbe, bis es den Anwesenden schliesslich vorkam, als ob diese Stimme schon nicht mehr der äusseren Welt angehörte, sondern irgendwo in ihrem eigenen Innern ertönte.

Ukwun war nicht weniger überrascht als die anderen und versuchte zweier oder dreimal, mit dem neuen Sänger zu weitteifern, geriet jedoch in Verwirrung, brach ab und verstummte. Er hörte sogar mit seinem Trommeln auf, das jetzt keinen Sinn mehr hatte. Die neuen Gesänge stockten nun ebenfalls für einen Augenblick.

1C: — Tritt mir deinen Platz ab! — sagte Nuwats befehlende Stimme laut, — denn er war es, der Ukwuns Gesänge übertönt hatte. Man konnte hören, wie er und Ukwun die Plätze wechselten. Darauf schlug der Schlegel wieder mit fieberhafter Geschwindigkeit auf das Fell, und eine ganze Explosion von Tönen brach über die Zuhörer herein. Der junge Schamane hatte den alten abgelöst und wollte sich nun seinerseits mit den Geistern des Windes messen.

2D: Nuwat jedoch verschwendete nicht viel Zeit auf einleitende Worte. Ukwuns Gesänge hatten ihm schon den Weg freigemacht, und er fühlte sich bereits in der richtigen Stimmung, um sofort zu Beschwörungen überzugehen.

2E: I 1) — Mein Nachen, — begann er, — ist leicht und schnell! 2) Im Flug überholt er die Vögel. Ein Kleiner Vogel ist der Kajanalgin, auch ihn überholt er. 3) Zwei meiner Seelen sagen: Halten wir uns an den beiden Seiten des Nachens fest und fliegen wir in unbekannte Länder! 4) Es tut mir wohl, mit euch zu fliegen, auf einem ausgebreiteten Fell zu sitzen, inmitten der hölzernen Umfassung, und mit Rudern aus Fischbein zu rudern Ho, ho, ho, ho, hoi!

Er begleitete sich auf dem gespannten Trommelfell, welches sein Lied besang. Jetzt aber berührte der Fischbeinstab die klingende Oberfläche nur leicht und entlockte ihr leise, rollende Töne, die klangen, als ob von dieser elastischen Haut kleine, runde Kügelchen absprangen und wieder zurückfielen, um dann von neuem zurückgeworfen zu werden. Diese Töne übertönten Nuwats Worte nicht, sondern hoben sie nur noch stärker hervor.

II 1) — Das Haupt des Fliegenden in der Finsternis ist mein Haupt . . . Seine Hände sind meine Hände . . . Seine Füße sind meine Füße . . . Seinen Körper eignete ich mir an; mein eigener Körper jedoch verwandelte sich in einen alten Baumstumpf und fiel auf das Kap mitten in das Treibholz . . . 2) Mein Lied ist schön. Meine Seelen fliegen in verschiedenen Richtungen dahin. Selbst unsichtbar, überblicken sie alles Seiende und tragen des Wissen in meine Brust, so wie die Vögel die Nahrung in das Nest tragen.

III 1) — Schon seit langem sehne ich mich danach, auf meinem runden Segel nach oben zu fliegen, immer weiter hinauf!

5P: Seine Stimme brach plötzlich ab. Die Zuhörer hielten in Erwartung des Kommenden den Atem an.

Man vernahm ein leichtes Röcheln, dann ein Geräusch, das durch die Trommel verursacht wurde, die zusammen mit der sie haltenden Hand auf das unter Nuwat ausgebreitete Fell hinab fiel. Weiter war kein Laut mehr zu hören. Die Seele des jungen Schamanen hatte offensichtlich auf eine gewisse Zeit ihre sterbliche Hülle verlassen und sich auf die geheimnisvolle Reise gemacht, welche er vordem so begeistert besungen hatte.

Es vergingen zwei oder drei Minuten in schweigender Erwartung.

— Machen wir Licht! — sagte Kitckut in mürrischem Tone. — Dann können wir wenigstens rauchen.

— Welwuna, Welwuna! — schrie die Hausfrau unverzüglich, — gib Feuer her! Seehundsschnauze, zünde einen Kienspan an! Oder bist du etwa taub geworden?

Es war jedoch nicht so leicht, Welwuna aufzuwecken. Von der langen Tagesarbeit ermüdet und gleichgültig gegen die Schamanenzeremonien, welche sich ausserdem hinter der zottigen Wand des Pologs abspielten, schlief sie wie eine Tote. Sie lag auf der Erde ausgestreckt da und hatte ihre Füße näher an das niederbrennende Feuer herangeschoben, Füße, welche in abgenutzten Stiefeln aus Rentierleder steckten, die anscheinend nicht den geringsten Schutz vor der Kälte boten. Janta kroch eiligst aus

dem Polog und brachte Feuer. Das purpurrote Auge der Lampe verbreitete im Polog seinen Schein und beleuchtete den in einer Ecke liegenden jungen Schamanen. Kitelkut neigte sich schnell zu seinem Sohne, aber Ukwun warf ihm sogleich einen Schal über das Gesicht, den er eigens zu diesem Zwecke bereitgehalten hatte. Es ziemte sich nicht, dass andere Leute das Gesicht eines von seinen Seelen verlassenen Menschen betrachteten. Kitelkut konnte gerade noch bemerken, dass die Augen des jungen Schamanen geschlossen waren, und dass die fest zusammengepressten Zähne hinter seinen halbgeöffneten Lippen etwas hervorstanden.

Nuwat lag auf dem Rücken. Seine Schultern und sein Kopf waren an die aus Pelzwerk bestehende Wand des Pologs gelehnt. Mit der einen Hand hielt er den Griff der neben ihm liegenden Trommel umklammert, während die andere Hand, welche den dünnen Fischbeinstab mit der schaufelartigen Erweiterung am Ende hielt, ihm auf die Brust gefallen war und etwas seitwärts herabhing.

Die im Polog befindlichen Leute rauchten ihre Pfeifen eiligst zu Ende und warteten schweigend auf das Erwachen des Schamanen. Ringsumher herrschte völlige Stille, welche nur vom fernen Heulen des Sturmes und vom leisen, aber mühsamen Knistern der hellen Flamme gestört wurde. Der finstere Blick Kitelkuts und das ängstliche Auge Jantas waren mit gleicher Aufmerksamkeit auf die unbewegliche menschliche Gestalt gerichtet, deren Haupt sich undentlich unter der Decke abzeichnete.

5Q: Endlich drang unter dem Schal ein schwacher, langgezogener Seutzer hervor. Nuwats Seelen waren von ihrer Reise in die überirdischen Welten zurückgekehrt.

— Lösch das Feuer aus! — sagte Ukwun schnell.

Seine Hände waren beschäftigt. Er füllte eine Pfeife mit starkem Tabak ohne jede Beimischung von Holzspänen. Diese Pfeife musste dem jungen Schamanen sofort nach seinem Erwachen gereicht werden.

— Macht schneller! — fügte Ukwun ungeduldig hinzu. — Er steht schon auf!

In der Tat zog Nuwat den Schal von seinem Gesichte weg und erhob sich auf seinem Sitze zur selben Zeit, als Janta den letzten Rest des brennenden Moosdochtes im zähen Inneren des Trans erstickte.

— E — he! — seufzte Nuwat von neuem. Seine Hand, die noch den Schlegel fest umklammert hielt, erhob sich und machte eine mechanische Bewegung zur Trommel hin, fiel aber gleich wieder herab. Der dünne Fischbeinschlegel streifte das Trommelfell nur leicht, indem er ein dumpfes und unangenehmes Geräusch verursachte. Ukwun steckte dem jungen Schamanen die angerauchte Pfeife in den Mund. Nuwat machte gierig ein paar Züge hintereinander. Bei dem schwachen Licht, das über dem hölzernen Pfeifenkopf aufflammte und wieder erlosch, trat sein Antlitz für einen Augenblick aus der Finsternis hervor. Es schien den Anwesenden todesbleich und glich dem Gesicht eines Verschiedenen. Seine Augen waren immer noch geschlossen.

Aber die erregende Wirkung des starken Rauchtabaks gab ihm sofort sein Bewusstsein und seine Stärke wieder.

— Eh, he, he, hej! — seufzte er zum dritten Male und diesmal schon aus voller Brust.

5ES: Gleich darauf folgte eine betäubende Salve von Trommelschlägen, als ob der junge Schamane einen Siegesmarsch trommeln wollte, um seine Rückkehr aus den überirdischen Sphären zu feiern.

I 1) — Ich bin wieder da, wieder da, wieder da! — sagte er gedehnt. 2) — Ich bin auf dem Schlitten einer Sternschnuppe vom Himmel heruntergefahren. Ich bin auf dem Meere geschwommen wie ein schwimmender Pelz. Ich bin aus dem Inneren der Erde hervorgedrungen wie das Horn eines Teufelshirshes (Mammut), wenn er sich in den Steilwänden an Flussufer einen Gang gräbt . . . Da bin ich wieder . . .

Er befand sich in einem Zustand stärkster Erregung. Seine Stimme bebte und vibrierte, seine Sätze wechselten mit hysterischen Seufzern ab. Er bekam gleichsam keinen Atem mehr. Nachdem er die letzte Silbe eines Satzes in die Länge gezogen hatte, brach er plötzlich ab, machte einen tiefen und gierigen Luftzug und ging erst dann zum nächsten Satz über.

II 1) — Ich erhob mich über die Grenzen der Welt, — sprach Nuwat. — Meine Füße wandelten auf der Rückseite des Himmels. 2) Meine Augen sahen die Zelte der überirdischen Länder. Mich an meinen Kahn schmiegend, schwebte ich über unbekannten Ländern. Selbst unsichtbar, schaute ich umher . . .

III — Ich sah, wie der abnehmende Mond mit dem zunehmenden zusammenstieß, und einer von ihnen tot herunterfiel . . .

IV — Ich sah, wie der Osten und der Westen miteinander wetteiferten, wer über eine mit scharfen Knochensplintern gefüllte Spalte springen könne . . .

V — Ich sah, wie die Geister des Nordlichts Ball spielten . . . Ihre Beine kennen keine Ruhe . . . Der Schnee unter ihren Füßen erstrahlt in feurigem Glanze.

VI — Ich sah die Töchter der Dämmerung, die ein buntes Gewand trugen. Ihr Kragen ist mit Sonnenstrahlen umsäumt. Die Öffnungen ihrer Ärmel sind mit feurigem Glanz erfüllt.

VII — Ich sah die Herrscherin der Welt, die Reiche Frau, die auf einem Haufen von Bibern sitzt . . . Bei jedem Seufzer kommen zehn Biber aus ihren Nasenlöchern hervor. Sie tut sie in Beutel, verteilt sie ringsumher und errichtet so ein buntes Zelt um sich herum.

VIII — Ich sah die Schönheit der überirdischen Welt, aber Narginen sprach zu mir: Verweile nicht hier! Schau, dass du wieder hinabkommst!

IX — Ich stieg bis zu den Tiefen des dritten Abgrunds hinab, wo die Schatten alles Seienden leben, — sprach Nuwat.

X — Ich sah den Schatten unserer Erde, das Gespenst des Meeres, das Spiegelbild der Uferfelsen . . . Die Seelen unserer Zelte waren dorthin vor mir hinuntergestiegen und lehnten sich an die Felswand zwischen umhergestreuten Steinen.

Die Zuhörer sassen mit angehaltenem Atem da. Vor ihren Augen erschienen die neuen und seltsamen Bilder, die ihnen Nuwat beschrieb, in handgreiflicher Deutlichkeit. Sie schwebten mit ihm über den Abgründen der Welt, wobei sie sich an den glatten Handhaben der ihnen als Kahn dienenden Trommel festhielten.

XI — Die Leute eines toten Stammes brachten hinter den Zelten Opfer dar, — fuhr Nuwat fort. — Das Feuer von ihrer Herdstelle stieg als dünne, rauchlose Säule empor. Ich trat hinzu und begann mit ihnen zu essen.

XII — Da kamen zwei von Mitternacht hergejagt. Sie kamen auf scheeckigen Rentieren herbeigefahren. Die Kufen ihrer Schlitten waren von der langen Fahrt zerfetzt. Die Hufe der Rentiere waren vom Galoppieren abgewetzt. Ich blickte auf sie, mein Verstand trübte sich, und mein Körper verlor seine Kraft und wurde wie Wasser.

XIII — Weshalb sind ihre Augen nach rückwärts gewendet? — fragte ich. — Weshalb ist der Bauch der Rentiere aufgeschlitzt und weshalb schleifen sie ihre Eingeweide hinter sich her?

— Als sie bei der Feuerstelle ankamen, sah ich ihre Gesichter. Der eine hatte einen Strick um den Hals. Seine Augen waren die Augen Katyks. Sein Hals war der Hals eines Erdrosselten. Wen suchten sie unter den Bewohnern der Unterwelt? Der Schnee begann zu schmelzen und floss wie Blut. Ein ganzer See bildete sich zwischen den Zelten.

XIV — Blut, Blut! — schrie Nuwat plötzlich, die Stimme erhebend. — Ich sehe Blut an den Pfosten unseres Hauses.

Die Anwesenden schauderten aufs neue zusammen. Nuwats Worte bezogen sich anscheinend schon nicht mehr auf seine Vision.

— Was für Blut denn? — fragte Korawija, der nicht ganz überzeugt war.

— Dort im Zelt auf den Pfosten ist ein friseher Fleck, — schrie Nuwat. — Lasst mich! Ich will ihn sehen.

Er sprang ungestüm nach vorn in die vordere Abteilung des Zeltes hinaus.

Das grelle Licht drang ihm in die Augen und blendete ihn für kurze Zeit. Welwuna, die beim halberloshenen Feuer aufgewacht war, warf jetzt eine Armvoll Holz hinein. Die Flamme loderte auf und züngelte zu den drei dicken Pfosten empor, die sich oben vereinigten und die Hauptträger von Kitelkuts Zelt darstellten.

Korawija folgte seinem Gefährten.

— Nun, wo ist denn das Blut? — fragte er erstaunt. — Schau doch her, die Pfosten sind ja ganz rein.

Nuwat jedoch, der beim Scheine des Feuers von seinen Phantasien plötzlich zum Bewusstsein der Wirklichkeit zurückgekehrt war, verstand nun selbst seine vorige Aufregung nicht mehr.

— Mich friert es! — sagte er, statt zu antworten. — Gehen wir in den Polog zurück.

Korawija zündete am Holzfeuer einen Kienspan an und nahm ihn mit. Jetzt, da der Zauber gestört war, konnte man im Polog wieder die Lampe anzünden. Das auffallende Benehmen Nuwats hatte übrigens auf die Zuhörer keinen Besonders tiefen Eindruck gemacht. Kitelkuts Antlitz war vollkommen ruhig. Diese Leute, die von der Jagd lebten, waren es zu sehr gewöhnt, Blut zu sehen und zu vergiessen, als dass es sie beunruhigt hätte, wenn sie einmal überflüssigerweise daran erinnert wurden.

Ihre Gedanken bewegten sich anscheinend in einer ganz anderen Richtung.

55: — Was ist nun mit dem Wind los? — fragte Jajak, aus dessen Stimme Enttäuschung klang. — Hast du etwa den Geist der Winde nicht gesehen?

Nuwat liess sich wieder auf seinem Platze nieder und bemühte sich, seine Gedanken zu sammeln, um den Faden seiner Visionen wieder aufzunehmen. Nach einigen Sekunden gelang ihm dies. Aber er fühlte in sich keinen genügend starken Aufschwung mehr, um sich von neuem von der Erhabenheit

der von ihm geschauten Bilder hinreissen zu lassen. Ausserdem fühlte er eine starke Müdigkeit, und das Bedürfnis nach Schlaf, das ihn den ganzen Abend bedrückt hatte, kehrte nun mit verdoppelter Gewalt zurück. Er schloss seine Augen, um sich besser erinnern zu können, merkte jedoch, wie schwer ihm die Lider geworden waren, und wie ein plötzlicher Nebel die ihm vor Augen stehenden Bilder verhüllte. Dessen ungeachtet musste die verlangte Beschwörung so oder so zu Ende geführt werden.

Ich fand den Geist der Winde nicht, — sagte er matt, — weder auf der Feste des oberen Himmels noch in den unterirdischen Tiefen der Welt. Darauf flog ich über unsere Erde hin. Ich fand ihn schliesslich inmitten des Weissen Meeres: Er sitzt auf einer Eisscholle und bewegt seine Ärmel. Aus dem einen fällt Schnee heraus, aus dem anderen kommt der Wind hervor . . .

— Ich spreche zu ihm! Alter, warum machst du den Wind?

— Mir fehlt ein Hund im Gespann!

— Was für ein Hund? — fragte Kitelkut.

— Ich fragte ebenfalls, — sagte Nuwat. — Er spricht: Die Geister und die Menschen lieben alles Scheckige.

— Einen scheckigen Hund? — sagte Kitelkut und dachte nach. Wenn sich daraufhin der Wind legen sollte, könnte man wohl einen solchen Hund opfern.

Diese Frage berührte die rituelle und praktische Seite der Religion, und er fühlte sofort festen Boden unter seinen Füßen.

Jajak runzelte die Stirn. Auf in seinem Gespann befand sich ein scheckiger Hund. Er dachte, dass es auch ihm nicht schaden würde, dem "Herrn" dieses Landes ein Opfer darzubringen, umso mehr, als er sich bis jetzt ziemlich wenig um ihn gekümmert hatte. Aber er konnte angesichts der bevorstehenden Reise den Hund nicht entbehren und was die russischen Waren anbelangte, die den Geistern so gut gefallen, so wusste er nicht einmal bestimmt, wieviel davon auf seinen Anteil entfallen würde.

8T: Die Schamanenzeremonie war zu Ende. Nuwat legte nun die Trommel an ihren früheren Ort zurück und liess sich dann auf seinem alten Platz an der Wand nieder. Die anderen legten sich auch hin, so gut ein jeder konnte. Im Polog war es so eng, dass kaum Raum genug für alle zum Liegen da war. Janta legte sich zusammen mit den Kindern rechts auf der den Zelteigentümern vorbehaltenen Seite nieder. Drei Männer lagen dicht zusammengepresst auf der linken Seite. Ukwun fand mit seinem Weibe in der Mitte Platz. Er hatte die Beine eingezogen, um den neben der Lampe stehenden riesigen Kessel mit kalter Fleischbrühe nicht umzustossen. Dafür aber war es im Polog so warm, dass die Schlafenden, der überflüssigen Pelzkleider ledig, es sich auf den weichen Fellen wohl sein lassen konnten, während draussen das winterliche Unwetter in ungeschwächter Wut weitertobte.

13.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The preparatory stage (1C) is covered by Bogoras in only a few sentences, mentioning the taking out of the drum and the way in which it was got ready for use. The account could be supplemented by the features of an ideal Chukchi shaman-

izing outlined by Bogoras.²³ In this general account of his he says that the setting is the inner room of a carefully closed tent, the time 'after the evening meal'. The assembly having gathered, the shaman seats himself 'in the master's place', near the back wall, and a little space is left around him. The shaman himself gets the drum ready for performance. The drum might be wet with urine and dried over the lamp. Tuning it may take many hours. On embarking on his task the Chukehi shaman does not don any special shaman's dress. Instead he undresses, strips to the waist, and in certain cases also bares his legs. Sometimes unmixed tobacco is used as a stimulant. Bogoras regards this custom as being an influence of the Evenks.²⁴ In examining the psychophysical state of the shaman Bogoras says that preparing for each séance is just as painful as the initiatory stage. Before the performance the shaman is nervous. The performance itself is regarded "as a recovery from illness".²⁵

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): As the shaman embarks on his task he begins in a low voice that gradually grows louder. Bogoras says: "The shaman's songs have no words. Their music is mostly simple, and consists of one short phrase repeated again and again. After repeating it many times, the shaman breaks off, and utters a series of long-drawn, hysterical sighs, which sound something like 'Ah, ya, ka, ya, ka ya, ka!' After that, he comes back to his songs. For this he draws his breath as deep as possible in order to have more air in his lungs, and to make the first note the longest."²⁶ In describing Ukwun's behaviour Bogoras notes that he was in full swing at the very beginning of the séance. We find an 'imitation of the sounds of the spirit-helpers' act (2D): by imitating the sounds of his assistant animals the shaman begins to pick his supranormal counter-roles: he bellows like a walrus, cries like an eagle, growls like a bear, quacks like a diver duck and howls as one voice with the storm raging outside. The onlookers act as an assistant chorus, a task the Chukehi consider important. Bogoras in fact says that a Chukehi does not willingly begin to shamanize without an assistant, who may be a relative of his, the patient, or the rest of the onlookers.²⁷ One person or a larger group of people may act as a supporting singer.

The spirits appearing in Chukehi beliefs, the *ke'le*, can be divided into three categories, the borders between which are not completely clear. 1) The evil spirits, who are invisible, cause diseases and death by stealing and devouring human souls and bodies. 2) Belonging to the second class are the blood-thirsty cannibals living on distant coasts and fighting against the Chukehi warriors. 3) The third category comprises the shaman's spirit-helpers, who come at the shaman's call and help him as necessary.²⁸ Bogoras notes that the shamanic spirits are mostly material objects of various kinds,

— animals, such as wolves, reindeer, walruses, whales, or birds, plants, natural phenomena and even domestic articles.²⁹ These spirits are described as being very small and timid in unfamiliar surroundings. The Chukchi believe that, like animals, they belong to uninhabited areas. They approach settlement with caution, only in the dark, and ready to flee. Thus Ukwun, for example, calls the spirit in complete darkness. As they move the spirit-helpers make a noise like the droning of an insect, and as they run across the skin of the drum a faint patter can be heard. Like evil *ke'le* they may change completely, and their sounds are sometimes even very loud, as appears from the shamanizing accounts.

Having sung for a time Ukwun proceeds from simple calls to more effective incantations. These incantations, as Bogoras says the real invocatory chants (2E), reflect the shaman's concept of the world, his visions of this world and the next, his spirit-helpers and the shamanizing event. In other words the shaman recalls his entire religious outlook on the world and actualizes the roles of various mythological beings, deities, spirits and his own spirit-helpers.³⁰

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The arrival of the first spirit-helper is manifest by a gust of wind striking the tent. Ukwun is not yet functioning in his counter-role, though he does interpret the message of the spirit. In this context we may still speak of the actualization of the spirit-helper's role (3G). The attempt at contact has in fact failed, no discussion with the spirit ensues. Ukwun interprets the gust of wind as the arrival of the spirit, but as regards ecstatic technique he is not yet ready. The supranormal reality has not yet pervaded his consciousness in the way necessary to manifest the spirit roles. Although the shaman duly informs the onlookers of the presence of the spirit (3S), their reactions show that they are aware of his failure to make contact.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): By means of song Ukwun again begins to concentrate on the affairs of his shamanic consciousness. He beats the drum with exceptional strength and gradually attains the necessary altered state of consciousness.

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The spirit-helper announces its arrival by an unusual shout issuing from the section of the tent opposite Ukwun, which Bogoras compares to a hysterical sobbing. Ukwun, who is still functioning in the role of shaman, drumming constantly, simultaneously manifests his counter-role, too, in speaking through his stomach (3G). The spirit-helper remains outside the shaman's body; no possession takes place.

Sequence 3 measures the shaman's ability, his skill at communicating with the spirit world. Among the Chukchi this aspect appears emphasized, and the shaman performs numerous tricks to demonstrate his professional skill.³¹ The best shamans are ventriloquists. The discussion between the Chukchi shaman and the spirits can then take place in two ways: either the spirit speaks through the shaman's mouth, or with a ventriloquist shaman from outside his body. Bogoras says: "With other shamans the *ke'let* appear all at once as the 'separate voices'. They manifest themselves with sounds and shrieks of the same harsh and unnatural character, and these are located outside the body of the shaman. After that a varied exhibition begins, in which the performance of the shaman far transcends anything attainable by a person of ordinary powers. The Chukchee ventriloquists display great skill and could with credit to themselves carry on a contest with the best artists of the kind of civilized countries. The 'separate voices' of their calling come from all sides of the room, changing their place to the complete illusion of their listeners. Some voices are at first faint, as if coming from afar; as they gradually approach, they increase in volume, and at last they rush into the room, pass through it and out, decreasing, and dying away in the remote distance. Other voices come from above, pass through the room and seem to go underground, where they are heard as if from the depths of the earth."³² Shaman Ukwun possessed the skill of ventriloquism, and in the course of shamanizing he is proved to be extremely skilled at this. The first spirit is followed by a second. One inherent feature of Chukchi shamanizing seems to be the appearance of several spirit-helpers in succession, even so that by the end of the séance there are several spirits present, even arguing with one another, but who nevertheless (a practical necessity) speak in turn. In his general account Bogoras reports: "In most cases the ventriloquist performance soon takes on a dramatic character. A number of 'spirits' appear in succession. They talk to the shaman and to one another, pick quarrels, abuse and denounce one another."³³ The state of trance required for the ventriloquism and tricks does not presumably need to be very deep. Ukwun's difficulties and his final failure prove that when in normal waking state the Chukchi shaman is not capable of carrying out his task.

Ukwun continues the role relationship that arose with the arrival of the spirit by creating a discussion situation (3H). He has not identified with his counter-role, but through ventriloquism creates the illusion of a situation in which both the spirit and the shaman are in the tent, i.e. he has a dual role. The role of the spirit is marked by characteristic traditional features. For example, the spirit speaks a strange language that not even the shaman understands, its voice differs in timbre from that of a normal human voice, it is heard moving about in the tent, etc. Ukwun's performance follows the

general line of Chirkehi shamanizing. Bogoras mentions that the spirits' speech includes incomprehensible words, such as "papirc kuri muri", etc.³⁴ In order to understand what the spirit is saying, the shaman must call a second spirit as an interpreter, who explains to him and the audience the incomprehensible words of the first spirit. The interpreter-spirit idea is also common among the neighbouring peoples. "The most curious case of all is that of the shamans of the Russians and the Russianized natives of the Kolyma and Anadyr, who know no other language than the Russian. The 'spirits', however, even when speaking through the mouth of the shaman, employ only the usual unintelligible gibberish mixed with some distorted and mispronounced phrases in the Koryak, Yakut, and Yukagir languages. After a while the shaman calls for an interpreter, and at last, after some controversy, the 'spirits' send for one who can speak Russian and who translates the orders of the 'spirits'."³⁵ Ukwun transfers to the role of the interpreter spirit, manifesting his transfer by the words "Now I am here" (3G). The role of the shaman proper then remains latent. A role situation arises in which the role-taking of the interpreter spirit is directed at the audience on the one hand and at the spirit appearing as the spirit of Merey manifest simultaneously by the shaman on the other (3HS). For practical reasons Ukwun manifests the roles of the spirits in succession, speaking (from his stomach) first as one and then as the other spirit.

In his general account of a shamanizing séance Bogoras calls the part of the shamanizing occurring after the appearance of the spirits through tricks and ventriloquy by the name "magical advice". To explain the concept he quotes a few examples, such as "The shaman Tilu'wgi, of whom I shall speak again, after some preliminary intercourse with the 'spirits', called a peculiar ke'IE of his, who said she was an old maid, living alone in her house, and she expressed apprehension lest we should laugh at her talk with the peculiar feminine pronunciation. After that, however, she proceeded to give the magic instructions and explanations. She told one of those present, Enmu'wgi by name, who had recently been vanquished in a wrestling-match, that his defeat was caused by the use of malignant incantations by his adversary, and she advised him to take the matter into his own hands."³⁶ The function of the scene is the making public of information obtained by shamanizing. Thus this is an acteme $S = ?$ informing the onlookers'. In Tilu'wgi's case the supplier of information is not the shaman himself but a spirit called specially for the purpose. On examining Ukwun's activities we observe a similar information process. The message of the spirit of Mercy is conveyed to the onlookers by the interpreter spirit, not the shaman. Act 3S, which begins following the appearance of the interpreter spirit and ends with the incident brought about by the onlookers, holds the key to the success of the shamanizing.

The nature of the scene becomes clear when we remember the crisis situation: the snowstorm interrupting normal activity — hunting and fishing — that was the reason for shamanizing. The spirit refers to mutual disagreements arising within this small community and urges the onlookers to come to terms, saying: “Wenn ihr kein Verständnis für eure gegenseitige Lage habt, zu was dienen euch dann Jagd und Fischfang?”. In other words, the spirit reveals the cause of the crisis and points to a way of solving it. The shaman thus attempts to act as a factor integrating the community, a point worth attention with an eye to the functions of shamanism.

The spirit's plea for agreement does not, however, lead to the result hoped for. Kitekult, one party to the dispute, wishes to contest the competence of the spirits by claiming that the spirit of Merey is a spirit of one of the Koryak tribes. The episode places the shaman in a state of fear and he banishes the spirits, i.e. it restores the shaman to his normal state of consciousness. The shamanizing ends with Ukwun's attempt to actualize the roles of the departed spirits (2E). The scene illustrates the role relationship between the Chukchi shaman and his audience. As was noted before, the onlookers' support was extremely important to the Chukchi shaman's performance. Through his skilled manifestation of the spirit roles he tried, as it were, to gain the approval and respect of the onlookers, who were indeed well aware of the shaman's role performance. Ukwun's failure is noted, his performance is interrupted and Nuwat, who follows him, is roused from his trance to relate the results of the journey. It is clear that the audience actively controlling the behaviour of the shaman partly directs the course of the séance.

Preparatory stage (1) and actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Nuwat begins while Ukwun is still singing, and in a way he sets up in competition with the old shaman (2D). The transfer to the role of shaman proper (1C) takes place in an exceptional order. Not until he has been singing for a good time does Nuwat ask Ukwun to change places with him and thus to make known the change in roles. The normal order for beginning appears from Bogoras' general account and the reports of other witnesses. First come careful preparations even lasting more than an hour, and only then, with the lamps turned off, does the singing follow, slowly at first. On the other hand Mikhaylovskiy's general survey of shamanism does contain a brief description according to which the preparatory rites of the Chukchi shaman also include some sort of pre-shamanizing, i.e. experimentation with the voice and drum before the full publicizing of the role, something in the nature of a warming up. “Among the Chukchis, according to Litke, the shaman in his *kamlanie*, began by retiring behind a curtain, then were heard groans, and gentle tappings, with a thin whalebone,

on the tamburine; opening the curtain, he was seen swaying from side to side, the shouts and drumming became louder, he threw off his coat, and stripped himself to the waist.”³⁷ Bogoras reports that Nuwat did not waste much time on preliminary singing. Ukwun’s shamanizing had already freed the way for the movements of the spirits. Acting in the supporting chorus had attuned the sensitive young shaman to the necessary level. The text does not explain what Bogoras meant by “introductory words”. We may assume on the basis of other Chucki accounts that this was the act of imitating the sounds of the spirit-helpers. The event throws light on the significance of acteme 2D from the point of view of the shaman’s ecstatic technique. The introductory singing, the successive actualization of the spirit roles through imitation of their inherent sounds, would thus seem to act as something of a “warming up”, a transition phase during which contact with the normal waking state is broken. However, this is not yet sufficient to attain a state of trance. To attain this the shaman must go over in his mind the fundamental factors of the supranormal reality, create the framework of the shamanic world picture so that it gradually changes in his consciousness into the only true reality at that moment. This in turn takes place by means of the real invocatory chants (2E). Nuwat soon proceeds to invocatory songs in which he recalls the concepts connected with the shaman’s journey, actualizes the roles of his spirit-helpers and creates a picture of the cosmos.³⁸

The shaman’s journey (5): Nuwat suddenly loses consciousness and his soul sets off on its journey to the underworld (5P). Bogoras mentions that sinking into unconsciousness was relatively rare at the time of observation. In most cases the shaman met the spirit inside the tent, as Ukwun did. Sequence 5 appears to be an alternative to sequence 3 among the Chukchi. Bogoras describes the ‘shaman’s journey’ in only two notes on the séance, one of which is a brief general account.³⁹ He looks on the rarity of loss of consciousness as a phenomenon pointing to the degeneration of shamanism. “Chukchee folk-lore is full of episodes referring to such shamanistic 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’ña’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.”⁴⁰ The loss of consciousness signifying the journey of the soul and the non-profound state of trance sufficient to meet the spirits in the normal world are parallel, tradition-bound: with the Chukchi possible competitive modes of behaviour. It would seem strange to assume that this manifestation of the spirit roles demanding exceptional skill, including ventriloquism and tricks, is a sign of the degeneration of the tradition. As Bogoras

himself mentions, a shaman able to produce 'different sounds' was held in special esteem. The reason for the prevalence of this form of tradition — if the idea of the shaman's journey requiring loss of consciousness was formerly dominant — is then easy to find in the shaman's pursuit of prestige and his desire to please his audience as much as possible. The fact that the 'shaman's journey' practice with its loss of consciousness stage was formerly more common among the Chukchi may be hinted at in the nature of Ukwun's invocatory songs. In his songs he describes his journey in the underworld in the guise of the spirit-helper even though during the rite itself he meets the spirits in the tent, i.e. the normal world. The old tradition would thus be retained in the songs.

The shaman loses consciousness and his role becomes latent. Ukwun acts in the role of assistant, covering the young shaman, preparing him a pipe of tobacco, etc. Nuwat's face is covered because no one may see a face that has lost its soul. This same detail is mentioned in e.g. Bogoras' general account, which judging from its details is based on the observation of another shamanizing occasion.⁴¹ It also appears from the same general account that the assistant may move into the position in a way vacated by the shaman during his journey, i.e. he takes over the drumming, thus taking responsibility for the proper course of the séance. The audience's reactions are highly interesting at this the climax of the event. The calling of the spirits has taken place in complete darkness, and when the shaman stops drumming one of the participants says: "Let us have a light, then we can at least smoke". There is movement in the tent and orders are shouted, indicating a momentary relaxation of the audience's tension. The shaman is far away, and with him the spirits; there is a break in the séance and the onlookers, smoking the while, begin to await Nuwat's awakening, looking more and more eagerly for signs that his return is imminent. On coming to the shaman is still in a state of trance (5Q). His hands automatically seek the drum, which proves that not even loss of consciousness breaks off the conscious striving to perform the rite in accordance with the demands. The lamps are turned off and the assistant hands Nuwat a pipe of tobacco just at the moment he rouses. Bogoras mentions that at the time of observation smoking was relatively common at séances, and regards it as an Evenk influence.⁴²

In telling of his journey, in accordance with the expectation of the audience, the shaman at the same time again actualizes the supranormal roles familiar to him, taking them one after the other and placing each in its own frame in the cosmos. Nuwat's vision gives rise to discussion in the tent, and he awakes to full consciousness. The audience draws the shaman's attention to the purpose of the séance itself, the finding of the 'wind spirit', thus demanding knowledge of the success of the journey. During this episode (5S) activating

the audience, the shaman has to shift the emphasis in his dualistic role-taking (the supranormal and normal worlds) at the audience, which is evident as the return to waking state. He is able to meet the expectations of his role with success by passing on the message of the 'wind spirit': a dog must be sacrificed to him in order to stop the snow storm. The act thus contains the scene called by Bogoras 'magical advice'. The shaman has obtained knowledge of the measures needed to solve the crisis and makes it known.

The termination of shamanizing (8): The shamanizing ends with no special rites. Nuwat puts the drum in its place and himself moves to his former couch.

14. THE SONGS OF THE CHUKCHI SHAMAN AND THE TRADITION

14.1. *Mode of examination.* The improvised nature of shamanic songs has often been emphasized.¹ The issues can by no means be explained in plain undisputed terms, for the modes of singing may well vary within one and the same culture. And when dealing with such a wide-spread phenomenon as shamanic practice, variation in the feeling for improvisation is almost to be expected. It is difficult to determine from the material available the degree of improvisation in the songs. In fact it is easier and more to the point to frame the question slightly differently, and to ask, for example, to what extent and in what way the songs of an individual shaman are bound to the shamanic and/or some other belief tradition of the ethnic group in question. Similarly the significance of the songs can be examined from the point of view of the shaman's training for his profession, his activities, or the continuity of shamanism as a whole. One analytically fruitful point of departure may be the study of repeating structures. It is possible to isolate elements of shamanic songs that recur both in the shamanic and the broader belief tradition of the given group. These elements, such as 'description of the spirit-helper', 'call addressed to the spirit-helper', 'description of the shaman's journey', 'description of a point in the topography of the underworld' could be called *motifemes*.² The manifestation of the motifeme, the *motif*, is determined from the traditional background of the shamanism in question. Corresponding to one motifeme is a group of motifs varying in content. For example, 'description of the spirit-helper' takes on various forms depending on the nature of the spirit-helper system of the given form of shamanism, the spirit-helper concerned, and so on. The structural units, the motifemes, are then like compartments that can be filled by alternative motifs or allomotifs. Study of the recurring elements in shamanic songs, the sequences of motifemes and

any alternative structures, may make clear the rules within which improvisation takes place. On the other hand recognition and naming of the motifemes are an aid to the analysis of the basic features of the shamanic belief complex revealed in the songs and thus facilitate e.g. comparison of the forms of tradition of different types of shamanism at motif level. In the following I shall analyse first the contentual connections with the Chukchi belief tradition of the songs of both shaman Ukwun and shaman Nuwat contained in Bogoras' account of a coastal Chukchi séance.³ The precise notes made during the séance and Bogoras' extensive collections on Chukchi mythology and belief tradition permit such comparison. Secondly I shall try, by way of experiment, to outline the songs also at motifeme level, to determine in this way the nucleus idea of the songs and any rules observed by the individual shaman in constructing his songs.

14.2. *Tradition background to shaman Ukwun's songs.* Ukwun's songs quoted in stage 2E fall into ten divisions denoted by Roman numerals (see p. 124). In order to find out the tradition background of allomotifs the songs are divided into smaller sections differing from one another in content, i.e. referring to different mythological or other traditional elements. Arabic numerals are used to denote this sub-division, facilitating comparison.

I ("Kleines Fischchen Wäkan . . ."):

- 1) The background to Ukwun's first song is the concept of a giant fish residing in the middle of the sea, a concept belonging to the Chukchi religious view of the world. This giant fish is called Kaña'olhIn.⁴ Ukwun's description is thus according to tradition.
- 2) Following his "He, he, he" cries he adds a plea for an answer addressed to a spirit-helper in the form of a bird.

II ("Über der Quelle des laufenden . . ."):

- 1) and 3) Among the traditional elements of the second song is the concept of a giant bird that "flies across the sky and thunders with its iron wings". Bogoras mentions: "Thunder is said to be produced by the passing of the thunder-bird"⁵, and elsewhere: "A 'giant thunder-bird' is sometimes regarded as the same as the supernatural Raven; but more frequently it is a kind of 'giant eagle' of supernatural strength".⁶ This thundering, bird-like creature is, according to Ukwun, lightning, the Mother of the Mountain Echo.
- 2) The mountain echo is also among the mythological figures of the Chukchi, a group named by Bogoras as 'monsters'.⁷

4) The snatch of incantation probably ends, like the former one, with a plea to a spirit-helper.

III ("Hinter der Grenzen . . ."):

According to the cosmological concepts of the Chukchi there exist several worlds one on top of the other. These worlds are located symmetrically above and below the world inhabited by Man, and they are said to number five, seven or nine.⁸ In addition to these there are also other worlds: "one in each direction of the compass, which represent receiving-places for sacrifices, mentioned before; a separate world under water; and a small dark world, belonging to a female ke'lE-bird, situated somewhere above, and apart from all others."⁹ Ukwun's snatch of incantation is based on the traditional cosmological concepts:

1) According to Chukchi mythology the sky in our world touches the earth at all points on the horizon.¹⁰

2) Here we are dealing with the worlds situated at different points of the compass. The Chukchi distinguish 22 directions, which are bound to the variation in the light of the sun and the daily round. "The 'directions' of the evening are classed together as 'Darkness' . . .".¹¹

3) The moon is sometimes called the sun of the ke'lE. Bogoras also mentions: "The suns of lower worlds are often quite similar to our moon."¹²

4) In the cosmogonic drawings collected by Bogoras the different worlds are depicted as broad mountains.¹³ The world mountain drawing could also be compared to a tent, since the roofs of the 'worlds' are curved like tops of tents.

5) Compare the drawing in which Evening with his family holds a festival to the god of the sea on his own 'world' mountain.¹⁴

6) The end of the exhortation is again addressed to the spirit who is thought to break away from this black tent of the spirits and to hurry over the wide tundra and a large river, overcoming all difficulties.

IV ("An dem vorgeschobenen Kap . . ."):

1) By the place where two continents meet and where the flow of the sea turns backwards the Chukchi mean the Bering Strait.

2) The Chukchi's mythological view of the world includes the concept of moving rocks at the point where the sky and the earth meet: "Each border of the horizon is called 'Attainable Border of the Sky' (Yê^E-pkêt-ta'gIn). On the four corners of it, the rocks of the sky come down to the rocks of the earth, like moving gates, shutting and opening alternately. According to the Chukchee belief, the birds, when flying to their own world every fall,

have to pass between these rocks: therefore the gates are called 'Attainable Border of the Birds' (Ça'ha-pkêt-ta'gIn). The rocks shut so quickly that birds lagging behind are caught, and crushed between them. Their incessant movement, similar to the movement of bellows, produces winds, which blow from all sides of the horizon. The ground around the rocks is covered a fathom deep with bloody mud of pounded bird-flesh; and the feathers fly about like snow."¹⁵

3) The spirit-helper is thus thought to fly in the form of a bird over these dangerous mythological places, and the incantation again ends with a request to the spirit: "so gibt Antwort".

V ("Sprich, rede, rede! . . ."):

- 1) Plea addressed to the spirit-helper.
- 2) The brief mention "who is shovelling snow with a huge spade . . ." contains an allusion to the concept explaining the birth of the wind: "The cold winds are said to be produced by giants who live on the border of our earth, and spend their time shovelling snow with huge shovels made of the shoulder-blades of whales. Sometimes the winds are said to have an old mistress, who causes snow-storms by shaking the snow from her dwelling."¹⁶
- 3) The song ends with the order: "gib Antwort" (Answer).

VI ("Sonne, erheben deine Arme . . ."):

Ukwun's song continues after episodes 3G and 3S, because the spirit-helper did not remain permanently in the tent. Ukwun now goes on to describe the shaman's journey, his own journey in the worlds above, among the heavenly bodies. Many of the heavenly bodies, likewise the directions, are counted among the benevolent 'Beings', the "va'IrgIt". "The noun va'IrgIn signifies 'existence', 'being', 'way of living', 'acting force', 'substance'."¹⁷

1) Ukwun begins by appealing to the sun for assistance. In Chukchi mythology the sun is described as a separate 'being', a man who travels across the sky dressed in bright clothes and pulled by a dog or a reindeer.¹⁸ "The parhelia occasionally appearing in the arctic regions are explained as being the sun's mittens, while the corona is seen as its headdress."¹⁹ The Chukchi shaman may fly to heaven riding on an eagle or the thunder-bird (cf. the spirit-helpers); one way of reaching heaven is to climb the rainbow or a ray of sunshine.²⁰ This last possibility is referred to by Ukwun in "An deinem Arme Krieche ich nach oben, erreiche . . ." (On your arm I crawl upwards, reach . . .).

2) "The clouds are also considered a kind of aerial ground upon which one

may repose while ascending to the sky. In several tales, travellers who make a journey upward stop for a night's rest on the aerial ground of clouds, pitching there their tents, and in the morning they continue their journey."²¹

3) Cf. the concepts of the heavens, one on top of the other, pp. 143.

4) All the worlds are, among other things, regarded as being linked with one another through a hole under the Polar Star.²²

5), 6), 7) and 8) Ukwun appeals to the benevolent 'Beings' in various directions. Dawn and Midday are among the most important 'Directions', 'Beings' to whom sacrifices are made.²³

9) "The Milky Way is supposed to be a river, called Pebbly River(. . .), which is believed to flow toward the west and to contain numerous islands."²⁴

10) Cf. "Shooting-stars are said to be stars that go coasting down hill on sleds. The Koryak suppose that they take alms to the needy in heaven. Those that shoot away from land toward the sea carry reindeer-meat, while those that move in an opposite direction carry whale-bubbler."²⁵

11) "Castor and Pollux are two elks running away from two hunters who are driving two reindeer-teams represented by the stars γ , χ and λ , μ of the constellation Lynx."²⁶ The moon is often described as a man with a lasso.²⁷ Venus is called "the bright star", and it is also said to have many clothes, as it shines in different colours.²⁸ Of the iron bonds there is no mention in the mythological material recorded by Bogoras.

12) and 13) Neither does Bogoras mention the mythological scissors. Whose wing feathers does the shaman wish to clip, whom does he wish to catch with his lasso and place in iron bonds? It is a bird-like being, perhaps the same spirit-helper whose flight he described in the preceding songs. On the other hand it might be "the spirit of the fresh wind" appearing later and described as a bird, summoned by Ukwun to put an end to the snowstorm.

VII ("Von der Windseite . . ."):

1) The bull reindeer appearing on the windward side of the tent is Ukwun's spirit-helper.

2) Ukwun appeals to him to change places so that he can undertake the long journey in the form of a reindeer.

3) The purpose of the journey, "to discover the tent erected by his wife . . ." is mysterious. The expression may be a cliché; a similar statement is found in the two following songs describing the animal-helpers. On the other hand, remembering that the aim of the whole shamanizing was to make the storm die down, and that Ukwun tries with the aid of his spirit-helpers to make contact with the spirit of the wind, he may be referring precisely to the dwelling of this spirit.

VIII ("Ein altes Walross . . ."):

1), 2) and 3) Ukwun describes his animal-helper, an old walrus, and asks it to carry him across the sea so that he may find the tent of the spirit he is looking for.

IX ("Eine graue Eule . . ."):

A parallel to the previous song. Now the animal-helper is a grey owl.

X ("Wo bist du? . . ."):

1) The final plea is addressed to the spirit Ukwun wishes to meet. In the following episode "the spirit of the fresh wind" appears, who later, through the interpreter spirit, states that he is the spirit of Mercy.

14.3. *Tradition background to shaman Nuwat's songs.* Nuwat's songs in stage 2E fall into three divisions (denoted by Roman numerals, see p. 129), the tradition background of which is as follows:

I ("Mein Nachen . . ."):

1) Nuwat describes the shaman's flight. The vehicle is a boat, which he steers with a fish-bone rudder. The drum is also called a canoe;²⁹ the fish-bone rudder most usually refers to a drumstick made of a fish bone.

2) The boat carries two birds that can be interpreted as the shaman's spirit-helpers.

3) According to the Chukchi Man has several souls, Bogoras notes down 5—6. Ivar Paulson speaks in his analysis of the Chukchi concepts of the soul of the bodily soul, the free soul and the limb soul (*Gliederseelen*). All in all the concept complex remains somewhat unclear. The soul capable of the shaman's movement is regarded by Paulson as chiefly the free soul. "The soul of the shaman which leaves him during the trance and represents the shaman in his whole, complete, personal totality is probably precisely the free soul. But now that this form of genuine shamanic journey of the soul including trance seems to have fallen into decay among the Chukchi it is possible that the clarity of their conception of the free soul has in the process become faded."³⁰ In Nuwat's case there are two flying souls. As is evident from the following song, they travel in the guise of the spirit-helpers.

4) Cf. the shaman often sits on a reindeer skin during the séance.

II ("Das Haupt des Flicgenden . . ."):

1) The shaman likens himself to a creature flying in the dark and describes his own body as a dead trunk lying immobile among driftwood. Although

in the song the travellers are described as being in human form and the shaman's spirit-helpers are still, according to the song, birds, it is obvious that the object of identification are still the spirit-helpers, i.e. the shaman's two souls journey in the bodies of two spirit-helpers. Correspondingly Ukwun tells of his owl-like spirit: "Auf ihren Flügen fliege ich auf die Suche" (On her wings I fly in search) (see p. 126). The idea that the shaman cannot merely send his spirits to the place he desires but himself turns into a spirit is familiar from Chukchi mythology: "... in the tale of the Shaman with Warts (Kuku'-lpin), this shaman, during a shamanistic contest, asks his adversary, 'Which ke'le are you going to employ?' The other answers, 'The small hawk.' — 'And you?' — 'The great diver.' Then they turn into these birds, and the contest begins."³¹

2) The purpose of the shaman's journey is the acquisition of knowledge.

III ("Schon scit . . ."):

1) The shaman speaks of his round sail, again a reference to a boat as a means of conveyance.

Nuwat's 5S songs fall into 14 divisions according to Bogoras's notes (and also according to their themes). (They are designated with Roman numerals, see p. 131.) The function of the songs is different from that of the songs described above. The shaman no longer calls his spirit-helpers. Instead he informs the onlookers of the stages in his journey to the other world.

I ("Ich bin wieder da . . ."):

1) The shaman announces his return

2) and says that he has travelled in the sky, the sea, and inside the earth.

II ("Ich erhob . . ."):

1) See the explanations to Ukwun's song, p. 143.

2) According to Chukchi mythology the inhabitants of the upper world, called the "Upper People" or the "Dawn-People", pitch their tent on land made up of clouds and live the same sort of life as humans.³² The medium of Nuwat's flight is again a sail, in other words the drum.

III ("Ich sah, wie der . . ."):

No mention of the collision between the lower and upper moon in Bogoras.

IV ("Ich sah, wie der Osten . . ."):

The points of the compass, or the deities living in them, are in Chukchi

mythology counted among the most important benevolent spirits. "While there are numerous varieties of 'benevolent spirits', the most prominent are the 'benevolent spirits sacrificed to' (taaro'nyo va'IrgIt), those to whom people bring sacrifices. They live in all 'directions' of the compass, or are even themselves the 'directions' of the compass in their connection with a special stage of sunlight and of day-time which corresponds to each separate 'direction'."³³ Thus East and West could be included among these benevolent beings. Although there is no direct point of comparison for the concepts contained in the verse, it can with reasonable certainty be assumed as having its origin in some myth. According to one myth Dawn and Moonlight had a common wife that a certain shaman tried through devious dealings to take as his own. A shamanic contest was held to see, among other things, who could leap across a stream of boiling water or a ravine full of sharp blades.³⁴

V ("Ieh sah, wie die Geister . . ."):

The "spirits of the Northern Lights" are the spirits of those who have met with a sudden or violent death. Bogoras also says that the moving rays of the Northern Lights are the dead, running and playing ball on a living walrus.³⁵

VI ("Ieh sah die Töchter der Dämmerung . . ."):

Cf. the shining robes of the 'Sun'.³⁶

VII ("Ieh sah die Herrscherin . . ."):

According to Findeisen parallel to the Sedna concept of the Eskimos.³⁷ Bogoras also mentions Chuhehi tales of a goddess ruling the fish of the sea, but he is not sure whether the phenomenon is genetically related to the Sedna tradition of the Eskimos.³⁸

VIII ("Ieh sah die Schönheit . . ."):

Narginen = "The cosmos, or the universe in the conception as the highest deity of the Chukhi."³⁹

IX ("Ich stieg bis . . ."):

The worlds beneath the earth are also situated one on top of the other, and life is much the same as on earth. The first world beneath the earth is inhabited by ke'IE, the next by the souls of the dead.⁴⁰

X ("Ich sah den Schatten . . ."):

The description of the underworld continues. A cliff, for example, is seen as a mirror image. The description may also take in references to the animation of Nature.⁴¹

XI ("Die Leute . . ."):

Nuwat describes the life of the dead, cf.: "The houses of the deceased are said to be large round tents without any seams, and shining like bubbles of saliva. Their reindeer-herds are numerous, and consist of animals brought for sacrifice or slaughtered for meat, and of wild reindeer killed in the hunt."⁴²

XII—XIII ("Da kamen zwei . . ."):

Nuwat sees a reindeer Chukchi who killed himself because of his great age arriving in the camp of the deceased.

XIV ("Blut . . ."):

The singing is interrupted by a vision seen by the shaman: blood on the tent poles.

14.4. *Construction of the songs on the basis of tradition.* In shamanizing in order to end the long snowstorm Nuwat and Ukwun tried to gain contact with the spirit world by means of acts describing its inhabitants and topography. The song episodes hold a central position in the séance procedure. In directing the shaman's thoughts at the supranormal reality they constitute the heart of the mental process required to achieve ecstasy. On the other hand the shaman may — like Nuwat — use them to pass on information about events in the other world. The songs of the Chukchi shaman are partly a tradition handed down from one generation to another, and during his initiatory period the young novice must carefully internalize them. In part they arise during the initiatory period. The birth of the songs of shaman Tyljuwija, for example, is reported by Bogoras as follows: "Others were invented by Tyljuwija during the mysterious months she spent in the Polog, underwent the change of sex and tried, by means of shamanic art, to protect herself against the persecution of the terrible spirit of the unknown disease."⁴³ The Chukchi call the initiatory period by a special term meaning 'he gathers shamanic strength'.⁴⁴ It is a difficult period, especially for men, and it lasts for months, even years. Some novices wander restlessly over the tundra, some remain in the tent shamanizing and sleeping. Characteristic of the

preparatory stage are the long periods of sleep during which the shamans see visions and communicate with the spirits. Shaman Aiñanwa't, for example, says that he slept during the smallpox epidemic of 1884, during which he lost his family, for two weeks, keeping company with the spirits. The spirits manifest themselves and offer their services in many different ways. Shaman Scratching-Woman had obtained her spirits in the following way:

"He [Scratching-Woman] brought some of the entering 'spirits' to my special notice. One was a fawn of a wild reindeer, found by him in the wilderness beside the carcass of its mother, which had been killed by a wolf. The fawn, when he found it, was trying to suck the carcass. The strange sight had evidently struck Scratching-Woman, and he took the fawn for one of his assisting ke'let. The 'spirit' manifested his presence by characteristic short snorts, peculiar to the fawn when calling for its mother. Another 'spirit' entered with a dismal howl. This was the wolf who killed the reindeer-dam."⁴⁵

Every shaman has some songs of his own that are generally known. If the shaman borrows the song of another the listeners notice immediately. Improvisation also plays an important part in the performance of the songs.

To increase the effect of his call the shaman improvises new songs. The order of the songs is not set. The shaman varies them at will, returning after a suitable time to the first one.⁴⁶ The invocation of the spirits lasts for a quarter to half an hour, or even longer, after which the first ke'le appears.

Examination of Ukwun's and Nuwat's songs in the light of the Chukchei belief tradition showed that they are completely bound to tradition. The songs repeat the themes of the belief tradition or myths. Allusion-like references to some myth appear to be very common, such as the mention at the beginning of Ukwun's songs of a huge fish in the middle of the sea, this being a mythic allusion. It is clear from e.g. Ukwun's extensive descriptions of the cosmos that the information has been well digested; the shaman commands the phenomena of the supranormal reality just as well as those of this world — it is part of his organized view of the world. Comparison of only two shamans' songs already reveals that the shamans pick out slightly different motifs from the common store of tradition. The songs become individual according to the tradition the singer includes in them and how he brings out his traditional knowledge. The improvisation is thus easy to understand: once the knowledge of the phenomena of the supranormal reality is sufficiently broad and sufficiently well internalized the shaman may freely draw on whichever of the themes he deems suitable. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine from either Ukwun's or Nuwat's songs to what extent they are repeated in the same form at various séances, i.e. to what extent they draw on an established, recurring tradition and to what extent the songs arose spontaneously

as the occasion demanded. Their fundamental content, likewise the basic structure underlying the variations on the themes, is revealed at motifeme level.

The following is a list of the recurring elements typical of shamanic songs and appearing in the songs of Ukwun and Nuwat. These elements we call motifemes. They are accompanied by examples of an allomotif belonging to the sphere of the motifeme.

<i>motifeme</i>		<i>motifeme signum</i>	<i>allomotif example</i>
Description of spirit	a	U. VII 1:	Von der Windseite her erscheint bei meinem Zelte ein Rentierbulle mit einem siebenendigen Geweih, . . . Er wittert den bittern Duft meines Rauches, er atmet den Geruch meines Lagers ein . . .
Call of plea for answer addressed to spirit	b	U. X 1:	Wo bist du? Wo bist du? . . . Erscheine, erscheine, erscheine!
Shaman's journey in form of spirit	c	U. IX 2:	Auf ihren Flügeln fliege ich auf die Suche; ich werde neun Himmel und neun verschiedene Welten durchforschen . . .
Spirit's journey	d	U. I 2:	Wenn du beim Vorbeifliegen mit deiner Flügelspitze an das Land Ljuren stösst . . .
Description of shaman's journey	e	N. II 1:	Ich erhob mich über die Grenzen der Welt, . . . Meine Füße wandelten auf der Rückseite des Himmels.
Activities of the shaman in the underworld	f	U. VI 12:	Ich werfe auf ihn das dreifach geflochtene Lasso, umwinde ihn mit den eisernen Fesseln und binde ihm die eiserne Kette um den Leib.
Description of supranormal place	g	U. III 1,2:	Hinter den Grenzen der durch die Sonne beschienenen Erde, hinter dem Gestande des traurigen Landes des Abends liegt das Gebiet der ewigen Finsternis.
Description of supranormal being (other than spirit)	h	U. I 1:	Kleines Fischchen Wäkan! . . . He, he! Es wuchs heran, es wurde grösser als ein Walfisch. He! Es liegt inmitten des offenen Meeres. Sein Hals

		wurde gleichsam zu einer Insel, sein Rücken dehnte sich wie das Festland aus.
Plea addressed to supranormal being (other than spirit)	i	U. VI 1: Sonne, erhebe deine Arme . . . zeige dem Monde deine Fausthandschuhe . . .
Purpose of shaman's journey	j	U. VII 2: um das von seiner Frau errichtete Zelt zu entdecken . . .
Shaman's return	k	N. I 1,2: Ich bin wieder da, wieder da, wieder da! . . . Ich bin auf den Schlitten einer Sternschnuppe vom Himmel heruntergefahren . . .
Address to supranormal being (other than spirit)	l	N. XIII: Weshalb sind ihre Augen nach rückwärts gewendet? . . .

By examining the manifestation of the above motifemes we can group the songs of shaman Ukwun in stage 2E into the following motifeme sequences (the Roman number refers to the signum of the song):

- I: h / d / b
- II: h / d / b
- III: g / d / b
- IV: g / d / b
- V: h / — / b
-
- VI: i / e / i (repeat) / f
- VII: a / c / j
- VIII: a / c / j
- IX: a / c / j
- X: b

Nuwat's 2E themes divide up as follows:

- I: a / c
- II: c / cj
- III: c / —

His 5S song episode (I—XIII) comprises a long motifeme sequence that can be divided into three parts:

- I: k / k / k / k

II—VIII: e / h / h / h / h / h / h

IX—XIII: e / gh / gh / h / l / gh

Reduced to motifeme level the songs give rise to two notable observations: 1) the same motifemes are repeated in the 2E songs of both Ukwun and Nuwat, whereas Nuwat's 5S song proves to be radically different, and 2) Ukwun's songs fall into clear structural units, Nuwat's songs remaining more indefinite in their motifeme combinations. That the songs in acts 2E and 5S should be different is natural. The motifeme distributions reflect the functional difference of the songs. In the 2E songs the spirit-helpers hold a central position. Shaman Ukwun's motifeme sequences also show the way in which the actualization of the spirit roles and the assimilating with them takes place. He begins by describing the distant borders of the supranormal world and the mythological beings residing there, at the same time mentioning that each spirit-helper moves through these distant places, and adding an invocation to the spirit at the end of each episode. He then proceeds to a song technique in which he describes the forms of his different spirit-helpers in turn. Associated with each description of a spirit is a motifeme the basic idea of which is a vision of the shaman's journey in the underworld in the form of or with the aid of the spirit-helper, and a justification for the journey. In his songs the shaman thus literally brings the spirit-helpers nearer. He localizes them in the supranormal world, calls them to him, describes their form, and finally identifies with this form. This is the cognitive process of role-taking in which Ukwun localizes the supranormal roles in the reality of the other world, constructs the fundamental features of the role in his mind and momentarily identifies with the role in order to create a reciprocal role relationship. Nuwat's 2E songs contain almost exclusively identification themes the content of which is proof of the young shaman's rare capacity for entering into events. As Bogoras notes, the situation was exceptional, listening to the old shaman's singing had opened up the way to the other world for Nuwat. It must be noted that although in both his 2E and his 5S songs Nuwat describes his journey to the underworld, in the former it is a question of journeying in the form of the spirit-helper, i.e. identification with the spirit-helper, whereas in the latter the doer and the observer is the shaman himself. Nuwat begins his 5S song "I saw . . .", describing to his listeners what he experienced in his recent journey to the underworld. The spirit-helpers have acted as the shaman's links with the spirit world and they are no longer of any significance as he informs his listeners of the stages in his successful journey. The repeat of the 'shaman's return' motifeme beginning the song episode already points to the functional nature of the songs.

The construction of Ukwun's songs from clear motifeme sequences, which

furthermore appear to constitute a logical succession as regards the shaman's role-taking technique, points (although as an example it is only of an experimental nature) at the conformities guiding the shaman as he creates his songs.

15. SÉANCE OF A TRANSVESTITE CHUKCHI SHAMAN

15.1. *Background.* Ritual change of sex is a feature peculiar to Paleo-Asian shamanism. Mircea Eliade points out that the phenomenon is also known among certain tribes in Indonesia and North and South America. He assumes that symbolic transformation into a woman is probably explained by an ideology derived from the archaic matriarchy, but it does not indicate any priority of women in earliest shamanism.¹ Eliade may be right in his assumption: it is characteristic of the four Paleo-Asian peoples (the Chukchi, the Koryaks, the Asiatic Eskimos and the Itel'mens) whose shamans are known to have practised ritual change of sex² that their patriarchal clan system was imperfect or lacking, and they possessed marked features indicating an earlier matriarchy.³ Observers have likewise emphasized the important role of the woman in the social life of e.g. the Eskimos and the Itel'mens.⁴ As a whole there are numerous similarities in the religious life of these small peoples, their economic structure and material culture. They are evident in both their mythology (e.g. the idea of raven-creator) and in the great annual rituals connected with their source of livelihood. Other special features common to the Paleo-Asians were family shamanism⁵ and the small range or lack of the shaman's external attributes.

Bogoras observed the performance of a transvestite shaman among the coastal Chukchi.⁶ Tyljuwija was one of the most powerful shamans in the region and 'irkaljaul', a man who had changed into a woman. He was married to Jatirgin, a travelling Chukchi trader, and did all the women's household work. Bogoras describes the unusual figure of Tilu'wgi (Findeisen writes in German Tyljuwija): He was a large and well-developed man with a strange "femininely tragic" expression.⁷ Although by birth Tyljuwija was a coastal Chukchi, the family owned some reindeer and went in for reindeer breeding. The shaman was estimated by Bogoras as being around 35 years of age, and his change of sex had begun at a very early age following a serious illness. He had recovered from the illness by singing and drumming, in other words this was the initiatory stage. Mentally the change of sex was complete. He was extremely shy, easily blushed, and in every way behaved like a woman. Jatirgin, a steady man of medium height, believed that with time his wife would, with the help of the spirits, also change physically into a woman.⁸

15.2. *Description of the rite process*⁹

1A: Tyljuwijas Trommel wies die gewöhnlich bei den Tschuktschen übliche Form auf. Sie war klein und rund, hatte einen dünnen, hölzernen Reifen und ein aussergewöhnlich klangvolles Fell, das aus der Magenwand eines Walrosses bestand. Zwei ziemlich dünne Stäbe aus Fischbein, die als Schlegel dienten, waren an der kurzen hölzernen Handhabe der Trommel angebunden.

Nach einigen Minuten wurde die Lampe ausgelöscht, und wir sassen schweigend in der undurchdringlichen Finsternis in Erwartung der kommenden Dinge.

2D: — E-he-he-he-hej! — begann Tyljuwija mit einem schweren hysterischen Seufzer, der sich wie ein schmerzlicher Ton aus ihrer Kehle entrang und mit einem Schlag alle Winkel des Pologs erfüllte. Anscheinend stellte die Notwendigkeit, ihre Nerven zu der Höhe der schamanistischen Ekstase heraufzustimmen, für ihre Seele eine drückende Belastung dar.

— E-he-he-he-hej! A-jaka-jaka-jaka-jakaj!

Ein betäubendes Getrommel kurzer und häufig wiederholter Schläge rollte und donnerte nun über unseren Köpfen dahin, prallte von den engen Wänden des Pelzkastens ab und war gleichsam bestrebt, einen Ausgang zu finden und hinaus ins Freie zu dringen.

— Hou, hou, hou, hou! — begann Tyljuwija zu singen, wobei sie bemüht war, mit ihrer Stimme sorgfältig einen ungewöhnlich komplizierten Gesang hervorzubringen, der sehr an das Geheul eines Schneesturmes in der Tundra erinnerte.

— Bobbo, bobbo, bobbo, bobbo! . . . Hou, hou, hou, hou! — Dem Brauche der tschuktschischen Schamanen gemäss, benützte Tyljuwija ihre Trommel zur Verstärkung der Laute. Bald hielt sie das Instrument gerade vor ihren Mund, dann bewegte sie es nach oben und unten; dann wiederum rückte sie es in die verschiedensten Winkel weg. Jatir'igin und Aiganwat feuerten sie mit den üblichen Ausrufen sympathischen Erstaunens an. — Hytsch! Hytsch! . . . Recht so! . . .

Infolge der akustischen Eigentümlichkeiten des Pologs konnte man nicht mehr feststellen, woher eigentlich diese Laute kamen, und wir hatten aufgehört, Tyljuwijas Stimme mit jenem uns bekannten Platze links im Polog in Verbindung zu bringen, wo die Schamanin sass; meistens schien sie von einem unabhängigen Mittelpunkt auszugehen, der sich ungefähr in der Mitte der Decke befand, dann durchflog sie den Polog von rechts nach links und umgekehrt, kreiste über unseren Häupten und stiess an die Wände. Tyljuwijas Stimme wurde immer lauter, das Getrommel des Schlegels verwandelte sich aus einem häufig ertönenden Wirbel in ein ununterbrochenes Dröhnen, aber die Geister wollten einfach nicht kommen.

— Komm, komm, komm! — rief Tyljuwija. — A-jaka-jaka-jakaj! . . . Bobbo, bobbo, bobbo! . . .

— Uch! — seufzte sie und hörte plötzlich mit dem Trommeln auf. — Die Trommel ist schlecht, sie besitzt nur wenig Klangfülle. Die Stimme dringt nicht bis zur jenseitigen Welt.

2E: Nach einer Minute ging die Beschwörung mit verdoppelter Kraft von

neum los. Während der Schlegel auf die Trommel niederprasselte, ertönten nacheinander die wunderlichsten Gesänge. Die einen von ihnen waren vor vielen Jahrhunderten von Schamanen verfasst, von einer Generation der anderen überliefert worden und wurden jeweils von den neuen Jüngern der Schamanenkunst sorgfältig dem Gedächtnis eingeprägt. Andere waren von Tyljuwija während jener geheimnisvollen Monate erdacht worden, als sie im Polog lag, die Umwandlung ihres Geschlechts erlitt und sich bemühte, sich mittels der Schamanenkunst von den Verfolgungen des schrecklichen Geistes der unbekannten Krankheit zu schützen. Wiederum andere waren ein Erzeugnis der Improvisation und entstanden bei jeder neuen Anrufung der Geister. Zu meinem Erstaunen konnte ich in diesem Chaos wirrer und formloser Klänge Bruchstücke erhaschen, die sich durch eine eigenartige Schönheit auszeichneten und sogar eine Melodie aufwiesen, während sonst im allgemeinen eine solche dem Gesange der hiesigen Stämme Nordostasiens völlig fremd ist.

— Komm, komm, komm! — rief Tyljuwija.

— Hou, hou, hou! Ubbu-uu, buu, buu, buu! . . .

Mir schien es, als dauerte Tyljuwijas Gesang weiss Gott schon wie lange. Die im Polog herrschende stickige und schwüle Luft hatte mir den Kopf benebelt, und ich war ganz unerwartet für mich selbst eingeschlummert.

3G: Wieder erweckt wurde ich durch einen hohen, sonderbaren Laut, der etwas rechts, weit ausserhalb der Grenzen des Pologs und des Zeltes selbst, in einer ungewöhnlichen Höhe erscholl.

Die Geister hatten nun endlich zu kommen geruht.

— Hytsch! — wollte Aiganwat rufen, aber seine Stimme brach ab. Es war ihm nicht recht wohl zumute.

Der Laut ertönte noch einmal ausserhalb des Pologs, diesmal jedoch aus einer merkbar geringeren Entfernung.

2E: — Komm, komm, komm, herbei! — rief Tyljuwija.

Nach einer Minute begann sie von neuem auf die Trommel loszuhämmern und mit ungewöhnlicher Kraft zu schnauben. Die Trommel vollführte nun einen wahren Höllenlärm, und man konnte deutlich unterscheiden, dass nun zwei Schlegel am Werk waren und nicht mehr bloss einer. Der Geist war in den Polog gedrungen und half Tyljuwija bei ihren Schamanenkünsten.

— Meine Trommel ist schlecht! — sagte Tyljuwija und unterbrach das Trommeln. — Du selbst siehst es! . . . Blase sie an, damit sie klangvoller wird!

3G: Aus dem entgegengesetzten Winkel des Pologs erschollen solche seltsame und unerwartete Laute, die, halberstickt und von einem unerklärlichen Röcheln begleitet, freilich nur einem Geist angehören konnten.

— Dies ist ihr Mann! — sagte Jatirgin in ziemlich leisem Tone zu mir. — Ihr zweiter, wirklicher Mann! . . . Hör nur, was jetzt kommt! . . .

Trotz ihres übernatürlichen Wesens hatte die Stimme des zweiten Mannes eine ziemlich deutliche Ähnlichkeit mit Tyljuwijas Stimme. Sie war ebenso heiser, erkältet und gab anstatt eines vollen Klanges nur ein röchelndes Flüstern von sich. Tyljuwija erklärte uns sogleich die Ursache dieser Ähnlichkeit.

3S: — Er sagt, er habe sich erkältet und sei krank. Deshalb habe er zuerst auch nicht kommen wollen, — verdolmetschte sie uns die unverständlichen Worte des Geistes.

3H: — Erkältet ihr euch denn auch? — fügte sie lachend hinzu.

Als Antwort ertönte eine Reihe von heiseren, unverständlichen und nur mit Mühe hervorgepressten Worten und zwar diesmal schon aus einem anderen Winkel. Der Geist hatte unterdessen seinen Platz gewechselt und befand sich jetzt bei meinen Füßen.

— Warum gehst du denn umher! — fragte Tyljuwija unzufrieden.

— Schluss damit! Hier, blase auf die Trommel!

Man hörte das scharfe Blasen unsichtbarer Lippen.

Das Trommelfell erzitterte und knallte. Die Trommel sprang empor und stiess an der niederen Decke an.

— Oho! — sagte Tyljuwija.

Daraufhin erscholl ein solch betäubendes Geprassel beider Schlegel, dass ich mir unwillkürlich die Ohren zuhielt.

— Du hörst es! — sagte Jatirgin, — das ist eine ganz andere Trommel! . . .

Die Trommel hatte wirklich an Klang gewonnen, und die Schlegel prasselten jetzt mit solcher Wucht auf das Fell nieder, dass ich ganz entschiedene Bedenken hinsichtlich der Unversehrtheit der über unseren Köpfen befindlichen schwankenden Decke aus Pelzwerk hegte.

6I: Nachdem Tyljuwijas geheimnisvoller Ehegemahl ein wenig mit ihr zusammen getrommelt hatte, entfernte sich der Besuch aus der jenseitigen Welt in der entgegengesetzten Richtung, von der er gekommen war, und der letzte Ton seiner Stimme erscholl wieder in unermesslicher Höhe ausserhalb des Zeltes, diesmal jedoch von links.

2E, 3G, 3H, 6I: Nach ihm erschien eine ganze Reihe von Geistern, die sich uns mit einer unendlichen Mannigfaltigkeit von Lauten vorstellten.

Das heisere Krächzen eines Raben gegan kaum hörbar in der Ferne. Allmählich kam der Geist näher, fuhr wie ein Sturm in den Polog, flog mit lautem Flügelschlag auf die Trommel zu, trommelte mit dem Reserve-schlegel wütend darauf los und entschwebte wieder in die nächtliche Ferne. Wolfsgeheul drang aus der Tiefe der Erde, näherte sich dann und erscholl im Polog selbst. Nachdem dieser Geist auch etwas getrommelt hatte, entfernte er sich seinerseits wieder nach oben. Ein unsichtbarer Hund erschien auf die Beschwörung der Schamanin hin und schüttelte sich mit solcher Wucht über der Trommel, dass die Wände des Pologs erheben und erzitterten. Die unnatürlichsten Stimmen kamen von verschiedenen Seiten herbeigeflogen, donnerten, röchelten, brummen und heulten in den verschiedenen Winkeln des Pologs, irrten hin und her, redeten abgebrochene Sätze in einer unverständlichen Sprache und entschwebten wieder in der Ferne. Es erübrigt sich zu sagen, dass zwei Stimmen nie gleichzeitig erschollen, und dass Tyljuwijas Schamanengesang nur in den Zwischenpausen zwischen den Lauten der Geister ertönte.

Dafür liess ihre Hand den Schlegel keinen Augenblick los und entlockte die ganze Zeit hindurch der Trommel ein scharfes, hartes Geprassel, das

von Zeit zu Zeit durch die Begleitung eines zweiten Schlegels verstärkt wurde, da es jeder Besucher aus der jenseitigen Welt für seine Pflicht hielt, vor uns als magischer Trommler zu glänzen. Leider stellte es sich bald heraus, dass trotz Tyljuwijas gutem Willen das Interesse an der Schamanen Vorstellung sich nicht steigern liess, da diese keinen bestimmten Zweck verfolgte. Viele Geister fragten uns bei ihrem Erscheinen, was wir von ihnen wollten, und wir konnten ihnen auf diese einfache Frage keine Antwort geben. Es war kein Kranker unter uns, den man hätte Erleichterung verschaffen müssen, und wenn jeder von uns auch Feinde hatte, so konnte sich doch niemand dazu entschliessen, die Geister zu bitten, sie sollten Strafe und Verderben auf diese herabsenden. Manchmal gab ihnen Tyljuwija die treuherzige Antwort, ein neugieriger Fremdling wünsche ihre Stimme zu hören und habe sie gebeten, sie für kurze Zeit aus ihrer über den Wolken befindlichen Welt herbeizurufen. Übrigens verhielten sich die Geister dieser aufdringlichen Neugierde gegenüber recht gutmütig und wollten anscheinend nur nicht lange bei uns im Polog verweilen, wo keine bestimmten Bitten oder kein Versprechen sie zurückhielt. Nachdem sie mit einigen unverständlichen Worten oder einfach nur mit Geschrei ihre Anwesenheit kundgetan und ein wenig getrommelt hatten, entfernten sie sich gleich wieder und machten ihren Platz für andere Geister frei.

Viele schlugen uns als Zeichen besonderer Liebenswürdigkeit vor, "ihren Atem" hören zu lassen und stimmten zu diesem Zwecke ihre Gesänge an, welche übrigens nicht im geringsten von den Gesängen Tyljuwijas selbst verschieden waren. Zwei cholerisch veranlagte Geister, die fast gleichzeitig von entgegengesetzten Richtungen erschienen waren, begannen im reinsten Tschuktschisch auf einander loszuschimpfen und wollten sich sogar prügeln, wurden jedoch von den Ermahnungen der Schamanin davon abgehalten. Einige der Geister zeigten sich zu Scherzen aufgelegt. Sie warfen das Geschirr um und rüttelten es durcheinander, verschütteten das Wasser aus dem Kessel in verschiedene Richtungen, zerrten unter uns das Bett hervor, ja sie bewarfen uns sogar mit Holzseiten, ohne dass wir wussten, woher sie diese genommen hatten. Einmal hob gar eine unsichtbare Hand den Polog über unseren Häuptern ein wenig in die Höhe, und wir erblickten einen Augenblick lang das matte Licht des gestirnten Nachthimmels, das durch die Rauchöffnung ins hohe Zelt drang. Während dieser ganzen Zeit schlug Tyljuwijas Hand unablässig auf die Trommel los und bewies damit, dass die Schamanin keinen Anteil an diesen Streichen hatte. Wenn das originelle Milieu nicht gewesen wäre, hätte man meinen können, man befände sich auf einer spiritistischen Sitzung, die irgendwo, viele Tausende von Werst von dieser Polarwüste entfernt, abgehalten würde.

Es muss hier noch bemerkt werden, dass es bei den Miniaturausmassen des Pologs für unsere Gäste aus der jenseitigen Welt weit schwieriger war, sich nicht von uns erhaschen zu lassen, aber sie tanzten uns buchstäblich vor der Nasenspitze herum, ohne einen überflüssigen Lärm zu machen oder irgend jemanden anzustossen.

Länger als die anderen verweilte bei uns ein Geist, der nach seinen eigenen Worten von der neunten Weltsphäre gekommen war. Es war dies eine Person weiblichen Geschlechts, die anfangs in der gewohnten unverständlichen Sprache redete, die den himmlischen Reichen eigen ist. Auf die Aufforderung

Tyljuwijas, sie möge doch tschuktschisch sprechen, drückte sie die Besorgnis aus, wir möchten sie wegen ihrer Aussprache auslachen, dann aber begann sie dennoch zu reden, wobei sie wirklich in barbarischer Weise murmelte und die Laute verschluckte.

Sie erklärte, sie habe sich nur schwer entschliessen können, zu uns zu kommen, da sie eine grosse Stubenhockerin sei und nur selten fremden Leuten einen Besuch abstatte, aber sie habe Tyljuwija ihre Bitte nicht abschlagen wollen. Wahrscheinlich war sie irgendeine alte Jungfer, denn sie unterliess es nicht, in einem recht gezierten Tone hinzuzufügen, sie schäme sich in Gegenwart von soviel Männern.

3S: Als sie ihren Gesang beendet und ein wenig mit dem Schlegel auf der Trommel herumgetrommelt hatte, zeigte sie jedoch keine besondere Eile, wieder fortzukommen und wollte nach einigen unbedeutenden Gesprächen ihre Pflicht als Schutzgeist erfüllen. Sie begann nun vermittels verschiedener wunderlicher Redewendungen uns darzutun, dass Jatirgin einen Feind besitze, vor dem er sich in acht nehmen müsse. Nach weiteren Erläuterungen stellte es sich heraus, dass der hochgewachsene Enmuwija, der unlängst im Kampfe der Gegner von Tyljuwijas Mann gewesen war, dieser Feind war. Es zeigte sich, dass Enmuwija in der verflossenen Nacht Beschwörungen ins Werk gesetzt hatte, um Jatirgins Kraft zu schwächen. Aus diesem Grund war es ihm auch gelungen, ihn zweimal hochzuheben und rückwärts auf den Boden zu schleudern.

Um ihn zu trösten, gebrauchte sie einige unklare Ausdrücke, die anscheinend eine Drohung gegen Enmuwija enthielten. Als sie mit Jatirgin fertig war, fing sie an, Aiganwat die Hölle heiss zu machen. Sie sagte ihm, er habe irgendwelche "schwarze Bewohner der Einöde, die zu Fuss gehen" beleidigt, aber sie wollte um keinen Preis nähere Erläuterungen geben. Endlich verlied ich meiner Vermutung Ausdruck, es müsse sich um Bären handeln. Aiganwat erschrack ernstlich, besonders, als der unsichtbare Gast ihm drohte, er werde zur Strafe für die den "Schwarzen" zugefügten Beleidigungen seine Kraft einbüssen und nicht mehr imstande sein, seiner Lieblingsbeschäftigung, der Jagd auf wilde Rentiere, nachzugehen. In aufgeregtem Tone begann er sich zu rechtfertigen und versicherte, er habe die "zu Fuss gehenden Schwarzen" niemals beleidigt. Ich erinnerte ihn daran, dass er im vergangenen Jahre während einer unserer Reisen auf seinen Skiern fortgefahren war und eine Bärenhöhle besichtigt hatte.

— Ich bin nicht schuld! — antwortete er mir vorwurfsvoll. — Du bist schuld! Du hast mich geschickt! ... Dort war nichts los, nur eine leere Höhle ...

6I: Mochte es sich nun verhalten wie es wollte, jedenfalls blieb dieser Umstand ungeklärt, da der interessante Gast plötzlich sagte, ihm werde der Atem schwächer. Zum Abschied klopfte er nochmals auf die Trommel und entfernte sich dann aus dem Polog, da er es eilig hatte, in seine verlassene Behausung zurückzukehren.

6E: Danach setzte Tyljuwija ihre Gesänge und Geisterbeschwörungen noch eine geraume Zeit fort, aber diese hatten für uns kein besonderes Interesse

mehr. Jatirgin schlief schliesslich ein. Aiganwat schlief nicht. Er konnte es sich nicht gestatten zu schlafen und rief von Zeit zu Zeit mit müder Stimme die Antwortformeln. Ich fühlte ebenfalls eine unüberwindliche Schlafsucht, konnte jedoch nicht den Mut aufbringen, um Tyljuwija zu bitten, sie solle die Trommel beiseite legen. Endlich begriff sie anscheinend, dass es Zeit wäre aufzuhören. Nachdem sie der Trommel eine ganze Reihe prassender Salven entlockt und an die zehn sehr lange und komplizierte Gesänge nacheinander gesungen hatte, hielt sie inne und sagte: — Es tagt schon, und wir müssen früh aufstehen . . . Ihr wollt wohl schlafen! . . .

Aiganwat und ich enthielten uns als Gäste einer direkten Antwort, nur Jatirgin drückte mit einem lauten Schnarchen aus, was er darüber dachte.

8Y: — Morgen wird eine religiöse Zeremonie stattfinden, da wird es für uns Schamanen noch viel zu tun geben! — sagte Tyljuwija. — Wenn aber der da will, — fügte sie nach einer kurzen Pause hinzu, wobei sie offensichtlich mich meinte, — so bin ich bereit, meine Schamanenkünste spielen zu lassen, bis es heller Tag wird . . .

Von dieser Aussicht erschreckt, erklärte ich schliesslich, dass ich völlig zufriedengestellt wäre. Die Lampe wurde nun wieder angezündet, Jatirgin erwachte und rieb sich verwirrt die Augen. Tyljuwija jedoch wollte anscheinend nicht schlafen und schaute auch nicht aus, als ob sie schläfrig wäre. Der tragische Ausdruck ihres Gesichtes wurde nun vom stolzen Bewusstsein ihrer Schamanenkraft und der Zufriedenheit über ihren Erfolg gemildert. Sie hatte ihr früheres, schüchternes Wesen abgelegt und lächelte sogar, als sie meinem Blick begegnete, wobei sie ihren riesigen Mund öffnete, der mit zwei Reihen kräftiger weisser Zähne ausgestattet war.

— Du bist nicht müde. Das ist erstaunlich! — sagte ich. — Wir sind schon vom Zuhören müde geworden, dir aber hat es gar nichts ausgemacht! . . .

— Wie hätte ich denn müde werden sollen? — wandte die Schamanin ein. — Ich habe nur ein wenig gesungen; die meiste Arbeit haben die Geister geleistet . . . Die Trommel hat mich einst auch von meiner Krankheit geheilt . . .

Nach fünf Minuten lagen wir alle in tiefem Schlaf und hatten sämtliche Geister vergessen.

15.3. *Commentary.* The condensing of the structure of the séance slightly confuses the successive actualization and deactualization of the spirit-helpers. The account does not clearly state how many spirits appear and the order in which they are deactualized. The shamanizing can nevertheless be regarded as containing sequences 1 and 2, then sequences 3 and 6 in repeated form, and finally sequence 8.

Preparatory stage (1): The description of the preparatory stage is brief: those present sit quietly in complete darkness concentrating on the coming event. There is no mention of Tyljuwija's transfer to the role of shaman. Bogoras states that the preparations for a séance may sometimes

last an hour.¹⁰ There is no dressing stage as the shaman performs undressed to achieve more freedom of movement.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Tyljuwija has taken on the role of shaman and begins to actualize her supranormal counter-roles (2D). His invocatory cries "E-he-he-he-hej!", "A-jaka-jaka-jaka-jakaj" can be interpreted as an imitation of her animal-helpers, though Bogoras does not directly name their significance. Only the "Hou, hou, hou, hou!" cry is, he says, reminiscent of the howling of a snowstorm on the tundra, and since the spirit of the wind is one of the possible spirits of the Chukchi shaman, we can assume that Tyljuwija is imitating its voice and thus calling it to him. The roles of assistant supporting the shaman are taken up by Aiganwat and Jatirgin, who from time to time make the encouraging remarks: "Hytsch! Hytsch! Recht so!" The content of the rites performed during act 2E is not covered by Bogoras. From other Chukchi accounts we can assume that while singing them Tyljuwija takes the roles of his spirit-helpers and possibly some other mythological beings and recalls the traditional concepts associated with shamanizing.

Of interest is the way in which Tyljuwija wearies of his drum at the end of act 2D. He complains that the drum has a poor sound. It will not bear him to the other world. After a pause of a few minutes he begins to hit it again with doubled strength. The Chukchi shamans did in fact use the drum, their medium for calling the spirits, with great skill. Bogoras says: "He beats the drum and sings his introductory tunes, at first in a low voice; then gradually his voice increases in volume, and soon it fills the small closed-up room with its violent clamor. The narrow walls resound in all directions. Moreover, the shaman uses his drum for modifying his voice, now placing it directly before his mouth, now turning it at an oblique angle, and all the time beating it violently."¹¹

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The first spirit manifests its arrival by shouting in a high voice, i.e. Tyljuwija manifests the role of the spirit by the art of ventriloquism (3G). He in fact has a dual role — on the one hand he acts in the role of shaman, calling the spirit and drumming constantly, and on the other hand he brings out the role of the spirit through ventriloquism. The dual role is concretized in e.g. the use of two drumsticks. The spirit is presumed to drum with one of the sticks. The act contains one traditional feature that is not found in the shamanizings of either Ukwun or Nuwat. Tyljuwija complains to the newly-arrived spirit that the drum is poor and asks the spirit to blow on it. Bogoras does in fact mention that often on its arrival a spirit offers to try its breath, "that is, he (the shaman)

beats the drum for a while, singing a tune in the special harsh voice peculiar to the 'spirit'.¹² This does not take long, and the spirit then either begins to speak or leaves. In some cases, especially at séances held to heal a sick person, the shaman complains to the first spirit to appear that the drum is broken. The spirit then mends it by breathing upon it. The purpose of the deed is to determine the patient's hopes of recovery, in other words it is a means of prophesy. If the drum is taken as mended, the patient has a good chance of recovery.

On the arrival of the second spirit (3G) the above situation is repeated after a change of role. The shaman thus manifests various spirit roles, at the same time retaining throughout the task of shaman. During the acts manifesting the spirit roles come the climaxes of Tyljuwija's ecstatic behaviour. In fact the arrival of the spirit is manifest both in the unusual cries of the shaman and as a change in drumming, which becomes faster and more violent. Tyljuwija does not lose consciousness, he does not journey to the underworld but meets the spirits in the tent. Being, like Ukwun, a ventriloquist, he can bring about the "separate voices" admired by the Chukchi, i.e. create what seem authentic conversations with the spirits. The voice of Tyljuwija's second spirit, though a spirit voice in character, greatly resembles Tyljuwija's own way of talking. Jatirgin hurries to explain to Bogoras that the spirit just arrived is Tyljuwija's husband. For the shaman was a man who had changed into a woman, a "soft man being" or "similar to a woman", as the Chukchi called it. Change of sex among Chukchi shamans was relatively common, but not a rule. Bogoras reports that the change of sex varies from one shaman to another. For some it is sufficient to tie their hair like a woman or to dress as a woman, while others changed even mentally into women. A shaman who has changed into a woman keeps his masculine name but acts in society like a woman, marries some suitable youth, etc. But a shaman who has changed sexes also has a husband in the spirit world. "Moreover, each 'soft man' is supposed to have a special protector among the 'spirits' who, for the most part, is said to play the part of a supernatural husband (ke'lc-uwä¹⁸quč), of the transformed one. This husband is supposed to be the real head of the family and to communicate his orders by means of his transformed wife. The human husband, of course, has to execute these orders faithfully under fear of prompt punishment."¹³

In the course of the proceedings the shaman informs the onlookers (3S), i.e. his role-taking is directed at those present. He himself interprets what the spirit says, and does not call an interpreter spirit as shaman Ukwun did in a coastal Chukchi séance. The informing of the onlookers in the middle of the manifestation of a spirit role shows that the shaman keeps an eye on the onlookers' reactions the whole time. Tyljuwija's trance is light, he has

not identified with the spirit role but manifests it alongside his own role of shaman. His standpoint in his role-taking directed at the spirit role, its outlining and then its manifestation, is precisely a paying of attention to the hopes and expectations of the third party at the séance, the audience, and the individuals belonging to it. Because the trance is not deep the onlookers and their claims remain an influencing factor in the shaman's consciousness the whole time. This is evident from, for example, the spirits' continuous questions as to what is desired of them.

Following the information act the shaman again takes up a dual role, manifesting both his own role and that of his spirit husband (3H). This is not an identification with the spirit; through drumming and ventriloquism Tyljuwija creates a picture of a reciprocal role relation. Towards the beginning of his report of a séance Bogoras refers to the technique of creating an acoustic phenomenon peculiar to the performance of the spirits. The listener gains an illusion of spirits moving round inside the tent. The shaman uses his drum as a means of regulating the volume of his voice (see p. 136). The second spirit also conducts a drum-mending operation. The deactualization of the spirit (6I) takes place in the same way as the manifestation of its arrival, but in the reverse order, like a reflection. The spirit leaves from the side opposite that by which it entered, and as it disappears to the spirit world it makes a final sound that seems to echo high above the tent.

The shamanizing reaches its climax in a great display of skill calling for strength on the part of Tyljuwija. The roads to the spirits are open and the shaman calls and sends back one spirit after another. In other words he actualizes, manifests and deactualizes the roles of his various spirit-helpers (a raven, a wolf and a dog) in succession, himself acting in the role of shaman throughout (2E, 3G, 3H and 6I repeated). Bogoras also makes special mention of the fact that not for a moment does the shaman relinquish the drumstick. The constant drumming proves that the shaman is performing his task, in his own place, and the disturbances created in the tent by means of tricks can thus be interpreted as the work of spirits acting independently of him. The manifestation of the presence of the spirits by means of tricks is, according to Bogoras, a particular feature of Chukchi shamanizing.¹⁴ The listeners must keep to their own domain, and all interference with the incidents caused by the spirits is forbidden. The spirits chiefly speak their own language, the animal-like spirits make their own characteristic noises. Some of the spirits also speak the Chukchi language, such as the two spirits arguing with one another. The shaman then creates a reciprocal role relationship between two spirit-helpers and thus operates in three roles simultaneously, those of the shaman and two spirits. The simultaneousness is an illusion arising out of the shaman's activities. Naturally each spirit speaks separately. By

means of drumming, tricks and use of his voice the shaman nevertheless convinces his listeners of the simultaneous presence of two spirits in the tent.

The séance was presumably held at Bogoras' request, because it has no clear, serious function. The spirits ask the listeners how they can be of assistance without receiving an answer. This speaks of the fundamental nature of the information acteme in the structure of Chukchi shamanizing. Finally Tyljuwija creates a situation in which the spirits fulfill their task even though none of the listeners can present them with any direct wishes. Arriving in the tent is a spirit that does not leave and that remains in charge of the information task (3S). As act 3S is repeated the role relationship is now different. In place of the shaman the onlookers are now informed by the spirit-helper. This spirit first speaks spirit language, but at the shaman's command it transfers to Chukchi, though a unique broken version. Thus no interpreter is required and the spirit itself informs the listeners, telling them of a danger threatening Jatirgin and an offence committed by Aiganwat. The shaman's role is latent and the role relationship proper arises between the spirit-helper and the onlookers. In the séance of shaman Ukwun a situation was also repeated in which the spirit-helper made direct contact with representatives of the audience. In both cases the member of the community accused by the spirit directs his protest and his attempt to clear himself at his companions present at the séance, and does not begin to argue with the spirit. The speeches made by the spirits demonstrate the potential of the Chukchi shaman for taking up any controversies arising in the community. In finding a solution to them the shaman acts as an integrating factor in the community. On the other hand in showing one member of the community, Enmuwija, as being an enemy of Jatirgin, Tyljuwija acted in the reverse way. The shaman thus has the power to regulate social relations within his community as he wishes. Protests such as Aiganwat's do, however, show that the activities of the shaman are by no means uncontrolled (cf. Ukwun's and Nuwat's shamanizing, p. 123).

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6) and the termination of shamanizing (8): The shaman deactualizes the final spirit-helper in a way reminiscent of its actualization, since the events proceed in the opposite order. In the long songs of the final stage (8E) Tyljuwija presumably picks the supranormal roles known to him almost as if to take leave, and assembles his shamanic knowledge, i.e. continues the deactualization of the spirits.

The relinquishing of the role of shaman takes place simply. Tyljuwija states that it is time to go to bed. His hint at the possibility that he might continue to display his skills the next day may contain a reference to one feature com-

mon to Chukchi shamanizing but not included in this séance: the shaman's slashing of his body during the séance. Such displays often taste of artifice, for shamans use clever tricks. Bogoras says: "For instance, a shaman would pretend to thrust a knife through his own breast. This, however, he did with his fur shirt on, and of course the knife had abundant room to slide under his arm between the ample folds of the fur garment."¹⁵ On the other hand shaman Scratching-Woman (another "irkaljaul") offered to show Bogoras how he could, during ecstacy, thrust a knife into his bare body. His wife hotly opposed the performance and finally, when the experiment failed to take place, Scratching-Woman showed him the scars on his body in demonstration of his skill. Tricks such as this are also used in healing séances. The shaman might create an illusion of opening the patient's stomach and removing the cause of the disease.¹⁶

16. KORYAK SÉANCE ON THE TAIGONOS PENINSULA

16.1. *Background.* Belonging to the same northeastern Paleo-Asian linguistic group as the Chukchi and the Itel'mens are the Koryak-speaking people. The Chukchi and Koryak languages are so similar that their speakers can understand one another with ease.¹ The Koryaks are in fact among the Chukchi's closest neighbours in the south and resemble them not only in their language but also in their economy and their culture.² Depending on the area they inhabited, the Koryaks lived either by reindeer-breeding, or by hunting sea animals and fishing. Koryak reindeer-breeding was of two types. Among the Chavchuvens the herds were large (as many as 10,000 animals) and belonged to a few rich owners. The herds were tended by shepherds with few or no reindeer of their own. Among the Alyutortsy Koryaks there existed another type of reindeer-breeding, that of small herds, which was combined with sea hunting, fishing and fur-animal hunting. The difference is significant in that it is also evident in the social circumstances and living habits of the groups. Like the sea hunters living permanently on the coast and going in for common hunting, the owners of small herds cooperated in small units comprising a few related families. Alongside the breeding of large herds, known to have been practised as early as the first half of the 18th century, the primitive communal relations remained among certain Koryak groups for a very long time.³ In the census of 1926—1927 there were 7432 Koryaks, 55 % of them nomads.⁴

Oral tradition contains a considerable amount of information on the contacts and conflicts between the Chukchi and the Koryaks. On the other hand mutual enmities have also been cultivated between the coastal and

inland Koryaks. In addition to their material culture, folklore and religious tradition are among these neighbouring peoples largely founded on common elements.⁵

Our knowledge of Koryak shamanism is founded above all on Waldemar Jochelson's publication "The Koryak". He worked among the Koryaks as a member of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition in winter 1900—1901 and collected information on the religious life of the Koryaks in addition to extensive ethnological material. The information of previous observers on the activity of the Koryak shaman (e.g. Dittmar) is limited and disconnected compared with Jochelson's collections. Jochelson was a trained researcher, so that the material he collected can be regarded as reliable. On the other hand his shamanizing accounts are somewhat cursory, and his chapter on shamanizing, too, slight. In justifying his lack of interest Jochelson refers to Bogoras' major work, giving as his excuse the similarity of Chukehi and Koryak shamanizing.

During his whole stay Jochelson managed to witness only two séances. Both shamans were young men of no great social standing: they were poor and worked in the service of richer members of the tribe. One of the shamans was found "among the Reindeer Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula". He had been summoned from a distant camp to cure a syphilis patient. On hearing of the shaman Jochelson called the shaman to him and asked him to predict by shamanizing whether his journey would end safely.

16.2. *Description of the rite process*⁶

14: In order to obtain a large remuneration, he refused at first, under various pretexts, to perform his art. I asked him to "look at my road;" that is, to divine whether I should reach the end of my journey safely. The official chief said that this performance must take place in my own tent, and not in that of some one else; but the shaman declared that his spirits would not enter a Russian lodging, and that he would be in deadly peril if he should call up spirits for a foreigner. Finally it was decided that the peril for the shaman would be eliminated by making his remuneration large enough to completely satisfy the spirits. I promised to give the shaman, not only a red flannel shirt, which he liked very much, but also a big Belgian knife. I had offered him first the choice of one of the two articles; but he declared that his spirits liked one as well as the other. Another difficulty arose over the drum. The chief himself found a way out of it by means of casuistry. He gave his own drum, saying that a family drum must not be taken into another Koryak's house, but that it was permissible to take it into mine. The drum was brought into my tent by one of the three wives of the chief. It was in its case, because the drum must not be taken out of the house without its cover. A violation of this taboo may result in bringing on a blizzard.

2D: During the shamanistic exercises there were present, besides my wife and myself, the chief, his wife who had brought the drum, my cossack, and the interpreter. The shaman had a position on the floor in a corner of the tent, not far from the entrance. He was sitting with his legs crossed, and from time to time he would rise to his knees. He beat the drum violently, and sang in a loud voice, summoning the spirits. As he explained to me after the ceremony, his main guardian spirits (e'ñeñs) were One-who-walks-around-the Earth (No'taka'vya, one of the mythical names of the bear), Broad-soled-One (Umya'IlhIn, one of the mythical names of the wolf), and the raven.

3G: The appearance of the spirits of these animals was accompanied by imitations of sounds characteristic of their voices.

3E: Through their mediation he appealed to The-One-on-High (GI'čholaεn) with the following song, which was accompanied by the beating of the drum:

— "NI me'leu neye'iten" "(It is) good that (he) should arrive." "Nume'leñ ho'mma nIme'leu ove'ka o'pta neye'itek." "Also I should well myself also reach home."

That is, "Let him reach home safely, and let me also reach home safely."

3H, 3S: Suddenly, in the midst of the wildest singing and beating of the drum, he stopped, and said to me, "The spirits say that I should cut myself with a knife. You will not be afraid?" — "You may cut yourself, I am not afraid", I replied. "Give me your knife, then. I am performing my incantations for you, so I have to cut myself with your knife", said he. To tell the truth, I commenced to feel somewhat uneasy; while my wife, who was sitting on the floor by my side, and who was completely overwhelmed by the wild shrieks and the sound of the drum, entreated me not to give him the knife.

Excursio: Until that time I had heard different narratives about shamans cutting their abdomen, but I had never seen it done. On the Palpal Mountains I was told that a woman shaman, who died quite recently, used to treat her patients by opening the affected place, cutting out a piece of flesh, and swallowing it, thus destroying the disease, together with the spirit that had caused it. It was said that the wound she made would heal up immediately. Several times I attended the exercises of a Tungus shaman nicknamed Mashka, who subsequently served me as guide on my way from Gishiga to the Kolyma. He pretended that his guardians belonged to the Koryak spirits, and demanded that he cut himself with his knife. The wild fits of ecstasy which would possess him during his performances frightened me. In such cases he would demand all those present to give him a knife or a spear. He was married to a Yukaghir woman from the Korkodon River, whose brother was also a shaman. She would always search him before a performance, take away all his knives, and request all those present not to give him any sharp instruments, for he had once cut himself nearly to death. His spirits, being of Koryak origin, spoke out of him in the Koryak language; i.e., part of the performance was in the Koryak language. I asked him several times to dictate to me what his spirits were saying, and he would invariably reply that he did not remember, that he forgot everything after the séance was

over, and that, besides, he did not understand the language of his spirits. At first I thought that he was deceiving me; but I had several opportunities of convincing myself that he really did not understand any Koryak. Evidently he had learned by heart Koryak incantations which he could pronounce only in a state of excitement.

3F: To return to our Koryak shaman. I took from its sheath my sharp "Finnish" travelling-knife, that looked like a dagger, and gave it to him. The light in the tent was put out; but the dim light of the arctic spring night (it was in April), which penetrated the canvas of the tent, was sufficient to allow me to follow the movements of the shaman. He took the knife, beat the drum, and sang, telling the spirits that he was ready to carry out their wishes.

3X: After a little while he put away the drum, and emitting a rattling sound from his throat, he thrust the knife into his breast up to the hilt. I noticed, however, that after having cut his jacket, he turned the knife downward. He drew out the knife with the same rattling in his throat, and resumed beating the drum.

3S: Then he turned to me, and said that the spirits had secured for me a safe journey over the Koryak land, and predicted that the Sun-Chief (Tiyk—e'yIm) — i.e., the Czar — would reward me for my labors.

8Y: Contrary to my expectations, he returned the knife to me (I thought he would say that the knife with which he had cut himself must be left with him), and through the hole in his jacket he showed spots of blood on his body. Of course, these spots had been made before. However, this cannot be looked upon as mere deception. Things visible and imaginary are confounded to such an extent in primitive consciousness, that the shaman himself may have thought that there was, invisible to others, a real gash in his body, as had been demanded by the spirits. The common Koryak, however, are sure that the shaman actually cuts himself, and that the wound heals up immediately.

16.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): To begin with there were problems over the arranging of the shamanizing event (1A). The shaman did not wish to risk acting against the spirits' wishes or to shamanize in a Russian lodging. Jochelson takes greed as the reason for the hesitation, but when we remember how difficult it was thought to be to get the spirits to come to a strange place, and how even a small disturbance in the shamanizing procedure may place the shaman in personal danger⁷, the shaman's caution may be interpreted more as a reflection of his religious frame of reference. Not until the remuneration is sufficiently large to satisfy the spirits does the shaman agree. References to the fact that the shaman's remuneration is demanded by the spirits are also found among the Chukchi. If a reward is

insufficient, the spirit-helper may punish both the shaman and his client.⁸ The story of a Chukchi smith and a spirit-helper examining the size of the reward illuminates the train of thought in the background. If the remuneration is small the spirit gets annoyed, because its aid is thus underestimated.⁹ The inclusion of demands for remuneration in the normative belief system is in itself proof of the professional nature of Chukchi and Koryak shamanism.

The acquiring of a drum also appears difficult. The Koryak shaman used a family drum, which could not be taken to the dwelling of another Koryak. Since the shamanizing took place in Jochelson's tent, the norm could be got round, and the chief lent his own drum. The use of the drum among the Koryaks was linked up with 'family shamanism', as distinct from shamanism proper. Apart from being a musical instrument the drum was above all a sacred object, one of the family's cult objects.¹⁰ Without examining the controversial phenomenon of 'family shamanism' any further, one may ask to what extent and in what way the shaman's training proper was bound to the use of the drum within the family. Practically every young person had a chance to practise calling the spirits and to imitate well-known shamans. One may well imagine that preparatory training such as this would gradually lead to shamanizing proper. On the other hand the Koryaks themselves draw a distinct line between real shamanizing and even the ritual use of the drum within the family. The latter was never ecstatic, and they stressed the part played by the spirits in the election of the novice shaman.

The account of the séance gives no information on how the shaman himself prepared for his task. His dress is conventional, as in the other Koryak shamanizing witnessed by Jochelson¹¹, and he seats himself near the entrance to the tent.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): The shaman actualizes the roles of his spirit-helpers, a bear, a wolf and a raven, by drumming wildly and singing in a loud voice (2D). The most common species of animals and birds in whose guise the spirits of the Koryak shaman appear are the wolf, bear, raven, gull and eagle. The acquisition of spirit-helpers takes place during the initiatory stage. The spirits select the future shaman and force him to become their servant. In describing his own initiatory stage the shaman told Jochelson that a wolf, raven, bear, gull and plover had appeared to him in the wilds, sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of an animal, and had ordered him to become a shaman. Had he refused, he would have met his death.¹² Of interest is the information on the ability of the spirit to vary its form, its skill at appearing in either human or animal form. A similar ability is, after all, one of a shaman's most respected skills. Koryak mythology contains numerous examples of how a god in human

form, a god-shaman or part of its body changed into an animal, and the reverse. For example, the creator-deity Big-Raven and his son Eme'mqut (who was a shaman) don raven's skins and thus change into ravens.¹³ In examining these mythic transformations the normal explanation — the shaman moves in the form of the spirit-helper — does not always seem to suffice. Shaman Eme'mqut dresses as a raven and turns into a raven. Similarly he turns his sister into a dog. "Every time, before Eme'mqut left the tent, he would put the dog's skin over Yiñe'a-ñe'ut, and she would be transformed into a dog."¹⁴ The question of how far the Koryak shaman was thought to be able to observe the behavioural patterns of the mythical ancestral shamans remains unanswered due to the lack of material. Another open question is the link between the donning of a mythical "animal skin" and the donning of the shaman's dress proper. Jochelson did not come across a shaman's dress among the Koryaks.

The psychic prerequisites of shamans-elect have been widely debated. According to Jochelson the Koryak initiate concluded from his hysterical attacks that the spirits demand his services. He says: "I was told that people about to become shamans have fits of wild paroxysm alternating with a condition of complete exhaustion. They will lie motionless for two or three days without partaking of food or drink. Finally they retire to the wilderness, where they spend their time enduring hunger and cold in order to prepare themselves for their calling. There the spirits appear to them in visible form, endow them with power, and instruct them."¹⁵ According to this view all Koryak shamans were hysterics. Judging purely from this particular account (the shaman acts logically, even cleverly, does tricks, etc.) Jochelson's view can be regarded as one-sided even though the Koryak shaman did differ mentally from his fellow-beings.

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The shaman manifests the arrival of the spirit-helpers by imitating their sounds (3G). Although the spirits could be thought to be speaking through the shaman, i.e. the shaman could be identifying with a spirit, the explanation is hardly apt. No possession takes place, and throughout the séance the spirits operate outside the shaman's body. Suffice it to speak only of the announcement of a supranormal counter-role. The shaman's behaviour is interesting in that the 'imitation of the sounds of the spirit-helpers' is the most common alloact of acteme 2D (preliminary singing), when it functions as a summons, an actualizer of the spirit roles. It may be that the function of this act, regularly connected with shamanizing, has temporarily changed; on the other hand it is possible that the 'imitation of the sounds' has two functions, simultaneous or successive (depending on the shamanizer and the shamanizing event),

in which case it would appear as the alloact of both actemes 2D and 3G.

On their arrival the spirits act as mediators between the shaman and a higher spirit being (3E). In begging protection for his guest during his journey the shaman does not appeal to his spirit-helpers, but through them actualizes the role of The-One-on-High, *GI'chola^{En}*. This is the highest supranormal being, the form of which is not completely clear in the light of Koryak beliefs. Sometimes he is described as a benevolent being in human form (e.g. as an old man with a wife and children), sometimes some of his names refer to abstract ideas.¹⁶ Since the course of events is in his control, it is understandable that the shaman turns to him.

The account infers that the shaman negotiates with his spirit-helpers (3H). Jochelson describes act 3H with the words "wildest singing and beating of the drum". Thus the spirits do not audibly express themselves, or at least their words are not mentioned separately. Only the shaman may hear their words. Note that the other Koryak shaman whom Jochelson met was a ventriloquist whose method of manifesting the spirits' voices fully corresponds with the practice at the Chukchi séances described earlier.¹⁷ During act 3H the shaman's role-taking directed at the supranormal role changes course. His role partner now becomes the audience and in particular the client requesting the shamanizing, Jochelson. The shaman announces the spirits' wish: he must cut himself with a knife. Such displays of skill were common among northwest Siberian shamans¹⁸, and their aim was to prove the shaman's magic powers. A powerful shaman is invulnerable, because his wounds heal immediately with the help of the spirits. The Koryak myths, for example, contain mentions of the cutting up and slashing of the body carried out by former mighty shamans, and of rehealing operations. For example, in the myth "Eme'mqut and Grass-Woman" Kilu', who helped the former, changes into a bear and is carved up.¹⁹

On receiving a knife to cut himself with the shaman again directs his attention at the supranormal and informs the spirits that he is ready to carry out their wishes (3F). As the shaman contacts the spirits the lights in the tent are turned out. He then carries out his deed (3X), which Jochelson notes is a trick. That these cutting displays are not always the performance of clever tricks is proved by some of the scars on the shaman's body. In the long excurs in the middle of the account Jochelson tells of the behaviour of his guide, the Evenk shaman Mashka, which took on dangerous forms. The 'slashing the body' act comes at the climax of ecstasy, and in the socio-psychological sense thus also constitutes the climax of the séance. Once the incident is over the tension among the audience eases. The shamanizer has been successful.

A meeting with the spirit-helpers terminates the information act. The

shaman turns to his client and informs him of his success: the spirits guarantee him a safe journey. The information act also contains a prediction that the Czar will reward Jochelson.

Termination of the shamanizing (8). Although the final stage of the séance is described only briefly, a measure is nevertheless mentioned, the ritual nature of which is obvious, since it had been prepared beforehand. In relinquishing his role the shaman proves, by showing the spots of blood on his body, that the will of the spirits has been fulfilled.

17. THE INITIATION OF A SAMOYED SHAMAN

17.1. *Background.* The peoples speaking the Samoyed languages, — the Nentsy, the Entsy, the Nganasans and the Sel'kups, — inhabit the forest and tundra regions of northwest Siberia; the Nentsy also extend west to the tundra regions on the European side of the Ural Mountains. The characteristics of the culture of these small peoples are explained by their unusual ethnohistory. The Samoyed languages developed in the south in the Sayan Uplands, whence tribes wandered north in the first centuries of recorded time and merged with the local population. One relic of the original arctic population in the northern Samoyed languages is the common vocabulary for arctic phenomena among the Eskimos, the Koryaks and the Chukchi.¹

The Nentsy or Yuraks settled over a very wide area: from the River Mczen' in the west to the Taymyr Peninsula in the east. According to a random census they numbered around nine and a half thousand in 1897, and the exact census of 1926—1927 states 16,375 persons.² The region inhabited by the Nentsy is, due to its northern location, for the most part tundra and forest tundra; the Nentsy's means of livelihood, suited to their conditions, have been reindeer-breeding, hunting and fishing. The Nentsy fell into patrilineal, strictly exogamous clans, the clan originally being the group owning specific reindeer-grazing areas and hunting and fishing land.³ Although certain old customary relations referring back to a clan structure (such as the distribution of a common catch so that members of the community who did not take part in the hunt also received a share, the demands of mutual assistance and hospitality, etc.) remained until the beginning of the 20th century, it is known that as early as the 17th century the largest herds of reindeer were in the hands of a few rich breeders.⁴ Similarly the communal clan lands formerly used for hunting gradually passed into the hands of the wealthier members of the clan, who organized large-scale hunts.⁵ The expansion and organization of the trade network in the 19th century,

the emergence of a fishing industry, etc., were factors further accelerating the social stratification of the Nennish community.⁶ The socio-economic situation brought about by concentrated large-scale reindeer breeding among the tundra Nentsy at the end of the 19th century seems to correspond greatly to the conditions of the reindeer Chukchi. Being the most western Samoyed group, the Nentsy likewise came under the influence of Russian culture at a very early stage; in the early 19th century the Orthodox Church in particular made great efforts to convert the Nentsy to the Christian faith.⁷

The most northerly Samoyed people, the Nganasans living on the Taymyr Peninsula, are few in number: 876 according to the census of 1897 and 867 in 1926. Although the Nganasans had to pay fur tax from as early as the 1630s⁸, they remained relatively isolated and retained archaic forms of economy and technology, social relations and ideology.⁹ Unlike the Nentsy, the Nganasans' chief source of livelihood was wild deer hunting and fishing. In early times the Nganasans kept only a few reindeer, and not until the mid 19th century did they go in for reindeer-breeding to any notable extent. Living chiefly by hunting wild deer, the Nganasans were nomads who travelled with the annual deer migrations from the forests to the tundra. Although the Nganasans retained features of the patriarchal clan structure in their social life, they were so few in number and inhabited such a large area that the clan had no territorial or economic unity.¹⁰ The Nganasan nomadic settlements were made up of families not necessarily belonging to the same clan but who were united more by neighbourly ties. "The social makeup of these settlements varied. Sometimes they consisted of groups of working households collaborating in hunting, fishing and pasturing reindeer. But more often they were poor households grouped around a rich reindeer-breeder and economically dependent on him."¹¹

The Entsy, numbering only 378 in the census of 1926—1927, resembled their neighbours the Nentsy in the west and the Nganasans in the east in both language and culture. Like the Nganasans, the Entsy formerly lived chiefly off deer hunting and fishing, but they also assimilated reindeer breeding to some extent. Their social structure and religion were also very similar to those of the Nganasans.¹²

The most southerly Samoyed people, the Sel'kups, are more closely related to their neighbours the Khants and the Kets in their economy, everyday life and culture than to the most northerly Samoyeds, to whom they are linguistically related. In the census of 1926—1927 they totalled around 6,000 persons.¹³ Their chief source of livelihood still continued to be hunting — elk, fur-bearing animals and forest birds — and fishing for a very long time. Only the most northerly Sel'kups went in for reindeer-breeding, and even then not on a large scale: the herds were seldom larger than 20 or 30

animals.¹⁴ In the 19th century the basic unit of the Sel'kups was the territorial neighbourhood commune, made up of families practising joint hunting and fishing.¹⁵ Although the clan was no longer of any economic significance, features of the old clan system remained for a very long time. "The ideological ties of the clan were retained firmly by the Sel'kups. Every clan had its own shaman and its own cemetery. Whenever a Sel'kup died on 'foreign land', his kinsmen were obliged to bring back his body to his 'native land' and bury him in the clan cemetery."¹⁶ According to tradition the Sel'kups still practised clan land ownership in the 17th and 18th centuries: each clan had its own area, which was considered the collective property of all its members.¹⁷ In many respects the Sel'kup women were equal to the men. The women took part in e.g. hunting and fishing, whereas among some peoples of the Far North women were not allowed even to touch the traps for fear that the hunt would then be unsuccessful.¹⁸

The Samoyed peoples thus differed from one another to some extent in the natural conditions of their home area, their economies and their social relations. From the point of view of the position of the shaman in the community this is significant. The Sel'kups were known to have had a clear clan shaman system. It nevertheless seems that as the clan became less important as an economic unit, so the nature of the group supporting the shaman changed. In place of the clans based on blood relationship there appeared regional communities made up of neighbours from different clans with common economic interests. In addition to the clan shamans we find shamans equipped by and serving groups of neighbours or families among the northern hunters and reindeer breeders. The 'small group shaman' seems to be typical of e.g. the Nganasans and the Entsyt.¹⁹ At a meeting of the clan the shaman might also act as the representative of the majority in dealing with the spirit world. The celebration of the clean tent of the Nganasans, which was held in February when the sun began to rise again after the long period of darkness, and which was aimed at calling "the beneficence of the deities for the whole of the people in the coming year"²⁰, was one in which the shaman played a dominant role. Although this was a joint festival for the whole clan, with the shaman acting as the representative of the clan, the status of the shaman cannot, on the basis of information on the Nganasans, be compared to that of the clan shaman of, say, the Yukagirs or the Evenks. The shaman's chief tasks were healing the sick, bringing back luck in hunting if the game threatened to run out, and the handling of difficult births. It was thus a case of safeguarding his own small community in the face of crises.

The Entsyt, due to their large-scale reindeer-breeding, lived in more highly stratified communities than was common among those living off hunting or the Samoyed groups jointly tending their small herds. It seems that in

such cases the relationship between the shaman and his group of supporters was looser and more professional than the clan shaman or the shaman equipped by a small group and permanently representing it.

A. A. Popov has published the unusually detailed account of the initiatory visions of a Nganasan shaman called Sereptie Dyaruskin.²¹ The account provides a starting point for many questions concerning shamanism and the initiation stage. The vision reflects the novice's shamanic knowledge and skills, and its mythic view of the world provides an insight into the shaman's role and counter-roles, informs us of the functions of the requisites of the shamanizing séance, and so on. One may ask the nature of the initiation stage as a whole, as the young Samoyed changed from being a normal member of the community to becoming a shaman, and the part played by such visions as described by Sereptie Dyaruskin in this change. Further, how and in what form did the novice assimilate the shamanic knowledge contained in the vision?

Although the religious concepts and customs of the various Samoyed groups were by no means uniform (e.g. the Nentsy came under the influence of the Orthodox Church at a very early stage, while the most arctic of the Samoyed groups, the Nganasans, retained their tradition most strictly), the initiation stages of shamans among these peoples have many features in common. Although the shamanic practices of different peoples were not completely the same it is useful, in examining the account of Sereptie Dyaruskin, to take observations on the rest of the Samoyed population as a frame of reference, since there is little material available on the Nganasans.

17.2. *Sereptie Dyaruskin's story.*²² The account of the vision quoted is as follows:

1) When I was a young man I used to dream of all sorts of insignificant things just like any other man. But once, I saw myself going down a road until I reached a tree. With an axe in my hand. I went round the tree and wanted to fell it. Then I heard a voice saying: '(Fell it) later!' and I woke up.

Next day the neighbours said to me: 'Go and fell a tree for the *kuojka* sledge!' I set out, found a suitable tree and started to cut it down.

2) When the tree fell, a man sprang out of its roots with a loud shout. I was petrified with fear (from this unexpected event). The man asked: 'Where are you going?' 'What could I do — I am going to my tent.' 'Why, of course, since you have a tent, you must go there. Well, my friend, I am a man, who came out of the roots of the tree. The root is thick, it looks thin in your eyes only. Therefore I tell you that you must come down through the root if you wish to see me.' — 'What sort of a tree is that?' I asked. 'I never could find it out.' The man answered: 'From times of old, it is of this tree that the *kuojka* sledges have been made and the shamans have been growing from. Rocked in the cradle, they become shamans — well that's what this tree is for.' — 'All right, I shall go with you.'

3) Whilst preparing to descend, the man turned to me and said: 'Just take a look at me and find out who I am?' His clothes at the sides reminded me of the wild reindeer's hide during moulting time. I did not ask him why he was wearing such clothes. Then again he said: 'Don't be afraid of me, but find out why there are such patterns on my *parka* (winter garment), both black and white patches?' I replied: 'On the left side you have the white spots because you dress in the attire of the (spirit of the) first snow; the black spots on the right side resemble the spots of the earth appearing in spring from under the snow — because you put on the attire (of the spirit of the melting snow.' My companion turned his back and, taking my hand, said: 'Now let us go to our hosts!' I was afraid and thought that I was lost.

4) As I looked round, I noticed a hole in the earth. My companion asked: 'What hole is this? If your destiny is to make a drum of this tree, find it out!' I replied: 'It is through this hole that the shaman receives the spirit of his voice'. The hole became larger and larger. We descended through it and

5) arrived at a river with two streams flowing in opposite directions. 'Well, find out this one too!' said my companion, 'one stream goes from the centre to the north, the other to the south — the sunny side. If you are destined to fall into a trance, find it out!' I replied: 'The northern stream originates from the water for bathing the dead, and the southern from that for the infants'. — 'Yes, indeed, you have guessed right', said he.

6) Then we set out on the shore of the northern stream. My companion always led me by the hand. We saw nine tents before us, the nearest one being tied round with a rope. A tree stood on each side of its entrance — one on the northern, the other on the southern side. 'What do you think these trees grew for?' asked the man. I replied again: 'One of the trees is bright as if the sun were shining on it. Because the parents bring up their children loving and fostering them, this must be the (protecting) spirit of the children.' Here my companion (as if to confirm my words) clapped his hands and smacked his knees with the palm of one hands. 'The dark tree is the tree of the moon, the tree of birth, enabling the women to fix the date of the birth according to the moon. 'The man again clapped his hands and slapped his knees. Then he asked: 'What is the meaning of the bars that hang horizontally above the fireplace of the tent?' Suddenly I found one of the bars in my hand and struck my companion with it. 'These bars are the borderline between two daybreaks, the backbone of the firmament. The northern bar is the beginning of the polar light, the southern one — the beginning of the cycle of dawns.' When I said this, my companion praised me. I got frightened. 'And what is the tent tied round with a rope?' asked my companion. And I said: 'When men go mad and become shamans, they are tied with this rope'. (I was quite unconscious and was tied up too.)

7) Then it seemed to me that we were in the street. We entered the first tent where we found seven naked men and women who were singing all the time while tearing their bodies with their teeth. I became very fright-

ened. 'Now I shall explain this to you, myself, because you will not guess it anyway', said my companion: 'Originally, seven earths were created and it is through the spirits of these seven earths that (men) lose their minds. Some just start singing, others losing their minds, go away and die; others again become shamans. Our earth has seven promontories with a madman living on each of them. When you become a shaman, you will find them yourself.' — 'Where can I find them — you have led me to the wrong place' — thought I. 'If I do not lead you to see (the spirits), how could you make magic for the insane? If you find the spirit of madness, you will begin to shamanize, initiating (new) shamans. You must be shown all the ways of diseases.'

8) We came out of the first tent and went to the second that was placed on the northern promontory. The whole tent was covered with hoar frost and tied round in the middle with a black rope. Around the smoke hole, the tent was covered with something red. 'Down there (to the south) is Asondu — they are Tungus', said my companion. 'This is their tent. The black rope will serve you to cure stomach diseases, while the red stuff will help you heal madness that comes from headaches. The middle rope will serve you to cure epidemics. You will find out the meaning of this rope later on. When you will enchant, Tungus spirits will come to you and I, myself, do not understand them. When you enchant a Dolgan or a Tungus, come here and you will learn it. 'The frost-covered tent had two smoke holes, one of copper and the other of iron.

9) We entered the second tent, but found nobody there. 'Let us go back', said my companion.

10) We came out of the tent through another door and went into another tent which seemed to be covered with fishing nets. Inside, the fire was scarcely flickering. We found a disfigured old woman there in worn boots and otherwise naked, except for her upper clothes; she warmed herself by the fire. There was a dim light in the tent and shadows were flickering everywhere. The old woman asked: 'Do you know me?' — 'Find the answer yourself!' said my companion to me. I replied: 'When a child is born, there is the afterbirth too, you are its spirit, are you not?' My companion and the old woman slapped their knees in astonishment. 'You are a good guesser!' Then they asked again: 'Why is the fire dark?' And I answered: 'When a child is born, a new fire is kindled. You too, you are sitting here like a housewife who lights a new fire.' Again they slapped their knees in astonishment. 'In the southern part of the tent, the fire is very weak. Human beings are purified after birth by being fumigated with fire. This is the origin of the purifying fire.' 'That's right', said both of them. The tent had two kinds of *ñuks* — some were frost-covered, some were white. I guessed the meaning of these *ñuks* too. 'We wrap up the dead in *ñuks* made of wild reindeer hide. Heer, these rimy *ñuks* are the *nil'tis* of the said *ñuks*. The white *ñuks* are the *nil'tis* of our leather garment.' Both confirmed the correctness of my words.

11) We went over to the fourth tent that stood in the middle of the water, behind three freezing waters. One part of it was covered with seven reindeer hides, instead of a *nuk*, while the other was spread over with rippling water. I said: 'Doesn't the shaman make his clothing out of seven reindeer hides? And since the other part of the tent is covered with waves, it must belong to the spirit of the water — that is why it is standing in the middle of the water.' 'You will shamanize, you go downwards,' they said. We entered the tent where we found an old woman sitting among heaps of children's clothes and killed dogs. On each side of the tent there were two white salmon. 'Do you recognize me?' asked the old woman. 'Find it out', said my companion. And I replied: 'This is the earth where we shall have to come in lean years. Here, she (the old woman) will show us where to find game and fish.' 'Find it out!' — they repeated. 'Seven hides — these I shall find when I shamanize, I shall find and recognize them. Every man, when he becomes a shaman, makes himself a seat. I shall shamanize for seven days, sitting on these seven hides. Two fishes: one of them means that we blow on the fire and breath goes out of us. The breath has a soul. What is it when the fish (opening its mouth) is panting? When we light the fire, it flares up on its back. Seeing the fire on the back of one fish, the other blows it out. Therefore, in imitation of this fish, a wooden fish was made. When a child is born, men act in a similar fashion. One of the fishes is full of roe — the roe floats above. The child is to be rubbed with the roe. When a child is born we smear it with grease. This is what it means. Then throwing the grease into the fire we feed the house *kuojka* and also smear its face with grease. When people become hungry, it is this that gives enough to eat. It is this (the fish) you have to ask.' The southern side was closed with hides. Looking closer, I found that they looked like seven apertures instead of hides. From outside, they looked like hides, from inside, like apertures — through which one could look out. 'Why should I find this one out?' 'We shamans have seven resting places, henceforth you will find them. The seven apertures mean that when a man sinks under the water but has still some air left and you happen to be there, then you come and save him.'

12) We came out of the tent — the northern side was covered all over with ice. 'You will find this out yourself', said my companion. 'Don't come here, this is the way of another shaman.' When I submerged, I arrived at these places, and it seemed as if I were swimming in the water. We went to another tent. On each side there stood an iron trunk. A one-horned reindeer dog was tied to the trunk on the right side, while a stag, with bruised antlers, was tied to the left trunk. One tine was broken, the other twisted. I tried to guess what the two animals were tied with and found that they were tied with the rays of the sun. 'Well, that's strange' — I thought — 'how is that these (ropes) do not break?' Although they were twisted, some of the threads were broken and hanging straight, like sticks. 'Do you know this rein-hind?' they asked me. I answered: 'No, I do not.' 'When you will be a shaman (surely you think that this is a real trunk — this is the spirit of everything humans do) and (during the ceremony) the men will beat your drum with the drumstick,⁶ this trunk will split up. The rein-hind is the origin of the *kuojka* (made of stone or wood).' 'And what is this rope for?' 'It serves to

brand the reindeer's fawn that is presented to the moon.' 'Why is the reindeer one-horned?' 'Every man who becomes a shaman, makes divinations about the reindeer whose hide will serve him as a dress. When you become a shaman, (don't) ask them (the wild reindeer for the clothes) and don't make yourself a suit of the simple wild reindeer's hide. Provide yourself with clothes, but, first, ask for permission from the mother of the wild reindeer, she will give you instructions about the wild reindeer whose hide is to be used for your clothes. One of the wild reindeer is a stag, he is the master spirit of the wild reindeer stags. It is this spirit whom you will have to ask to know which tree you are to make your drum of, or else your life will not be long.'

13) Walking round the tent, I saw that all the *nüks* were bright with decorations and fringes. We make fringes for ourselves, similar to the antlers of the reindeer. For we take hair from every animal to sew it on to the fringes of the attire similar to the cover of this tent. My companion said: 'Then, when you come here, ask questions, and if you are given hair of an animal, make yourself fringes of it'. Then I looked up to the smokehole and saw nine human figures made of iron. I don't remember any more, nor how I reached them, but I began to hit them with a stick, saying: 'When shamanizing in the clean tent, I shall ascend by them'. 'You will be a great shaman indeed, you find out everything', said (my companion) clapping his hands. 'If this is so, I shall surely be a shaman. But I don't want to be a shaman', said I to myself. 'No, you will be a shaman, since you have seen all these things' — they said.

14) We entered the tent and found there seven moon-figures made of copper, similar to those that are on the shamans' clothes. 'Behold, they are yours', said (my companion) and began to give me the figures. I did not take them. 'No, take them', said he and brought forth seven suns which he showed me. 'What is this?' I thought, 'probably I shall have to enchant for seven days'. Then he gave me three times seven figures of the sun and said: 'Find it out!' — 'I don't know.' My companion said: 'You, being a new shaman, stand up (i.e. recover) and cure thrice seven men from their illness'. When I shamanize, I walk round all these tents.

15) I came out of this tent and reached another. I think it was mine. To me, it seemed a strange one, not my own. People were sitting around the fire, men on one side and women on the other. I went in, not as a man but as a skeleton; I don't know who gnawed me off, I don't know how it happened. As I took a close look at them, they did not look like real human beings but like skeletons which had been dressed. At the bottom of the tent, there was a seven-bladed anvil. I saw a woman who looked as if she were made of fire. I saw a man holding (a pair of) pliers. The woman had seven apertures on her body. From these, the man pulled out iron pieces as from the fire, placed them on the anvil and struck them with the hammer. When the iron cooled down, the man replaced it in the aperture of the woman's body as if it were fire. Although there was fire in the fireplace, the man did not make use of it. I looked round. Near the fireplace there was a woman, stirring up the fire with animal hides, while the sparks were flying on every

side. The man took a piece of iron, placed it on the anvil and hit it with the hammer which consisted in reality of seven small hammers on a single helve. At every blow on the iron, sparks rose into the air and flew out through the smoke hole. My companion asked me: 'What do you think, what tent have we entered?' 'I don't know', said I. 'However, it must be here that the pendants of the shaman's clothes are forged and it is probably these people I have to ask (for pendants), for my clothes. The man (= shaman) descends from many places, this is surely one of them.' 'This is not all of them, anyway', they said. I tossed my head back and began to look at the smoke hole. 'What are those seven figures in the upper part of the tent?' I asked. 'They are the spirits of your future saw-toothed pendants', he said. 'Do you give me these pieces of iron?' 'No, the time has not yet come for it', they said. I began to feel uneasy. 'Then why do you make me guess?' 'Who are these two beings, the man and the woman; are they humans?' 'So that is the origin of the shamans', I said. 'Indeed.' This is my fate — to lose my mind. 'Whenever you become a shaman, ask them for permission to make yourself clothes and a drum. Ask them also to give you reindeer for your clothes; if you come to this tent they will provide you with the necessary things. The parks are birds, catch them, imitate them, we have birds, geese made from them, on the back of the dress.' When I entered as a skeleton and they forged, it meant that they forged me. The master of the earth, the spirit of the shamans, has become my origin. When a shin-bone or something else is hit and the sparks fly, there will be a shaman in your generation.

16) Then we came out of this tent and I began to look round. In front, there was a great river with sandy shores, and a hill with two tents on it. I began to guess what kind of a hill this was. It seemed as if the tent were standing on an iceberg, behind them were black spots of earth appearing from under the melting snow. The nearer tent was covered all over with white *niuks*, whereas the more remote one had *niuks* with checkerboard pattern.

When we went closer, we saw that tents were standing on both shores of the river. The checkered tent stood on the black spots of earth (on account of the melting snow), while the white tent was behind the river. It seemed as if I had come back to the river I had encountered at the beginning of the journey. One stream of the river continued southwards, the other northwards. 'Find it out', said my companion. 'How long will you make me guess things? Anyway, when I become a shaman, the origin of my shamanship will be here. Whenever I submerge, I shall descend this water.' 'You will implore the place of confluence of these streams. When you submerge you will return swimming in the southern flow. Your throat, similar to the stream, will begin to talk, to conjure up this spirit. At the checkered tent, the upper parts of the smoke hole, the *niuks* are made of poor, small-haired hides. What does it mean?' I said: 'The diseases devour everybody, yet they spare the half of mankind so that it may reproduce itself. Behold, these (the black squares of the checkerboard) cover the surviving men with the blackness of diseases.' 'Now that we have arrived here, I will leave you alone', said my companion. 'If you return, you will be a man, if not — you will die. Hence forward I cannot lead you anymore. I have led you to all the origins and ways of diseases. Shamanizing, you will find your way, by yourself.'

17) Standing near the tent, I looked at the river and saw a woman passing by. She was quite red, her face and hair included, and her dress was checkered. Some of the squares were red, the others blue. 'Here', said my companion, 'I have brought you here. It was only the way of the big disease that I have not showed you yet. That's why I have brought you here. You will shamanize with the big disease, take care not to curse but to implore when you shamanize. Can you guess who this woman is?' I: 'Her body is quite red and her dress is strange. The shaman gets up and sits down when shamanizing. Why, he sits on different litters, obviously, the woman carries these litters of mine with her. The red disease (measles) sometimes occurs, she seems to be its mother. There were checkered *nuks* on the tent. This means that the tent was covered with the clothes of the woman. She took off the *nuks* and put them on.' I looked at the tent — it was quite red. 'If in case of such disease (measles) I shall come here and appeal to her I shall surely heal (the sick)', said I. 'Yes', said my companion, 'I have told you already that I shall leave you. Well, my friend, you must not even look at this tent, whoever may be there. You must not go there. I have brought you to this tent, where your forefather, the famous shaman died of pox. I leave you here to make friends and not to die of this plague.'

18) I became terribly frightened. The woman said: 'You have come from far away. Yet, I am obliged to send you back.' And she breathed on me three times. As she was breathing I began to recognize the place. Yet she did not let me go immediately, but said: 'My friend, there is a tent there, but you must not cross the river, and, from now on, you should only come up to me. If you want to obtain advice from that tent (from its female occupant), I shall give you advice. By now, she will have surely come to know that you are here. I shall notify her. When she opens her mouth and blows, the fog sets in. It is from this fog that men get sick.'

Meanwhile, my companion stood sideways and listened. Then the fog came. 'Find it out!' said the woman. I began to get angry, but still said: 'Half of the fog is the breath of men; when I am a shaman, I shall be able to rescue the *nil'ti* of the dead from this fog.' 'Yes, indeed', said the woman. 'Here is a reef with a red tent on it. If the sick is cured, the woman will come from the opposite direction. If the *nil'ti* falls beyond the reef, beyond the limit of the fog — that is the limit of life — he cannot be saved.' Then I said to myself: 'I am sure that I have reached the place whence every man descends' and, turning towards the woman, I said aloud: 'You are surely the mistress of the earth who has created all life'. 'Yes, that is so', said she. 'Well, my friend, we had three children, the second lives in the red tent, the eldest is beyond the river. You return from these places. If you want to enter their tents, you shall die. They are half *barusis*, half *nguos*. Take care to look in the direction in which you have to return.'

19) Then I made a few steps forward and, looking round, saw seven stone peaks. On one of them, there were seven willows, on the other seven thin trees, and so on — seven plants were growing on each peak. 'What's that?' thought I. Everywhere on the plants, there were nests of all kinds of birds. On the highest peak, in the middle, a bumble-bee was hatching her young.

Her wings were of iron. She looked as if she were hatching while lying in the fire. The woman pointed at these nests and said: 'You are surely tired, come here, lie down, and find out what that is!' 'This is the bumble-bee, who creates (plant) for the tinder, so that none of the men should be in want of it. These seven peaks are the origin of every plant: the future shamans go around them. In these nests there are spirits — the master spirits of all the running and flying birds and game.' 'What can you see on the shore?' the woman asked. 'I can see two stone peaks.' 'Find it out!' I replied: 'When we reached at one of the peaks — this is the mistress of water, we can ask her for fish. The other peak is black. When a child is born, it is placed on a layer made of punk wood. Half of the peak is covered with such punk wood, the other half, with moss. When he gets here, the shaman can cure the child, in case of disease. The spirit of this lives here.'

20) Then I left them and saw nothing but the earth. It seemed as if I were going along a river. One shore was pebbly, the other covered with coloured stones — yellow ochre and black earth (graphite). A woman began to talk: 'The coloured stones are iron, copper and different metals. When you become a shaman, you make yourself pendants of them, therefore you go to them.' Going on along the shore I saw two peaks; one of them was covered with bright-coloured vegetation, the other was black earth all over. Between them, there appeared to be an islet with some very nice red plants in blossom on it. They resembled the flowers of the cloudberry. 'What is this', I thought. There was nobody near me, but I found it out myself. When a man dies, his face becomes blue and changes: then the shaman has nothing more to do. As I noticed the red grass grew upwards, the black downwards. Suddenly I heard a cry: 'Take a stone from here!' The stones were reddish. Since I was marked out to survive, I snatched up a red stone. What I thought to be flowers were stones. Someone said to me: 'When you have a clean tent made, have a fire lit with flint. When you get to your own tent, speak about this with the men, not sitting like this, but shamanizing, because you are a shaman singing with the throat of nine diseases.'

21) Suddenly I recovered my senses: I must have been lying for a considerable time, near the root of the tree. So I felled that tree and made a *kuojka* sledge of it. This was our ancestral *kuojka*. Wherever I go shamanizing, I always hear the terrible songs on the peaks. Before coming to myself, I heard a voice saying: 'If you become a shaman, you will live a long time'. This was twenty years ago and I was not married. When I am shamanizing, I see a road to the north. When I am looking for a sick man, the road is narrow like a thread. I do not know who is leading me, in front I see the sun and the moon. On (the lower) part of the narrow road there are conical ramshackle tents; on this (road) you go for the breath of the man. The other part of the road (leading upwards) is quite entangled — I do not understand why. The man who is to recover has a breath like a white thread, while he who dies has one like a black thread. Going along the road, you look sideways and you proceed. Then you find the man's *nil'ti* and take it.

Half of my spirits comes from the men of the forest (the Tungus).

22) It was new moon, a bright weather in March when we three set off. I had been blindfolded with the hide of the wild reindeer and sent afoot to find a tree for the drum. The companions followed me on reindeer. The tree suitable for the drum, makes sounds like a drum. I ran forward, with my eyes covered, listening. The spirits do not give immediately the opportunity to find the tree, they mislead us. There are as many as three sounding trees instead of one — the third has to be chopped down.

Now, you are going to one of these trees — it is also coming towards you. 'Am I to take this tree?' I asked myself and began to sneak up to it as if it were a wild reindeer. But if you try to take it, somebody pushes you away so that you leap aside. 'Don't do it, or you shall die!' This is the tree where the spirits of your family live — the tree that protects your family against death and diseases. Realizing your mistake, you walk on before being pushed away.

Then you hear another tree sounding (like a drum) and coming towards you and you prepare to catch it. But you must not do so. This is the tree where the breath of your entire flock and the breath of the flocks of your home folk get, 'mixed'. If you touch this tree, you die.

Finally, I see a third tree, it stands and does not move. I begin to steal up to it. The tree says: 'Come, come, I am for you!' Then I fell it. My companions did the work with the axe, not I. They must by no means be relatives. If, for all that, the tree is a false one and not the real one, you implore in vain when bending the hoop — that would break anyway, and then somebody belonging to the shaman's kin would die. But if you suspect this, do make a drum of this hoop, even if it will be a bad one, but previously perform a ceremony, so that nobody should die.

23. When, for a man's illness, I make ceremonies to the evil spirits, the latter would say: 'Here, I have surrendered to you, what is he going to give me?' I ask: 'What you require for him I shall settle'. 'The ill man has to kill a certain wild reindeer', says the disease. The man indeed kills such a wild reindeer, gives me its hide and I make a new dress of it for myself. It may happen that the spirit does not speak sincerely and says: 'He should kill a wolf, a fox or some other game'. But in reality, the ill man kills a reindeer.

17.3. *Content of the visions.* On examining the content of the story we find as a central and recurring theme the meeting between the novice and some being, spirit or guardian belonging to the supranormal world. The novice meets all the supranormal beings he will later need in his shamanizing, as is evident from what the guide says: "If I do not lead you to see (the spirits), how could you make magic for the insane? If you find the spirit of madness, you will begin to shamanize, initiating (new) shamans. You must be shown all the ways of diseases." In the vision we thus find the shaman's supranormal counter-role set. With the assistance of the guide spirit the novice actualizes one supranormal role after the other, placing it in its frame in the topography of the other world. The position of the most important counter-role of the

vision stage, that of the guide spirit, with a view to later shamanizings remains open to interpretation. He is the shaman's assistant and thus belongs to the category the shaman's spirit-helpers. The guide introduced himself as the man who came out of the root of the shamanic tree, the tree from which from ancient times the holy family relics have been made and from which shamans grow (2). From this same tree the novice is later destined to make a drum (4). It is the task of the guide, whom the novice judges, from his dress, to be the spirit of the first and the melting snow (3), to teach his pupil how to move about in the other world. Later he is no longer needed. "Shamanizing, you will find your own way, by yourself" (16). He could thus be characterized as the spirit of becoming a shaman, in which case he would only be one of the novice's counter-roles. The shaman meets his spirit-helpers proper towards the end of the tour he makes with the guide. He comes to a tent which he suspects might be his own. "I think it was mine. To me, it seemed a strange one, not my own" (15). The tent scene contains the death and rebirth motif.²³ In the form of a skeleton the shaman enters a tent in which "the master of the earth, the spirit of the shamans" beats his skeleton on an anvil, and he thus becomes his origin, i.e. the novice is reborn as a shaman. We find what is perhaps a fuller version of this in another initiatory vision of a Nganasan Samoyed recorded by Popov:

"Then the candidate came to a desert and saw a distant mountain. After three days' travel he reached it, and entered an opening, and came upon a naked man working a bellows. On the fire was a caldron 'as big as half the earth'. The naked man saw him and caught him with a huge pair of tongs. The novice had time to think, 'I am dead!' The man cut off his head, chooped his body into bits, and put everything in the caldron. There he boiled his body for three years. There were also three anvils, and the naked man forged the candidate's head on the third, which was the one on which the best shamans were forged. Then he threw the head into one of three pots that stood there, the one in which the water was the coldest. He now revealed to the candidate that, when he was called to cure someone, if the water in the ritual pot was very hot, it would be useless to shamanize, for the man was already lost; if the water was warm, he was sick but would recover; cold water denoted a healthy man.

The blacksmith then fished the candidate's bones out of a river, in which they were floating, put them together, and covered them with flesh again. He counted them and told him that he had three too many; he was therefore to procure three shaman's costumes. He forged his head and taught him how to read the letters that are inside it. He changed his eyes; and that is why, when he shamanizes, he does not see with his bodily eyes but with these mystical eyes. He pierced his ears, making him able to understand the language of plants. Then the candidate found himself on the summit of a mountain, and finally he woke in the yurt, among his family. Now he can sing and shamanize indefinitely, without ever growing tired."²⁴

This is the central scene of the novice's visions: this is the initiation by the spirits, during which the novice's former ego is destroyed and he is reborn in both body and mind. Thereafter his eyes can see and his ears hear things hidden to normal people. One point of interest in Sereptie's vision is the idea that the sparks that fly as his skeleton is forged are in fact his bird-form spirit-helpers. Thus the spirit-helpers link up with the rebirth theme. We also see that the shaman later hung the images of these bird-form spirits on the back of his caftan.

At the end of the round the guide spirit says to the novice, "I have led you to all the origins and ways of diseases" (16). Apart from the spirit-helper the disease demons constituted the most important of the shaman's supranormal counter-roles. In order to be able to cure people he had to know where they resided and how they acted. During the vision the various causes of disease are itemized. First the novice visits the tent of the spirits causing madness (7), then he comes to a tent in which the Tungus and Dolgan spirits reside and to whom he may later turn in curing stomach diseases, headaches and epidemics (8). Last of all, before the end of the tour, the guide takes the shaman to the tent of the 'big disease', measles (17), who like her sister, a spirit sending a fog causing disease, is so dangerous that the shaman may not go anywhere near her. To the deities and spirits connected with Nature the shaman may turn in guaranteeing a successful catch for his tribe. During the stages of his journey the novice actualizes the following roles from this sphere: the Mistress of the earth (18), the Mistress of water (19), the spirit showing where to find game and fish in lean years (11), the mother of the wild reindeer (12), and the master spirit of the wild reindeer stags (12). The shaman also meets a spirit important during birth: the spirit of the after-birth (10) and the spirit protecting the newborn baby (19). Judging from this the Nganasans also appealed to the shaman for help during a birth.

In some cases the supranormal role is merely mentioned, but most often the field of action of the occupant of the role is also explained in the vision, i.e. the types of cases in which the shaman should turn to the spirit in question. For example, in acquiring the various parts of his costume he must ask several spirits for permission (12 and 15). The guide also advises him how to appeal to different spirits, how various counter-roles should be actualized. In calling his bird-form spirit-helpers the shaman must imitate their sounds (15). In curing the most terrifying of diseases, measles, he may not curse but implore (17). Tungus and Dolgan spirits must be enchanted in their own language (8).

The range of Sereptie Dyaruskin's supranormal counter-roles reveals the types of task he was as a shaman able to perform. In practising shamanizing he had to be able to heal diseases sent by various demons and be able to return the lost soul of the patient, to be able to guarantee the survival of

the tribe during periods of hunger with his knowledge of the origins of various spirits of the game, to assist in difficult births and to direct the 'feast of the clean tent'.²⁵

To be able to operate in the other world the shaman must be familiar with its topography and the roads crossing it. The guide repeatedly impresses on the novice the importance of knowing the roads and paths of various spirit beings. The reference to the way of another shaman, which the shaman may not use, is interesting (12). Every shaman would thus have his own ways, which he followed from landmarks. The tents of various spirit beings act in themselves as signposts, for they are all different, and special attention is drawn in the vision to their outer form and the associated symbolism. By descending through a hole in the earth the shaman comes to a river flowing in opposite directions, illustrating the symbolism of death and birth (4). The confluence of these streams is the beginning of the shaman's way, and to this confluence he also returns after his journey. The novice also states that the 'birth' of his shamanship is at the point where the streams meet. The guide advises the novice as he later prepares by shamanizing for a journey to the underworld, telling him to remember this particular point. "You will implore the place of confluence of these streams. When you submerge you will return swimming in the southern flow."

In mapping out in detail the terrain seen in his vision the shaman at the same time creates a picture of the origin and structure of the world and its phenomena. The overall picture is not clear, composed rather of references made here and there. For example: "These bars are the borderline between two daybreaks, the backbone of the firmament. The northern bar is the beginning of the polar light, the southern one — the beginning of the cycle of dawns" (6). "Originally, seven earths were created and it is through the spirits of these seven earths that (men) lose their minds" (7). On the other hand the story contains versions rich in detail of the cosmic themes. Alongside Sereptie Dyaruoskin's vision explaining the origin of the plants and animals (19) we may place another account on the same subject by another Nganasan shaman:

"Still preceded by his guides, the candidate then came to the Land of the Shamanesses, who strengthened his throat and his voice. He was then carried to the shores of the Nine Seas. In the middle of one of them was an island, and in the middle of the island a young birch tree rose to the sky. It was the Tree of the Lord of the Earth. Beside it grew nine herbs, the ancestors of all the plants on earth. The tree was surrounded by seas, and in each of these swam a species of bird with its young. There were several kinds of ducks, a swan, and a sparrow-hawk. The candidate visited all these seas; some of them were salt, others, so hot he could not go near the shore. After

visiting the seas, the candidate raised his head and, in the top of the tree, saw men of various nations: Tavgi, Samoyed, Russians, Dolgan, Yakut, and Tungus. He heard voices 'It has been decided that you shall have a drum (that is, the body of a drum:) from the branches of this tree.' He began to fly with the birds of the seas. As he left the shore, the Lord of the Tree called to him: 'My branch has just fallen; take it and make a drum of it that will serve you all your life.' The branch had three forks, and the Lord of the Tree bade him make three drums from it, to be kept by three women, each drum being for a special ceremony — the first for shamanizing women in childbirth, the second for curing the sick, the third for finding men lost in the snow."²⁶

Comparing this with Sereptie's vision we see that although both visions are constructed from traditional material (the cosmic mountain, the cosmic tree, the Lord of the Earth, the Mistress of the Earth, the origin of 7—9 plants, the cosmic seas), they are very different. For example, the tree from which the other Nganasan shaman makes his drum does appear in Sereptie Dyaruskin, but in a different connection (2,4). By means of the symbolic sights of the visions the shaman also explains the origin or 'birth' of many customs and ritual practices. The weak fire, for example, in the tent of the spirit of the afterbirth is explained thus: "Human beings are purified after birth by being fumigated with fire. This is the origin of the purifying fire" (10). An explanation is also given in the vision for why the newborn baby is smeared with grease and why the house spirits (kuojka) are fed by throwing grease into the fire (11). The shamanic practices and ritual attributes are naturally covered in most detail.

17.4. *Succession of the shaman initiate's status in the light of Samoyed examples.* The significance of the initiatory vision as an inherent part of shamanism cannot be assessed until the vision has been placed in its right context in the process leading to the final change of status of the shaman elect. The act of becoming a shaman is by nature a vocation initiation²⁶ and further requires the assimilation of extensive professional knowledge and a drumming and singing technique difficult to acquire. Thus it is understandable that it is more complex than the more common transfers in the community, such as age group initiations, and constitutes a process that often takes years. Instead of a simple change in status the shaman's initiation period seems to be more of a stagewise succession of status made up of initiation phases of varying degrees and in which the transfers are manifest as casual and ritual contacts with the supranormal. Relatively extensive information has been recorded on the initiation stage of the shaman among various Samoyed tribes. Of special merit in this respect are the collections of T. Lehtisalo, A. A. Popov and E. D. Prokof'yeva. On the other hand the facts are to a

certain extent random, so that holistic examination of the process of becoming a shaman in any specific Samoyed group is impossible. I shall here attempt, on the basis of the material available, to outline the typical stages in the initiation process. The model may not as such apply to the experiences of any one shaman, but may provide an indication to anyone struggling to place individual facts in context. In studying it the reader must also bear in mind the differences appearing in the shamanic tradition of the ethnic groups representing the Samoyeds, such as the amount and nature of the shaman's attributes, which may vary greatly, the specific features of belief systems, etc.

Before describing the course of the initiation stage, it is necessary to take a look at the types of shaman among the Samoyeds. In his article "The Classification of Samoyed Shamans" Pcter Hájdu has, by analysing the terms for shamans familiar among the Samoyed tribes, tried to construct a picture of the spheres of shamans of various degrees. According to him the Ennish sorcerers fall most clearly into three categories. "The threefold classification of shamans can be made out most clearly among the Enets, where the highest category was represented by the so-called *budtode*, who communicated with spirits dwelling in heaven (he had a special shaman's costume, drum and staff). In the language of the Enets the shaman of the middle grade was called *d'ano*; he protected men from evil spirits (he had a drum only). In the last category belonged the *sawode*, who had neither a shaman's costume nor a drum, and who had the duty of communicating with the dead and officiating at funeral ceremonies."²⁸ In speaking of Sel'kup shamanism Donner makes a clear distinction between a shaman proper and a sorcerer engaged in prophesy and private magic.²⁹ A true shaman is, according to Donner, "a mediator between man and the spirit world by divine calling, and among the Selkup he is always a man".³⁰ Since the command of a given technique of ecstasy and the contacting of the spirit world by means of it are regarded as decisive criteria of shamanizing, the picture of the grades and spheres of the Samoyed shaman is clear. The *sawode* sorcerers of the Entsy, likewise seers, are then excluded from shamanism. Although we do indeed find great shamans highly advanced in their skills side by side with less experienced and less skilled ones, it seems impossible to speak of any clear division into different categories. Prokof'yeva's observations, for example, on the novice stage of the Sel'kup shamans, show that the candidate's skills increase during his training, so that even before attaining his final marks of esteem he may already appear as a shaman. Thus we may surmise that shamanism proper was, among the Samoyeds, relatively uniform in its confines, i.e. the teaching stage and the recognition as shaman followed traditional formulæ, and only the skill of the teacher and the personal qualifi-

cations of the pupil predestined the novice for a given grade in his subsequent activities as shaman.

The question of who in a Samoyed community held the prerequisites for developing into a shaman is given much the same answer by most sources.³¹ Heredity played the chief role; a youth with shamans in his family had greater chances than normal of developing into a shaman, though anyone "who began to see spirits" could achieve this status. The handing down of shamanism within a family is perhaps not merely bound to the inheritance of a certain nervous constitution but rather to the process of upbringing and socializing: the family was for the young man a natural shaman school. The father and two of the brothers of Gan'kka, the sorcerer met by Lehtisalo, were shamans, and his underage son acted as his assistant during séances, presumably thus preparing to follow in his father's steps.³² Chains of shamans such as this, continuing from one generation to another, were sometimes very long. On the River Ket, for example, Donner met a shaman who was the seventh occupant of the status in direct succession.³³ Tradition has it that it could be decided at birth who had the right properties. Lehtisalo was told that if a child was born covered in amnion he would become a great shaman. If only the child's head was covered he was destined to become a less important sage.³⁴ The most important *preliminary signs* of a *potential initiate* in a normal member of the community were, however, a nervous tendency appearing as the shaman's sickness and a capacity for visions and auditions interpreted as supranormal. Islavin, for example, in his work published in 1847, says that anyone could become a shaman so long as the *tādēpcu* (the shaman's spirit-helper) appeared to him, after which a person experiencing such a calling would turn to an experienced shaman to learn the skill under his direction.³⁵ The story of Savone, an Ennish shaman belonging to the Bay group, well backs up Islavin's claim:

"Once, when she was a young girl, she went with some of her girlfriends into the forest to pick cloudberry. While picking the berries, Savone became somewhat separated from her friends. And there Varuchi (Barochi, the forest spiritmonster) fell upon her. She lost consciousness. Several days later (according to her, a month), her kin found her in the forest, naked. How she lived and nourished herself all this time she did not know; she remembered nothing. She said that she lived with Varuchi in his forest dwelling. After some time she gave birth to an infant-monster (supposedly fathered by Varuchi). The child was stillborn. After delivery Savone was in torment for a long time, and acted as one demented. She was treated by Enets shamans but to no avail. Then she appealed to the celebrated Ket shaman of that time, Sessak from Kureyka. He (apparently helped her and) also taught her to shamanize 'a little', as she put it. Apparently, the Ket shaman was her teacher, leading her through the initiation rites. However, her marked

nervous condition did not disappear in spite of the fact that Savone began to practise shamanism. She did not want to be a shaman; she hoped to recover. But then she became reconciled with her fate and accepted the hereditary shamanistic calling of her mother (her mother was also a shaman)."³⁶

In Savone's case the preliminary sign transferring this girl of hereditary shamanic calling to the status of a potential initiate were a spirit vision and an illness taking place in the forest. These same symptoms showed that the future candidate was different from her friends, placing her apart from her age group, so that the period preceding election as an initiate could, in the language of 'rites of passage' theory, be called the *separation stage*. Savone's getting lost and her experience of the preliminary visions all alone on the tundra were not exceptional. In fact they tended to be common in the reports of candidate election.³⁷ The separation stage was thus concretized as a factual isolation from the everyday life of the community. The apprenticeship with some older, experienced shaman meant, in the case of an exceptional young girl or boy, a second transfer of status, for he or she transferred from being a potential initiate to being an *initiate*. According to shamanic tradition the election as initiate is supranormally guided, for the preliminary visions demonstrate that the spirits already consider the subject suitable as a shaman. In writing off her own apprenticeship in one brief mention Savone likewise observes the orthodox shamanic line. As the spirits were regarded as the shaman's real teachers, it is natural that people were not always very willing to speak of profane teaching. A person with a command of the shamanic tradition was necessary to interpret the spirits' will³⁸, and this general custom was somewhat laborious to internalize. Thus the approval of an initiate and the guiding of the initiate's experiences in the right direction were under the strict control of the institution and its representative, an old, experienced shaman. Lehtisalo says that a future shaman had visions, sang in his sleep, and during his nights in the forest various spirits appeared before him (cf. the isolation and preliminary visions of the separation stage). At around the age of twenty the beginner was apprenticed to an old shaman. According to the Obdorsk witch Raikka the older shaman taught the novice in sacred places to beat the drum and to sing the magic songs.³⁹ On the subject of how the teaching was arranged we have a couple of illuminating reports. An initiate unsuccessful in his apprenticeship told Castrén as follows: As a youth of fifteen he was apprenticed to a shaman, because there had been outstanding shamans in his family. His teachers were two older shamans. They bound his eyes, gave him a drum and ordered him to beat it. At a séance one of the shamans hit the novice on the top of his head and the other beat upon his back. This continued for a moment, after which a crowd of

tadebtsjo entered the pupil's field of vision, dancing on his hands and feet. The vision frightened the boy so much that he fled to the Orthodox priest and had himself baptized.⁴⁰ Trct'yakov says that the system for gaining an insight into shamanism is that the novice seats himself facing west while his teacher appeals to the spirits to become his assistants. The shaman then sings the spirits a song, which the beginner has to repeat.⁴¹ The novice thus acts in the same way as an assistant, and it is quite probable that more advanced novices assisted shamans also at séances whose function was not instructional. I shall call the initiate period the *transition stage*, for its features correspond to the state named by van Gennep⁴² and Turner⁴³ as liminal. During the transition stage the initiate becomes isolated from his community and seeks contact with the supranormal world. The Nganasan shaman Duykhadin reports that during this stage he learned to sing the shaman's songs, wandered aimlessly, and now and then had fainting fits.⁴⁴ From the point of view of the normal functioning of the community an initiate such as this is useless and unattached. The transition stage does, however, bear a decisive significance in developing the shaman's professional skill; the transfer of tradition and above all its internalization in visions take place at this stage. The great visions indicating the extent to which the tradition has become ingrained constitute the culmination of the third move in the status succession of the future shaman and at the same time of the whole process. Their significance in the process of becoming a shaman is so decisive that we may speak of an *ecstatic initiation*.⁴⁵ The initiate's role set in the early phases of the transition stage differs from that of the candidate initiated by the spirits, so that unless he immediately gains permission to acquire his requisites and become a young shaman, he is during the transition stage regarded as holding at least two statuses. The first initiate stage is characterized by active study of the shamanic tradition under the guidance of a teacher, and a striving towards an encountering of the supranormal in visions and auditions. This encounter is further of *random* nature; although the initiate, instructed by his teacher, repeatedly calls the spirits, he does not command the ecstatic rite technique. One of the most fundamental elements of the initiatory visions is the journey to the underworld made by the shaman alone, with no spirit to guide him. This is a proof of maturity and professional skill, and it shows that the candidate, initiated by the spirits, is already capable of shamanizing independently, i.e. has the necessary technique of ecstasy. The encounter with the spirits is regular and ritual.

Before awaking to normal state Sereptie Dyaruoskin receives a promise from the spirits: "If you become a shaman, you will live a long time", and the advice to command by shamanizing the community's recognition of the change in status: "When you get to your own tent, speak about this

with the men, not sitting like this, but shamanizing, because you are a shaman singing with the throat of nine diseases." Recognition from the spirits in the form of ecstatic initiation is thus not yet sufficient to gain the status of shaman; the initiate still has to win the approval of the community. Shaman Dyukhadin told Popov that after the spirits had cut up and boiled his heart, i.e. he had experienced his ecstatic initiation, he practised the art of shamanizing for several years, until he was able to shamanize even for long periods without tiring. The candidate initiated by the spirits thus concentrates on perfecting his shamanic training. When Dyukhadin has gained excellent proficiency in the practice of shamanizing the spirits inform him in a dream that the time is ripe for him to collect his requisites. On waking he told his family of this, and they believed him, and gradually he began to receive invitations to various types of shamanizing. Proving that he really was able to cure the sick, he was found to be capable of the task, and he was able to demand the skin of a reindeer described on the basis of omens as the material for his dress. At yearly intervals, as he progressed and thus grew higher and higher up the novice scale, he received a dress, gloves, an apron, shoes, and finally, three years from the bestowing of the first marks of esteem, a drum.⁴⁶ On commencing test shamanizings and taking his first marks of esteem into use the initiate can be said to have reached the fourth status transfer. He becomes a *young shaman*, or a *novice shaman*, as Prokof'yeva says, who to an increasing extent directs his role-taking at the community. The period from the receipt of the first parts of his dress to the completion of his attributes could be called the *incorporation stage*, for during this time the young shaman above all sounds the needs and expectations of the community and tries to satisfy them. The approval of the community is concretized and made public as visible additions to the shaman's attributes. In many of the Samoyed tribes the shaman himself takes no part in making these, and relatives or neighbours representing the community make them for him.⁴⁷ One basic element of Sereptie Dyaruskin's initiatory visions was a knowledge of the symbolism of the attributes and the precise directions concerning their acquisition. On the basis of his visions we may form a picture of what his shaman's dress was to be like. The dress was to be made of the hide of a wild reindeer, possibly the hides of seven reindeer, it had leather fringes, copper discs depicting the moon and the sun, metal saw-toothed pendants, and metal goose figures on the back. In acquiring his seat hide, drum, and the various parts of his dress he was to travel to the appropriate spirit to ask permission and any necessary directions. In other words he was to shamanize every time he added to his attributes. The status transfers of the incorporation period can thus be regarded as manifest by rites, during which the novice gathers information as to what the devices should be like, and on their com-

pletion he took them into use. Although, according to Prokof'yeva, there are no signs among the Nentsy or Entsy of any ceremonies of vivification,⁴⁸ there are measures connected with their initial use that may be considered ritual. The garments of a male Enets shaman were sewn by his wife, who then had to have a "clean" period. On completing the garments his wife hid them somewhere near the tent, where the novice shaman had to find them. In seeking them he was very "worried". Were he to fail in his search, he could not become a shaman.⁴⁹ The quantity and nature of the shaman's attributes varied considerably from one Samoyed tribe to another. The complete dress of the Nganasans and Sel'kups might correspond to only a simple caftan and headdress among the Nentsy. Similarly the order of procuring the requisites varied. As his last mark of esteem the Nganasan shaman received a drum, whereas among the Sel'kups this was one of the first objects, the hat and staff constituting symbols of the final status transfer. Thus it is clear that the incorporation stage and the various statuses of the novice shaman also varied considerably in different tribes. Prokof'yeva's account of how an Ennish shaman got his drum also throws light on the length and importance of the incorporation stage in the training of the shaman and the position of the representative of shamanism, the old shaman, as supervisor of the training during this period. "The shaman's first drum was given to him seven years after the first night of apprenticeship (dedication). It differed from the drums of old shamans by the absence of the iron pendants and bells. Several years after the presentation of the first drum, the old-shaman-teacher tried out the drum of his student and usually ordered him to obtain a new drum — one with pendants. After ten years of shamanizing with this drum (or with one obtained at the direction of the teacher), after he attained the title of "wise", "learned", the (novice) shaman had the right to order his own drum independently without the direction of his teacher."⁵⁰ Whatever the nature of the shaman's dress or the order in which it was procured, the initiation of the final parts constituted the end of a long apprenticeship, and the novice shaman took on the status of a full shaman. As appears from Prokof'yeva's statement, his development further continued after this, and not until he had been practising for ten years did he gain the title of "wise" or "learned" shaman.

17.5. *Experience model of ecstatic initiation.* Although the old shaman's teaching included instruction in the practical side of shamanizing, the use of the drum and possibly also amanita⁵¹, the main content nevertheless comprised the transfer of the shamanic view of the world, the mythological knowledge. We can conclude from the accounts reported here (see p. 190) that this knowledge was in part at least passed on in the form of songs. On examining the

song collections of Samoyed shamans⁵² we see that some of the songs tell specifically of the initiation period. On the other hand myths telling of ancient shaman initiates have also been found among the Samoyeds. The forest Nentsy Kalljaat told Lehtisalo as follows.

“Near Gods Lake lived the lame *ηannuun-kurjuuts* Samoyed mentioned earlier. Once, while cutting timber in the forest, he felt someone tugging him and found himself on the back of the sacred *minryy* bird, who thereupon rose into the air so that the ground was barely visible. The Samoyed began to speak: “Why are you carrying me away? I would have died here, and my bones would have remained in my own country.” He then set off walking along the broad back, came to one of the wings, where he noticed a hole. He thinks: I am going to die anyway, I would sooner climb down through the hole. He crawled into the hole and began to fall. He thinks: I am sure to break all my bones now, and it will be like falling asleep. On waking he moved his hands and feet, he felt no pain, and he finds himself lying unharmed on the ground. He got up and began to go in the direction from which he thought they had flown. Thus he came to a mountain on which larches were growing, where he heard what sounded like an axc. Going closer to see, he noticed four resin trolls collecting resin. They shouted: “Come here!” He went. They asked: “Where have you come from?” He tells of his adventure and says he is on his way home. They said: “Your land is up there, this is our land, we live here, it seems you have fallen too far.” Then they set off together for their tent, which was made of larches woven together; there were pots there and all sorts of utensils, just like in a tent. The resin trolls began to play by cutting their bodies from top to bottom into two parts with a knife; thus two people were created, who after a time again combined to make one. They did the same to the Samoyed, who felt pain only in his nose. In the morning he went on again. He came to a tent made of interwoven larches, where seven *parnyy* lived. They began to play by snipping pieces off their bodies with a barbed knife; from these came new people, who after a time again combined to make one. They did the same to him. The next morning he went on. He came to a humble cottage. On one side sat an old, grey-haired man, on the other were seven beds. The man said: “It is uncomfortable here, sit over there on the first bed.” The Samoyed sat down, but at the same time sank as if into a pipe. Up above he could just make out the man’s voice saying: “Guess whose bed you sat on.” The Samoyed pondered: “There are all manner of diseases, this must be the bed of some disease.” “Right”, said the man, and took him up, then sitting him on the next bed, and each time the Samoyed guessed which disease’s bed he was sitting on. On the seventh the man again asked: “Whose bed are you sitting on?” The Samoyed thinks he has already listed all the diseases, and does not know what to say. After the man’s third question he said: “I do not know, my reason tells me nothing, I would sooner you took me off here.” The man said: “He he, if you had guessed, you would never have had to die. These are the beds of my sons, I am their father. You did not remember that when a man becomes old his breast begins to decay, now my seventh son will later eat you.” He pulled the Samoyed up who made to go. The man said: “How are you going

to find the way, you poor thing, I will guide you." He took the man to a path that was like a pipe; as the Samoyed goes along there are earth walls on either side. Light comes from above, and the path ends at the Samoyed's tent, right by the haehé sled. From then onwards he became a powerful seer."⁵³

In repeating the shaman's songs under the teacher's direction or listening to the myths of how men became shamans, the novice did not internalize only the rite technique and knowledge necessary for his tasks; he also absorbed the knowledge of how a man becomes a shaman, what his initiatory visions should be like, and what sort of *scheme* they should fall into. Sereptie Dyaruskin's initiatory vision was constructed as follows. The initial vision (1) led to a decisive event, the falling of the tree (2), when the novice meets his teacher and proceeds to the vision proper. In the company of his teacher the novice travels to the supranormal world (3—4) and here they begin a tour that could be compared to a teaching stage (6—17). The guide shows the novice all the ways and origins of the diseases. The encounter with supranormal beings always repeats the same pattern: the guide and the novice come to a new tent, the outward features of which are described in detail, and which, like the objects and inhabitants of the tent, bear unusual, mythological significance. This symbolism is revealed to the novice along a repeated pattern. The novice must himself guess the significance of what he sees, and only in exceptional cases does the guide give an explanation. When the novice, accompanied by the guide, has made a complete tour and returned to the start of the expedition, the second stage of the vision (18—20), the ordeal by fire takes place, during which he must show that he is also able to find his own way in the supranormal world. To begin with (18) the guide is still there, though passive, but later the novice continues his journey alone. The vision thus also reflects the mental ripeness of the novice to become a shaman capable of independent action. In the last stage Sereptie Dyaruskin says: "There was nobody near me, but I found it out myself", and the moment he awakes he hears a voice saying: "If you become a shaman, you will live a long time". His fate has been reinforced, he has got through his test. If we compare the vision of Sereptie Dyaruskin with other reports of visions or songs telling of the initiation period recorded among Samoyed tribes, we see that the pattern of the visions is roughly the same, in other words traditional,⁵⁴ and that the motifs of the visions are repeated in the songs performed while shamanizing. Dyaruskin's personal experience, a vision of a journey in the other world, is surprisingly similar to the forest Nentsy myth quoted above in outline. The main themes of the proceedings are uniform: 1) the initiate cutting timber meets a supranormal being in the forest, 2) he descends to the lower world through a hole, 3) there he travels from tent to tent en-

countering various spirits, 4) the appearance of the tents is described in detail, 5) the spirits cut themselves and the initiate, 6) the initiate becomes acquainted with the origin of the diseases, 7) he must himself guess which disease demons he meets, 8) at last one of the spirits acts as his guide. On the other hand comparison of the experiences of shamans of the same ethnic group of Samoyeds, e.g. Sereptie Dyaruoskin and Dyukhadin, shows that although the structure and motifs of the visions are broadly similar, they differ greatly in their detail, such as the number and nature of the spirits. The correct approach to the investigation of these factors, the sum of individualities appearing despite the common basis of tradition, would be analysis of the origin process of the shamanic initiatory vision.⁵⁵ Since from a critical point of view the material available is insufficient for such an attempt I shall try to hypothesize on the conditions and consequences of the decisive experiences of the transition stage.

The points of departure of the process derive from a striving to enter into shamanism and be selected as an initiate on the basis of preliminary signs and the initiate's basic motivation, that of attaining the status of shaman. As his technique of ecstasy developed and he internalized the tradition, the initiate formed in his mind an *experience model*. Without realising it he then sought experiences conforming with this model in order to get through the vital initiation, and some random stimulus in accordance with the tradition then actualized this model as a frame of reference for the vision. The form of the experience model, likewise the vision, naturally depended on the selections regulated by the initiate's personality. It was the job of the initiate's worldly initiator, the old shaman, to prevent the breaking loose of the essential ecstatic capacities in too individual a direction and to channel the visions in accordance with the explanation models provided by tradition and serving the community. Thus the third transfer in the initiate's status succession, manifest as visions reflecting ecstatic initiation, probably included a discussion and interpretation stage, as the result of which the representative of the community controlling the change in status might approve the transfer.⁵⁶

What, then, should the initiatory visions be like to lead people to believe the future shaman would be competent in his task? Examination of the content of Sereptie Dyaruoskin's visions showed that their central and recurring elements were the encountering of some being, spirit or guardian belonging to the supranormal world. The visions thus brought out his supranormal counter-roles. They further showed the spheres of these role occupants and the ways in which the shaman made contact with them in his future operations, i.e. how they were to be actualized. The visions likewise reflected the shaman's knowledge of the origin of the world and its phenomena and registered precisely the topography of the supranormal world and the paths

crossing it. In them was manifest the whole scale of Sereptie Dyarusoskin's shamanic knowledge and skill. In extracting the heart of the shamanic ontology he proves he has internalized the tradition completely and feels that in experience he has been approved by the spirits: the spirits destroy his former ego and turn him into a shaman. It is interesting to note that a shamanic transfer in status experienced as visions contains the conventional themes of the rites of passage: detachment from the former role, the symbolism of death (the initiate travels through many difficulties and obstacles to the unknown, the spirits carve up his body), internalization of knowledge in accordance with the new role during the marginal stage (the guide spirit introduces the initiate to the affairs of the other world) and association with the new role, the symbolism of rebirth (the initiate is born again as a shaman, he carries out his first act in the new role in travelling to the underworld alone). The same separation — transition — incorporation idea covers the entire initiation process, and although we have little knowledge of the ritual status transfers of the later incorporation stage, we can assume that it is also repeated in these rites.

18. SÉANCE OF A NENTSY SHAMAN IN OBDORSK

18.1. *Background.* Prokof'yeva mentions that the duties of the Nentsy shaman comprised treatment of the sick, prediction of the future, assistance in hunting and fishing, finding of lost or stolen objects, burials and farewells to the soul of a dead person. Not every shaman necessarily had command over the full scale, and shamans sometimes specialized in certain tasks only. Thus *sambana* shamans attended burials and later accompanied the soul to the next world.¹ The Nentsy shaman was a professional in that he always acted for a fee (*khaso*) varying in size from a pair of mittens or deerskin to several reindeer.² One feature of the shamanic belief system in the 19th century was syncretism; in 1824 a mission church was established among the Nentsy, which saw that all the inhabitants were baptized, the images of the spirits were burnt and the holy places were destroyed.³ The shamanism of the Nentsy, who inhabited a large area and who became socially isolated at a very early stage, is not entirely uniform. For example, the full range of shaman's attributes such as existed among the Nganasans and the Entsy, was found only among the eastern Nentsy in the 19th century. The only mark of the western Nentsy shaman was a certain type of hat.

In 1911—1912 T. Lehtisalo made a philological research trip among the Nentsy of North Russia and Northwest Siberia. He spent most of his time in Obdorsk, on the lower reaches of the River Ob, from there journeying

to the estuaries of the Tas and Pur rivers, and returning home via the areas inhabited by the Samoyeds on the European side. In 1914 he likewise worked among the forest Nentsy of the Tobolsk governmental district. In addition to his linguistic material he collected information on the religion of the Samoyeds, on the basis of which he published the work "Entwurf einer Mythologie der Jurak-Samojeden" (1924). Lehtisalo further gained a deep insight into the shamanic tradition of the Nentsy, and his publication "Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung" contained much shamanic poetry and prose. Lehtisalo also had an opportunity to observe the work of the shaman in practice, and by means of interviews to find out the religious concepts hiding in the background of the séance. For in Obdorsk he met the shaman Gan'kka⁴ belonging to the Yamal clan and "with him beat the drum a couple of times in the mud hut of the witch Raikka". Gan'kka invited Lehtisalo to make a return visit, promising to show him how "the magic ceremonies take place among the Samoyeds". His father was a well-known shaman in Yamal, and all three sons had carried on the tradition. The brothers still lived in Yamal, Gan'kka, however, on the River Ob, about 7 verst from Obdorsk.

18.2. *Description of the rite process*⁵

Wir kamen in der Abenddämmerung beim Zelte Ganjkkas an. Sofort ging es an die Vorbereitungen zu dem Schauspiel.

IB: Die Trommel und die Füße des Gehilfen des Zauberers wurden mit Bibergeilrauch "gereinigt".

IC: Ganjkka legte als Sitzunterlage ein Renntierfell an der heilig gehaltenen Stelle hinten im Zelte auf den Boden nieder, vor sich setzte er eine Truhe und auf deren Deckel den *ngytterma* seines verstorbenen Vaters, eines Zauberers namens Mcetsja, und eine weibliche Puppe, die der Gottesmutter, der ein Rubel als Opfer dargebracht wurde. Ferner legte er Klingeln vor sich hin, mit denen er bei dem Eintreffen der Geister klingelte. Damit ihm die *taadjebtsjo's* gewogen seien, bat er mich, auf der Truhe 14 Fünfkopekenstücke niederzulegen. Hinter die Zeltstange hängte er in gleicher Höhe mit seinem Kopfe nach hinten das Fell eines weissen Hasen, seiner ersten Beute, auf, das dem Weiber-Geist von Kazym geweiht war. Hinter sich an die Zeltstangen band er einen Tuchvorhang, in dem die Samojeden im Sommer zur Zeit der Mücken schlafen. Auf dem Kopfe hatte er eine Mütze aus blauem Tuch, auf die ein Kreuzzeichen genäht war (Ganjikka hatte sich taufen lassen) und an deren Hinterrand ein grosses weisses Tuch befestigt war, das also nicht als Gesichtsschleier diente. Sollte wohl eine solche Zauberermütze ganz und gar auf das Konto des erfinderischen Ganjkka zu setzen sein?

IT: Bei der Tür spannte Ganjkka eine Hermelfalle auf und schoss mit einem grossen Bogen hinten vom Zelte den Pfeil in der Weise durch das

Fuocr, dass das Fanggerät losging und der Pfeil zur Türöffnung hinausflog. Dann nahm er sieben Pfeile und denselben Bogen und zielte nach der *haehe*-Lade, schoss aber nicht; darauf wandte er sich uns drei Zuschauern zu mit den Worten: "Von den dreien muss einer getötet werden! und zielte nach meinem Sprachmeister, der den Bogen zur Seite schob. Danach richtete Ganjkka den Bogen nach der Rauchöffnung und schoss den Pfeil nach der *siimsi*-Stange empor. Ganjkka erzählte später, dass er darum so geschossen habe, weil er vor sieben Jahren, als er mit den Donnern gcreist sei und auch den alten *Mikkulai* besucht habe, bei der Heimkehr, wie er zur Rauchöffnung hereinkam, von seinen Angehörigen, die ihn für einen eindringenden bösen Geist hielten, beinahe erschossen worden sei. Da sie ihn nicht töten konnten, nahmen sie ein Hermelfell vor, damit dieses den Ankömmling erkenne. Aber dies erkannte ihn nicht, sondern Ganjkkas Geister schossen es. Da die Geister damals das Hermelfell schossen, muss er jetzt etwas schiessen.

Ich kann nicht sagen, ob solche Kunststücke bei den Samojeden-zauberern allgemein in Gebrauch sind und ob die von Ganjkka dafür gegebene Erklärung richtig ist. Eher scheint es sich hier um eine Art Bedrohung der Geister zu handeln. Auf etwas Ähnliches weist vielleicht der von mir am Pur-Fluss aufgezeichnete Gesang, den ein Zauberer namens Maljuu aus dem Stamme *tjoor* bei der Heilung eines Kranken vorgetragen hat. Der Anfang lautet:

Der Tjoor-Stier
seinen surgutischen
grossen Bogen
in die vier Zeltwinkel
richtet er drohend.

1B: Nachdem der Gehilfe die Trommel neben dem Feuer gewärmt hatte, wovon sich die Haut so spannte, dass sie beim Schlagen schauerlich feierlich klingt,

1C: überreichte er sie dem Zauberer, der, auf dem Renntierfell sitzend, die *sjaadai*-Antlitze auf dem Handgriff küsst, sich vorwärts über die Trommel verbeugt, die Augen schliesst und auf ein Weilchen in Schlaf zu versinken scheint.

2D: Er beginnt leise die Trommel zu schlagen und pfeift, um die *taadjebtsjo* herbeirufen, und alle Anwesenden schreien gleichzeitig mit kräftiger Stimme *ho-oi, ho-oi, ho-oi!* Er singt leise für sich unter Trommelklang,

2E: bis er plötzlich vernehmlich zu singen beginnt, wobei sein Gehilfe seine undeutlichen Worte für die Anwesenden wiederholt. Er sieht in einer Vision die Fahrten seines Schattengeistes, der die Gestalt eines Renntierstieres hat, in anderen Welten und singt von ihnen, als ob er selbst dabei wäre, oder er sieht, wie Geister zu ihnen kommen. Die Vortragsweise ist genau so wie die des Zauberers in Russisch-Lappland, die nach GENETZ "höchst monoton war; die Stimme hebt und senkt sich kaum mehr als um einen halben Ton. Jede neue Tonfolge setzt allemal mit höherer Stimme ein.

Die Worte werden so undeutlich ausgesprochen, dass man von ihnen nicht mehr unterscheiden kann als vielleicht ab und zu den Namen irgend eines Gottes." Die Gesänge werden jedoch mit grosser Begeisterung und mit ursprünglicher Kraft vorgetragen, muss doch der Zauberer "rasen", um sich vor den Geistern in vorteilhaftem Lichte zu zeigen und seinen Willen zu Gehör zu bringen. Bisweilen klopft er sich mit dem Schlegel auf den Kopf und erhebt sich sogar mitunter von seinem Sitze und macht einige einfache Tanzschritte.

2Q: Nachdem er die "Fahrt" zurückgelegt hat, schleudert er die Trommel aus der Hand, erwacht aus seiner Verzückung, und die Anwesenden rufen: *tjü, tjü, tjü!* (Jawohl!).

7T: Nach einer Weile verschwand Ganjkka hinter dem Vorhang, und der Gehilfe hatte die Trommel, der diese wortlos unaufhörlich schlug. Lange Zeit hörte man nichts vom Zauberer, dann begann er leise zu jammern und für sich zu singen, aber Worte konnte man nicht unterscheiden. Als er hinter dem Vorhang hervortrat, hatte er drei Gefässe in der Hand. In diese Gefässe habe er sein eigenes Blut fliessen lassen und alle Anwesenden müssten davon essen oder sich doch wenigstens damit bestreichen. Von dem Blute, von dem er nicht sehr viel hatte und das auch noch zum Teil geronnen war, ass er selbst, schmierte dann sieben blutflecken auf sein Gesicht sowie das seines Gehilfen, seines minderjährigen Sohnes und das meinige.

5E: Die Zauberslieder wurden abermals fortgesetzt,

5P: bis Ganjkka "in Ekstase geriet", rücklings auf den Boden fiel, wo er lange Zeit unbeweglich mit offenen, aufwärts nach einem Punkt stierenden Augen liegen blieb. Der Gehilfe hatte plötzlich beim Fallen des Zauberers die Trommel an sich gerissen und schlug sie leise zu Häupten des Zauberers. Jetzt hatte also der Odem den Zauberer verlassen (denn nur Tote dürfen nach samojedischen Sitten auf dem Rücken liegen) und war zu einem grossen Geist gegangen; und nach ihrem Glauben kann der Odem nicht in der Körper zurückkehren, wenn der Gehilfe nicht die Trommel bei dem Ohr des Zauberers schlägt.

5Q, 5S: Nach dem Aufstehen erzählte Ganjkka, dass der Geist *Jaumaal* eingetroffen sei, und in dessen Gegenwart sei kein anderer Platz für den Zauberer heilig genug als die Zaubertrommel; er stellte sich auf dieselbe, indem er begeistert allein sein Lied summt.

7E: Nachdem Ganjkka abermals die Trommel geschlagen und Zauberslieder gesungen hatte,

7SX: erklärte er, dass er bereit sei, sich mit dem Messer zu schneiden, bat mich aber zuerst um eine Summe Geldes; denn er könnte hierbei sterben. Ganjkkas Weib hatte mich vor der Vorstellung heimlich gebeten, dass ich nicht zugebe, dass sich ihr Mann schneide. Er sei hinterher oft wochenlang bettlägerig. Daher willigte ich nicht in Ganjkkas Anerbieten. Als ich später

bat, von ihm ein Bild nehmen zu dürfen, verschwand er auf ein Weilehen hinter dem Vorhang und als er hervorkam, hatte er ein Messer unter dem Arm, sodass es von der Seite den Anschein hatte, als ob, er es in die Brust gestossen habe. Er sass sehr selbstbewusst und würdevoll da, als ich ihn fotografierte, leider diesmal — ohne Platte.

18.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The preparation sequence to the shamanizing event, which took place at dusk, begins with a cleansing rite (1B). Fumigation, and especially the use of castor smoke in cleansing rites, e.g. for women after menstruation and giving birth, is common among the Nentsy.⁶ In this case the function of the fumigation is presumably also the protection of the drum and the assistant from the harmful influence of the spirits.⁷ We can say that the cleansing rite, by means of which Gan'kka protected his underage son against any dangers that might befall him in the role of assistant, also acted as a transition stage as the boy actualized the assistant's role.

Gan'kka's transfer to the role of shaman (1C) is eventful. He first takes out his cult objects, and in using them to prepare the tent for the shamanizing he recalls the confines of his supranormal frame of reference. Gan'kka's performance as observed by Lehtisalo was only in the nature of a demonstration, which thus had no serious function. The question arises of the extent to which the cult objects used are tied to the purpose of the séance. Does Gan'kka have quite special devices for, e.g., healing the sick or finding a lost deer, or are the confines of shamanizing events always the same? In other words, what is the nature of the whole functional field of the cult objects and the preparatory rites described in the account? Although it may be impossible to answer these questions in clear terms, a few background facts may throw some light on the matter. Gan'kka's seat is the conventional reindeer skin, which the Nentsy placed in the back part of the tent regarded as sacred. In front of his seat Gan'kka placed the chest in which he kept the cult objects, the *haehe*-chest⁸ and on the lid he put the *ngytterma* of his dead father, a doll dressed as a human and made only after the shaman's death. According to one source of information from the Kanin Peninsula a shaman may, after preparing a doll representing his dead shamanfather, add this to his spirit-helpers.⁹ It would thus be tempting to interpret father Meetsya, whose *ngytterma* Gan'kka takes out, as acting as his son's spirit-helper; especially since the soul of the ancestral shaman is in many parts of Siberia regarded as the shaman's most important spirit-helper. On the other hand we know from the Taz Bay Nentsy that a doll such as this was fed in the family of the dead for only 5—6 years, after which it was lowered in its little *ngytterma* chest into the shaman's grave.¹⁰ Every Samoyed household had

idols representing household deities going by the general name of *haehe*.¹¹ An unusually shaped stone might be chosen and carried into the tent as a *haehe*; lucky is the man who finds a *haehe* stone that can be interpreted as the figure of a man. The *haehe* might be dressed in rags as a doll, and it was kept along with the other cult objects in a special *haehe* sled in the sacred back corner of the tent. According to Heinrich Ufer every Nentsy family possessed both a male and a female household deity.¹² Thus Gan'kka's female idol may be interpreted as an ordinary household deity, the function of which is described by Castrén as follows: "Apart from *Num* the Samoyeds also worship their household deities, fetishes or so-called *Hahe*, reveal to them their wishes and needs, ask them for help and assistance in everything they do and especially for a successful hunt."¹³ When, on the other hand, we see that Gan'kka's view of the world contains Christian influences, we may conclude from the term "Gottesmutter" (Mother of God) used by Lehtisalo that Gan'kka had prepared his idol in the Orthodox image of the Mother of God he had seen in Obdorsk Church. The sacrificing of money to the idol also follows the Samoyeds' custom as regards icons. Lehtisalo says: "The Samoyed regard Old Mikkulai, the Russian Nikolai the miracle-worker, as the God-Father who lives in the seventh heaven and sent his son to earth to die on the cross . . . Whenever a Samoyed goes to the church in Obdorsk he places money or a candle only before the image of the long-bearded Mikkulai."¹⁴ The background to Gan'kka's Mother of God is in fact explained. We see that in placing his idol on the *haehe* chest he concretely brings out two role figures necessary in the séance, and by his sacrificial measures he makes sure that one of them will take on the role of protector. Although the guardians of the house do act as general helpers, different types of idols do seem to have their own spheres. In speaking of the idols of the Sel'kup Samoyeds Donner mentions that some of them were household deities in the sense that they chiefly protected the family hearth and members of the family. It was the special task of others to ward off any evil spirits, especially those bringing diseases. Luck in hunting and fishing were likewise the task of specific idols.¹⁵ One of the most important roles connected with the status of shaman among the Nentsy was the task of guaranteeing a successful hunting and fishing season.¹⁶ It is natural that Gan'kka's supranormal frame of reference also took in role occupants influencing the catch. Among his preparatory rites is the taking out of his first catch, a white hare. The hare is mentioned as being dedicated to the spirit wife of Kazym. The wife *haehe*, which on the upper Kazym was worshipped in a little hut, was originally one of the heavenly spirits (*himlische Geister*) of the Khants,¹⁷ but it had also become part of the ritual of the Samoyeds living nearby. The Kazym wife-*haehe* was originally said to be a Samoyed woman, and there were several myths relating how she

became a spirit.¹⁸ In Gan'kka's spirit hierarchy she held an important position; she could be approached not only in hunting, but also in case of illness. Gan'kka told Lehtisalo: "A dead person may be healed with the clouds of *Mikkulai*. The clouds of the Kazym wife are earth clouds, they protect people and can even heal them, but they can also kill."¹⁹ The "clouds" (Wolken) are another name for the *taadjebtsjo*, the shaman's spirit-helpers. Thus deities and mighty spirits also had additional forces at their disposal, not only the shaman. Gan'kka probably had fourteen spirits of his own, for he asked Lehtisalo to sacrifice 14 five-kopeck coins to his spirits, and the Nentsy shaman usually had seven, twice seven or four times seven spirit-helpers.²⁰ Various bells and rattles are among the conventional shamanizing requisites, their aim being to drive away evil spirits or to call the spirit-helpers. Gan'kka's only mark of his status as shaman was a blue broadcloth hat. Lehtisalo describes types of dress found among the Nentsy and notes that the shaman's dresses do not have as many parts as those of the Siberian peoples living further east²¹. According to Venyamin the headdress in particular was the most important article of clothing of the Nentsy shaman.²² The cross sewn on Gan'kka's hat reflects the process of change which the view of the world of the Nentsy shaman was undergoing. Side by side with the old ethnic religion was a new creed that partly replaced the old, partly merged with previous practices. Although Gan'kka had been christened, he had managed to merge the world of concepts of the new belief with the old shamanic tradition completely. He even explained to Lehtisalo that the god (*num*) of the Samoyeds is the same as that of the Russians. When evil people killed Mikkulai's son there arose a new belief of which the Samoyeds, unable to read, knew nothing.²³ Another old man from the Ob estuary explained the relationship between the belief of the Samoyeds and the Russians as follows: "The Russian have candles and we have *sjaadais*, made by hand like candles. We too acknowledge *one* God in heaven like the Russians. I am old already, I do not believe in the Russian God and I have not been christened. When death comes he will take the Russian with him just as he will take me, the Russian god cannot help any more than mine can."²⁴ In speaking of the god of the Russians Gan'kka was referring to Saint Nikolai of the Orthodox church, whose picture hung in Obdorsk church. This syncretistic new god was not merely one of Gan'kka's inventions, for Lehtisalo says that the Samoyeds generally regarded old Mikkulai, or the Russians' Nikolai, doer of miracles, as the Father of God, who lived in the seventh heaven and gave his son to die on the cross.²⁵ Gods of the old and the new religion appear naturally side by side in Gan'kka's vision of the world. During his initiatory vision he had wandered with the Thunder and visited the Mikkulai god, who had invited him to sew a cross of silver thread on his shamanic headdress.

Although his religion thus seems to be tinged with Christianity, it was in fact completely shamanic. There was for him no conflict between the old and the new, religion was one and the same, the Russians and the Samoyeds just called the gods by different names. This is illustrated in the explanation he gave for the origin and background of *Jaumaal*, fourth in importance among the major supranormal powers known to him, alongside the Kazym spiritwife, Thunder and old Mikkulai or *num*.²⁶ *Jaumaal* was a local spirit called *ortiki*, called by the tundra Nentsy old *Jaumaal* (= old man of the upper reaches of the Ob) worshipped near the village of Belogor'ye in the area inhabited by the Ostyaks. Gan'kka in turn called him Vasiley *Jaumaal*, and told Lehtisalo that he was Mikkulai's interpreter and identical with the Archangel Gabriel of the Russians. The cross sewn onto Gan'kka's cap was thus a sign of the relationship between him and the supreme deity, a concrete proof that the shaman knew the way to this deity. The white cloth attached to the back of his hat is probably a veil divested of all function. Its purpose was formerly to isolate the shaman from his own world and thus make communication with the spirit world easier. One report by an English traveller in 1556 mentions that witches on the mouth of the Petsora covered their faces with a veil.²⁷

The shooting rite (IT) during Gan'kka's preparatory stage is connected with a highly complex tradition.²⁸ Gan'kka himself explained the nature of the act by referring to the events of his initiation period (cf. the journeying with Thunder and the visit to Mikkulai), which he had to relate in later séances. The shaman's dresses of many Siberian peoples had little bow and arrow-shaped pendants depicting the shaman's armaments. Tret'yakov reports that arrows were part of every Samoyed sorcerer's equipment and that, being invisible, he could kill his enemy from afar.²⁹ Tret'yakov thus refers to one function of the use of bow and arrows: that of causing harm. One explanation for disease in Northwest and Northeast Siberia is precisely the penetration of a disease projectile, also an arrow, into the patient.³⁰ Shooting with a bow is also used as a way of drawing lots, at least among the Nganasans. Popov says a shaman tested future success in hunting by shooting a reindeer skin with his eyes bound³¹, and that in a corresponding way he guaranteed success in shamanizing, when the reindeer skin in question was later made into his caftan.³² Lehtisalo returns to Gan'kka's behaviour in his article on the bow, arrow and drum of the Yurak Samoyed sorcerer. "When we consider that the sorcerer threatened with a bow or shot at places where spirits were believed to be, it is obvious that the rite described above meant the warding off of evil from the séance beginning. For the same reason he aimed at us listeners with his bow."³³ Having aimed in various directions Gan'kka shot through a weasel trap. A parallel to shooting through a trap

is found in, among others, a Finnish tradition: at the start of the hunting season it was the custom to shoot through strings and cords with a special wood-fibre bow made of alder. A similar alder bow was also used in Finland to cure diseases.³⁴ These are ways of preparing for or driving away evil. Lehtisalo's explanation thus seems right. With his shooting rite Gan'kka drives away any evil spirits that may be in the tent.³⁵ The fact that Gan'kka derives the reason for the shooting rite from an event during his initiation period is fully understandable: in his other actions, too, he repeats the experiences of his initiation period. The scrap of incantation quoted by Lehtisalo proves that the rite in question was part of the healing act of the Nentsy shaman. In Gan'kka's case the shooting through a trap may indicate that his shooting act was part of a shamanizing scheme conducted in particular to guarantee success in hunting.

The conventional warming of the drum over the fire was one of the tasks of Gan'kka's assistant (1B). Engraved on the open inside of the Samoyed drum and the crossbar attached to the centre were *sjaadai* faces, images of the spirits. *Sjaadai* were little idols made of wood who were thought to bring luck.³⁶ The shaman made *sjaadai* images for Samoyed families at particular times, e.g. before the start of the hunting season, so that the family would be lucky in its hunting and fishing. Gan'kka's preparatory stage ends with an appeal to the spirits engraved on the drum, he kisses the *sjaadai* faces and for a moment sinks into sleep, which acts as a marginal phase between the preparations and the final transfer to the role of shaman.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Gan'kka is now a shaman; he begins to sing quietly, calling his spirit-helpers, i.e. picking his counter-roles (2D). The verb 'to whistle' in Lehtisalo's account may refer to the imitation of the sounds of the spirits. The shaman collects himself, his singing is so soft that the words are impossible to make out. The audience supports the shaman with invocatory cries.

Lehtisalo does not quote Gan'kka's song, but from Lehtisalo's and Castrén's extensive collections we can form a picture of the nature of Gan'kka's song.³⁷ Judging from these collections the songs of the Samoyed shamans seem to fall into two main categories: extensive songs describing the shaman's visions and journeys, and shorter and more stereotype invocations to the spirits. Gan'kka's songs are of vision type, he describes the journey of his soul in the form of a reindeer stag. In summer 1928 Lehtisalo recorded the following song by Matvey Yadrn'ye³⁸, a tundra Nentsy from the lower Ob who was visiting Finland, and in content this song seems to resemble that of Gan'kka:

a.

Wieder (ein wenig)
 lasst uns gehen,
 meine Kameraden
 von der Himmelsseite!
 Zwei(mal) sieben
 Himmelsjünglinge
 ihre eisernen
 Lassos
 zu ziehen
 begannen,
 unter vielen Renttieren
 eines,
 den rötlichen,
 heranwachsenden
 Ochsen,
 fingen sie
 zu ihrem Rentier;
 sie lieben (ihn) gleichsam.
 Morgen
 bei Anbruch des Tages
 dieses Renttier
 fangen wir ein,
 damit wir es mit Blut bestreichen
 zum Renttier des *num*.
 Wünschen sie?
 Die anderen,
 sie sagten:
 "Wenn du
 sagst,
 sei es
 so!"
 Ich sagte so:
 "Jetzt (auf kurze Zeit)
 lasst uns verlassen!"
 Dies
 so seiend,
 wieder
 begaben wir uns,
 unserern Weg
 des Himmelsrohres
 begannen wir ja,
 in der Gestalt
 eines einjährigen männlichen
 Renttieres
 unsere vier Beine
 werfend.
 Meine zwei(mal) sieben

Geliebten
 sagend
 hörte man so sagen:
 "Einjähriges, männliches Renttier,
 unser Geliebter,
 auf welches Land zu
 begabst du dich?"
 Meine vier Beine
 brachte ich zum halten.
 Sagend
 trug ich so vor:
 "Meine zwei(mal) sieben
 Witwen,
 das Lager für mich
 machen sie bereit."
 Meine Nasenknorpel
 schnarchen.

b.

Während ich
 aufspringe,
 meine sieben
 Steingewichte
 auf verschiedene Stellen
 fielen herunter.
 Nach Art
 meines
 Hüpfens aber
 beschleunigt bald!
 Die Tür blieb hinter mir
 meine vier Beine
 werfend.
 Die Fee
 der Landsungenanhöhe der Wolken,
 meine Geliebte,
 dort
 liess ich doch
 meine Gestalt
 des einjährigen, männlichen
 Renttiers.
 In meiner Gestalt
 des Minlei
 auf das Ende
 der Grundstangen des Zeltes
 setzte ich mich doch.
 Die mit zwei(mal) sieben
 RahmENZApfen Verschene

ist ganz glatt
 gespannt.
 Dröhnen zu lassen
 begann ich doch
 mit meinen
 jüngeren Brüdern.
 Meine Kameraden
 von der Erdseite,
 Bewohner des Zelt
 auf der Erdspitze,
 beeilt euch
 mehr!
 Nur Grosse von ihnen
 am Ende des Wortes
 lasst uns finden!
 Dann aber
 hörte man sie kommen.
 Dies
 so seiend,
 meinen Grossvater
 Mikkulei
 dann
 hörte man kommen,
 alle diese
 Sitzenden
 meiner vielen Länder,
 alle diese
 hörte man kommen.
 Die auf Zauberfragen
 antwortende Fee
 sagend
 hörte man so vortragen:
 "Meine jungen Vögelchen
 mögen sich neigen!"
 Meine kleinen Vögelchen,
 die Frage nach dem Ziel des
 Schiessens
 kam hier.
 Einst
 der schlimme Rachegeist eines
 Getöteten,
 eine Jungfrau
 hat es getötet,
 als schlimmer Plagegeist jetzt
 will er essen.
 Meine jungen Vögelchen,
 was sagt ihr?
 Sie sagten so:
 "Halte ihn an,

sei so gut!"
 Ich sagte so:
 "Schützender
 Fänger.
 halte an
 den schlimmen Plagegeist
 bis zum Ende
 bestimmter Jahre!"
 Von da vorwärts
 können wir ja nicht
 ihn anhalten.
 Mein schussziel
 war das nur.

c.

Meine zwei(mal) sieben
 Witwen
 anzukleiden
 machen sich bereit,
 ihre stiefel
 zogen sie gerade,
 ihre Hosen
 zogen sie hinauf,
 ihren Gürtel
 gürteten sie,
 ihre Flechten
 stekten sie doch hinter den Gürtel,
 ihre Stirnkette
 hängten sie doch,
 ihren Ohrenschmuck
 hängten sie doch
 die *siimsi*-Stange
 entlang nur
 ihr Kratzen
 hörte man gehen,
 auf dem schutzwalle
 der sieben Himmel
 ihr Lachen nur
 hörte man gehen.
 Den Grossvater der Maantu
 hörte man sagen:
 "Zu unserem Liegeplatz
 begaben wir uns."
 Hinter diesen
 ihren Kameraden
 alle diese
 hintereinander wandern.

Mein singendes
 Bogenholz
 gänzlich dort
 hielt plötzlich an,
 seine eigene
 Fee
 begab sich dort fort,
 darum
 hielt es plötzlich an.
 Auch ich
 lege mich
 auf meinen Liegeplatz.
 Wasserale,
 meine Geliebte,

Meine sieben
 Gewichtsteine!
 Mit solchen Worten
 hörte er auf.
 Mein jüngerer Bruder,
 die mit zwei(mal) sieben
 Bogenzapfen Versehene
 nimm fest!
 Meine Nasenknorpel
 schnarchen.
 Dieser mein eigener
 Gesang
 hielt inne.³⁹

In his song we see the shaman actualizing a host of supranormal roles and describing the behaviour of those acting in these roles as well as his own role performance in the other world. In a way the role situation operates at two levels: in the normal world the séance continues, with the shaman and the assistant carrying out their own tasks. The shaman sings and the assistant repeats his words. The assistant's role-taking is thus directed at the shaman, the mediator, and as appears from Lehtisalo's words "wobei sein Gehilfe seine undeutlichen Worte für die Anwesenden wiederholt", also at those present. The shaman's role-taking, on the other hand, has now transferred completely to the supranormal world. In the first song his heavenly spirits, 'two times seven heavenly youths' try to catch with a lasso a reddish, full-grown animal from a herd of reindeer, and the shaman then journeys in the form of this year-old stag. The shaman describes in song the communication between his soul and the spirits, calling the latter by various euphemisms: "Meine zwei(mal) sieben Witwen", "Meine zwei(mal) sieben Geliebten". In the second song we are likewise told how the shaman, transformed into the Minlei bird, calls and assembles his spirit-helpers, including the landward spirits, and talks to 'the spirit answering witch questions'. Matvey's song contains episodes in which the shaman calls the spirits and then says he can hear them coming. Some Samoyed shaman's songs, which could be called *invocatory songs*, contain only these two elements (cf. Lehtisalo 1947, nos. 81, 82, 86, 89, 90). One of the most typical features of the songs are the interjections between verses, which could be interpreted as, for example, imitation of the sounds of the animal-helpers. Their function is precisely the invocation of the spirits. Lehtisalo reports that Gan'kka, in his song, also describes how the spirits come to him. Similarly in the third of Matvey Yad-n'yc's songs we are told how the spirits, "zwei(mal) sieben Witwen", are dressed and move along a siimsi-stave. Thus motifemes a, b and d are among

the samoyeds inherent to this type of shaman's song, called an 'invocatory song'. Corresponding themes were also repeated in the invocatory songs of the Chukchi shamans addressed to the spirits.⁴⁰

The shaman also actualizes other spirit roles, including the Maantu ancestor and the Spirit of the Water. Grandfather Maantu is a functional role figure; he announces: "Zu unserem Liegeplatz begaben wir uns". The spirits are thus on their way to their place of rest; correspondingly the shaman says: "Auch ich lege mich auf meinen Liegeplatz". The reference to falling asleep is an element that is repeated in the invocatory songs of the shamans. It may be a feature preparing for trance, or a reference to the factual sleep that ends the shamanizing event. In any case trance and sleep appear side by side among the Samoyeds, and are closely linked with one another.

As the songs proceed Gan'kka's state of ecstasy gradually rises. Lehtisalo even says that a witch must go into a frenzy in order to appear to the spirits in the correct light and to make his voice heard. It becomes clear from the words that acteme E appears in a certain way also in the function of sequence 5: the shaman meets the spirits on a journey that is conceived as being truly real.⁴¹ Verbal imitation such as this is a particular feature of the Samoyed shaman⁴², though as we see from Gan'kka's shamanizing, it appears parallel with loss of consciousness. In this respect the journey made in the form of songs acts as an induction stage transferring the shaman to an altered state of consciousness. The shaman collects his knowledge of the supranormal, at the same time fully reliving the roles and events of which he is relating. Once the journey in the form of song has been made we have the return (2Q). The audience, whose role during the account of the journey was that of a passive listener, becomes activated into a functional part of the séance and greets the returning shaman with cries of 'yes'.

The blood rite (7): Gan'kka's blood rite (7T) to some extent remains obscure, though in part we can guess at the mythical connections behind it. In the course of the following acts Gan'kka makes a journey to the *Jaumaal* spirit. In Obdorsk Lehtisalo heard a myth telling of how *Jaumaal* became a spirit: *Jaumaal* was a young shaman who offered seven blood sacrifices to *num*, the god in heaven. He shamanized and travelled to *num*, who announced that because the youth had sacrificed seven blood offerings he must receive his reward for it. He became the *Jaumaal-haehe*.⁴³ It is highly probable that the seven spots of his own blood Gan'kka places on the faces of his own, his assistant and Lehtisalo symbolize the seven blood offerings made by the ancient shaman and thus act as a preparation for the journey to this shaman turned into a *haehe*.

As regards role technique it is interesting that as Gan'kka goes behind

the curtain the assistant takes his place in the rite to carry on the drumming.

The shaman's journey (5): In order to attain the necessary state of trance the shaman begins a new song act during which he presumably actualizes his helper roles and the other role figures appearing on the journey (5E). The shaman having lost consciousness (5P), his spirit wanders in the other world. It is the job of the assistant to drum in his ear to retain contact with the normal world and thus safeguard the shaman's return.

The shaman returns, and his role-taking is now directed above all at those present, i.e. as expected, he reports the stages of his journey (5Q+S). While telling the story he also has the supranormal world in his mind; he experiences the journey anew, actualizes and describes the spirit roles he knows. The act is, however, primarily informative in function. Although the supranormal reference background of the recital is the same as in the songs of the invocation stage, the function in bringing out this reference background is different. During the invocation stage Gan'kka sings to himself, collecting his knowledge of the spirit world. Although the audience does participate as an active listener, the shaman's role-taking is predominantly directed at just the spirit world. During the information act the shaman's role-taking is directed primarily at the audience. On the other hand the strength of Gan'kka's role-taking directed at the spirit role is reflected in this information stage, too, by the fact that as he sings of the Jaumaal spirit he takes a position on the witch's drum, because no other place is sufficiently sacred in the presence of Jaumaal. More than this we are not told about Gan'kka's journey. Jaumaal was presumably among the spirit contacts acquired by Gan'kka during his initiation stage. He did say that during the time when he became a shaman he travelled to Mikkulai, whose interpreter Jaumaal was supposed to be.

The cutting rite (7): Singing and drumming (7E) Gan'kka prepares for his third ecstatic climax, the cutting display. Lehtisalo does not describe Gan'kka's song, but on the basis of the songs of other tundra Nentsy sung while preparing for the cutting acteme we may guess at its nature. The afore-mentioned Matvey Yadrn'ye sang Lehtisalo a song which he said a sorcerer recited just before he began to cut himself:

.
Unter solchen
schlimmen Worten
meine Schneide-Geliebten,
mit ihren zwei(mal) sieben
Waffen
begannen sie dann.

Diese meine Kameraden
als ich sah,
mein Fleisch
begannen zu jucken.
Waffen für mich
legt bereit!
Mehr

beeilt euch!
 Mein (etwas) unvernünftiger
 Sohn des Himmels!
 Dann
 beginnen wir damit!
 (Wie) einst
 irgendwann
 im Traume,
 diese
 von mir gehaltenen

Waffen
 lautlos
 mögen fortgehen!
 Meine kleinen Vögelchen,
 neiget euch,
 Besitzer
 schlechter Vernunft
 seien nicht!⁴⁴

Verses show that the shaman recalls precisely the cutting act that took place during his initiation stage. He first actualizes all the spirit roles taking part in the body-cutting and describes their arrival and their role performances, telling how they tore at his flesh. Next the shaman orders the spirits to get their weapons ready for him, so that together with the spirits he may repeat the events of his initiatory vision. Presumably Gan'kka, too, recalled the sleep he experienced during his initiation; for he told Lehtisalo that while he was becoming a shaman the spirits appeared to him and cut his flesh, removing, among other things, his hands.⁴⁵ The 'slashing the body' acteme, the function of which has been regarded as above all the proving of the shaman's supra-normal powers⁴⁶, is thus placed in a new light. At least the tundra Nentsy shaman repeated during the cutting acteme the most important scene of his ecstatic initiation, his birth as a shaman. The cutting appears to be a fundamental and recurring part of Gan'kka's shamanizings, and was not even in the nature of a trick performance. For his wife strongly opposed it, saying that afterwards Gan'kka often had to take to his bed (7SX).

At Lehtisalo's request the shamanizing ended here. The account does not reveal whether a deactualization of the spirits was part of Gan'kka's shamanizing.

19. A SEL'KUP SÉANCE ON THE RIVER KET

19.1. *Background.* "The region of the upper Ket can with all reason be called the promised land of the shamans. Every yurt has its own mediator between man and the spirits, and from almost every home issues the muffled beat of the evening drumming and the mournful song of the shaman. Every day I had an opportunity to hear that so familiar playing, and in every new place the shamans tried to outdo one another in the length of their displays and more and more skillful sorcery and use of the drum."¹ Thus Kai Donner describes his experiences among the Sel'kups of the River Ket. In 1911—1913

he explored the unending tundra and taiga region between the Ob and the Yenisey, studying the language and life of the little Ostyak Samoyed or Sel'kup tribe. In his travel book "Siperian samojedien keskuudessa" (1915, 2nd edition 1923; also appeared in Swedish 1915, German 1926 and English 1954) he describes a shamanizing séance on the basis of his experiences. The account generalizes, but more light is thrown on it by the glimpses recorded in his travel diary of September 1912. Some of these notes were published by Aulis J. Joki in his article on the shamanism of the Sel'kups.² The interest of Donner's collections is enhanced by his song excerpts, recorded as linguistic samples, the intricate clichés of which are solved by Joki in his article. Although Donner's notes have been criticized as being both sporadic and superficial³, he was, as is clear from the above quotation, well informed on the shamanic tradition of the Sel'kups. His account of a séance is predominantly only an account of observations, for he does not really explain the functions or mythological significance of measures. As an overall picture of the course of a séance it is nevertheless suitable as the basis for structural analysis, especially since there is also authentic supplementary material available.

19.2. *Description of the rite process*⁴

IB: The witchcraft always takes place in the evening, at dusk, and it may continue all night. On commencing such a performance the shaman calls an assistant, who gets out the drum and slowly warms it in front of the fire, so that the skin becomes as taut as possible.

IC: On the Ket the shaman himself does not prepare in any particular way, but in other places it often happens that to attain the vital state of intoxication he consumes a certain amount of amanita. The poison in these fungi is exceedingly strong, and I can say from my own experience that it has a highly intoxicating effect. Sometimes the natives take it for lack of alcohol, to get a little intoxicated. During the witchcraft the shaman must feel completely healthy, for if he were ill he would not be able to measure his strength with the spirits. A random illness puts an end to such witchcraft, just like the presence of a dog or some other impure being. When the performance begins the fire is allowed to go out in the tent, the witch prepares himself a suitable place at the back of the yurt, opposite the door, and seats himself on a special reindeer skin,

IA: and the listeners group themselves around him.

IC: Amid utter, tense silence he grasps the drum, standing in front of the fire, sits down again, presses the drum to him, and with noisy yawns begins to show that he is falling asleep and leaving this world. At the same time he puts his cap on his head and having yawned sufficiently sleeps for a moment.

2D: On waking he is completely changed, his movements appear unconscious, he is as though in a stupor, he pays no attention to his surroundings, and his voice is altogether different. To begin with he beats the drum very softly and hums wordless tunes or fits in a language unknown to his listeners to his song. He whispers so that the drum booms, he whistles, yawns and moans. It sounds as though various animals are running round the sides of the drum and their sounds echo on every side. In this way he summons all his assistants, the spirits and animals of the air and the underworld.

5EP₁ Gradually the drumming grows faster, becoming rhythmical, and the shaman begins to sing his song. Having performed a couple of verses he waits until the listeners have repeated them. This chorus singing is led by an assistant acting as cantor to the congregation. The singing and drumming gradually become louder and louder and more frenzied, and the frenzy and excitement of those present rise all the time, not only due to the witch's words, but probably just as much from the fact that the whole time they themselves take part in the procedure. During this first episode in his witchcraft the shaman describes his journey to the domicile of the spirits, tells of the laborious way, the dangers he encounters in the form of wildernesses, burning forests, stormy seas, fighting soldiers, treachery and ambushes, poisoned waters, disease devils, and other endless obstacles.

5OP₂ Having overcome the thousands of dangers he finally reaches the spirit he is seeking. Suddenly the playing and singing stops, and for a few moments there is utter silence. But soon the noise rises again, the shaman is as if mad, his body jerks convulsively, his eyes bulge from their sockets and his voice is terrible to hear. He no longer sings, and he seems to be squeezing every sound out, one after the other, with the greatest of difficulty. He talks to the spirit, makes bargains with it, threatens and begs, terrifies and gives in. If they reach agreement they discuss the nature and size of the sacrifice. When it is a question of a human spirit the shaman places his own life as a guarantee that the sacrifice really will be made.

5X: But before he can even begin to speak to the spirits of the underworld he must prove he is armed against everything and show that he is able to defy death. In the course of the most horrific dance he takes the knives of all those present in turn and with them slashes his chest and shoulders. He cuts deep wounds in himself, but he has to do it so skillfully that the blood does not begin to flow.

5EP₃ Having talked to the spirits he returns home, this being described in the same way as the journey there, and also accompanied by those present. But the noise and singing die down the closer the witch gets to home, his wild dance becomes more and more restrained.

5Q: Following his return there is silence,

5S: and in a little while the shaman repeats to those present what the spirit said and what it demanded.

6I: If the matter is settled at that, all that is left is for the witch to return to earth. He sends away his helping spirit

7U: and begins to move from one person to the next, throwing a spoon in front of each one. This must fall onto the floor inside up. When he has at last been to everyone, the truth of his statement is regarded as having been confirmed.

8Y: Then he starts his final dance, the purpose of which is to return his spirit to its earthly dwelling. With strange leaps and uttering the so-called liberation prayer he undresses and places all the objects belonging to his sacred dress on the sacred reindeer skin. He then cleanses himself with glowing coals and burning embers. When the spirit is about to return and his body changes into its worldly form, he drinks a few cupfuls of water, prays for the last time that he may be set free, and falls to the ground. The performance is over, the spirit has returned to his body and the witch falls into a sleep which may last for many hours.

19.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): In autumn 1912 Donner wrote in his travel diary: "The performance takes place as follows. Someone goes in the evening before sunset to the shed in the forest and fetches the drum, the dress, the drumsticks and the other requisites. The drum is usually somewhat different from that on the River Tym. The handle is of iron, and a host of objects of this same metal (hanging inside the drum) cause a tinkling during the ceremony. The skin of the drum of the greatest shaman, that is Trinkka, who lives in the last yurt (on the Ket River), is decorated with little, simple spirit images."⁵ As appears from the general description, this "someone" is the shaman's assistant, part of whose role is to get out the necessary requisites and get the drum ready for use (1B).

The actualization stage of the shaman's status (1C) observes the familiar rite technique: the fire in the tent is allowed to go out and the shaman seats himself facing the door on his special seat, a reindeer skin, which may not, according to Castrén, have any iron or dangerous objects.⁶ The dressing of the shaman gets no particular mention in the general account. Castrén notes that the Sel'kup shamans had no special dress. "The shaman does not wear any special dress, but wears the clothes of the suppliant for the occasion."⁷ Donner's notes, too, are relatively disconnected. He mentions in his travel diary that the dress is most often of reindeer hide, the edges of bearskin. Attached to the back are various iron objects, and there are wings on the arms. On the other hand many shamans had, according to him, only a very simple dress of black broadcloth, with a wide hem, and onto it pictures of the spirits (*loosi*) were sewn.⁸ E. D. Prokof'yeva in her extensive article deals with the shaman's dress of the Sel'kups and its making.⁹ It appears

from her description that the novice acquires his dress gradually. Here, perhaps, lies the reason for the discrepancies in Castrén's and Donner's notes. According to Donner the hat was, however, the shaman's most important garment. He puts it on his head just before he indicates, through his momentary sleep, that the final role change has taken place.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Once the shaman has woken up the role change has taken place, and the shaman also manifests it by his outward movements and his voice. He moves as in a stupor, and his voice is different. The preliminary actualization of the roles of the spirit-helpers takes the form of imitation of their sounds. It may be concluded direct from the account that the shaman manifests the arrival of the animal-helpers, yet Donner explains that this is the invoking of the spirits.

The shaman's journey (5): This séance is unusual in that the shaman does not lose consciousness, and his account of his journey, told in song (5EP₁), is taken as real. The shaman is understood as moving in the other world even during his song and as giving an account of his travel experiences. Mireea Eliade also refers to this peculiarity of Samoyed shamanism.¹⁰ Although the song act differs from the acteme E of the second sequence (the actualizing of the spirit-helpers) in function, it is nevertheless fully comparable to it in form and content. The 'opening section of the shaman's account of his journey' noted by Donner on the very same trip and published by Joki¹¹ shows that the shaman actualizes his supranormal counter-roles, describes the role behaviour of the spirits he actualizes and the regions inhabited by them in the same way as was the custom in the Nentsy songs.¹²

It is part of the role of the assistant and the audience to repeat the verses of the song. They act together, and the role of the audience is more emphasized than usual, for in place of their affirmative interjections they themselves repeat the words of the shaman's song. The social-psychological significance of the séance grows with the audience taking such an active part. Similarly there is no doubt that the atmosphere of the séance also becomes more favourable than normal to the altering of the shaman's consciousness.

The shaman meets the spirit he is seeking in the underworld (5OP₂). As is seen from act 5X, this is some spirit of the underworld. The description of the shaman's wild discussion — "his body jerks convulsively, his eyes bulge from their sockets and his voice is terrible to hear" — may refer to the fact that the shaman also manifested the role of the underworld spirit, i.e. he held a dual role. Donner's travel diary does contain a description of such a shamanizing: "Gradually he begins to hum a tune and to beat the drum. He invokes his gods (*loosila*), and when, to the increasing din of the music,

they finally come, he asks them for help. Then they begin to speak and to explain to him what he wants to know. He sings what they say, or rather they speak through him. The gods or spirits (*loosila*) speak, and in words and song the shaman repeats their words, which the whole audience in turn repeats. Persons who have not been present at the séance from the very beginning may not, however, join in the song."¹³ The séance does, however, differ from the general account quoted. The song stage, the E-act, clearly belongs to sequence 2. Similarly the meeting of the spirits takes place in the normal world, so instead of sequence 5 we find sequence 3.

'The slashing the body' acteme is here contained in sequence 5. Donner gives as the function of the acteme the proving of the shaman's invulnerability, his superiority. The account of a séance noted among the Mezen Nentsy around 1850 and quoted by Lehtisalo contains a mention according to which lack of blood as the shaman cuts himself is a good omen, while even a small drop of blood signifies misfortune. This can be avoided only by sacrificing to *num*, the spirit of death or the spirit-helpers.¹⁴ When we remember that during his X-act the Nentsy shaman Gan'kka went over an initiation event³, the act appears to have many meanings. The omen idea would appear to be secondary. The repeating of an initiation period experience and the proving of the shaman's invulnerability refer to the same basic idea: after being born a shaman after the cutting operation of the spirits the shaman later possesses special abilities. This fundamental event is repeated at the séance and its truth is concretely proved.

The shaman manifests his return journey in song, and Donner's mention of the diminuendo in ecstatic technique is interesting; the shaman's behaviour becomes more and more restrained towards the end of the song (5EP₃). It is possible that the deactualization of the spirit roles in the return song corresponds to their actualization in the outward journey song. The silence following the singing and drumming manifests the shaman's return to earth and acts as a stage during which the shaman's role-taking changes direction (5Q). He must now come up to the audience's expectations and inform them of the things he found out in the spirit world (5S).

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6): Donner's statement "if the matter is settled at that, all that is left is for the witch to return to earth" shows that while informing the audience the shaman is still under the influence of the spirit world. Whether the Scl'kup believed his soul to remain with the spirits of the underworld is unclear. It is, however, clear that although his role-taking is directed at the normal world during the information act, the spirit roles are still to the fore in his mind. Not until he has carried out the task of informer can he send away the rest of his spirits.

In his travel diary Donner describes the deactualization of the spirit-helpers as follows: "Then the shaman sits down, makes warding off movements with his hands two times and hisses a few times. The spirits are driven away, and the shaman rests for a moment and smokes a pipe."¹⁵

The forecasting (7) and the termination of shamanizing (8): The spoon used as a means of forecasting may be the drum stick (7U). The word *suulmu* in the song of the Sel'kup shaman means the stick of the shaman's drum, not 'spoon'.¹⁶ The retiring from shamanizing is described in detail (8Y). Still recurring in the account of the act is the idea that the spirit of the shaman has left his body. Not until he has, by means of the liberation prayer and the cleansing rites following his undressing, been freed of his spirit-helpers does his body change to its earthly form. The falling asleep at the start of shamanizing and these final rites clearly mark out the shaman's period of action during which (i.e. during the shaman's role performance) the Sel'kups, according to Donner, believed his soul to be outside his body.

20. SHAMANIZING SÉANCE OF THE VAS'YUGAN KHANTS

20.1. *Background.* The Khants or the Ostyaks, along with the Mansi or the Voguls, are known jointly as Ob' Ugrians. The Ugrians, who lived chiefly off hunting and fishing, and in the north off reindeer breeding and further south off primitive farming, had conversion forced upon them by the Orthodox Church as early as the 18th century. They nevertheless retained their traditional religious mode of behaviour, including shamanism, until into the 20th century. Both the Khants and the Mansi were divided into different tribes with their own dialects, this division being significant in e.g. forming military alliances against a common enemy.¹ A distinctive feature of the social system of the Ob' Ugrians was their totemist phratry and clan organization. All the Ob' Ugrians fall into two phratries despite their tribal connections, one of these being *Mosh* (Mansi) or *Mon't* (Khant) and the other *Por*. The strictly exogamous phratries were divided into clans whose names were inherited from totem ancestors or ancestor-heroes.²

In his work "Jugralaisten uskonto"³ K. F. Karjalainen also deals with shamanism among these peoples. His theory of the variation in the shamanic tradition brings out an otherwise typical feature of the Khant and Mansi culture: the small and scattered population has been susceptible to influence from neighbouring peoples. Thus the northern tribes, for example, have adopted the reindeer breeding of the Nentsy.⁴ Having quoted U. T. Sirelius'

shortish description of a shamanizing séance among the Vas'yugan Khants Karjalainen continues with a more extensive account, the source of which he does not mention. It is most probable that the account is based on his own observations, for he had become acquainted with the forms of Vas'yugan shamanism on the spot, as is demonstrated by e.g. the account of the proceedings of a seer taking amanita following the description. The description of the séance is detailed and animated; from the point of view of this research it is made valuable by the careful recording of the actualization stage of the spirits, including the snatches of invocatory song quoted.

On the subject of the witchcraft of the Vas'yugan Khants Karjalainen gives the following general account: Among the Vas'yugan Khants the witch's proceedings are developed, observing in a way a set procedure, though customs may vary according to each situation and the skill of the performer.⁵ In his view the rich spirit system of the Vas'yugan shaman developed as a consequence of influences from neighbouring peoples. "The concept, late in its present form, of the witch's assistant institution that has taken root on the Vas'yugan has also helped to change local concepts of the practice to be observed by the witch, to give it new colour and to bring new additions, even though the proceedings may at base contain much original substance, such as comparison with the practices of the North Ostyaks demonstrates."⁶

20.2. *Description of the rite process*⁷

IC: Investigations conducted among the Vas'yugan in a different way are also to be found, e.g. as follows. The witch seats himself on a little bench in a dark dwelling facing the spirit corner. His instrument is a kantele [lyre], as is usually the case nowadays on the Vas'yugan, and the player the witch himself. He places the bottom of his instrument on his right knee, the upper end against his left shoulder. The strings face outwards, and these he strikes by drawing the fingers of his right hand across them, sometimes more slowly, sometimes faster, and all the while he sings, i.e. tells in song of his actions, how he invokes the spirits to attend the séance. In between the fingers of his left hand is an ordinary spoon, which is used as an instrument for forecasting. When, at some point in the proceedings, the witch wishes to prove the truth of what he says he tosses the spoon, having first tapped the strings of his instrument with it 1—3 times, onto the floor in front of him. An assistant, *nāyi-jol*, a 'white witch' sitting on a spirit corner opposite the witch then looks to see which way the spoon has landed on the floor, right way up or upside down. If it falls right way up it proves that the witch is speaking the truth, and in this case the singing continues without a break, but if it falls upside down it is thrown again two or three times, the witch touching the strings with it in between. If the spoon still fails to fall right way up this does not, however, mean that the witch is lying, but that the spirit being invoked does not wish to come because the patient or the person on whose behalf

the shaman is acting has offended the spirit in question or done something else that is not fitting: tormented snakes, frogs, lizards or other *kor*, dropped his knife into the river or the ground or done something similar. In such cases the singing is interrupted for a short time and the witch asks what things of this nature the patient, for example, has done.

Such is the general investigation procedure, and the whole process may take longer than one evening.

2D: The first task is always the assembling of the witch's assistant spirits, of which there most often appears to be seven, though of course a large number does no harm. As his messenger the witch has near him a "Handled-staff-stern-woman". "H-woman", says the witch, "the many daughters of the spirit *kan* granted to me from many directions all drive together with the nose of your stern staff!" The spirit woman then flits off to fetch helpers, at which the witch begins to sing of the course and results of her journey.

2E, 2U: The spirits come one by one, the witch tells of their coming e.g.: "From the Məγ-juŋk-kān direction the little daughter of Məγ-juŋk-kān has been granted me; I can hear her coming from under seven layers of earth, from under the first layer to the water of the second layer I hear the humped animal (= bear) of Great Earth coming" (throws spoon). Likewise the witch tells in his song of the coming from under the second, third . . . sixth layer to the water of the next layer, and to prove the arrival in each layer he throws the spoon.

3G: At last he hears the humped animal of Great Earth coming to the water of the seventh layer, he rises to his feet, begins to beat loudly on the kantele, turns round on the spot, bowing in various directions. Suddenly a spirit appears, blows at the witch, who is knocked off balance by this "many puffs of the cold wind", so that for a short time he remains speechless, only quietly striking the strings of his kantele.

3H: On recovering the witch bows: "Oh braided woman of the Great Earth! My many-haired head with interstices to you I bend." The spirit, through the witch's mouth, replies: "Black man (in this case the name of the witch) unbraided son! Your five-stringed music tree you have placed on your right knee, why do you call so heatedly to the meagre money of former man?" The witch replies: "Oh braided woman of the Great Earth! The meagre money of former man amounts to a jointed stag, from the depth of a jointed stag (= reindeer knee measure), I cannot even lift it. An Ostyak man has hung your scarf to his humble spirit in the direction of the great god." Having heard this the spirit sits down (on an invisible) "big-fish-decorated mat" (the witch throws the spoon).

3U: The witch rests, talks, smokes and

3Z: then begins to tell of the arrival of a second spirit. E.g.: "From the direction of the reindeer Samoyed, from the direction of the northern folk, from the womanly town of the Samoyed-spirit-prince, from the manly town

of the back-beating bow spirit, of the breast-beating arrow spirit, from the good corner of the house of mother and father coming I heard . . . Stamping of two hoofs of the good animal on the road travelled by an aged girl, an aged boy I hear; to the ground with trees and grass inhabited by us the sharp nose of the good animal was strained.”

3G: Having said this the witch gets up, bows, is again “pushed” by the “breath of cold wind” of the spirit.

3H: — Once all the spirits have in this way been assembled, and this may take the whole of the first evening, the first part of the séance is over. The second part is then the making of the journey of investigation, with the help of the assembled spirits, the main points proceeding in the same way as the bearing of the soul of a new sacrifice to the appropriate spirit.

5V: In Vas'yugan animal sacrifices the witch acts not only as a circulator of food and a man of prayer, but also as the bearer of the sacrifice's soul, and in fact no one else is capable of this. The soul of the slaughtered sacrificial animal, the *ilsəŋ-tēl* is born to the spirit in the following manner. The skin of the slaughtered beast (a horse), on which have been left the hoofs, the mane, the tail and the lips and in which the soul is placed an *how* on the floor of the cottage in front of the witch, close to *nāyi-jol*.

5P₁ With the aid of the spirit-helpers he assembled the evening before the witch sets off for the spirit bearing the soul, the events of which are reported to the people present by the witch's mouth. The spirit-helpers fetch plenty of (invisible) money from some *Juŋk-tōrəm*'s store, and this money, *juŋk-tōrəm kasna vaχ* is then passed round in handfuls by the witch to the under-spirits of the spirit concerned whom he meets on the way, i.e. he bribes them.

5P₂ On reaching his destination he then leaves the soul with the spirit itself, if he is strong enough to get that far, or before this with one of the spirit's assistants (*talmas*) to be carried to its destination. If the witch himself has had the strength to get to the chief spirit, he goes (i.e. his soul in the breast of the Chief Spirit) into the guest room, and it depends on his strength how many steps forward he may take; the highest number of steps is seven. On coming before the spirit and on beginning to state his business he is faced by a great test. The spirit only has to cast an eye at the witch for the witch to get such a jolt that the body in the room reporting the journey falls backwards and lies motionless for some time, so powerful is the spirit's glance. If the witch falls the *nāyi-jol* must snatch up the *kantele*, for if it should fall to the ground the witch's life would be shortened. After lying motionless for a time the witch again continues his interrupted enquiry, always achieving something.

5P₃ On setting off on the return journey the witch must turn “in the direction of the good sun, in the direction of the good moon” (i.e. clockwise).

The same pattern is followed by the rites in which the of an animal left alive (a horse) is accompanied to the spirit. First it must be taken from the

animals. For this purpose the horse is made to stand in the yard, held by the giver. The witch walks round the animal three times, singing, during which the witch's assistant-jurk takes possession of the *ilsəŋ-təl*. The act of bearing the soul then takes place inside the cottage.

20.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The description of the shaman's preparations is brief (1C). There is no mention of dressing, and Karjalainen emphasizes that in spite of a few disjointed facts about the dress of the Khant shaman it is not certain whether there even was a native witch's dress there. If a shaman's dress really has been found among the Khants, it has, according to him, probably been a late loan from a neighbouring people.⁸ In place of the ordinary drum the instrument is the *kantele* [lyre]; Karjalainen fills in the background to its use as follows: "The use of the witch's drum is on the decrease, as is clearly evident e.g. from the fact that in the Vas'yugan region the said instrument was only a few decades ago more common than in our day. The notable drum regions are today the northwest districts. Among the eastern Ostyaks the instrument at séances is in many cases the five-stringed *kantele* mentioned earlier, through which the action of the witch here has, so to say, more of a singing stamp. The skilled Vas'yugan witch today plays the *kantele*, he is a 'stringhanded (instrument) excellent witch', and the Vakhs also speak of prophesying chiefly with a *kantele*, stating that the method was the same as when using a drum: the witch plays, dances and goes into a trance. In the Surgut region the drum is more common, though a 'bandura' is generally used. The witch in these parts may also use a kettle as his means of drumming or stimulation."⁹

U. T. Sirelius' Vas'yugan account mentions the lack of light at the place of shamanizing: the windows are covered with a thick cloth and the fire is put out. If the fire were to be kindled during the séance the witch would fall ill.¹⁰ It is further said of the preparations: "In the middle of the floor on which the witch conducted his sorcery a reindeer skin was spread. His hands and feet were firmly bound with the same belt. Some brass money was put on the skin and an Ostyak took up the *kantele*."¹¹ A similar binding procedure is also familiar to J. B. Müller and Novitskiy.¹² The latter, who knew the people of Irtysh and the northern Khants, describes a séance as follows: When one of them wishes to know something about his daily needs in particular, the fish and forest animals to be caught, they take the witch into a dark room, bind him firmly and themselves sit down to play their instruments. The bound man cries out a few magic words, calling his ally the devil. Usually they do this at night, and after a few hours of calling a wild spirit enters in fury. Those present rush out of the cottage, leaving the bound witch there. The spirit takes him and lifts him up, and torments him

in every way; for this reason he was bound, so that, overcome by the torture, he would not in his flight be destroyed. A few hours later the unclean spirit makes false prophesies, just like the father of falsehood whispering in his ear, and goes away; the witch, barely alive, is freed from his torment, breaks free and announces the false predictions.¹³ The breaking free of chains or ties is one of the trick-like measures indicating the skill and power of the shaman.¹⁴ Novitskiy's explanation — the spirit tortures the shaman to such an extent that he must be bound, so that he may not flee—directs our thoughts, on the other hand, at the sufferings of the initiation period. In carrying out the cutting act the Samoyed shaman called the executors of his ecstatic initiation, “the flesh-cutting spirits”, to his assistance and in his mind went over the event of his initiation period.¹⁵ We may thus conjecture that in being tortured by the spirits during a séance the Khant shaman is repeating scenes from his ecstatic initiation. Similar procedures are also reported by Gondatti among the Mansi: One dark night people, both men and women, gather at some wealthy house. The witch places on the floor a metal plate, on top of this iron-headed arrows, and begins to swear to god, hitting the plate with the arrows. In a short while the house quakes, the roof opens and the *Mirsusnə - χum* enters the house, manifesting its arrival by beating the plate with an arrow. Often it then tortures the witch, even to such an extent that he falls as if dead, piercing him, it is said, in all parts of his body with the arrow. Kindling the fire is then prohibited, for the unconscious witch, who has bouts of cramp, would die immediately. Once an arrow pierced one witch from the heart to the heel, but even so the witch only became more healthy than before.¹⁶ In place of the indefinite “torturing” we here have the piercing of the shaman's body and the wounding with a sharp object, so that we are here approaching the meaning of the slashing the body acteme.

Actualization of the spirit-helpers (2): According to Karjalainen the spirit system of the Vas'yugan Khants is more developed than that of the other Khants. He says that the Vas'yugans believe that the witch is in his actions aided by local spirits, but that in addition every witch has a larger or smaller number of spirits not locally bound and placed by their “master” spirit at the witch's disposal. Different shamans are given various spirits of a general nature, some the Guardian of the Dead, others the Guardian of the Forest or the Guardian of the Water; the Guardian of the Earth (*Məγ-jun̄k*), gives his subordinates to every shaman as assistants.¹⁷ The shaman's power depends on the number of spirit-helpers, and as the account states, there are most often seven. In addition to these every shaman has certain essential spirit-helpers. The ‘Head Guardian’ protects the witch's soul during the journey to the underworld by keeping it in its breast. On the

journey to the underworld the shaman is assisted by the 'Bearlike spirit' given by *Məγ-juŋk*, and on journeys to heaven by a grey horse, 'The swamp crane-coloured animal'.¹⁸ Judging from the account one of the spirit-helpers, the 'Handled-staff-stern-woman', acts as the caller of the other spirit-helpers (2D). Note that the addressing of the messenger acts as an alternative to the preliminary singing and the imitation of the sounds of animal-like spirit-helpers common throughout Siberia. The shaman actualizes each counter-role separately, brings it close from afar, as it were, and at last to the séance, describing its journey stage by stage (2E). In calling his spirit "from the direction of the Reindeer Samoyed", which is presumably a reindeer, the shaman first describes its abode in detail, and then tells how its journey is proceeding, until "to the ground with trees and grass inhabited by us the sharp nose of the good animal was strained". The throwing of the spoon plays an important role in the séance in safeguarding the arrival of each spirit.

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The arrival of a spirit-helper is manifest clearly (3G). The shaman bows, i.e. greets the spirit arriving, and its presence is indicated by his stumbling, which is caused by the "breath of cold wind" sent by the spirit. During the conversation scene (3H) the shaman has a dual role, for he manifests the role of both the shaman and the spirit, carrying on a conversation between them. Karjalainen debates the relationship between the shaman and the spirit during such a conversation, pointing out that Munkácsi claimed that the spirit of the guardian entered the witch, as it were, and thus brought about a state of trance. On the basis of his own observations he takes a different stand: "On the grounds of Ostyak material I would, however, be of a different opinion. It seems to prove the outward relationship between the spirit and the witch, it seems to lead to the result that the witch's trance or other information ability cannot be seen as caused by the spirit, and that in possession the spirit does not overcome and fill the witch, but only approaches him, as if whispering the information in his ear — 'the spirit informs him', says e.g. the Vakh of a witch in a trance — just as the 'little bird' dictates the words to the singer of the Ostyak hero's song. 'To the witch comes the spirit (or breath) of the Guardian' is indeed what the Northern Ostyak says, and according to the Voguls the spirit of the guardian 'strikes the witch', but we do not necessarily need to take as the content of such sayings found in poetry the idea that the spirit enters the witch."¹⁹ Karjalainen thus disputes the possession explanation. With regard to role-taking this means an identification with the role of the spirit that is less than complete role identification. The manifestation of the guardian's role is conceived as being something of a repetition; the spirit is present but can only be heard by the shaman, and he repeats its message. The preliminary

conversation between the shaman and the spirit is thus only to determine the reason for the call.

The shaman's journey (5): The meeting between the shaman and the spirit-helpers takes place among the Khants, according to Karjalainen, in two alternative ways. Either the shaman's soul sets off during trance on a journey of investigation to the spirit world, or the spirits are bewitched into coming to him. The latter practice is, according to him, nowadays more common.²⁰ The séance reported here is in a way a combination of these two forms: the shaman calls the spirits and meets them in the cottage, and following these he sets off, aided by the spirits, on his journey to the underworld. In this case he is bearing the soul of a sacrificial animal to the deity to whom the sacrifice is being made. Although Karjalainen mentions the reason for the shaman's journey as most usually being 'enquiry'²¹, he also tells of a journey in search of the soul of a sick man. Of special interest is the information that the soul-seeking journey can be made by either the spirit-helper or the shaman, depending on the seriousness of the case. If the sick man's soul has been snatched by the dead, the shaman may send a spirit in the form of a dead man and a bearlike spirit sitting in its breast on the journey. If the soul of a sick man is in the possession of some spirit regaining the soul is more difficult and the shaman must himself go to fetch it. During the journey the shaman's soul, *ilt* (in Vas'yugan), sits crouched in the breast of the Head Guardian (one of the spirit-helpers), sometimes travelling to the underworld 'by a snake'. Note that the bearlike spirit travels like the shaman hidden in the breast of another spirit. As this spirit converses with the guilty dead person it suddenly leaps out and grabs the dead, who in alarm releases the sick man's soul from his mouth or his hand.²² The sick man's soul must thus be snatched back. The events in the underworld are recounted by the shaman in song. In this report the loss of consciousness comes at the point where the shaman meets the spirit demanding the sacrifice. On recovering the shaman again begins to describe the events of the underworld on his return journey in a similar manner. In a case such as this the 'journey' and 'information' actemes overlap. It is not necessary to turn to the audience specially, for it is aware from the singing of the events of the journey. This is the case although the shaman's role-taking is directed at the supranormal world, the standpoint for his role-taking is the audience and its reactions. Since the shaman is 'performing' to the audience, no strong identification with the spirit role takes place.

Structurally this Khant séance is completely reminiscent of Radloff's extensive description of a sacrificial séance among the Altaic Tatars²³, as Karjalainen points out in a footnote: the Tatar shaman actualizes his spirit-

helpers in succession, by which each one announces its arrival in a short statement; when all the spirits are assembled (on the drum) the shaman makes his journey with their assistance through the layers of heaven.

Neither Sirelius' nor Karjalainen's Vas'yugan accounts mention the deactualization of the spirits. We may imagine that the description of the return journey, in which the supranormal world gradually gets left behind, functions as a deactualization stage.

21. THE INITIATION OF THE SHAMAN IN THE EVENK COMMUNITY

21.1. *Background.* The Evenks, known in earlier literature as the Tungus, are the most numerous and wide-spread of the peoples in Northern Siberia. The region inhabited by them extends from the Yenisey River in the west to the shores of the Okhotsk Sea in the east.¹ Over such a large area the natural conditions vary. Nevertheless, with the exception of the tundra regions in the farthest north, the region inhabited by the Evenks displays a certain uniformity: at its most typical it is mountainous taiga, with cold winters and warm summers.²

The tribes, scattered over a vast area, fell into different groups according to their source of livelihood: "... in the 17th century, the Evenks were divided up according to their type of economy into 'Foot' or 'Sitting' Evenks (hunters and fishermen-hunters of the Okhotsk coast), 'Reindeer' (hunters and reindeer-breeders), 'Horse' and 'Cattle' Evenks (hunters with herds of horses and other livestock)."³ Generally speaking hunting was the chief occupation⁴, reindeer-breeding was then pursued for the purposes of transportation, when a herd of some 25 reindeer belonging to one household was typical.⁵ The most important unit of the social structure was earlier the clan, with clans grouped into broader tribes. One fundamental feature was that every clan owned a "river", i.e. an area of its own. The members of one or more clans held reindeer or elk hunts on a collective basis. The catch was then divided up evenly among all those taking part.⁶ By the end of the 19th century the patriarchal clan system had lost its economic significance. Shamanism did, however, continue to be bound up with the clan system in certain areas, and for a very long time among e.g. the Podkamennaya Tunguska Evenks. A. F. Anisimov has examined the special social status of the Evenk shaman and the evaluation of shamanism by the society. He notes: "From this point of view, the especially notable features are those concepts of the Evenks by which this special position of the shaman in the clan was maintained and reinforced as a norm of clan ideology. The most essential of these in this respect were, on the one hand, the idea of the clan *marylya* and, on the other,

that of the mythical shamanistic clan-river. The concept of the *marylya* among the Evenks, . . . , referred to the mythical shamanistic fence or stockade made out of spirits, with which the shaman supposedly fenced in the clan so as to protect its members from the designs of evil spirits. The shaman, carrying out the functions of this peculiar defender-leader of the clan, set up to this end the spirits subordinate to him around the clan lands, forming from the spirits a special shamanistic stockade-fence protecting the clan from as many misfortunes as possible.”⁷ The shaman was thus the protector of the clan and in this capacity of vital importance to the clan. The position of the shaman in guaranteeing the well-being of the clan and the life of its members is manifest in, e.g., the belief concerning the shaman’s hair: the shaman does not cut his hair because it is the dwelling place of the souls of the clansmen.⁸ The influential status of the clan shaman was reflected in his concrete privileges: the shaman was one of the leaders of the clan and attended the meetings of the “elders” of the clan, he had to be treated with special respect, and so on.⁹ Attaining the position of clan shaman involved going through an initiation period in strict accordance with tradition and supervised by an older shaman and ultimately representatives of the clan.¹⁰ The so-called ‘false’ shamans, as the Evenks named the shamans operating on a professional basis at around the turn of this century, shamanizing for payment for representatives of strange clans, prove that the clan shaman was above all the shaman of an *economic unit*. These ‘false’ shamans, who sometimes really did act in the hope of earning easy money, sometimes predicted and healed the sick when there were no ‘real’ shamans available, but they did not take part in the rites connected with hunting and reindeer-breeding.¹¹

21.2. *The initiation period.* A shaman from the Lower Tunguska River recalled his initiatory period as follows:

“Ein Mensch kann nicht Schamane werden, wenn es in seiner Sippe keine Schamanen gibt. Nur derjenige empfängt die Gabe des Schamanisierens, der in der Vergangenheit Schamanen-Vorfahren hat, die von Generation zu Generation weitergehen. Mein ältester Bruder Ilja Semjonov war Schamane. Er starb vor drei Jahren. Mein Grossvater väterlicherseits war ein grosser Schamane. Der Grossvater mütterlicherseits war ebenfalls Schamane.

Wenn ich schamanisiere, kommt der Geist des verstorbenen Ilja und spricht durch meinen Mund. Diese meine Schamanen-Vorfahren zwangen mich auch, den Weg des Schamenendienstes zu beschreiten. Bis zu dem Augenblick, wo ich anfang zu schamanisieren, war ich ein ganzes Jahr lang krank. Ich wurde mit 15 Jahren Schamane. Die Krankheit, die mich zwang, Schamane zu werden, äusserte sich darin, dass mein Leib aufschwell und häufige Ohnmachten eintraten. Wenn ich anfang zu singen, dann verging

die Krankheit gewöhnlich. — Danach schamanisieren meine Vorfahren. Sie stellen mich wie einen Klotz auf und schießen mit ihren Bögen auf mich, bis ich das Bewusstsein verliere. Sie zerschneiden mein Fleisch. Sie teilen meine Knochen ab und zählen sie. Mein Fleisch essen sie roh. Als sie meine Knochen zählten, stellten sie fest, dass einer zu viel dabei war. Hätten die Knochen nicht gereicht, so hätte ich nicht Schamane werden können. Als sie diesen ganzen Ritus ausgeführt hatten, ass und trank ich den ganzen Sommer hindurch nichts. Zum Schluss trinken die Schamanengeister das Blut eines Rentiers und geben auch mir zu trinken. Nach diesen Vorgängen hat der Schamane weniger Blut und sieht blass aus.

Dasselbe geschieht mit jedem tungusischen Schamanen. Erst wenn die Schamanen-Vorfahren in der erwähnten Art seinen Körper zerschnitten und seine Knochen zerlegt haben, kann er zu schamanisieren beginnen. Vor vielen Jahren reiste an der Tunguska ein Gelehrter mit Namen Aleksei Makarenko. Auf seine Bitte hin schamanisierte ich. —¹²

He inherited the helping-spirit from his dead brother, who in turn inherited it from one or other of his ancestor shamans. As we can see from the opening statement, the status of shaman among the Evenks was most usually handed down from one member of a family to another. In his article "The Acquisition of Shamanistic Ability among the Evenki (Tungus)" G. M. Vasilovich,¹³ after comparing the genealogies of shamans, suggests that the status is, with a few exceptions, handed down from father to son or from grandfather to grandson or great-grandson. When a shaman dies the spirits disperse to the tundra to await a new master. This period of waiting is not, however, very long, and gaps in the chain of shamans are no greater than three generations.¹⁴ The status of the shaman among the Evenks cannot, however, be regarded as primarily hereditary; the decisive factor in the election of novices was the capacity for ecstatic experiences. P. Tret'yakov's description of the personality of the Evenk shaman in the Turukhansk region points out the necessary properties: "His natural sensibility and susceptibility were coupled with vivid imagination, as well as with the belief in the spirits and the secret communion with them . . . abandoning himself to the figments of his own imagination, he became tormented and timorous, especially at night when his head was filled with dream visions. On the day when he had to act as shaman, the visions stopped, he fell into a trance and stared for hours at an object. The pale and worried man, with his piercing look, made a peculiar impression."¹⁵

The noting of shamanic ability leading to the novice stage could be either the consequence of the shaman's illness and spontaneous ecstatic experiences or, in some cases, a move on the part of the clan elders.¹⁶ The period of initiation is usually long, and among the Evenks in the Yenisey region, for example, might last several years¹⁷, but rapid changes in status have also been reported.

Shirokogoroff tells of how a Manchurian Evenk became a shaman: "An Evenki about forty went into the taiga and lost his way. He did not know how long he wandered about, but one night, among the rocks, he was frightened, and fainted. The *kadar burkan* had moved into him and declared him the chief *sawən*. He acted as a shaman for a few days on the spot, regained his conscience and returned home where he told what had happened to him, and the clan assembly . . . recognized his rights."¹⁸ Despite its brevity this transition stage contains the points fundamental to the achieving of the status of shaman: ecstatic initiation and the recognition by the community of the change in status.

The normal, longer period leading to a change in status falls into two periods of a different nature. Although practices within clans do vary, we can, on the basis of reports, speak of a transition stage, during which the novice cuts himself off from the community and seeks communion with the supranormal world, and an incorporation stage, during which the novice gradually, through various test shamanizings and ritual performances, gains the respect and approval of the community and finally the status of shaman. Following preliminary visions (e.g. a dead shaman appears before the youth and names him as his follower¹⁹, or the novice sees an evil shamanizing spirit in his dreams²⁰) the shaman elect becomes restless and timorous. He begins to meditate and hears the spirits whisper in his ear words that he must repeat in song. According to the terminology of the Evenks of the Yenisey region "the spirits entered his ears and brain".²¹ The expression indicates the internalization of the tradition through experience taking place during the transition stage. According to the shamanic view the novice acquires his knowledge from the spirits. Thus during the period of initial contacts the spirits function above all as teachers. The Sym Evenks call the giver of the first directions by a very special name, *burunI* or *ildIdI*. Apart from them the ancestor shaman and other spirits also gave the novice commands. The first directions of the *burunI* concerned shamanic ethics: "do not commit evil things, only cure the sick. As for the *iləs* (Evenki), leave them in peace. I shall be above you, and take care of you, and give you strength."²² It is clear that the handing down of the factual tradition took place both within the shamanic institution, i.e. the old shaman acted as the teacher of the young novice, or outside it, within the community. Among the western Evenks all the members of a tribe took part in the ritual performances, as a chorus providing intensive assistance.²³ The future novice had thus had plenty of opportunities to study the shamanic technique of ecstasy and world of concepts. On the other hand Shirokogoroff states that among the Central Amur Biras tribe, for example, instruction of the candidate was institutionalized into strict forms: during a special ceremony the first spirit destined to

lead him to the other spirits was made to enter the novice. This was followed by a period during which an experienced shaman acted as the novice's teacher.²⁴ It is of note that although the transferring of shamanic knowledge was by means of a teacher-pupil relationship, an important goal of teaching was to place the novice in contact with the spirits, and to create the setting for ecstatic initiation. Semyon Semyonov describes his vision, in which the spirits of the ancestor shamans dismember his body and count his bones, and finally he mentions that only after an experience such as this can a man become a shaman. A shamanic rite experienced in a vision, the acting parties being the ancestor shamans and the object the candidate, constitutes, according to Semyonov, the initiation event proper. The vision described strictly observes traditional forms; the dismembering motif is common throughout Siberia and is among the central themes of the initiation tradition. It is based on the idea of the candidate's suffering, death and resurrection, parallel to the symbolic death met with in many types of initiation ceremony.²⁵ Since, during the transition stage, the candidate concentrates on communication with the supranormal world, or rather on receiving the messages it sends him, the ecstatic role-taking technique becomes the central object of study. He fasts, sings in solitude and above all becomes sensitive to listening to the voices of the spirits, which he then repeats. He thus learns to manifest various spirit roles. Semyon Semyonov tells how, when he is shamanizing, the spirits inherited from his bother Ilya speak through his mouth. Practice in the role-taking technique was thorough in that the pupil might even during the transition stage identify completely with a spirit role: "Sometimes the novice went into the taiga, where he fell into a trance that made him think he was an animal (a glutton, a wolf, or a deer) and he returned home perfectly imitating the animal."²⁶

Having sufficiently practised ecstatic and role-taking technique and after experiencing his initiatory vision the candidate is ready to seek the blessing of his community for the change in status. During the transition stage the candidate's role-taking was directed purely at the supranormal world. During the incorporation stage he also had to recognize the needs and expectations of the community and prove that he was able to satisfy them. The fundamental position of the incorporation stage in the process of being elected as a shaman was, with the Evenks, the consequence of the firm dependence of status on the clan system. The chief lines in the process of becoming a shaman and the marked control of the community become evident from Shirokogoroff's account, based on field observations:

"When there is no shaman in the clan or in a settlement (or territory), a quest for shamanism appears. In fact, there may be many candidates

for the position of shaman, but among them not all may become 'shamans'. As has been shown, the candidates must know certain methods, must have a certain number of spirits, must 'master' them and must have a necessary minimum of theoretical and factual knowledge of shamanism. When the candidates have satisfied these conditions, they may be recognized as possible candidates. However, such a recognition is not sufficient for becoming a shaman. The candidates are required practically to show what use they can make of the spirits, and shamanistic methods; how deep their general knowledge is; whether they satisfy the moral requirements of the community or not. This may be shown in a series of performances for helping people in distress and confirmed by the general opinion as to the moral character of the candidate. When the shaman successfully passes through this period of his career, he may be assisted in making paraphernalia and in offering a regular sacrifice to the spirits. After these preliminary steps he may be recognized as shaman and the people may seek his assistance. Then he would function as a shaman."²⁷

The chief tasks of the Evenk shaman were easing the difficulties faced by hunters²⁸, prophesying, healing²⁹ and in general guaranteeing the well-being of the clan (or the settlement). Since the shaman held the key to the well-being of the community, respect for the status was very high. On the Podkamennaya Tunguska "... the shamans enjoyed pronounced respect and many very substantial privileges. They were treated with great deference, sat in the place of honor, and were treated to the best food available. In conversation with a shaman, in case of difference of opinion, he was not contradicted. Shamans were spoken to very deferentially, and at social gatherings only the oldest and most important of the clansmen were allowed to speak with them ... The clan gave the shaman the most productive areas."³⁰ In return for the social privileges connected with his position it was the shaman's duty to protect the clan from attacks by hostile spirits. The shaman thus had to be capable of mastering the world of spirits. In examining the characteristic features of the transition and incorporation stage the supranormal counter-roles of the candidate are active, they commune with a suitable candidate, initiate him, etc., while he himself remains in a relatively passive position. During the incorporation stage the arrangement changes; in attempting to satisfy the demands of the clan the shaman now consciously practises ways of mastering the spirits, demonstrating his skill in the final test events. During the transition stage communion with the supranormal is for the most part casual, whereas during the incorporation stage it is mainly ritual.

22. SHAMANIZING SÉANCE AMONG THE PODKAMENNAYA TUNGUSKA EVENKS

22.1. *Background.* In the 1920's and 1930's F. A. Anisimov, an expert on the religion of the Evenks, carried out field work in the Podkamennaya Tunguska region, concentrating on the religious tradition of the Evenk tribes. In addition to his general treatise "Religiya evenkov"¹ representing the historico-genetic aspect he dealt with the theme in numerous articles. One of them, "The Shaman's Tent of the Evenks and the Origin of the Shamanistic Rite"² contains a detailed and interesting description of shamanizing. Anisimov mentions that the report arose "from first-hand impressions during the 1931 expedition"³. Since the observer had previously done field work among the Evenks and was thus familiar with their religious concepts, the report can be regarded as reliable. On the other hand analysis is hindered by the reporter's attempt to suggest alternative functional models. Thus this is probably not an account of one séance observed, but a general account made on the basis of several. The value of the report is increased by Anisimov's deep understanding of the symbolism of the ritual paraphernalia and action; however, supported by his knowledge he occasionally switches from description of a rite to interpretation of the rite, thus facing the reader with problems of source criticism.

22.2. *Description of the rite process*⁴

1A: In the middle of the tent a small fire burned. The tent was in semi-darkness. Along the sides sat the clansmen, talking softly. A pervasive feeling of expectation of something extraordinary heightened the nervous excitement, still more strengthening the mystical mood.

1C: Opposite the entrance the shaman sat. His pinched, nervous face pale; he, silent, alert, irritable, moved his shoulders, gently swaying from side to side. His face twitched, his hands trembled. To the right and left lay the images of spirits — the salmon trout, the *mayga*, two pole-knives, fish-spears a splintered larchwood pole. The fire was surrounded on four sides by shamanistic spirit-images, salmon trout.

1B, 1C: At a sign given by the shaman, his assistant took from the *tursuk* the shaman's ritual robes — the robe, the breastpiece, footwear, the cap (for minor shamans, a headband; for chief shamans of clans, besides the cap, an iron "crown" with a representation of reindeer horns), and mittens. The assistant then got the drum, warmed it over the fire for better sound, and quietly tested it to see that it was ready for action. Then he began to dress the shaman.

1C: The clothed shaman sat down on a small wooden platform which represented the shamanistic spirits of fish; he held the drum in his left hand, placed it on his left knee, held in his right hand the drumstick, and struck it against the outer side of the drum. The conversation broke off in mid-word. The shamanistic ceremony had actually begun.

2E: The fire was damped. The drum sounded in the semi-darkness. The clansmen, pressing themselves against the sides of the tent, awaited the shaman's words with palpitating hearts. The most impressionable and those with the strongest imaginations looked with wide-open and protruding eyes at the grim figure of the shaman. Swaying slowly from side to side in time to the drum, the shaman began the invocatory song to the spirits in a quiet melodious voice full of inner feeling.

The invocatory shamanistic songs of the Evenks were always rhymed, rhythmic, full of clear and beautiful metaphors, and always accompanied by a rhythmical refrain. When the shaman had sung a verse of the song, those present repeated it in chorus. Then the shaman beat on the drum at regular intervals, accompanying the sound by the singing of a couplet, and led a rhythmical refrain, matching the note of the drum. Those present joined him. The drum again replaced the refrain. The second verse of the song followed; everything was repeated again in the same order.

In an improvised song of summons to the spirits the shaman addressed his spirit-helpers, calling them to his aid in the struggle against the spirit of the disease. Addressing each of his spirits in turn, the shaman vividly described for the listeners its form, adorning it with all manner of comparisons, listing its services to the clan and the characteristics of its supernatural power. The shaman related in the song where the spirit was at the time, what it was doing, whether it obeyed the shaman's summons willingly or unwillingly, and, finally, how the spirit, submitting to the shaman's demands, left his clan territory and came to the shaman in the tent. At this moment, the song ceased and the sounds of the drum were gradually muffled, becoming soft roll. The listeners with bated breath awaited the appearance of the spirit.

3G: The ensuing silence was broken by a sharp blow on the drum, changing into a short roll. In the silence following this: the voices of the spirits could be clearly heard: the snorting of beasts, birdcalls, the whirring of wings, or others, according to the spirit appearing before the shaman at the moment. Such conjuring tricks were not achieved by all shamans, however, but only by the virtuosi in this line — the *khogdy shaman* (great shaman). The sound of the drum was unexpectedly interrupted. The shaman yawned broadly, receiving into himself the spirit which had come, and again struck the drum. Well warmed over the fire, the drum sounded long, filling the halfdarkness with sound. Those attending sat there under the impression of the appearance of the spirit, deafened by the incessant rolling of the drum.

2E, 3G: Then the drumming ceased. The shaman began the invocatory song to the next spirit. Rousing themselves from their torpor, the watchers picked up the shaman's words and everything began again in the same order, until all of the shaman's spirits were gathered.

3H: Having gathered the spirits, the shaman distributed his orders among them in accordance with the order of the images of the *darpe* and the *onang*: some he ordered to guard the tent, others to be watchman on all the pathways of the shaman's activity, still others to remain with him to carry out his orders. Among the shaman's spirits, the *khargi* or animal-double of the shaman filled one of the first places.

5E: Under guard of the whole group of spirits the shaman sent the *khargi* to the lower world to learn the cause of the clansman's illness. The sound of the drum became thunderous, the shaman's song more agitated. The *khargi*, accompanied by the other spirits, headed for the lower world by way of the shamanistic world-tree. There he found the *mangi*, the chief ancestor-spirit of the shaman, and learned from him everything of interest. In the less important cases it was sufficient for this purpose to turn to the nearest ancestor-spirit of the shaman, most often to the one whom the particular shaman had succeeded on earth. But cases were not rare in which the *mangi* proved incapable of establishing the cause of the disease, and the shaman was compelled to send the *khargi* for the same purpose to the upper world, to the supreme deity . . .

The journey of the *khargi* to the other world is described in the shaman's songs in such fantastic form, so deftly accompanied by motions, imitations of spirit-voices, comic and dramatic dialogues, wild screams, snorts, noises, and the like, that it startled and amazed even this far from superstitious onlooker. The tempo of the song became faster and faster, the shaman's voice more and more excited, the drum sounded ever more thunderously. The moment came when the song reached its highest intensity and feeling of anxiety. The drum moaned, dying out in peals and rolls in the swift, nervous hands of the shaman. One or two deafening beats were heard and the shaman leaped from his place. Swaying from side to side, bending in a half-circle to the ground and smoothly straightening up again, the shaman let loose such a torrent of sounds that it seemed everything hummed, beginning with the poles of the tent, and ending with the buttons on the clothing. Screaming the last parting words to the spirits, the shaman went further and further into a state of ecstasy, and

5P₁: finally, throwing the drum into the hands of his assistant, seized with his hands the thongs connected to the tent pole and began the shamanistic dance — a pantomime illustrating how the *khargi*, accompanied by the group of spirits, rushed on his dangerous journey fulfilling the shaman's commands. The drumstick in the skillful hands of the shaman's assistant beat out a furious roll. The accompaniment reached its highest point. The voices and snorts of beasts and the like were heard in the tent. Under the hypnotic influence of the shamanistic ecstasy, those present often fell into a state of mystical hallucination, feeling themselves active participants in the shaman's performance. The shaman leaped into the air, whirled with [the help of] the tent thongs, imitating the running and flight of his spirits, reached the highest pitch of ecstasy,

5P₂: and fell foaming at the mouth on the rug which had been spread out in

the meanwhile. The assistant fanned the fire and bent over the shaman's stiffened, lifeless body. The latter, representing at this moment his *khargi* in the land of the *khergu* (the world of the dead), was outside of this seeming corpse. The assistant, fearing that the shaman might not return to the land of *dulu* (the middle world), persuaded him to return as quickly as possible from the lower world, orienting himself by the light of the fire which he (the assistant) had kindled in the tent.

5P,Q: The shaman began to show signs of life. A weak, half-understandable babble was heard — the barely audible voices of the spirits. They signified that the *khargi* and the spirits accompanying him were returning to the middle world. The shaman's assistant put his ear to the shaman's lips and in a whisper repeated to those present everything that the shaman said was happening at the time to the *khargi* and his spirits. The shaman's weak, barely audible whisper changed into a loud mutter, unconnected snatches of sentences, and wild cries. The helper took the drum, warmed it over the fire, and started to beat it, entreating the shaman (that is, his *khargi*) not to get lost on the road, to look more fixedly at the light of the tent fire, and to listen more closely for the sound of the drum. The drum sounded faster and louder in the hands of the assistant; the shaman's outcries became ever clearer and more distinct. The drum sounded still louder, calling the shaman, and finally became again the accompaniment of ecstasy. The shaman leapt up and began to dance the shamanistic pantomime dance symbolizing the return of the *khargi* and his attendant spirits to the middle world (*dulu*). The shaman's dance became more and more peaceful, its movements slow. Finally, its tempo slowed, the dance broke off. The shaman hung on the thongs, swaying from side to side in time with the drum.

5S: Then, in recitative, he told the onlookers about the *khargi's* journey to the other world and about the adventures that had happened. Freeing himself from the thongs, the shaman returned to his place. He was given the drum. The shaman's song was again heard. The shaman transmitted the advice of the ancestor-spirits as to how the evil spirit of the disease should be fought,

5Z: put the drum to one side, and paused. Someone from among the onlookers offered him a lit pipe. Pale and exhausted, the shaman began avidly to smoke pipe after pipe. With this the first part of the performance ended.

4L: When he was rested, the shaman again took the drum and began to expel the spirit of the disease. At first he tried to persuade it to leave the patient's body voluntarily. The spirit refused. The long-continued discussion between the spirit and the shaman irritated the latter and turned into irrepressible outbursts of anger, cries, and threats.

4M: The sound of the drum again gathered strength. The shaman threw the drum to his assistant, leaped from his place, seized the thongs attached to the center-pole of the tent, and began to whirl around in a furious dance beside the patient, attempting to expel the spirit of the disease.

4H: Tired and powerless, the shaman returned again to his place, took the drum, and again struck up the song, asking his spirit-helpers what he should do next. On the advice of the *khargi* (the chief soul of the shaman, his animal-double),

4M: he began to expel the disease by fanning and rubbing the place of the illness with various parts of the bodies of animals and birds — hair from the neck of a reindeer, a piece of skin from the snout of a Siberian stag, a bear's forehead, the antler of a wild deer, skin from the forehead of a wolverine or a wolf, eagle feathers, and the like. But this also clearly showed itself to be insufficient. The irritated shaman denounced all manner of disease-spirits,

4H: sat down again, beat long and indignantly on the drum, and then, softening the blows, passed over to the usual melody and began to consult with his spirit-helpers on what he should do next. On the *khargi*'s advice

4L: he proposed that the disease-spirit pass into a sacrificed reindeer. Between the shaman and the disease-spirit there began again a long dialogue; the shaman praised the flavor of the reindeer's meat, of the different parts of its body, and derogated the body of the patient as much as he could. The disease-spirit held to the opposite opinion. Finally, the shaman succeeded somehow in persuading the disease-spirit to accept the ransom.

4V: The sacrificial reindeer was brought into the tent. The sacrificial rope was fastened around the reindeer's neck and the loose end of it put into the patient's hand. To the sound of the drum, the patient, turning the end of the thong over in his hands, began to twist it. At the moment when the twisted rope pulled the reindeer's head, one of the men standing beside it killed the animal with a knife-blow. This meant that the disease-spirit ran across the twisted rope into the reindeer and struck it. The reindeer was skinned. The skin was hung up as a sacrifice to the supreme deity;

4N: the heart was given to the shaman, who seized on it and avidly bit into it. The shaman spat out a piece of reindeer heart into a hole made in one of his spirit-images, stoppered the hole with a wooden plug, and carried the image into the *onang*, ordering his spirit-helper to take the captured disease-spirit into the abyss of the lower world. But often the disease-spirit fooled the shaman and remained in the patient's body. Then the shaman spread out the skin of the killed reindeer under the patient, smeared the blood of the reindeer on the diseased part, and began to wheedle the disease-spirit out with the scent of blood. As soon as the spirit crawled out, wishing to taste the reindeer's blood, the shaman threw himself on the patient, licked off the smeared blood from the body, and spat it into the hole (cavity) in one of his spirit-idols, which took the disease-spirit into the abyss of the lower world.

4M: At other times, complicating the circumstances of the action, the shaman said that the disease-spirit would not come to this bait. Then the shaman, annoyed, once more threw himself on the drum. It sounded loudly in his

hands, deafening the disease-spirit with abuse and threats. The shaman gathered all his spirit-helpers. These surrounded on all sides the disease-spirit residing in the person. The shaman began an account fascinating for its fantastic content, of the battle between the shaman's zoomorphic spirit-helpers and the disease-spirit. The latter hid itself in the contents of the stomach. Then, the most cunning of the shaman's spirits, the goose, pushed his beak into the patient's stomach and with it caught the cause of the disease.

4S: The shaman and his spirits celebrated. The joyful, deafening, sound of the drum rang out. The clansmen attending the ceremony sighed with relief, but the joy showed itself to be premature.

4M: The disease-spirit tore itself from the goose's beak and threw itself in the direction of the onlookers. They were stunned with horror. However, another of the shaman's spirits, the splintered pole symbolizing the shamanistic tree, was in the runaway's path. The pole seized the disease-spirit, squeezed it into its wooden body, and under guard of two wooden watchmen (*kotó*) came over to the shaman. The third and most fascinating part of the performance began.

5L: The shaman's spirits, as followed from his songs and actions, were surrounding the captured disease-spirit in a dense ring, showering it with the most malicious jokes, ridicule, profanity, and threats. The spirits pinched it, nibbled at it, pulled at its legs, spat; the most irritated of them urinated and defecated on it, and so on. The tent rang with the sound of the drum, exclamations, the wild cries of the shaman imitating the voices of his spirit-helpers. The sound of the drum again reached a peak of intensity.

5P₁N: The shaman tore himself from his place, seized the thongs attached to the tent pole, and threw himself into a dance frantic in its rhythm and intensity. Behind him two men held the thongs. The drum in the hands of the shaman's assistant groaned and died out in a thunder of beats. Wild screams, the snorting of beasts, bird voices rushed about the tent with the shaman. From under his feet flew brands, coals, hot ashes, but no one paid attention to this. With their cries the onlookers tried to help the shaman. The ecstasy of the shaman and the onlookers reached its highest pitch; the captured disease-spirit was taken into the lower world by the shaman's spirits to be thrown into the abyss. On the brink of the lower world, the loon or another of the shaman's spirit-birds swallowed the disease, flew with it over the abyss, and there expelled it through the anal opening.

5P₃: After this the shaman and his spirits returned to the middle world, barricading as they went all the passages from the lower world. When they reached the middle earth (*dulu*), the shaman's dance ended. The shaman returned to his place. He was given the drum.

5S: To its sound he recounted to those present all the particulars of the expulsion of the disease-spirit into the abyss of the *buni* (world of the dead).

5Z: A pause ensued and the shaman and his spirits rested.

6H: The fourth part of the performance represented the clan vengeance of the shaman and his spirits on the shaman of the hostile clan. The shaman's *khargi* learned from his ancestor-spirits who had sent the evil spirits to the clan.

6I: Exclamations of indignation and threats descended from all sides onto the evil alien shaman. The shamanistic spirits of the clan made up a group of zoomorphic monsters and under the leadership of the shaman's *khargi* set out to avenge themselves on the clansmen of the shaman who had sent the disease-spirit.

5V: The following and concluding part of the performance was dedicated to the gods of the above. A reindeer was offered them in sacrifice. The skin of the sacrificed animal was hung on a long, thin larch at the altar (*turu*), and its meat was eaten by all of those present.

5O: In a special song addressed to the gods, the shaman thanked the protectors of the clan for the help received.

5P₁: He then performed a special dance symbolizing his journey to the gods of the upper world. He climbed up, supposedly, by the *turu* into the upper world and walked along the earth of the upper world, passing the heavens one after the other, to the *Amaka sheveki*, the supreme god. The shaman gave him for safekeeping the soul of the patient — a small wooden image of a man attached to the top of the *turu* larch. The *Amaka* entrusted the guarding of the patient's soul to the spirit of the shaman.

5P₃: The shaman's return journey to the earth of the *dulu* (middle world) was represented in the form of a strenuous, joyous, noisy dance of ecstasy.

5O: Then the shaman went to the altar, stood beside the spread-out skins of sacrificed reindeer, and pronounced a long *moliurtyn* — an improvised prayer to the Christian deities.

7U: Having arrived back in the tent, the shaman, at the request of those present, began to divine by means of his rattle and a reindeer scapula. The clansmen, in turn, set forth their desires. The shaman threw his rattle up in the air and, from the way it fell, determined whether or not the desire would be fulfilled. Then he took the shoulder blade of the sacrificed reindeer, laid hot coals on it, blew on them, and predicted according to the direction and character of the cracks in the bone what awaited his clansmen in the future.

At the end of the performance the shaman's tent was abandoned. The reindeer-skin covering (lap rug) was taken from it but everything else remained in place.

22.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The outward setting for the ritual performance of the Evenk shaman in the Podkamennaya Tunguska region varied according to the function of the séance. Minor tasks such

as the finding of a missing deer or forecasting the success of a coming journey, could be embarked upon in an ordinary dwelling. The solving of a real crisis was undertaken only in a special tent equipped with numerous symbolic objects. This tent was called a *shevenchedek* (literally 'a place for shamanizing'⁵). The séance described by Anisimov, arranged to cure a patient possessed by a demon, was considered so demanding that it was held in just such a special tent. The *shevenchedek* was divided into three sections: the tent proper and two galleries, *darpe* and *onang* sections, the former always east of the entrance to the tent and the latter always west. The *darpe* symbolized the upper world, the abode of e.g. the *omi* — the souls of members of the clan. The tent itself corresponded to the middle world inhabited by mortals, and the *onang* the lower world, the domain of the dead. In his article "Early concepts about the universe among the Evenks" G. M. Vasilevich⁶ analysed the multi-level concepts of the universe held by the Evenks. The entire Evenk population, he claimed, held a common belief in three worlds one on top of the other. In the Yenisey region this basic belief developed into a form called by Vasilevich as 'shamanistic', according to which the upper world in the east, the middle world, and the lower world in the north or west are connected by the chief path of the shamans, the *engdekit* stream. There are seven or nine heavens between the upper world and the source of the *engdekit* stream, while along the lower reaches of the stream lie the tribal worlds of the dead, the *bukit* or *bunikit*.⁷ Flowing into the main stream are numerous tributaries that are the property of individual shamans, and on the banks of which live their helping spirits. The *shevenchedek* construction described by Anisimov was also based on the idea of the shaman's stream and the mythological beings abiding along its banks or on its islands. The *darpe* thus lay at the source of the stream, and the tent itself, the middle world, was looked upon as an island in this stream. The *onang* represented the lower reaches of the stream, along which the shaman sailed towards the dead, using the drum as his boat and the drum stick as his paddle. On the basis of Anisimov's thorough treatise debating the symbolic significance of the construction and its objects it is possible to outline three basic elements of the tent of the Podkamennaya Tunguska shaman: 1) the world stream as the representative of the universe, 2) the world tree symbols (*turu*), likewise denoting parts of the universe and also the *turu* in the tent (the middle world) as the element combining them, and 3) the inhabitants of the world beyond depicted in wood carvings, most of them helping spirits of the shaman. The *shevenchedek* thus reflects the clan's concepts of the structure of the universe. The historical-genetic associations of the phenomenon are in themselves an interesting object for research. This is something of a hybrid form of the preparation of the shaman, and study of its functional side brings out extremely clearly

some of the dimensions fundamental to the shamanic rite performance that are often overlooked by observers. While the shaman was preparing for demanding tasks a special area was got ready for shamanizing, with concrete representation of the topography of the world beyond, the paths of the shaman, his assistants and enemies. The objects in the shaman's tent reflect the same themes and phenomena as the shaman's songs; only the mode of depiction is different. The main function of the lengthy preparations may be regarded as a gathering of the cosmos, a concentration on the conjuring up of the world beyond and — important from the point of view of role-taking technique — actualization of the spirit roles. The more difficult the shamanizing task was, the more thorough and ritually precise these were. Anisimov mentions that the number of idols, their arrangement and the placing ready of other objects varied according to the strength of the shaman and the nature of the ceremony. The strength of the shaman, his professional skill, was in turn directly proportional to the number of his spirits-helpers⁹. The beginner held mastery over only a few spirits. In other words he always had to be content with shamanizing on a small scale, e.g. using simplified *darpe* and *onang* sections attached to an ordinary domestic tent, and thus he could not be turned to in really critical situations.

An important part of the shaman's preparations was pre-shamanizing, during which the shaman took note of the types of measures the case in question would demand and what sort of equipment he should get ready.¹⁰ This pre-shamanizing, "little shamanizing" as Shirokogoroff calls it, corresponds to the collecting of information of continuous shamanizing. Should a shaman be forced during a planned séance to move chiefly in the lower world among the dead members of the tribe, e.g. in accompanying the souls of the dead to the underworld or feasting the ancestor spirits in a special memorial festival, attention was paid chiefly to the equipment of the *onang* side. Correspondingly in safeguarding the birth of a new member of the tribe by shamanizing special preparations were made in the *darpe*.¹¹

The framework of the rite varied considerably depending on the shaman and the shamanizing case and reflected the outlook on the world and training of the shaman, which took shape during his initiatory period and career on the basis of a common tradition. The clan's contribution in building the tent brings up another aspect to examining the functional side of the phenomenon. Anisimov describes the event as follows:

"The construction of the shaman's tent and also the preparation of the shamanistic spirit-images were generally done by the whole camp, as a rule by the men. According to the character of the shamanistic spirit-images, their number and order of arrangement in the *darpe* and *onang*, those present

attempted to guess the shaman's intentions, the content of the impending performance, the significance for the clan of unexpected events. There arose among the clansmen lively conversations creating that mood in the participants which, the shamans insisted, was absolutely essential to any important performance. It is essential to realize that in this preliminary stage, before the shamanistic activity proper, those present already felt the strong impact of the whole situation. In any case, when the ceremony began, many seriously maintained that they saw and sensed realistically everything that the shaman described by his actions."¹²

The special preparations thus put the spectators in the right mood for the séance. The concrete display of the universal scene was not only an aid to the shaman's individualistic technique of ecstasy, it also generated excitement at social-psychological level. The party to the séance remaining in the normal world, the community whose affairs the shaman was handling, directed their role-taking at the shaman. The more it was able to live the situation, to imitate and support the shaman's performance, the easier it was for the shaman to concentrate and attain an altered state of consciousness. In the Podkamennaya Tunguska the shaman's tent was in fact larger than normal, so that the whole clan could take part in séances. The assembling of participants in the tent followed a ritual order symbolizing the journey of the soul from the clan's store of souls (*omiruk*) in the upper world to the middle world inhabited by mortals. The shaman called the members of the clan, symbolically the souls of the clan, to the tent representing the middle world to imitate the sound of an animal, i.e. he used the language of the supranormal world.¹³ As the first line of the description of shamanizing shows, a reaction aroused by the preparation and the ritual assembling — a nervous agitation — was clearly observable. The members of the clan awaiting the start of the séance were ready to enter into the shaman's ecstatic experience. The shaman sitting opposite the entrance had already reached a mild state of nervous excitement in calling the clansmen. His role-taking was directed at the clansmen, and sitting amid the images of his spirit-helpers he now had to divert his attention from the clan to summoning his supranormal helpers.¹⁴ Following the warming of the drum and the clothing ceremony by an ordinary assistant the shaman finally adopts his role and is ready to perform.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): In picking his counter-roles the shaman actualizes each spirit-helper in turn, describing its features, its role. He then goes on to state its role behaviour, its journeying to the tent at the shaman's command (2E).¹⁵ G. M. Vasilevich recorded this summoning of the spirits performed during an *ik niph* ceremony arranged to guarantee success in spring hunting among the Evenks of the Sym River in 1930:

Blacksmiths! Blacksmiths!
 How many blacksmiths have I
 Who forge men!
 What have you forged for me? Horns on my back.
 How many bellows,
 How many manufacturers of metal parts?
 Metal, metal, metal (refrain)
 Iron filings *ž'ašāləl*
 I am gathering *ž'ašāləl*
 Making them much sharper *ž'ašāləl*
 (refrain)
 How many tongs have I
 Which do not yield to the *mušun* spirits?
 How many hammers have I? *ž'ašāləl*
 How many tongs have I
 Which do not yield to the *mušun* spirits?
 Women who have worked,
 Making stitches with dewlap hairs
 Making stitches with bites of their teeth
 The red lead and the black paint,
 Not spoiling,
 Softening . . .¹⁶

The image of the black smith spirits forging the novice on the anvil and thus bringing about his change into a shaman is a common theme in initiatory visions. The manufacture of the metal parts of the shaman's garb was also regarded as the work of these same smiths.¹⁷ The last lines of the fragment hint at the making of the garb by women. In his preliminary song the Sym River shaman thus related his ecstatic initiations and his acquisition of his paraphernalia at the incorporation stage and calls the performers of the initiation, the smith spirits, to his aid.

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The shaman manifests the coming of the spirit-helpers imitating the sounds of animals (3G). In fact he has a dual role: with his continuous drumming he still acts in the role of shaman, but in imitating by tricks the sounds of the spirit-helper he at the same time brings out its role performance. During the act possession takes place. The shaman receives the spirit which has come, announcing the event by an unexpected interruption in the drumming and yawning broadly. The a) actualization of the spirit roles, b) the description of their roles and their role performance taking place during the séance, and c) the announcement of their arrival by acting in the role of the spirit continue until the shaman has d) received into himself all his spirit-helpers (2E, 3G). Act 3H functions as a distribution of orders: some of the spirits are ordered

to guard the tent and the shaman's pathways, others remain within him as future assistants. Among the latter is the shaman's animal-double and chief spirit-helper, the *khargi*.¹⁸ The distribution of orders shows that the spirits carried out different tasks, functioning in various roles.

The shaman's journey (5): The function of the shaman's first journey sequence is to gain information from the lower world. In the guise of the *khargi* one of the shaman's souls¹⁹ journeys to the lower world, assisted by the other spirit-helpers²⁰, to the chief ancestor-spirit, the *mangi*. The shaman depicts the journey of his soul and his spirit-helpers in song and dance, and he manifests the various role figures he meets on the way, imitating their sounds and movements (flight and running). Anisimov's reference to dialogues show that in communicating with the spirits the shaman reveals both his own and his counter-roles.²¹

During act 5E the shaman thus describes the journey of the *khargi* and the spirit-helpers. He himself is still in the middle world and reveals the roles of both the shaman and the spirits. Not until he has sent the last spirit-helper on its way does the situation change: the shaman hands over the drum and at the same time the task of mediator, the shaman's role, to his assistant and now identifies completely with the role of the *khargi* wandering in the lower world. He reveals his identification with the spirit roles in a wild pantomime dance and using imitations of animal sounds (5P₁). As regards ecstasy technique act 5E is a key point in the course of the séance. It could be described as the induction of trance; the shaman attains an altered state of consciousness and is soon in the state of complete ecstasy preceding loss of consciousness. The loss of consciousness (5P₂) proves that the shaman's soul has reached the world of the dead (*khergu*). The assistant is the only active party; he must maintain contact between the normal and the supranormal worlds, and by seeing to the continuation of the séance safeguard the shaman's return. During the return act (5P₃Q) the shaman is still identified with spirit roles and thus represents the supranormal world. The assistant informs the clansmen of the events of the supranormal world by repeating the shaman's report of his journey, and by drumming and singing he begins to guide the shaman on his return journey. The assistant's role-taking, characteristic of the mediator, is thus directed at both the normal and the supranormal worlds. The drumming reaches its climax in a pantomime dance — a diminuendo symbolizing the return journey of the *khargi* and his attendant spirits. The shaman's movements little by little grow calmer, and end finally in a dance. He has returned to the middle world and his own role. The shaman now directs his role-taking at those present (5S). His information is bipartite: he first tells of the stages in his journey and finally reveals the knowledge

he obtained on his journey of how the disease demon must be expelled. The resting period (5Z), during which the shaman smokes, concludes the first part of the séance.

Meeting the sickness demon (4): In describing the measures taken to banish the disease demon Anisimov does not confine himself to a specific séance he has observed but also presents alternative modes of action. It is, however, not possible to conclude from the text whether the variations represent methods adopted by various shamans or whether every Evenk shaman commands the full scale of banishment rites. It is plain that the shaman did not always need to act in the same way; allowing for the seriousness of the case he would select a suitable mode of action and even adopt a stronger line during the course of the séance. Thus in the initial part of the sequence there is a series of demon-banishing acts according to a three-attempt scheme. In between battle scenes the shaman confers with his spirit-helpers over what he should do next (4H). The role relationships of the acts are clear: throughout the scene the shaman acts in his own role, yet also expressing counter-roles from time to time. Although we cannot speak of an identification with a counter-role (the shaman actively continues his own role in throwing himself from one battle scene to another), it appears from Anisimov's statement "The long-continued discussion between the spirit and the shaman irritated the latter . . ." (4L) that the shaman converses with the spirit, i.e. he at times also reveals the role of the demon spirit. It is difficult to draw any conclusions as to the technique by which this occurs: does the shaman speak normally or does he use tricks, e.g. talking through his stomach, or does he perhaps imitate the sounds of animals as he does in manifesting the roles of his spirit-helpers? It is also possible that the shaman transfers from one role to another during the conversation until the whole discussion is brought to a conclusion. It nevertheless appears that in bringing out the role or the cause of the disease the shaman at the same time remains in his own role, since the assistant does not need to take over the role of mediator as he did during the journey sequence. While the disease spirit is speaking the shaman thus has a double role. During the 4H acts the shaman consults his spirit-helpers. This is again a discussion section during which the shaman can be regarded as acting a dual role. Once the demon has finally accepted the reindeer offered as a ransom a sacrificial ceremony is embarked on (4V), during which the role of the patient, so far passive, is actualized for the first time. Also included in the shaman's assistant category is the killer of the sacrificial reindeer selected from among those present. Although those present thus function actively, the shaman pays no attention to them, i.e. the onlookers' role-taking is directed at the shaman, the shaman's at the supranormal. Only towards the end of

the sequence (4S) does the shaman's role-taking become directed from the supranormal to the normal. The hanging up of the skin as a sacrifice to the supreme deity proves that the contacts created during the preparatory stage with the entire field of mythological reality remain open, and if necessary these roles can be called upon during the séance without any major preliminaries, such as prayers, songs, etc. The act of wheedling out the demon (4N) is manifested using very special ritual acts. The piece of the sacrificial reindeer's heart (with the demon) is stoppered in the wooden spirit-image symbolizing the spirit-helper and then carried into the *onang*, i.e. the shamanic stream leading to the lower world. The shaman's tent construction with its spirit images thus functions both as an element mapping out the supranormal world during the preparatory stage and later as a demonstrator of the supranormal role performances.

Should the shaman be obliged to resort to his spirit-helpers to banish the disease spirit, the role situation becomes more complicated: the shaman has simultaneously to manifest numerous supranormal role figures taking part in the battle. The Evenk shaman described by Anisimov manages the technical manifestation of this intricate role situation by means of song: "The shaman began an account, fascinating for its fantastic content, of the battle between the shaman's zoomorphic spirit-helpers and the disease-spirit." The battle scene is traditional in its motifs: the demon hides in the patient's stomach and is cunningly lured out by a spirit-helper in the form of a bird with its beak.²² In other respects, too, the account covers a wide range of the most common alternative tradition-elements describing the banishing of the demon: 1) the shaman expresses his battle against the demon through dance²³, 2) he rubs the place of the illness with various parts of the bodies of birds and animals²⁴, 3) he leads the demon along the rope into the sacrificial animal, thus transferring it to the animal's heart²⁵, 4) he smears blood on the diseased part, luring the demon from inside the patient to taste the blood, and sucks the demon in²⁶.

The drama of the séance and the difficulty of the task of banishment are emphasized by the act in which a demon already caught escapes. The scene could be regarded as witness of the shaman's skill at arousing and guiding social-psychic reactions. During act 4S those present, already convinced of the success of the séance, find themselves suddenly at the demon's mercy; the danger threatens not only the patient but everyone present. In overcoming the demon the shaman saves all the members of the assembly and thus proves his ability as protector of the clan.

The shaman's journey (5): The function of the new journey sequence is to bear the disease spirit to the lower world. The Evenk shaman

does not, as became evident before, by any means always resort to such measures. If he does it is more a way of solving exceptionally difficult cases. If the sequence belongs to the course of the séance it constitutes one of the ecstatic climaxes. In describing the shaman's behaviour Anisimov at the same time presents interpretations of its significance. The events are as follows: the spirit-helpers surround the captured disease-spirit, tormenting and degrading it (5L) until the shaman is ready for his journey to the lower world; here a spirit-bird swallows the demon and expels it through the anal opening into the abyss (5P₁N). On his return journey the shaman and his assistants barricade all the demon's passages to the middle world, the *dulu*. During the sequence all the onlookers are actively involved. The technique by which the shaman manifests various spirit roles or depicts his own role performance in the supranormal world does not differ from that used in previous sequences. He presents various role figures, imitating the sounds of animals, reports role performances in song, and manifests the passage to the supranormal world in a dance scene. As the shaman is unable to drum while he is dancing and he is regarded as being in the other world, the assistant must again take on the role of mediator and see to the continuation of the séance. Now in a state of ecstasy, the onlookers support the shaman with their cries; there is, however, no reciprocal role relationship between the onlookers and the shaman during the journey acts (5P₁N and 5P₃), and the shaman's role-taking is directed exclusively at spirits operating in the lower world. It could be claimed that in addition to the assistant all those present, who in their ecstatic accompaniment direct their role-taking at the shaman wandering in the lower world, take on the task of mediator. During the imparting of information ending the sequence (5S) there is a return to the normal role arrangement. A resting section (5Z) marks off the sequence from the next.

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6): The nucleus idea of the sequence is the punishing of the sender of the demon, an act of revenge bound to the shaman's status as protector of the clan, and it constitutes a fundamental structural element of shamanism among the Evenks of the Yenisey region. The spirit world of the Evenks was divided, according to Anisimov, into three classes: the evil spirits (spirits of diseases and death), the ruling spirits (the "lords of nature") and the "supreme rulers" (deities to whom all other spirits were thought to be subordinate). The spirits of disease and death were supposed to be sent to people by shamans alien to the clan.²⁷ To prevent spirits sent by the shaman of an alien clan from attacking the shaman erected a *marylya*-fence, i.e. he ordered his assistant spirits to keep guard round the clan's land.²⁸ Since the *marylya* was also de-

stroyed on the death of the shaman, constant manning of the status was important to the conditions of existence of the community. In the case of death the new shaman, usually a relative of the former, had to take up office immediately and set up a new *marylya* to protect his tribesmen. According to Anisimov "beliefs about the mythical clan-fence, the *marylya*, not only maintained but also reinforced the position of the shaman, and further not only reinforced but also established shamanism as a socially indispensable phenomenon, without which the clan could not exist."²⁹ The concept of the *marylya* fence also helped to channel the clan's hostile attitudes to outsiders within shamanism and to crystallize them as an explanation for disease: a demon was the spirit-helper of a shaman of an alien clan.

The sequence comprises two acts: 1) the *khargi* negotiates with the ancestor spirits to discover the identity of the person guilty of the deed, and 2) the shaman sends a group of spirit-helpers led by the *khargi* on a mission of revenge. The sequence can be regarded as the deactualization of the spirit-helpers, because the shaman does not accompany them and sends them away without awaiting their return. The sequence of the shaman's journey terminating the séance also differs fundamentally from the former ones: the shaman acts independently in the upper world, the *khargi* is not mentioned. The linking of the idea of revenge with the deactualization sequence does not seem strange when we remember that this period of action often had the functions of returning and safeguarding equilibrium.³⁰

The shaman's journey (5): To end the séance the shaman actualizes the roles of the gods of the upper world. This is done by the methods of actemes V and P. The sequence aims on the one hand at guaranteeing the assistance of the clan's patron deities in the future, too, and on the other at ensuring the patient is healed. In banishing the demon the shaman travelled along the *engdeket* stream to the lower world, whereas in approaching the deities of the upper world he is said to climb the *туру* tree. Anisimov does in fact refer to alternative tasks of the stream and the world-tree as shamanic passageways.³¹ Despite the different grounds for explanation the shaman manifests the execution of his journey in a similar way: by symbolic dance (5P₁, 5P₃). In the course of the sacrificial ceremony (5V) he thanks the gods for their help in a special song (50), its manifest function being to retain their favour, but the latent functions of which seem to lie in the regions of role and ecstatic technique. Through song the shaman calls to mind all the roles of the upper world and reaches a situation in which it is possible to make his journey. In other words the scene corresponds to the induction stage as regards the technique of ecstasy. The shaman makes his journey to the upper world to hand the patient's soul into the keeping of *Amaka shevek*, the supreme

dcity.³² He in turn entrusts the shaman's spirits with the task. The process of change to which the shamanism of the Evenks was being subjected as the Orthodox religion pervaded the area is reflected in the prayer to the Christian deities added to the end of the sequence.

During the sequence of divining (7U) terminating the séance the shaman satisfies the needs of individual representatives of the community. Functionally the scene is not connected with healing but springs from the shaman's position as mediator between the community and the supranormal.³³ It appears as a supplement to séances with various goals. On the other hand we may claim that acteme U (forecasting) is a functional alternative to acteme S (information). The shaman's role-taking does, after all, change in both cases towards the end of the sequence from spirit roles to representatives of the community.

23. SÉANCE OF A CHINESE SHAMAN AMONG THE MANCHUS

23.1. *Background.* In 1935 S. M. Shirokogoroff published a thorough account of shamanism among the Evenks and the Manchus in his work "Psychomental Complex of the Tungus". He based his work on extensive field research, the reliability and comparative value of which is evident from his method theses: The conductor of field work should"1) as far as possible avoid approaching an alien complex from the point of view of the ethnical unit to which the investigator belongs; 2) have sufficient general theoretical preparation; 3) have sufficient time for observation, and technical facilities, including language; 4) to be free of the influence of theories which do not result from the investigation and which bear the original fallacy of being based upon unchecked hypotheses and postulates; 5) record if possible all facts; 6) be an ethnographer."¹

Although Shirokogoroff was mainly concerned with the different Evenk or Tungus groups, he also collected and analysed material on Manchu culture, because according to him the Manchus have had a strong influence on Evenk shamanism and "other elements of the psychomental complex".² In their social and economic conditions the Manchus were in many respects the complete opposite of the Evenks. Whereas the majority of the Evenks were hunters roaming the taiga, the Manchus led a stationary agricultural life.³ The well organized and stable administrative system of the Manchus, the political influence of which was widely felt in China, had preserved the clans as administrative units. Shirokogoroff mentions that "amongst the Manchus the idea of 'clan' as a social institution was clearly understood and used as a basis for their administrative and partly military system."⁴

The ability to read and write, deep-rooted interaction with Chinese culture, the influence of e.g. Buddhism and Taoism, furthered the development of the special features of the Manchu spiritual tradition, both folklore and belief tradition. For example, a regular managing of the souls of dead people was, according to Shirokogoroff, a belief complex inherited from the Chinese.⁵ He points out that within the rich Imperial Family with its almost unlimited power there gradually emerged a special social group whose job was to maintain contact with the deceased ancestors by means of sacrificial ceremonies. In the Manchu clans contact with the clan's dead ancestors was linked up with shamanism. Thus alongside the shaman proper, in the language of the Manchus *saman*, whose duties included healing the sick by means of the spirits at his command, there emerged a second type of shaman, the *p'oyun saman*, whom Shirokogoroff describes as the clan priest. The *p'oyun saman* did not act as a psychopompos, did not take the souls of the dead to the other world, but maintained contact between the living and the dead and when necessary also eliminated the souls of the dead bringing harm on people. The meeting of the clan elected the *p'oyun* shamans from among the suitable candidates. The clan might have several *p'oyun* shamans at a time, but only one of them could carry out the duties of the clan priest; he was called the *ta saman*. The *ta saman*, who was elected at the time of the autumnal sacrifice, attended all the sacrificial events of the clan and saw that the rites were properly conducted. He also supervised the passing on of the ritual tradition and the training of novices.⁶ The *p'oyun* shaman often had the shaman's requisites, dress and drum⁷, and in some cases he also commanded the shaman proper's technique of introducing the spirits into himself. However, he never healed the sick or acted in any other of the shaman proper's capacities. His primary task was to supervise the regularity of sacrifices and prayers to ancestors and to preserve the purity of rites and prayers. As literacy spread the *p'oyun* shamans began to produce books of rites and prayers.⁸ The highly stratified social structure of the Manchus had thus led to the emergence of a special group of priests. In some areas, such as among the Altaic Turks, the shaman's tasks could include the role of sacrificial priest. This combining of the tasks of the sacrificial priest with the duties of the shaman has been regarded as a recent phenomenon: the shaman, being a connoisseur of the supranormal, took the place of the sacrificial priest.⁹ The acting of the shaman as sacrificial priest among the Altaic Turks is based on the underlying idea of the rite according to which the sacrificer himself takes the soul of the sacrificial animal to the appropriate deity in the other world. Among the Manchus the duties of the sacrificial priest, called, it is true, a shaman, and the shaman proper have become separated.¹⁰ The sacrificial priest does not journey to the other world, either.

Shirokogoroff observed numerous shamanizing séances, and in the work mentioned gives notes on some individual séances in addition to general discourses. One of the most interesting is the description of a healing rite conducted by a Chinese shaman in a Manchu family. The author notes that the procedure adopted by the Chinese shaman differed from the Manchu occasions he had observed only in language. A frame of reference for the rite can thus be found from the religious complex of the Manchus. Shirokogoroff fills in the background to the event as follows:

"The case which required a shamanizing was under my observation for nearly eighteen months with interruptions. In a family of a former petty official, who with the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty lost his position, a small boy eight years old fell sick. In so far as I could guess, he had first pleuritis and afterwards various troubles of kidneys and water metabolism. He was attended by thirteen Chinese local doctors and several shamans. I saw three complete and very elaborate performances, one of which was to deal with the lower world. None of them could find out the cause of the sickness and the means of curing it. Generally people were inclined to think that spirits were the real cause of the sickness. This time, after a preliminary shamanizing, it was found out that the cause of the trouble might be a shaman, a relative of the boy's father, who had died long ago. The shaman wanted therefore to see him personally and to ask him what he wanted. The shaman, a huge heavy and muscular Chinese (*n'ikan*), was considered as a very able man.¹¹

Although the account is brief in its coverage of the shaman's ecstatic and role-taking technique (like all Shirokogoroff's eye-witness accounts), its analytic value is increased by Shirokogoroff's broad general surveys of these matters.

23.2. *Description of the rite process*¹²

1A: The performance began after sunset. An ordinary table was put on the *amba nayan* (the principal bed-stove, facing the entrance) with the following sacrifice: two cups with millet, with three sticks of burning incense in each; fifteen (three times five) rolls of Chinese bread (*māntōu*); seven small cups of Chinese wine (two bottles left on the table); two bank-notes of one rouble each; and in the middle of the table a boiled chicken, the blood of which had been taken away before the cooking.

1C: The shaman took off his clean coat and put on a rather worn one, for he might soil it when falling down to the floor. First he refused to put on a belt with trinkets, for fear of attracting the attention of the policeman (the Chinese government, as stated, prohibited shamanism and persecuted shamans, so that they had to consider this when shamanizing). However,

he decided to put it on, for the police station was far away, and the policemen did not leave the station; and the house was standing far from the main road (on the bank of the river).

1A: The boy's father, who himself was *p'oyun saman* of his clan, after burning some incense, prayed his clan spirits to excuse him that he went to the help of a stranger shaman who was not of their clan. It was necessary to do this for avoiding a conflict between the spirits of the shaman and those of the clan, which may result in further complications of the disease. The shaman who failed to cure the boy, did the same, begs his own spirits to abstain from any hostility against the spirits of the acting shaman.

2D: The acting shaman made an appeal to all his spirits: Chinese, Manchu and Tungus. He explained the case and asked for assistance. Then he called his principal spirit (*vočko*). He took up the drum, beat rhythmically and sang.

2E: Extasy approached; the rhythm changed and the tempo increased.

3G: The assistants were ready with a rug on which the shaman might fall when the spirit came. Then the spirit arrived, the shaman trembled, jumped, still producing a rhythmical noise with *s'iša*;

3H: then suddenly he handed over to the assistant the drum and fell down upon the rug. The assistant asked him questions and from the dialogue one could understand that the shaman was to go to the lower world.

3V: Two *itxa mo*, — “the blooming trees” — were now prepared. These were two branches of willow tree with smaller branches, the ends of which were broken off. The branches were adorned with paper of five different colours: white, red, blue, yellow and green (perhaps black?). This is the tree which attracts the spirits of the lower world: souls are living on beautiful trees. The “trees” must be put in a “beautiful” (gay and joyful) place (however, this could not be done, I think for two reasons: the season was not favourable, for the middle of April is too cold; and the shamanizing might have attracted the attention of the policemen), or inside of the house, near the door. On a table placed under the “trees” there were put four cups with Chinese wine (*xānšin*), 5 × 3 fifteen rolls of Chinese bread, five plates with nuts, dates (*zyziphus jujubii*), candies etc. i.e. “five kinds of fruits”, two cups with millet in which burning stick-incense was put and a cup with fresh chicken blood. This sacrifice must be exposed at the moment when the shaman reaches the lower world.

3G: The shaman introduced into himself (drumming, singing, “extasy”) the spirit “wolf”. The physical effect of the extasy is that the shaman's body is very rigid, the legs are stretched, the arms are bent and the elbows are pressed against the body.

5P₂: The shaman was brought into the room, and put on the rug in front of the table with the sacrifice. The assistants tried to bend his legs and straighten

his arms: the articulations produced a noise, but the assistants could not make the body relax. After several movements the limbs relaxed and the shaman lay with his abdomen and face down. The shaman kept in his arms a cushion covered with a blanket.

5PO: Then the light was blown out and the action continued in the dark. The shaman was singing, making a noise with *s'ışa*, scratched the earth of the floor (the earthen floor of the house) "like a wolf". The assistants tried to find out what the shaman saw and what he said. As a matter of fact, his speech was rather confused.

5S: The result obtained was that the old shaman-ancestor did not do harm, but the sickness was due to a spirit of the group *māfa*. The spirit some six or seven years previously was brought by the father from the upper course of the Amur River (in fact he used to deal with another Manchu in smuggling alcohol). In order to make this *māfa* benevolent, it was necessary to erect a temple (*m'ao*), where a placing (a picture) of this spirit was to be put and regular sacrifices offered. However, the father was not certain about it and asked for confirmation once more. It was again confirmed that the spirit *māfa* wanted to have a special *m'ao*.

5V: After this the blooming tree, together with the sacrifice, was thrown away, far from the house, and some paper money was burnt as sacrifice to the dead people (the ancestors).

5Q: Then the shaman returned to his normal state. He now sat as usual on the stove-bed, tired, and sweating.

7R: With this operation the shamanizing to the lower world was finished. However, the shaman continued the performance by dealing with other methods to restore the soul, which will be described in another section.

Another attempt was made at bringing back the soul. The cup with the papers was put on the head of the child, and the head with the cup was covered with a heavy fur hat. This operation apparently failed — the soul did not return.

4T: After a short extasy the shaman decided to find out what kind of *māfa* was making the trouble. The way chosen was to allow the spirit to talk through the child. Burning incense was put near the child in such quantity that the child was half-asphyxiated — he was evidently suffering from both his physical condition (very severe oedema: the abdomen was swollen as well as the face) and the smoke; he was screaming the whole time.

4J: The shaman was sitting by his side drumming and exciting the child with his harsh voice, calling the spirit to come and speak.

4V: However, the child did not move and did not tremble, which would be considered as a sign of spirit's presence. The spirit — so it was decided — did not want to come in. The shaman suggested an immediate sacrifice of

blood (of a pig) to the spirit *māfa*. The people rushed out of the house and tried to catch a pig. The only pig which they possessed ran away. The sacrifice could not be offered. I had a suspicion as to the sincere desire of the family members to slaughter the last pig.

2E, 3G: Then the shaman made a new attempt at helping the child with a spirit from the group *batur'i*, namely *jaya vočko* — “the fire spirit”. The spirit was introduced by means of ordinary methods.

4M: The assistant handed over to the shaman a bunch of sticks of burning incense. The shaman put the burning ends into his mouth for a second, and then blew immediately against various parts of the child's naked body. Then the incense was dipped in oil, lighted again and the ends thrust into the mouth of the shaman for a moment after which he again blew on the child. The shaman did this with evident effort: he was heavily breathing and spitting out oil.

4M: Afterwards, when the whole bunch of incense was burnt, the shaman began to massage the entire body — the abdomen, chest, back, arms and legs with burning alcohol. A big cup of Chinese wine (*xanš'in*, made of *gaolan*, from sixty to sixty-five per cent alcoholic) which was burning, was brought in by the assistant, and the shaman took the burning wine with his hands and smeared it on the body rubbing it in. Then, from a distance the shaman sprang upon the child and sucked the body at different parts of the abdomen (especially the naval region, that of the liver, stomach, bladder, appendix and spleen) so that blood appeared; the shaman spit the blood and seemed to be nauseated. After every sucking he cleaned his mouth with wine, but did not vomit.

4M: During the presence of the spirit of fire, which is considered as a very important and dangerous spirit, one of the assistants produced very intensive drumming and all people present sang (refrains) and screamed the whole time. The excitement was general.

4S: The performance was concluded by a declaration of the shaman, in the state of extasy, that the spirit *māfa* wants to have a sacrifice consisting of “ten kinds of food”.

The whole performance lasted five hours and thirty minutes. It was finished at 2:30 a.m. The child was very tired, as well as the shaman, his assistants and the people present at the performance.

23.3. *Commentary.* Preparatory stage (1): The preparations for the séance begin with the sacrificial table (1A). The host of the occasion, the sick boy's father, was himself shaman of his clan (*p'oŷun saman*), and like the shaman who had previously tried to cure the boy, he had by sacrifice and prayer to beg his own spirits to excuse him for turning to a strange shaman. The act could be regarded as a deactualization of the spirits not required

at the séance but who may still be present (1A). The Chinese shaman's garb comprised a belt with trinkets tied round a worn suit. Although this was a difficult and rare¹³ journey to the lower world, his preparations do not appear to be very careful; his fear of the police was such that he would have been prepared to appear without his vital shamanizing instrument, his belt.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): In his preliminary invocation of the spirits the shaman turns to his ten spirit-helpers. These are of Chinese, Manchu and Evenk origin, and Shirokogoroff describes them more exactly as follows:

- 1) the earth-worm shaman
- 2) two girl teachers (shamans)
- 3) the fire spirit (which is not afraid of fire)
- 4) the sharp implements and arms spirit (which is not afraid of sharp implements and arms)
- 5) the hedge-hog spirit (very small and rolling)
- 6) the wolf spirit
- 7) the chief Tungus spirit
- 8) the second Tungus spirit
- 9) the third Tungus spirit
- 10) last spirit was not identified¹⁴

The shaman first actualizes his less important spirits and only last of all his principal spirit. Among the Manchus the actualization of the spirits as a rule begins with a soft almost monotonous drumming at a slow tempo, which is explained as attracting the attention of the spirits. In certain cases, especially with a young and inexperienced shaman, the shaman may reach an ecstatic state immediately after the start of the séance and identify his counter-role at once. Actualization of the spirit roles has then already taken place before the séance, during real or feigned sleep.¹⁵ During his invocation stage the shaman explains the situation to the spirits and appeals for their help (2D). The invocatory formulae used by the Manchus are traditional, and thus familiar to those present, or at least to some of them: "Most of the records of the shaman's songs which I myself have made, and also which have been made by other observers, are only prayers of the shamans, quite stabilized and known by heart by the shamans, by their assistants, and also by those who frequent performances. 'Callings' of the spirits can also have a fixed form."¹⁶ On the other hand Shirokogoroff stresses that there is something new in every séance, since the reasons for séances vary and the shaman

may be faced with spirits not previously familiar to him.¹⁷ On the basis of these observations we may conclude that in speaking to, calling, praying to and sending away a familiar spirit, i.e. a role figure belonging to his own counter-role-set, the shaman uses the same set formulae, which an experienced assistant soon gets to know. But in dealing with unfamiliar role occupants and unexpected events the shaman improvises, nevertheless using the shamanic mode of expression, the phrases and overall structure of which are described by Shirokogoroff as the result of poetic creation. Thus the 2-sequence songs during which the shaman calls his own spirits would be completely traditional, whereas a rhythmically and often rhymed presentation of the reason for shamanizing may be varied according to the situation. As the shaman's ecstasy develops the tempo of the drumming gradually accelerates and changes from piano to forte. As the accounts shows, the rhythm of the drumming may also change.¹⁸

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The arrival of the spirit-helper is followed immediately by possession, the normal manifestation of which is described by Shirokogoroff as follows: "The shamans do not sing the whole time during the performance. They begin by drumming without singing, the latter being gradually introduced into the performance. Since the introductory part usually consists of the invitation of the spirits the explanation of the cause of shamanizing, etc., the singing is rather quiet and monotonous. When the spirits are approached by the soul of the shaman, the singing becomes passionate and it culminates in a scream of extasy when the spirit enters the shaman. After the spirit has entered into the shaman, the singing changes in melody, in rhythm, tempo and character (there may even be a change of the voice!) and it turns into a dialogue — almost a recitative — between the shaman and his assistant. Thus, the music becomes usually poorer, than before, and the sounds of the drum and of the attributes of the costume grow fainter. The shaman then is usually sitting on the ground. However, the shaman's travelling and the further increase of his extasy may be accompanied by a singing of a richer musical production."¹⁹ As the shaman receives the spirit he transfers to his spirit role, announcing the change in role by an ecstatic scream and a changed mode of singing, even a change in tone of voice (3G). During the dialogic scene (3H) the shaman is identified with his spirit role and the assistant takes over the place left vacant by the shaman as mediator between the normal and the supranormal worlds. The function of the scene is the acquisition of information, definition of the shaman's coming tasks, and it becomes clear from the dialogue that the shaman must travel to the lower world. A sacrificial meal and two blooming trees are prepared for the spirits of the lower world (3V), the final use of which be-

comes clear during the following sequence. The shaman now introduces into himself, using the normal technique of singing and drumming, the second, wolf spirit, in whose guise he travels to the lower world (3G). A change in role takes place. At the same time the shaman's ecstasy reaches its climax, he goes into a trance and is ready for the journey.

The shaman's journey (5): The shaman, in a state of trance, is brought beside the sacrificial table, and this operation shows that the shaman has reached the lower world (cf. 3V). An assistant tries to relax his stiff limbs, and the next act reveals the reason for this attempt: the shaman must be able to tell in song of the events of the lower world. The light is blown out and he begins to sing (5PO). He has identified with his spirit role: he scratches the ground like a wolf. Among the Manchus the manifestation of spirit roles is ritual, and by following the behaviour of the shaman the assistant can decide which spirit has entered into the shaman, i.e. with which spirit the shaman is identified. Shirokogoroff lists the following typical forms of behaviour:

- 1) wolf (*n'uxu*), bear (*lefu*), snake (*meixe*), dragon (*mudur'i*) and other "animals" — the shaman roars and scratches the earth (wolf, bear); the head-dress is taken off;
- 2) deaf — the shaman cleans his ears, does not correctly answer questions, as if being deaf, until some brandy is sprinkled on him;
- 3) group of "heroes" (*buku* and *man'i*) — the shaman takes off his head-dress and uses special instruments, such as a spear, a glaive, a trident, etc.; *buku* and *man'i* in ritualism are distinguished by their movements.
- 4) *naïjulan* — the shaman puts on a special head-dress (with iron antlers) and follows a strictly elaborated ritual when going to the lower world;
- 5) group of Tungus (*kilin*) spirits — the shaman does not speak Manchu, nor Chinese, but he uses a few Tungus words;
- 6) various spirits — when the shaman has his hands occupied by weapons and instruments, he hands over his drum to the assistant.²⁰

Each spirit role has its own traditional character, of which both the shaman identifying with the role and the assistant taking over from him have command. The assistant must know the shaman's counter-roles as well as the shaman himself, for in the dialogue sequences they in fact constitute the assistant's (= shaman) counter-roles. By following performances those present also learn to distinguish the spirit roles from the shaman's behaviour, and thus future shamans become acquainted with the tradition before their own ecstatic experiences. Recognition of the roles is a vital part of the course of the séance: in transferring from one role to another in the course of long

séances the shaman (i.e. the spirit in question) asks the assistant “*takam’i takaraku?*” — Do you recognize (me)?”, and the séance continues only when the assistant has stated the name of the spirit.²¹

During the journey sequence the shaman does not inform those present direct; the information required is transmitted via the assistant acting in the role of mediator (= as shaman) from the shaman identified with the spirit role and wandering in the lower world (5P0). The purpose of the shaman’s journey is the gaining of information, and it is fruitful. It appears that the patient is being troubled by a spirit of the group *māfa*. The preparations of the blooming trees sacrifice already hinted at the appearance of this group of spirits in the shaman’s supranormal frame of reference. The Manchus divide the bringers of disease into nine groups, speaking of the demons’ roads. For example, the shaman’s road is suspected if the existence of a shaman of evil intent sending his spirit to torment people is known. The “dead people’s spirit road” is recognized if the patient sees one of the dead persons in his hallucinations and dreams. In addition to evil shamans and dead people’s spirits various demons may cause disease, and healing measures can be embarked upon once the spirit group causing the disease has been determined from the symptoms of the disease. One of these is the “*māfa* road”, which is recognized if the patient performs acts which are known as a speciality of a *māfa* spirit. A “blooming tree” is made by which the spirit is called in and sent off.²² The Chinese shaman observes this traditional treatment (5V), but in addition orders the relatives of the sick boy to build a small temple to the spirit in question and to make regular sacrifices in it.

Restoration of the soul (7): According to the Evenks there are three model explanations for disease: 1) disfunction of the soul, 2) interference of the spirits without their introduction into a person and 3) interference of spirits with their introduction into the person.²³ We see from the account of the séance that the boy was troubled by a spirit in the *māfa* category that the boy’s father had brought from the Amur river some six or seven years before, i.e. the sickness was caused by a demon. It is, however, difficult to decide from the account whether the spirit has entered into the patient or whether it is operating outside the patient’s body. The shaman’s unsuccessful attempt to make the demon speak through the child (4R) would refer to a situation in which the spirit is not inside the sick boy. On the other hand the rites towards the end of the séance, e.g. sucking of the sick boy’s body, are common in expelling a demon that has entered a human body. The appearance of act 7R indicating a loss of soul explanation alongside a demonic entering explanation appears strange, but it is a logical consequence of the complexity of the Manchus’ definition of disease. Shirokogoroff

characterizes the Manchus' concepts of the soul as follows: "The *èrgèn* is received from the father. The threefold soul is given by the spirit *oŋos'i mama*. The first soul is the true soul which cannot leave the body without causing death. The second soul may temporarily leave the body, which results in dreams and loss of consciousness. The third soul also may leave temporarily without causing death. The third soul returns to the spirit of the lower world *ilmunxan* and it may be used gain as Birarčën believe. The first or second soul returns to *oŋos'i mama*."²⁴ The human order of the soul may easily fall into disorder, and one of the shaman's most common tasks is in fact the restoring of harmony or the returning of a lost soul. In tormenting a patient a demon may at the same time upset the balance of the patient's souls. The healing séance then has two functions: the banishment of the demon causing trouble and the restoration of the normal working of the soul. Thus act 7R is only the natural consequence of 5V and a sort of after-measure.

Meeting the sickness demon (4; two sequences): The meeting with the sickness demon, its banishment, is in fact divided into two sequences, the first of which constitutes an unsuccessful attempt to contact the demon (4T, 4J, 4V), and the second the more successful banishment rites towards the end of the séance. Of interest is the attempt to draw the demon out and speak through the patient. In this case the shaman might even in the presence of the demon remain in his own role and thus be in a stronger position during the battle scene. Signs of the presence of the demon would be trembling and movement in the patient (4V), manifestations that might express the patient's ecstatic state, i.e. the patient too would fall within the sphere of shamanic ecstasy. Another means of raising and maintaining the ecstatic pitch of the shaman is the burning of strong incense (4T). Shirokogoroff does in fact stress that a rise in the ecstatic state of those present and also the patient is important to the success of the séanec. The hypnotic and suggestive powers of the shaman then have free play on the patient, while his own self-suggestion mechanism begins to operate.²⁵ At the start of the second banishing sequence the shaman introduces into himself the spirit of fire, i.e. identifies in the healing acts with the role of a spirit-helper known to be strong.²⁶ The transfer to the role of the fire spirit was usually manifest by the shaman through tricks, e.g. by handling fire and hot irons, since he was thought not to be troubled by heat (cf. 4M). These modes of behaviour are ritual rather than spontaneous, and those present are aware of their trick-like nature, though this does not detract from their belief of the presence of the spirit.²⁷ The ritual deeds of the battle acts (4M) include the sucking of blood from various parts of the patient's body²⁸, during which the shaman was regarded as sucking the demon out. According to Shiro-

kogoroff the act might, when there was no serious belief in its efficacy, be associated with some other form of healing as something of a ritual cliché.²⁹ The ultimate attack on the causer of the disease is made through ecstatic singing and drumming (4M), with those present supporting the shaman and his assistant. Since the shaman has identified with the role of the fire spirit, the job of drumming has been handed over to the assistant. The behaviour of those present is also so hysterical that they could be regarded as having transferred from their normal role to a mediatory state—a state in which it is possible to communicate also with supranormal beings. Thus the information aimed at those present in the shaman's ecstasy, in other words still as the fire spirit (4S), is a logical consequence of the role situation, and no mediator is necessary. We see that the success of the séance is guaranteed later by sacrificial rites.

24. THE INITIATION OF A NANAY SHAMAN

24.1. *Background.* The Nanays (Gol'dy) are the largest of the peoples living along the lower basin of the Amur (the Nanays, Ul'chi, Udegeys, Orochi and Negidals) speaking Tunguso-Manchurian languages. Just as the language of the Nanays has features pointing to both the Manchus and the Evenks, so their material culture has elements found elsewhere in the northern taiga region (skis lined with skins, conical tents, birchbark boats, etc.)¹, and also of the Manchus and the Chinese in the south (clothing, ornamentation, winter dwellings of fanza type, etc.)². In particular the centuries of Chinese and Manchu influence in the region have been significant. Chinese chronicles in the second and first millennia B.C. speak of a people called "Sushen" living in the Amur, Sungari and Ussuri region who did not have bread and who ate raw meat. Archaeological finds in the area have come up with numerous objects representing Manchu culture from the Ming dynasty (1368—1644).³ Archaeological facts and early historical sources all indicate that the people of the region lived chiefly off fishing and partly also hunting. Despite the art of farming introduced into the region by the Chinese and the Manchus these sources of livelihood remained the most important right up to this century. It is of note that trade sprang up early in the Chinese area; thus the Nanays traded hunting and fishing products for agricultural produce, cotton, silk, household goods, etc. from the Chinese.⁴ The Nanays' source of livelihood dictated a nomadic way of life, so that they had different summer and winter settlements.⁵ Up until the end of the 19th century the Nanays retained many features of the paternal clan organization, though the clan was no longer significant in that its members were economically

dependent on one another.⁶ Note that while in power in the area from the end of the 17th century to the middle of the 19th century the Manchu-Chinese authorities used the clan as an administrative unit. The levying of taxes was in the hands of the clan elders and assistants, who were in turn granted certain privileges by the Manchu authorities, such as lifelong and hereditary use of the hunting grounds.⁷ On the other hand the Nanays also retained relics of the clan ownership of hunting and fishing grounds.⁸ The clan relationships were evident for longest in the social and religious customs and tabus, such as the law of clan exogamy, clan cults, clan court, etc.⁹

In the first half of the 20th century the Nanays were officially Russian Orthodox, but in practice the Christian faith did not have much influence on their religious concepts. Shamanism with its animistic beliefs held central place in their religious life.¹⁰

In 1910 the famous Russian ethnographer L. J. Shternberg was working on the Amur, collecting material on shamanism. To throw light on such questions as the grounds on which the spirits select a future candidate and the relationship between the spirit and the candidate Shternberg interviewed the shamans he met in detail. His study "Die Auserwählung im sibirischen Schamanismus"¹¹, published posthumously, contains a miniature biography created on the basis of these interviews, the account of a Naway shaman belonging to the Yukamissil tribe, of how he became a shaman and his work as a shaman.

24.2. *The story of the shaman*¹²

"Ich stamme aus dem Zelo Ürmil (15 Werst von Chabarowsk entfernt). Mein Stamm heisst Jukamissil, und nach der Überlieferung ist er vom unteren Amur herübergewandert. Lange, lange waren wir Ainu. Nach den Worten der Alten gab es einige Generationen zurück in meinem Stamme drei grosse Schamanen. Unter den nächsten Vorfahren gab es keinen Schamanen. Vater und Mutter waren vollständig gesunde Menschen. Ich bin jetzt 40 Jahre alt, bin verheiratet, habe aber keine Kinder. Bis zu meinem 20. Lebensjahr war ich vollständig gesund. Dann begann ich zu kränkeln; der ganze Körper schmerzte, besonders der Kopf. Die Schamanen behandelten mich, nichts half jedoch. Als ich selbst anfang zu schamanisieren, fing alles an, besser zu werden. Zehn Jahre schamanisiere ich nun, aber zuerst schamanisierte ich nur für mich selbst. Vor drei Jahren begann ich damit, Leute zu kurieren. Schamanisieren ist schwer, sehr schwer; es ist leichter Holz zu hacken als zu schamanisieren. Aber was hilft es!

Einstmals, zur Zeit meiner Krankheit, erschien mir, als ich schlief, der Geist (siwin). Es war eine kleine, im ganzen einen halben Arschin grosse, sehr hübsche Frau. Dem Gesicht und der Kleidung nach — ganz wie unsere Frauen — eine Goldin. Die Haare bis zur Schulter, schwarz, die Zöpfe klein. Andere Schamanen erzählen, dass ihnen Frauen erscheinen, die ein halb schwarzes, halb rotes Gesicht haben. Sie sagte:

Ich bin eine Ajami von deinen Schamanenahnen. Ich habe ihnen das Schamanisieren beigebracht. Jetzt werde ich dich belehren. Die alten Schamanen sind ausgestorben, es ist niemand da, um die Leute zu kurieren. Du musst Schaman werden.

Dann sagte sie: Ich liebe dich. Ich habe jetzt keinen Mann, du wirst mein Mann, ich werde deine Frau sein. Wir werden zusammen schlafen. Ich gebe dir Hilfsgeister, mit deren Hilfe du kurieren wirst, und ich selbst werde dich belehren und dir behilflich sein. Die Leute werden uns zu essen geben.

Ich erschrak und begann abzulehnen, darauf sagte sie: Wenn du nicht auf mich hörst, wird es dir schlecht ergehen; ich werde dich erschlagen!

Von dieser Zeit an begann sie, zu mir zu kommen, und ich schlafe mit ihr wie mit der eigenen Frau, aber Kinder haben wir nicht. Sie wohnt einsam, ohne Stammesgenossen, in einer Jurte auf dem Berge, aber sie wechselt öfters ihren Aufenthaltsort. Manchmal erscheint sie in Gestalt einer Greisin, manchmal in Gestalt eines Wolfes, schrecklich anzusehen! Manchmal kommt sie in Gestalt eines geflügelten Tigers. Ich setze mich auf ihn, und er trägt mich fort, um mir verschiedene Länder zu zeigen. Ich habe Berge gesehen, auf denen nur Greise und Greisinnen leben, und Siedlungen, in denen nur junge Leute wohnen, junge Männer und Frauen. Sie sehen den Golden ähnlich und sprechen auch Goldisch. Manchmal verwandeln sich diese Menschen in Tiger. Jetzt kommt meine "ajami" nicht so oft zu mir wie früher. Vordem, als sie mich noch belehrte, kam sie jede Nacht. Sie gab mir drei Helfer — "jarga" (Panther), "doonta" (Bär), und "amba" (Tiger). Sie kommen im Traum zu mir und kommen auf meinen Ruf herbei, wenn ich schamanisiere. Wenn einer von ihnen nicht erscheinen will, zwingt "ajami" ihn zu kommen. Aber man sagt, dass es auch solche gibt, die der "ajami" manchmal nicht gehorchen. Wenn ich schamanisiere, sitzen "ajami" und die Hilfsgeister in mir. Sie mögen gross oder klein sein, sie dringen in mich ein wie Rauch, wie Dampf. Wenn "ajami" in mich eingedrungen ist, dann spricht sie selbst durch meinen Mund und tut alles selbst. Wenn ich "sukda" esse (Opfergabe) oder Schweineblut trinke (Schweineblut trinken nur die Schamanen, für andere ist es verboten), dann esse und trinke nicht ich, sondern meine "ajami". Meine Hilfsgeister füttere ich auch, aber ihnen werfe ich nur Fleisch und Kascha zu, sie heben es selbst auf. Du hast doch Schamanen bei den grossen Totenfeiern gesehen? Wie kann denn ein Mensch soviel Wodka trinken? Das trinkt alles "ajami" aus. "Ajami" und die Hilfsgeister müssen gefüttert werden (Opferdarbringungen). Wenn man sie nicht füttert, dann schimpfen sie und sagen: "Wir helfen dir, die Menschen zu kurieren, und dir tut es leid, uns zu füttern." Dann muss ein Schwein geschlachtet werden. Die Kranken helfen beim Füttern. Wenn der Kranke sich erholt, bringt er Krupa (Wodka) und ein Schwein als Opfer dar. Dann gehe ich in die Jurten, schamanisiere überall, dann schlachte ich das Schwein, giesse das Blut in eine besonderes Gefäss, befehle, das Fleisch zu kochen. Abends kleide ich mich an, rufe die Geister herbei, stelle alle Speisen auf, trinke selbst das Blut, werfe die Speise herum, verspritze Wodka nach allen Seiten, und die Geister sind zufrieden.

Es gibt drei Arten von Schamanen: 1. siürinka samán, Schaman, der Krankheiten heilen kann, 2. némantí samán, der die "kleinen Gedenkfeiern" abhält und 3. der allergrösste Schaman — Kásatí samán, der die Seelen der Toten in die Welt jenseits des Grabes führt. Das alles lehrt "ajami".

Mancher Schaman verbringt sein ganzes Leben, ohne ein *Ķasatí*-schaman zu werden. Mich hat die "ajami" nur kurieren gelehrt. Ob ich ein grosser Schaman werde, weiss ich nicht: wie es "ajami" wird haben wollen! "Ajami" zeigte mir, wie ein Schamanen kostüm anzufertigen ist und was darauf gezeichnet werden muss, aber vorläufig hatte sie mir nur gestattet, eine Schürze zu tragen, und auch befohlen, eine Trommel anzufertigen. Bis dahin habe ich nur mit einer fremden Trommel schamanisiert. Einen Schamanenbaum (Pfahl mit Geisterabbildungen) anzufertigen, hat sie mich noch nicht gelehrt. Man muss erst noch sehen, ob etwas aus mir wird. Es liegt noch viel Arbeit vor mir. Ausserdem hat sie mir befohlen, Gestalten von den Hilfsgeistern zu machen und sie am Hals zu tragen. Als sie fertig waren, machte ich es so, wie es "ajami" gelehrt hatte. Ich hing sie an die Wand, brachte verschiedene Opfer dar, fütterte sie, räucherte und fing an, die Trommel zu schlagen, während ich darum bat, dass die Geister in die Gestalten eindringen und auf meinen Ruf erscheinen sollten."

Schliesslich entgegnete er auf meine Frage, ob jeder Schaman eine "ajami" besässe:

"Ohne eine "ajami" gibt es keinen Schamanen. Was für ein Hilfsgeist soll denn ohne "ajami" zu ihm kommen? Wie soll denn ein Schaman ohne "ajami" wissen, wie zu kurieren ist? "Ajami" — das ist der Lehrer des Schamanen, für ihn dasselbe wie Gott. Beim männlichen Schamanen ist "ajami" stets eine Frau, bei den weiblichen ein Mann, deshalb ganz gleich wie Mann und Frau. Mancher Schaman schläft mit allen seinen Hilfsgeistern wie mit seinem Weibe. Es gabe eine grosse Schamanin, die ohne Mann lebte. Bei ihr befanden sich viele Geisterarbeiter, und sie hat mit allen geschlafen. Man erzählte, dass zu einem Schamanen "ajami" auch als ein Mann kommt. Ich selbst habe solche nicht gesehen. Es gibt auch verschiedene "ajami", solche, die die Menschen betrügen. Sie kommen und überreden einen Menschen, Schaman zu werden, führen ihm verschiedene Geister zu, schlafen einige Zeit mit ihm. Dann laufen sie weg, erscheinen selbst nicht mehr und schicken ihm obendrein noch eine Krankheit. Aber das sind keine richtigen "ajami", das ist dasselbe wie *ambá* (böser Geist)."

"Sogar die Götter sind nicht ohne "ajami". Der Herr des Tigers, des Bären und Panthers — jeder hat sein "ajami", ohne sie würden sie keinerlei Kraft haben. Aber diese "ajami" sind von besonderer Art, nicht solche, wie die des Schamanen. Diese "ajami" sind für den Menschen schrecklicher als selbst die Gottheiten. Das sind diejenigen, die sie zum Seelenraub aussenden."

24.3. *The initiation period.* The position of the shaman in a Nanay community relied not only on his ability to control normal crises, such as illnesses, but above all on his skill, important to the community and its cells, families, in accompanying the souls of the dead to the world beyond. The account of the Yukamissil shaman shows that the position of the shaman among the Nanays was graded at three levels according to ability: the *siürinka* shamans of modest skill were able to heal the sick, the *némanti* shamans were also able to shamanize at a first memorial festival, and only the *Ķasatí* shamans, the mightiest, with their complete command of shamanic knowledge, were

capable of travelling to the dead. The class of shaman into which a novice developed depended on the will of his *ajami*, the principal spirit acting as his teacher. The narrator has been taught by his *ajami* only to heal the sick, and he says he does not know whether he will ever become a great shaman. A *kasati* shaman might live entirely on his shamanizing skill; e.g. the most mighty shaman Shternberg met on the Amur, Tschukke Dminká, kept himself by touring from village to village accompanying the souls of the dead, which had been waiting his arrival, to the underworld.¹³ The words "Die Leute werden uns zu essen geben" of the *ajami* to the candidate prove that although he began shamanizing to free himself of his own illness, the economic benefit accompanying the status was by no means an immaterial consideration.

The normal grounds for selection as a shaman are evident in the account by the Yukamissil shaman: inheritance of the status within a family, and a lengthy illness that not even shamanizing could alleviate. Not until the patient began shamanizing himself did his condition improve.¹⁴ During his illness the patient was visited by his future spirit teacher and principal helper, a beautiful woman *ajami*, who ordered him to yield to the job of shaman. This preliminary vision, which could also be considered an ecstatic initiation, turned the narrator into a shamanic candidate, transferring him to a transition stage during which, with the aid of his spirit teacher, he became familiar with shamanizing practice and the phenomena of the beyond. Although the vision is limited in its events, comprising only a dialogue between the *ajami* and the patient (e.g. journeying to the other world comes at a later stage of instruction), it contains a couple of elements typical of ecstatic initiation: the candidate receives a *promise* — he is to become a shaman, he will receive a host of spirit-helpers with whose help he will later be able to cure people — and he is expected to show *obedience* — if he fails to take the *ajami*'s advice he will come to regret it. The relationship between the *ajami* and the candidate is erotic, a point that causes Shternberg, in the said article, to emphasize the importance of the sexual element, even authenticity (the spirits are inherited from shaman to shaman within a family) side by side with the idea of inheritance in Nanay shamanism.¹⁵ The becoming of a shaman based on sexual selection and on the other hand the inheritance of the spirits within a family are not, however, alternative traditional elements of the Nanay tradition, and they tend more to complement one another. Both the shamans interviewed by Shternberg have an *ajami*, a principal helper who assigns to him the other spirit-helpers and who has also acted as his ancestor shamans' assistant; Tschukke Dminká, for example, inherited all three of his father's *ajami*.¹⁶ In some cases the spirit-helpers proper might also be transferred direct from father to son.¹⁷ Likewise the *ajami* are part of the internal spirit

community of the clan in that they live in the cosmic tree, which is also the seat of spirits belonging to other clans and the souls of unborn children of the clan.¹⁸ It appears that the erotic tones to the election as shaman are only a thought construction by which the shaman and his spirit-helper may have a sexual relationship, a derivative. For example, our Yukamissil shaman says that many shamans sleep with all their spirit-helpers like wives (in other words not just with the *ajami*). The combining of this idea with the spirit inheritance concept within a family has given rise to traditional forms peculiar to the Nanays.

The narrator's transition stage is long; he mentions that to begin with he shamanized for years on his own. During this period the relationship between the shaman and the spirit teacher is fixed. The *ajami* visits the candidate every night. The tradition becomes ingrained above all through experience in series of visions. No earthly teacher is mentioned by the narrator. The candidate becomes acquainted with his supranormal counter-roles — he receives as his spirit-helpers a panther, a bear and a tiger, which according to Shimkevich are in the highest spirit-helper categories of the Nanays¹⁹ — and practises his ecstatic role-taking technique: "Sie kommen im Traum zu mir und kommen auf meinen Ruf herbei, wenn ich schamanisiere." The roles of the *ajami* itself, the shaman's principal spirit, sometimes appearing to the candidate as a beautiful woman, sometimes as a terrifying wolf or a flying tiger, do if necessary constitute a set of actualizable counter-roles. During the novice period the *ajami* is the shaman's teacher and guide to the other world, but also his lover, his spirit wife, with whom he lives as with a worldly wife. Later, when the shaman has become ripe for his task, the role of teacher fades into the background, the *ajami* visits the shaman less often and appears chiefly as his assistant, by entering into him during a shamanizing situation and forcing e.g. reluctant spirit-helpers to listen to his call.

The changes in role during shamanizing and the shaman's role-taking technique are given an interesting concrete explanation by the Yukamissil shaman: "Wenn ich schamaniere, sitzen 'ajami' und die Hilfsgeister in mir." He explains that the spirits, either large or small, force their way into him like smoke or steam (cf. the breathing in technique during possession). The narrator also stresses the completeness of role changes. During possession the spirit speaks through the shaman and in the same way enjoys the treats intended as sacrifices. The abundant sacrificial offerings of Nanay shamanizing are explained by the mutual aid agreement between shaman and spirits. To make the spirits act as he wishes the shaman must in turn treat them in lordly manner. The *ajami* also guides the candidate in the acquisition of his concrete implements. The narrator, who has cured the sick for only

three years, says that the *ajami* has not yet taught him how to make a drum or the shamanic tree. He humbly states that he must first see whether he is any good. In other words his period of study is not yet over. From a transition stage comprising isolated shamanizings he has moved on to the incorporation stage. Through his successful shamanizings he has already won the esteem of the community. But the incorporation is not yet complete, and nor is his equipment.

Shamanism among the Nanays seems to be so closely tied to the clan system that we can speak of clan shamanism. A big festival attended by the whole clan was held to mark the occasion when a shaman became a full shaman.²⁰ The oldest relative ceremoniously offered the shaman-to-be some vodka and said: "Be our shaman, help us".²¹ There are similar reports of the official proclamation of a shaman among the Orochi, a people related to the Nanays whose shamanism also appears to have been linked with the clan system.²² The members of a Nanay clan had great respect for their representative with the supranormal.²³ The shaman did not actually receive money for his services, but he did receive gifts.²⁴

25. THE NANAY SHAMAN AS PSYCHOPOMP

25.1. *Background.* In debating the status of the Central and Northern Asian shaman as a psychopomp Mircea Eliade quotes three peoples belonging to different cultural regions among whom the conducting of the dead to the other world is one of the shaman's chief tasks: the Altayans, the Yuraks and the Nanays.¹ It is a rule that the Nanay shaman accompanies every dead person to the other world; the memorial ceremonies are a multifarious and complex rite entity and fall into two parts: the *nimgan*, which takes place seven days or even longer (two months) after death, and the *kaza-taori*, the great ceremony celebrated some time after the former and at the end of which the soul is conducted to the underworld. In between the *nimgan* and the *kaza* smaller memorial ceremonies, called *djegdjji*, are held every month. Among all the Amur peoples the shaman acts as leader of the burial ceremonies, but his role as the chief performer in the festivities is nowhere as prominent as among the Nanays.² In fact the chief task of the Nanay shaman is regarded as being the burying of the dead and the conducting of their souls to *Buni*, the abode of the dead. The central nature of this task is evident from, e.g., the first myth telling of a shaman, which the shaman sings during séances (cf. p. 271). The acting of the shaman as a psychopomp has been described, on the basis of field experience, by P. P. Shimkevich³, L. Shternberg⁴ and Ivan Lopatin. Lopatin's extensive rite description⁵ in his work

on the cult of the dead in the Amur region basically agrees with the older and much quoted account by Shimkevich. With its greater detail it is better suited as an object for analysis of the shaman's role-taking technique than the accounts of the others.

The actions of the shaman during a memorial ceremony to the dead cannot be directly placed on a par with his actions during, e.g. crisis rite. The burial ceremonies of the Nanays are by nature shamanic rites, their central elements: search for the soul, healing of the soul, and conducting the soul to the underworld are shamanic and they are performed using shamanic rite techniques. Yet the setting, many days of festivity with sacrificial ceremonies, derive more from a cult of the dead than from shamanism. For closer analysis I shall therefore select the climax to the ceremonies, the last day of a *kaza-taori* festival, when the shaman makes his journey to *Buni*, an event which all the former festivities were leading up to.

25.2. *Description of the rite process*⁶

IC: Finally there dawns the great day of the *kaza*, *Dai Myalbo*. In the morning the shaman is very ceremoniously robed with the aid of his two assistants.

ID, IV: He sings songs to his spirit protectors for an especially long time, warning them, particularly the spirit Buchu, that on this day the tasks will be heavy and beseeching their help.

After this he goes with singing and dancing to the *itua* where he stays with the *fania* and serves it breakfast after which he does not disrobe as on the previous day but remains in the little hut to prepare the *fania* for its long and arduous trip to *Buni*.

The shaman sings for a long time to the accompaniment of his drum, he dances, and he talks with the *fania*, advising it to take more food but to refrain from drinking as it is hazardous to be drunk on such a long and perilous journey.

IV: At noon occurs the serving of food to the *fania* and dinner to the guests who eat and drink to excess. The shaman himself neither eats nor drinks.

2E: In the evening the momentous part of the commemoration begins. After sunset the shaman begins his *kamlanie* by first singing songs to his spirit defenders and then dancing, as at every *kamlanie*.

2D: At the end of the singing and dancing he draws various designs on his face with charcoal and begins to call his spirits.

For this purpose he beats fiercely on his drum, calling out loudly the names of his spirit defenders and spirit helpers. All this time the assistants of the shaman are also striking on their drums.

3G: The shaman implores his spirits to come to him; he opens his mouth

very wide, giving the appearance of being ready to swallow the approaching spirit; he works the muscles of his face vigorously; he vehemently shakes his head and jumps up and down; he calls out vociferously the names of those spirits that have come to him; he makes gestures and imitates the sounds of the wild animals and birds representing the spirits.

3H: Then he takes two small staffs from his assistants and leaning on them walks in the direction of the *itua*, as he walks imitating the movements of some wild animal or bird. He leaps like the tiger, waddles like the bear, hops like the hare, or skips like a bird, constantly making the sounds of each.

3T: A strong and agile Goldi, chosen by the company and armed only with a bow, rushes to meet the shaman and attempts to push him away from the *itua*. According to ritual the shaman must run three times around the hut while the armed Goldi pushes him back forcibly. Often the shaman is so carried away with the idea of combat that his opponent must exercise great strength in contending with him. Not infrequently fists and staffs are brought into play.

7E: When this part of the ceremony is over the shaman takes his drum and with a song approaches his spirit defenders, beseeching them to show him the road to Buni.

7T: He hands his drum to his assistant after finishing his song and goes over to a ladder that has been built especially for the occasion. This ladder which is placed in an open spot near the *itua* is very high. The shaman climbs to the top rung of the ladder and in pantomime carefully scans the surrounding country. The Goldi believe that in this manner the shaman searches for the road to Buni.

7U: Those present propound to him questions of interest to them for they believe that while the shaman is in such a trance he has clairvoyant power. Some of the questions are as follows: "Will the snow this coming winter be deep?" "Will the Amur freeze over very soon?" "Will there be many saibles this winter?" "Will the run of the salmon be heavy?" The last question is apt to be asked if the *kaza* is being in the spring. These and many other similar questions are asked. The shaman on being questioned shades his eyes with his hands and looks about for a long time. He gives some kind of answer to every question asked. The Goldi listen attentively to each answer and seriously ponder it.

7T: When the shaman descends from his high position on the ladder it is a sign that the search for the road to Buni has ended. Then begins the most important part of the *kaza*, the journey with the deceased to Buni.

5Z: Before beginning this journey the shaman seats himself on the mat in front of the *fania*; he bows his head as though in hesitation and doubt as to his strength for the ordeal. The relatives of the deceased come and kneeling before him implore him to begin his guiding of the soul of their dear departed one to Buni.

5E: The shaman raises his head, demands his drum, and in a sorrowful voice sings a song in which he beseeches his spirit defenders not to forsake him as he begins this difficult task. He calls particularly upon the spirit Buchu who alone can guide him to Buni, asking it to send the bird Koori so that on its back he may fly to Buni and return.

The shaman then begins a mad dance, striking his drum with great force and indulging in almost incredible leaps and bounds. As he spins about in one place for a long time and then runs swiftly around the fire one of his helpers is beating on another drum. The pounding of the two drums, the tinkling of the little bells, and the clanging of the many metallic ornaments on the shaman's costume unite to make a deafening din.

While the shaman is dancing in an ecstatic frenzy around the flaming fire his second assistant brings from the shed a long wide board, two-and-a-half feet wide and eight feet long, in the form of a dog-sled. This he places in an east-west direction near the fire and then he puts the *fania*, the *mugdae*, and a large basket of food, tobacco, and vodka on the sled. At the other end of the board is a place for the shaman to sit. By this time the frenzy of the shaman has risen to an incredible pitch.

When the necessary articles are placed on the board the shaman utters a wild and weird cry as he seats himself facing the west with the *fania*, the *mugdae*, and the basket of provisions behind him.

5P₁: The guests now crowd in closely and seat themselves on mats in a circle about the shaman. With rapt attention they follow his every movement as he begins to enact his difficult journey to Buni. He orders his spirit helpers to quickly harness the dogs, reminding them of all the necessary preparations, and when everything is in readiness he commands his invisible slave *niaka* to sit behind him.

With his imaginary dogs and slave the shaman enacts his trip in detail. He cries to the dogs: "Takh! Takh!" which means "Go on!" He turns them to the right and to the left as he urges them forward; he constantly hurls orders to his *niaka*, sharply reprimanding him for his stupidity in not carrying out certain commands, and using harsh words of abuse the shaman often punishes the slave with stinging blows from his staff.

Meanwhile the shaman carries on a running conversation with the *fania*, constantly plying it with such questions as "Are you sitting there?" Also, as he points out various things to the *fania* and the slave and gives them bits of advice, he describes the perilous journey, especially stressing the hardships they are supposed to be undergoing together. He exhibits a frenzy of terror on reaching some dangerous spot and then shows feelings of relief when the danger begins to grow less. As he implores the spirit Buchu and the magic bird Koori now to hurry, now to be careful he displays great emotion by the twitching of his hands, the trembling of his voice and the contortions of his face.

The two assistants support the shaman by his girdle, a leather belt about twenty-one feet in length, to keep him from falling during his dramatization of the journey. The Goldi believe that if the shaman should fall that he would not be able to get up but would perish in the mazes of that mysterious underworld. The assistants must support him very firmly when he attempts to across

the swift river, Saian Dauri, or when he begins the steep descent of the high mountain Khadjelto. Since the supporting girdle is so very long the shaman is not restricted in his movements.

In these perilous places the shaman finds the spirits of those who have perished because they lacked the guidance of an experienced shaman on their journey. The shaman informs audience as to which spirits he sees and designates them by name. If one of the names he mentions happens to be that of a departed relative of some present that person implores the shaman to seize the spirit and take it with him to Buni.

5P₂: Finally, after many dangerous adventures, the shaman draws near to Buni. The footprints of people are visible; the barking of dogs is heard; the smell of smoke from the houses reaches him. At last he disembarks from his sled in the center of the other world, the abode of the spirits.

On all sides he is surrounded by spirits who ask him whence he has come, whom he has brought with him, and so on. The shaman deceives these spirits (souls) of the dead by calling himself by a fictitious name and by not giving them detailed information concerning the living. However, he presents greetings from the living relatives, relates the general news, and tells how things are progressing in the village from which he has just come. Then bidding farewell to the spirit he has escorted and to the inhabitants of Buni he begins his homeward journey.

5P₃: On his return trip the shaman must overcome the same difficulties which he encountered on the way to Buni: the difficult ascent and the perilous descent of the mountains, the crossing of the broad and swift rivers, and the treacherous swamps. But under the guidance of Buchu he overcomes these obstacles and finally reaches home safely.

At the beginning of his journey to Buni the shaman uses a dog sled which he later discards but on the return trip he uses the sled all the way.

5S: As soon as the shaman reaches home the relatives and guests crowd around him and ply him with questions: "Did you have a good journey?" "Did you successfully deliver the soul in Buni?" "Whom did you see there?" "What new have you brought from there?"

The shaman relates everything in detail, delivering greetings from the spirits of the departed relatives in Buni. He even brings presents to certain ones; for instance he may say to some person: "Your departed uncle sent you a sable", which means that this person will kill a sable the following winter. He even indicates the distinguishing marks of the animals the spirits are going to send as well as the method of catching them, whether with a gun or by trap.

6T: After this the shaman seizes the *fania* and the *mugdae* and throws them into the great fire which represents Buni. He also throws the basket with the food, tobacco, and vodka into the fire. Then the rope-cutting ceremony described in the *nimgan* takes place.

8Y: Thus ends the great *kaza*. The shaman goes into the house where his assistants disrobe him and from sheer weariness he drops on the bed that the women have prepared for him. The following day the guests depart.

25.3. *Commentary.* Lopatin explains the extreme fear of dead relatives forming an undercurrent to the rite performance. According to him the Nanays believe that the soul of a dead person remains invisible with the relatives, keeping an unrelenting watch over their activities and keeping a special eye on the way in which its memory is revived. If a dead person is not remembered sufficiently or the property he left behind is damaged, the soul of the dead may take revenge by bringing disease or death, for example, to the family. The fear of a dead relative and the precautionary measures taken following a death, such as covering the eyes and face of the dead person, lighting a fire in the home of the dead, carrying the body by some unusual route such as under the wall of the tent, etc., are in fact common throughout Siberia.⁷ Special memorial sessions have been held among the Altaic peoples; for example, the Tleuts have held memorial sessions on the 7th and 40th days and on the anniversary of the person's death. During sessions at home food was provided both for the dead and the living. The dead person's dish was placed by the window, from which it was later removed to the spot in the yard where the coffin was made. The bearer of the food then proclaimed: "When you were alive you yourself ate, now that you are dead, may your soul eat".⁸ Among the Nanays memorial sessions were a matter of course after every death. If the soul of the deceased was not accompanied to the underworld due to an unnatural death or some other disaster it was thought to remain on earth and to turn into an evil "*buseu*" spirit harrasing people.⁹ Only the soul of a child dying when less than a year old was thought to fly in the form of a bird to the tree of heaven (*omyamoni*), which is where the souls abide.¹⁰ Lopatin notes that the Nanays believe that the dead are especially gratified if remembered with great celebrations to which relatives and many guests are invited. They therefore solicitously arrange such occasions in memory of the dead.¹¹ Chiefly among the hunting and fishing Nanays the patriarchal clan system remained for a long time, and even as the clan's inner economic ties became looser the customs and religion remained.¹² The imagined wish of the deceased that a large number of guests would come to pay homage to him points to the social links of the clan and the significance of each ceremony at community level. Lopatin reports that the invitation to the occasion had to be sent not only to the residents of the dead person's village but to all members of his clan.¹³

In *Buni*, the land of the dead, every Nanay clan is claimed as having his own area. Along the road from this world to the next lies *Charo*, the place where the roads to the land of the different clans part¹⁴, and where the shaman, in conducting souls to the lower world, chooses the right road for the clan. The *kaza-taori* ceremony can be seen as a transfer rite in which the living representatives of the clan assemble to supervise how the shaman

as psychopomp bears the deceased to the community of the clan's dead representatives. The responsibility for the success of the transfer ultimately lies with the clan. Great attention is paid to the selection of the shaman, the most important participant at the occasion. Usually the family council gathers to decide the matter. During the ceremonies the shaman must constantly, by casting lots and other such displays of skill, prove his competence. Lopatin, among others, reports that a shaman who was unsuccessful at a *nimgan* celebrated within a small group got beaten and driven away by the enraged relatives. The ceremony continued on the arrival of a new shaman.¹⁵

The gathering of the clan at a *kaza* festival is of major social significance, also at profane level.¹⁶ The guests, who may number close on a hundred (at one *kaza* festival there are known to have been one hundred and fifty guests) assemble two or three days before the start of the ceremony and erect temporary tents near the host's tent. The guests live at the host's expense, and food and vodka must be provided in abundance. This incurred such great expense that by no means every Nanay was able to hold a big memorial festival for the deceased. The festival might be the outcome of years of saving, but the host was rewarded by a rise in esteem in the eyes of the community. Ample hospitality was a mark of wealth, which in itself emphasized the importance of the host within the clan. The festival lasted for at least three days, longer if funds permitted, and the longer it lasted the more the host was respected.

Preparatory stage (1): All the memorial ceremonies leading up to the last day of the *kaza* festival reported, *Dai Myalbo*, when the shaman escorts the soul of the dead to *Buni*, are in fact a form of preparation. The *kaza* proper, as mentioned, was a three-day event rendering the transfer of the soul possible. During a *nimgan* the shaman's chief task is to search for the wandering soul of the deceased and transfer it to the *fania*, a cushion especially prepared for the purpose. "The name *fanja* (*fan'a*) originally meant 'shadow', just like its etymological counterpart, the *panja* of the Olcha and the *fajanga* of the Manchus (cf. Tung. *an'an*, 'the shadow'). The visible form of the *fanja* is, however, a peculiar manifestation comprising a cushion decorated with mournful colours and a pipe stand reminiscent of a human figure. This basic complex is completed by clothing and ornaments, including the hunting hat of the dead person, which is placed on the cushion. Seven days after the funeral the soul of the deceased is induced into the cushion with the help of the shaman. On the death of the master of the house at least the *fanja* is placed in the middle of the bench at the back by the *malu*, and there it is offered regular or irregular sacrifices of food, vodka and tobacco."¹⁷ The red image appearing in conjunction with the *fania*, which is

entertained during the memorial sessions by placing a smoking pipe in the hole in its chest, is *Ayami-Fonyalko*, the guardian spirit of the souls of the dead.¹⁸ As well as the *fania* the deceased person is represented at memorial sessions by a *mugdae* dummy, made by stuffing the clothes of the deceased with hay. The first day of the *kaza-taori* festival is reminiscent of the *nimgan* in its ceremonies, and according to Lopatin includes the following events:

- 1) The official and ceremonial inviting of the shaman;
- 2) The making of the stuffed dummy *mugdae*;
- 3) The building of the hut *itua*;
- 4) The transferring of the *fania* and the *mugdae* from the house to the *itua*;
- 5) The searching for the spirit of the deceased and the finding of it;
- 6) The identification of the spirit after it has been found;
- 7) The healing of this spirit;
- 8) The appeasing of the jealousy of the departed;
- 9) The feast in honor of the departed (feeding of the *fania*);
- 10) The placing of the *fania* on the bed to sleep.¹⁹

The inviting of the shaman and his arrival at the festival follow a strict ritual procedure. Lopatin mentions that the complicated traditional procedure of the invitation ceremony is always gone through although the shaman knows in advance what is happening. The length of the preparations reflects the exceptional difficulty of the events that lie ahead. A delegation of more than four but less than nine relatives of the deceased comes to invite the shaman. When invited to a *nimgan* festival the shaman acts as follows, in a way that also corresponds to *kaza* ceremonies. The shaman sprinkles the members of the delegation and an assistant selected from among them and his attributes with heated vodka, and bidding one of the inviters to warm the drum turns to his spirit-helpers.²⁰ This is the first actualization of the spirit-helpers, but the songs have a deeper significance than the normal calling upon the spirit-helpers. The shaman goes over the affairs of the lower world in his mind (he often mentions *Buni*), he concentrates, i.e. assembles the cosmos, recalls the structure of the shamanic universe and repeats the myth of the first shaman.²¹ The myth explains the origin of man and death, the present structure of the universe, shamanism and the shaman's attributes. It also relates how and why different clans got their own shaman. Its message—death is essential to avoid overpopulation of the land, the shaman is essential to be able to master the problem of death—proves the central position of the shaman as the maintainer of the clan's normal order of life. In preparing for his most important task, the role of psychopomp, the shaman does not only recall how and by what means the task is carried out but also why it must be carried out. Also part of the important collection of his own faculties

during the preparatory stage is the ceremonial dressing. Only with the complete attire, comprising a skirt, blouse, hat, belt, mittens, *tolis* (copper discs), *kongoktos* (bells), wooden shavings, a strap, a drum with a drumstick, a staff, nine pebbles (used for casting lots), and the images of idols, may a shaman appear at a *kaza* festival. During memorial festivals the hat, onto which are sewn strips of bear, fox, or raccoon fur, is the shaman's most important garment. While wearing it he is the servant of his *seons* and the enemy of their antagonistic evil spirits.²² The shaman's skirt is decorated with pictures of the spirits. The front may bear two tigers, two dragons, many snakes, sometimes lizards, and frogs. During the séance these spirits may transport the shaman wherever he wishes, the dragons carrying him in the air, the tigers in the woods, and the lizards, snakes, and frogs across rivers, lakes and swamps.²³

The *itua*, the hut with doors to the east and the west acting as the scene of the rite, is built by the relatives on the first day, while the shaman prepares himself and rests. The climax of the first day is the shaman's search for the soul and the catching of it (i.e. the rite of the *nimgan* festival is repeated). The events of the stage during which the shaman actualizes his spirits is described by Lopatin as follows: "By his actions he gives the onlooker the impression that he is actually seeing, hearing, and conversing with the spirits. As the singing proceeds the more furiously does he strike his drum, swinging from side to side and thus working himself up into the desired ecstatic frenzy."²⁴ The search for the soul, which corresponds to the shaman's journey, is manifest by a pantomime dance. Lopatin does not mention that the shaman sings, though he does say that on meeting a good spirit he enquires the whereabouts of the soul. The main emphasis lies in the physical performance. Through movements and expressions the shaman makes his own role and the antagonistic or benevolent counter-roles known: "... he leaps from his place and runs back and forth, at times as though hiding from someone and then again as though creeping up on someone or attempting to approach without being noticed. Thus does the shaman search for the spirit of the deceased. It is as though he flies through all the worlds — the underworld, the earthly world, and the heavenly world. Now he is in the kingdom of the spirits and many spirits come to meet him. Some are hostile and attempt to seize and beat him. By his movements the shaman represents his escape from the evil spirits as they struggle with him."²⁵ Those present follow the shaman's movements and actions in complete silence. Although there is no direct contact between them and the shaman during the act (the shaman is assumed to be completely in the underworld), the clear histrionics of the act show that the shaman has adopted the standpoint of the audience, i.e. by means of pantomime he indirectly informs those present. The finding of the soul, for example, he manifests as follows: "Finally the searching shaman utters a vehement

cry of exultation and seizes something unseen to the onlookers, an action indicating that he has at last found and caught the spirit. At this the relatives and guests give a joyful cry and crowd about the shaman."²⁶ The marked directing of the shaman's role-taking at the onlookers is understandable when we remember that the members of the clan are constantly following his ability and chances of success.

The programme for the day or days in between comprises above all a great memorial feast. The shaman spends his time mainly in the company of the *fania*, preparing it for the difficult journey, while making contacts with the spirit-helpers he will need on the way. The deceased is thus present at the memorial festival, has his share of the feast, etc., but is nevertheless subordinate to the shaman the whole time. The shaman wakes the *fania*, feeds it, converses with it, "speaks like a child to its doll" and puts it to sleep in the evening. The decisive events of the ceremony fall on the last day of the festival, *Dai Myalbo*. The actual séance during which the shaman accompanies the soul of the departed to *Buni* is held in the evening, and the shaman spends the entire day preparing for the vital events. In the morning he again actualizes his supranormal counter-roles (1D), this time with special care, emphasizing in his songs the importance of his task. In the part of psychopomp the shaman has a very special spirit as his aid, *Buchu*. The Nanays have a vague idea that the land of the dead is ruled over by a deity who has several helpers. *Seon Buchu* is in charge, oversees and assists shamans in transferring souls of the dead from this world to the land of the departed.²⁷ According to the myth telling of the first shaman, among others, the shaman is granted precisely this *Buchu* spirit and the *koori* bird, on whose back he travels, to help him on his journey to the underworld.²⁸

During the day the shaman also spends much time in the *itua* in the company of the *fania*, fortifying it with lavish food in preparation for the final journey (1V). The departed, too, must also be in top form as the difficult journey draws near. The shaman urges the *fania* to refrain from drinking vodka, for example, since it is difficult to overcome the trials of the journey in drunken state. Part of the shaman's own physical preparation is the complete abstention from food and drink (1V).

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): The description of the calling of the spirit-helpers is relatively brief. The shaman begins with longer songs (2E) and then goes on to actualize his counter-roles one by one (2D), i.e. he calls his spirits by calling out their names loudly. Presumably as a precautionary measure for the journey the shaman draws signs in charcoal on his face. Radloff reports that an Altaic psychopomp covered his face with soot during a séance so that those of the underworld

would not recognise him.²⁹ Harva presumes that the Nanay custom has the same function.³⁰ The presumption may be correct, for the shaman does try to remain unrecognised in *Buni*, among other things appearing under a false name (5P₂).

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The shaman manifests the arrival and entering of the spirit-helpers clearly: he indicates the route by which the spirits enter his body by opening his mouth very wide (3G). The role-identification of the Nanay shaman is complete: the shaman is no longer his own self, "the spirits sit within him", speak and act through him. He expresses the spirits' possession of his body by vigorous movements of his face and body, he works the muscles of his face, jumps up and down, and imitates the sounds of the wild animals and birds representing the spirits (3G). While repairing to the *itua* the shaman appears in turn in the roles of the spirits he has called upon, indicating by his movements and sounds the characteristics of each role figure (3H). His spirit-helpers are a tiger, a bear, a hare and certain birds. The shaman's attempt to enter the *itua* is accompanied by a rite scene the significance of which remains somewhat obscure (3T). A strong Nanay chosen by the company tries to prevent the shaman from entering the *itua*; three times the shaman must run round the *itua*, and each time his armed opponent pushes him back. The event, which may even become violent, is presumably an acting out of the battle between the shaman and the spirit forces hostile towards him.

Seeking the road to *Buni* (7): The Nanay séance includes an interesting action entity that could be called seeking the road to the underworld. The phase is an inherent part of the preparation for the journey sequence, but it also takes in actions satisfying the needs of the onlookers. The shaman begins again by turning to his spirit-helpers and asking them to show him the road to *Buni* (7E). The central act of the sequence is the scanning of the road from the top of a ladder (7T). The ladder as a link between this world and the next is a universal symbol with a functional counterpart as a means of ascending to heaven in e.g. the climbing of a tree or mountain or ascending by way of smoke, a rainbow or even a sun-beam.³¹ For example, the means of ascent on the journey to heaven used by an Altaic shaman is a tree the lopped branches of which act as rungs and symbolize the various layers of heaven.³² Thus ascent by means of a ladder may commonly be regarded as signifying the shaman's ascent to heaven. Among the Nanays this rite element has been adapted to a new function. *Buni* lies not in heaven but in the west, so that the shaman does not need a ladder to get there; he uses a high place only as a lookout point. Harva

mentions that the tree with steps acting as the sage's observation tower stands for the world-tree.³³ Similarly Eliade regards the act as symbolizing the climbing of the world-tree.³⁴ The shaman's sojourn in the world-tree located in the centre of the world does in fact provide a logical explanation to the following act of prophesy (7U). Being in a position providing a view over everything, the shaman is also able to observe things hidden from others. Lopatin does in fact mention that in general the shaman is assumed to have clairvoyant powers while in the hold of the spirits.³⁵ From the point of view of role-taking the act is interesting: the shaman's ecstatic state does not appear to be particularly high, rather he acts out his search for the road to his audience ("in pantomime he carefully scans the surrounding country"). Thus although in preparing for his journey to *Buni* the shaman would be expected to be concentrating entirely on the other world, he also directs his role-taking at the audience. During the prediction scene (7U) this dual direction of role-taking is clearly evident as the shaman provides his audience with direct information on what he sees. As a prophet the shaman is concretely in the position of mediator, passing on information on the future from the other world to the community. The role of prophet is not a direct part of the shaman's activity as a psychopomp; the questions concern matters important to the livelihood of the clan. In addition to his task proper the shaman thus meets the requirements of the community in other spheres. As regards the shaman's status, which is dependent on the esteem of the community, this is understandable; the more diversely and skillfully he is able to meet the wishes of the community, the more professionally skilled he is thought to be.³⁶

The shaman's journey (5): At the start of the journey sequence the shaman seats himself beside the *fania*, doubting his skill and his strength (5Z), at which the relatives implore him to guide the soul of the departed to the other world and once again reveal to him a task in which they need assistance. The final gathering of forces before the journey (5E) is of major ecstatic-technique significance, since during the ladder scene the shaman's trance has clearly decreased. He begins with a song in which he confirms his contact with his most important assistants, *Buchu* and *Koori*. Lopatin describes the song commencing the act as melancholy, and says that the shaman then goes on to a dance that finally becomes frenzied as the performer reaches a state of complete ecstasy. During the dance the shaman concentrates fully on working himself up and directs all his attention at the other world. At this stage the roles of the assistants also become necessary. One supports the shaman by drumming, another gets his sled ready for the journey. Stepping onto the sled the shaman with a wild cry announces his readiness for the

journey, i.e. that the necessary spirit-helpers are present. The journey sequence and in particular act 5P are by nature theatrical. The acts are built round exhortations, orders and requests directed at various supranormal beings, and the describing of the journey and the difficulties that will be encountered. The shaman brings the whole scale of his physical capacity into play, and his face and movements express sometimes terror, sometimes relief. His role-taking is thus directed primarily at the other world, and he brings out both his own role and a host of different supranormal roles, beginning with the *fania* and his invisible team of spirit dogs. The strong drama of the sequence nevertheless proves that when taking the supranormal roles the shaman adopts the standpoint of onlookers, who at the start of the journey sequence have formed a rapt audience around the performer. Since the shaman acts out the journey down to the smallest detail, the audience indirectly gains information on its progress. As the shaman travels to *Buni* the links between this world and the next are the assistants, who by holding on to leather belts prevent him from falling. Falling over would signify the stumbling and perishing of the traveller.³⁷ In a way the assistants have thus assumed the role of mediator while the shaman is on the supranormal side. It is interesting that during the journey act the independent alertness of the shaman is clearly emphasized. He gives orders to the spirits and converses with them, whereas during acts 3G and 3H he expressly manifested various spirit roles and showed that he was possessed by the spirits. As the shaman acts out the stages in his journey the topography of the underworld is revealed to the audience. According to Shimkevich the Nanays' concept of the road to *Buni* is detailed and clear. Along the road are 18 spots with special names and generally-known features. The third station, for example, is called *Bolosa*, "a region in which the soul has to overcome the first difficulties on its pilgrimage"³⁸. The *Khadjello* mountain quoted in Lopatin's account is ninth (*Khadjello*, the steep slope) and the river *Sajan Dauri* the tenth stage ("Sajan Dauri, the crossing-point over the river. This crossing point affords the soul the greatest difficulties, to which it often succumbs"³⁹). The assistants must also know the road and be able to decide from the description of the traveller where he is at any moment. They must be extremely careful in their support, e.g. at the dangerous river. Signs that *Buni* is near, footprints, dogs barking, etc., are likewise traditional indications of stages 15–17.⁴⁰ The return home is followed by a change in role-taking direction. The shaman now turns his attention on the onlookers (5S), who crowd round him with many questions. Although the onlookers were indirectly informed of the stages in the journey by the shaman's acting they are now told directly. The shaman expressly individualizes the wishes of those taking part in the séance in telling them of the gifts sent by dead relatives.

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6): The report makes no mention of the deactualization proper of the spirit-helpers. On the other hand the ritual burning of the *fania mugdae* and basket with the sacrificial food, likewise the breaking and throwing into the fire of the rope made by the assistant, symbolized the final breaking of the ties linking the deceased and the relatives.⁴¹

The termination of shamanizing (8): The shaman's relinquishing of his task is carried out simply. The assistants who had dressed him ceremonially disrobe him, and he then retires to rest.

26. THE HEALING RITE OF AN OROCHI SHAMAN

26.1. *Background.* Ivan Lopatin, an expert on the religion of the Nanays, extended his field work to cover also the Orochi, a closely related people of the Amur. In the 1940's he published two accounts of shamanizing based on his field observations in the journal *Anthropos*: one to regain the favour of the spirits¹ and the other to heal a little boy who was ill.² Through his interpreter, Nikolay Samanika, Lopatin managed to note down much of the songs sung during the séances, so that the accounts are more valuable than usual, though due to the simplicity of the séances they are not particularly long. Of interest as regards the role-taking technique is the shamanizing conducted to heal a six-year-old boy, following the normal scheme of a crisis rite, which Lopatin was able to observe in the village of Uska on the Tumn river. The Orochi, living mainly off fishing and hunting³, are a very small splinter nation. According to the census of 1926—1927 they numbered 405⁴, and they lived in Uska and a few neighbouring villages. Some of the Orochi also went in for sea fishing, which added its own cultural features to the normal mode of life along the Amur, concentrating mainly on river fishing. The community organization and religious concepts of the Orochi did not differ much from those of the other Manchu-Tungus peoples of the Amur, such as the Nanays. At the start of the 1900's the Orochi further divided up into six exogamic clans. The Orthodox church began missionary work at the end of the 19th century, but with no great success. The locals kept to their old shamanic tradition. "The Orochi had special shrines where the shamans sacrificed pigs, roosters and dogs to their patron spirits. In specific places, most often near trees, they set up carved poles with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations, and wooden figures of animals and birds. The poles (tu) were sometimes as high as 8—10 meters. The sculptural representations of birds at the top were sometimes as large as

one meter. In these shrines, the shamans made their ceremonies, intended to ensure success in hunting or fishing, and to send off the soul of the dead to the world beyond. The shamans also made special ritual journeys through the villages."⁵

The shaman observed by Lopatin, Okko Akka, had once before shamanized to heal the boy, but the séance had been kept secret. Thus Lopatin only succeeded in witnessing his second attempt.

26.2. *Description of the rite process*⁶

1A: The ceremony started soon after sunset, proclaimed by the sound of a issuing from the house of Vasili. Accompanied by the interpreter I immediately went to the house: to witness the *kamlanie* from the beginning.

2D: On entering the house we found Okko Akka, the shaman, seated at the bedside of the sick boy and singing a plaintive, monotonous song. Every so often the shaman gave a violent shudder which caused the numerous metallic articles of his ritual costume to jangle and clang. In the center of the house the wife of Vasili hovered over a fire, busily warming up a second drum for the shaman.

These are the words of the song which the shaman was chanting on our entrance: "Poor boy! poor boy! (the shaman repeated this many times), poor little boy! Innocent child! (these words were also repeated often and in a dolorous voice). Oh, how poor his parents are. They have nothing to eat. Tomorrow they may starve. The poor, poor father! He has hunted all winter; he has made many traps. He has set several hundred traps on his hunting ground. Is it easy to prepare so many traps? Poor man! He labored. He ran in the forest. All winter he ran in the forest. He hunted. He wished to obtain food for his family. All summer he fished. He wished to secure food for his family. His children begged for food. The poor little children wanted to eat. They cried! The poor children cried; they were very hungry. But the winter hunt was unprofitable. The sable did not come to the traps. The beast was very clever.

His sense of smell was acute. He smelled the traps and ran away. Poor hunter! He worked all winter trapping yet brought so little to his family. Poor fisherman! He caught but little fish. Yes, the master of this house is an unfortunate man. He is very, very poor. And now a new misfortune, a new disaster befalls him! Oh, this is a great calamity! The poor little boy is ill. Is this not a misfortune for his parents? Oh, poor boy, why are you so ill? Oh, my dear, why do you not run and play? Do you not see how your comrades play behind the house? Arise! Arise, my boy! Oh, you are ill, poor child! You are ill (the shaman repeated these words many times). But what can I do? I too am a poor man. I know nothing about your illness. I can do nothing for you, my boy. Oh, how helpless we are! We cannot help you. But he (the spirit-protector of the shaman) has the power. Oh, yes, my master has the power. He knows all. He is able to do everything. He is mighty. Oh, how mighty he is. All the spirits fear him. All the *buseu* (evil spirits) stand

in awe of him. Yes, they are afraid of him. As little children fear a wolf so the *buseu* fear him. He beats them; he kicks them out of human dwellings. All the spirits tremble before my master. He beats them. Oh, he can beat any spirit. He has large, sharp teeth! His fingernails are of iron. A covering of iron is over his body. He fears no spirit. He is strong; he is powerful. He will pity you, my little boy; he will pity your parents. Oh yes, he will have pity on us poor people. Certainly he will help us. We are so poor; we are so helpless."

After this song the shaman leaped from his place and began to dance around the fire. He beat his drum with increased vigor and tempo. The wife of Vasili beat the other drum, producing a kind of accompaniment to the dancing and drumming of the shaman.

2E: The shaman danced nine times around the fire and then began to sing, standing at the bedside of the patient. This song was a sort of invocation. Sometimes he shouted loudly, sometimes he whispered; occasionally he leaped, shuddered, and crouched over the bed. Of this invocation I was able to record the following:

"Thou wilt come. Oh yes, thou wilt be here. Thou wilt have pity on these poor people. Dost thou not pity them? They are so poor, so helpless. Certainly thou wilt help them. Come! Come! Come! Be not disinclined to help the poor. Come! Come! (The shaman repeated this many times, leaping, shuddering, and beating the drum). Thou wilt come to me, thou hearest me; yes, thou hearest me. I am singing for thee. I am dancing for thee. Hear thou, my voice! I will shout; I will shout at the top of my voice. I am shouting now; I am shouting. Come to me, come, come! (this was often reiterated). Listen to me, I will tell thee something (at these words the shaman lowered his voice, almost whispering). The people will offer thee food; they will provide thee with drink. They will entertain thee. They will hold a splendid feast in thy honor. Thou wilt take pleasure in eating and drinking. There will be much vodka! Many dishes will be offered. Make haste!" Then the shaman beating his drum as loudly as possible shouted: "A splendid feast! A feast continuing all day and all night! I will dance for thee; I will sing for thee. The people will see that thou art a powerful spirit, that thou canst do everything. The people will fear thee; they will worship thee. Yes, there will be great joy for thee. Come, come, come! Do not delay thy coming."

The shaman then again danced nine times around the fire. The mother of the sick boy after throwing a handful of dried rhododendron leaves into the fire once more resumed her drumming. The shaman was now dancing to the throbbing rhythm of his drum.

2E: After the dance the shaman turned towards the door of the house and leaping in front of it started again to perform the invocation. He called upon his spirit-protector, entreating his aid in this shamanistic service and repeating many times that a sacrifice would be made to the spirit-protector and that fresh, warm blood would be offered him. "Thou wilt drink the blood; it will give thee great joy. Come! Come!" entreated the shaman at the top of his voice. "Stretch out thine iron wings. Oh, powerful spirit. Fly to me. Thine iron feathers jingle when thou art flying. Thy keen eyes see thy enemies

from afar; thine alert ears listen to their cunning plots against thee. Thy teeth gnash; thy mighty claws are in readiness to sieze thine enemies. Dost thou not know that thine enciny is here in this house torturing a poor boy and bringing calamity to his parents? Come to me, my master; I am calling thee."

This last invocation lasted over half an hour.

3G: Finally the shaman shuddered violently and ceased singing. Reeling drunkenly and scarcely able to stand he dropped the drum and stick. The mother of the sick child quickly extinguished the fire, leaving only glowings coals. Vasili rushed to the shaman and held him up by the arms. Then the shaman shouted in a changed voice: "I am here; I have come to help these poor people. I will look at the child."

3T: The shaman was in a state of ecstacy. Approaching the child he crouched over him with his face almost touching the boy's facc. He looked into the boy's eyes and smelled his face;

5P: then with a shriek he ran to the opposite wall of the house. After that he again ran and leapt about the room. Vasili placed a piece of birch bark on the glowing charcoals; his wife again handed the shaman his drum and stick, whereupon he began to beat the instrument with all his might, all the while leaping and running around the fire in a frenzied dance. Finally he stretched out his arms still holding the drum and stick and shouted: "I am flying; I am flying; I will overtake you. I will catch you. You have no place of escape." As I learned afterwards this running and leaping represented the flight of the shaman into the spirit realm whither he had chased the evil spirit that had stolen the soul of the boy, thereby causing the sickness.

5L: The shaman cried out some strange words which neither the interpreter nor the parents of the child could understand. At times he changed his voice and appeared to be carrying on a dialogue with someone, evidently representing the spirit-protector talking to the evil spirit that possessed the soul of the patient.

5Q: At last the shaman stopped running, whirled several times in one spot, and then ran in the opposite direction with a joyful cry: "I have it; I have it!" His hands were cupped as though he held something in them.

5T: The parents rushed to the child and removed the blanket. Then the shaman jumped into the bed beside the boy and the parents covered them.

6I: After a few minutes the shaman got out of bed and stretched out his arms as if searching for something. Vasili gave him the drum and the stick and the shaman once more began to dance and sing to the accompaniment of his drum. We could not catch the words of this song. It may have been a song without words, or perhaps the shaman in his excitement could not properly pronounce the words. He leaped about for a while with eyes closed and head thrown back. At last he dropped the drum and stick and would

have fallen if Vasili and his wife had not supported him. It was evident that the shaman was completely exhausted.

8T: Vasili and his wife placed him in a bed opposite that of the boy and removed his ritual costume.

The following morning when I called at Vasili's house I found the shaman still sleeping soundly. The boy was also in bed. The parents told me that the boy was a little better and that he had rested well. When the shaman arose about noon he seemed quite fatigued and did not want to talk to me. That evening however he visited my tent, and after tea and cookies he expanded somewhat and chatted freely.

26.3. *Commentary. Preparatory stage (1)*: When Lopatin arrived on the scene the shaman had already begun, so that the reporter did not have a chance to watch his preparations for the séance. On the other hand he was able to make precise notes on the preparations made by another Orochi, the female shaman Ghindia.⁷ Ghindia arrived with an assistant, her cousin Peter, carrying her attributes and her drum. The latter first lit the fire in the centre of the dwelling and then dressed the shaman garment by garment. One interesting detail of the dress were the bands made of long shavings of wood, which the shamaness wore round her head, her waist, her arms and her legs. Similar bands have been reported among the Nanays⁸ and the Ainus⁹. In addition to the belt proper, decorated with metal trinkets, the assistant thus wound a long belt¹⁰ and finally a wood-shaving belt round the performer's waist. The fact that this was no ordinary dressing procedure but an overture to a difficult task is evident from the behaviour of the assistant and the shamaness during the process. "Before putting any part of the costume on the shamaness Peter sprinkled it with vodka from his mouth; the shamaness muttered prayers as each article was placed upon her."¹¹ The assistant having warmed the drum, Ghindia further concentrated for a moment, to gather her strength; she sat still for a moment, her head sunk on her chest and her eyes closed. At last Ghindia, who because of the tragedy she had experienced was partly rejected by the clan, felt herself capable of conducting the rite and began to sing in a low voice. She had taken on the role of shaman.

Actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): The shaman begins the actualization of his supranormal counter-roles (2D) by describing the situation leading up to the séance. He broadly explains the woeful state of those in need of help and his own powerlessness; only his spirit protector is strong enough to help. He is also puzzled by the reason for the illness: "Oh, poor boy, why are you so ill?", and he stresses that he himself is in-

capable of discovering the reason. The emphasis on man's complete helplessness creates a startling contrast to the picture of the might and omnipotence of the spirit protector painted in the second half of the song. An introduction such as this to a healing rite shows psychological insight; the patient is made to believe that only one power can save him and this is all the more sure. At the end of the song the shaman says: "He will pity you, my little boy; he will pity your parents." On the other hand, when we compare the song with that actualizing the spirit-helper sung by the shamaness Ghindia at a séance held for a very different purpose, we see that the songs are similar in their basic structure. The shamaness begins by describing her own sad state and claims that only with the help of the spirit is she strong. (The 'patient' of the shamanizing was in a way Ghindia herself, for she shamanized to make the spirits favourable towards her again.) Common to the songs of both shamans is their climax in the description of the feast prepared for the spirit (2E). Also of interest is the fact that both invoke only one spirit-helper, their principal spirit proper, whereas the Nanay shaman also needed several helpers on his journey to the underworld. The Nanay shaman from the Yukamissil clan mentioned that the principal spirit-helper, *ajami*, sent the shaman other assistants as required.¹²

Lopatin tells of his recording of the songs as follows: "This song was recorded by me with the assistance of my interpreter. It does not however present a complete record of the song of the shaman. When he chanted slowly, repeating the words, I could easily follow him; but when the rhythm of the song became faster I was unable to keep up with him. A few days after the final *kamlanie* I made an effort to complete the recording of the song and the shaman quite readily assisted me. I read to him what I had written and he made corrections. But he could add nothing to my record because his *kamlanie* is an inspired song and dance which could not be repeated exactly again, inasmuch as he improvises his song to meet the particular case of each patient. My record therefore is necessarily fragmentary."¹³ This statement proves that the Orochi shaman's song was inspired fairly freely according to the case. This is also evident from the form of the text, e.g. the figurative language, which is in itself traditional and characteristic of a number of brands of shamanism; it is not found often in the songs of the Orochi shaman. On the other hand by comparing the songs in the two reports of séances available we see that they are built up of elements familiar from the tradition of other nations, too: the description of the powerlessness of the shaman and the strength of the spirit-helper, the fear of the evil *buseau* spirits for the spirit-helper, the description of the appearance of the spirit-helper, invocatory shouts, the description of the feast awaiting the spirit-helper, the description of the features of the spirit-helper and its arrival. The patient's mother,

acting as the shaman's assistant, takes an active part in the séance with her accompaniment drumming. (The rhododendron leaves she throws into the fire presumably act as an aid to ecstasy with their intoxicating scent.)

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The sign that the spirit-helper has arrived is the shaman's unusual shuddering and swaying, i.e. he has achieved a state of ecstasy. The patient's parents, acting as assistants, hamp down the fire and support the reeling shaman. The shaman manifests the arrival of the spirit-helper by shouting in a changed voice: "I am here; I have come to help these poor people. I will look at the child" (3G). The first role change has taken place, the spirit is regarded as having entered into the shaman and as speaking through him, i.e. the shaman has become the spirit-helper and the role-identification is complete. The shaman/spirit-helper now turns to the patient and looks into his eyes and smells his face (37). Although the content of this act is not clear from the account, it can be assumed to include the making of a diagnosis. Indicating this is his last sentence, and also the fact that soon after the act he embarks on action to bring the soul back. The evening after the séance Lopatin questioned the shaman, who states that in his previous *kamlanie*, which had comprised the same performances as those of the séance observed by Lopatin (the invocation to the spirit-protector, the statement of the case before him, and the mystical flight of the shaman while in a state of ecstasy) he had been unsuccessful in determining the cause of the illness. Not until the second séance did he notice that it was the absence of the soul (captured by the evil spirit *Hakki*), which had caused the illness of the boy.

The shaman's journey (5): From the descriptions of the invocatory songs we can conclude that the spirit-helper is a bird clad in iron — "Stretch out thine iron wings . . . Thine iron feathers jingle when thou art flying . . . thy mighty claws are in readiness to seize thine enemies" — likewise the performer, who has identified with his spirit protector, flying on his journey in search of the soul. The shaman expresses his journey to the world beyond by a relatively simple theatrical technique; he runs and leaps about the room shouting: "I am flying; I am flying." Through his cries he also relates that he is chasing the evil spirit that has stolen the soul.¹⁴ The next act (5L) contains a dialogue between the spirit-helper and the demon. The shaman has a double role; he manifests the roles of both the demon and the spirit-helper by shouting strange words that neither the assistant nor the Orochi interpreter could understand. His return (5Q) he expresses by whirling round several times and then running in the opposite direction with a joyful cry: "I have it, I have it!". The next evening the shaman explained to Lopatin

that he had stolen the soul back from the demon, and asked: "Did you not see how I brought it in the shape of a sparrow?"¹⁵ Whereas Lopatin had to admit that he really had not seen any sparrow both the patient's parents and the interpreter assured him that they had seen it plainly. It is not evident from the account whether the shaman is still identified with his spirit-helper on returning to the surface of the earth. However, this is probable, since there are no signs of a change in role. The returning of the soul (5T) takes place in the patient's bed, where the assistants quickly cover the shaman up beside the patient when he expresses that he has the boy's soul in his hands.

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6) and the termination of shamanizing (8): Following the return of the soul the shaman still dances and drums for a time. He is still so excited that Lopatin cannot make out what he is saying. Thus we can only assume that the song terminating the séance includes the act of sending away the spirit-helpers. At the end of shamanizing the assistants carry the shaman to a bed and remove his costume.

27. THE INITIATION OF A SAGAY SHAMAN

27.1. *Background.* The Sagays, Bel'tirs, and their neighbours the Kachins, Kyzyls and Koybals, appear in the old ethnographic literature as the Abakan Tatars or the Minusa Tatars. Following the Revolution these national groups, all speaking Turkic but differing greatly from one another in their ethnic origin and their culture, became known by the common name Khakasy.¹ The linguistic conformity of these tribes, originally speaking Turkic, Samoyedic and Ketic, ethnic mixing and the cultural divergence in the region is attributable to centuries of subordination to the Uygyr, Kirgiz and Mongol princes.² At the beginning of the 17th century, with the coming of the Russians, the Khakasy were tax-paying subjects of the Kirgiz, or as the Kirgiz called them, the Kishtyms.³ The Sagays were an administrative rather than a tribal unit made up of clans of different ethnic origin. Some of the clans, for example, were originally Shors, who on the basis of their anthropological and cultural features have been connected with the Khants, the Mansi and the Kets.⁴ The Sagays were hunters and fishers until the 19th century, when, in the manner of the Russian population, those moving into the region became almost entirely farmers and cattle breeders.⁵

In 1957 the Hungarian scholar Vilmos Diószegi journeyed among the peoples in the Abakan region in an attempt to find and interview any persons familiar with the shamanic tradition that might still be living in the region.

His journey was successful. Although shamanic activity proper had disappeared completely under Soviet rule, he did find persons in the Bel'tir and Sagay villages who had previously been shamans.⁶

Having been unsuccessful in his interview with a Bel'tir shaman, Diószegi decided to change his working method and to turn to the local people for help with interviewing. In the village of Poltakov he met Sunchugasev, who had not himself been a shaman proper, but who was mentioned as having often acted in the role of assistant. With the help of his companions Diószegi managed to gain an audience with an old Sagay living in the village of Kyzlan, the former shaman Kyzlasov (Diószegi also writes Kizlasov). The method of interviewing, during which Diószegi asked only a few leading questions, leaving those present — Sunchugasev, Kyzlasov and his wife — to talk relatively freely on the subject, gave rise to an interesting discussion on the election as shaman and the initiation stage.⁷ The interviewer's aim was to get the old man to speak of his own initiation experiences, and during the discussion he did in fact unbend and make personal revelations. The value of the account nevertheless lies in the fact that in addition to private experiences, and as if providing a background to them, it brings out the shamanic tradition widely known among the community. Thus it at least indicates the relationship between the experience and its basic tradition. In view of the length of the account I shall quote only excerpts relating to Kyzlasov's personal experiences, the rest of the material being covered in the commentary.

27.2. *The story of Kyzlasov*

1. Kyzlasov says:

My name is Yegor Mikhaylovich Kyzlasov. I live at the mouth of the river Yes, in the village of Kyzlan, I belong to the *Tag Harga* clan. *Pürigesh* has been my first ancestor. *Shtuk* was a shaman. *Hizinah* was the son of Shtuk. He left two sons. The first-born was not a shaman, but his younger brother, *Hizilas* became one. *Hizilas* left an only son: *Torah*. The son of *Torah* was *Payalay*, he had a son called *Ochi*, *Ochi*'s son was *Mamay*. *Mamay* fathered me and I became a shaman.

— It was not the talent I inherited, but the shaman spirits of my clan — he added for the sake of accuracy.⁸

2. Kyzlasov's wife says:

— How did he become a shaman? Sickness seized him when he was twenty-three years old and he became a shaman at the age of thirty. That was how he became a shaman, after the sickness, after the torture. He had been ill for seven years. While he was ailing, he had dreams: he was beaten up several times, sometimes he was taken to strange places. He had been around quite a lot in his dreams and he had seen many things.⁹

3. Kyzlasov says:

— I have been sick and I have been dreaming. In my dreams I had been taken to the ancestor and cut into pieces on a black table. They chopped me up and then threw me into the kettle and I was boiled. There were some men there: two black and two fair ones. Their chieftain was there too. He issued the orders concerning me. I saw all this. While the pieces of my body were boiled, they found a bone around the ribs, which had a hole in the middle. This was the excess-bone. This brought about my becoming a shaman. Because, only those men can become shamans in whose body such a bone can be found. One looks across the hole of this bone and begins to see all, to know all and, that is when one becomes a shaman . . . When I came to from this state, I woke up. This meant that my soul had returned. Then the shamans declared: "You are the sort of man who may become a shaman. You should become a shaman, you must begin to shamanize!"¹⁰

4. — When I was asleep during my sickness (his wife whispered to me: "He lost his mind!"), my brother came to visit me ("He had been dead for a long time already!" — added the woman in a low voice) and told me: I crossed the mountains already! He told me also: You are ill because of the mountain! ("The mountain-spirit!" — whispered Sunchugasev). Soon, however you would be healthy again! But I did not get any better for along time to come. I wandered about in the mountains in my dreams. Then I went further and further, and my brother stayed behind. I even left the mountains behind me. I arrived in another land. There were some people there too. They were all writing something. Their tables were built of black earth and there were drums hung on the sides. There were some tables on the opposite side too, there were drums hanging on the sides of these too, but with their bottoms up. Here all the tables were also upside down. The shamans' garments were also turned inside out. I have heard before: these are the drums of those shamans who do not live long. He that chooses from these would die soon. At least the people said so . . . So I picked up a white drum and a garment from the other side. That is how I became a shaman.¹¹

5. — As soon as I was better, I prepared all my equipment and became a shaman and I went to present myself to the chief shaman, accompanied by nine black-haired and seven straw-blond men and three children. No shaman accompanied me. I lad[d]ed some gruel into a trough, put some boiled potatoes on top, and I went to the chief shaman, the ancestor. When I got there, he measured my drum, its circumference, its length and its height. He counted the pendants hanging from it. When he was ready, he gave me the men. (The shamans call their spirits *men*.) They are my friends. Sometimes they come upon me unexpectedly, then they disappear again. They are rather unstable. It is to them, I owe my well-being, it is through them, that when I hold the pulse of a sick person, it becomes clear to me, what is wrong with him. Then I began to shamanize. After being shamanized, some people get better, others die. We know whether the patient is going to get well or not, but we do not reveal it to him.¹²

27.3. *The initiation period.* Diószegi describes Kyzlasov as an astonishingly intelligent man. On hearing what matters interested the interviewer he began "in an instructive manner": "The profession of the *kam* is hereditary, it descends from one generation to the other."¹³ His subsequent correction, according to which it is not the gift of the shaman but the shaman spirits of the clan that are passed on to the new occupant of the status¹⁴, shows that Sagay shamanism was firmly bound to the clan system. Kyzlasov's long genealogy (1) hints at the same. Behind the shaman was the family the unity to which belonged both the living members of the clan and those who had already passed on to the other world. Former shamans in the family and the ancestor shaman held a key position in the process of being elected as a candidate. Familiarity with those members of the family who had already passed on, and above all the shamans of former generations, was one of the conditions for achieving the status: on journeying to the ancestor shaman for the first time the novice must be able to introduce to him the former shamans of the clan.¹⁵ Lankcnau mentions that among the Minusa Tatars the position of shaman was not inherited.¹⁶ Sunchugasev likewise adds to Kyzlasov's account: "Our shamans become shamans by the will of the family's shaman spirits, or by the will of the spirit of a mountain, or of a spirit of some sickness."¹⁷ Thus persons with no shamans among their direct ancestors may receive the status. Lankenau's note probably refers to inheritance from father to son, and when examined on this basis is justified. Within some given family it is a question more of a transfer of status within a wider unity, a clan, rather than direct inheritance. Even if the election as candidate was caused by spirits other than those of the shaman ancestors, the candidate had, in order to achieve the status, to make contact with the ancestor shaman of the clan. One illuminating example is the case of Mitkezhekov Toka that comes up in the discussion. He was getting on in years when the "spotted guest got him", i.e. he got the pox. On his recovery he began to shamanize in cases of pox. He was, however, meant to be a normal shaman, Sunchugasev says: "When the shaman began to introduce Toka to shamanism, he lost him along the way . . . Well, this is what happened: the shaman had to take the soul of Toka to the ancestral shaman of his family. The shaman's soul got there all right, but Toka's soul was not there. Therefore the shaman interrupted shamanizing then. But he, as well as the others present in the yurt, noticed that Toka continued his ravings. As it turned out, Toka went ahead on his own way, along the road of the father of the pox, instead of taking the road of the ancestral shaman."¹⁸ Because Toka's soul did not visit the clan's ancestral shaman, he did not attain the status of full shaman. He got to know only the road of the father of the pox, and thus he had to be content with shamanizing only in pox cases. The supervisory status of

the clan's ancestral shaman in the initiation process is further revealed in Kyzlasov's next mention: "Sometimes the ancestor himself entrusts the mountain with the search for a shaman for him. Such shamans become shamans through the intervention of the spirit of the mountain but in accordance with the wishes of the family shaman ancestor."¹⁹

Leading up to the initiation process is the falling sick of the future candidate; Kyzlasov's sickness is described by his wife simply as: "He lost his mind". The sickness is caused by the spirits; Sunchugasev says: "The man chosen for shamandom is first recognized by the black spirits. The spirits of the dead shamans are called black spirits. They make the chosen one ill and then they force him to become a shaman. The black spirits are afraid of the ancestral spirit of the family and they avoid him. If he would catch sight of them, he would look them up. The black spirits are not real spirits, they are the blackness of the deceased shaman."²⁰ This is an explanation to the illness, and it also arouses the question of how the patient was noticed to be suffering from precisely the disease leading to shamandom. The fate of a couple of Tuva (Soyot) shamans illustrates the most common practice. Baraan Čilopsan fell ill at the age of forty and was unconscious for three months. His parents sent for the clan's shaman, Pušku, who stated that the soul of a dead shaman had entered the patient. He could be cured only by beginning to shamanize.²¹ In a similar manner Kol Čenzer reports that at the age of 24 he went down with a disease that made him shake constantly and caused his bones to ache. He turned to a healer, who stated that the soul of a dead shaman was seated in him in the form of a bear.²² In both cases the tradition explanation to the disease — the spirit of a dead shaman residing in the patient — is given by a shaman, i.e. a dedicated shaman notes that the sick man would be a suitable candidate. Similar practice is probably hinted at by Kyzlasov's wife when she says that the patient was *advised* to shamanize so that he would not have to suffer any longer.²³ Some persons began to shamanize on falling ill without any guidance from outside. A person such as this is often a member of a shaman family, and it is in fact natural that in these cases the candidate must to some extent be aware in advance of the shamanic tradition. The problem I am attempting to illustrate concerns the transfer of the shamanic tradition. How and when did the candidate learn and internalize the shamanic tradition? To what extent was he familiar with it before entering on the transition stage? How did the tradition turn into visions during the transition stage and what was the position of these visions in the initiation process? Lankenau presents a very clear account of the becoming of a shaman among the Minusa Tatars (to which the Sagays also belonged): "In order to become a shaman it is absolutely necessary to be sickly, delicate and thin. A strong, powerful man is not

elected or ordained to this profession. But if, with the grace of the *Tageis* or the *Spirit of the Forest* a person should suffer from melancholy, epilepsy, have fits of madness and trance, he is sure to become a good shaman, and Ulukam calls him, to initiate him in his secrets. First he cures the exhausted, sick man by witchcraft, discussions and entreaties, magnetizes him with the sound of his drum, then gives him a few basic concepts of religion, instructs him in some of his arts and leaves him for a whole year, from one spring to the next, to practise and become accomplished, to think over and reflect on when he is worthy and ready in the opinion of the spirits to be accepted as a shaman, who will then appear before him in the spring and teach him to return with them. Then the instruction in the customs and ceremonies will also seem easy for him. If, however, the spirits do not appear, this is proof that they do not consider him worthy, and his period of trial will take another year; until they appear before him he is only Kitschikama.”²⁴ According to Lankenau an older shaman thus provides the candidate elect with his initial knowledge, and the purpose of instruction is precisely the gaining of visions and the ecstatic initiation experienced in them. Although it is at no point clear from Diószegi’s interview that the candidate is instructed by an older shaman, this would seem highly probable. In the Toka case, for example, an older shaman tried to conduct him to the ancestral shaman. According to the tradition both the initiating and the instruction are the work of the spirits. Sunchugasev states: “First, at the beginning, the new shaman is guided. Usually two black men lead him across several rooms which are stuffed with all kinds of articles necessary to exercise shamanism.”²⁵ Since, according to the tradition, the initiation stage is a series of events between the candidate and the spirits, it is natural that the shaman does not mention his worldly teacher. In estimating the nature of the tradition transfer process the discussions observed by Diószegi provide a few points of departure. In analysing the nature of the tradition it is interesting that various beliefs and religious concept complexes are readily presented bound to specific individual cases. For example, in speaking of the becoming of a shaman through illness the case of Toka was recalled, when speaking of the relinquishing of shamandom shaman Kopkoyev was mentioned, and in speaking of the refusal or voluntary acquisition of shamandom the words of shaman Todinov Kaptalak were quoted. In addition to the shaman’s songs, which the candidate had heard at séances ever since his childhood, and myths, such memories and tales probably constituted the foundations of communication the internalization of which led to ecstatic initiation during the transition stage.

The transition stage of Kyzlasov’s initiation can be regarded as the period of his illness, which according to his wife (2) lasted for seven years. From among

the visions he experienced, and according to his wife there were many, he mentions two that were especially significant. The first of them (3) is the *ecstatic initiation* experience, during which the spirits chopped up his body, boiled the pieces and searched for an excess bone with a hole in the middle, which would prove that he of all men was destined to become a shaman. At the end of the vision he receives a promise from the spirits that would entitle him to the status, and a summons to shamanize. Comparison of Kyzlasov's experience with the account by Sunchugasev²⁶ (he had had no personal experience, because he was not a shaman proper) shows that they coincide almost word for word. Kyzlasov's description is more detailed and contains the kettle motif²⁷ known to Sunchugasev but in another function: "His (the future shaman's) soul is taken to the shaman-ancestor and there they show him a kettle full of boiling tar. There are people in it. There are some who are known to the shaman. A single rope is fastened across the kettle and they order him to walk over it. If he succeeds he will live long. If he falls into the kettle, he still might become a kam, but usually they do not survive."²⁸ The most important thing is, however, to note that Kyzlasov's experience is entirely traditional in its content, and that the tradition on which it is founded is generally known in the region.

Kyzlasov's second vision during his sickness, the journey to the underworld, marks the beginning of a new period. In confirming his future as a shaman it at the same time takes him from the transition stage to the incorporation stage. Diószegi's question about what happens when the candidate has been cut up, i.e. when he has experienced his ecstatic initiation, was answered by Sunchugasev as follows: "First of all, he orders food and drinks, necessary for the initiation feast. A lamb is slaughtered and the right side of its breast, the head, the legs, the lungs and the heart are cooked. As soon as the meat and the wine are ready, the shaman takes it to the ancestor . . . When he gets there . . . the spirits order him to enumerate his ancestors. He has to name each shaman of his clan, one after the other, who lived before him. After that they give him spirits. It is then that his drum is named, that means, he is told what kind of a drum will be given to him."²⁹ Thus according to Sunchugasev the journey to the underworld terminating the transition stage takes place in conjunction with a sacrificial ceremony. That this really is an event terminating the transition stage and beginning the incorporation stage is proved by the fact that during his journey the candidate receives his spirit-helper and permission to make his articles. Sunchugasev and Kyzlasov further described the shaman's multifarious journey to the ancestor of the clan. Kyzlasov's account stresses the vital importance of the journey in the process of being dedicated as a shaman: "When the shaman goes to the chief-shaman, that is, to the family-ancestor, he has to cross the *ham saraschan*

harazi mountain along the way. On the top of that mountain there is a pine-tree, its trunk resembles a six sided log. The shamans carve their symbols into it, between the edges. Whoever places his marking, his *tamga*, upon it, then becomes a real shaman."³⁰ Kyzlasov's journey (4) took place during his sickness, and he does not mention an initiation feast. His experiences also differ from those of Sunchugasev in that he did not get his spirit helper until the 'enlivening' of the drum ceremony, being guided before that by the shaman spirits and above all his dead brother. If we compare the content of his own vision with his general account of the journey to the underworld that has to be made by every shaman,³¹ his own experience remains more limited and less rich in detail. This is perhaps explained by the fact that he gave his general account immediately before he revealed his own experience. His description of his journey is detailed and includes the following motifs known over large parts of Siberia: The shaman has to cross a mountain (cf. the cosmic mountain), on which a pine-tree grows³² (according to Sunchugasev a welthy birch-tree), the trunk of which is six-sided (the tree of the clan's shamans); he comes to a crossroads³³ from which all roads begin: those of the diseases, game, animals to be sacrificed to the spirits, etc. Also appearing in the account is a motif according to which the shaman must cross a fast-flowing river by a narrow bridge³⁴, and two moving rocks between which the shaman must pass³⁵. Familiarity with the roads of the underworld is in direct proportion to the shaman's field of duty, his role-set.³⁶ The road of the animals sacrificed to the spirits mentioned by Kyzlasov indicates that among the Sagays the shaman also acts as a maker of sacrifices. In examining the deviation of Kyzlasov's vision from his general account it must also be remembered that he well recognised his own speciality as a shaman, i.e. he was able to analyze clearly the shamanic tradition and to distinguish the features that were associated with his own case. For example, he became a shaman via the spirit of the mountain, he was led to shamandom by his dead brother, etc. Of interest is the connection between a formerly heard tradition and the events of his own vision which he brings out at the end of his description of his vision (4). He sees drums upside down and clothes turned inside out. "I have heard before; these are the drums of those shamans who do not live long. He that chooses from these would die soon. At least people said so . . ."

During the incorporation stage the candidate prepares his devices according to directions from the ancestral shaman, and along with these outward marks of recognition his status begins to be established in the eyes of the community. Lankenau states that the shaman held a very important position in the Minusa Tatar clans.³⁷ The ceremonies held at the end of the incorporation stage, the 'enlivening' of the drum and the presentation of the drum

to the clan's ancestral shaman were common rites in which the other members of the clan also took part. Before the 'enlivening' ceremony³⁸, during which the shaman must look for the spirit of the animal which gave its skin to be stretched over the drum, the shaman gives the drum he has made to the little children to play with.³⁹ Only then are the images of the spirits drawn on the skin of the drum. The presentation of the drum in the underworld (5) following the 'enlivening' is the final hurdle in acquiring the status of shaman. Although Kyzlasov's account states that the success of the ceremony depends on the ancestral shaman, this is, in thinking of the status of the shaman, more a question of the proving of the shaman's full powers, his professional skill, and thus the gaining of the clan's approval of the transfer of status. According to Kyzlasov the people of the clan in fact prepared the site of the ceremony. Among other things a shamanic tree — a wealthy birch-tree — was erected, on which the women hung earrings as decorations.⁴⁰ Kyzlasov further mentions that he underwent the journey alone. He no longer requires outside help, and he has received his spirit-helper from the ancestral shaman. He has become a full shaman, and he states: "Then I began to shamanize".

28. SHAMANIZING SÉANCE AMONG THE MINUSA TATARS

28.1. *Background.* H. v. Lankenau gives a presentation of shamanism among the Minusa or Abakan Tatars in his article "Die Schamanen und das Schamanenwesen"¹. The author states that he had to rely on Russian sources, but he does not name them precisely. The article contains a long and detailed account of a séance, and the functional conciseness of the account — e.g. his untiring concentration on the shaman's movements — indicates fine power of observation. In view of his richness of detail and consistency (the rite is carefully described from beginning to end) I consider the source as suitable for analysis of the rite process despite its localization shortcomings.²

Lankenau mentions that shamanism flourishes in the region. Vilmos Diószegi, who in 1957 still found persons who had acted as shamans in the area, was able to note that the shamanic tradition had been retained with rare persistence among the Turkic tribes. Radloff, too, noted that shamanism had a stronger foothold in the Abakan region than among the Altaic Turks, even though the former had been half converted to Christianity: "Although the Abakan Tatars are Christians, they still ask the shaman to shamanize far more often than the heathen Altaics. Usually the Abakan Tatars hide their devotion to the old belief from the Russians and like to appear as Orthodox Christians in their presence. So I have often noticed that as I approach

the chests are opened and the pictures of the saints are put up, and that on my departure they are once again locked up in the chest.”³ Lankenau mentions that images of the saints or crucifixes do not, in the eyes of the Tatars, prevent good spirits from coming. A shaman who has been christened may wear a crucifix and take it off only on beginning to shamanize.⁴

28.2. *Description of the rite process*⁵

1A: In der Dämmerung versammeln sich Verwandte, Freunde und Nachbarn in der zur Feier bestimmten Jurte, zünden mitten in derselben ein Feuer an, machen Butter, Milch, “Gotteskraut” (Wilden Quendel-Thymian) und dergleichen mehr fertig und setzen sich schweigend oder nur leise mit einander redend und gegenseitig einander die Pfeife anbietend, um dasselbe herum.

1C: Nun erscheint der Schamane, nimmt seinen langen Pelz ab, durchräuchert seinen Halbkafan (*Kamnich-tach*) über das ins Feuer geworfene “Gotteskraut”, als Zeichen der Reinigung, und legt ihn sich über die nackten Schultern; dann durchräuchert er auch die *Kamnich-biutschach* und setzt sie auf den Kopf, gleichwie die Tiur, die er in die linke Hand nimmt, und die Orba, die seine Rechte ergreift.

2D: Nun beginnt die Zeremonie. Er setzt sich am Feuer auf die Erde und fängt an mit dem Klöpfel auf die Pauke zu schlagen, anfangs langsam und leise, dann stärker und lauter; bald aber pfeift er langsam und anhaltend, so die Geister herbeirufend, wobei man einen zweifachen Ton hört, einen, den er durch Einziehen der Luft hervorbringt, den zweiten, den er gellend hervorstösst.

2E: Dann singt er, beschwört die Geister, ruft sie bei Namen, wobei er sich, beständig den Kopf schaukelnd, hin und her bewegt und ihn mit der Pauke verdeckt. So scheint sein Gesang dumpf und wie aus der Tiefe hervorkommend. Der reine und weiche Tenor der Schamanen ist im Allgemeinen angenehm und die Melodien sind meist wehmüthig, flehend und in stiller Nacht trauererregend.

Explanation: Dem Europäer bewegen diese Klagetöne wunderbar das Herz, besonders wenn der Schamane plötzlich aufspringt, zur Jurte hinausstürzt und seinen wilden Gesang draussen im Freien in rührenden, herzerreisenden Tönen schluchzend beendet. Die Tataren versichern, der Schamane verrichte die ganze Ceremonie mit geschlossenen Augen; er sei so in sich versunken, dass er weder etwas höre, noch sehe, während seine Seele in höheren Regionen schwebe. Die Geister fliegen, wie sie sagen, um ihn in Gestalt von Eulen (*Tschabalgus-toska*), sie reiten auf Rothfüchsen und begleiten ihn auf seiner religiösen Reise, während er selbst ebenfalls auf einem Jsiki, oder auf einem Raben (*Kuskun*), oder auf einer Eule (*Jugu*), je nach Bedürfniss reite. Wenn man daher in seinem Gesange oft “*kurr*” höre, so

reite er auf einem Raben, höre man "uch", so reite er einer Eule, höre man das scharfe, aber leise "kwokwo", so underhalten sich die Geister in Eulengestalt mit ihm.

3GT: Wenn die erste Beschwörung der Geister beendet ist, springt der Schamane rasch auf, stürzt zur Thür der Jurte, das Gesicht nach Westen. Die Paukenschläge werden dumpfer und heftiger, der Gesang wird lauter, dreimal schlägt er mit der Orba auf die Stangen der Jurte und stösst einen gellenden Triller aus, ein Zeichen, dass die Geister erscheinen. Er ruft sie näher und verspricht ihnen Wasser. Zu derselben Zeit spritzt ein Tatar, welcher eine mit Wasser gefüllte Schale hält, dieses freimal in das Luftloch oder den Schornstein oben in der Jurte, zu welchem der Rauch emporsteigt, und einmal gegen die Thür.

3HT: Die Geister kommen näher und trinken das Wasser tropfenweise, antworten auf seine Fragen, was sie gesehen, gehört haben und erkundigen sich nach seinem Begehr. Wenn der Tatar versäumt, zur rechten Zeit Wasser auszuspritzen, so kommen die Geister dem Schamanen so nahe, dass sie ihn stören, und heftige Schläge mit der Orba regnen sogleich auf den lässigen Diener.

3H: Sobald der Schamane sie mit Wasser gesättigt hat, springt er zur Jurte hinaus, um sich mit den Geistern zu berathen. Man versichert, dass hierbei Funken unter seinen Füßen wie aus einem Ofen hervorsprühen. Auf dem Hofe dreht und wendet er sich, schüttelt sich wie im Fieberfrost, schnaubt, pfeift, schreit wie eine Eule, quakt und singt näselnd, während er cifrig dabei die Pauke bearbeitet und mit den Füßen den Boden stampft, dass die Metallgegenstände an ihm klirren und klappern, so dass man glauben sollte, eine Herde wilder Pferde komme gelaufen.

3T: Nach einer Viertelstunde etwa springt er rasch in die Jurte zurück, ergreift die ihm dargebotene lange Pfeife, raucht sie haftig an, rennt zur Thür und stellt sich schlotternd und mit den Zähnen klappernd ans Feuer.

3TS: Mit der Pfeife bewirthe er einen ihm befreundeten Geist, während er nun den Tataren erzählt, was er gesehen und gehört hat, und den Kranken und Bittstellern die vernommenen Aussprüche mittheilt.

3U: Sobald die Pfeife geraucht ist, springt er wieder zur Thür, trinkt eine Schale Wasser, um seine Stimme anzufrischen und wirft das Gefäß auf den Boden. Fällt es, den Boden nach unten, so dass es steht, so ist das ein gutes Zeichen, fällt es auf die Seite oder verkehrt, so ist dies schlimm.

Explanation, repeated acts: Die Geister sind ungnädig gestimmt, der Schamane muss sich aufs Neue unter der Hausthür in Unterhandlungen mit ihnen einlassen, oder auch neue gütiger gesinnte herbeirufen; in diesem Falle spritzt man wider Wasser in den Schornstein und er springt wieder zur Thür hinaus.

4ET: Wenn die Schale auf den Boden gefallen ist, so geht er drei bis neun

Mal dem Laufe der Sonne nach rings um den brennenden Holzstoss herum, schlägt leise auf seine Pauke und murmelt in abgebrochenen Sätzen vor sich hin, während einer der Tataren Fett und "Gotteskraut" ins Feuer wirft;

Blessing: dann bleibt er bei dem Kranken stehen, bespricht, indem er die Pauke über das Haupt desselben hält, die Milch, hebt dann die Pauke bis an den Schornstein und schlägt einen Wirbel. Mit dem ersten Schlage segnet er selbst den Kranken, mit dem Wirbel aber bittet er Gott, den Segen zu bestätigen, indem er ausruft: "Euer Gott ist erhaben, Euer Leben währe lange! Brrr, brrr! . . . krrr, krrr!"

Brrr! bedeutet in der Schamanensprache: "seid gesund und glücklich"; *krrr!* — "segne Euch Gott."

Die Anwesenden antworten: "Seid glücklich und lebet lange".

4N: Nun bespricht er noch ein paar Mal die Milch und giebt diese dem Kranken zu trinken, setzt sich dann neben denselben auf die Erde und lässt ihn sich zu ihm neigen, murmelt, mit dem Kopfe schüttelnd, leise einige Sprüche und begleitet dieses mit dumpfen Paukenschlägen. Hierdurch treibt er den Geist aus, durch den der Patient erkrankt ist,

Blessing: steht schliesslich auf und ruft: "Gott stärke Dich und gewähre Dir Deine Jahre auszuleben; mein Wort bestätige der Herr. *Brrr! Krrr!*" Nun segnet er ihn drei Mal mit seiner Pauke, sein "Brrr" und "Krrr" wiederholen,

4F: springt wieder zur Thür, singt dort ein Danklied und läuft hinaus.

4H: Hier schüttelt und dreht er sich, so dass Alles an ihm klingt und klappert, schlägt auf die Pauke und beräth sich mit den Tiess-tori: "ob seine Besprechung auch wirksam sein und dem Kranken geholfen werde?"

4S: Nachdem er von ihnen die Entscheidung erhalten, eilt er zurück und verkündet sie der Versammlung.

5E: Dann stellt er drei Mädchen an die linke Seite der Thür, drei ledige junge Männer an die rechte. Diese singen nun mit ihm die Melodie eines wehmüthig klagenden Liedes, wobei er die Worte spricht und die Pauke leise berührt, hin und wieder dazwischen pfeift und nach und nach in eine heitere Melodie übergeht.

5P: Nun schweigen die Anderen, denn jetzt reitet er, um Arzneimitteln zu holen: man hört dieses an dem Trabe, den er mit Paukenbegleitung durch Stampfen mit den Füßen andeutet, wobei er auf einem Raben oder einer Eule reitet, die Tiess-tori aber reiten auf Rothfüchsen. Es dauert oft eine ganze Stunde, ehe er an dem bestimmten Orte ankommt, und das erhält, was er gebraucht. Nachdem dies geschehen wendet er sich dem Feuer zu, und man weiss, dass er nun in Gedanken zurückreitet. Wenn seine Bewegungen langsamer, vorsichtiger werden, reitet er durch einen Fluss.

Je länger er so reitet, desto kostbarer und heilsamer ist das Heilmittel, das er mitbringt.

5Q: Endlich springt er auf die Erde, läuft zur Jurte hinaus, kehrt zurück, raucht eine Pfeife

5S: und erzählt nun, wohin er gereist war: nach China, über das taskilische Gebirge oder über die Kusnetzkischen Berge, in die kirgisische Steppe, oder über das Medwedsehe (Bären—?) Meer, ob der Kranke von den Besprechungen und seiner Arznei gesund werde, oder ob die Ceremonien beim nächsten Neumond wiederholt werden müssen, oder ob es nöthig sei, dass man den Kranken dieserhalb zu ihm in die Jurte bringe.

6I: Hiermit endigt die Ceremonie, welche oft fünf Studen lang dauert. Der Schamane nimmt nun Abschied von den Geistern,

8F: er wirft plötzlich seine Mütze ab und hinter sich; fällt sie ins Feuer, so beeilen sich die Tataren, sie rasch herauszuziehen; hierauf fliegen Pauke und Klöpfel fort; dann schnellt der Kaftan von seinen Schultern, den man ebenfalls rasch auffängt, denn wehe dem Schamanen, dessen Kamnichtach ins Feuer fiel und verbrennte; sein Schamanenthum hätte ein Ende; wehe ihm und allen seinen Freunden!

Nachdem er so seine Kleider abgeworfen, nimmt er wieder seinen Pelz um, lässt sich auf seine Fersen nieder, wäscht sich und spült seinen Mund aus. Nach den Aussagen der Tataren verlassen ihn jetzt die Geister — und Bleich, erschöpft, wie betrunken hin und her taumelnd mit halb geschlossenen Augen schwankt er zum Feuer, setzt sich und ruht aus, ohne ein Wort zu reden. Seine Schamanentracht wird unterdessen beräuchert und zusammengelegt.

28.3. *Commentary.* Preparation stage (1) and actualizing the spirit-helpers (2): Preparations for the séance, to take place when it is dark, start at dusk. The onlookers, comprising members of the clan, neighbours and relatives, prepare the scene by lighting a fire and getting the sacrificial foods ready. The coming events also demand the onlookers' concentration. They take an active part in the proceedings of the séance, and they do this by sitting quietly and smoking a communal pipe (1A). The shaman prepares by cleaning his attire bit by bit and putting his robes on. The actualization of the spirit-helpers around the fire begins with conventional quiet drumming and a sort of whistling (2D), after which the shaman begins to sing. He actualizes his spirits one at a time, calling them by name.

Meeting the spirit-helpers (3): The shaman manifests the arrival of the spirit-helpers by moving to the door of the yurt, his face looking west, the direction from which the spirits come, and by breaking into a piercing trill, i.e. he transfers to the role of the spirit and expresses

its arrival (3G). The meeting between the shaman and the spirits is interesting as regards the role-taking. No possession takes place — on the contrary, it is the task of the assistant to sprinkle water for the spirits to drink and thus to prevent the spirits from coming too close to the shaman. Although the spirit is not thought to possess the shaman or to speak through him, the shaman manifests the roles of the spirits by making sounds as they do: “sharp but weak ‘kwo kwo’ sounds mean that owl-like spirits are conversing with him”. Judging from the description a direct dialogue would seem to take place between the shaman and the spirits on their arrival. The spirits answer the shaman’s questions, tell him what they have seen and heard and ask him what he wants. The shaman thus has a dual role: he presents the spirits and at the same time the shaman. The discussion with the spirits (3H) falls into two separate sections, the first of which is in dialogue form and is intended to inform the spirits of the shamanizing event in question.

During the period of preliminary contact a sacrifice is offered to the spirits. The debate as to the nature of the actual sickness and healing measures takes place outside and differs considerably from the first as regards the shaman’s ecstatic state. In a great frenzy he moves wildly and imitates the sounds of various animals, i.e. presents the roles of various spirits. In place of the term debate used by the observer the act could be called more the acquisition of information, for the shaman has begun to manifest the roles of the spirit-helpers so completely. During the following act the shaman smokes, runs to the door and then settles down by the fire. This may be some act aimed at the spirits, for it is at the door that the shaman meets them. The smoking is probably part of the feasting of the spirits mentioned in the next act. Now the shaman is manifesting his own role only. At the end of the sequence the shaman imparts the information he has received to the onlookers (3S). The importance of assuring the onlookers is also emphasized in the following forecasting act (3U), by means of which the shaman proves he has been successful in his task.

Meeting with the sickness demon (4): The expelling the demon sequence contains features that really do indicate that the Minusa Tatar shaman has already been influenced by Christianity. Towards the start of the sequence, the shaman having concentrated for a moment on collecting his powers (4E) and the assistant having made the sacrifice, the shaman enters on a sort of blessing. The attention is caught by brrr and krrr sounds, which according to the reporter are “shaman’s language”. Since such sounds are a feature of the spirits it is clear that the shaman is assisted (cf. thanksgiving song) in his acts by a spirit-helper. The sounds also appear in the expelling of the sickness demon act. The shaman, who has possibly

been christened, has succeeded in fusing a practice and god of a new doctrine in his act of healing as a climatic addition: "The Lord confirms my words." The onlookers, appearing actively for the first time, likewise bless the patient. The part played by both the shaman's assistant and the onlookers remains in the background. Not once during the *séance* does the assistant transfer to the shaman's role. The banishing of the sickness demon takes place quietly, through words, and does not constitute a battle scene acted out in movement. This feature, possibly a consequence of Christianity, is striking alongside the other motor and functional behaviour of the shaman. The scenes in which he meets the spirit-helpers, for example, are highly ecstatic. These dance acts take place outside the yurt, as does the debate on the effectiveness of the healing measures towards the end of the sequence (4H). Likewise the thanksgiving song (4F) is presented by the shaman at the door to the yurt. The arrangement stresses the oppositeness of this world (the yurt) and the other world (the area outside the yurt) and the activities of the shaman as mediator between these two worlds, even though it is not strictly logical. At the end of this sequence, as of the former one, the direction of the shaman's role-taking changes and he informs the onlookers of the success of his task (4S).

The shaman's journey (5): The journey sequence following the banishing of the demon seems a cliché-like addition. Since its function is the fetching of a drug, and it is said that the longer the journey, the more likely the patient is to be healed, it is most probably an organic part of Tatar shamanizing. In its basic structure the sequence corresponds to those dealt with above: at the start the shaman calls upon his spirit-helpers, manifests their roles during the journey act, and finally turns to the onlookers, telling them of what he has experienced. The journey is dangerous and difficult, more dangerous than the preceding scenes with the spirit-helpers and the sickness demon. Thus the shaman prepares himself with care, selects three young girls⁶ and boys as a supporting choir as he again actualizes the roles of the spirit-helpers (cf. cheeping) and concentrates on calling to mind the other world (5E). In the course of the journey act the shaman is thought to travel by his owl or raven-like spirits, but the spirit-helpers ride with him on horses, *isiki*, dedicated to them. These horses are also depicted on the drum. The shaman manifests the roles of his companions as before; the scene is, however, presented in the yurt, so that the performer may, by altering his position in relation to the fire, for example, illustrate to the onlookers the direction in the other world in which he is travelling. Through his movements the shaman also concentrates on describing his journey, and his drumming and dancing create an image of unbroken riding. From the comment

"When his movements become slower, more wary, he is riding through the river", we may conclude that the shaman's movements constitute a symbolic language at least partly familiar to the spectators. The clothing, too, adds to the effects of the journey act. Lankenau describes the dress of the shaman Kuské in detail, saying that attached to his hat were the wings and tail of a forest owl, and also that the wings of another big owl were fastened to the shoulders of his half caftan. These wings fluttered and moved as the shaman danced, so that it was easy to imagine him sitting on a flying bird.⁸ The description of the journey ends with the shaman's jumping back to earth and going to the door of the yurt (5Q). The shaman now turns his attention on the onlookers, informing them of what he has found out in the other world. It is interesting that in speaking of his journey there he lists factual geographical points. Most often the reports of journeys are based purely on belief tradition.

Deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6); the termination of shamanizing (8): The relinquishing of the role of shaman and the sending away of the spirit-helpers take place simultaneously. The shaman takes his leave of the spirits, and as he disrobes he gradually sends them away. The taking off of the robes and trinkets (and thus possibly also the deactualization of the spirits) takes place in the reverse order from that in which they were put on. The shaman's actions (he suddenly throws his robes behind him) may be aimed at facilitating the deactualization of the spirits. Finally the shaman removes the spirits by washing and rinsing out his mouth = cleansing himself. The smoking of his robes points to the same purpose.

29. THE INITIATION OF A BURYAT SHAMAN

29.1. *Background.* According to the 1926 census the Buryats, a Mongolic-speaking people of southern Siberia, numbered 200,000.¹ Although farming began to spread among the eastern Buryats at the end of the 18th century², the Buryats were for the most part pastoralists. The necessary grazing land was nominally owned by "ulus", although among the eastern Buryats "the actual landowners were the richer pastoralists, the noyons"³ as early as the 17th century. "The word 'ulus' among the ancient Mongols meant a union of clans and tribes dependent on a certain khan, noyon or taysha. The Buryats of the 17th century also used the word to mean a union of clans or tribes nomadizing on one particular area under the power of a chief ('princeling', noyon, and so on). The documents of the 17th century often called the ulus

by the name of its leader. The bulk of the Buryat population was composed of 'ulus people' who nomadized within the limits of their own ulus. They had a small number of stock and their pastureland was smaller and poorer than that of the princelings. The latter, being the ulus chiefs, were also major stock owners."⁴ Although the clan was a major factor leading to the birth of the ulus, it had lost its significance as an economic factor early on: the ulus was not a common clan land to which each member had equal right. The measures introduced by the Russian government further increased the power of the Buryat chiefs. In the 18th century "the 'ulus people' were subjected to various forms of exploitation by the Buryat hierarchy. An extensive practice was to hand over livestock to the poorer population for raising; the working-off of loans, a number of tithes in favor of the zaysan, noyon or shulenga when collecting tribute, retention of the 'brokerage' for deliveries (of wool, cattle, wood) to the government and so on were also common."⁵ From the point of view of shamanism this meant that there was no foundation for clan shamanism. The circle within which the shaman operated was a geographically limited unit. A similar trend towards professional regional shamanism is also found e.g. among Altaic-Turkic-related peoples who were farmers and pastoralists and who had a hierarchical and stratified community system, i.e. among whom the clan had lost or was losing its significance as a social unit. S. I. Vaynshteyn, for example, notes in describing the drum enlivening ceremony of a Tuva shaman that in former times only members of the clan could attend the ceremony, whereas at the beginning of the 20th century neighbours from round about could also attend in addition to the shaman's relatives.⁶ As the drum enlivening ceremony was a festive occasion at which the candidate was publicly acclaimed as having reached the status of full shaman, Vaynshteyn is undoubtedly right when he observes that the change reflects "the evolution of shamanism from a clan activity to a profession monopolized by a few persons."⁷

29.2. *The initiatory rites and the status of shaman.* The independent status of shamanism and the relation between the shaman and his band of supporters, the people of a specific area, are well reflected in the account of Buryat shamanism published by Jorma Partanen.⁸ The position of shaman appears as a profession, the gaining of which was strictly controlled and which required repeated initiatory rites supervised by the oldest representatives of shamanism over a span of nine years. Following the last initiatory rites the young shaman rode round his area with the others who had taken part in the rite to "show himself":

In the ninth year, in the manner of the first *činar*, trees are dressed up and called the fresh *činar*; a sheep and a goat are slaughtered and suspended

by their hind-quarters from a long and tall birch tree on both sides of Mother Tree, bending towards the *činar*. At daybreak many saddled horses are made ready; the oldest of the Nine puts on the 'living things' he possesses, the *böge* candidate hangs his mirror on his neck and takes his whip and his *sorbi*; the younger Nine take their drums and mount their horses; with them the great *böge* and those *böges*, *idugans*, and other people who want to go along, visit on horseback the yurts of the neighbourhood at random. When they have arrived at a village, they go three times round it on horseback, shamanizing all the time; those people of the yurt that are first out-of-doors (to receive them), come to them offering milk, tea and spirits, and sprinkling them with these; if willing, the party are invited to come indoors to drink tea with its people, whereupon they dismount. When they have entered the yurt, the new *böge* shortly produces his *sorbi* and his whip, and saying: "I did make life enter the *ongons*," he leaps around and swings-and-tramples. When he has finished, all the people of the yurt pay homage to him. When about to return, those of the yurt, for the binding of the new *böge*'s 'living things', respectfully offer him previously prepared skins, variously bound up (to resemble) snakes, those of the *körüne*, the squirrel, the yellow weasel, and the hermin, as well as (pieces of) *pulat* and *qadaks*. Towards evening, having returned home, the whole night is spent in shamanizing, and at daybreak, in the same manner, they go to other yurts. To conclude: when he has finished this going-round that resembles begging, he disperses the *činar* as before, and after that no *činar* will be made.

Hereafter the new *böge* goes here and there among the people saying: "I have become a *böge*," and saying: "In sight of all, I relieve people of their diseases and sufferings," he is ready to shamanize."⁹

We see that despite the central position of the oldest representatives of shamanism in the initiatory rites themselves, every young shaman had to gain the recognition of his supporters in the form of concrete gifts and give them a public promise as to his future task as helper.

The novice to be initiated was given instructions which he promised to follow:

"When a poor person sends for you, go to him on foot, do not demand much of him in return for your trouble; take what you are given. You must always care for the poor, help them and pray to the gods to protect them from falling into the hands of evil spirits. When a rich person sends for you, go to him on an ox, do not demand much of him either in return. If a rich and a poor man send for you at the same time, go to the poor man first, then the rich man."¹⁰

Although these instructions are ethical in content, the shaman did not act without reward. After healing a sick man, for example, "the *böge* takes off the things that have been hung up [in sacrifice], and tea, *qadaks* ('shawl'), *pulat* (a piece of silk cloth, a traditional gift), and other presents will be given

him separately.”¹¹ The primary task of the Buryat shaman — as can be seen from the promise of a young shaman as quoted above — was thus healing the sick and the elimination of misfortunes brought on by the evil spirits, such as falling off in the cattle or game.¹² Vital parts in the initiation period of the Buryats were study under an older shaman¹³ and the ecstatic initiation experienced as visions. The dead ancestor shamans, the “utcha”, appear before the candidate, teach him, destroy his former ego (the body of the shaman is dissected, his flesh is boiled in a pot) and give birth to a new individual: a shaman.¹⁴ The years of studying as a novice under the guidance of older shamans, during which the novice became thoroughly familiar with the hierarchical system of the deities¹⁵, guaranteed that when initiated the Buryat shaman was an expert on religion with very thorough knowledge. It is thus understandable that the shaman’s field was wider than that of someone merely solving crises. The shaman was called upon to perform rites guaranteeing the fertility of both man and beast and peace and prosperity in the region.¹⁶ As Pater Schmidt points out, the shamans were thus “the real bearers of the religion of the Buryats”.¹⁷ Among other things the shaman had the role of sacrificial priest.¹⁸

The Buryats knew 99 deities: “As for the objects of their worship, there are said to exist 55 supreme *tegris* [another form: *tengri*; divinity, god] in the West, 44 in the East, 99 *tegris* in all; of these 55 (*tegris*) of the West, 50 are to be worshipped with prayers, and five with sacrifices . . .”¹⁹ The concepts of the supranormal of the Central Asian pastoralists with their divine hierarchies²⁰ differ considerably from the beliefs of the northern peoples. This is interesting in that it seems to coincide with the differences appearing on a community basis.

D. COMPARISON AND CONCLUSIONS

30. THE STATUS OF SHAMAN AND ATTAINING IT

30.1. *The status and tasks of the shaman in the community.* The first and most striking feature that arises on examining the shamanic phenomena occurring among the various ethnic groups of Siberia and Central Asia is the diversity appearing at every level of the tradition. This is a matter to be aware of, especially since in stressing uniform practices most general accounts of shamanism create an illusion of a homogenous complex of phenomena. In analyzing Tofa (Karagasy) shamanism Vilmos Diószegi in a notable manner pointed out the variation in tradition to be found among just one ethnic group. Interviewing twenty-one former Tofa shamans showed that besides individual differences they differed in clan, in nature (white and black shaman), and in degree of power and proficiency (small or minor, middle or intermediate and big and powerful shaman).¹ So the shamans of the Tofa — among whom the shaman held a professional status along with highly-developed traditional features — were of varying degree as regards their prestige and influence. If we extend the examination to cover the whole of the Siberian region, the dispersion is naturally even greater, and the differences do not concern merely the concrete manifestations of the tradition but the whole significance and position of shamanism in the life of the community.

Although the shaman's technique of ecstasy and his mode of operation are basically uniform throughout Siberia, it is impossible to construct a uniform model for shamanism as an institution. The status and duties of the shaman in his community constitute the foundation for the entire phenomenon. Attempts to analyse the multi-dimensional picture of the duties of the shaman and the nature of his activities have often sprung up on the basis of popular terms referring to the shaman. Diószegi's analysis of the differences between Tofa shamans brings out the two most common ways of classification: the division of shamans into "black" and "white"², and the noting of their importance³. In trying to outline the position of the shaman in the community these categorizations appear to be useful tools. Closer examination of the grounds for classification, however, shows that they do not provide an answer to the most fundamental issues concerning the status and role of the shaman. The vital point in dividing shamans into black and white — such as differences evident in the colours of the dress or the requisites — is that the

shaman has a relationship with only one specific sector of the spirit world. The division is thus based entirely on the nature of the shaman's supranormal counter-roles. The question of big and small shamans, i.e. the inner categories of shamanism, is also very simple. Dispersion is, on the other hand, caused by the personal abilities of the shaman, such as his psychophysical readiness for ecstatic experiences and his skill at influencing those around him by suggestion⁴, and his practising of the position of shaman when those going through the novice stage are still 'small' shamans.⁵ In deciding on the significance of shamanism and the status of the shaman in his community the orders of importance of shamans, i.e. their abilities or the scale of their supranormal counter-roles, which is chiefly connected with the shaman's working procedure, are insufficient as a basis. When examining the status and tasks of the shaman in his community we can make a relevant analysis only when we can see the manifestations of shamanism as part of the overall development of the culture of the ethnic group in question. The question is whom — what sort of group — was the shaman serving and what was his relation to the said group, i.e. what sort of rights and obligations did he have towards the group and its members. Set against communities of differing social and economic conditions the functions of the shaman differed. The small ethnic groups in the north, living off fishing and hunting, have provided shamanism with a base for growth very different from e.g. the agrarian cultures of the firmly-rooted village communities of Central Asia. As the older descriptive material in particular is difficult to place in its historical-geographical frame, an overall examination of the shamanic phenomena in relation to their socio-economic and ecological setting is no easy matter. At the time the material was collected the tribal communities, dispersed over wide areas, were often highly differentiated socially, economically and also culturally. Take as an example the splitting of the Chukchi and the Koryaks into groups living on the tundra and on the coast and with greatly differing economies and thus cultures.

The groups that constituted the reason for the shaman's activities, i.e. with and for whom he functioned, varied both in composition and in size. In addition to those working for the good of a small circle of relatives or neighbours, there were clan shamans, shamans operating within a larger but clearly defined regional community, and professional shamans to whom anyone might turn for a suitable payment. The extent to which a shaman was tied to a specific group likewise varied in intensity. The shaman of a clan was in this respect differently placed from a professional shaman able to select his clients freely. It is precisely the clan system that provides the guiding line in examining the position of the shaman in the community. As clan systems disintegrated and their economic importance diminished,

so did the community ties or status of the shaman. Although, due to the shortcomings of the material, it is impossible to make an analysis of the position of the shaman covering the whole of Siberia, I shall here try to outline the significance of shamanism to the community and certain basic variations of the shaman's position. I am here forced to make this outline general, but it is important in the sense that on this basis the variations in the entire shamanic tradition, the shaman's tasks, ritual set-ups and requisites and in particular the forms of initiation become understandable. Let it be remembered that the spreading of a tradition and the assimilation of loans also require suitable conditions.

a) *The clan shaman*: A form of shamanism that could be called clan shamanism used to exist among the Yukagirs, the Evenks, the people of the Amur, certain Altaic peoples and e.g. the Sel'kup Samoyeds. The shaman's group of supporters, his clients, were the clan and its members, and representatives of the clan also supervised the selection of the future shaman and controlled his training for his task. Thus the Yukagir shaman was regarded primarily as the protector of the clan and its link with the spirit world. The status of shaman in the Yukagir community was held in high esteem: the shaman was one of the three chiefs of the clan and was the second most influential member of the clan, after the leader proper, who was called the "old man". The extent to which shamanism was bound to the clan system is also reflected in the fact that every Yukagir clan believed it was descended from a shaman, that the shaman had to be of one blood with the original group of the clan, and also the fact that cult objects were made from the bodies of dead shamans, which were worshiped as the guardian deities of the clan. It was the duty of the shaman to protect the clan against any misfortunes and to act as the intermediary between the dead and the living members of the clan. In practice this meant healing the sick, guaranteeing success in hunting and other sources of livelihood, and predicting the success of undertakings both by individual members of the clan and the clan as a whole, e.g. journeys and wars. As it was believed that dead members of the clan sent the souls of children to be born to their relations on earth the shaman, with his ability to communicate with the dead, could also help in cases of childlessness.

Among the Evenks of the Podkamennaya Tunguska a quite special belief complex grew up to maintain the social status of the clan shaman. The clan shaman placed guardian spirits round the clan lands much in the manner of a fence. This fence, the clan *mary'ya*, prevented evil spirits sent by the shamans of enemy clans from entering the area. As the protector of its lands and inhabitants the shaman was of vital importance to the clan, and this

was evident in e.g. the concrete privileges he enjoyed: the shaman took part at clan meetings as one of its leaders, the shaman had to be treated with special respect, he was given the best hunting lands, and so on. The death of the clan shaman meant an acute crisis; at the same time the *marylya* fence he had erected was destroyed. To safeguard the life of the clan a new shaman had to be appointed immediately and a new, protective *marylya* fence erected.

The other belief complex maintaining and reinforcing the clan shamanism of the Evenks was the idea of the mythical shamanistic clan river.⁶ According to Evenk belief every clan had its own special river-road, which in a certain way in fact comprised the independent clan world: on the upper reaches of the river were the clan's immortal souls, in a large tent, on the middle reaches the taiga with its inhabitants, and on the lower reaches the great camp of the dead, headed by an old woman, the mistress. It was along the clan's river-road that the shaman maintained contact between the living and the dead members of the clan. On the death of a clan member the shaman bore his corporeal soul along the river to the camp of the dead clansmen. At the same time the dead man's shadow-soul turned into a new form, and travelled along the clan river to the tent of the souls, from which it returned after a time to earth, giving life to an unborn child. The rivers of different clans lay side by side so that their mouths in the underworld were connected to one another. To prevent hostile spirits from passing from the underworld up the clan river to the abode of the living the shaman placed numerous gates of watchmen-spirits at strategic points. The clan shaman further guarded the store of clan souls on the upper reaches of the river, by means of watchmen-spirits.

In the light of this belief complex the Evenk clan shaman was not only a maintainer of the clan's welfare — he was personally responsible for the life of the clan. In addition to this function and to acting as psychopomp the duties of the Evenk shaman included healing the sick, forecasting, and safeguarding hunting and reindeer breeding. This same functional sector was also characteristic of Nanay and Orochi shamans. As was seen from the above categories of Nanay shamans, not all shamans were capable of carrying out the most demanding tasks. Only shamanizers who had proved themselves able and competent were granted the responsible position of clan shaman.

The clan shaman acted only on behalf of members of his own clan, which is why the Evenks called shamans acting on professional grounds and also taking clients from other clans, a form which became common around the turn of the century, "false" shamans. Although these "false" shamans did heal the sick and make forecasts, they never took part in the rites connected with the clan's source of livelihood. Thus in guaranteeing success in hunting or some other source of livelihood for the clan the shaman specifically re-

presented a particular economic unit. The ethnic groups in which clan shamanism lived on longest for the main part relied chiefly on hunting or fishing as their means of subsistence, in some cases also reindeer breeding on a small scale. Examination of the process by which the Siberian clan communities disintegrated shows that the economic foundation for the clan's coherence, the clan's common lands and joint economic interests, remained significant for longest among precisely those clans relying on these sources of livelihood. On the other hand e.g. the development of large-scale reindeer breeding in the northern tundra regions rapidly destroyed the clan's economic coherence. Thus we can say that areas in which clan shamanism were practised could be found where the clan longest retained at least some of its economic significance. Signs of clan shamanism are, however, also found among ethnic units whose ancient clan structure had already disintegrated. Matters of belief in these cases in fact remained unchanged longest, in addition to certain social conventions concerning e.g. relationship, marriage.

The duties of the clan shaman included not only the protection of individual members of the clan, but above all the maintaining of clan coherence and the safeguarding of its economic interests, such as protection of the clan lands, preventing game from getting lost, also the continued viability of the clan, e.g. through contact with its dead ancestors.

b) *Small group shaman*: Apart from clan shamanism the northern ethnic groups living off hunting, fishing or small-scale reindeer breeding had a sort of small group shamanism. The Nganasans, for example, a group small in number maintaining its ancient livelihood, wild deer hunting, along with highly archaic religious concepts for a long time had spread so far over the region that the clan bore no significance as a regional or economic unit. The place of clans based on blood-relationship was taken by neighbouring communities made up of families representing different clans, hunting together or jointly tending small herds of reindeer. Often these nomadic units, where necessary migrating with the game, were also united by family ties, though this was not essential. Sometimes each of these small nomadic communities had its own shaman. The members of the community acted as the shaman's providers and his clients. Neighbours and relatives acknowledged the shaman initiate, witnessed his authority — as we know from e.g. the notes on the Nganasans made by A. A. Popov — and got him the necessary shaman's attributes. The small group shaman could not become as influential as the clan shaman. In fact the small group shaman comes close to the regional or professional shaman in the sense that he was able to choose his clients more freely. It was not essential to belong to the same clan as the shaman in order to turn to him for help. The fact that the shaman was the performer

of the rites safeguarding the means of livelihood, especially hunting and fishing, speaks for the fact that he was nevertheless the representative of a relatively permanent and stable collective. The shaman's band of supporters comprised a group with joint economic interests, e.g. one engaging in joint hunting. Attending to family ties was not one of the central tasks of the shaman in the neighbour community. In addition to guaranteeing a constant supply of game the Nganasan shaman also healed the sick and helped with difficult births.

c) *I n d e p e n d e n t p r o f e s s i o n a l s h a m a n*: The socio-economic position of the small Paleoasian peoples, such as the Chukchi and the Koryaks, was unusual in the sense that from the 18th century onwards marked social and property divergence as a consequence of the rapid development of large-scale reindeer breeding and trade became grafted onto extremely old forms of family and religious life. No signs of a patriarchal clan system or anything like it have been found among the Chukchi, and some researchers have assumed that they did not have a developed clan system at all. The most important social unit was the camp or village made up of a few families, often fighting for a common livelihood. For example, the *baydar* party of the Coastal Chukchi, jointly hunting sea animals, was originally a unit made up of related families, but later also of neighbours. The villages, on the other hand, could well comprise members from several baydar parties. In the area where large-scale reindeer breeding was practised it was a different matter: the poor families tended the herds of their masters. A special form of religious life found among the Paleoasian peoples was family shamanism. This meant that the big annual festivals connected with the local source of livelihood were celebrated within the working units made up of one or several related families. The performer of the rites was then a member of the family, often some older woman. Every Chukchi family had a drum, and as part of the festivities each member of the family would take the drum in turn, and in other ways imitate the actions of the shaman. Games such as these, taking place outside during the day, cannot be compared with shamanizing proper, which always took place by night in the innermost section of the living tent. One characteristic of the shamans was their ability to command the spirits, and they were in fact called "those with spirits". Family shamanism and the central part played by the family in religious life meant that a shaman proper was not needed to perform the annual rites connected with reindeer breeding, hunting or fishing. The shaman did not have a distinct band of supporters determined by common economic interests or relationship. Instead of the representative of some specific group we find more of a professional shaman operating in a given area and free to choose his clients — a sort of "private

enterprise" shaman. For the poor in particular shamanizing was one way of earning extra money and influence; rich families in turn thought that for the sake of the family's welfare it was advisable to possess a member capable of communicating with the spirits. The reason why northern regional shamans can be called "private enterprise" men is that they were relatively independent, competing as it were with one another. Although it was a question of a clearly professional activity, shamanism as an institution was not very highly developed. Whether a shaman was elected into the profession depended primarily on the approval of his clients, not of older shamans. For example, there is no sign of any ritual becoming of a shaman or official ceremony among the Chukchi. Under the situation the important criterion was the skill of each individual shaman, his ability to arouse wonder and respect in his fellow men. The Chukchi shamans were in fact masters at performing tricks; they also practised a very special manner of manifesting spirit roles, ventriloquism, by which the shaman brought before his audience e.g. the illusion of a dramatic argument between the spirits. The ritual poverty of the actual becoming of a shaman partly links up with the small number or absence of shaman's attributes. Not often did the Chukchi shaman have a shaman's dress proper; if necessary a man shaman might, for example, dress in women's clothes. One notable feature of Paleoasian shamanism was the appearance of the transvestite shaman, which Mircea Eliade, among others, regards as a feature handed down from the matriarchal era. Like the tricks and ventriloquism, the phenomenon may, however, be explainable as an indicator of the unusualness of the shaman and his mysterious supranormal powers. In this case the change of sex could be interpreted as a concrete manifestation of the becoming of shaman.

As Chukchi and Koryak shamans had no band of supporters determined on the basis of relationship or common economic interests, their chief duties remained the solving and forecasting of personal crises thought to be caused by the spirits. They healed the sick, for example, predicted the future and gave advice on matters concerning the supranormal. The status of the shaman in the community depended mainly on his personal skills, and the resolver of incidental crises could not expect to gain the stable and influential status of clan shaman.

Among the Nentsy Samoyeds in Northwest Siberia the development of large-scale reindeer breeding, early contact with the Russians and the growth in the importance of trade brought about a socio-economic situation reminiscent to some extent of Paleoasian conditions. With the disintegration of the clan system and the stratification of the community shamanism appeared to develop specifically in a professional direction.

d) Territorial professional shaman: One feature of the shamanism of the peoples of southern Siberia and Central Asia is the richness of the tradition, evident in the material requisites just as much as in the religious world. Reasons have been sought for the evolution of what have been called the most highly developed forms of shamanism in e.g. loans from the high religions of the south. True, the shamanic systems of, for example, the Mongols and the Buryats, do display the clear influence of Lamaism. On the other hand it seems that although individual traditional features, such as the shaman's dress, drum, concepts of the spirits or the cosmos, vary greatly and are derived from different traditional strata or different areas of tradition, the shamanic systems of some of the peoples of southern Siberia and Central Asia do have certain "structural" uniformities that cannot be explained by loans. The decisive factor is the position and significance of the shaman in the community and with it the forming of the overall functions of shamanism. For example, the initiatory rites of the young shaman, supervised by the representatives of shamanism and not found among northern peoples, are in principle highly similar among, say, the Yakuts and the Buryats, though the traditional content may vary. As regards the southern, "developed" brand of shamanism, we may say that it is highly institutionalized, it is a profession strictly controlled by a "professional body". The unit within which the shaman operates is not the clan but rather a regional entity, often a village (though clan relationships also influence to some extent). The biggest difference compared with clan shamanism is that in a way this form of shamanism has become independent, the close link with the clan has vanished in the sense that representatives of the clan do not, for example, dominate over the future novice or watch over his training. The inner control of shamanism is marked in the training of the novice and the initiatory rites.

The forming of shamanism into an institution with uniform "professional" features in these areas is explained when we note that these people differed from those in the north in their means of livelihood, economy and social structure. The Yakuts, Buryats, Tuvans, Yenisey Kirgiz, southern Altays, including the Telcuits, as well as the horse-breeding Evenks of the Transbaykal were breeders characterized, according to Levin-Potapov, by a patriarchal feudalism.⁷ To some extent the people in question had also gone over to farming, and their settlements were largely permanent. The most important point is that the hierarchical community structure constituted a different basis for the growth of shamanism from the small units based on relationship.

The professional shaman type of the south is represented in its purest form by the *böge* or *idugan* of the Buryats. Becoming a shaman meant years of study, even as many as nine years, under older shamans. During his term

as novice the initiate underwent several dedication ceremonies attended not only by the shaman's relations but also above all many of the older representatives, men and women shamans, of the professional body. The initiate had to become familiar with e.g. the extensive hierarchy of the Buryat deities, which meant that he gradually became an expert in religion with very sound knowledge. The field covered by the Buryat shaman was in fact large. In addition to preventing illness and other misfortunes caused by evil spirits, he performed rites furthering the fertility of people and animals and other aspects of the welfare of the region, often in the form of a sacrificial ceremony.⁸ The appearance of the shaman in the role of sacrificial priest is also found among the Altaic Turks.

30.2. *The initiation process.* The basic features of the initiation process leading to the status of shaman, which are the same throughout Siberia and Central Asia, are determined by the fundamental conditions for acting as shaman. These conditions are (a) ecstatic skill, (b) a knowledge of the supranormal world and the ability to communicate at will with any of its representatives, and (c) the banding together of a trusting group of supporters and the gaining of the recognition of this group. It is only this last factor that distinguishes the shaman from individual ecstasies and seers. The variations, which may even be considerable, in the initiation process in turn depend on the nature of the shaman's position in the community. As has been said before, the rights and obligations of the shaman, likewise the esteem held for his position, vary in communities with different social structures and economies. It is natural that the respected and stable status of the clan shaman calls for a different sort of public initiation from that of the professional shaman with clients here and there. Although the basic elements of the shamanic initiation are the same, other features, such as a) the length of the period as novice, b) the nature and amount of tradition to be internalized, c) the passing on of the tradition or guiding the novice, d) the nature and amount of ritual activity and e) the control of the skill of the initiate, are in accordance with the form of shamanism in question.

The shamanic initiation is usually a long period of preparation that may even take years. There are stories of sudden, exceptional cases, but there are two vital factors to becoming a shaman: a meeting with the supranormal while in a state of ecstasy, from which it can be concluded that the person concerned is capable of mediating between this and the other world, and the gaining of the approval of his future supporters. Examination of the initiation of the Samoyed shaman showed that the novice gradually approaches the status of full shaman step by step. The becoming of a shaman constituted something of a status succession in which the transitions took

the form of either the shaman's inner experiences or of public rites. In the small group shaman areas, especially the clan shamanism regions, and the southern areas with their professional shamanism, the event of becoming a shaman was as a rule a complicated process marked by various novice stages and a gradual increase in skill and the shaman's attributes that were proof of this skill. The number and duration of the novice stages were likewise proportionate to the weight and importance of the shaman's status.

The literature on shamanism contains frequent mentions of the preliminary signs indicating that a girl or boy might be a potential shaman candidate. Nervous sensitivity, illness, a tendency towards private meditation and in particular visions and auditions interpreted as the visitations of spirits proved that the person in question had the qualities necessary in a shaman. Very often these signs became apparent at adolescence, but a major crisis, such as illness, in adults could also lead to shamanizing. An exception are the beliefs surrounding the amnion found in Western Siberia among e.g. the Nentsy, according to which it was possible even at birth to say that a baby would develop into a shaman.⁹ Corresponding beliefs on the becoming of a witch or a sorcerer are extensive even outside the shamanic area.¹⁰ Further, in the area of clan shamanism, among the Evenks, where the becoming of a shaman was controlled by the clan, the clan shaman or clan elders might elect the future shaman for training even as a child. In this case, too, the selection was guided by the nervous state, behaviour and keen attention of the candidate.

According to the shamanic tradition visions, auditions and other such preliminary signs indicated that the spirits required the person experiencing them "in their service". The illness, meditation, withdrawal to the wilderness, etc. of the separation stage in fact often meant a physical isolation from the normal life of the community. The separation stage might well be long; for in the autobiographical accounts of their initiation period many shamans recalled how they fought to the last against the call of the spirits. The work of the shaman was regarded as difficult and dangerous. On the other hand clan shamanism in particular, and the territorial professional shamanism of the south displayed a clear tendency towards the handing down of the position from one member of a family to another. Anisimov, among others, observed that among the Podkamennaya Evenks clear efforts were made to keep the shaman within the family. Alongside the inheritance of the shaman's "gift" the Evenks did, however, also recognise shamanism as a vocation, and Anisimov assumes that hereditary shamanism developed as a late feature influenced by a desire to keep the influential position and privileges of the clan shaman within a particular family.¹¹ In this respect we find an interesting point for comparison in Dioszegi's observations among the Tofas on shamans

and marriages between shamans, which really did assure that the post remained within the family.¹²

Hereditary shamanism has often been interpreted as a natural consequence of the genetic inheritance of the rare psychophysical make-up needed to command the technique of ecstasy. It is true that the basis for being elected a shaman is always the ability to undergo ecstatic experiences and that an inherited psychophysical sensitivity and the opportunity to observe the work of a shaman and internalize the necessary knowledge even as a child provided the members of a shaman family with greater scope for the task than in normal families. There are, however, a couple of weighty arguments that set us seeking for the grounds for the inheritance of shamanism within a family elsewhere: 1) inheritance is not a typical feature of all shamanic practices in Siberia, and 2) as was pointed out before¹³, even a person of normal psychophysical make-up can, through the shamanic technique of ecstasy, aspire towards an altered state of consciousness. The belief complex typical of each brand of shamanism played a vital role in maintaining practices observing both hereditary and free, vocation-like selection. One aspect they all have in common is that the shaman was regarded as being elected by the spirits. The concepts of what these spirits were like and how the future shaman comes up against them in turn link up with the nature of the shamanism in question. The scale of the shaman's supranormal counter-roles is in itself large; the actual spirit-helpers — the supranormal beings called upon by the shaman during séances and through which he contacts the other world — represent only a small part. Also, these actual spirit-helpers are not necessarily — though they may sometimes be — the spirit beings from whom the novice obtains the "gift" of shamanizing. The supranormal counter-roles of the novice stage, the spirits who select the novice, teach him, initiate him and give him his real spirit-helpers or remain his helpers during his life as shaman, may represent different spirit categories in one and the same novice. Examination of these spirit categories in turn illustrates the connections between selection as shaman and in particular shaman inheritance within a family.

In the northern part of Siberia the spirits influencing selection as shaman are spirits of Nature. Among the Paleoasian peoples, whose shaman I described as an independent professional shaman, shamanism as an institution had not developed a very great richness of form. The mysteries of the separation and transition stages were emphasized in the process of becoming a shaman, whereas the ritual proclamation of status belonging to the incorporation stage was missing almost completely. A very typical tale is that of another Koryak shaman met by Jochelson, according to whom the spirits of the wolf, the raven, the bear, the sea-gull and the plover appeared before

him in the wilderness — sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of an animal, and commanded him to submit to being a shaman. Had he failed to begin shamanizing, he would have met destruction.¹⁴ Bogoras points out that with the Chukchi the shamanistic call is also manifest by various omens, such as meeting a certain animal, finding a stone or a shell of peculiar form, and so on. These objects are not necessarily special in themselves, but they become significant when the novice recognises them in a mystic way.¹⁵ Although a strange event, sudden danger or some other crisis could lead to shamanship, the most common way was the appearance of spirits during long periods of illness and sleep. In addition to those of zoomorphic from the shamanic spirits could be inanimate objects, stones, even household utensils. It is of note that we have no knowledge of any supranormal counter-roles connected especially with the novice stage among the Paleoasians. The spirits demanding the services of the future shaman remain his spirit-helpers. The same also applies to the Eskimos: the animals that torture the future shaman during his period as a novice become his spirit-helpers.¹⁶

Spirits of Nature are also regarded as controlling the process of being selected as a shaman among the Ngarasan shamanism described as small group shamanism. The experiences of the shaman interviewed by Popov display an infinite richness of detail in the visions connected with becoming a shaman. The spirits influencing the process of becoming a shaman in fact represent more than one category of the supranormal. Dyukhadin becomes a shaman at the command of the Lords of the Water, the Lady of the Water suckles him, and her husband, the Lord of the Underworld, gives him two guiding spirits, an ermine and a mouse, which act as the novice's teacher and guide in the other world. The shaman is initiated by quite separate spirits, smith spirits, who dissect the novice's body and forge it on their anvil. The novice does not get his proper spirit-helpers until he has experienced his ecstatic initiation.¹⁷ Similarly Dyaruskin's guiding spirit during his period as novice, his counsellor on the mysteries of shamanship, is a spirit of Nature, the spirit of melting snow. This guiding spirit vanishes once the shaman is capable of journeying in the other world alone. The initiation is conducted by "the origin of the shaman", a man and a woman smith spirit.¹⁸

The role played by spirits of Nature in determining the becoming of a shaman reflects the direct relationship with nature of the northern peoples. Religion was not community-oriented: it centred around various owners and guardians of Nature whose domain extended over a wider or smaller area. If we compare these beliefs surrounding the becoming of a shaman with e. g. those connected with clan shamanism, we note the minor or non-existent significance of ancestor spirits. This is natural when we remember

that neither of the forms shamanism described above is supported by any specific group determined on the basis of family relationship. Since the basis of shamanship is contact with the spirit beings of Nature, the inheritance of shamanship within a family is by no means essential or regular either. For example, most of the Chukchi shamans known to Bogoras claimed they had acquired the skill of shamanizing themselves.¹⁹ However, we also know of the Chukchi that shamanic "power" could be transferred from one person to another by e.g. blowing into the ear or the mouth or by sprinkling blood. A blowing rite of this type probably meant precisely the transfer of shamanic spirit-helpers.

The Evenk shaman Semyon Semyonov from the Lower Tunguska said that a person cannot become a shaman unless he has shaman ancestors.²⁰ The protective status of an *ancestor shaman* and the passing down of his spirits from one generation to the next is in fact the basic idea of many types of beliefs concerning the becoming of a shaman in the clan shamanism area. The Evenks of the Transbaykal said that a dead shaman appeared before a candidate and ordered him to be his successor. Apart from selecting a candidate the shaman ancestors might appear as the novice's supranormal teachers or even as the initiators carrying out the dissection operation, as is reported in the Lower Tunguska.²¹ An ancestor shaman might also appear as a shaman's spirit-helper proper: Semyon Semyonov said that when he shamanized his ancestor spoke through his mouth. In his article on how Evenks became shamans G. M. Vasilevich points out that in addition to spirits in bird and animal form "a major group of assistants consisted of the spirits of shaman ancestors".²² These family shaman's spirits were regarded as being inherited primarily within the family, the clan. The idea provides a natural basis for the family inheritance of shamanism. The position of the ancestor shaman and his inherited spirits is not emphasized only among the Evenks but also elsewhere in the clan shamanism area as well. Among the Yukagirs, every clan of which was descended from a shaman, the family's shaman's spirits were passed down from father to son. The practices of the Altaic Sagays are illustrated by the account of shaman Kyzlasov: "Our shamans . . . become shamans by the will of the family's shaman spirits, or by the will of the spirits of the mountain or of a spirit of some sickness."²³ Even when a person becomes a shaman by the will of the spirit of the mountain, i.e. a spirit of Nature, the ancestor shaman of the clan is ultimately responsible, and it was to him that the Sagay novice also turned in the rites of his incorporation stage. Anyone wishing to become a shaman might also make a sacrifice to the clan's ancestor shaman and ask him for spirits.

The idea of inherited shaman spirits did not necessarily vanish as clan shamanism turned into professional shamanism tied to an area. Thus according

to the concepts of the Buryats the spirits of ancestor shamans teach the novice and conduct his initiation.²⁴ The people assembled at the installation of a Buryat shaman likewise sing "to the sacred ancestors and other deities".²⁵

The *idea of the erotic relationship between the novice and the spirits* singling him out for shamanship is much to the fore in the Amur area. The *ajami* of the Nanay shaman, the tutelary spirit of the novice stage, who instructs the candidate in the affairs of the other world and confers on him the spirits needed in shamanizing, was thought to have human form. The shaman lived with her as with a marriage partner. References to a sexual relationship between the shaman and a spirit are found in different parts of Siberia, e.g. among the Yakuts, Shors, Sel'kups, Chukchi and Teleuts, and L. J. Shternberg regarded them as so important that he put forward a theory concerning sexual selection in shamanism.²⁶ Concepts of a marital relationship between a human and some supranormal being are by no means peculiar to shamanism, however, and they belong more to the conventional themes of mythology appearing in different forms. The Nanay *ajami* is one of the inherited shaman's spirits. More important than the fact that the *ajami* is the candidate's spirit wife is the fact that it was also the spirit wife of the candidate's predecessors, his ancestor shamans. The Nanay shaman is thus 'a person who has inherited the shaman's spirits of the family'. This feature may be regarded as a characteristic of clan shamanism.

The smith spirits of the Nganasans, the "origin of shamanship" mentioned earlier, who correspond to the "dissector spirits" mentioned by the Nenets in their shamanic songs, in fact constitute a unique spirit category associated only with initiation as a shaman. Concepts of *special spirits connected with becoming a shaman* are also found among other peoples. In the initiation tales of the Yakut shamans, rich in mythological themes, the spirits take the shaman's soul to the upper or lower world, and nurture and teach it in a special house,²⁷ on a mountain²⁸ or on the branches of the big shamanic tree.²⁹ The actual initiation, the dissection of the shaman's body, could be conducted by the evil *abaasy* spirits³⁰, the spirits of ancestor shamans³¹ or the shaman's Animal Mother.³² The Animal Mother, who is sometimes conceived as the incarnation of the shaman's *kut* soul, a sort of invisible dual being of the shaman in whose guise (e.g. as an elk or a deer) the shaman fights against other shamans³³, often appears as a bird with iron feathers reminiscent of an eagle in the reports of visions telling of a shaman's initiation. This bird broods the soul of the future shaman in her nest in the shamanic tree until the soul hatches out of the egg.³⁴ The Animal Mother idea also seems to connect up naturally with the beliefs surrounding the becoming of a shaman in that it was thought to appear only three times in a shaman's life: at his birth, during his supranormal initiation, and on his death. Although the

spirits of ancestor shamans do play some part in the initiation reports of the Yakuts, they are by no means to the fore. Ultimately the process of becoming a shaman could be guided by not only various evil spirit beings and the Animal Mother but also by the highest deities. In the initiation reports of the Yakuts more emphasis is placed on the idea 'the shaman has undergone mysteries and is thus a unique person' than on the idea 'the shaman is a person who has inherited the family's shaman spirits'. The former epithet may well serve as a description of Siberian shamanism as such; among the Yakuts this feature is, however, extremely highly emphasized. Note that although the inheriting of shamanism within a family was common among the Yakuts, it was still not the rule.³⁵

The mysteries of the initiation period took place during the transition stage, to which the candidate proceeded after accepting the call of the spirits. Confessing to be a shaman candidate also meant studying the practical skill necessary in the shaman's future task — the technique of drumming and singing and various rites. Within the realm of clan shamanism in particular and the territorial professional shamanism of the south the transition stage constituted a concrete study period during which some older shaman instructed the candidate in the art of shamanizing. During the transition period the candidate finally internalized the shamanic tradition. It was not enough for him to learn the words to the songs or get to know the complete range of spirit beings. In his ecstatic experiences he had to transform the knowledge into part of his range of experience so that the supranormal world, its topography and the spirit beings dwelling there, merged with this world into one jointless picture of the world. For this reason the transition stage was marked by study of the ecstatic role-taking technique. Fasting and singing, the candidate concentrated on making contact with the "benevolent spirits" and thus forming his most important supranormal counter-roles, his spirit-helpers. According to shamanic belief the novice got his knowledge from the spirits. However, only the individual professional shamanism of the Paleoasians contains no indications of organized instruction in shamanizing. Remembering that this was the area of family shamanism, in which virtually any youngster might study the art of drumming in the course of festive occasions, it is understandable that study of e.g. drumming technique was relatively easy for anyone intending to become a shaman.

Apart from the concepts of the supranormal the candidate also internalized his knowledge of what the initiation experiences should be like during the transition stage. The stories of journeys to the other world and meetings with various spirit beings were moulded in content and structure according to the shamanic tradition peculiar to each ethnic group. Themes common throughout Siberia in these stories are the outlining of the structure of the

cosmos, recognition of its most important aspects (the cosmic tree, mountain, stream, etc.), and knowledge of the roads leading to the supranormal, the abodes of the spirits, and above all the spirit beings possibly influencing human life, such as disease spirits, the guardians of game, and so on. This mapping out of the supranormal was at times so precise that (as was the case with e.g. Nganasan shamans) it was possible to deduce the whole future range of the shaman's tasks on the basis of his initiatory visions, even which illnesses he would be capable of healing. The culmination of the transition stage is the *ecstatic initiation*, the experience during which the candidate feels that the spirits turn him into a shaman. The visions of ecstatic initiation repeat the themes of death and rebirth, the spirits tearing at and dissecting the candidate's former ego and then reconstructing him and investing him with supernatural powers, a shaman able to "see" and "hear". At the same time the candidate might be urged by the spirits to act as a shaman and receive a *promise* that the spirits will help him in his future task.

Experiencing the visions of the transition stage is still not enough to gain the status of shaman. The candidate, who up till now has concentrated only on his own inner experience, must prove his competence for the task and gain the approval of his future band of supporters. By means of various test shamanizings and public rite performances the young novice begins to test the vital side of the shaman's work: will he be capable of satisfying the needs of his band of supporters. This incorporation stage shows what the young shaman is capable of, and what sorts of tasks he can be entrusted with. In other words his position as a "great" or "small" shaman begins to be established. As I mentioned earlier in speaking of the status of the shaman, the public rites and installation ceremonies during the incorporation stage vary greatly in number and nature, observing the variations in the institutionalization of the shaman's status and each shamanic system. In small group shamanism the rites of the incorporation stage clearly link up with the increase in the shaman's attributes at regular intervals; the neighbours and relations who have made the attributes take part in the ceremonies. Such practices are also found in the clan shamanism area. The unique nature of clan shamanism is, however, reflected most typically in the great test events for the would-be shaman, which would be attended by the whole clan and at which the ancestor shamans were first appealed to with prayers and sacrifices for help in finding a suitable animal as the shaman's attribute.³⁶ In the territorial professional shamanism of the south the rites of the incorporation stage developed into quite separate installation rites. For example, the numerous installation rites of the Buryat shaman, requiring splendid requisites and attended by a large crowd of practisers of shamanism, stressed the stable and unique position of the profession as the mediator between

man and the spirit world rather than the importance of the mystery privately experienced by the novice. During the final installation ceremony the Buryat novice made a promise that he would free people from their illnesses and their suffering. Although the fate of the Buryat shaman was thought to be decided by the spirits (a dead ancestor shaman appeared before the candidate, taught him and changed him into a shaman during his ecstatic experience), becoming a shaman meant being installed as a representative of the professional body of shamans. On entering on his tasks the novice promises to meet the obligations placed on the representatives of his profession.

31. CONSTRUCTING THE SHAMANIZING SÉANCE AS A REFLECTOR OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE NORMAL AND THE SUPRANORMAL WORLDS

31.1. *The shaman: the expert in reciprocal ecstatic communication between the normal and the supranormal.* The shaman's function as mediator between the normal and the supranormal worlds is based on systems of beliefs according to which difficulties threatening the even pace of life are caused by representatives of the spirit world, and they can be forestalled and eliminated with the help of benevolent spirits. There are several methods used in the areas in which shamanism appears thought to influence the working of supranormal beings. Characteristic of the functioning of the shaman is precisely the creation of direct and reciprocal states of communication directed at the spirit world. The shaman is thus first and foremost a supplier of information and a "negotiator", whose task is to find out the measures required to resolve a crisis that has already arisen or to prevent crises in the future. Although the tasks of the shaman vary somewhat in different communities, they do have one thing in common in that direct communication with the spirit world is always considered necessary in carrying out the shaman's duties. A shamanic rite is not made shamanistic merely by the nature of the task to be carried out, i.e. the aim of the rite, but by the way in which that goal is aimed at. The shamanic rite is an attempt to solve the problems of the normal world through ecstatic contact with the supranormal. Thus the shaman's duties and status reflect, as has been stated before, the socio-economic structures of different communities. Observation of the types of rites typical of the various regions of Siberia shows that the variation in the shaman's duties therefore primarily concerns ritual proceedings that a) are connected with the means of livelihood, b) promote the common interests of the family or clan, c) maintain family connections or d) promote the common well-being of a group of people deter-

mined on some other basis. Such rites were held e.g. to guarantee success in hunting, fishing or some other such occupation, to protect the clan's lands, to promote the well-being, increase and development of the family, to bear the souls of the dead to the family underworld, etc. The most important of the shaman's roles, and one common to all branches of shamanism, is, however, that of the healer. The large majority of the accounts of séances concerning Siberian shamanism deal with the act of healing; likewise the central themes of the initiatory visions tell of how the novice got to know the demons causing disease. The shaman as prophet also seems to be universally part of the role-set. Often forecasting is part of some other activity of the shaman as something of a border case. For example, an event held to heal a sick patient may contain a stage during which the shaman tries to answer questions put to him by the audience. Apart from healing and forecasting the shaman's tasks thus seem to vary in different parts of Siberia. Of importance here is the fact that the method of execution, the shamanic séance, is roughly the same everywhere regardless of the nature of the tasks. The similarity primarily concerns the structure of the rite, which reflects the process of ecstatic communication between the shaman and the supranormal. The biggest differences observable in ritual proceedings, which are manifest primarily in the wealth of requisites, the expansion or increase in ritual functions and the relationship between the shaman and his audience, seem to be explained by the status of the shaman in the community. Thus it may be claimed that *the shaman is a rite expert whose status, i.e. rights and obligations, vary from one community to another. This being the case, the ritual system characteristic to the shaman, the process of ecstatic communication between the shaman and representatives of the supranormal, is relatively uniform, with only minor variations in the basic structures, yet reflecting, in such details as the nature and amount of requisites, the position of the shaman in his community.*

Thus the goals of a rite differ, but it remains a fundamental fact that a shamanic séance is never held without some serious reason. Even when a séance was held as something of a demonstration at an observer's request the performer in question always tried to invent a reason, such as finding out about matters concerning those present in the future. Contacting the spirit world is not only difficult, it is also dangerous. In order to help his band of supporters at critical points in their lives the shaman places his own well-being and even his life — as shamans themselves often say — at stake. Even though this naturally ecstatic course of action affords a certain potential for improvisation, the seriousness and danger of the task on hand ensure that the traditional ritual is observed as closely as possible.

31.2. *The structure of the séance as a reflector of forms of communication.* The

shamanic séance is a functional system aimed at executing a certain task, its fundamental being one of communication. The dramatic tension of the rite passes between the audience and the supranormal via the shaman: he bears information from both sides to be used in achieving the real goal of the rite and resolving a critical situation, for example, by means of some suitable sacrifice. The events, the acts, and the episodes or sequences are connected in a logical order from the point of view of the rite as a whole. Since the shamanic rite is specifically a process based on communication, the structure of the rite reflects the interaction of those attending and those imagined as participating in the rite. Or rather: because the shaman must create some of the participants by means of his ecstatic role-taking capacity, the structure of the rite reflects the construction, manifestation and through this contact with role figures as well as the sending away of figures created. The chief episodes reflecting the course of this communication, the sequences of the rite, stand out very clearly in the accounts of séances analysed, and there are seven in all: the preparatory stage (1), actualization of the spirit-helpers (2), meeting the spirit-helpers (3), meeting the disease spirit (4), the shaman's journey (5), deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6) and termination of the shamanizing (8). Sequence number 7 is a sort of collection box for any ritual functions that are unique or that are only met with among a certain people. The first two sequences are a regular part of the shamanic séance, the next three are parallel or alternative, while the final sequences (6 and 8) are a relatively established part of the séance as an entity though they vary in form.

Thinking of the process of the séance as a whole, the aim of the regular initial sequences, the preparation (1) and the actualization of the spirit-helpers (2), is to make the following events possible. Acts which primarily aim at placing the shaman in an altered state of consciousness and thus capable of manifesting spirit roles, are all preparation for the decisive events. The events aiming at achieving the goal of the séance constitute the middle sequences of the rite (3, 4 and 5). Meeting the spirit-helpers (3), meeting the disease spirit (4) and the shaman's journey (5) are all episodes during which the confrontation between the shaman and the supranormal is manifest. The variation or parallelism in these forms of communication has a decisive influence on the basic structure of the séance. The final sequences in the séance, the deactualization of the spirit-helpers (6) and the termination of the shamanizing (8), have two functions from the point of view of the séance as an entity: during them the success of the rite is confirmed and the chances of communicating with the supranormal in the future are maintained. For the shaman they mark a return to a waking reality. He has to make sure that at this stage at the latest those present are informed of the success of the rite, etc.

The sequence signa (1—8) reflect the logical course of the séance in that if all the sequences appeared in the same séance they would in all probability follow one another in just this numerical order. This principle is not, however, absolute or without exceptions, and in extensive ritual proceedings in particular the sequences in the middle stage (3, 4, 5) may be recurrent. By examining alternative and parallel forms of communication directed at the supranormal the following structural models can be deduced for séance entities:

Basic séance structures¹

I	The shaman meets the spirits in this world:	Ia	(1) — 2 — 3 — 6 — (8)
		Ib	(1) — 2 — 4 — 6 — (8)
II	The shaman meets the spirits in both worlds:	IIa	(1) — 2 — 3 — 5 — 6 — (8)
		IIb	(1) — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — (8)
III	The shaman meets the spirits in the other world:	III	(1) — 2 — 5 — 6 — (8)

The three chief structural types of shamanizing séances (I, II and III) differ in the way they represent the forms of communication between the shaman and the supranormal. These forms of communication or contact are built on a simple basic distinction: in order to obtain contact with his spirit helpers the shaman must either get them to come to him in the normal world or visit their dwellings in the supranormal world. In combinations of these forms of contact the shaman meets the spirits in this world and also travels to the other world. Emphasis on the origin or essence of the various ways of meeting the spirits has given rise to controversy over the fundamental nature of shamanism: Findeisen saw possession as the essence of shamanism (one manifestation form or sequence 3), whereas many others have claimed that shamanism is equivalent to 'the journey of the soul' — i.e. sequence 5. Argument as to which way of meeting the spirits is foremost is fruitless unless an analysis is made of the ways in which these forms appear side by side or as alternatives and why.

Obviously the significance of these forms of communication and their functional connections spring from the shamanic belief system in question. Sequence 3, which includes the meeting of shaman and spirits in this world,

is primarily an information event. During the meeting the shaman receives information on problematic affairs from the spirits. The shaman may attempt to influence matters in the supranormal world only through his spirit-helpers. Sequence 5, the shaman's journey, is broader in meaning and potential. During the journey to the other world the shaman is able to contact not only his spirit helpers but also the most varied of supranormal beings. The central and most common purpose of journeying to the other world is to fetch a lost soul. The idea is based on the explanation for illness 'loss of the soul', i.e. a person falls ill when the principle influencing his vitality, his soul or part of it, gets lost or falls into the hands of spirit beings of evil intent. Note that the search for and returning of the soul as the content of the shaman's journey has extended beyond the healing rites proper. A good supply of game might be guaranteed by fetching the soul of a game animal from the guardian of the given species of animal, cases of infertility could be put right by fetching the soul of a child to be born from the other world, and so on. The reasons for journeys to the other world were not always the returning of a soul. Typical examples are the bearing of the soul of a sacrificial animal to a particular deity, the accompanying of the soul of a dead person to the land of the dead, the seeking of information on a particular matter in the other world. The issue is thus the meeting of supranormal beings — benevolent and evil ones and ones in any category — in the normal world.

The b-groups of types I and II differ from the a-groups only in that they contain sequence 4, meeting the disease spirit. This sequence is a special case in the sense that unlike meeting the spirit-helpers (3) or the shaman's journey (5) it occurs only in a certain type of rite, the healing operation. If the disease is thought to be caused by a demon entering or tormenting the patient, the shaman must banish the demon in order to cure the patient. In principle sequences 4 and 5 are thus alternatives. On the other hand these explanations for illness also appear side by side in certain regions, such as among the Evenks. The most typical demon explanation is found in East, Central and Northeast Siberia. Since the shaman is liable to journey to the other world for very different purposes, sequence 5 may also be part of séances in which the shaman's chief task is to banish a demon. Naturally the reason for the shaman's journey is then no longer the execution of a healing operation proper, but something of an additional element with roots in the system of beliefs in question. Among the Minusa Tatars, for example, the banishing of the demon is followed by the fetching of medicine from the other world, while among the Podkamennaya Evenks the shaman's journey following the banishment of a demon has the function of revenge: the shaman, accompanied by his spirit-helpers, sets off to seek revenge on the shaman of a strange clan who sent the demon causing the disease.

The variation in the basic structure of shamanic séances thus links up with the variation in shamanic belief systems. However, this does not in itself explain the popularity of various séance models. The form of both belief complexes and their ritual manifestations, séances, is determined by the community basis. The alternation to be found in forms of communication or the grounds for the popularity of different types can be explained by examining the areas, i.e. the shamanic systems of which they are typical and the reasons why this is so.

The basic structures of séances can be recognised even from rough accounts of Siberian shamanism. Their adherence to scheme and the grounds for variation can be illustrated by classifying the accounts of séances analysed by structural type:

Basic structures of séances analysed²

Type	Ethnic group	Sequences
Ia	Chukchi (13I)	1 — 2* — 3 ... (6)*
	Chukchi (15)	1 — 2* — 3* — 6* — 8
	Koryaks (16)	1 — 2 — 3 — 8
Ib	Yukagirs (< Koryaks) (11)	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 6 — 8
IIa	Yukagirs (9)	1 — 2 — 3 — 5 — 6
	Yukagirs (10)	1 — 2 — 3 — 5 — 6
	Khants (20)	1 — 2 — 3 — 5
	Nanays (25)	1 — 2 — 3 — 7 — 5 — 6 — 8
	Orochi (26)	1 — 2 — 3 — 5 — 6 — 8
IIb	Evenks (22)	1 — 2 — 3 — 5 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 5 — 7
	Chinese shaman (Manchus) (23)	1 — 2 — 3 — 5 — 7 — 4 — (2 — 3 — 4)
	Tatars (28)	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 8
III	Nentsy (18)	1 — 2 — 7 — 5 — 7
	Sel'kups (19)	1 — 2 — 5 — 6 — 7 — 8
	Chukchi (13II)	1 — 2 — 5 — 8
	Yukagirs (12)	1 — 2 ...

The basic distinction thus lies in the alternation or combination of sequences 3 and 5. It is significant that whether the shaman meets the spirits in this or the other world depends on the modes of manifestation of the spirit roles. The types of manifestation of the spirit roles in turn appear to be dependent

on the relationship between the shaman and the audience, i.e. the position and importance of the shaman, or rather shamanism, in the community.

Structural type III comprises simple séances containing only opening and closing sequences plus the shaman's journey, sequence 5, and possibly some incidental rites. This type of séance is common in northern and certain western parts of Siberia. The mode of manifesting spirit roles is a sort of visionary experiencing of the affairs of the spirit world. It is worth noting that in these regions the spirits of Nature play the most significant part both as the shaman's spirit helpers and as the selectors of the shaman candidate. On the other hand spirit beings specifically described as "shamanic" are found in these connections, e.g. the initiation is conducted by special smith spirits, "the origin of the shamans". Features indicating family ties or clan coherence are not particularly emphasized in the shamanic complex. Structural type III without doubt represents the archaic tradition, which naturally expresses the animistic view of the world of the small hunting communities. It can be regarded as characteristic of small group shamanism.

Structural type Ia is represented by the special forms of Paleoasian shamanism, the dual role created by means of ventriloquism — or rather the multiple role situation. The marching in of a large group of spirits one after the other incurs a repetition of sequences 2, 3 and 6. Structural type Ia can thus be regarded as typical precisely of the individual professional shaman in the north, for whom it was important to maintain continued contact with the audience and who thus went into only a light trance. Note that séance type III was also found in the same regions, but this form of tradition diminished as type Ia gained in popularity.

Structural type II, the combination of sequences 3 and 5, is found above all in the clan shamanism regions and the territorial, professional shamanism areas of the south. Especially typical as the mode of manifesting spirit roles in clan shamanism in East Siberia is role-identification. In this case the shaman's chief spirit, the object of identification, is most often an ancestor shaman or a spirit inherited from an ancestor shaman. It seems that the rise in popularity of role-identification, i.e. the possession-type séance, links up with the development of clan shamanism. The shaman then first invokes a spirit important to the family and only then journeys to the other world. Structural type II includes the longest and most intricate séances. In great shamanizing events sequences 3, 5 and also 4 might appear as repeating variations. For example, among the pastoralists of the south, whose shaman was a versatile expert in religion, the function of sequence 5 might be the making of a sacrifice to some higher deity. The sacrificial and forecasting measures of a type not conforming with the above forms of communication between the shaman and the supranormal are included as separate events

in sequence 7. Most of the sacrificial and forecasting measures are, however, organically linked with the meeting of shaman and spirits as separate acts.

31.3. *The nature of the functional elements or actemes of the séance process.* The description of the preparatory stage is sometimes cursory, sometimes exact, depending on the account. Most attention is paid to the shaman's dress, the tuning of the drum, and any cleansing rites. Actemes A, B and C are then broad in content and mainly refer to the settling down and concentration of those taking part in the rite and a few measures aimed at breaking the contact with everyday reality. The setting for the rite is usually simple: the séance is held after dark in a dwelling with a fire in the middle and from which light can be completely excluded during the course of the séance. Night and darkness are essential for the séance as the spirits were thought to shun light. In the area of clan shamanism and territorial professional shamanism the séance often expanded into a performance with a mighty setting. In the Podkamennaya Tunguska, for example, the shaman, who was in a special position as protector of the clan, held the séance in a tent erected especially for the occasion. The special construction of the tent and the wealth of requisites created a precise picture of the shamanic concept of the world; represented were not only the middle world inhabited by humans but also the upper and lower worlds of the other side with their spiritual beings. In fact this *shevenchedek* construction reflects the same aspects as the shaman's songs — the cosmic stream and the cosmic tree as landmarks in the topography of the other world and various types of spiritual beings, most of them the shaman's spirit-helpers — only the mode of representation is different. For the shaman the construction was thus an aid to concentrating on the other reality. More important, perhaps, was the effect the construction had on the audience, who helped to erect it, at the same time judging the events of the coming séance from the requisites. Anisimov describes the rising tension. The séance was attended by the whole clan, and the hybrid form of the shaman's preparations can be seen as a reflection of the stable and influential status of the clan shaman. Generally speaking it seems clear on comparing forms of the tradition that the representative of a larger number of people or an established brand of shamanism tried to resort to not only theatrical rite technique but also more splendid and numerous requisites than the shaman with only a small band of supporters or the shaman acting only temporarily in that capacity. Thus e.g. in transporting the soul of a dead representative of his clan to the underworld the Nanai shaman executed a ritual act of many stages using objects specially prepared for the purpose. This explains the various shamanic trees and other constructions erected near the site of the séance. The function of the preparatory stage in the

séance as a whole is to create the setting for the task to be performed and to get the participants at the séance, both the shaman and the audience, in the right frame of mind.

The sequence actualizing the spirit-helpers is surprisingly uniform throughout Siberia. The episode acts as a trance induction phase and the events follow the shaman's concentration and self-assembling process. Acteme D, called 'preliminary singing', is explained by shamans almost without exception as being an invocation to the spirits. It is most usually manifest by imitating the sounds of zoomorphic spirits. Alternative customs, i.e. alloacts, are the listing of the names of spirits or the shouting of simple invocations. The shamanic songs proper at the stage in which the spirits are invoked, the content of the songs following the belief tradition in question, are denoted acteme E. Recurring themes are 'a call or request for a reply addressed to a spirit-helper', 'description of the journeying of a spirit-helper', 'a description of the topography of the other world', etc. The songs further include various enticing themes, such as a report of the feast awaiting the spirit, or references to the omnipotence of the spirits and the reasons behind the invocation. The assistant or even all those present might repeat the invocatory shouts along with the shaman. However, this is only to support the shaman, and neither the assistant nor the audience have any role carrying the séance forward at this stage. The shaman's spirit-helpers, his benevolent supranormal counter-roles, are in themselves very varied, and each ethnic group has a very special history behind their formation. Apart from the shaman ancestors which occur especially in the area of clan shamanism, the most important groups of spirit-helpers comprise various zoomorphic assistants, such as figures in the shape of a wolf, bear, deer, owl or diver. In the northern regions (small group shamanism and Palcoasian professional shamanism) the shaman's spirit-helpers are usually spirits of Nature. The most typical species of animal in the range of spirits reappear all over the shamanism area; true, there is some natural variation as a result of ecological and occupational factors.

The sequences in the middle section of the séance, meeting the spirit-helpers (3), meeting the disease spirit (4) and the shaman's journey (5), contain the functional episodes proper during which the measures important to the ultimate goal of the rite are carried out. The key actemes to the episodes, i.e. the functions aiming at the ultimate goal of the rite, come in the middle of the sequences. In this sense the inner structure of these sequences corresponds to the overall structure of the rite. Sequence 3 regularly begins with a manifestation of the arrival of the spirit-helper (G). The indication of the arrival of the spirit naturally varies according to how the counter-role is to be manifest during the following scenes (H). For example, in séances

including possession the shaman uses dramatic gestures to express that possession takes place immediately on the arrival of the spirit. In general the arrival of the spirit-helper is manifest clearly either by a verbal description, movement and mimic, or imitation of the sounds of the spirit. The actual meeting with the spirit (H) contains the exchange of information between this world and the other one and in performance technique observes alternative traditions. If acteme 3H is not dramatic or does not inform the audience of the results of the meeting between the shaman and the spirit a separate act (S) is required to inform those present. Contacts with the spirits and again with the audience may be repeated in several successive episodes. On the other hand the audience may participate in the course of the séance by making comments or demanding additional explanations. The information acteme S is one of the most important stages in the séance; during it the shaman expresses his success in the task on hand and at the same time strengthens his position in the eyes of his supporters. The acteme is regularly a part of both sequence 3 and also sequences 4 and 5.

The rite technique aimed at banishing the disease demon is made up of actions following one another in the same order as the actemes manifesting the meeting with the spirit-helpers. The shaman first indicates that the demon is present either by addressing it (J) or by manifesting its arrival (K). The appearance of the demon at the shamanizing site is manifest in just the same way as the coming of the spirit-helpers proper. Since this is an evil spirit to be banished, the meeting between the shaman and the demon is a battle during which the latter is forced to leave first by persuasion (L) and finally by means of a direct attack (M). The removal of the demon (N) thus regularly comes at the end of the sequence.

Perhaps the greatest variation is to be seen in the rite technique by which the shaman manifests his journey to the supranormal. The journey often includes loss of consciousness. It may be imagined as taking place during a state of unconsciousness, in which case a report of the journey is given later as an informative episode. Loss of consciousness may likewise indicate only the moment of arrival in the underworld. In this case the journeys there and back are described verbally or in mime. Although the true shamanic trance is regarded as specifically containing loss of consciousness and the idea of the 'shaman's journey' is an established part of the shaman's complete loss of consciousness (Ohlmarks, for example, speaks of "great" shamanizing along side "small" shamanizing ending in only a light trance), deep trance does not necessarily characterize séances in which the shaman is thought to travel to the underworld. The shaman's journey may also be depicted merely in words. In the Samoyed regions of northwest Siberia in particular, where the visionary verbal tradition is more characteristic of the shaman's

behaviour than dance or mimic, the shaman may manifest his journey simply in song, describing the various stages. The shaman's journey acteme (P) usually includes a special scene during which the shaman manifests his return to this world (Q), e.g. by a joyous shout "I am here, I have returned". At the end of the sequence comes an act (S) aiming at informing the audience, during which the shaman gives an account of the stages and results of his journey. If the purpose of the journey was, for example, to fetch a soul for healing purposes, the sequence takes in a soul-returning rite proper in which the shaman concretely indicates that he has returned the missing part to the patient.

The deactualization of the spirits and the termination of the shamanizing are the final parts in the séance. It seems that a waning in the interest of observers has in some cases led to scanty notes on the final stages of séances. The details given of the ritual action connected with the termination of the séance are disjointed and incomplete. It also seems that the termination of the shamanizing or the relinquishing of the role of shaman takes place in very many ways, depending on e.g. how many and what sorts of requisites were needed at the séance. On the other hand the deactualization of the spirits is vital to the basic logic of the séance. The deactualization often seems to take place in the same way as the actualization of the spirits, but in the opposite order. From the point of view of the technique of ecstasy this stage is something of a diminuendo. The shaman describes in song his supranormal counter-roles, takes leave of them and begs their protection in the future. In taking leave of the spirits one by one and sending them back to the other world the shaman himself approaches waking reality step by step. Once the last spirit has gone on its way the séance is over.

In addition to all these a séance may include a couple of episodes not necessarily connected with the real goal of the rite. These are rest periods (Z), prophesying measures (U), sacrifices to various spirits and deities (V), and tricks and body slashings by the shaman (X). The rest periods regulated by the shaman's personal properties generally fall at the turning points in the sequences. Prophecy, such as the casting of lots with a spoon, may be connected with the real goal of the séance (the shaman may, for example, show by casting lots that the séance has certainly been successful), or it may be a question of an 'extra' service: the shaman probes into the problems of those present at the séance and tries to find answers to them. Prophecy, likewise the sacrificial measures that are a natural part of rites directed at the supranormal, are to a high degree dependent in form and context on the inner tradition of the brand of shamanism in question. For example, a sacrificial event most often comes as a separate measure following the shamanizing itself. Shamanizing is then an event aiming at determining a means

of resolving a crisis, and the sacrificing ceremony is in turn the execution of this means, i.e. a measure finally resolving the crisis.

Holding a special place as incidents in a séance are the shaman's self-torture procedures that have made a deep impression on observers. These slashings and prickings, sometimes genuine, sometimes trick, have been explained as indications of the shaman's might or demonstrations of his skill. This is without doubt a question of demonstrating his invulnerability, i.e. an ability beyond the confines of normal people. Deeper down the content of the slashing actemes is, however, revealed in the songs connected with them. In preparing for the measure the Samoyed shaman, for example, recalls the visionary experiences of his initiation period in which the spirits, dissecting and mutilating his body, change him from a mortal into a shaman. The slashing acteme (X) can thus be seen as a repeat of the "death and rebirth" themes of the initiation period; it is a reliving of the change into a shaman, in other words a proof of professional competence.

32. ROLE-TAKING AS THE BASIS FOR THE SHAMAN'S TECHNIQUE OF ECSTASY

32.1. *The conditions for controlled ecstatic behaviour.* Although social reasons, the striving for prestige or material advantage may lead an individual to become a shaman, the bulk of shamans' own personal reports state "the shaman's disease" as the basic stimulus. The symptoms are both mental and physical; there are frequent mentions of pains in the head and the limbs, states of torment, with visions and auditions, fits reminiscent of the manifestations of hysteria, and so on. The patient turns to shamanizing in order to be healed, and this means is often mentioned as being the last and the only way of attaining equilibrium. Whatever the nature of the psycho-physical disturbances the so-called shaman's sickness symptoms refer to, it is clear from the reports that equilibrium can be attained and maintained precisely by shamanizing. Often the shaman's account mentions that neglect of shamanizing causes a return of the sickness. If the shaman's initiatory sickness is equated with hysteria, as e.g. Jochelson does, the novice stage must be regarded as a therapeutic stage during which the initiate, most often under the guidance of an older shaman, learns to order and control his ego-functions by means of ready models within the belief tradition so that a real fit of hysteria during the initiation stage becomes a fit in the control of the ego. No universally accepted conclusions as to the nature of the shaman's initiatory 'sickness' have, however, been made, and it is difficult or even impossible to draw any from the wide range of symptoms mentioned in the reports. It

is more or less agreed that one feature of the shaman novice is some sort of nervous sensitivity or reactional susceptibility. When we remember that, for example, the future shaman of a clan may be selected for training even as a child, that seeking to become a shaman may be influenced by social reasons, and above all that a person of even normal nerves may by means of a suitable technique reach an altered state of consciousness, it is obviously impossible to name any special nervous disorder qualifying a person as a shaman. The basic qualification for becoming a shaman is control of the technique of ecstasy and the formal study of this technique. People with a certain nervous susceptibility are, however, best suited for this, and people easily excited into becoming hysterical have the best potential. Thus it is often exceptional individuals who seek to become or are sought out as shamans. The long initiation stage is then preparation for the control of ecstatic behaviour. The shaman must without fault execute traditionally-patterned ritual functions before the controlling eyes of an audience.

Study centres round ways of using mechanical means of stimulating the nervous system — rhythmical music, singing, dancing and drugs — as best suits each individual, and practice in the psychic mechanism of the technique of ecstasy. The psychic side of the shaman's technique of ecstasy may be regarded as a phenomenon related to western hypnotic behaviour, in which an altered state of consciousness is attained as a suggestive consequence of dynamic experience. As a result of the position of the shaman as a means of communication between this and the other world this experience takes place by means of role-taking directed at representatives of the spirit world. Living the spirit roles, manifesting them to the point of identification does, however, mean that these roles have been learnt. During his initiation period the novice constructs his supranormal counter-roles in accordance with the models provided by tradition, i.e. he gets his spirit-helper. The way in which the young shaman selects elements of the belief tradition in shaping his supranormal counter-roles is illustrated in the shaman's songs and the visions requiring a deeper assimilation of the tradition. For example, the songs of the Chukchi shaman, based on tradition but moulded into individual shapes, came into being precisely during the novice stage. The content of the songs is still to a great extent the shaping of supranormal roles: they describe the region inhabited by the spirits, the essence of the spirits and their characteristic features, the tasks they are able to carry out, and so on. The ways of manifesting the spirit roles are also traditional. Shirokogoroff, for example, describes typical modes of behaviour of the Manchu shaman from which the shaman's assistant and those present can recognise the spirit in question.¹ The ecstatic experiences of the initiation period, which shamans have, when interviewed, been able to describe feature by feature, are repeated in the

songs sung during séances. There are frequent references to e.g. the motif 'dissecting of the shaman by the spirits', i.e. the culmination of the process of becoming a shaman, the 'birth' of the shaman. It is interesting, as appears from the initiatory visions of the Samoyed shaman, that these experiences are completely traditional not only in content but also in form. In other words the structure of the visions is in the main similar, and the motifs are repeated in the songs sung while shamanizing.

32.2. *The induction of trance.* In public ritual proceedings the technique of ecstasy transferring the shaman to an altered state of consciousness appears as a cumulative process in which elements at physical and mental level reinforce one another. In addition to a mechanical stimulus (rhythmic music in the case of Siberian shamans), the following suggestive factors affect the change in consciousness: a) the motivation of the shaman, which may be social (there is an acute need behind the séance) and recognised or lie in the realm of unrecognised personal hopes and wishes, b) study by the shaman of matters representing the supranormal, c) the actively expressed fastening of the attention, hopes and wishes of the audience on the shaman and d) a strong emotional pressure that is the sum of all these. It is characteristic of the course of the séance that these factors bear influence in different ways at different stages in the séance, and the degree of change in the shaman's consciousness likewise varies. I shall here attempt to outline the basic features of the shamanic technique of trance and to distinguish the factors shaping the shaman's ecstatic behaviour.

The preparation for the séance (the more important the reason for shamanizing the more thorough the preparations seem to be, i.e. the more certain the shaman must be of his ecstatic success, for ecstasy means contact with the spirits) is the stage during which the ties with the ordinary waking state, the normal world, are broken. The séance may be preceded by a period of fasting or contemplation. Whether the period of concentration be long or short, it includes the assembling of the requisites and the putting on of the shaman's dress, these representing the factual transition to the capacity of shaman. The dress, on which are depicted the shaman's supranormal assistants or other objects necessary for moving about in the spirit world, in itself helps to focus the shaman's thoughts. All the measures taken during the preparation stage — the tuning of the drum, the removing of any Orthodox pictures of the saints, which were already relatively common by the end of the 19th century, the extinguishing of the fire, the making of idols, the excited and hushed waiting of those present — generate favourable emotional charges in those present and above all help the shaman to concentrate on his coming task as shaman and the supranormal helpers required in the task.

The induction proper of trance, the stage in which the shaman attains an altered state of consciousness, is, according to shamanic theory, the period of assembling the spirit-helpers. Practices are surprisingly similar throughout Northern and Central Asia. The chief principle may be described as follows: connected with the rhythmical, sensory stimulus slowly gaining momentum and directly influencing the central nervous system is the gradual actualization of the supranormal counter-roles and a deepening by degrees of the taking of supranormal roles in step with the sensory stimulus. It has been experimentally proved that rhythmical stimulus alone is sufficient to bring about changes in the electrical activity of the brains of people of normal nerves and, according to the reports of the test persons, unusual observations. The shaman's drumming technique is in the main uniform over the whole area: a slow and soft beginning is followed by a rise in tempo and volume. The effect of the rhythmical stimulus is in some areas fortified by various intoxicants, such as amanita, and in latter times in particular strong tobacco and alcohol. The use of hallucinogens and other such intoxicants is not, however, a vital element of trance technique in any part of Siberia. The mechanical stimuli mentioned thus form a necessary basis for the shaman's trance behaviour. Shamanic practice does, however, differ from other means of attaining ecstasy on the basis of the ritual role-taking technique aimed at the supranormal counter-roles, the "spirit-helpers". The shaman's generalized reality orientation is cut off by means of suitable ritual requisites, the extinguishing of the lights and the noise of accelerating drumming. Its place is taken by special orientation, a world created by the shamanic tradition, fantasies of supranormal beings and their dwelling places. The shaman actualizes one spirit role after another according to a set pattern. Very often (e.g. in the shaman's songs of the Khants, the Nentsy and the Chukchi) the shaman, in calling on his spirits, almost as it were brings them near him concretely. The object described in the song is first the figure of the role-occupant and its dwelling in the other world, then the spirit's journey to the shaman stage by stage, reaching its climax with the arrival at the séance. The course of the account of the journey described in an invocatory song such as this coincides with the curve representing the rise in the ecstatic frenzy of the shaman, i.e. during the songs the shaman reaches an altered state of consciousness. The invocation of the spirit-helpers during the induction of the trance may be manifest more simply. The imitation of the sounds of the spirit-helpers constituting the first act of the most common séance is one of the most stable elements of the séance. This is precisely the imitation of the sound of spirits imagined to be in animal form, and this

acts almost without exception in the function of a call. Corresponding growling, whistling and other scenes are also encountered later in the séance, but then it is a question of manifesting the spirit roles present. Simple shouts of invocation or requests to the spirits for help fall in between the songs, dividing them up into shorter entities. Note that the nature and scope of the invocatory songs seems to correlate with the modes of manifesting the spirit roles. Instead of a long description of the spirit world there may simply be a statement of the reason for the séance and requests for help (cf. the Orochi séance). In such cases improvisation plays a relatively large part compared with e.g. the long poetic song episodes of the Nentsy.

The audience plays a relatively small part at the trance induction stage. It chiefly concentrates on supporting the shaman through invocations or goadings addressed to the spirits. Many observers mention a growing expectation, which is a feature characteristic of the opening stages of the séance. The part played by the audience is probably greatest at this stage as an emotional factor. The shaman feels the weight of expectation as he concentrates on his performance.

32.3 *Variations in the presentation of supranormal counter-roles.* Meetings with the spirit-helpers, either in this world or the other one, constitute the ecstatic climaxes of the séance. As the shaman manifests his supranormal counter-roles his consciousness has already clearly altered. This degree of alteration is not, however, the same in different séances, nor does it remain constant within the space of one séance. The depth of his trance varies in the different stages of the séance, and the shaman may from time to time rest in order to seek ecstasy again. In addition to individual differences arising from ecstatic ability the depth of the trance also seems to be regulated by traditionally bound factors. Comparison of the descriptions of séances shows that the supranormal counter-roles are manifest using a few alternative techniques. These are: a) the shaman identifies completely with the spirit role, he is regarded as having changed quite concretely into a spirit (*role-identification*); b) manifesting both his own role as a shaman and that of the spirit the shaman creates a dialogue situation in which the spirit is regarded as acting and speaking from outside the physical being of the shaman (*dual role*); c) the shaman creates an image of the role performances of his spirit-helpers purely verbally, in which case only the shaman is regarded as "seeing" or "hearing" the spirits during the séance (*description of counter-role*).

Complete role-identification, which is common in Central and Eastern Siberia (among e.g. the Yukagirs, Evenks, Yakuts, Manchus, Nanays, Orochi) signifies possession. One or more spirit-helper is thought to enter the body of the shaman and to speak and act through him. Joehelson's description

of the changing of a Yukagir shaman into a spirit is highly characteristic: "The shaman half opens the door and inhales his spirits in deep and noisy breaths. Then he turns to the interior of the house, holds his hand like claws, rolls his eyes upwards, so that only the whites are seen, sticks out his tongue, curling it under the chin and, without uttering a word, walks to the centre of the house and sits down on the ground. Having sat down, the straightens his hands and pulls his tongue in with his eyes still turned upwards and a blown up belly he sits there and already one of the spirits speaks through him."² Features that recur are a) the arrival of the spirits at the door, b) the inhaling of the spirits and c) the expressing of the nature of the spirits in words, mimic and movement: a Manchu shaman turned into a wolf claws the ground like a wolf, and an Orochi shaman turned into a bird leaps across the tent shouting, "I fly, I fly". As regards the role relations of the séance, the shaman's complete identification with one of his supranormal counter-roles means that the position of the shaman as a *mediator* between the two worlds remains, as it were, vacant. Role-identification is regularly followed by the taking over of someone present at the séance, usually the assistant. There ensues a dialogue between the mediator, which may sometimes be the entire audience present at the séance, and the spirit, in which the reasons for the crisis leading to the séance and the chances of eliminating them are gone into. The shaman's identification with a spirit role is often momentary, it comes at different stages in the séance and is susceptible to disturbances. In the course of one séance the shaman may identify with several spirits.

It is worth noting that the area in which role-identification occurs to a large extent coincides with the areas in which the spirit of the ancestor shaman plays a major role as the initiator of the novice shaman. In these areas the spirit of the ancestor shaman may also remain as the shaman's chief spirit. In this case the spirit of the ancestor shaman enters the shaman at the séance and speaks through him. This points to the possibility that identification with the spirit role, i.e. the possession-type séance, is linked precisely with the development of family-bound and ultimately clan shamanism. In parts of Central and East Siberia the typical explanation for illness is that a disease spirit has entered the patient's body. During a séance the Yukagir shaman identifies with the roles of both his chief spirit and the disease spirit alternately. Both forms of possession are basically similar — the spirit is inhaled with noisy gasps, it speaks through the shaman's mouth and he manifests it with his whole being. The spirit is deactualized by being blown out. Only the features characteristic of the spirits are manifest in different ways. Since shamanic séances are for the most part precisely healing events, it is scarcely a coincidence that basically parallel spirit and demon possessions appear in the same regions. Thus the explanation for illness "the demon has penetrated

the patient" would in turn add to the popularity of the possession-type technique of shamanizing. On the other hand the possession-type of séance (structural type I, see p. 322) is not the only form of séance found in the areas, and the shaman's journey-type (structural type III) also appears. Among the Evenks, for example, there were further séances in which the shaman met the spirits in this world, i.e. in the tent, and also travelled to the upper and lower worlds in their company (structural type II). As a result the shaman might well manifest the roles of the spirit-helpers in different ways during the course of one séance: identify with the spirit role or in some other way manifest its presence, and describe its behaviour in words only.

The shaman might also manifest spirit roles without identifying with them completely, and create an illusion of communication between several role figures appearing simultaneously. In the background is the idea of the meeting of shaman and spirit in such a way that the spirit or spirits remain outside the shaman's body the whole time. This dual role of the shaman does not require any active contribution from an assistant or the audience to carry the séance through: the shaman creates the whole performance before them. From the point of view of the manifestation of spirit roles the ventriloquist technique of the Paleasian shaman constitutes a unique type. The effect of the appearance of the spirits by means of ventriloquism as produced by e.g. the Chukchi shaman is brilliant in the skill displayed, and the séance takes on the form of a great show in which the shaman brings in one spirit after another. 'Dual role' is in this case an inadequate expression, for the shaman sometimes tries to create the illusion of the simultaneous presence of several spirits. In addition to Northeast Asia the shaman's dual role is a typical way of manifesting supranormal counter-roles in the western parts of Siberia, although the technique of manifestation is reminiscent more of possession-type than ventriloquism-type: through his sounds and movements the shaman indicates that a spirit is present. The shaman's songs also contain imitation of the sounds of animals, i.e. zoomorphic spirits. Displays of this type are sometimes difficult to distinguish from those of possession type. According to Munkácsi, for example, the possession tradition might be found among the Khants, whereas Karjalainen, on the basis of his own subsequent experiences, places this claim open to doubt.³ The typical dual role situation of the west is found in the shamanizing séance of the Minusa Tatars described above. It is the specific duty of the assistant to sprinkle water for the spirits to drink so that they do not come too close to the shaman. Even so the shaman, by imitating the sounds of e.g. a zoomorphic spirit, indicates that it is present, and creates a direct illusion of a conversation between the shaman and the spirit.

Describing the supranormal counter-roles in songs is a common element

of the invocation of the spirits. In many cases the course of the entire séance is expressed through song. The shaman meets the spirits in either this or the other world, describing his meeting and his conversations in the songs. It is sometimes difficult to draw the line on the former mode of behaviour, and the presentation of the spirit roles purely by describing is also more common in the northern and western parts of Siberia than in the central and eastern regions. In particular the rich song tradition of the Samoyeds, with its visionary themes, is suitable for carrying out séances of this type. It is natural that at séances in which the shaman's soul is thought to depart for the supranormal world these experiences are described in the song sections. In this case the outwards journey, for example, may be described in song, the arrival there is marked by loss of consciousness, and the return journey again in song. The basis of the séance typical of the northern regions performed by means of visionary songs is always the journey of the shaman's soul. The special nature of the type of séance is revealed when placed beside the ways of manifesting the shaman's journey employed by e.g. the Evenks or the Nanays. If it was an important and difficult undertaking they might become great shows the setting for which — the objects laid out, the shamanizing site, etc. — was prepared beforehand. The shaman manifest the stages in his journey and the counter-roles he met on the way both through frenzied movement and singing, and also through mimic. The number of people attending the big séances such as this, typical of clan shamanism, was sometimes so great that similar events would have been impossible among the small hunting communities of the north.

32.4. *Role-taking and control of the degree of altered consciousness.* The ways of manifesting supranormal counter-roles in the shamanic séance thus vary from a living of the role involving the shaman completely to a mere outlining of the counter-role. We noticed that role-identification, the playing of a dual role or verbal description of a counter-role, are on the one hand typical behavioural models bound to tradition, and that on the other hand the intensity with which the shaman lives a counter-role varies even in the course of one séance. The latter point means that the depth of the trance varies according to the course of the séance. The variations in intensity are explained when we remember that 1) the role relationship of the séance is in fact made up of a triad, for in addition to the shaman and the supranormal role figures he creates there must always be a third party at the séance: the audience, and that 2) the séance always has a goal which the shaman bears in mind in his actions. As a result, the shaman always has two sorts of other-roles radically differing in nature at the séance. For the séance to be duly conducted he must direct his role-taking at the representative or

representatives of either group according to need, i.e. during the séance the target groups for the shaman's role-taking change. Then it must be noted that in directing his role-taking at one other-group, the illusory spirit roles, the shaman to a greater or lesser extent keeps an eye on the reactions of the other other-group, the representatives of the community present. Since the supranormal counter-roles act primarily as the objects of reliving and identification for the shaman, this other group could be called the identification group. Correspondingly the "clients" taking part in the séance, neighbours or relations who guide the shaman's behaviour with their wishes and reactions, are called the audience group. Shaping the shaman's role-taking aimed at the supranormal is then the extent to which he keeps an eye on the reactions of the audience group or factors connected with the traditional execution of the séance. Alternative forms of role-taking may thus be examined from the standpoint of role-taking or its reflexiveness. The latter refers to the shaman's self-consciousness—his awareness of how he appears in the eyes of others—and is characteristic precisely of role-taking directed at the audience. Role-taking directed at the audience does not include identification, either; its standpoint is selective consideration of the hopes of the audience and the correct execution of the rite. In the light of the above criterion the chief types of 'shaman — supranormal' relations would appear to be as follows:

'Shaman — supranormal' relation

	A. dual role	B. role-identification	C. Verbal construction of role
reflexiveness of role-taking:	reflexive	reflexive and non-reflexive	non-reflexive
role-taking standpoint:	the audience	the spirit role (and the audience)	the shaman (his previous vision experiences)
depth of trance:	light trance	depth of trance varies — comes in waves	trance deep, most often ends in loss of consciousness

The shaman's role-taking directed at the supranormal, which at the séance does not remain merely a cognitive process but through this process finds

outlet as active operation, the manifestation of roles, thus varies in intensity, influencing the degree of change of the shaman's consciousness. In this respect type A is in a different position from types B and C. Keeping an eye on the reactions of the audience requires a stronger link with waking reality (A) than complete identification with the spirit role (B). In the latter case the responsibility for directing the rite is in fact transferred to the assistant, whose job is also to help the shaman if necessary to return from too deep a trance. Séances in which the construction of the supranormal roles takes place at verbal level (C), i.e. in the shaman's songs, in turn permit the greatest concentration on the supranormal reality. The direction of the shaman's generalized reality orientation is replaced by complete special, temporary orientation. Séances of C-type very often end in complete loss of consciousness; all in all the curve showing the shaman's ecstatic frenzy is simpler, often constituting a rise, climax and fall, than in séances in which the shaman has to be constantly aware of the audience's reactions or the identification and audience groups repeatedly change as the objects of the shaman's role-taking. In this case the curve showing the shaman's ecstasy is wave-like, with several climaxes. Although the part played by the audience as a suggestive factor can under no circumstances be denied — quite the contrary — it does exert something of a basic pressure on the shaman's seeking of ecstasy and also acts as an active support to the shaman during the séance, it is nevertheless clear from the accounts of séances that when the role-taking is directed at the audience the degree of the shaman's altered consciousness falls in just the same way as it rises when role-taking is directed at the supranormal world.

The relationship between the shaman and the audience attending the séance, which influences ecstatic activity, is determined according to the position of the shaman and shamanism in the community. It is interesting to note that among the Chukchi Type A (dual role) manifestation of the supranormal based on ventriloquist skill was held in greater esteem than type C (verbal construction of role) typical of small group shamanism in northern Siberia and connected with the shaman's journey. The former form of séance, in which the shaman was able to observe the audience's reactions throughout the performance, is in fact more suited to the independent professional shaman seeking the favour of the audience than the latter. The Chukchi's manner of bringing in the spirit roles, which demanded great skill, and the great show-like shamanizing events of the southern regions have been mistakenly regarded as indications of the degeneration of shamanism merely because there was seldom a loss-of-consciousness stage. In the case of rite performances involving a wealth of requisites and many episodes it is more a question of developed forms of tradition reflecting

the importance and field of the shaman in the community rather than a degeneration of the shaman's ecstatic ability.

32.5. *Main principles of the shaman's technique of ecstasy.*

1. The framework of the shaman's technique of ecstasy is similar to the basic psychic mechanism on which hypnosis is founded; this mechanism is undoubtedly common to all goal-oriented trance behaviour.

2. Since the goal of the shaman's ritual trance is communication between the normal and supranormal worlds, it is possible to describe this basic mechanism in the language of social psychology.

3. Acting as suggestive factors during the séance are 1) the shaman's motivation, which is primarily social and recognised and only then falling in the realm of unrecognised personal hopes and wishes; 2) the shaman's penetration into matters representing the supranormal; 3) the actively expressed focusing of the attention, expectations and hopes of the audience on the shaman; 4) the use of technical stimuli; 5) the sum of all these in the form of strong emotional pressure.

4. The mental process of the trance induction stage can be regarded as a gradual deepening of role-taking directed at the supranormal.

5. The shamanic trance or the shaman's altered state of consciousness then comes into being as generalized reality orientation disappears along with an increase in the intensity of the rhythmical, gradually accelerating sensory stimulus and role-taking directed at the supranormal.

6. By means of these means to ecstasy a person of normal nerves may achieve a state of trance, even though people with a certain nervous make-up do have greater potential than others.

7. Since the shaman's altered state of consciousness arises as a combination of several factors, the variation in the depth of trance does not fully correlate with the intensity of role-taking directed at the supranormal; the interdependence is, however, obvious.

8. The changes in ego concepts and body images experienced during trance have a reciprocal fortifying relation with tradition; they derive their content from the tradition, and on the other hand they fortify the relationship between the individual and the tradition through his personal experiences.

9. Not even in the deepest trance does the shaman's reality orientation completely vanish; supported by the scheme of the séance, he retains his contact with the audience.

10. Regulated by the traditional scheme of the séance, role-taking in these two directions, the spirit world and the audience, to a great extent controls the depth of trance.

11. The variations in the manifestations of supranormal counter-roles depend on the relationship between the shaman and the audience and thus on the significance and position of the shaman and shamanism in the community. This in turn depends on the socio-economic structure of the community.

NOTES

Chapter 1

¹ Harva 1933, p. 299.

² Georgi 1775 a, pp. 278—286.

³ Findeisen 1975 a, pp. 192—196 and Diószegi 1960, p. 8.

⁴ Rychkov 1922, p. 113.

⁵ Cf. Joehelson 1905—1908, p. 47.

⁶ "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden — beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them." Durkheim 1971(1915), p. 47. According to Durkheim the heart of religion, 'sacred', is what the community considers sacred. The use of a qualitative criterion such as this creates difficulties, especially when analysing the supranormal concepts of the world of primitive communities: not all the beings or things belonging to the supranormal world can be described by the adjective 'sacred', even though they are a fundamental part of the religious system of the people in question.

⁷ Clark 1969, p. 22.

⁸ Spiro 1969, p. 96.

⁹ Geertz 1969, p. 5.

¹⁰ Hultkrantz 1973, p. 36.

¹¹ C.f. p. 106.

¹² Cf. e.g. Arbman 1963—1970.

¹³ Eliade 1964, p. 4.

¹⁴ Eliade 1964, p. 5.

¹⁵ Hultkrantz 1973, p. 29.

¹⁶ Findeisen 1957 a, p. 15.

¹⁷ Németh 1913—1914.

¹⁸ Laufer 1917.

¹⁹ Laufer 1917, p. 371.

²⁰ Diószegi 1947, p. 211.

²¹ Shimkin 1939, p. 156. (Shimkin quotes Anuchin).

²² Harva 1933, p. 358.

²³ Cf. Anisimov 1958, pp. 213—215.

²⁴ Cf. Radloff 1884 II, p. 19 ff.

²⁵ Lowie 1958, p. 413.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Findeisen 1960.

²⁷ Eliade 1958.

²⁸ Hultkrantz 1973, p. 34.

²⁹ Originally in German: "Eine Grunddefinition müsste aber auch auf die rudimentärste Form anwendbar sein, nämlich: Der Schamanismus ist eine institutionelle und forgebundene ekstatische Verbindung des Menschen mit dem Jenseits im Dienste der Gemeinschaft." Schröder 1955, p. 879.

³⁰ Originally in German: "Der Schamane ist ein Mensch, der dank seiner spezifischen

Anlagen imstande ist, einen Ausnahmezustand (eine Ekstase, d.h. veränderten Bewusstseinszustand) herbeizuführen, in Verbindung mit den transzendentalen Mächten ('Geistern') Aussagen über Stammesangelegenheiten (Krankheit, Jagd, Krieg usw.) zu machen und auf die Gemeinde eine religiösthapeutische Wirkung auszuüben, die an den jeweiligen kulturellen Rahmen seines Stammes gebunden ist und für diesen eine notwendige sozial-psychologische Funktion darstellt." Knoll-Greiling 1950, pp. 106—107.

Chapter 2

¹ See e.g. A. A. Popov's bibliography (1932). Mircea Eliade's article "Recent Works on Shamanism" (1961), the bibliography to his work "Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy" (1964) and Diószegi's "Hungarian Contributions to the Study of Shamanism" (1971).

² Ränk 1967, p. 16.

³ Vdovin 1973 a, p. 3.

⁴ Bogoras 1910 b.

⁵ Mikhaylovskiy 1892.

⁶ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 47.

⁷ Cf. Stadling 1901.

⁸ Stadling 1912, p. 8.

⁹ Stadling 1912, pp. 44—67.

¹⁰ Cf. Paulson 1964, p. 131; also Paulson 1965, p. 92.

¹¹ Hultkrantz 1953, pp. 110—112; Hultkrantz 1957, p. 254.

¹² Paulson 1958.

¹³ Hultkrantz 1973, p. 30.

¹⁴ Jochelson 1926, p. 237.

¹⁵ Schmidt 1912—1955.

¹⁶ Schmidt 1912—1955 XII, pp. 658—659.

¹⁷ Schmidt 1912—1955 III, pp. 333—339.

¹⁸ Gahs 1928, pp. 231—268.

¹⁹ Schmidt 1912—1955 XII, pp. 619—635.

²⁰ Eliade 1964, pp. 505—506.

²¹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 279 ff.

²² Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 282.

²³ Eliade 1964, p. 498.

²⁴ Eliade 1964, p. 500.

²⁵ Eliade 1964, pp. 500—501.

²⁶ Eliade 1964, pp. 502—503.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. Findeisen 1957 a, Hultkrantz 1973.

²⁸ Lommel 1965.

²⁹ See e.g. Lehtisalo 1937 and Eliade 1964, p. 36 ff.

³⁰ See Nachtigall 1952, Nachtigall 1973 and Friedrich 1943; cf. also Nachtigall 1953.

³¹ Zhukovskaya 1970.

³² Findeisen 1957 a, pp. 18—33.

³³ Kirchner 1952.

³⁴ Campbell 1959.

³⁵ Ohlmarks 1939, p. 58 ff.

³⁶ Vajda 1959.

³⁷ Vdovin 1973 a, p. 4.

- ³⁸ E.g. Zelenin 1935 and Bogoras-Tan 1932.
- ³⁹ Vdovin 1973 a, pp. 3—4.
- ⁴⁰ Findeisen 1956 a.
- ⁴¹ Ränk 1967, pp. 17—18.
- ⁴² Zelenin 1936, cf. also Zelenin 1935.
- ⁴³ Vdovin 1973 a, p. 6. Vasilevich, among others, has attempted to outline the trend in the development of Evenk shamanism. Vasilevich 1971, p. 53 ff.
- ⁴⁴ Anisimov 1936.
- ⁴⁵ Alekseyev 1966, 1967, 1969, 1975.
- ⁴⁶ Mikhaylov 1962, 1965.
- ⁴⁷ Taksami 1968, 1969.
- ⁴⁸ Mikhaylov 1968.
- ⁴⁹ Mikhaylov-Khoroshikh 1973.
- ⁵⁰ Potapov says: "Without presuming to list all the possible approaches to the subject, I would like to stress the great value of studying the source materials, which involves the comparative study of separate elements of shamanism. As a result may conclusions be drawn concerning the origin, ethnic history, cultural history, and even general history of various Siberian peoples. There are many evidences of varied ethnocultural and ethnogenetic ties between the peoples of Siberia and other peoples now living far beyond the confines of Siberia." Potapov 1973, pp. 2—3.
- ⁵¹ Alekseyev 1966.
- ⁵² Hultkrantz 1973, p. 26.
- ⁵³ Hultkrantz 1973, p. 35.
- ⁵⁴ Eliade 1964, p. 4.
- ⁵⁵ Hermanns 1970, pp. XIV—XV.
- ⁵⁶ Lewis 1971, p. 49 ff.
- ⁵⁷ Christiansen 1953.
- ⁵⁸ Closs 1960, 1969.
- ⁵⁹ Eliade 1964, p. 5.
- ⁶⁰ Eliade 1964, p. 6.
- ⁶¹ Schröder 1955, p. 865.
- ⁶² Vajda 1959, p. 470.
- ⁶³ See Findeisen 1954, 1956 c, 1957 a, 1957 b, 1958, 1960.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. e.g. Stiglmayer's criticism, Stiglmayer 1962.
- ⁶⁵ See e.g. Shternberg 1935.
- ⁶⁶ Cf. Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg 1970.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Lehtisalo 1937.
- ⁶⁸ Ohlmarks 1939, p. 20; Loeb 1929, pp. 60—84; Nioradze 1925, p. 50; Ackerknecht 1943, p. 43.
- ⁶⁹ Bogoras 1910 b.
- ⁷⁰ Czaplicka 1914, p. 169 ff.
- ⁷¹ Tschubinov 1914.
- ⁷² "Although hysteria (called by some writers 'Arctic hysteria') lies at the bottom of the shaman's vocation, at the same time the shaman differs from an ordinary patient suffering from this illness in possessing an extremely great power of mastering himself in the periods between the actual fits, which occur during the ceremonies." Czaplicka 1914, p. 169.
- ⁷³ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 42; Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 416; Jochelson 1926, pp. 30—31.
- ⁷⁴ Cf. e.g. Czaplicka 1914, p. 315 ff.
- ⁷⁵ Troshchanskiy 1902, p. 120.

⁷⁶ Ohlmarks 1939, pp. 17—19, 38.

⁷⁷ See e.g. Silverman 1967, Devereux 1961.

⁷⁸ Cf. e.g. Murphy 1964 and Opler 1936, Ackerknecht 1971.

⁷⁹ Cf. Devereux 1961.

Chapter 3

¹ Schröder 1955, p. 862.

² Honko 1969; see also Honko 1972 b.

³ See pages 31—52.

⁴ See pages 52—64.

Chapter 4

¹ See e.g. Achelis 1902: *Die Ekstase in ihrer kulturellen Bedeutung*; Beck: *Ekstase, Ein Beitrag zur Psychologie und Völkerkunde*; Oesterreich 1921: *Die Besessenheit*; Belo 1960: *Trance in Bali*; la Barre 1962: *They shall take up serpents*; Arbman 1963—1970: *Ecstasy or Religious Trance, In the Experience of the Ecstasies and from the Psychological Point of View I—III*; Spiro 1967: *Burmese Supernaturalism, A Study in the Explanation and Reduction of Suffering*; Prince 1968: *Trance and Possession States*; Beattie-Middleton 1969: *Spirit Mediumship and Society in Africa*; Lewis 1971: *Ecstatic Religion*; Walker 1972: *Ceremonial Spirit Possession in Africa and Afro-America*; Bourguignon 1973: *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change*; Sargant 1973: *The Mind Possessed, A Physiology of Possession, Mysticism and Faith Healing*; Goodman-Henney-Pressel 1974: *Trance, Healing & Hallucination*. In addition to these larger-scale works or collections of articles the subject has been handled in numerous monographs on primitive medicine or the religion of primitive peoples, cf. e.g. Jean Buxton's work *Religion and healing in Mandari* (1973), and in individual articles too numerous to quote here. See Zaretsky 1966: *Bibliography of Spirit Possession and Spirit Mediumship*.

Let us further mention a few more works dealing in particular with the use of hallucinogens as a means of obtaining ecstasy: la Barre 1959: *The Peyote Cult*; Aberle 1966: *The Peyote Religion Among the Navaho*; Wasson 1971: *Soma, Divine Mushroom of Immortality*; Furst 1972: *Flesh of the Gods, The ritual use of Hallucinogens*; Harner 1973: *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*.

² Bourguignon 1973, p. 4.

³ Bourguignon 1972, p. 416.

⁴ Ludwig 1968, pp. 69—70.

⁵ Ludwig 1968, p. 69.

⁶ Lincoln 1935, p. 22; cf. Wallace 1958, pp. 244—247.

⁷ Wasson 1971, p. 155 ff.

⁸ Cf. e.g. Bourguignon 1973, p. 9.

⁹ Cf. e.g. Devereux 1939, 1956, 1957, 1961; Opler 1959, 1961; Honigman 1960.

¹⁰ Benedict 1934, p. 1972.

¹¹ Kroeber 1960, p. 317.

¹² Ackerknecht 1971, p. 63.

¹³ Ackerknecht 1971, pp. 63—64.

¹⁴ Cf. Bourguignon 1973, p. 8.

¹⁵ Bourguignon 1973, p. 9 ff.

¹⁶ Lewis 1971, pp. 40—41.

¹⁷ Cf. "The form, the purpose and the limits of each trance state can be understood only

by considering the individual and his psychological structure within a given situational and cultural context." Van der Walde 1968, p. 59.

¹⁸ Ludwig 1968, pp. 77—83; quoted here is Sheila S. Walker's summary of the main points in Ludwig's paper, Walker 1972, pp. 13—14.

¹⁹ Ludwig 1968, pp. 81—82.

²⁰ Ludwig 1968, p. 80.

²¹ Cf. James 1919, p. 387.

²² Bourguignon 1972, p. 424.

²³ Wallace 1959, p. 59.

²⁴ Bourguignon 1973, pp. 12—15; see also Bourguignon 1965, pp. 40—41 and Bourguignon 1970, pp. 185—186.

²⁵ Sargant 1973; Gill and Brenman 1959.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. White 1941 a, p. 483 and Gill and Brenman 1959, pp. 159—160, 168.

²⁷ Van der Walde 1968, p. 60.

²⁸ Van der Walde 1968, pp. 59—60.

²⁹ Bourguignon 1973, p. 12.

³⁰ Goodman-Henney-Pressel 1974, p. 3.

³¹ Van der Walde 1968, pp. 57—58.

³² Van der Walde 1968, p. 59.

³³ Bourguignon 1972; Ludwig 1968.

³⁴ Arbman 1963, p. XV.

³⁵ Wallace 1959, p. 59.

³⁶ Cf. "By illusion, as is known, we mean a sense impression distorted by subjective, irrelevant conceptual elements." Arbman 1963, p. 17.

³⁷ Cf. Arbman 1963, p. 140; cf. also Benedict 1922, pp. 1—21.

Chapter 5

¹ Ludwig 1968, p. 70.

² Fischer 1970; see also Fischer 1969.

³ Fischer 1970, p. 319.

⁴ Cf. e.g. Pratt 1949, p. 369 ff.

⁵ Strunk 1962, p. 67.

⁶ Cf. Sundén 1959, p. 49 ff.; Honko 1972 a.

⁷ Ludwig 1968, pp. 71—75. Quoted here is Sheila S. Walker's summary, which concentrates in particular on a broad presentation of the parts that concern institutionalized and religious connections. Walker 1972, p. 12.

⁸ Cf. Harner 1973: *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*; la Barre 1972: *Hallucinogens and the Shamanic Origins of Religion*.

⁹ Cf. p. 115.

¹⁰ Walker 1972, pp. 12—13.

¹¹ Prince calls the group by common name 'psychomotor amnesic states'. Prince 1968 b, p. 121.

¹² Prince 1968 b, pp. 121—122.

¹³ Prince 1968 b, p. 127.

¹⁴ Prince 1968 b, p. 127.

¹⁵ Ohlmarks 1939, p. 40.

¹⁶ Cf. Ohlmarks 1939, pp. 122—141.

¹⁷ Neher 1962.

¹⁸ Neher 1962, p. 152.

¹⁹ Neher 1962, pp. 152—153.

²⁰ Cf. e.g. Adrian and Matthews 1934 and Walter and Walter 1949. Walter and Walter summarized the effects of rhythmic stimulation on behaviour as follows:

1. Visual sensations with characters not present in the stimulus, that is: (a) Colour; (b) Pattern; (c) Movement.
2. Simple sensations in other than the visual mode: (a) Kinaesthetic (swaying, spinning, jumping, vertigo); (b) Cutaneous (tingling, pricking); (c) Auditory (rare); (d) Gustatory and olfactory (doubtful); (e) Visceral (probably connected with (a)).
3. General emotional and abstract experiences: (a) Fatigue; (b) Confusion; (c) Fear; (d) Disgust; (e) Anger; (f) Pleasure; (g) Disturbance of time sense.
4. Organized hallucinations of various types.
5. Clinical psychopathic states and epileptic seizures. Walter and Walter 1949, p. 63.

²¹ Neher 1962, p. 154.

²² Neher 1962, p. 157.

²³ Walker 1972, p. 16.

²⁴ Neher 1962, pp. 155—157; Neher stresses the significance of the secretion of adrenaline by mentioning that a compound called adrenochrome has been isolated from it, a compound which in a study by Hoffer, Osmond and Smythies on schizophrenia was observed to be related to every hallucinogen whose chemical composition has been determined. Neher 1962, p. 156.

²⁵ Cf. the bibliography in "Flesh of the Gods", 1972, edited by Peter T. Furst.

²⁶ Wasson 1971, 1967; Waser 1967.

²⁷ Czaplicka 1914, p. 169.

²⁸ Ohlmarks 1939, p. 19 ff.

²⁹ Arbman 1970, pp. 340—341.

³⁰ See Arbman 1970, pp. 238—291.

³¹ Arbman 1970, pp. 341—343.

³² Oesterrich 1921, pp. 36—37.

³³ Sargant 1973, pp. 44—45, 58.

³⁴ Walker 1972.

³⁵ Gill and Brenman 1959, p. 185, 191.

³⁶ Walker 1972, pp. 26—51.

³⁷ Van der Walde 1968, p. 62.

³⁸ Walker 1972, p. 36.

³⁹ White 1941 a, p. 483.

⁴⁰ Shor 1959, p. 585.

⁴¹ Shor 1959.

⁴² When we remember that mental processes are also physical at base, even though their mechanism is far more complicated than e.g. sensory stimulation such as drumming, this 'playing in harmony' is understandable. In their article "The process of hypnotism and the nature of hypnotic state" (1943—1944) L. S. Kubie and S. Margolin describe the physical mechanism of becoming engrossed or the focussing of attention as follows: "Physiologically the hypnotic process is shown to be an extension of the processes of normal attention, the result of the creation in the central nervous system of a concentrated focus of excitation with the surrounding areas of inhibition (in the descriptive Pavlovian sense)." Kubie-Margolin 1943—1944, p. 620.

⁴³ Cf. van der Walde's hypothesis that a predetermined picture of what is expected of the subject is alone sufficient to induce a hypnotic trance, along with the observance

of a prescribed ritual (1968, p. 62). In the case of the shaman this predetermined picture can also be expected to contain a return to the normal state.

⁴⁴ Shor 1959, p. 598.

⁴⁵ Cf. the view put forward by van der Walde based on cross-cultural comparisons, according to which the basic mechanism of hypnotic trance is the same as that in all other goal-oriented trance behaviour. Van der Walde 1968.

⁴⁶ Sarbin 1950, p. 255.

⁴⁷ Sarbin-Allen 1969, pp. 492—496.

Chapter 6

¹ Sundén 1959, p. 47 ff. and Honko 1969.

² E. G. Simmel 1920 and Park-Burgess 1921.

³ Cf. Linton 1936, pp. 113—114.

⁴ See e.g. M. Coulson, *Role, a redundant concept in sociology?*, Coulson 1972.

⁵ See e.g. Biddle-Thomas 1966 and Neiman-Hughes 1951.

⁶ The terms are used side by side. Those preferring *position* have stressed that status connotes the idea of differential ranking among social locations (see e.g. Gross-Mason-McEachern 1966, p. 48). In accordance with the practice of Scandinavian religious anthropology my support goes to the pair of terms *status* — *role* created by Linton; status then refers like position to social location only.

⁷ Linton 1945, p. 76; Parsons 1951, p. 25; Newcomb 1952, p. 277.

⁸ See e.g. Newcomb 1951, p. 227: "societies and organized groups are structures of positions which are organized to reach certain goals".

⁹ Linton 1936, p. 113.

¹⁰ Turner 1956, p. 317.

¹¹ Gross-Mason-McEachern 1966, p. 67.

Cf. Bennett-Tumin 1949, p. 96: "By, role, then, we have reference to what the society expects of an individual occupying a given status. This implies that any status is functionally defined by the role attached to it".

¹² Cf. Newcomb 1952.

¹³ McCall-Simmons 1966, p. 13.

¹⁴ Sargent 1951, p. 360.

¹⁵ Sargent 1951, p. 359.

¹⁶ McCall-Simmons 1966, pp. 6—7.

¹⁷ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 501.

¹⁸ The term *role expectation* is used in speaking of predicted role and prescribed role. I use the term *role expectation* in its normative sense.

¹⁹ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 501.

²⁰ Gross-Mason-McEachern 1966, p. 67.

²¹ Gross-Mason-McEachern 1966, p. 60.

²² Merton 1968, p. 423.

²³ Merton 1968, p. 423.

²⁴ Merton 1968, p. 424.

²⁵ In the language of the interactionists *other-role* or *other*.

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Turner 1962, p. 30.

²⁷ McCall-Simmons 1966, p. 67. The authors offer the concept of role-identity as meaning a person's image of himself and his activities as the incumbent of some position. Every role-identity of every person thus has a conventional and idiosyncratic side (p. 70). We

could in this connection refer to the concept covering precisely the conventional side. Sarbin-Allen uses the term *role-concepts* for a person's views of his own role as distinct from the concepts and expectations, i.e. role expectations of his role held by others. Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 501.

²⁸ Turner 1962, p. 27.

²⁹ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 514; cf. Moreno 1961—1962, p. 520.

³⁰ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 514.

³¹ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 514.

³² Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 515.

³³ Coutu 1951, p. 181.

³⁴ Coutu 1951, p. 182.

³⁵ Turner 1956.

³⁶ Turner 1956, pp. 317—318.

³⁷ Cf. e.g. Belo 1960.

³⁸ Turner 1956, p. 319.

³⁹ Turner 1956, p. 321.

⁴⁰ Turner 1956, p. 319, 320.

⁴¹ Mead 1934, p. 136. The concept of reflexive role-taking is consistent with Charles Horton Cooley's classic 'looking-glass self' idea. Cooley writes: "In a very large and interesting class of cases the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self — that is any idea he appropriates — appears in a particular mind, and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self: 'Each to each a looking-glass, Reflects the other that doth pass!'" (Cooley 1972, p. 231).

⁴² Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 528.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 534; see also Allen-Sarbin 1964; cf. J. McCall's and J. L. Simmon's concept *role-support*, which refers to the functions of the audience. The concept is defined as follows: "... *role-support*, which is the expressed support accorded to an actor by his audience for his claims concerning his role-identity." McCall-Simmons 1966, p. 72.

⁴⁴ Sarbin and Allen classified the functions of the audience in role enactment under four types:

- a) First, we should mention the contribution of the audience in establishing consensual reality for the role. By accepting role enactment as appropriate, the audience provides validation for the enactment and serves as public confirmation of the reality of the role. Observers create social reality for the role by their presence and attendance during the role enactment, by accepting the role enactment as interpreted by the performer.
- b) The *cue* property of the audience is its second function. This term refers to discriminative responses that guide the performer's role enactment. For example, quizzical expressions from an audience provide a cue indicating that the role behavior is ambiguous. Similarly, cues from the audience can pace the speed or intensity of role enactment.
- c) A third function of the audience is social reinforcement. An audience has many methods of demonstrating approval and acceptance, or disapproval and rejection, of role behavior.
- d) A last important function of the audience is to contribute to the maintenance of role behavior over time. Role behavior appears to be fairly constant over time and at different times and places. Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 534.

⁴⁵ Sarbin 1950.

- ⁴⁶ Sarbin-Allen 1969, pp. 522–523.
- ⁴⁷ Sarbin 1943.
- ⁴⁸ Sarbin 1943, pp. 275–277.
- ⁴⁹ Honko 1972 a, p. 168.
- ⁵⁰ Sarbin 1943, p. 276.
- ⁵¹ Sarbin 1943, p. 277; see also Lewis-Sarbin 1943 and Arnold 1946, p. 110 ff.
- ⁵² Devereux 1939 a.
- ⁵³ Alexander 1943.
- ⁵⁴ Rivers 1924, see also Cannon 1942.
- ⁵⁵ Rivers 1924, p. 50.
- ⁵⁶ Sarbin 1943, p. 278.
- ⁵⁷ Sarbin 1954, also Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 492 ff.
- ⁵⁸ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 492.
- ⁵⁹ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 492 ff.
- ⁶⁰ Sarbin-Allen 1969, p. 496.

Chapter 7

- ¹ Munn 1973.
- ² Munn 1973, p. 580.
- ³ Gluckman 1975, p. 30.
- ⁴ Gluckman 1975, p. 30.
- ⁵ Durkheim 1971, p. 36.
- ⁶ Turner 1974, p. 19.
- ⁷ Honko 1973, p. 6.
- ⁸ Durkheim 1971, p. 36.
- ⁹ Cf. e.g. Fontenrose 1966.
- ¹⁰ Malinowski 1960, pp. 60–62, 70.
- ¹¹ Starting to build the new trend were E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1956), Audrey Richards (1956) and Monica Wilson (1957, 1959).
- ¹² Turner 1969, 1974.
- ¹³ Douglas 1973.
- ¹⁴ Beidelman 1966.
- ¹⁵ Radcliffe-Brown 1922.
- ¹⁶ Honko 1973 and 1975, p. 68 ff.
- ¹⁷ Van Gennep's classic work appeared in 1909; reprint 1960.
- ¹⁸ Cf. Barney G. Glaser-Anselm L. Strauss: *Status Passage* (1971).
- ¹⁹ Van Gennep 1960, p. 21.
- ²⁰ See chapter "Bewixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage". Turner 1974, p. 93.
- ²¹ See the article "Liminality and Communitas". Turner 1969, p. 95.
- ²² Honko 1973, p. 8.
- ²³ "Some of the extensive Rites of Intensification, such as the harvest rites, mark the end of a period of technical activity, while others, like planting ceremonies, mark the beginning of such period. The principal characteristics of these ceremonies is that they accompany a change in the interaction rate within an institution or group of institutions, and provide a dramatic representation of the habitual relationships of the individuals in the sets of which the system is composed. This acting out of the ordered interaction of the members has the effect of reinforcing or intensifying their habitual relations, and thus

serves to maintain their conditioned responses. That is why we have called them Rites of Intensification." Chapple and Coon 1947, p. 507.

²⁴ Chapple and Coon 1947, p. 508.

²⁵ Honko 1973, p. 9; see also Honko 1975, pp. 70—71.

²⁶ Honko 1973, p. 10; Honko 1975, p. 71.

²⁷ Honko 1973, pp. 11—15; Honko 1975, pp. 71—74.

²⁸ Turner 1974, pp. 9—15.

²⁹ Turner 1974, p. 9.

³⁰ Honko 1973, p. 11; Honko 1975, p. 72.

³¹ Honko 1973, p. 12; Honko 1975, p. 72.

³² Spiro 1972, pp. 191—192.

³³ Spiro 1972, p. 192.

³⁴ Spiro 1972, p. 192.

³⁵ Spiro 1972, p. 192.

³⁶ See Beattie 1969, p. 203 ff.

³⁷ See Turner 1969.

³⁸ LcVine 1973.

³⁹ Turner 1974, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Turner 1968, p. 80.

⁴¹ Turner 1968, p. 81.

⁴² Cf. Young 1965, p. 3.

⁴³ Hempel 1959, pp. 277—278.

⁴⁴ Malinowski 1969, p. 159.

⁴⁵ Radcliffe-Brown 1968, p. 12.

⁴⁶ Merton 1968, p. 79 ff.

⁴⁷ Keesing-Keesing 1971, p. 391.

⁴⁸ See Turner 1968, p. 3.

⁴⁹ Cf. Merton's functional analysis paradigm. Merton 1968, p. 104 ff.

⁵⁰ The shaman's journey acteme is manifest in many alternative ways; the scale ranges from the loss of consciousness to extensive descriptions in song. Analysis of the acteme has in this respect been adjusted as follows: P_1 = outward journey of the shaman to the other world, P_2 = his time in the other world, P_3 = return from the other world.

⁵¹ As the accounts are difficult to interpret I have in certain exceptional cases resorted to the use of a double signum, e.g. 'SQ', in which case the action described is regarded as containing features of both actemes.

Chapter 8

¹ Charpentier 1919, pp. 258—259.

² Popov 1932.

³ Schmidt 1829; cf. details of old Mongolian sources given by e.g. Schmidt 1912—1955 X, pp. 5—7, Roux 1958 a, 1958 b, and Roux 1959.

⁴ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 39; Schmidt 1912—1955 X, pp. 515—516.

⁵ Karjalainen 1918, p. 15.

⁶ Schmidt 1912—1955 III, p. 342.

⁷ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 13.

⁸ Dittmar 1856—1859, cf. also Lepold v. Schrenck's "Reisen und Forschungen im Amur-Lande in den Jahren 1854—1856" (1895).

⁹ Castrén 1858.

- ¹⁰ Tallgren 1913, p. 82.
- ¹¹ Cf. e.g. Vdovin 1973, p. 1.
- ¹² Banzarov 1891.
- ¹³ Seroshevskiy 1902.
- ¹⁴ Seroshevskiy 1901.
- ¹⁵ Schmidt 1912—1955 XI, p. 292 ff.
- ¹⁶ Khudyakov 1969.
- ¹⁷ Cf. e.g. Stadling 1912, p. 6 and Nioradze 1925, p. 9.
- ¹⁸ Mikhaylovskiy 1892.
- ¹⁹ Stadling 1912, p. 7.
- ²⁰ Cf. also Vasil'yev 1909.
- ²¹ See also Ksenofontov 1929.
- ²² Stadling 1912, p. 7.
- ²³ Gagen-Torn 1975, p. 3.
- ²⁴ Shternberg 1933.
- ²⁵ Cf. e.g. Gagen-Torn 1975 and Ratner-Shternberg 1935.
- ²⁶ See Lopatin 1922 and Lopatin 1960.
- ²⁷ Schmidt 1912—1955 XI, p. 473.
- ²⁸ See Donner 1923 and 1933.
- ²⁹ Donner 1930, pp. 14—15.
- ³⁰ See also Prokof'yeva 1971.
- ³¹ Schmidt 1912—1955 IX, p. 77.
- ³² Cf. also Anokhin 1929.
- ³³ Van Velsen 1967, p. 140.
- ³⁴ To save space abridged versions have been given of certain especially long descriptions.
- ³⁵ As stated before, the demand for regional-cultural representativeness must by force of practical conditions be only loosely oriented.
- ³⁶ Sarmela 1970, p. 162.
- ³⁷ Belo 1960.

Chapter 9

- ¹ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 788; Jochelson 1928, p. 54 ff.
- ² Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 790.
- ³ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 791.
- ⁴ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 796.
- ⁵ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 796.
- ⁶ Jochelson 1926, p. 135.
- ⁷ Jochelson 1926, p. 162.
- ⁸ Jochelson 1926, pp. 120—121.
- ⁹ Jochelson 1926, p. 120.
- ¹⁰ Jochelson 1926, p. 164.
- ¹¹ Jochelson 1926, p. 163.
- ¹² Jochelson 1926, pp. 163—164.
- ¹³ Jochelson 1926, pp. 108—212.
- ¹⁴ Jochelson 1926, pp. 212—215.
- ¹⁵ Jochelson 1926, p. 192.
- ¹⁶ Jochelson 1926, p. 199.
- ¹⁷ Jochelson 1926, pp. 196—199.

¹⁸ Jochelson 1926, p. 195.

¹⁹ Jochelson 1926, p. 196.

²⁰ Jochelson 1926, p. 155.

²¹ Cf. p. 167.

²² Jochelson 1926, pp. 156—157.

²³ Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 247.

²⁴ The concept of the ear as an escape route is also found among other Siberian peoples, cf. Harva 1933, p. 186.

²⁵ Jochelson 1926, p. 160.

²⁶ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 333.

²⁷ Jochelson 1926, pp. 141—144.

²⁸ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 331.

²⁹ Cf. e.g. Shternberg 1935, p. 240.

³⁰ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 463—464.

Chapter 10

¹ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 797.

² Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 791.

³ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 796.

⁴ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 109.

⁵ Jochelson 1926, pp. 210—211.

⁶ Only the English translations of the quotations are given. The original Yukagir texts are not repeated.

⁷ Jochelson 1926, p. 146.

⁸ Paulson 1961, p. 51.

⁹ Jochelson 1926, p. 152.

¹⁰ Jochelson 1926, p. 145.

¹¹ Cf. e.g. Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 368—412.

¹² Rasmussen 1929, pp. 124—127.

¹³ Lehtisalo 1924, p. 160.

¹⁴ Paulson 1961, p. 226.

Chapter 11

¹ Jochelson writes Yassachnaya river.

² Cf. p. 95.

³ Cf. Jochelson 1926, pp. 156—157.

⁴ Jochelson 1926, pp. 201—205.

⁵ Cf. Jochelson's other version of the same séance, Jochelson 1900, pp. 115—119.

⁶ Jochelson 1926, p. 169.

⁷ Jochelson 1926, p. 171.

⁸ Jochelson 1926, p. 141.

⁹ Jochelson 1926, pp. 150—151.

¹⁰ Jochelson 1926, p. 151.

¹¹ Jochelson 1926, p. 151.

¹² Jochelson 1926, p. 153.

¹³ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 301.

¹⁴ Wasson 1971, p. 10.

¹⁵ Jochelson 1926, p. 152.

¹⁶ Jochelson 1926, p. 152.

Chapter 12

¹ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 789.

² Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 789.

³ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 796.

⁴ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 796.

⁵ Tokarev-Gurvich 1964, p. 279.

⁶ Tokarev-Gurvich 1964, p. 278; Alekseyev 1975, p. 107.

⁷ Tokarev-Gurvich 1964, p. 275.

⁸ Tokarev-Gurvich 1964, pp. 270—271.

⁹ Tokarev-Gurvich 1964, pp. 274—275.

¹⁰ Jochelson 1926, p. 205.

¹¹ Jochelson 1926, p. 205.

¹² Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 50.

¹³ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 54.

¹⁴ Jochelson 1926, pp. 173—176.

¹⁵ Similar badges are found on the dresses of both the other tundra Yukagir shaman described by Jochelson and the Yakut shaman. Jochelson 1926, p. 169, 178.

¹⁶ Jochelson 1926, p. 171.

¹⁷ Jochelson 1926, pp. 171—172.

¹⁸ Cf. Holmberg 1922.

¹⁹ Jochelson 1926, p. 207.

²⁰ Troshchanskiy 1902, pp. 33—35.

²¹ Seroshevskiy 1900, pp. 388—389; Czaplicka 1914, p. 277.

²² Jochelson 1926, p. 207.

Chapter 13

¹ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, pp. 799—800.

² Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, p. 802.

³ Stepanova-Gurvich-Khramova 1964, p. 790; Jochelson 1926, p. 119.

⁴ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, pp. 803—804.

⁵ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, pp. 819—821.

⁶ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, p. 819.

⁷ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, p. 820.

⁸ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, pp. 820—821.

⁹ Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, p. 815.

¹⁰ Cf. Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 413—414.

¹¹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 415.

¹² Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 419.

¹³ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 422.

¹⁴ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 424.

¹⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 432.

¹⁶ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 430—431.

¹⁷ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 432.

¹⁸ See the rite description.

- ¹⁹ Mikhaylovskiy 1895, p. 131.
- ²⁰ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 156.
- ²¹ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 157.
- ²² Findeisen 1956 b, pp. 141–156.
- ²³ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 433–441.
- ²⁴ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 433–434.
- ²⁵ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 432–433.
- ²⁶ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 434.
- ²⁷ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 434–435.
- ²⁸ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 291–292.
- ²⁹ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 300.
- ³⁰ The carefully recorded songs and Bogoras' extensive tradition collections permit examination of the dependence on tradition of these shamanic songs. An analysis of Ukwun's and also Nuwat's songs is contained in a separate chapter, see p. 141.
- ³¹ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 438–439.
- ³² Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 435.
- ³³ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 438.
- ³⁴ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 438.
- ³⁵ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 438.
- ³⁶ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 339–340.
- ³⁷ Mikhaylovskiy 1895, pp. 67–68.
- ³⁸ Analysis of Nuwat's invocatory songs, p. 146.
- ³⁹ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 441.
- ⁴⁰ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 441.
- ⁴¹ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 441.
- ⁴² Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 433–434.

Chapter 14

- ¹ Cf. e.g. Diószegi 1960, p. 169.
- ² The concepts are in agreement with the structural analysis terminology outlined on the basis of the ideas put forward by Alan Dundes, Kenneth L. Pike (Pike 1954–1960) and Vladimir Propp (Propp 1958). The simple nucleus idea (structural unit motifeme — alternative content unit allototif, cf. morpheme — allomorph of linguistics) is transferable, though the structural models developed by Dundes or Propp for the analysis of the narrative tradition are not in themselves relevant to shamanic songs. See Dundes 1962, 1964, 1965.
- ³ Account of the séance on p. 123 ff.
- ⁴ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 329: »The name is used to designate sculpin; but the giant Kaña'yolhIn has existed as a separate fish from 'the first limit of creation'. It lies motionless in the middle of the sea. Its body has become an island, and moss grows on its back.»
- ⁵ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 322.
- ⁶ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 328.
- ⁷ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 329.
- ⁸ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 330.
- ⁹ Bogoras 1904–1909, pp. 331–332.
- ¹⁰ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 332.
- ¹¹ Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 303.
- ¹² Bogoras 1904–1909, p. 305.

- ¹³ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 311—312.
- ¹⁴ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 311.
- ¹⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 332.
- ¹⁶ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 322.
- ¹⁷ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 303.
- ¹⁸ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 305.
- ¹⁹ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 156.
- ²⁰ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 331.
- ²¹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 331.
- ²² Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 331.
- ²³ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 303.
- ²⁴ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 309.
- ²⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 314.
- ²⁶ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 308—309.
- ²⁷ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 311.
- ²⁸ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 314.
- ²⁹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 438.
- ³⁰ Paulson 1958, pp. 187—188. Cf. soul concepts in Hultkrantz 1953.
- ³¹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 437.
- ³² Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 331.
- ³³ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 303.
- ³⁴ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 303—305.
- ³⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 334—335.
- ³⁶ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 305.
- ³⁷ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 158.
- ³⁸ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 315—316.
- ³⁹ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 158.
- ⁴⁰ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 330.
- ⁴¹ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 280—283.
- ⁴² Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 336.
- ⁴³ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 160.
- ⁴⁴ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 421.
- ⁴⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 436.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Findeisen 1956 b, p. 160.

Chapter 15

- ¹ Eliade 1964, p. 258.
- ² Eliade 1964, p. 258.
- ³ See Antropova-Kuznetsova 1964, p. 819; Menovshchikov 1964, pp. 842—843; Antropova 1964 a, pp. 866—867; Antropova 1964 b, p. 879.
- ⁴ Menovshchikov 1964, p. 842; Antropova 1964 b, p. 879.
- ⁵ See p. 121.
- ⁶ Findeisen 1956 b, p. 159 ff.; cf. also Bogoras 1910 a, p. 141.
- ⁷ Bogoras 1910 b, p. 32.
- ⁸ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 453—454.
- ⁹ Findeisen 1956 b, pp. 159—167.
- ¹⁰ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 433.

- ¹¹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 434.
- ¹² Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 437.
- ¹³ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 452.
- ¹⁴ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 438—439.
- ¹⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 445—446.
- ¹⁶ Bogoras 1904—1909, pp. 444—445.

Chapter 16

- ¹ Antropova 1964 a, p. 853.
- ² Vdovin 1973 b, p. 256 ff.
- ³ Antropova 1964 a, pp. 864—866.
- ⁴ Antropova 1964 a, p. 852.
- ⁵ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 1.
- ⁶ Jochelson 1905—1908, pp. 50—52.
- ⁷ Cf. p. 128.
- ⁸ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 432.
- ⁹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 363.
- ¹⁰ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 55.
- ¹¹ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 48.
- ¹² Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 47.
- ¹³ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 21.
- ¹⁴ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 131.
- ¹⁵ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 47.
- ¹⁶ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 24.
- ¹⁷ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 48.
- ¹⁸ Dittmar 1856—1859, p. 31.
- ¹⁹ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 136.

Chapter 17

- ¹ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, pp. 547—550; For further details of the processes by which the Samoyed peoples came into being see Vasil'yev 1974, p. 133 ff.
- ² Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 547.
- ³ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 560.
- ⁴ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, pp. 551—562.
- ⁵ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 562.
- ⁶ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, pp. 562—563.
- ⁷ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 550.
- ⁸ Popov 1964, pp. 571—572.
- ⁹ Popov 1964, pp. 571—572.
- ¹⁰ Popov 1964, pp. 576—577.
- ¹¹ Popov 1964, p. 577.
- ¹² Dolgikh 1964, pp. 582—585; see also Vasil'yev 1965—1966, pp. 2, 14—15.
- ¹³ Prokof'yeva 1964 b, p. 587.
- ¹⁴ Prokof'yeva 1964 b, pp. 590—595, p. 600.
- ¹⁵ Prokof'yeva 1964 b, pp. 599—600.
- ¹⁶ Prokof'yeva 1964 b, pp. 600—601.
- ¹⁷ Prokof'yeva 1964 b, p. 599.

- ¹⁸ Prokof'yeva 1964 b, p. 600.
- ¹⁹ Cf. Popov 1936 a, pp. 93—94 and Popov 1968, p. 138 and 145; Prokof'yeva 1963, pp. 146—147.
- ²⁰ Popov 1964, p. 579.
- ²¹ Popov 1968, Popov writes Sereptie Djaruoskin.
- ²² Popov 1968; The description contains some Samoyed words, explained by Popov as follows:
- kuojka*: holy family relics such as stones, anthropomorphous and zoomorphous figures made of wood or metal. They were transported in special sledges. Popov 1968, p. 138.
- nuk*: tent, cover of conical hut. Popov 1968, p. 140.
- nil'ti*: one of the life substances ('soul?'). Popov 1968, p. 140.
- barusi*: malevolent spirits; *nguo*: benevolent divinities and spirits. Popov 1968, p. 144.
- ²³ Cf. Lehtisalo 1937 and Eliade 1964, pp. 62—64.
- ²⁴ Popov 1936 a, pp. 90—93; translation according to Eliade, Eliade 1964, pp. 41—42.
- ²⁵ Cf. Dolgikh 1951.
- ²⁶ Popov 1936 a, pp. 92—93; translation according to Eliade, Eliade 1964, pp. 39—40.
- ²⁷ Honko 1972 c, pp. 152—153.
- ²⁸ Hajdú 1968, p. 149.
- ²⁹ Donner 1923, p. 143.
- ³⁰ Donner 1923, p. 143.
- ³¹ E.g. Castrén 1853, p. 191; Lehtisalo 1924, p. 145; Tret'yakov 1871, pp. 211—212; Startsev 1930, pp. 122—123.
- ³² Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 151—155 (Lehtisalo writes Ganjkka).
- ³³ Donner 1923, p. 144.
- ³⁴ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 146.
- ³⁵ Islavin 1847, pp. 109—110.
- ³⁶ Prokof'yeva 1963, p. 125.
- ³⁷ E.g. Nioradze 1925, p. 55.
- ³⁸ E.g. among the Soyots an older shaman, like Sessa guiding Savone, recognised the symptoms of the shaman's sickness and urged his patient to submit to becoming a shaman. Vaynshteyn 1968, pp. 331—332.
- ³⁹ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 146.
- ⁴⁰ Tret'yakov 1871, pp. 211—212.
- ⁴¹ Castrén 1853, pp. 191—192.
- ⁴² Van Gennep 1960, p. 21.
- ⁴³ Victor W. Turner described his concept of liminality as follows: "The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* ("threshold people") are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are bewixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial . . . Thus, liminality is frequently likened to death, to being in the womb, to invisibility, to darkness, to bisexuality, to the wilderness, and to an eclipse of the sun or the moon." Turner 1969, p. 95.
- ⁴⁴ Popov 1936 a, p. 93.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 33.
- ⁴⁶ Popov 1936 a, pp. 93—94.
- ⁴⁷ Prokof'yeva 1963, pp. 146—147; cf. Prokof'yeva 1951.
- ⁴⁸ Cf. the drum vivification ceremony of the Selkups: Prokof'yev 1930, p. 365 ff.
- ⁴⁹ Prokof'yeva 1963, p. 147.

⁵⁰ Prokof'yeva 1963, p. 149.

⁵¹ Cf. Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 164; Donner 1933, pp. 245—246.

⁵² Cf. Lehtisalo 1947, Castrén-Lehtisalo 1940 and Castrén-Lehtisalo 1960.

⁵³ Lehtisalo 1924 b, pp. 229—231 (translated from Finnish).

⁵⁴ Cf. Benedict 1923, p. 41.

⁵⁵ For example, the analyses of the origin process of religious experience of Lauri Honko (Honko 1964), Hjalmar Sundén (Sundén 1959) or Orlo Strunk (Strunk 1962) derived from perceptual psychology would provide fertile points of departure for more thorough analysis.

⁵⁶ E.g. shaman Dyukhadin says that he discussed his visions with his family (Popov 1936 a, p. 93); similarly Sereptie's neighbours also took part in interpreting the first dream (Popov 1968, p. 138).

Chapter 18

¹ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 565.

² Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 565.

³ Prokof'yeva 1964 a, p. 550.

⁴ Lehtisalo writes Ganjka.

⁵ Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 152—155.

⁶ Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 113—114.

⁷ Cf. Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 114.

⁸ Cf. Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 141—142.

⁹ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 141.

¹⁰ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 141.

¹¹ Cf. Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 101—102; Castrén uses the form *hahe* (Castrén 1853, p. 199), Islavin the form *hehe* (Islavin 1847, p. 116).

¹² Ufer 1930, p. 20. See also Paulson 1963, p. 132 ff.

¹³ Castrén 1853, p. 199.

¹⁴ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 31.

¹⁵ Donner 1923, p. 135.

¹⁶ Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 160—161.

¹⁷ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 98.

¹⁸ Cf. Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 98—100.

¹⁹ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 162.

²⁰ Cf. Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 162.

²¹ Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 147—148.

²² Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 148.

²³ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 28.

²⁴ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 28.

²⁵ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 31.

²⁶ Num = an old Samoyed celestial deity, see Paulson 1962, p. 68 ff.

²⁷ Witsen 1705, p. 943.

²⁸ Cf. Potapov 1934.

²⁹ Tret'yakov 1871, p. 426; cf. also Donner 1933 b, p. 75.

³⁰ Honko 1959, p. 76.

³¹ Popov 1936 a, p. 77, 82.

³² Popov 1936 a, pp. 95—98.

³³ Lehtisalo 1929, p. 186.

- ³⁴ Honko 1959, pp. 104—105.
- ³⁵ Cf. Räsänen 1950 and Vilkuna 1950, p. 367.
- ³⁶ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 102.
- ³⁷ Castrén-Lehtisalo 1940, Lehtisalo 1947.
- ³⁸ Lehtisalo writes Matvei Jadnje.
- ³⁹ Lehtisalo 1947, p. 497 ff. (no. 85).
- ⁴⁰ See pp. 152—153.
- ⁴¹ Cf. Donner's account of a Sel'kup séance, p. 212 ff.
- ⁴² Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 227 and Castrén 1853, p. 194.
- ⁴³ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 92.
- ⁴⁴ Lehtisalo 1947, pp. 493—496, verses 53—84 (no. 84).
- ⁴⁵ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 147.
- ⁴⁶ Eliade 1964, p. 228.

Chapter 19

- ¹ Donner 1923, p. 128.
- ² Joki 1974.
- ³ Joki 1974, p. 155.
- ⁴ Donner 1923, pp. 146—149 (translated from Finnish).
- ⁵ Joki 1974, p. 156.
- ⁶ Castrén 1855, pp. 165—166.
- ⁷ Castrén 1855, pp. 165—166.
- ⁸ Joki 1974, p. 156.
- ⁹ Prokof'yeva 1949.
- ¹⁰ Eliade 1964, pp. 225—226.
- ¹¹ Joki 1974, pp. 158—159.
- ¹² See pp. 208—209.
- ¹³ Joki 1974, p. 157.
- ¹⁴ Lehtisalo 1924 a, pp. 156—157.
- ¹⁵ Joki 1974, p. 157.
- ¹⁶ Joki 1974, p. 164; cf. Joki 1959, pp. 156—158.

Chapter 20

- ¹ Prokof'yeva-Chernetsov-Prytkova 1964, p. 532.
- ² Prokof'yeva-Chernetsov-Prytkova 1964, pp. 532—533.
- ³ "The Religion of the Ugrians", Karjalainen 1918, see pp. 563—571.
- ⁴ Prokof'yeva-Chernetsov-Prytkova 1964, p. 521.
- ⁵ Karjalainen 1918, p. 587.
- ⁶ Karjalainen 1918, p. 592.
- ⁷ Karjalainen 1918, pp. 588—591.
- ⁸ Karjalainen 1918, pp. 552—554.
- ⁹ Karjalainen 1918, pp. 565—566.
- ¹⁰ Karjalainen 1918, pp. 587—588.
- ¹¹ Karjalainen 1918, p. 587.
- ¹² Karjalainen 1918, p. 579.
- ¹³ Karjalainen 1918, p. 579.
- ¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Mikhaylovskiy 1895, p. 137.

- ¹⁵ See pp. 210—211.
- ¹⁶ Karjalainen 1918, p. 580.
- ¹⁷ Karjalainen 1918, p. 569.
- ¹⁸ Karjalainen 1918, p. 570.
- ¹⁹ Karjalainen 1918, p. 593.
- ²⁰ Karjalainen 1918, p. 593.
- ²¹ Karjalainen 1918, p. 599.
- ²² Karjalainen 1918, p. 587.
- ²³ Radloff 1884 II, p. 20—51.

Chapter 21

- ¹ Vasilevich 1969, pp. 3—9.
- ² Vasilevich-Smolyak 1964, pp. 620—622.
- ³ Vasilevich-Smolyak 1964, p. 625.
- ⁴ Vasilevich-Smolyak 1964, p. 626.
- ⁵ Vasilevich-Smolyak 1964, p. 629. On the other hand there was reindeer-breeding on a larger scale in some Evenk regions. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century a rich reindeer-breeder in one of these areas might own herds of thousands of reindeer. Vasilevich-Smolyak 1964, p. 630.
- ⁶ Vasilevich-Smolyak 1964, pp. 643—646.
- ⁷ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 111.
- ⁸ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 115.
- ⁹ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 121.
- ¹⁰ See Vasilevich 1968 a, pp. 346—348.
- ¹¹ Vasilevich 1968 a, pp. 348—349.
- ¹² Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, pp. 211—212.
- ¹³ Cf. also Vasilevich 1969, p. 250 ff.
- ¹⁴ Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 344.
- ¹⁵ Tret'yakov 1871, pp. 209—210. Cf. also Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 345.
- ¹⁶ Shirokogoroff mentions that "among the reindeer-breeding groups of the aforesaid Evenki" the old shaman of the clan or the oldest members of the clan chose for training a boy whose "nervous state, behaviour and keen attention indicated the faculties necessary for a shaman". Shirokogoroff 1935 a, pp. 351—352.
- ¹⁷ Vasilevich 1968 a, pp. 345—346.
- ¹⁸ Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 348.
- ¹⁹ Spasskiy 1822, pp. 39—40.
- ²⁰ Tret'yakov 1869, p. 211.
- ²¹ Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 345.
- ²² Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 345.
- ²³ Cf. Anisimov 1963 a, pp. 100—105.
- ²⁴ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, pp. 351—352.
- ²⁵ Cf. Lehtisalo 1937 and Eliade 1964, p. 33.
- ²⁶ Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 346.
- ²⁷ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 273.
- ²⁸ Vasilevich 1972, p. 38.
- ²⁹ Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 346.
- ³⁰ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 121.

Chapter 22

- ¹ Anisimov 1958.
- ² Anisimov 1963 a (in Russian 1952).
- ³ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 100.
- ⁴ Anisimov 1963 a, pp. 100—105.
- ⁵ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 85.
- ⁶ Cf. Vasilevich 1963.
- ⁷ Vasilevich 1963, p. 72.
- ⁸ Anisimov 1963 a, pp. 85—99.
- ⁹ Cf. Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 272.
- ¹⁰ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 86.
- ¹¹ Anisimov 1963 a, pp. 93—96.
- ¹² Anisimov 1963 a, p. 99.
- ¹³ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 100.
- ¹⁴ The shaman's spirit-helpers were fish (mayga = trout) and objects, cf. Anisimov 1963 a, p. 87, picture.
- ¹⁵ The spectators accompany the shaman as an assistant chorus.
- ¹⁶ Vasilevich 1968 b, pp. 369—370.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Popov 1968, p. 142.
- ¹⁸ Vasilevich explains the nature of the *khargi* as follows: "The chief spirit-helpers of a shaman were *khargi* and *seven*. They lived on their river and took turns helping the *darisal* stand guard, so that the souls of the deceased who had been sent on *engdekil* to the land of the dead could not chase from the earth the soul of a living person." Vasilevich 1963, p. 58.
- ¹⁹ Soul concepts of the Evenks, see Paulson 1958, p. 107 ff; about soul concepts in Siberia see also Gracheva 1976 and Vdovin 1976.
- ²⁰ Cf. the picture in Anisimov 1951, p. 204.
- ²¹ The *khargi* journeys to the lower world using the shamanic world-tree as his pathway.
- ²² Cf. the picture in Anisimov 1958, p. 215.
- ²³ Cf. Honko 1959, p. 31.
- ²⁴ Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 329.
- ²⁵ Cf. rope as "spirit road", Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 352.
- ²⁶ Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 304, 307.
- ²⁷ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 107.
- ²⁸ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 111.
- ²⁹ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 112.
- ³⁰ Cf. e.g. pp. 108—109 (6 I, 6 F and 8 T).
- ³¹ Cf. Anisimov 1963 a, p. 98.
- ³² Cf. Vasilevich 1963, p. 80.
- ³³ See Georgi's description: the "answers" are always necessary, Georgi 1772 a, p. 285.

Chapter 23

- ¹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 11.
- ² Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 48.
- ³ Cf. Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 87, 108.
- ⁴ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 99.
- ⁵ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 217.
- ⁶ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 218.

- ⁷ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 218.
- ⁸ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 218.
- ⁹ Eliade 1964, pp. 182—183.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 284.
- ¹¹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 308.
- ¹² Shirokogoroff 1935 a, pp. 308—309, 313—314.
- ¹³ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 308.
- ¹⁴ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 308.
- ¹⁵ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 325.
- ¹⁶ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 329.
- ¹⁷ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 328.
- ¹⁸ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 326.
- ¹⁹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 327.
- ²⁰ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 337.
- ²¹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 337.
- ²² Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 316.
- ²³ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 317.
- ²⁴ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 135; cf. also Paulson 1958, p. 123 ff.
- ²⁵ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 332.
- ²⁶ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, pp. 339—340.
- ²⁷ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 339.
- ²⁸ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 339.
- ²⁹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 339.

Chapter 24

- ¹ Levin-Potapov 1964, pp. 691—692.
- ² Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 692.
- ³ Levin-Potapov 1964, pp. 692—693.
- ⁴ Levin-Potapov 1964, pp. 698—699.
- ⁵ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 702.
- ⁶ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 708.
- ⁷ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 693, 697.
- ⁸ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 709.
- ⁹ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 708.
- ¹⁰ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 711.
- ¹¹ Shternberg 1935.
- ¹² Shternberg 1935, pp. 236—239.
- ¹³ Shternberg 1935, p. 239; cf. also Lopatin 1922, p. 250.
- ¹⁴ Lopatin 1922, p. 241.
- ¹⁵ Shternberg 1935, p. 241.
- ¹⁶ Shternberg 1935, p. 240.
- ¹⁷ Shternberg 1935, p. 241.
- ¹⁸ Shternberg 1935, p. 240.
- ¹⁹ Shimkevich 1896, pp. 39—40.
- ²⁰ Lopatin 1922, p. 250.
- ²¹ Lopatin 1922, p. 250.
- ²² Lopatin 1922, pp. 252—253.
- ²³ Lopatin 1922, p. 254.

²⁴ Lopatin 1922, p. 255.

Chapter 25

¹ Eliade 1970, pp. 205—214, cf. Harva 1933, pp. 216—230. The action of the Altaic psychopomp was described by Radloff in "Aus Sibirien", Radloff 1884 II, pp. 53—55. Action of the Nentsy shaman, cf. Lehtisalo 1924, pp. 132—137.

² Lopatin 1960, p. 137.

³ Shimkevich 1896, pp. 19—33, cf. Findeisen 1957, pp. 121—127.

⁴ Shternberg 1933, pp. 483—490.

⁵ Lopatin 1960, pp. 139—147, 160—172.

⁶ Lopatin 1960, p. 169—172.

⁷ Cf. Harva 1933, pp. 192—196.

⁸ Harva 1933, p. 218; Anokhin 1929, pp. 265—266. Potanin regards the Altaic memorials as belonging to a later tradition stratum (Potanin 1881 II, p. 87). Harva is of the same opinion but regards the shamanic rites connected with memorials as extremely old (Harva 1933, p. 220).

⁹ Lopatin 1922, pp. 211—212, 219—220.

¹⁰ Lopatin 1922, p. 199.

¹¹ Lopatin 1960, p. 139.

¹² Levin-Potapov 1964, pp. 699, 708—710.

¹³ Lopatin 1960, p. 162.

¹⁴ Shimkevich 1896, p. 16; Grube 1897, p. 91.

¹⁵ Lopatin 1960, p. 144.

¹⁶ Lopatin 1960, p. 162.

¹⁷ Ränk 1949, pp. 179—180.

¹⁸ Lopatin 1960, p. 50.

¹⁹ Lopatin 1960, p. 163.

²⁰ Lopatin 1960, p. 140.

²¹ Cf. Lopatin 1960, pp. 134—135, also Shimkevich 1896, pp. 9—11 and Grube 1897, pp. 89—90.

²² Lopatin 1960, p. 136.

²³ Lopatin 1960, p. 136.

²⁴ Lopatin 1960, p. 142.

²⁵ Lopatin 1960, p. 142.

²⁶ Lopatin 1960, p. 143.

²⁷ Lopatin 1960, p. 50.

²⁸ Grube 1897, p. 91.

²⁹ Radloff 1884 II, p. 55.

³⁰ Harva 1933, p. 226.

³¹ Eliade 1970, p. 490.

³² Radloff 1884 II, p. 20 ff.

³³ Harva 1933, p. 226.

³⁴ Eliade 1970, p. 211.

³⁵ Lopatin 1960, p. 167.

³⁶ Cf. classes of shamans, pp. 261—262.

³⁷ Lopatin 1960, p. 136.

³⁸ Shimkevich 1896, pp. 15—16; Grube 1897, p. 91.

³⁹ Shimkevich 1896, pp. 15—16.

⁴⁰ Shimkevich 1896, pp. 15—16.

⁴¹ Harva 1933, p. 228.

Chapter 26

¹ Lopatin 1940—1941, pp. 352—355.

² Lopatin 1946—1949, pp. 365—368.

³ Lar'kin 1964, p. 24 ff.

⁴ Ivanov-Smolyak-Levin 1964, p. 750; cf. also Lar'kin 1964, pp. 14—23.

⁵ Ivanov-Smolyak-Levin 1964, p. 757.

⁶ Lopatin 1946—1949, pp. 365—368.

⁷ Lopatin 1940—1941, p. 353.

⁸ Shimkevich 1896, see pictures of shamans.

⁹ Pilsudski 1909.

¹⁰ Cf. accessories of the Nanay shaman, p. 272.

¹¹ Lopatin 1940—1941, p. 353.

¹² Cf. p. 260.

¹³ Lopatin 1946—1949, p. 366.

¹⁴ Cf. map of the other world drawn by an Orochi shaman showing the areas inhabited by the different spirits and the routes taken by the shaman. It shows that the shaman had a detailed image of the topography of the other world and its inhabitants. Avrorin-Koz'minskiy 1949, pp. 324—334.

Chapter 27

¹ Potapov 1964 a, p. 342.

² Potapov 1964 a, pp. 344—348.

³ Potapov 1964 a, p. 348.

⁴ Potapov 1964 b, pp. 441—443.

⁵ Potapov 1964 a, p. 362.

⁶ Diószegi 1960.

⁷ Diószegi 1960, pp. 50—76.

⁸ Diószegi 1960, pp. 53—54.

⁹ Diószegi 1960, p. 58.

¹⁰ Diószegi 1960, p. 62.

¹¹ Diószegi 1960, pp. 68—69.

¹² Diószegi 1960, pp. 75—76.

¹³ Diószegi 1960, p. 53.

¹⁴ Diószegi 1960, p. 54.

¹⁵ Diószegi 1960, p. 65.

¹⁶ Lankenau 1872, p. 278.

¹⁷ Diószegi 1960, p. 54.

¹⁸ Diószegi 1960, pp. 55—56.

¹⁹ Diószegi 1960, p. 55.

²⁰ Diószegi 1960, p. 57.

²¹ Vaynshteyn 1968, pp. 331—332.

²² Vaynshteyn 1968, p. 332.

²³ Diószegi 1960, p. 58.

²⁴ Lankenau 1872, pp. 278—279.

- ²⁵ Diószegi 1960, p. 59.
²⁶ Diószegi 1960, p. 61.
²⁷ Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 44.
²⁸ Diószegi 1960, p. 60.
²⁹ Diószegi 1960, p. 65.
³⁰ Diószegi 1960, p. 66.
³¹ Diószegi 1960, pp. 66—67.
³² Cf. Eliade 1964, pp. 42—43.
³³ Cf. Popov 1968, p. 145.
³⁴ Cf. Eliade 1964, pp. 482—486.
³⁵ Cf. Eliade 1964, p. 486.
³⁶ The knowledge of the supranormal world was drawn in fact on the shaman's drums among the Altaian peoples; see Potapov 1968, specially pp. 228—229.
³⁷ Lankenau 1872, pp. 278—280.
³⁸ Cf. The enlivening of the drum ceremony among the Soyots (Vaynshteyn 1968) and the Teleuts (Dyrenkova 1949).
³⁹ Among the Teleuts the drum is beaten during the enlivening ceremony by laymen, and the shaman himself has no right to touch it, Dyrenkova 1949, p. 117.
⁴⁰ Diószegi 1960, p. 74.

Chapter 28

- ¹ Lankenau 1872.
² Pater Wilhelm Schmidt also quotes an account in his study of the religion of the Abakan Tatars, Schmidt 1912—1955 IX, p. 377.
³ Radloff 1884 I, p. 377.
⁴ Lankenau 1872, p. 280.
⁵ Lankenau 1872, pp. 281—283.
⁶ Cf. “two virgin girls” in the Yukagir séance, p. 98.
⁷ Lankenau 1872, p. 279.
⁸ Lankenau 1872, p. 279.

Chapter 29

- ¹ Vyatkina 1964, p. 203.
² Vyatkina 1964, p. 208, 211.
³ Vyatkina 1964, p. 206.
⁴ Vyatkina 1964, p. 206.
⁵ Vyatkina 1964, p. 207.
⁶ Vaynshteyn 1968, p. 335.
⁷ Vaynshteyn 1968, p. 338.
⁸ Partanen 1941.
⁹ Partanen 1941, pp. 24—25.
Ėinar: rite construction; according to Ramstedt the term means “inborn property, inner being, nature”, Ramstedt 1935. Partanen explains the term as follows: “It is evident that an extract and condensation of the forces of Nature, effected by the ceremonial use of the things described, is intended. An equivalent of *Ėinar* may perhaps be seen in *Fi. luonto*, ‘nature’, used in Finnish magic to denote the forces of a magician, especially in their enhanced state, as well as the corresponding natural (and supernatural) forces outside him.”

Partanen 1941, p. 14. The *činar* construction (see Partanen's account, Partanen 1941, pp. 13—15) seems to concretely illustrate the beliefs connected with becoming a shaman; it includes e.g. Mother Tree, at the top of which is a bird's nest containing nine eggs. E.g. the Yakut shaman was thought to be instructed in a bird's nest in the shaman's tree (Cf. Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, pp. 156—160; Alekseyev 1975, p. 131 ff.).

Böge: male shaman.

Idugan: female shaman.

Ongon: "tutelary spirit, fetish" (Partanen 1941, p. 13).

¹⁰ Agapitov-Khangalov 1883, p. 47.

¹¹ Partanen 1941, p. 27.

¹² Partanen 1941, p. 30.

¹³ Cf. Partanen 1941, pp. 7—8; Bastian 1873, p. 402.

¹⁴ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, pp. 208—209.

¹⁵ Cf. Agapitov-Khangalov 1883, p. 1 ff.; See also Stieda 1887, p. 250 ff.

¹⁶ Partanen 1941, p. 29, 31.

¹⁷ Schmidt 1912—1955 X, p. 432.

¹⁸ Cf. Sandschejew 1927, p. 545 ff.

¹⁹ Partanen 1941, p. 8. Cf. also Banzarov 1891, p. 26 ff.

²⁰ Popov 1949, p. 258 ff.

Chapter 30

¹ Diószegi 1968 b, p. 242.

² Cf. Schmidt 1912—1955 XII, p. 619 ff.; Harva 1933, p. 320; Anokhin 1924, p. 33 ff; Prokof'yeva 1963, p. 149.

³ Hajdú 1968, p. 149; cf. also Seroshevskiy 1896, p. 397, 315 ff., Alekseyev 1975, p. 131, Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 159.

⁴ Cf. e.g. the account by shaman Bolkhoyev: "Even the father of my grandfather was a shaman. He was the greatest shaman. He did with people what he wanted. For instance, a person was just sitting there, and if my great-grandfather so desired that person would, just stand up, facing the wall." Diószegi 1968 b, pp. 316—317.

⁵ See e.g. Prokof'yeva 1963, p. 149; Popov 1936 a, pp. 93—94; Diószegi 1959, p. 280, 290.

⁶ Anisimov 1963 a, p. 112.

⁷ Levin-Potapov 1964, p. 8.

⁸ Partanen 1941, p. 25 ff.

⁹ Lehtisalo 1924 a, p. 146.

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Finnish tietäjä-tradition, Ruotsalainen 1950, p. 163 ff.

¹¹ Anisimov 1963 a, pp. 114—115.

¹² Diószegi 1968 b, pp. 242—244

¹³ Cf. p. 46.

¹⁴ Jochelson 1905—1908, p. 47.

¹⁵ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 418.

¹⁶ Lehtisalo 1937, p. 20.

¹⁷ Popov 1936 a, pp. 90—93.

¹⁸ Cf. p. 180.

¹⁹ Bogoras 1904—1909, p. 425.

²⁰ See p. 226.

²¹ See p. 227, also Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 212.

²² Vasilevich 1968 a, p. 342.

- ²³ Diószegi 1960, p. 54.
²⁴ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 209.
²⁵ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 210.
²⁶ Shternberg 1936.
²⁷ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, pp. 139—140; cf. Alekseyev 1967, p. 131 ff.
²⁸ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 154.
²⁹ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 143, pp. 156—160.
³⁰ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 139.
³¹ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 140, 144.
³² Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 131; cf. Seroshevskiy 1901, p. 103.
³³ Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, pp. 160—164.
³⁴ Shternberg 1930, pp. 134—135; Friedrich-Buddruss 1955, p. 156.
³⁵ Schmidt 1912—1955 XI, p. 279.
³⁶ Cf. Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 350 ff.

Chapter 31

¹ The preparatory stage (1) and termination of shamanizing (8) are given in brackets because the account of them are often incomplete. Special rites (7) have not been noted; most commonly a sacrificial or forecasting episode towards the end of shamanizing.

² The number in brackets after the ethnic group refers to the chapter in which the séance is analysed; * indicates that the sequence is recurrent.

Chapter 32

- ¹ Shirokogoroff 1935 a, p. 337.
² See p. 107 (3G).
³ Karjalainen 1918, p. 593.

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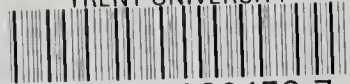
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